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THE CÖLAS Vol. I
Frontispiece.

SEAL OF THE TIRUVALANGADU COPPER-PLATES.

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THE CŌLAS

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Vol. I
To the accession of Kulottunga I

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PREFACE

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

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

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

**ARA.** Annual Reports on Archaeology, Madras.

**ARB.** Archaeological Reports, Burma.

**ARE.** Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras.

**ASC.** Archaeological Survey Reports, Ceylon.

**ASI.** Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports of the Director-General.

**ASSI.** Archaeological Survey of Southern India.

**BEFEO.** Bulletin de l’École Francaise d’Extreme Orient.

**BG.** Bombay Gazetteer.

**CSI.** Coins of Southern India by Sir Walter Elliot (1886).

**CV.** Culavamsa, edited and translated by Geiger, (Pāli Text Society).

**DKD.** Dynasties of the Kanaresse Districts, by Fleet (in the BG).

**EC.** Epigraphia Carnatica.

**EI.** Epigraphia Indica.

**EZ.** Epigraphia Zeylanica.

**HISI.** Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, Sewell (1932).

**IA.** Indian Antiquary.

**IHQ.** Indian Historical Quarterly.

**JA.** Journal Asiatique.

**JAHRS.** Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
ABBREVIATIONS

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

**JIH.** Journal of Indian History.

**JOR.** Journal of Oriental Research.


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

**MAR.** Mysore Archaeological Reports.

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

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

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

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

**SII.** South Indian Inscriptions.

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

**TAR.** Travancore Archaeological Reports.

**TAS.** Travancore Archaeological Series.

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Chapter I

Sources

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

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

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

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

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

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

* A relatively late date for this poem, later than A.D. 400, seems to be forced on us by the trend of the discussion of the relation between Canto XXIX of this poem and the Nyāyasvatāśa, unless indeed this Canto is treated as having suffered a later revision. See Nyāyasvatāśa pp. xiii-xvi for a succinct review of the discussion by A. B. Dhruva.
SOURCES

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

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

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

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

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

* These introductions were, in some inscriptions, omitted in part owing to exigencies of space. e.g. 96 of 1925 of the eleventh year of Rājendra I.
‡ It is interesting to observe that Paramēśālagar explains the phrase ‘*po-yā vīḷakam*’ in *Kurip* 758 by ‘*nandā vīḷakku*’. 
but day-lamps, night-lamps and lamps for the occasions when pūja was performed (śandi) were also known. * When the lamps were provided for by gifts of cattle, the expression ‘sāvā-mūvā-ppērādu’ invariably occurs, and it means literally ‘the big sheep that neither die nor age.’ That this was only a formal way of expressing the permanence of the endowment becomes clear from the use of the same expression even where cows, and not sheep, are given. Moreover, if for any reason the original herd went down in numbers, and in one instance a herd of fifty cows was reduced to twenty-six in less than three years, † the fact was taken into account in assessing the obligations of the herdsmen for the future. Among the donors we find not only kings and their officials, but several corporations including occupational and commercial guilds, caste organisations, military groups, and village assemblies, and many private individuals, men and women. The class of courtesans, the dēvarādiyār, ‘servants of the Gods,’ often made considerable benefactions to temples which were suitably recognised by privileges of a hereditary nature being conferred on them in relation to the services and festivals in the temples concerned.

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

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

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

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

* In 134 of 1926 (Rējak. 16) we have an instance of a temple raising money by mortgaging some of its land to a woman in the queen's service.
† 180 of 1894 (Kuḷḷūṭunga I, 23).
‡ ARE. 1895, I 7 and 1908, II 49. See also Venkayya IA. xxxvii pp. 199-200.

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that the Tamil country exchanged its language for Telugu or Kanarese during the period of these records. The long Marathi inscription of Tanjore of A.D. 1803 is another instance. Vaṭṭeḻuttu was the prevalent script in which Tamil was written in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries; in the former it gave place to Tamil about the time of the Cōla conquest * though “in the insulated malaināḍu (Malabar) it continued as late as the middle of the eighteenth century A. D.” The Sanskrit language employed the Grantha script, closely allied to the Tamil in its evolution. Numerous as are the published inscriptions from which the evolution of the script can be traced with tolerable accuracy, chronological arguments drawn from palaeography are generally not so conclusive as might be wished, and must be received with caution. There are fewer chances of stone inscriptions being found to be forgeries than copper-plate grants and, as a matter of fact, very few Cōla inscriptions are of doubtful authenticity. One of the most conspicuous examples is that of a record † purporting to be dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year of a Rājendrācōla Rājakēsari. By mixing up in its historical introduction the events of different reigns, the record rouses suspicion; its palaeography belongs to the fourteenth century, and it is found in a temple of which the walls bear no other inscription of an earlier date than the reign of Rājarāja III.

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

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

* ASI. 1909-10 pp. 128-9; also 92 of 1895 and ARE. 1920 ii 17.
† 123 of 1900; EJ. vii pp. 145-6.
‡ ARE. 1902, 1 8 and G.O. (Madras) 763 Public, 6th August 1902.

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

Next to the inscriptions, monuments are the most interesting and instructive source of history. And for the Cōla period these take the form mostly of temples and the sculptured halls and towers in them. It was also the age when the art of casting bronze images attained its high watermark. Though several temples dating from Cōla times are in a good state of preservation, very little has been done for the systematic study of their architecture and sculpture. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil has
given a shrewd account of their general characteristics in his *Archeologie du sud de l'Inde*, and for the rest, we have only the haphazard observations scattered in the reports of the Archaeological department. When monuments standing on the surface have received such scant attention, it is no wonder that more ancient monuments buried in the soil remain undisturbed. Yet the importance of this branch of archaeology for the early history of Southern India can hardly be overestimated. *

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

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

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

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

* Elliot, p. 108.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among works of secular literature which can be dated with accuracy, the most interesting from our point of view are the Viraśōliyam of Buddhamitra, the Kalingattupparani of Jayangoṇḍār and the three ulās and the Kulottthungan Pillai-tamil of Oṭṭakkuttan. The first is a work on Tamil grammar composed by a Buddhist writer in the reign of Virarājendra. The Yāpparungalam and the Yāpparungalak-kārikai are other works on one branch of grammar, prosody, by a Jaina writer, Amitasāgara, of somewhat earlier date. These three works possess glosses slightly later than the original texts; and the examples cited by the authors of these commentaries to illustrate particular rules of grammar are often of uncommon interest; they provide fresh information, and confirm, and sometimes elucidate, data drawn from the inscriptions. The Kalingattupparani of Jayangoṇḍār is a war-poem of the
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c conventional paraṇi type, which has for its subject-
matter the conquest of the Kalinga country by
Karuṇākarat-tonḍaimān, the celebrated generalissimo
of Kulōttunga I. The poem is justly celebrated
for the excellence of its diction and its superb
display of metrical effects; it fetched the title of
Kavīc-cakravartī (Emperor of Poetry) to its author,
a title which seems to have been kept on as a sort of
poet-laureateship, or at any rate was conferred also
on ᪐akkūttan who, though himself a poet of no
mean order, paid his predecessor the high compliment
of imitating him closely in his Takkaṭayapparaṇi on a
well-known theme of mythology. For all its fabulous
and supernatural elements, and the absurd hyperboles
characteristic of it, the Kalingattupparaṇi is still
valuable to the historian as it furnishes much welcome
information on the Čōla genealogy and on the details
of the Kalinga campaign of Kulōttunga, including the
route taken by his army. Parts of the poems were
translated into English by V. Kanakasabhai some years
ago, and the translation was published in the Indian
Antiquary. ᪐akkūttan chose the ulā as the vehicle
of his encomiums on three successive monarchs who
followed Kulōttunga I. The ulā is, like the paraṇi,
a conventional literary form. If the paraṇi is par
excellence a war-poem, the ulā is just its opposite; free
from the cares and anxieties of his high station, with
no troubles domestic or foreign to cloud his happiness,
the king with his retinue is conceived as going for a
stroll round the capital city; the beginning of the ulā
generally gives a more or less studied account of the
achievements of the king and his ancestors, and pro-
vides a somewhat detailed description of the chief men
among his courtiers who accompany him and the place
they occupy in the administration of the country; this

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part of the poem is of considerable historical value. What follows in the ulā is not of much immediate interest to us; it is, to a modern student, a monotonous account of the amorous looks and the tell-tale acts of the women of the city who, at the sight of the king, become agitated and love-sick. Besides the three ulās, on Vikrama, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II, Otṭak-kūttan also wrote the Kulōttunga-sōlan-piḷḷai-tamil, a child-poem on Kulōttunga II; notable for its fine sentiment and high eloquence, this poem is not nearly so useful to us as the ulās.

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

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

* I.A. xxx pp. 6-7.

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CHAPTER II.

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

* * kañāl kilakkut-terkuk-karai puraḷ Vellāru
kañā-tiśaiyil kōṭṭaiakkaraiyum—vaḍa tiśaiyil
ēṇīṭṭu Vellārīrupattu nāṅkādam
Śēṅṅīṭṭuk-kellaiyenac-col.

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

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

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

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

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

* See Kural No. 955 and his gloss on it.
† Caldwell, Tinnevelly, p. 12.
‡ Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, to whom I referred the question, writes to me as follows: "Tam. Cōla does not appear to be directly connected with any extant Tamil or Dravidian base. This fact of course need not necessarily lead us to postulate a foreign origin for the word. • • • • • If the postulate that —— may have in some circumstances (for which we have parallels in Dravidian) changed to ——, is justified, then one might conceivably connect Cōla with Cōl —— with the meanings 'to whirl', 'to hover', and explain 'Cōla' as 'hoverer.'”

§ See Gerini-Researches, pp. 85 ff and 101-3. There appears to be some other evidence, however, in support of Gerini's view that a stream of dark emigrants of the negrito race, the descendants of the so-called Rākṣasas of old, came to Malaya from Southern India and were followed by their early successors, the Dravida
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Other names in common use for the Cōla are Kili, Valavan and Šembiyan. Kili perhaps comes from ‘kil’, meaning ‘dig’ or ‘cleave’ and conveys the idea of a ‘digger’; * this word often forms an integral part of early Cōla names like Nezungilli, Nalangilli and so on, but almost drops out of use in later times. ‘Valavan’ is most probably connected with ‘valam’, ‘fertility’, and means owner or ruler of a fertile country, such as the land of the Kāveri was. Šembiyan is generally taken to mean a descendant of Śibi, † a legendary hero whose self-sacrifice in saving a dove from the pursuit of a falcon figures among the early Cōla legends and forms the subject-matter of the Śibijaṭaka among the Jātaka stories of Buddhism. ‡

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

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

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

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

The grammarian Kātyāyana knew of the Cōḍas. †

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

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

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

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

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

The part taken from the sixth century B.C. by Periplus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* The quotations are from Schoff: Periplus. Schoff says: "Coast country is from the native name, 'Cōla coast,' 'Cōla-maṇḍaḷam.'" (p. 241). This is hardly satisfactory as Cōla-maṇḍaḷam only means Cōla country, not 'coast.'

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


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

* Caldwell says: "General Cunningham objects to this identification that Arcot is quite a modern name; but it must, as Col. Yule has pointed out, be at least as old as 1340 A.D., for it is mentioned by Ibn Batuta. The name is properly ār—kâḍ, Tam. the six forests, and the Hindus of the place regard it as an ancient city, though not mentioned by the name in the Purânas, and point out the 'six forests' in which six of the rishis of the ancient period had their hermitage." (op.cit. pp. 93-4.) Such local legends are not of much value in the face of the much stronger and earlier evidence cited. Ptolemy places Arkatos in the country between Mt. Battigo and Adesathros (VII, 1, 68); but on account of the inextricable confusion into which he falls over the second of these names (IA. xiii. p. 337), this does not help us much in the location of Arkatos on a modern map. The references in the early Tamil literature are valuable in this respect. Cunningham was doubtless influenced by Yuan-chuang's data about Chu-lien when he proposed to identify Ptolemy's Sora, the capital of Arkatos, with Zora or Jora (the Jorampun of the maps), an old town lying immediately under the walls of Karnul (Anc. Geogr. p. 626.)

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

tēngāmāl virītār—iyyārâlīsī
vanūṭumāsū nēyḍa—nellyṇāi mālaru
marīyalalaṇā—yārkkâṭamā.

There is also a stray veṇbō (Porundogai No. 988) which mentions Ajjī-kâḍu, the kâḍu (forest) of Ajjī. This princeling had a son Śendan, who sometimes connected with the Côla capital Urṣyīr (Kurundogai No. 258). Árkkâdū is said to be in the Côla country by the editor of the Nârînai.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE COLAS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

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

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

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

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

* This is how the obscure line pirangu-nilai-māṭattu-urandai-pōkki (l. 285) of the Pattinappālai has been generally understood by modern writers. But under the name of Kōkändi (Maṇṉimēkaḷai-xxii, l. 37) the city seems to have had great celebrity from very early times. Cf. n 2 at p. 561 of Pattuppatṭu * (1931). A nur Sōma from this place seems to be mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions of the second century B.C. (Luders, No. 817). The Šilappadikāram gives a legend of the foundation of Uṟaiyūr (Kōḷi) being due to a cock (kōḷi) winning in a fight against an elephant on the spot; x ii. 247-8.

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

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

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

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

* ibid. 1. 6.
† This story is localised at Tiruvārur by the Peiyavaṭṭam, a work of the twelfth century A. D.
‡ ‘Uruvaṭṭappāi,’ Paraṅar (Puram 4) and Perunugur Kīḻr (Puram 266) celebrated him. Line 130 of the Porunar-ṭappāai gives his relationship with Karikāla.
§ Verse 3, end of Porunar-ṭappāai.
¶ Pattiṭṭappāi ll. 220-228 and Porunar. ll. 131 ff. — translated below.

A veṇbā in the Paḷamoli says that a certain Piṭṟattalaṉ rendered much help to Karikāla.
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enemies. As the large-trunked elephant pulls down the banks of the pit (in which it has been caught) and effects its escape by filling in the pit, and joins its mate, even so after deep and careful consideration, he drew his sword, effected his escape by overpowering the strong guard (of his prison), and attained his glorious heritage in due course."

Again,

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

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

Veṇṇi has been identified with Kōvil

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

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

† The text has: iru-peru vēndarum oru kaḷat-taviya (166, Porunai). Naccinārkkiniyar takes this to mean that they died (paṭumpaṭi); but the Cōra, we know, sustained a wound in his back, and committed suicide by the process of slow starvation - Vaṭṭikkiruttal, on which see Pugam 65 ll. 9-11 and Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar's n. thereunder. Also Studies p. 20 and n.
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and shared the defeat at the hands of Karikāla. * Much sympathy was felt for the Cēra king, who was wounded at his back, the last disgrace that could befall a soldier on the battle-field, and who expiated his cowardice by committing suicide; † this is how one of Karikāla’s own friends, the poet Venṭikkuyattiyār, possibly a resident of Venṇi and an eye-witness to the battle, addresses the monarch : ‡

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

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

* Aham 55, 246; also Puṭṭam 65, 66.
† ‘ vaḷ-vāṭakkirundanai ’ ( Puṭṭam 65, 1, 11) does not seem to mean that the king cut his throat with a sword (P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar T. mās p. 336) but that he held a sword while starving, to indicate the cause of his action-vāṭoṇ vaṭakkirundai (comm.)
‡ I may say once for all that in the translations that follow, I have made use of all existing translations—Kanakasabhai, Pope, P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
§ A reference to another legendary Cēja king.
¶ Aham 123.
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territories of his enemies and the awe inspired by his deeds of valour, * and adds that as a result of his campaigns, † the numerous Oliyar submitted to him, the ancient Aruvāḷar carried out his commands, the Northerners lost splendour, and the Westerners were depressed; conscious of the might of his large army ready to shatter the fortresses of enemy kings, (Karikāla) turned his flushed look of anger against the Pāṇḍya whose strength gave way; the line of low herdsmen was brought to an end, and the family of Irungōvēl was uprooted. ‡ If we disregard the vague statements about Northerners and Westerners in these lines from the Paṭṭinappālai, we see that for all his heroism on the battle-field Karikāla’s permanent conquests did not extend much beyond the land of the Kāvēri. The Aruvāḷar were the inhabitants of the Aruvānād which comprised the lower valley of the Peṇṭār, just north of the Kāvēri delta country. The Oliyar were perhaps some nomadic tribe of nāga extraction, whom Karikāla converted to a settled life. † The description of Kāvirip-pūmpaṭṭinam and its foreshore, which takes up so much of the Paṭṭinappālai, gives a vivid idea of the state of industry and commerce under Karikāla who is said to have promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land and added to the prosperity of the country by multiplying irrigation tanks. ‡

Of Karikāla’s personal life we hear next to nothing.

Personal Life.

While Uruttirangamanār, the author of the Paṭṭinappālai, tells us vaguely

* ll. 228-73; the following lines 274-82 are translated here.
† Aham 141-ēlkuḍ nijutta perumheyark-Karikēl. This poem has been misunderstood as containing a reference to the Kuṟumbar.
‡ Kīḍu kongu nāṭākku kuḷandittu valam-herukki-i.e., destroying forests to extend the inhabited country, and digging tanks to improve fertility. Paṭṭinappālai l. 283-4.
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that he enjoyed the society of women and children,* the late annotator Naccinärkkuniyar, possibly reproducing a correct tradition, states that Karikāla took to wife a Vēḷir girl from Nāṅgūr, † a place celebrated in the poems of Tirumangai Āḻvār for the heroism of its warriors. A daughter of Karikāla, Ādimandi by name, is the subject of many poems. She lost her husband, a Čēra prince, by name Āṭṭan Atti, who was drowned in the Kāvēri, but subsequently, by the power of her chastity, she is said to have brought him back to life. ‡

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

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

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

* ibid ll. 295-9
‡ Śīl. xxii ll. 11 ff. and n.
§ Puṭgam 224.

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

* Śil. v. ll. 89-110.
† Kavēra—tanaya—vēḷḷalanghana—pralamana—pramukhā—dyanēkūṭiśaya-kāriṇaḥ • • • • Karikālaśya, K. I. xi—No. 35, ll. 3-5.
‡ “He who caused the banks of the Kāvēri to be constructed by all the (subordinate) kings led by the Pallava Tripiṭra whose third eye was blinded by his lotus foot.”
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the grandson of Karikīla, or, at least, a viceroy appointed by him after his conquest of Kāncī. *

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

The Maṉimēkalai ¶ mentions a great battle at the Kāriyāṟu in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra were defeated by a junior prince (Iḷangōn) of the Cōla family in the reign of Māvankillī, also called Neṉumuḏik-killī and Kīlivalavan in this poem. This battle has been identified with the one in which Neṉungilī met his fate and the civil strife came to an end; ‖ from this the inference has been drawn that the Iḷangōn of the Maṉimēkalai was no other than Nalangilī, and that Nalangilī was the younger brother of Neṉumuḏik-killī:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Puram 45; Kanak. p. 73. The palm and the margosa were respectively the Čêra and Pêdya emblems.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Puram 36. IA, ibid p. 232.
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to her grief as follows *:

Thou scion of the Cōla Lord who saved
The dove from woe,—Chief of the wrathful hosts,
Armed with the gleaming darts that work havoc,
As when a fiery dragon, angry, fierce,—
Bearing five heads, with gleaming poisonous tooth,
Has enter'd the vast mountain-cavern, where
The golden creepers twine;—and from the sky
Fire issues forth and loudest thunderbolt;—
Thou saw'st the lordly city old, whose king
Was circled round by girded elephants.
There in dark deep moat alligators congregate.

In the wide waters of the guarded lake
Are crocodiles that fierce in fight
Dart forth to catch the shadows cast
By gleam of watchman's torch at midnight hour.
Its walls like burnish'd copper shone.
This seemed not fair to thine eyes; for thou didst
Work destruction mightily, glorious king!

'The delicate lyric warning against arrogance'
directed to the proud conqueror by Mūlam-kilār of
Āvūr must have been composed soon after the capitulation
of Karuvūr: †

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

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

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

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

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

* Aham 345.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And since the council of Ur'aiyūr, impregnable city of the valiant Šōjar, is the home of Equity;—Justice is not thy peculiar praise!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And with the fat of turtle satiates their desire,

* Author of Kṇṣundogai Nos. 20, 53, 129, 147.
† The grammarians explain it, however, as Aḍan tandai (Aḍan’s father).
‡ Puram 184.
§ Firmināḷagar on Kṛṣṇa 785; and Naccināṛkkkiniyar on Tol. Karpu.
Sw. 52.
¶ Puram 191; IA. xxviii, p. 30.
∥ Puram 212; IA. ibid.
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And fills their mouths with lampreys’ rich roast flesh,
They leave short toil for feast; the feast prolong!
In that good fertile land the minstrels with their kin
Find our king the foe of want and hunger’s pangs.
He is the lord of Kōli, the mighty Cōla king.
He loves converse with Potti, whose friendship knows
\[ \text{no flaw.} \]
All the day long he laughs with heart right glad!

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Param 215, 216.
† Param 217.
‡ Param 218, 219.
§ Param 222. Apparently this means that persons with eunuch wives were ineligible for vadakkirillal.
¶ Param 220, I4, xxviii p. 32
‖ Param 221, I4. ibid.
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He had the praises manifold of minstrels whose wants he relieved;
He was most loving to the dancers who resorted to his court;
He swayed his sceptre in accordance with the teaching of the sages;
His friendship had the firmness honoured of the wise;
He was gentle to women, brave in the face of the strong;
He was the refuge of the spotless learned ones.
Such an one death did not spare, but carried off his sweet soul.
Therefore, my afflicted kinsfolk, let us
Embracing one another join in reviling death.
Come, all ye bards, whose words are true!
He hath become a pillar planted in the wild,
Crowned with imperishable praise!
While the wide world in sorrow mourns.
Such is the lot of him who was our protector!

Perunarkilli must have been a powerful monarch,
as he is the only one among the Tamil sovereigns of the Sangam age who
performed the Rájasuya. It is likely that the Cēra Māri Venkō and the Pāndya Ugrapperuvaludi both attended
this great inauguration of Perunarkilli’s rule, and that
the fine benediction of Anvaiyār in which she includes all the three was, as suggested by Kanakasabhai, pronounced on this occasion: *

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

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

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

Before giving an account of Kōccengāṇān who
was doubtless among the latest, if not
the last, of the Cōḷas mentioned in
Śāngam literature, the minor celebrities
of the Cōḷa line may be briefly noticed. It is certain
that many of them were petty princelings, members
of the ruling family rather than kings themselves.
There are two princes of the same Ilāṇiṭeennī, distinguished
by the epithets Neydalangānāl and
Śrēppāli-yērinda, both of them celebrated by Ūṇ-podi-
paśungudaiyār, a poet otherwise unknown. The first
is said to have distinguished himself by the capture

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

† Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar has indeed suggested (Aṅgurumār- introd.
p. 15.) that the Cēra enemy was the same as Yēnaikkaṭṭē-yēndarama-jēral-
irumpōrāi who was defeated and captured by Pāṇḍya Neṇuṇḷejiyan, the victor
of Talaiyāḷangānam. Great as is the weight of his authority, I hesitate to follow
of Pāmulūr, a Cēra fortress; * how he earned the prefix to his name, Neydalangū nal, is not known. Šeruppaḷi, overthrown by the second prince, is also only a name. The Cōla Muḍittalaik-kōpperunārkiḷḷi (the great good Kili, the king with the crowned head) is remembered by a single poem of Muḍamōsīyūr (Mōsī, the Lame), who lived in the part of Ugaṅyūr known as ēnicēri. The poem † is a fine piece giving expression to the poet’s grave concern for the safety of the Cōla who was riding an elephant, which, having suddenly turned mad, was carrying him past Karuvir. The poet was then in the company of a Cēra prince, and explained to him what was happening before their eyes. The rushing elephant is picturesquely compared to a ship sailing on the high sea.

Perum Tirumāvalavan, ‡ who died at Kurāppalli, was the contemporary and ally of the Pāṇḍya Perumvaludi who died at Velī-yaṅbalam. Kārik-kaṇṭanār of Kāvirīp-pūm-paṭṭīnam while applauding their alliance, warns them against evil counsellors ever intent on dividing them: §

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

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

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

Vēr-paḥraḏakkaip-peru-viṃar(ñar)k-killī is the name of another Čāḷa prince celebrated by Paraṃar and Kaḷāṭṭalaiyār, of the age of Karikāla and his father. Three poems † in the Puranānūry describe the sad fate of this prince and his Čāḷa opponent Kuḍakkō Neḷuṇ-jērāl-Ādan, both of whom fell on the field of battle. Another prince with a strongly marked individuality was Pōrvaik-kōpperunār-k-killī who figures in a dōzen compositions, three of which are short lyrics composed by Nakkanṇai, ‡ a lady who appears to have loved this

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

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

* Puṟam 80 2.
† Puṟam 80, 352, 393; Ahom 6, 122, 152, 188, 226
‡ Ahom 226.
§ Ahom 6 Paraṇar.
¶ Puṟam 190.
|| Puṟam 239.
** Puṟam 74.
and the forty verses that constitute the poem *Kălarâţi* by Poygaiyâr form the earliest evidence on this king's life. The references to him in the hymns of Tirugñâna-sambandar and Tirumangai Āḻvar as well as Sundaramûrti take us to the next stage in which the emphasis falls on the religious side of the king's life. He figures also in the legendary genealogy of the Cōla copper-plates of the tenth and eleventh centuries though his place in the list is not the same in all. * It is worth noting that the story which, after the manner of the Jātaka tales of Buddhism, makes a spider of this king in his previous birth is first noticed by Appar and repeated by the Tiruvâlangâdu plates † of the reign of Râjendra Cōla. The Kâlaṅgattupparâṇi and the Viṅkramaśālan-uḷâ more or less agree with the copper-plates, but the main stream of legend flows through the Andâdi of Nambi-Āṇdar-Nambi to the Periya Purâṇam of Şëkkiēr, the ocean in which all the streams of Śaivite legend mingle in the Tamil country.

The *Kălarâţi* ‡ is a poem of moderate length, giving a somewhat conventional, though occasionally gruesome, description of the battle of Kâlumalām, near Karuvîr in the Kongu country, § in which Sengâñân defeated and made captive the Cēra king Kaṇâikkâl Irumporâi. The poet Poygai, a friend of the Cēra, placated the Cōla conqueror by singing of his valour in the battle-field and thereby secured the release of the Cēra from captivity. The verse in the

† Appar-Kurâkkâi v. 4. Tiruppâlûr-(Tiruttânâṭakam)-v. 6; Also Sundarar Tiruvâlangâdu v. 2. Tiruvâlangâdu plates-v. 43: *tina-langa-bandhub*.
‡ See IA. xviii pp. 259-65 for a translation and critique of the poem by V. Kanakasabhaī.
§ See Śrâna Śrângutturâvan p. 183. *Aham* 44 seems to give some details of the events which preceded the battle.
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Puranāṇūru to which reference has already been made purports to have been composed by the Cēra, while still in captivity in the Cōla prison at Kuḍavāyir-kōṭṭam (West Gate Prison), and makes a sad confession of his cowardice in surviving the disgrace that had befallen him:

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

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

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

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

‡ By understanding 'Kaṇaikyan' in Aham 44 as the abbreviation of Kaṇaikkēl-irumpōrjai, it is possible to avoid much unnecessary confusion. Contra Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, Kulāravi-introd., pp. 6-7.
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Though we have no contemporary evidence bearing on Kōcenganaṉ’s religious persuasion, there seems to be little reason to doubt that Tirumangai and Sambandar represent a correct tradition about him in their allusions to his religious zeal. And the probable identity of Poygaiyūr of the Kalavaḷi with the Āḻvār of the same name strengthens this supposition. * Tirumangai-Āḻvār in one of his hymns on Tirumangaiyūr † makes the achievements of Kōcenganaṉ and his

* It must, however, be noted here that several scholars of repute are opposed to the identification of the two Poygais, and Pandit E. V. Anantarāma Aiyar who is among them proposes to postulate two Śengāṇḍs as well (see his edn. of the Kalavaḷi-introd. p. 9). The debate has not been altogether academic, as religion, always an explosive subject, seems somehow to have got mixed up in it. On the strength of data drawn from the Yippaṟungala-virutti, a work of the tenth century A. D. or the eleventh at the latest, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar first proposed the identification of Poygai of Śangam fame with the Āḻvār (The Sen-Tamil Vol. i p. 6; also his Āḻvārākā Kalamāḷai 2nd edn. pp. 236). The author of the Virutti quotes a number of verses as those of Poygaiyūr, and some of them are from the first Tiruvandādi of the Āḻvār (see the Virutti pp. 220 where the text seems to be defective, 350 and 459-60); he also counts the poet among the sages whose vision comprised eternity (350). Among the verses quoted in the whole work, however, there is not one from the Kalavaḷi. And Tirumangai’s pārum is silent about Kaḷumāḷam and the Kalavaḷi. But considering that the religious hymns of Poygai-Āḻvār are all, like the Kalavaḷi, in the Veṇbā metre, the presumption arises (especially as there seems to be no essential difference in style between the two) that they are compositions of the same writer. One argument that has been urged against this view is worth serious consideration, and that is the argument that a bhakta like Poygai-Āḻvār would not have stooped to the base flattery of an earthly monarch; the Āḻvār himself declares this expressly in his hymns. A complete answer to this position is furnished by the fact that some of the verses quoted in the Yippaṟungala-virutti and ascribed to the Āḻvār are on secular subjects and include the praise of kings. We may suppose the Āḻvār’s statements about his exclusive devotion to Viṣṇu to have been made in the later stages of his life when he had found his true self. So that, unless we put the late traditions of the Guruparamparai regarding his age against the categorical evidence of Gunaśāgara, the author of the Yippaṟungala-virutti, it seems necessary to accept the correctness of Pandit Raghava Aiyangar’s position. See, on the other side, K. S. Srinivasa Pillai-Tamil Varāḷigai pp. 176-7, Ṣentamiṉēdu Vol. ii, article on Poygaiyūr by Pandit N. M. Venkatasami Nattar, and Kalavaḷi, ed. Pandit Anantarāma Aiyar, introduction. The novel suggestion of Pandit Anantarāma Aiyar that Śengāṇḍ, the Śaiva nāyānar, was different from Kōcenganaṉ of the Kalavaḷi is based entirely on the silence of the Periyapurāṇam on the Kalavaḷi. The Pandit naïvely discovers another reason in that, according to him, Śēkkiḻant has marked off the nāyānar from the other person by calling the former Śengāṇḍ 1!

† Periya Tirumouli VI, 6.
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worship at Tirunārāiyūr the refrain of his song. Here is no room for doubting that the Ālvār was thinking of the great Cōla king distinguished for heroism on the field of battle as the Śaiva devotee who was reputed to have constructed seventy beautiful shrines to Śiva, besides offering worship to Viṣṇu in Tirunārāiyūr. His pointed mention of the elephant corps of Śenganān’s enemy, the cavalry of Śenganān himself and the part it played in his wars * is an important link which establishes a connection with the Kalavali, which in like manner states repeatedly that the successes of the Cōla king against the Cōra elephants was primarily due to the infantry and cavalry in his army. Tirumāngai also implies that Śenganān’s sway extended far outside the Cōla country, † that he fought at Alunda, and Veṇṇi, and that he killed in fight a chieftain Viḻandai Vēḷ. In the hymns of Gnaṇasambandar and Sundaramūrti the great temples to Śiva at Ambari Vaigal, and Nannilam are definitely said to have been founded by Śenganān. The Anbil plates ‡ of Sundara Cōla state, generally that Kōccenganān built temples to Gaurīśa all over the country, while the Tiruvālangadu plates, as we have seen, hint at the spider story. The Anbil plates give the name of Śenganān’s son, Nallaḍikkōn. It is not till we get to the Periya Purāṇam that the king gets transformed out of recognition and figures as the son of Śubhadēva and Kanalavati, and the founder of Jambukēśvara. That Śēkkilār’s account

* Verse 3 line 3 of the hymn looks almost a copy of the Kalavali, of course allowing for the difference in metre: Kavai-mākaṭṭuṇḍi vēḷai-jēna-
kalai-mannar maṇiṇṭumēl kēkamēl; also verse 4, 1. 3.

† Ten - Tamilan Vaṇapatilākkōn Śēḷam (3); Tenṭadān Kuṭakongan Śēḷam (6); see vv. 4, 6, 9 of the hymn. Also Pandit Raghava Aiyangar Alḻēkkēl Kāḷamēl pp. 157ff. The Vēḷ of Viḻandai might have been a commander on the Cōra side.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

viruddhi-vyabhicāri of the N. we have viruddha-vyabhicāri in M. (d) in naming dṛṣṭāntāhānas, whereas the N. has śāḥihatharma-asuddha etc., the M. gives śādhanā-dharma-vikāla etc. It may be noted that Dharma-kārtti too uses 'vikāla' for 'asuddha'. See JIII. x pt. ii, for a review of the Nyāyapravēśa (ed. Dhrvva) by S.S.S.

* ll. 45-108.

† ll. 109-110. On this Mr. Dhrvva remarks: "The author of the Maṇiṃekalai does not perceive that the last two avayavas cannot be included in the dṛṣṭānta as he ignorantly imagines." (p. xv).

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

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ŚANGAM AGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Like drops of rain

That fall in the full lake, drips down the fat
From the meats they serve up; roasted flesh is
Carved and eaten; from their emptied porringer they
Quaff large draughts of milk!

Thy fields of rice,—wide are their borders, where
The sweet cane flowers! Thy pasture lands,—with stalls
For herds,—there cattle graze!

Archers with fortified camps guard the flocks, and from

—tree-tops

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

—craggy mountains teem!

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

The government of the land was in form a hereditary monarchy. Disputed successions and civil wars were, as we have seen, not uncommon; and if the accounts we possess of the ravages that followed a conquest contain any truth,
war was not, as so often made out, the pleasant
diversion of a few professionals which left the normal
course of life in the country untouched. The Sanskrit-
ic conception of the state (rājya) as an organism with
seven limbs (angas) was known and accepted, and the
Kuśála, * introducing a slight but signi-
ficant change, makes the remaining six
elements subject to the king. In other respects as
well, the concepts of polity gain a certain clarity and
precision in the hands of Tiruvalluvar, unknown to
their sources. The ten verses † in which he deals
with the essentials of nāḍu (rāśtra) are far more
clear-cut in their analysis of the physical basis of the
life of the state than the corresponding statements
in the Arthasastra known to us, and the concluding
declaration ‡:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Though none his ruin work, shall surely ruined fa.!

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

* No. 60, ll. 13-5—Kurra-cōḷar kudandai vaittu nāḷu tara nidiyinū-
feriya-varum-ngaṭi.
† No 448, Pope’s translation.
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to imply that even in the face of intolerable misrule there were no formal remedies open to the people: *

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

...  

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Nos. 355, 564.
† No. 581.
‡ No. 638.
§ No. 872.
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internal and external, but he was the custodian of the Universal Order. On his right rule rested the penance of the sage, the purity of the wife, * nay the very course of the seasons. The Kural affirms: †

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

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

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

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

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

Mention is made in the Silappadikāram and the Maṇimēkalai of groups called aimpan-ungulu and eupērāyam. Another group of five categories of persons is sometimes added to these to make up the 'eighteen kilaiippālūr'

* Maṇi. xxii 1. 208.
† Nos. 543; 545–6, cf. also Maṇi—vii ll. 8 ff.

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

* See *PK*. pp. 32-8.

† *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*. pp. 109-10.

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

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

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*As may be expected, scholars who are not in a position to control Kanakasabhai's statements by going to his sources have been much intrigued by them. In his thoughtful work on Corporate Life in Ancient India, for instance, R. C. Majumdar takes a big leap forward from the point to which Kanakasabhai had taken him, and affirms: "It appears to me that the so-called Five Assemblies were really the five committees of a Great Assembly. The writer has traced them to the Magadha Empire, but they seem to me rather the modifications of the Vedic Samiti which left its reminiscence in every part of India." And these hoary assemblies also by a miracle anticipated the most modern developments in political organisation! For Majumdar continues: "In any case the representative character of these bodies, and the effective control which they exercised over the administration is clearly established. It is interesting to note also that the 'ministers' formed one of the assemblies. The assemblies, taken together, may justly be compared with the Privy Council referred to above, the assembly of the ministers corresponding with the Cabinet composed of a selected few." (Second Edition pp. 130-1). Aho nirankuṭavam utprekyēth!
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reference to the king's sabhā. Frequent as are the allusions to the 'sabhā' or 'manṟam' in the works of the period, few specific details of its nature and working are forthcoming. Its place in the administration of justice, especially in the capital city of the king, is well attested. The sons of Malayāmān were tried and sentenced, and later released by the intercession of Kōvūr-Kilār, in the manṟam of Urgiyūr; * and Pottiyūr, after the death of his friend Kopperunjiyālan, could not bear the sight of the same manṟam bereft of him. The Porunar-aruppadai † makes a pithy statement about adults setting aside their feuds while they entered the sabhā, which might mean either that they got their disputes adjudicated or laid their private quarrels aside for the discharge of common duties. We can infer naturally that the sabhā or manṟam was also availed of by the king for purposes of general consultation; Tiruvalluvar lays stress on the importance of ready speech in the assembly by saying that the learning of a man who is afraid to speak out in the assembly is like a bright sword in the hands of a eunuch on the field of battle. ‡

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

* Puram 46.
† ll. 187-8 - mudiyēr-avai-pužu-puḻudir-ram pakai musam ṭelatum. Here 'mudiyēr' is to be taken in contrast with the 'ilaiyēr' immediately preceding in the sentence ilaiyēr vāṇṭal-ayagārum. Narainārkinniyyar indeed does not do so, and understands 'mudiyēr' to mean 'old men', and finds occasion to introduce the legend about Karikēla putting on a wig of grey hair in order to appear older than the old men who came to lay their differences before him.
‡ No 727.
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village; there were held the folk dances in which the women took part and which were suspended in the midst of a war or siege. * Lacking evidence on the place occupied by the mangram on the political side of rural life, we may still trace to these primitive folk-gatherings, at least in part, the beginnings of the highly developed system of village-government which came into existence and functioned so admirably in later Cōla times. †

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

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

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

The prison formed part of the system of administration. * The Cēra Kaṇaiṅkal-Irumporai was detained by Śenganūn in a prison, which, from its name Kuḍavāyir-kōṭtām, is sometimes taken to have been in Kumbakōṇam or a smaller place, also near it, now called Koḍavāṣal. †

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

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

* Maṇi xix ii. 42-3.
† See Kaḷavaṭi-ed. Anantarama Aiyar p. 10. (Introdn.)
‡ See Naccinārkkiniyar on māṅiyam-pērra-neṇumalīyānum (Tol. Porrāl. Purattinaṇ, Su. 8.)
§ Nos. 167, 394.

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not so (their infancy) to the ear. Hence, you are pleasant in one way, they in another; what is there else in which they do not equal you? Yet, what wonder is it, tell us, noble one! that this world cherishes you, O! Killi, of the fleet steed and of the victorious anklet-adorned foot.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Pugam 125.
† Poutar-பூடார் pp. 84-9; 102-21; see also Pugam 34 translated by Pope IA. xxix p. 251.

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ploughshare (after) ploughing dry land. Getting no time to rest, I began to dislike food; and one day I said: 'Oh prosperous (king)! expert in collecting tribute from your angry foes, let me go hence, back to my old city.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Minstrel, with little lute of sweetest strain!
Suppliant with words of ancient wisdom full!
Importunate thou askest me to rest and listen to the pleasant sounds of thy tambourine.
But hear what I shall say!
The modest home of Paṇṇan, whose hands are full of gifts, is near the wide city.
There food inexhaustible is found like the waters of the cool tank under January’s moon, and the humming bees explore the sweets of the fragrant water-lily.
There he meditates the praise and glory of Kiḷḷiḷḷavaṇ, king of the good land that yields in abundance rice and sweet water, and that knows the fire that cooks, but not the fire that consumes.

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

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

Hesitate not.

Long may he flourish!"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† ll. 213-17.
‡ ll. 184-193.

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foodstuffs from Ceylon, and goods from Kāḷagam, * all these materials, precious and bulky alike, were heaped together in the broad streets overflowing with their riches."

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Periplus Sec. 59.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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* No. 230 ii. 12-3.
† *Puṣam* 125, l. 1.
‡ ii. 82-3.
§ l. 155.
¶ iii. 167-9.
of the population. No detailed or specific information is forthcoming on the other trades of which a general idea may be gathered from the descriptions of city life quoted above. Cots made of leather straps plaited apparently on wooden frames are mentioned; and the leather workers came from the low class of the pulaiyas.* If the mention, in the Mañimēkalai, † of Magadhan artisans, Mahratha smiths, blacksmiths from Avanti and Yavana carpenters working by the side of Tamil craftsmen is not mere rhetoric, we may believe that by the side of foreign merchants from different countries in India and outside, there were also some industrial workers who had found more or less permanent employment in the Tamil lands by their exceptional skill in particular crafts. Much of the internal trade was carried on by barter, paddy forming the most commonly accepted medium of exchange. Salt, we have seen, was sold for paddy. We learn also ‡ that honey and roots were exchanged for fish-oil and toddy, the sweet sugar-cane and aval § for venison and arrack. The ladies of the prosperous agriculturist families in the Pāṇḍya country poured the white paddy from their barns into the pots in which the hunter from the forest had brought venison, or the shepherdess had fetched curds. ¶ Paddy was accepted as the most common measure of value in rural economy in the Cōla empire of the tenth century and later; the numerous inscriptions of that time furnish unmistakable evidence of the subordinate role of coin in the transactions of everyday life; the

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

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


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

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

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

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

* ll. 165-7.
† Porunar. ll. 183-4.
‡ Puram 34, ll. 1-7.
§ Mañi xviii, ll. 33-4 cf. Šil. xiv, l. 146.
¶ Mañi v. 37; xiii, 5-7.
|| ibid vii, 75-76 and m.
** ibid vi. l. 127; iii, 134.
†† ibid xxi, 128-9.
‡‡ Šil. v, 237-40.
There was no single method adopted for the disposal of the dead, and both cremation and inhumation with or without urns are freely mentioned. And there appears to have prevailed considerable latitude in the choice of the method to be followed on each particular occasion in the same family. * And the Maṇimekalai mentions the construction of brick tombs of various shapes built by the relatives of the dead whether they were sages or kings or women who had become Sati. † It would appear that the shapes of these structures varied with the caste and rank of the persons commemorated by them. The funeral drum striking terror into the hearts of listeners is also mentioned in the same poem. ‡

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* xiii ll. 23-24.
† No. 267, l. 12.
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"Karpu is that (form) in which a bridegroom from a family fit to accept, accepts a bride given by persons of a family fit to give her and takes her to wife with the (proper) ritual." *

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

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

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

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

* xiii, 1. 106.
† vi, 86.
‡ xxvii l. 98. See PK, pp. 20-21.
§ Purunār, li. 91-2.
escape was the repression of the will to live. This note of sadness, already traceable in Uraiyur Mudukaṁpan Śāttanār, * becomes more pronounced in the setting of the Maṇimēkalai which contains a round denunciation of the fools who, not meditating upon the ruthlessness of Death, spend their time in the blind enjoyment of carnal pleasures. † In all important centres in the Tamil country there were Jaina temples and Buddhist caityas and monasteries in which Buddhist and Jaina monks lived and preached their tenets to those who cared to listen. ‡ Aravaṉavaḍigaḷ, the celebrated Buddhist monk, whom the Maṇimēkalai connects successively with Puhār, Vañji and Kañci, even though he may not be a historical figure, § may well be looked upon as a type familiar to town-dwellers in those times. We have no means whatever of estimating with any certainty the numbers professing these religions or the extent of their influence in society.

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

FROM THE ŚANGAM AGE TO VIJAYĀLAYA

The transition from the Śangam age to that in which the Pāṇḍyas of the line of Kaṭunṭāṇa and the Pallavas of the Simhavishṇu line divide for three centuries the Tamil land between them is completely hidden from our view. The same darkness shrounds the fortunes of the Cōḷas for three centuries more, until the accession of Vijayālaya in the second quarter of the ninth century. Epigraphy and literature, however, provide a few peep-holes through which we obtain glimpses of the interesting transformations that come over this ancient line of kings in this long interval. One thing seems certain, that when the power of the Cōḷas fell to a low ebb and that of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas rose to the north and south of them, the scions of this ancient royal line found themselves compelled to seek service and patronage under their more successful rivals; this is a feature common to several dynasties of Indian kings in the days of their tribulation. The Western Cāḷukyas in the period of Rāṣṭrakūta power, the Eastern Cāḷukyas between Rājarāja’s conquest of Vengi and the accession of Kulottunga I to the Cōḷa throne, the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas themselves, besides the Gangas and the Bāṇas after the expansion of the Cōḷa power under the successors of Vijayālaya, are among the most conspicuous examples of this common feature of Indian history. Ancient memories die hard, and great dynastic names, though borne for a time in obscurity, have often, with a turn in the wheel of fortune, been the cause of a renascence of power and glory. It may be

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doubted if, for all their troubles in this period, the Cōḷas ever completely lost their hold on Uṟaiyūr. Vijayālaya when he comes into prominence rises from the same neighbourhood, and the remotest claimants to Cōḷa descent in the Telugu country, and even further north, glory in the names of Uṟaiyūr and the Kāvēri; contemporary epigraphical evidence may also be cited pointing to the same conclusion. The dispersion of the Cōḷas in the period of their weakness, the poor and dispossessed among them going out in quest of fortune, is attested by the occurrence of names of princes and chieftains claiming Cōḷa connections in places as far removed from one another as Koḻumbāḻūr (Pudukottah), Śiyāṭi (Shiyali), Hēmavati and Māḷēpādu. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Guttas of Guttal (Bombay), like the Cōḷas of the Telugu country, are examples of what may be styled dynastic drift in Indian History.*

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

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

* See PK. pp. 47-9.
† Buddhadatta’s Manuals—Part I (1915) and Part II (1928)—ed. A. P. Buddhadatta (Pali Text Society).
‡ Cf. A. P. Buddhadatta’s introduction to Part II of the Manuals; contra P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar-Tamil p. 528. He makes nonsense of the line ‘Ayam sannatīmi sādhu yācitena kato tato’ by translating it: “(By me) who an intelligent and good and a beggar, this was composed and propounded extensively.”
its palaces and pleasure-gardens, * and states that, in a great monastery built there by Khaṇḍadāsa, he lived for a time and composed that work at the very proper request of Sumati, evidently one of his pupils. Likewise he informs us at the end of his Vinayaviniccaaya that he composed that work for the sake of Buddhāsiha, while he was residing in the lovely monastery of Veṇhūndāsa in a city on the banks of the Kāvēri, by name Bhūtamangalam, † described by him as the hub of Cūlarāṭha. He adds also that this work was begun and finished when Accutavikkanta of the Kaṭabhraṇakula was ruling the earth. ‡ This Accuta could have been no other than the king of the same name who is reputed, in literary tradition, § to have kept in confinement the three Tamil kings, the Cēra, Cūla and Pāṇḍya. Some songs about him are quoted by Amitasāgarar, the author of the Yāpparungalak-kārikai, in the tenth century A. D. Possibly Accuta was himself a Buddhist. At any rate, by calling the Kaṭabhraṇas a tribe of Kāli kings and stating that they uprooted many adhirājar and meddled with brahmadēya rights, the Veḷvikuḍi grant makes it clear that there was no love lost between these interlopers and the people of the lands overrun by them. In the colophons to his works, Buddhādatta is called an inhabitant of Uragapura which perhaps means that Uraiyūr was his native place.

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

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

‡ Accut Accutavikkante Kaṭabhakulavaddhane /
Mahim samanuśāsante āraddhō ca samājītō ||
A. P. Buddhādatta adopts the reading Kaḷambakula, and holds them to be Kaḷambas.

§ Tamīḻ Nāvalar Caritai vv. 154-57.
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Of these Dhanañjaya is represented by a single stone inscription * in the Cuddapah district and possibly by some others in Hēmavati and Niñugal. Though several of the stone inscriptions mentioned above belong to Cōla Mahārāja, none of them adds anything to our knowledge of the king’s reign, and we have no direct means of explaining his titles, among which occurs an ambitious claim to the overlordship of the three Tamil kingdoms of the South. The title of Prthivīvallabha borne by Puñyakumāra, and the name of his queen Vasanta-Pūri-Cōla-Mahādēvi † show his connection with the Cāṅkukyas. It is difficult to say whether he or his father was ruling at the time of Yuan Chwang’s visit; but there can be no doubt that this line of rulers had an important role in the hostilities between the Pallavas and Cāṅkukyas of this period. King Cōlamahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya Satyāditya and his queen Elaṅcōla Mahādēvi ‡ are no doubt other members of the same family who do not figure in the short genealogy of the Mālēpādu plates. It is to be observed that this king has a higher title than the usual Cōla Mahārāja, his territory including Siddli 1000 (Sidhout country) besides the Rēnāṇḍu 7000. A Cōla Māhārāja Kumārānkuśa figures as the vijnapti in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of the sixth year of the Pallava king, Nandivarman III. § The history of this line cannot be fully understood until fresh discoveries are made. But it is already clear that they form the link connecting the early Cōlas of the Tamil country and the numerous dynasties of petty chieftains in the Telugu and Karnataka country claiming to have

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

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

Epigraphy.

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

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

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

‡ SII. ii p. 508 l. 14.

§ Ibid ll. 16-17.

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

* SII. i, 33.

† "Vibhūtim Cōḷēnām katham aham avakṣeya viṃśtam",—ibid, 34. Hultzsch understands by 'vibhūtim Cōḷēnām' 'the great power of the Cōḷas'. But as it is not a proper description of the position of the Cōḷas after their conquest by Simhaviṣṇu, and as such a description is hardly likely to be found in a Pallava grant, I take 'Cōḷēnām' to mean the country.

‡ SII. i, p. 161 ll. 14-5.

§ EJ. vi, p. 6, verses 29-31.

¶ EJ. x, p. 103. Uragapura is not as Hultzsch thought Negapatam, but Uraiyaṟ near Trichinopoly.

|| ASI. 1903-4 p. 275.
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counted by the Śinnamanūr plates among the allies of the Pallavas who sustained a severe defeat near Kumbakonam at the hands of Śrī Māra Śrī-Vallabha (c. 815-62 A.D.).

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

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

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

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

* Śtrānāṁ Perumāḷ-Nāyaṉār Purāṇam v. 92.

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

THE RISE OF VIJAYĀLAYA. ĀDITYA I
(c. 850-907 A. D.)

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

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

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

* 675 of 1909. A Vijayālaya-caturvālāmangalam is mentioned among the brāhmādēṣa villages which were required to supply men for service in the Tanjore temple in Rājarāja's reign (S.II. ii 69, para 139). See also 164 of 1915 (Vikrama Cōla 5) for a reference to a kalvēttu of the fourth year of Vijayālaya in the North Arcot district. A Pāṇḍya inscription of the thirteenth century from Nāṭṭāmbalū (Pl. 282) mentions a Vijayālayacaliśāvara temple.

† S.II. iii, No. 205 vv. 45 and 46. The Kānyākumārī inscription of Viṣṇu-rājendra (T.A.S. iii, p. 142, v. 54) exaggerates this and says that Vijayālaya founded Tanjore. The Anbil plates put on his name Vijayālaya in praising his valour on the battle-field (v. 16).

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

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

* 436, 439 of 1908 from Tiruvilīmilai.
† EJ. viii. p. 260.
‡ 167 of 1894; EJ. iii, p. 279.
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called Rājakēṣari, * without any other name. How much longer Aditya ruled after the date of the Tirukkaluk-Kunrām inscription cannot now be ascertained. But an inscription from Takkōlam dated in the 24th year of Rājakēṣari, no doubt Aditya I, mentions a solar eclipse which occurred in 894 or 895 A.D. † This would give A.D. 870 or 871 for the accession of Aditya, and a rule of about 36 years for him till 907 A.D. We thus get 870 or thereabouts for the close of the reign of Vijayālaya, which might have begun, therefore, sometime before 850 A.D. ✯

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

* Anbil Plates (F.I. xv) vv. 17-18.
† F.I. xix, No. 12.
✯ K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar observes: “If Vijayālaya came of the same family as the Cōja Mahārāja Kumārākṣa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his.” T.A.S. iii, p. 108. Kumārākṣa, as we have seen, figures as the vijñapti in the Vēṭippādayam plates of Nandivarman III. It is extremely doubtful, however, if he and Vijayālaya belonged to one and the same branch of the Cōjas. See ante p. 124.
§ F.I. pp. 73 ff.
¶ F.I. xiii pp. 134 ff, where these records are tentatively referred to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (p. 136). Note particularly Taḥjait-tiṣam ādī ningar; Taḥjait-kōṇ; Taḥjait margālaṭam occurring in them.
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their head-quarters at Šendalai or Niyamam. Like the Cōlas, the Muttaraiyar found it impossible to set up an independent rule, and had to support themselves by clinging to the Pāṇḍyas or the Pallavas.

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

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

* 690 of 1905 (Rangachari - Mr. S). The name Pāṇḍyanaṅ - ve - kaṇḍa - Cōla-caturvedimangalam is applied to this place in a late record (42 of 1914) dated 6. 1369; this can hardly be a reference to the discomfiture of Varaguṇavarman. Contra Rangachari Tj. 183.
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that the Cōla Aditya, who succeeded his father in the meanwhile, also fought on the side of Aparājita* in the great battle of Śrī Puṇambiyam. More lucky than the Ganga monarch, Aditya lived to share the spoils of victory. Possibly, in his gratitude to his Cōla ally, Aparājita not only allowed Aditya to keep what his father had taken from the Muttaraiyar, but added some new territory in the neighbourhood to the sphere of his rule. Such were the humble beginnings of the great empire of the Cōlas.

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

* Inscription 337 of 1912 (Rangachari Ct. 226) of Prāhuṇavayya mentioning the Cōla-Rāja is too fragmentary to throw any light on the political relations of the age. Centra Dubreuil, Pallavas p. 83. T. A. Gopinatha Rao writes (E.L. xv, p. 49) : 'It is known from other records that Aditya and the Pāṇḍya king Varagaṇa marched against the Pallava Nṛpatungavarman, otherwise known also by the name of Aparājitavarman, defeated and killed him.' Apart from the identification of Aparājita with Nṛpatunga for which there is no evidence, it is difficult to believe that the expedition which led to the overthrow of Aparājita had anything to do with Varagaṇa's campaign. As I understand the evidence, it was different, and most probably, some years later. (See Dubreuil-Pallavas p. 84)

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

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

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

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* v. 18. † v. 49. ‡ v. 55.
§ 286 of 1911. ¶ SL. iii No. 142.
‖ 5 of 1897; EJ. xix No. 12.

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Tirukkalukkunram inscription recording the renewal of an ancient Pallava grant to the local temple. Aditya married a Pallava princess, as may be inferred from an inscription of his twenty-third year which says that the mother of the Cola queen was a Kādu-patīgal. * Another record from Niyamam mentions that Dīga! Kāṇḍan Māmāvai, queen of Nandipōttaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, granted to the local temple some money for certain specified purposes. † In the eighteenth year of Rājakēsari (Aditya I), the same lady had made another gift to the Piḍāri temple in the same place. ‡ Despite her regal titles, the identity of this lady and her Pallava lord must remain somewhat doubtful. §

The Kongudēsā-rājakkal affirms that Aditya, after being crowned at Taṇjāvūr-patnam, came to Kongudēsa, conquered the country and governed it in addition to his own; it also says that he took the town of Taiaikūdr. Despite the lateness and the general untrustworthiness of this chronicle, this statement looks very

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

It seems unlikely that Māmāvai was the queen of Nandi III of Telēgu, whose reign ended about A.D. 850. The earliest Cola record which mentions her is in the 18th year of Rājakēsari, c. 889. She is also named in two of Nṛpatunga’s inscriptions, both from the Tanjore Dt. (Nos. 300 and 303 of 1904). See ARE: 1901, paragraph 10; SI, ii. p. 513, n.

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

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

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

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

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

* ARE. 1912 II, 11 suggests the identification of Sthāṇu-Ravi with Kōkkandana Ravi of the Candralītiya family (148 of 1910) on palaeographical grounds. The epithet ‘paḷ-yānai-kīk-kanṭān’ in the Tillaśthānam inscription, like the phrase ‘Tondai-nāṇu-pārāṇa-śūlān’, applies to Rājākēsari and not to Sthāṇu-Ravi, as ARE. (ibid) appears to suggest. “It is not impossible that Sthāṇu-Ravi substantially assisted Aditya in his conquest of the Pallavas and the acquisition of their territory, and that Vikki-Aṉṇan distinguished himself on this occasion as an able general.” (ibid). In the same paragraph we find the suggestion thrown out that Vikki-Aṉṇan was, like his wife Kaṭambā-mādēvi, of Kaṇṭaka origin, and that he was a Veḻir chieftain of Koṭumbuḻpar (Pudukōṭṭai).

† 332 of 1912. Śembiyana Mahībali Dāṇarasa (of this record) is no other than Pṛthivīpati II.

‡ EI. xv, p. 50.

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

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

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

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

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

PARĀNTAKA I (907–953 A.D.)

At the time of the battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam, the Cōḷas held a small principality including Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr, perhaps in su-

bjection to the Pallavas. But within twenty-five years their power had become formidable. This expansion was exclusively the work of Āditya I, a remarkable warrior and able diplomat. Circumstances favoured him and he made full use of his opportunities. The Pāṇḍyas, after Śrī Puṟambiyam, were engrossed in their own troubles at home; Varagunāṇa died soon after the battle, and his successor Śrī Parāntaka Viṟanūrāyaṇa had to deal with a serious rising headed by the haughty Ugra. * With the Pallava Aparājīta, Āditya was on friendly terms for some years after Śrī Puṟamb-

biyam. He then turned against him and deprived him of the bulk, if not the whole, of his possessions; in this enterprise, Āditya was possibly aided by his Ganga contemporary; and the obscure conflicts that were engaging the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas, the Gangas and the Nōḷambas, of which the battle of Sorēmati was the central event, must have indirectly facilitated Āditya’s success. Before the end of his reign Āditya conquered Kongu and annexed it to his territories. Thus at the accession of his son Parāntaka, 907 A.D., the Cōḷa kingdom embraced the whole country between Madras and Kāḷahasti in the north, and the Kāvēri in the south, with the exception of the Mysore table-land

* PK. p. 78.
and the strip along the west coast. It kept the Ganga power in a position of subordinate alliance and was friends with the Cēra. The first conflict with the Pāṇḍya power had perhaps already taken place in the Kongu country. *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* CV. Ch. 53, vv. 41 ff.
† See Geiger, CV. i p. 176 n. 4. Also ii p. xx n. 18. It must be noted that Venkayya's proof that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943/4 to 947/8 that Parāñtaka calls himself "Conqueror of Ceylon" no longer holds good; and the date 948 accepted by Geiger for this invasion is not so trustworthy as it appeared to Hultzsch. (See 332 and 331 of 1927 of years 8 and 6 respectively of Parāñtaka). The MV. goes on to add that a new Senāpati of Udaya "laid waste the borderland of the Cōla king and forced him with threats to restore all that he had carried away" as booty. What exactly is meant by the 'borderland' is not clear.

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Besides the friendliness of the Kēraḷa ruler and the assistance of the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar chieftains of Kilappaluvur, Parāntaka was aided in his Pāṇḍyan campaigns by the Vēḷir chiefs of Koḍumbāḷur. Records dated very early in Parāntaka's reign show that prince Arikulakēṣari, one of the sons of Parāntaka, had already married Pūḍi Ādicca Piḍāri, daughter of Tennavan Īlangōvēḷur of the Koḍumbāḷur line. * Other evidence of the close connection in this period between the Cōla line and the Koḍumbāḷur chieftains is furnished by records from Pudukottai and the Trichinopoly district. † Their hostility to the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha becomes clear from the Sinnamanur plates of the sixteenth year of Rājasimha (c. 916 A.D.). While giving an account of Rājasimha's relations with the Cōḷas in the early years of Parāntaka's rule, the Pāṇḍyan inscription says that Rājasimha "defeated the king of Taṅjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai (Koḍumbāḷur), the seat of one of the powerful Cōḷa subordinates, burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of Southern Taṅjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Cōḷas) at Nāval." ‡ This rather obscure and, no doubt, highly embellished account, from the Pāṇḍyan side, of the early stages of the Cōḷa war is valuable in two respects. It confirms the impression derived from the Mahāvaṃsa and the inscriptions of Parāntaka that his conquest of the Madura kingdom was a gradual and difficult process which involved much fighting spread over many years. It provides, moreover, a clear idea of the alignment of the political powers in these struggles, and corroborates the view

* SJII. iii 96.
† See ARE. 1908, II 84 ff.
‡ SJII. iii p. 449.

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that the Cēra and the Koḍumbāḷur chiefs * were friendly to the Cōla and fought on his side.

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

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

† El. iv pp. 221–5.

‡ SI. ii No. 76, v. 9.

§ On the Bāṇas see El. xi, pp. 229–40; and xvii pp. 1–7. I follow Hultsch’s table (El. xvii p. 3) for the numbering of the Bāṇa kings.
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capital was at Pārivi * which is first mentioned in the Sholingur inscription and may be identical with Parigi, in the Hindupur Taluq of Anantapur district. The last ruler of the line was Vikramāditya III, Vijayabāhu, described as the dear friend of Kṛṣṇarāja, doubtless Kṛṣṇa III, his powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa neighbour. The course of events which is nowhere described in explicit terms can only be inferred from a careful study of the dates which, fortunately, are clearly recorded in the inscriptions bearing on this topic.

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

* Pārivi and Nandagiri occupy in late Bāṇa records a position similar to that of Uḍaliyar and the Kāvērī in the Telugu Cōja records. It may be observed that Parigi answers to the description of the Bāṇa country being to the west of the Āndhra.
† 99 of 1899.
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Ganga ruler who benefited thereby, contributed to the invasion of the Cōla lands by Kṛṣṇa III which ended so disastrously for the Cōlas.

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

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

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

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

* ARE. 1913 II 18 and S/II. iii 108 (introdn.) make Śītpuli a personal name, and suggest that Śītpuli was the general of Bhīma. But 79 of 1921 (Rājak. 6) mentions Śītpuli-nāṇu and Pāki-nāṇu. The latter is well known as Pāka-rāṣṭra.

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

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

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

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

† 332 of 1912.

‡ Rice Mysore and Coorg, p. 45.

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give the first indication of the coming storm. There is also evidence to show that about this time Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka, was stationed with a large army including an elephant corps and some cavalry* in the district known in inscriptions and literature as Tirumunaippādi-nādu.

Vellangumaran, a Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya's forces, was present at Grāmam as early as 936 A. D.,† where seven years later he constructed a stone temple to Śiva on the banks of the Peṇnār. ‡ Tirunāvalūr, a village near Grāmam, called Rajādittapuram till about 1140 A. D., § was the residence of Rājāditya for many years. We also find Arikula-kēsari ¶ in the same region about the same time, no doubt assisting his brother, Rājāditya. It is clear, therefore, that Parāntaka was not unmindful of the repercussions of his aggressive policy against the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas, and that though he expected much from the loyal support of Prthivīpati II, he did not leave everything to him, but made his own preparations to meet an emergency.

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

* *ASI.* 1905-6 p. 181. Also 180 of 1921. *ARE.* 1921, II 25.
† 739 of 1905.
‡ 735 of 1905 dated Saturday, 14th January 943 A.D.
§ 374 of 1902.
¶ 280 of 1902.
|| 428 of 1902; *EI.* vii p. 194.

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dated in the second year of some king not named in
direct relation to this regnal year. But as Kannara-
dēva started his rule in or about 940 A.D.,* the second
year cannot be his. Venkayya, however, affirms †
that this is 'evidently a record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king
Kṛṣṇa III' and suggests that the date is 'probably the
second year after the occupation of the Toṇḍaināḍu'
by him. But the suggestion is contradicted by the
record itself which says that it was the year in which
Kṛṣṇa entered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam; and we have no other
instance in his numerous records from that country
of his using the date of his entry into Toṇḍai-
maṇḍalam as the starting point of an era; they give
invariably his regnal year. The only alternative is to
assume with Hultzsch that it refers to Rājāditya's rule
as the inscription comes from a place within the
sphere of his jurisdiction as viceroy. It is not to be
supposed ‡ that Rājāditya began to rule and issue
inscriptions in his own name only after the death of
his father; for nothing is more common in Cōla
inscriptions than for records of successive rulers dated
in different series of regnal years to overlap. Rājāditya
had by A.D. 948 served his father actively in a
subordinate capacity for over a dozen years, and it is
not a violent assumption to make that Rājāditya was
made 'co-regent' § in that year. There is one
circumstance which may be said to support this
suggestion. The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vira-

* No. 236 of 1913 dates his death in §. 889 (A.D. 967). It is possible he
started rule somewhat earlier. His earliest inscription is dated, however,
A.D. 940; perhaps the conflict with Lalleya, the rival claimant to his throne,
filled the early years.
† ASI. 1908–9. p. 122 n. 2.
‡ Contra, T. A. Gopinatha Rao, EI. xv pp. 51–2 and EI. xviii p. 24. See
also ARE. 1911, II, 22.
§ Though not a happy term this may be retained as familiar to students
of South Indian epigraphy.
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rājendra categorically affirms that Parāntaka earned the name Vīra-Cōla by his victory over the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja. * Despite the lateness of the testimony, it is so definite and so probable in itself that we can hardly brush it aside as of no value. If this victory was a fact, it can be placed only in the interval between 940 and 948 A. D., and it is quite likely that Rājaditya had an active share in gaining this success, and that Parāntaka in appreciation of his son’s valour and his own growing age, conferred on Rājaditya the position of co-regent in the administration of the empire. †

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

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

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

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

* 375 of 1909.
† K. V. S. Aiyar, EI. xii p. 123; xix pp. 82 ff. ARE. 1926 II 12.
by one of his officers, * and that it is quite probable that an error crept into the copy of this old inscription reproduced on the new walls more than a century after it was originally recorded, and this, I think, is the real explanation of the difficulty. †

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

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

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

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

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

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

* This important inscription has been edited twice by Fleet——EL. ii pp. 167 ff.; vi pp. 50-7. The text has: ‘Mūḍi-Cōla-Rājādityana mālī (kāndu) Takštā-dol kādi konūn bijayam-jejyuttā iḍu’ (l. 4); and “Kannaradēvaṃ Cōlaṁ kāduvandu Būtugam Rājādityanam bīsaṃye kālam-āgi guri (suri)-giridu kādi konu Banavase Pannīrēsiramam etc.” (ll. 20-1).

On both occasions Fleet translated the second extract so as to imply treachery on the part of Būtuga. And in discussing No. 181 of 1912, a most baseless conjecture was hazarded in ARE. 1913, II, 17 that Caturānana Paṇḍita betrayed his master and friend Rājāditya to his foes. But the phrase ‘bīseṃye kālam-āgi’ must really be read: ‘bīseṃye kālanāgi’; the words ‘bīse’ and ‘kālan’ mean respectively the howdah fastened to the back of elephants for riding on, and field (of battle). Būtuga made the howdah of Rājāditya’s elephant itself the battle-field. This interpretation is borne out by the Cōla inscriptions. The larger Leyden grant says: “Rājāditya-sa viva ravi kulaḷilake Kṛṣṇarājam saśanaṃ samkhābōkabhōbhām-aṇu * * nāgendra-skanda-varṣi vikulīta-kṛdayaḥ * * vimalāka-jāgaṇa,” a clear statement which leaves not the slightest room for the suspicion of treachery on the part of Rājāditya’s opponent. See JRAS. 1909, pp. 443-6. Other Cōla inscriptions from Kumbakōnam and Tirunālgāvaram mention the ‘king who died on the back of an elephant.’ ARE. 1912, II, 14, Fleet’s old mistake is repeated in the Kādamba-kula (Bombay, 1931) p. 86

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

* 338, 356 of 1902 (Tirunāmanallūr).
† EI. iii p. 179-80. Also the Kudīr plates of Mūrasimha (A.D. 963) II. 88 ff.
MA. 1921, pp. 11, 26.
‡ EI. iv. p. 280.
boasts or the record of a triumphant raid across the Southern countries. No inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa or his vassals are found south of the latitude of Pondicherry. *

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

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

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

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

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

§ Anbil vv. 22 3. SIH. ii p. 383 v. 8.
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possibly in Āditya's lifetime, not only gave proof of the friendly political relations that obtained between the Cōla and Kērala rulers, but apparently furnished the occasion for a large influx of Malaiyāḷa into the Cōla country in search of service under the king and his sons. Veḷḷangumaran, the Kērala general of Rājaditya, who built a temple in Grāmam was only the leading example * of a large class of less known immigrants figuring as donors of small charitable gifts in the inscriptions of the period. Besides Rājaditya, Parāntaka had four other sons: Gaṅđarāditya, Arikulakēsari, Uttamāsēli and Arindigai or Ariṇjaya of the plates. One daughter of his, Viṟamūdevi, called also Gōvinda Vallavaraiyār is mentioned; † and it is likely that another, Anupama, was married to the chieftain of Koḍumbāḷur. That Parāntaka was fond of many high-sounding titles ‡ is clear from his inscriptions, amongst which the most noteworthy, in this as well as in other respects, are the celebrated records of the twelfth and fourteenth years of his reign dealing with the constitutional arrangements of the Sabhā of Uttaramēru. § He performed several kēmagarbhas and tulābhāras, and gave brahmādēyas. ¶ The Ṭiruvāḷangādū plates describe

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* Iravi Nīlī, the daughter of the Cēra King, Vijayarāga, is another. She gave 30-kālaṇjū of gold for a lamp in the Tiruvōrriyār temple. (S.II. iii No. 103).

† Nos. 245-6 of 1921 (year 31).

‡ T A. Gopinatha Rao (E.I. xv. p. 50), basing himself on 110 of 1895 suggests that Vikramaśīla Iļangōvēḻur of that record must have been Parāntaka. If that be so,—the name Paļuvēḻṭaraiyār favours the supposition,—the record must be one of Āditya I, as Iļangōvēḻur would not apply to Parāntaka in the record of any other sovereign. Then the interval between this record mentioning the marriage of Parāntaka and his death would be eighty years (24 plus 46) at least, which looks improbable. There were many Paļuvēḻṭaraiyars, and Iļangōvēḻur is not the same as Iļangō. Perhaps Vikramaśīla Iļangōvēḻur was only a minor chieftain of some feudatory family.

§ See Studies pp. 163 ff.

¶ S.II. ii. 383 v. 7.

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

* See also Gaṇḍarāditya’s Tiruvitakkam on Kāyīl: Tennanāḍum Iḷamum-koṇḍa tīkā-sengir-ōlān kāḷi-vēndan Āmbiyyan ponnuminda • • • • Tūlaiyembalattu (v. 3).
CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF PARĀNTAKA I (953 A.D.)

TO THE

ACCESSION OF RĀJARĀJA I (985 A.D.)

I.—Chronology and order of succession.

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

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

* Three inscriptions, all of the ninth year of a Parāntakadēva, pose one of the minor problems in Cōla epigraphy. No 16 of 1896 from Tiruvāḷangū, North Arcot, calls the king Parakṣari and Tribhuvana-Cakravartin. No. 261 of 1923 from Kēyil-Tēvarīyanprētai, Tanjore Dt., does the same, and in addition gives a historical introduction beginning pūt-mangai-vaḷara. No. 225 of 1929 from Tiruvāḷattugai, S. Arcot, gives the same introduction, but calls the king Rājakēsari and Cakravartin. If the records are genuine, they must be of the reign of either Parāntaka I Parakṣari, or Parāntaka II Rājakēsari. But the absence of other Cōla prāṣasti before Rājarāja I, the title Tribhuvana-cakravartin applied to the king in two of these records, and the fact that the third is found in a temple which has no other inscription of a period earlier than that of Virarājendra, render these records suspicious. They furnish no information of historical importance. See ARE. 1924, II 9; 1929, II 25.
of North Arcot and Chingleput constitute the first group of these records; the latest year in them is twenty-eight, and this would take us to A.D. 965.* Of the remaining stone inscriptions of the period, ten inscriptions belong to Maduraikona Rājakēsari and bear dates in regnal years ranging from five to seventeen. Four inscriptions belong to Sundara Cōla with titles Madhurāntaka and Pāṇḍiyanaic-curamiṅakkina; two of these are dated in years five and seven, while the dates in the other two are lost. A considerable number with years ranging from two to five are those of Parakēsari who had the title (Vīra) Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa; and a still larger number belong to a Pārthivēndra-varman with the same title and with other variants to his name like Vēndrādi-varman, Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman and so on; these records give dates up to the thirteenth regnal year. † Lastly, we have a number of Parakēsari Uttama Cōla’s inscriptions with regnal years from two to sixteen; two of them are precisely dated and fix the limits of his reign. The title Parakēsari, and the dates in his inscriptions ‡ which

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meaning of talai-kōṇḍa.

* Krishna Sastri remarks: “The epithet Aḷvär is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time,” and then proceeds, “if Arulkēśari, Arikēśari, Ariṅjaya or Arindama died before the 8th year of Gaṇḍarāditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arulkēśari who, as the Ambl plate say, was Prince Sundara Čoja born of a Vaitumbha princess.” (S.II. iii, Introd. p. 14). But though Arulkēśari may be identified with Ariṅjaya, there is nothing to show that he predeceased Gaṇḍarāditya. We know that, in many records of Rājarāja I, his elder sister Kundavai is called Aḷvär during her life-time. Further, seeing that Gaṇḍarāditya and Sundara Čoja who succeeded him were both Rājākēsaris, Krishna Sastri suggests (ibid n. 2) that the intervening Parakēśari must be identified with the infant son of Gaṇḍarāditya who, though chosen for succession, ‘may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.’ Ingenious, but not likely. See also E.I. xv, p. 53 where Gopinatha Rao adopts the same arrangement, cutting out Ariṅjaya and making Gaṇḍarāditya a Parakēśari who followed his elder brother Kēśaditya Rājākēśari.

† 587 of 1920 (under Sundara).
‡ 83, 84, 86 of 1889 (S.II. iii 15-17).

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

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

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

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

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

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

† ASI. 1908-9 p. 122.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† vv. 67-8 and 28 respectively.

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

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

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

Perhaps identical with Āditya II.

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

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

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

Rājakēśari Gaṇḍarāditya A.D. 949 - 957
Parakeśari Ariñjaya c. A.D. 956 - 957
Rājakēśari Sundara Cōla (Madurai-konḍa) c. A.D. 956 - 973
[Parakeśari Āditya II
Pārthivēndra Karikūla c. A.D 956 - 969]

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

* 75 of 1923. Nos. 62, 63 of 1889 (S.II. iv, 291-2) are late copies and they are most probably Parakeśari records.
known of Pārthivēndravarman with a regnal year higher than thirteen. We have several records of the thirteenth year, none whatever of the fourteenth, and only this one of the fifteenth. And it is extremely difficult to see any other solution to the riddle presented by his records than the one offered above; for if Pārthivēndra was not Āditya himself, how are we to explain the numerous coincidences to which attention has been drawn above, and which cannot all of them be accidental? The suggestion may therefore be made that in the regnal year in the Parandūr record, the second figure which looks like the ordinary i (১) contains some mistake on the part of the engraver. This record need not be taken into account, therefore, unless other records with higher regnal years than 13 are discovered in future years.

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

II. History.

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

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

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

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

† 540 of 1920.


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

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

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

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

* vv. 25, 28.
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in which Vīra Pāṇḍya sustained a bad defeat, the Cōla forces led, among others, by Parāntakan Śiriyavēḻar of Koṭumbāḻur, continued the campaign into the Pāṇḍya country, and forced Vīra Pāṇḍya to seek refuge in the forests.* The Pāṇḍya sovereign was on this occasion also supported by Ceylonese troops in his endeavour to resist the Cōla aggression; for Śiriyavēḻar led an expedition to Ceylon, and there he fell fighting in the third year of Sundara Cōla, about 959 A.D. † The Mahāvamsa, corroborating this account, records the following in the reign of Mahinda IV (956-72 A.D.): ‡

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

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

* 302 of 1908. Kanyākumāri inscription v. 63.
† 116 of 1896, S.II. v. 980 (Yr. 27 of Rājarāja I).
‡ Ch. 54 vv 12-16.
§ The N. W. part of Ceylon (Geiger). The Vallabha has sometimes been identified with the Rāṣṭrākūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (Codrington Ceylon Coins p. 56). But the Cēḷas were called ‘Vaijava’ and the Vessagiri inscription implies that the invaders were Tamils. See Codrington’s Short History of Ceylon pp. 39 and 53.
¶ E.Z. i. pp. 29 ff.
|| Some statements in Chapter VIII of PK, on the chronology and the course of the Cōla conquest, are seen to need considerable modification. To one point
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Besides Āditya II, two other persons claim success against Vīra Pāṇḍya. One of these is Pārthāvendra-Varman of whom something has been said already. The other is Bhūti-vikramakāśari of Koḍumbāḷūr, who claims to have conquered Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle. The inscription * which gives this information, also states that Vikramakāśari turned the waters of the Kāvēri red with the blood shed by the army of the Pallava, put an end to Vaṅcivel and ruled from Koḍumbāḷūr. He had two queens Karrāli and Varaguṇa. A Rājakāśari inscription, from which the date has been lost, † mentions that Karrālip-pīrāṭṭi was the wife of Tennavan Ilangoṅveḷār alias Maṟavaṅ Pūdiyūr, which may be other names of Vikramakāśari. Two others dated in the thirteenth year of Rājakāśari mention Varaguṇa-perumānār, apparently the other queen of Vikramakāśari. One of these, from Tillai-sthānam, ‡ says that she was the queen of Parāntaka Ilangoṅveḷār, a title showing doubtless the subordinate relation in which Vikramakāśari stood to Parāntaka

in particular attention may be drawn here. Vīra Pāṇḍya ‘who took the head of the Čēṉ’ bore that title for thirteen years. (PK. p. 102). This clearly means that Vīra Pāṇḍya did not lose his life at the hands of Āditya and his confederates. For if we accept, for the sake of argument, the latest date suggested for the accession of Āditya II, 905 A.D., Vīra Pāṇḍya must have lost his life in A.D. 966, because Āditya’s records of the second year mention the event. Thirteen years earlier than this date takes us to A.D. 953 or 954, a date which seems to be too soon after the Rāyāṅkaḷa invasion for a contest between the Čēṉas and the Pāṇḍyas in the South—a contest which gave Vīra Pāṇḍya the occasion to ‘take the head of the Čēṉa.’ If Pārthāvendra-varman and Āditya were identical, then this contest would be pushed back to 944-5, an impossible date.

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

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

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

† A record of the sixth year of Parākēsari (337 of 1904) from Koḍumīyamalai mentions a Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi-prumānūr, queen of Šembiyan Irukkūvēḷ; from this, the conclusion has been drawn that this was another name of Vikramakēsari (ARE. 1906 ii, 90). But the Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi mentioned in this record was the daughter of a Muttaraiyar chief (Pd. 45 Text) and different from the Cōla princes mentioned above. Hence Šembiyan Irukkūvēḷ cannot be the same as Parāntaka Īlāṅgōvēḷur, if our view that the latter married the Cōla princess is correct.

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

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

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

In Sundara Cōla's reign literature, both Sanskrit and Tamil, received encouragement; not only does the earliest Cōla copper-plate grant known so far date from his time, but a highly poetic eulogium of his reign, in the commentary of the Viraśōliyam, bears witness to his patronage of letters. ||

This eulogy, which calls Sundara Cōla the king of Nandipura, is addressed to the Buddha to secure the strength and prosperity of the king, and furnishes evidence of the prevalence of friendly relations between the Cōla monarchs and the southern Buddhist Sangha several years before the date of the larger Leyden grant which records the gift of a village to a foreign Buddhist monastery at Negapatam.

Sundara Cōla's last days appear to have been clouded by a domestic tragedy. An inscription from Uḍaiyārguḍi dated in the second year of Rājakēsaari ** records the measures taken by the Sabhū of Śrī

* See SJL. iii p. 288 and n. 5.
† Tiruvēlangāṭu plates vv. 65-66; also 236 of 1902 (Rājarāja I 27).
‡ SJL ii p. 73. § Tiruvēlangāṭu v. 57. ¶ 159 of 1895, II. 127-32.
∥ pp. 102-3, Ṛṇṇu v. 11. ** 577 of 1920.
ADITYA II

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

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

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

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

* vv. 68–9. The expression employed literally means ‘set’ (ustam ghatvan)—a play on his name Āditya; a hint of his premature death may be seen in his desire to see heaven.

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

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

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

* Contra K. V. S. Aiyar—Ancient Pehlan p 243. The difficulties regarding the ages of Uttama Cōla and his son pointed out by Aiyar are not so serious as he makes them out. We may suppose that Gaṇḍarāditya died A.D. 957 and that then Uttama was 12; he came to the throne when he was, say, 24 in 969, and then had a son aged three; this son would be about 23 in 989 when he is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign. The omission of his name from the Leyden and Tiruvālangādu plates is only to be expected in the conditions of the case.

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of the latter, which probably contained a genealogical account of the dynasty in Sanskrit verse, is unfortunately lost; only the concluding prose portion mentioning the object of the grant survives. In some of the stone inscriptions and in the copper-plate grant, the king is clearly described as Parakāsari Uttama Cōla; but a number of other stone inscriptions bearing only the Parakāsari title can be assigned to his reign either on astronomical grounds, or because they mention the relatives of the king like his mother or one of his queens, or lastly, because they mention officials in his service. It should be observed also that the earliest Cōla coin of which we have any knowledge belongs to his reign; it is a gold piece, a unique specimen once in the possession of Sir Walter Elliot and figured by him from a faithful drawing, the coin itself having been lost; * its obverse and reverse are identical, the centre occupied by a seated tiger facing a fish to the proper right and separated from it by a line, the legend Uttama Cōlan in grantha characters along the circular margin and a ring of beads at the perimeter. Elliot estimated the weight of the coin at between 50 and 60 grains, and this conforms to the standard in the Deccan and Southern India before the time of Rājarāja. †

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

* Elliot CSJ. p. 132, No. 151 p. 152 G. ARE. 1904. l20, Nos. 152 4 are, no doubt, coins of Rājendra I.
† Codrington—Ceylon Coins p. 74.
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Uttama Cōla's time; they form moreover beautiful specimens of the palaeography of the period. * Even the stone inscriptions of the reign contain little information on political transactions. Some inscriptions recently discovered in the Trichinopoly district, †

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

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

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

The inscriptions give the names of several queens of Uttama Cōla, of whom five are mentioned together in one inscription. ¶

The chief place was held throughout the reign by Oraṭṭaṇan (Urattāyan) Sorabbaiyaś, a Kanarese name (?), who is called agramahādeviyār and mūltanambhirāṭiyār in the fifth and the fifteenth years of the reign; ‖ she had also the title of Tribhuvana-mahādeviyār,

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

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

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

RĀJARĀJA THE GREAT (A.D. 985-1014).

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

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

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

* Very early in his reign ‡ Rārarāja assumed the title Mūmmaḍi Cōla-dēva, a term whose meaning is not clear. § Almost the first military achievement of his reign was the campaign in the Kērala country of which the result was summed up in the phrase ‘Kandaḷur-sūlaik-kalamaṇṭuta’, which precedes the name of the king in several of his

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

† 633 of 1902. ‡ 453 of 1908 (yr. 5).

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

"The commandant (dāṇḍanatha) of this ornament of the solar race then conquered Viśinda which had the sea for its moat,

* 395 of 1022 is the earliest record so far known mentioning this achievement and dated in the 24th day of the fourth year. It is no longer true therefore to say that "until the 8th year of his reign, A.D. 994, he did not undertake any expedition" (SIL ii Intro., p. 2). What Rājarāja's achievement at Kāndalūr exactly was has been the subject of much discussion. Though dāla and kalam mean respectively 'a feeding house' and 'eating plate', these meanings seem hardly satisfactory in the present instance (Contra T.AS. ii 25). On the other hand dāla in the sense of 'road-stead' is not known in any other context. But, after all, dāla may only be part of the name of the place— or it may have the ordinary meaning of a road. In any case, no other meaning seems more likely than the one usually adopted for the whole phrase viz., 'who destroyed the fleet in the road-stead of Kāndalūr.' The alternative suggestions that the 'scale of feeding in the feeding-house of Kāndalūr was regulated by the king' (S. Desivinayagam Pillai, Kērāla Society Papers, Series 2 pp. 100 ff.) necessitates a far-fetched explanation of the need for the use of force in the transaction, and fails to explain why such a thing had to be done over again, for instance, by Rājarāja. J. Pillai's objection that the destruction of a fleet would not be described as an act of grace arañ̄j as this is done in the usual introduction, tṛumagal pala etc., of Rājarāja, is easily met; Rājarāja caused the Pāṇḍya Vīra Kērāla to be trampled by an elephant, and this is described as an act of grace kādaññayān-udaipittaruñī. Perhaps, aguttu does not mean 'destroyed', but simply 'overcame', cf. Kalangiñpur-parañi (verse 370) saying that Viśinda was destroyed and dāla captured. It must be admitted, however, that the earliest mention of Kāndalūr (T.AS. i p. 6, l. 6) does support J. Pillai's interpretation. Gopinatha Rao had correctly identified Kāndalūr with a part of Trivandrum now called Valiya dāla. Dāla is sometimes sanskritised as jñāna (T.AS. ii p. 4).

† The Darśanakōppu record (T.AS. i p. 238) seems to be the earliest so far known.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* EC. iii Sr. 125.
† No. 5 of 1895 (Yr 28), EC. iii Sr. 140; also i. Cg. 46 and pp. 12-13.
‡ A record from Kaleyūr (353 of 1901) dated Šaka 929 mentions that a Cōla general Apramēya defeated some Hoysaḷa leaders. But Kiellhorn considers this date 'of no value for historical purposes' EL. iv pp. 67-8. Contra Rice, Mysore and Coorg pp. 86, 144-5.
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Iland (Ceylon) is included among the conquests of Rājarāja from the first in the tirumagaḷ introduction, * (993 A.D.). The king is said to have taken the Ilandamalām owned by the fierce Singalas and famed in all the eight directions. †

In his twenty-ninth year (1014 A.D.) Rājarāja made a grant of several villages in Ceylon for various purposes to the celebrated temple he had erected at Tanjore.)‡ The Tiruvālangudu plates contain the following picturesque account of the invasion of Ceylon: §

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* 127 of 1919. The official’s name Gangan Ambalavanān Ganḍārāditta Sēja Vilupparaiyan seems to imply that he rose to prominence in Utama Cōla’s reign, if not earlier.

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

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

* E.C. x Mb. 208.
† ibid. Ct. 118.
‡ "The present Krāṇikāpet, Nāgamangala, Maṇḍya, Serigapattam and Maḷavallī Cālukyas of the Mysore district", Fleet, IA. xxx pp. 109-10.
§ 36 of 1904; IA. v. p. 17. Attempts have been made to account for the hostility between the Western Cālukyas and the Cōlas by the assumption that it was a continuation of the Pallava tradition by the Cōlas, that the Cōlas were of the Solar race while the Cālukyas were of the Lunar, and that the former were Śaivas while the latter were Vaiṣṇavas and patronised Jainism (S.II. ii Intr. p. 5 and n. 4.). Such efforts lead nowhere.
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possible to give a complete account of the political relations among the Western Cālukyas, the Western Gangas and the Nolambas at the time of the Cōla invasion of Mysore.

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

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

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

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

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

* EJ. xvi. p. 74.
† See the next chapter for further particulars of this war or another which followed not long after.
‡ 145 of 1897; SII. vi. 102.
§ ARE. 1904, para. 17. See, however, the next chapter on Rājendra's campaigns for proof that later in this reign part of this territory was regained by the Cālkukyas.

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boundary between the two empires. No inscriptions of Rājarāja have been found in Bellary so far; but then there are no Cālukya inscriptions of the period either. As a rule, Cōla inscriptions are not found in the remote provinces of the empire in as great numbers as in areas nearer home, and we cannot on this account entertain doubts about the correctness of facts clearly attested by contemporary records. That Rājarāja had a Mahādānāyaka for the Ganga and Vēngī maṇḍalas * towards the close of his reign is sufficient proof of the extent of his empire and of the contiguity of these two maṇḍalas.)

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

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

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

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

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* 79 of 1921.
† V. Rangachari–Nellore 239. There is a village Cippili in the Madanapalli Taluk of the Chittoor district.

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

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

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

* El. xix pp. 149. From an inscription at Kāṅcipuram (237, 238 of 1931) it would appear that the Eastern Ganga Kēmārvava declared himself in favour of the younger branch and fought against Dānārṇava, and fell in battle.

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

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

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

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

Here then is a campaign directed against a Telugu-Cōla king, Bhīma by name, in which both Rājarāja Cōla and Śaktivarman took part. An inscription § of Rājarāja from Kūncīpuram, dated in Ś. 928 (1001-2 A.D.), gives many titles of Cōla Bhīma and records his capture by Rājarāja. The exact course of events is, however, by no means easy to determine. This is due

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

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

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

By Rājarāja.

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

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

* See JAHRS. iii, iv, B. V. Krishna Rao’s JHistory of Rajahmundry for an unconvincing attempt to show that Rājarāja had no part in the restoration of Śaktiwarman. K. Rao’s identification of Jaṭā-Cōla with Jaṭīvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya is impossible.
† Korumelll plates—JA. xiv p. 52 ll. 55-65.
‡ 396, 397 of 1896 ; ASI. 1911-12 pp. 171-2.
§ ASI. 1911-12 p. 172 n. 2.
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The inscriptions are recorded in the name of Rājendra and mention the erection of a pillar of victory by him on the high peak of the Mahendra mountain. But this expedition against Vimalāditya finds no place in Rājendra's historical introduction. It took place in the reign of his father and accounts for Rājarāja's claim that he conquered Kalinga.* Vimalāditya, the Cālukya son-in-law of Rājarāja, made some presents in 1014 A.D. to a temple in Tiruvaiyaru, in the heart of the Cōla country. †

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

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

† 215 of 1894.

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

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

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

* El., viii p. 260.
† 117 A of 1896.
‡ This seems to be the proper explanation of the apparently puzzling reference to a gift of the third year of Rājēndra in SII. ii 90.
§ Gopinatha Rao thought this surname to be that of Rājēdhiriṇḍa and assigned this record to Rājarāja II, who, however, was a Parākēsari. (TAS, i, p. 168). 533 of 1915 is another Rājarāja record of the 31st year.
¶ SII, ii, p. 312; 468 of 1908.
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rectangular court, 750 feet by 250, is divided into two by a partition wall, which carries a low tower of beautiful design; the inner court is twice as long as the outer. The chief shrine occupies the centre of the Western half of this inner court and the Vimāna, which rises over the sanctum to a height of nearly 200 feet on a square base of about a hundred feet, dominates the whole structure. The boldly moulded basement, the huge monolithic Nandi, the simple and tasteful bas-reliefs and the decorative motifs on the Vimāna and the balustrades, the graceful sculptures in the niches on the sides of the Vimāna and the fine chiselling which marks the entire work, including the lettering of the numerous inscriptions, are not equalled by anything known in South Indian architecture. Viewed from any angle, the effect produced by the whole of this wonderful structure is pleasing and impressive. That the stone walls round the garbhagṛha right under the Vimāna in the interior of the temple were overlaid with a thin coat of chunam (lime) plaster, and painted, is beyond question. * When he saw this great enterprise of his reign drawing to completion, on the 275th day of the 25th year of his reign, Rājarāja solemnly dedicated the copper-pot intended for adorning the finial at the top of the Vimāna. We have no authentic information as to how the colossal labour involved in transporting the huge blocks of granite over great distances, and the technical problems involved in raising them to position, were met. The conquered countries doubtless paid part of the cost. (After its completion, the temple in the capital city had close business relations with the rest of the country; year after year villages from all parts

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

( The accurate survey and assessment of the country for purposes of land-revenue, the perfection of the administrative organisation of the country by the creation of a strong and centralised machinery corresponding to the staff of secretaries in a modern administration, and the posting of representative officers of the central government in suitable localities, the promotion of a system of audit and control by which village assemblies and other quasi-public corporations were held to account without their initiative or autonomy being curtailed, the creation of a powerful standing army and a considerable navy which achieved even greater success under Rājendra than under himself, mark out Rājarāja as the greatest among the empire-builders of Southern India. Himself

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an ardent follower of Śiva, Rājarāja was, like all the great statesmen of India, tolerant in matters of religion, and all creeds received equal favour at his hands. The decorative sculptures on the walls of the Tanjore temple and the construction of some Viṣṇu temples by him in Mysore and his gifts to other Viṣṇu temples recorded in his inscriptions are proof of his liberal religious policy. (The celebrated Leyden grant records how he encouraged the erection of the Cuddāmani Vihāra in Negapatam by the Śailendra king, Śri Māra-vijayottungavarman, the lord of Śri Viṣaya and Kaṭāša across the sea. This Vihāra, which was building in the twenty-first year of Rājarāja *, was named after the father of its founder, and the Cōla monarch, with whose permission the construction was undertaken, dedicated to Lord Buddha dwelling in this Vihāra the village of Ānaimangalam, and his son Rājendra confirmed the grant after his father’s death and caused it to be engraved on copper-plates. That Negapatam was the first port on the mainland touched by vessels from the East bound for South India becomes clear from I-ting’s itineraries. † This must have been the reason for the foreign king constructing a Vihāra there.)

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

* l. 118 of the grant (Tamil part).
† Gerini-Researches p. 527. Also ARE. 1899, paragraph 48.
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himself Cōḷendrasimha, Śivapādaśēkhara, Kṣatriya-
sikhāmanī, Janaṇātha, Nigarīli-śūla, Rājendrasimha,
Cōḷa-mārtanda, Rājāśraya, Rāja-mārtanda, Nityavināda,
Pāṇḍyakulāśani, Kēralāntaka, Śingalāntaka, Rāvikula-
māṇikya, Telingakulakāla * and so on. Many of
these names, together with those of other members of
the royal family, like Kundavai, Śembiyam-mahādēvi
and others often distinguished the wards (śēris) in the
larger villages and towns of the Cōḷa empire. † The
regiments in the army also bore names formed out of
the surnames of kings and princes.

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

* Pd. 91.
† Mannār-kōvil in the Timnevely district had twelve śēris so named, see 109
of 1905 (E.I. xi pp. 292-8). Tirukkaluttitutai in Tanjore had the following śēris,
among others: Arumolijjvacakēri, Janaṇathacakēri, Nittavinadacakēri, Kējakkē.rar-
cēri, Nigarilījacakēri, Aḷḷaṇiyāḷacakēri, Śingalāntacakēri, Kundavacakēri, Śōja-
kulasundarakēri, Rājamārtandačēri, and Rājarājacakēri (292 of 1908 of the ninth
year of Rājendra I).
‡ 42 of 1907. For hiranya-garbha in modern times, see Galletti—The Dutch
in Malabar p. 110 and n.
§ 633-C. of 1902 (Rājendra 3).
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only son of Rājarāja we know, was Vānavan-mahādevi alias Tribhuvana-mahādevi. * An inscription of the twenty-seventh year mentions Ilangōn Picci as the name of the senior queen (mūta-dēviyār) of the Cōla king (Śūlaperumān) and calls her the daughter of Vallavaraiyan. † We know that Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar was the husband of Kundavai, the elder sister of Rājarāja, ‡ who is often called in the inscriptions Āḻvār Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭiyār and the daughter of Pon-māligait-tuṇjina-dēvar. § Kundavai was much respected and treated with great affection by her brother. Her gifts to the Tanjore temple were recorded, next to the king’s own, on the walls of the central shrine, while those of the queens and the officers of state found a place only on the niches and pillars of the enclosure. ¶ One wonders if Ilangōn Picci was the daughter of Kundavai whom the king, her mother’s younger brother, took to wife; such marriages are not unknown in the Tamil country to-day. Rājarāja must have had at least three daughters, because an inscription from Tiruvalaiṇjuḻi mentions besides the younger Kundavai, the queen of Cāḻukya-Vimalāditya, a middle daughter of the king called Mādevaḍigal. || Peculiar interest attaches to two memorials erected by Rājarāja which show his eagerness to fulfil his obligations to his family, and that in a manner productive of public good. They are the construction at Tirumukkūḍal ** of a maṇḍapa called after Śembiyan Mahādevi, the queen of Gaṇḍārāditya and mother of Uttama Cōla, and the foundation of the Cōḷēvara or Ariṇjigai-Iśvara temple at Mālpādi. ††,

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

* 115 of 1895. † 394 of 1924 (Rājak. 4).
‡ 365, 367 of 1924 (Rājak. 10, 16). § 363 of 1924.
¶ Hultsch S.II. iii 49; ante p. 193 and n. * A certain Gaṇḍarādditan Madhurāntakan is also mentioned in 356 of 1917 (Yr. 10).
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of temple-affairs, so to say. We see him conducting enquiries into the affairs of temples in various parts of the country, punishing defaulters * and making proper arrangements for the prevention of neglect in subsequent years. He has been wrongly identified with Gaṇḍarādittar, the author of the Tiruvīśaippā, which was in reality composed by his grandfather. † In the district of North Arcot there were the Ilāḍarāya (Lāṭa) chieftains who had apparently been ruling the region round Paṅcapāṇḍavamalai continuously from the days of Parāntaka I; in the eighth year of Rājarāja, Uḍaiyār Vīrasālars, son of Uḍaiyār Ilāḍarājjar Pugalvippavarganḍan, remitted, at the request of his queen, some taxes in favour of a Jain temple. ‡ The regal titles employed in the inscriptions of these chieftains are perhaps an indication of the high favour in which they stood with their Cōla overlords. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Rājarāja, we find mention, in a Tiruvallam inscription, § of a Tiruvaiyan Śankaradēva who claimed descent from the Ganga kings of Kōḷār and built at Tiruvallam a temple called Tiruvaiya-Īśvara apparently after his father. The high-sounding titles that precede the name of this obscure chieftain constitute a clear warning against hasty inferences from such titles in regard to the political status of the person employing them. Nannamarāyar of the Vaidumba family, the son of Tukkarai who possessed the Ingallūr-nādu in Mahārājapāḍi, in the Cuddapah district, gave an endowment at Tiruvallam in North

* 283 of 1906; 218 of 1921.
† The mistake seems to have arisen from the false belief that G.'s Tiruvīśaippā refers to the Tanjore temple whereas it is on Cidambaram. See T. A. G. Rao-Śālavāmī-cariittirac-carukkam p. 16 n.
‡ 19 of 1890 (EI. iv p. 139.)
§ 11 of 1890 (SI. iii 51.)
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Arcot about 1005 A. D. * A Mummuḍi Vaitumba-mahārājan made a gift in Reḍḍipālem in Nellore about A. D. 993. † This shows that the Vaidumbas continued under Rājarāja, as under his predecessors after Parāntaka I, to occupy subordinate official positions in the Cōla administrative system. Mention is made of a Śalukki Vīmayan whose dēvi (queen), Vīmayan Vambavai, endowed a lamp in the temple at Tiruvaiyāṅu in the twenty-second year (c. 1007 A. D.) of Rājarāja; ‡ his dynastic connections and the locality of his rule are not quite clear. Like the Vaidumbas, the Bāṇas, who shared the same fate with them at the hands of Parāntaka I, seem to have become officers sharing in the administration of the country under the Cōlas. A Bāṇa prince, Maṛavan Narasimharman, whose records commence with the usual introduction of Rājarāja and then proceed to give the traditional titles of the Bāṇas in all their fullness, was apparently ruling some part of the South Arcot district in the neighbourhood of Jambai towards the close of Rājarāja’s reign, as we learn that he excavated a new irrigation tank in that locality. § The Tanjore inscriptions mention Śeṇāpati Śri Kṛṣṇan Rāman of Amaṇ-kuḍi, ¶ who is called Rājendraśīla Brahmamārāyan in the larger Leyden grant, || as the person who built the tiruccurṟṟalai, the surrounding enclosure and maṇḍapa of the Tanjore temple under the king’s orders. Irāyiravan Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍi-sōḷapūṣān was another officer of perundaram rank who presented an image and some jewels to the Tanjore temple. ** He was doubtless a high official in the secretariat of the revenue department as we find him

* SII. iii 52.
† NI. G. 88.
‡ 217 of 1894 (SII. v 516).
§ 84, 86 of 1906.
¶ SII. ii 31.
|| 1. 437.
** SII. ii 55.
at testing the Leyden grant and an important inscription from Ukkal* relating to revenue settlement. Sēnāpati Kuṟavan Ulagaḷandān alias Rājarāja Mahārājan who is also mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions, † apparently got his surname Ulagaḷandān (one who measured the world) after carrying out the revenue survey which began in the sixteenth year (A. D. 1001), formed one of the most original and important administrative achievements of the reign ‡ and furnished the basis for the revenue policy for many years thereafter, as can be seen from the numerous references to the survey in subsequent records.

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

RAJENDRA I—(1012–1044 A.D.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

* The mistake possibly arose from a Rājakāsari also having ruled jointly with the king for some years before the date of the record; but see infra.
‡ AKE. 1906 II 13. 
† EJ. ix p. 218.
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beginning *tingaletaru*, give an account of the part played by this prince in the campaigns of his father, and up to about the twenty-sixth year of Rājadhirāja's reign, his records must be understood to supplement those of Rājendra by giving an alternative description of more or less the same transactions from the standpoint of Rājadhirāja's part in them. * In an inscription of his twenty-sixth year from Tirumalavadi which adopts the shorter form of his introduction, † Rājadhirāja's umbrella of state is said to have functioned as if it were the shadow of the white umbrella of his father who conquered with his army the Ganges in the North, Ceylon in the South, Mahādai in the West and Kadaram in the East. This clear statement that the son ruled in full regal state in the life-time of his father, and that for as many as twenty-six years, provides the key for the proper understanding of an important aspect of Cōla history. Adopted in the first instance, possibly, as a device to obviate disputed succession, the system of choosing a successor in the life-time of the ruling king and associating him, after a formal installation, in the discharge of important public duties pointed the way, under the stress of empire, to a more deliberate and extensive application of the

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

† 75 of 1895 II. 2-4. (*SII.* v. 633). These lines seem to have been taken to mean no more than that Rājadhirāja inherited his kingdom from his father—

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Hultzsch (S.II. iii p. 28) translates: "the crown of the king of Iḷam (who was as tempestuous as) the sea in fighting." But in the phrase: "poru-kadul-Iḷattaraśar-tamuqiyum," poru-kadul is an attribute, not of ‘araśar,’ but of Iḷam’. See E.I. ix p. 233. The plurals in ‘araśar’ and ‘avar dēviyur’ are meant to show that the hereditary crown is intended. See extract from the MV. which follows.

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

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

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

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

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

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

* 22 of 1899; 211 of 1911.
† Erīpāḷa means ‘victorious army’; Šenaḍir-māloī may be taken more literally as above instead of being understood as meaning the sun. Contra Hultsch EL. ix p. 233.
‡ 29 of 1897 (S.II. ii 82); 74 of 1907 (yr. 8).
§ 363 of 1917.
¶ v. 89-97.

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Rājarāja’s son, the master of policy, took possession of the bright spotless pearls, the seeds of the spotless fame of the Pāṇḍya kings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

* 46 of 1907.

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

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

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

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

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was displaying unwonted energy in recovering territory lost to the Cōlas in previous wars. The Balagāmve inscription of 1019 describes him as defeating the Cōlas and the Cēras, * and this is borne out by the presence of his inscriptions about this time in Bellary and the N. W. of Mysore. † Rājendra’s war against Jayasimha is described in his Tamil praśasti in the following terms:

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

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

* Fleet DKD. 436.


‡ Hultzsch translates ‘payangoḍu paṭimiga’ into "out of fear and full of vengeance." (E.F. ix p. 233). Paṭi means ‘vengeance’ in some contexts; but here it has surely another meaning: ‘disrepute’. The idea is that by his flight he lost his reputation as king or warrior. The phrase ‘navaṇidikkuḷap-perumali-

galum’ is not clear. Hultzsch understands this independently of the Raṭṭapādi campaign, and translates: “the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubera).” This flawless literal rendering is not intelligible, and Hultzsch has not explained what he understands by it. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is inclined, on the other hand, to see a place name of unknown identity in Navanidhi-kula, like Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Paḷçaḷpaḷḷi and Muṣāngi-dēśa. (Sewell-Historical Inscriptions p. 65, n.) But unlike kōṇam, paṭi and dēśa, an ending in kula seems most unlikely for a place name. I think the whole expression is a rhetorical way of stating that much treasure fell into the hands of Rājendra. ‘Kulap-pew-malai gal’ suggest, by recalling the ‘Kulaparvata’ of legend, the vastness of the treasure; and ‘navaṇidhi’, though usually employed of the insignia of Kubera, is introduced here to suggest the variety of the treasures of the Cāḷukya monarch. cf. kuladhanam-akkilam yāṣaṇa muktha

bhayam avalambya pāṭiyanam cakāra (v. 105) of the same context in the Tiru-
vilangūḍu plates.
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at Musangi or Muyangi, as it is spelt variously in the inscriptions, and Jayasimha certainly did not get the best of it. Musangi was most probably the same as Uccangidrug in the Bellary district. * To a description of this campaign the Tiruvālangādu plates devote a considerable number of well-turned verses in the best Kāvya style, and though there are ten such verses, † we learn on the whole less about the actual occurrences in the war from these than from the few lines of the Tamil praśasti translated above. The king started from Kāñcipuram on his march against the Raṭṭa country, there was fierce battle between the forces of the Cōḷa king and those of Jayasimha, the latter fled to the forests and Rājendra returned to his capital with much booty. Typical of the turns of thought of the composer and suggestive of the date of composition is the verse: ‡

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

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

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

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

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

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

* v. 109.

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

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

§ vv. 110, 118.

‖ Note this surname of Rājendra.

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

"(He seized) Śakkarakkōṭam, whose warriors were brave; Madura-manḍalam destroyed in a trice, the prosperous city of Nāmaṇāik-kōṇam with its dense groves, Paṇcapalṭi whose warriors (bore) cruel bows, Māśuṇi-dēśa with its green fields; a large heap of family-treasures together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away), after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon, together with (his) family, in a fight which took place (at) Adinagar, \( \|$ \) (a city)

* See EI. ii p. 233. The notes below explain the variations in my rendering.

† Hultsch has: "whose forts (bore) banners which (touched) the clouds," which has no support from the text.

‡ The translation here is based on the reading in 176 of 1923: 'Kāmidai valanagar Nāmaṇāikkōṇamum.'

§ Another form has 'veṅijina vīrar' for 'veṅijilai-vīrar.'

¶ Read: "pāṇḍai-palana- māśuṇi-dīsam" (SII. ii 20 l. 5 and p. 108) for 'pāṇḍai-pala-nam-māśuṇi-dīsam' (Hultsch) of the Tirumalai rock; or translate "Māśuṇi-dēsa celebrated for fruits (amidat) green foliage."

∥ Read: "Ādi-nagar-vaiyil-candira" etc., where "vaiyin" is the locative case ending, not to be read 'nagaravaiyil' as has been done.
Map
Showing
Rājendra’s
Expedition
To the
Ganges
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whose great fame knew no decline *; Oḍḍa-vaśya which was
difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence †; the
good Kṛṣṇalai-nāḷu, where Brahmīs assembled; Tāṇḍabutti, in
whose gardens bees abounded, (land which he acquired) after
having destroyed Dharma-pāla (in) a hot battle; Takaṇalāḷam,
whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after
having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vangāla-dēśa, where the
rain water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindacandra fled,
having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare
strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having
been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong
Mahipāḷa ‡ together with Śāṅku who wore the anklet (of valour);
Uttiralāḷam (on the shore of) the expansive ocean (producing)
pearls; and the Gāṅgā whose waters bearing fragrant flowers §
dashed against the bathing places (tirtha).”

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

* This seems better for ‘ ayaṃvīt vaṅ-kirtti Ādinagar ’, than ‘ which was
famous for unceasing abundance ’ (Hultsch).

† ‘ Mīlai ’ is a synonym for kāvaṅkāḷu ’; Maṇimēkalat, xxviii, l. 25.

‡ Read: “ tola-kulaṇg-cangaṇa-waṇḍal Maḥipāḷam ” (Tanjore S.II. u 20
plate.) Hultsch’s talk of ‘ ear-rings, slippers and bracelets ’ of Mahipāḷa is
entirely out of place. Often also “ tola-kulaṇg-cangaṇa-waṇḍal Maḥipāḷam ”
(478 of 1602), where ‘ āṅku ’ may mean conch (śančha)

§ ‘ Veṭimalar ’ for ‘ veṇi-manai ’ in some copies.

¶ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar suggests that this campaign started from Kulpak, the
northern limit of Rājendra’s earlier campaigns, or “ from somewhere not far
off, ” (Gangai-kōṅa-Cōla p. 540). There is no evidence, however, to show that
at any time Rājendra became master of the W. Cāḻukya territory in the present
Hyderabad state so as to organise and despatch a large army from there on a
campaign of aggressive warfare into foreign territory. And the Tiruvāḷangāḷa
plates are explicit, as Dr. Aiyangar has himself noticed (ibid. p. 547), that the
expedition started from the Cōla capital.
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Sakkarakkottam has been identified with Cakra-
kotiya which finds mention in a Naga-
vamsi copper-plate grant from Bastar
dated A.D. 1065, and its modern re-
presentative is probably Citrakuta or Citrakoṭa, 8 miles
from Rājāpura where the copper-plates were found.
Rājāpura, the capital of Bastar, is itself 22 miles
north-west of Jagadalpur, on the bank of the Indrāvati
river. * Sakkarakkottam and the places that follow
up to Māśuṇi-dēsam have thus to be sought in the
territory contiguous to the Vēngi kingdom to the
north-west of it. Māśuṇi-dēsam literally means the land
of the snakes; the kings of the Chindaka family
represented by the Rājāpura plates, called themselves
Nāga-vamśo-dbhava (born of the Cobra race), and
Bhōgavati-pura-varēśvara (lord of Bhōgavati, the best
of cities); in a later stone inscription of Śaka 1140,
one of them is called Śri-bhujagavara-bhūṣaṇa-mahā-
rajulu, † the māharāja who was the ornament of the
race of the best of serpents. It is perfectly reason-
able to suppose that by Māśuṇi-dēsam is meant the land
ruled by these kings. On this assumption, Madurai-
maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam and Paıcappallī must be
sought in the same region and held to be parts of
Māśuṇi-dēsam. It may be noted that Cakrakota is itself
called a maṇḍala ‡ like Madurai-maṇḍalam, and that
the donor of the Rājāpura plates is called Madhu-
rāntuka.

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

* EI. ix pp. 178-9. † ibid p. 163.
‡ ibid p. 180, l. 29. § EI. vii List p. 120 n. 3.

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

* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that ‘Śadinagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādinagar, Jāmagar of the Muhammadan historians,’ is no other than Yāyāmagar, identified with Būka by Hirālāl and said to have been founded by one of the early Kāsari kings of Orissa. (Gangar-konaḍa-Cōla p. 550). But he does not say how he gets his new reading Śadinagar. The Tirumalai rock inscription clearly has “vaṅkirtti-yaḍinagar” (S.I. ix p. 232, plate 1. 8) and the Tanjore record equally clearly ”vaṅkirtti Ājinagar” (S.II. ii plate 3, 1. 5, end), “vaṅkirtti-yaḍinagar” is often found (77, 78, 78 A of 1893) and vaṅkirtti Ayjīnagar” in 171 of 1894—all of years 16 and 17. One may doubt also whether the rather colourless “śānurar Am” applied to Kōśalai-nāḍu is susceptible of bearing the interpretation put on it by Dr. Aiyangar who sees in it some of the consequences of the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni (ibid).

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

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

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

* A Rakṣashā was नरसिंहविवा-मंगल-काक्र-कौशलम् in the reign of Rāmapāla, (ibid p. 72.)

† ibid. pp. 72-73; cf Prabodha-candrodaya, Art ii, where we have: uṇṇam-ayam dākhināmdhā-pradīpā-dīgā-bhāvāyati; and Gāndjām rāṣṭram-anuttamam nirūpamā taprāpi Kadāpūrī.

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

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

† v. 109 of the Tiruvallāṅkūṭu plates.

‡ ibid v. 124.

§ Palas of Bengal pp. 73, 99.
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Karṇāṭas of Mithilā probably had a similar origin. A commentary, of uncertain date, to the Siddhānta-
sarāvalī of Trilokana Śivācārya mentions the fact that Rājendra imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges into his own kingdom and established them in Kāncipura and in the Cōla country.

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

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

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

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

‡ v. 123.

§ SII. ii p. 100. The notes that follow explain my differences with Hultsch.

¶ The conjecture 'vākiyam' (p. 107 n. 5) does not help. The reading in other records 'vāgaiyam' is quite good, 'vāgai' victory, 'am' is expletive. Purukadai, 'fighting ocean' is a common expression for 'army'. 'Kumbakkari' means 'elephant with the kumha, the globular front.'
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had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādhara-tōraṇa at the “war-gate” of his extensive city *; Śrī Vijaya † with the “jewelled wicket-gate” ‡ adorned with great splendour and the “gate of large jewels”; Paṇṇai with water in its bathing ghats §; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart ¶; Māyirūḍingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilangāsāka (i.e. Lankāsāka) undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māppappāḷam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Mūvijimbangam, having fine walls as defence; Vajāippandūru having vijappandūru (?) ††; Talaitakkōlam praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Mādamalāngam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuruḍeśam, whose fierce strength rose in war **; Mānakkaḷūram, in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting †††; and Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep ‡‡ sea.

* Hultzsch has: ‘extensive city of the enemy.’ The Tanjore text ‘śrīvaṇamahānagar’ can hardly give his meaning. I take it to be ‘śrītu-avan-āhanagar’. The tempting suggestion of Coedes, that this and the following phrases may be attributes of Śrīviṣṇya (BEFEO, xviii No. 6 p. 5 n. 1) has been partly accepted by me.

† See EI, ix p. 231.

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

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

¶ This translation seems more literal than ‘(with) a fort situated on a high hill’ for “vaṭ-a-malai-ūreyil.”

†† ‘Possessing (both), cultivated land (?) and jungle’ Hultzsch. Though ‘muru’ means ‘low jungle,’ the meaning of the whole phrase is by no means clear.

** ‘Was subdued by a vehement (attack),’ Hultzsch. The text is ‘kaḷāmudir - kaḷundirāl’ which means that the fierce strength (kaḷundirāl) increased (mudir) in fighting or war (kaḷām).

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

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

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

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

* ARB. 1908, paragraph 25.

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

‡ ARB. 1919, paragraphs. 46-47.

§ ibid. 1922, paragraph. 14. ¶ op. cit. p. 5.
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seized his treasures, then a certain number of countries and lastly Kaḍāram. It is a question, then, of one and the same campaign, and it is a priori infinitely probable that the different countries enumerated must have been either vassal states of the king of Kaḍāram, or even simply the different towns or provinces of his kingdom.” Once this is recognised, the identification of the different places mentioned would be rendered easier by that of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya, the two places ruled by the same king in the reign of Rājarāja, and conquered by Rājendra from Sangrama-vijayottunga-varman.

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

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

Śrī Vijaya.

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

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

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

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

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

† Chau Ju-kua p. 67.

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


¶ Geiger, CV. ch. 76, v. 63.

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

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

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

‡ Coedes, pp. 14-5. The argument has been advanced (ARB. 1919 paragraph 47) that Pappālam and Kusumi, the two ports mentioned in the Mahāvamsa account of the Ceylonese expedition against Ramaṇādēsā must both be identified together; and that as Kusumi is clearly Passien, the former must be either Dagan or Rangoon, the neighbouring port. This argument clearly underrates the express statement in the Mahāvamsa that the fleet was scattered by a storm and that different parts of it drifted to different ports (Ch. 76 vv. 56, 59, 63), which need not have been adjacent.

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

* Mēvilimbangam is sought in Perak by Roufaer, and in Kamarang (Kāsalapura) by Levi. The former also identifies Valaippardaru with Pānduranga in Campā. Krom observes: "All these conjectures depend on our opinions, not on sufficient grounds." See Krom Hindo-Javansche-Geschiedenis pp. 251-2.

† Coedes, p. 15; Researches p. 93, Sylvain Levi Ptolemi, le Niddaia et la Bhakathahā in Etudes Asiatiques ii.

‡ Chau Ju-kua p. 68. § ibid., pp. 67-8 n.1. JRAS. 1905 p. 498.
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as against this view, that six days would be rather a short time for sailing between Kedah and Kwāntan considering the weak monsoon of the straits of Malacca; Coedes overcomes the difficulty by supposing that the country of Tāmralinga or Lankāsūka or perhaps both occupied the peninsula in all its width and faced the gulf of Siam as well as the Straits. * Ilāmuridēsam is quite obviously the country in the northern part of the island of Sumatra, known to Arab geographers under the name Lamuri, called Lambri by Marco Polo, and figuring as Lan-won-li in Chau Ju-kua’s enumeration of the subject states of San-fo-tsi. Mānakkavāram, it is equally clear, applies to the Nicobars. This discussion of the place names mentioned in the campaign against the king of Kaḍāram distinctly points to the conclusion that the campaign of Rājendra was directed against the Sumatran Empire of Śrī Vijaya and its dependencies in the Malay peninsula and Archipelago.

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

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

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

* vv. 138, 189.
† *Paṭṭinappālai* p. 550 (3rd Edn.). Skt. Kaṭāha and Tamil Kaṭāram are, as pointed out by Coedes (op. cit. p. 20; also Ferrand, *JA* 1922 pp 50-1), semantically related, and mean "a copper cauldron"; Tam. Kaṭāram has also the sense of "brown colour bordering on the black", and Kālagam the sense of "blackness". Apparently this synonymity has induced Naccinārkkiniyar and the lexicographers to gloss Kālagam by Kaṭāram. Kaṭāram and Kiṭāram are evidently different readings of the same toponym; they have, however, no phonetic connection with Kaṭāha or with Kālagam.
‡ op. cit. pp. 20-2.
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explanation for the Cōlas calling the ruler of Śrī Vijaya the king of Kaḍāram. For if, as seems most probable, Kaḍāram was at the time a dependency of Śrī-Vijaya, and if it was also the first place which the Tamils touched in their passage into that kingdom, nothing could be more natural for them than to describe the ruler of the country as the king of Kaḍāram. And this port was then from a commercial point of view enjoying the same importance which the port of Penang is gaining in the same region to-day. *

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

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

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


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

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

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

By a tacit assumption, the rest of Rājendrā's reign, which lasted for about twenty years after the campaign against Kaṭāram, has been treated by modern writers as an era of unbroken peace.\(\textsuperscript{‡}\)

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

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

(Rebellions in the Pandya and Keralas kingdoms called for severe action, and the extensive campaign undertaken by Rajadhiraaja for the suppression of these risings is described in the following terms: †

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

* 118 of 1888 (S.I., iv 223) dated in the 24th year and found in Cidambaran. This record is curious in many ways and needs rather cautious handling. It starts in the usual manner, tirumanni vaharma etc., and follows the regular form up to takamaladiyamum in the narrative of the Ganges campaign. At this point, the praashati takes a new turn, and what follows in this record is found almost word for word in some of the later records (e.g. 87 of 1905) of Rajendra II, the second son of Rajendra I and successor to Rajadhiraaja. We may be tempted to assume that Rajendra II's record borrowed the expression from his father's Cidambaram praashati which omitted the latter half of the usual form and substituted an account of the events of the second part of the king's reign. The beginning tirumanni vaharma and the high regnal year, 24, of this record favour this supposition. But there are difficulties. The king is called Kajakasanam, a title which neither of the two Kajandas had; the new portion does not fit in well with the first part of the old praashati reproduced here. This record is doubtless a copy of an earlier original, made in the reign of Kulisatunga III. (See beginning of 117 of 1888, S.I., iv 222). After all, some mistake might have occurred in the re-engraving and the records of two reigns might have been jumbled up.

† S.I., iii, p. 56. I have altered Hultsch's translation at some points.

‡ Though "tatra var" may mean Pandyas it seems possible that here it means only "kings of the South," an alliance between Ceylon (Manabharanam) (S.I., iii 29, l. 13), Keralas and Pandya being meant.
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trapped by his furious elephant Attivārana; and drove to the ancient Mullaiyur, Sundara Pándyan of endless great fame, who lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol, the bunches (of hairs) of the white yak, and the throne, and who ran away,—his crown dropping down, (his) hair dishevelled and (his) feet tired. (He) sent the undaunted king of Vēṇādu to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the Senior (chief) of Irāmakuṇḍam.* While the strong Villavan (Cēra), in his terror hid himself in the jungle, (the Cōla) put on a fresh (garland of) Vañji flower, † and forthwith destroyed the ships at Kāndalūr-sālai on the never-decreasing ocean."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Fleet DKD, p. 436.
† Rangachari-Bellary 185, 229, 285. ‡ 253 of 1918.

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

* Hultsch says that the Cūla forces were led by a commander named Kēvudan; but I am not sure of the text here. See e.g. 54 of 1893 and 6 of 1890.
† 172 of 1894 (Yr. 26); 92 of 1892 (a. d.) SLI, v 465; iv 539.
‡ This could not have been Vijayāditya.
¶ The expression used is 'tenṟai'—some game with a ball seems to be meant.
leaders of enemy forces such as the Nulumba, Kālidāsa, Cūmunda, Kommayya and the Villavarāja, beheaded the Gurjara king, sparing only those who sought his protection and restoring to them their diadems and their positions. At this point some records* introduce particulars not found in others. Though the gaps in the text are an obstacle to a full understanding of these particulars, their trend is quite clear. Two persons who accompanied a Perkaḍai, a high official in the service of the Cālkukya monarch, apparently sent by him to deliver some hostile message to the Cōla, were chosen for being the media of a studied and barbarous insult to the Cālkukyas; one of them was compelled to wear the dress of a woman, and the other had his head shaven so as to show five tufts, and they were named ‘the miserable Āhavamalli and Āhavamalla’ and sent adrift along with the Perkaḍai whom they had accompanied. Then, the ancient city of Kalyāṇapuraṃ was sacked and its royal palace razed to the ground after its guards had been overpowered. And Rājadhirāja assumed in that city the title of Vijayarājendra and performed a Visāhīśa; this is confirmed by another inscription of a later date in Rājadhirāja’s reign,† with a unique praśasti beginning tirukkoḍiyodu; this record lays great stress on the victory against Āhavamalla, and states that the title Vijayarājendra was adopted by the king at the Visāhīśa that followed the victory. And at Dārāsuraṃ in the Tanjore district can be seen even to-day a fine image of a dvārapālaka, very different in the style of its workmanship from similar Cōla images, bearing the inscription: ‡

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

‡ The text, as copied by me direct from the pedestal of the image is “(1-1) Svastiḥśri Vaiṣāyā Śri Vijayarājendraśastu—(1-2) Kalyāṇa-puram-śritu kōr-vendha dvārapālakar.” In 1-2 ‘pa’ is engraved below the line; cf. yaḥ Kalyāṇa-puram dadhika of v. 73 of the Kanyakumāri inscription.
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"The dvārapālaka (door-keeper) brought by Uḍaiyār Śri Vijayarājendra-dēva after burning Kalyāṇapuram."

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

* The vague phrase "bhāvan-cōla-marāṇdra-darpa-dāṭanam" at the beginning of a stereotyped Kannarese verse in some of his records means little; it is repeated of his son Sōmēśvara II, and as Barnett has observed of the conquests detailed in this verse, the list "seems to be more epic than historical." (E.I. xv. p. 86 n. 6; pp. 87, 97). The inscriptions noticed by Fleet (DKD. p. 441) are of a later date and will be considered in the proper place. I find it impossible to attach any value to the poetry of Bilhaṇa who in his Vīkramādiṇḍaṇaśāra makes Sōmēśvara enter Kāḷēśvarapuram in victory. (I. 114-7) It was more or less the poet's job to do it as Sōmēśvara was the father of Bilhaṇa's more fortunate hero Vīkramādiṇya VI.
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the Kṛṣṇā, perhaps in the Raichūr doab. * By the three tūrāis, Śirutuṟai, Perunduṟai, and Daiva-bhīmakasi are no doubt meant the rivers Tūṅgabhadra, Kṛṣṇā † and, probably, the Bhīmā. Some of the minor incidents, for which the Cōḷa ruler takes credit, look extremely realistic, and show the relentless nature of the hostilities between the protagonists in this long contest.

It is a fact of some importance that the mention of Kālyṇāpura in this campaign appears to be about ten years earlier than “the very earliest epigraphic mention of the place” which has been traced by Fleet in a record of A. D. 1053, ‡ and here it is already called ‘an old city’, § and a royal palace of the Cāḷukyaś in it is also mentioned. This would suggest that Kālyṇāpura must have been at least a subsidiary capital for some years before the time when, according to Fleet, it was “founded or developed into a capital” by Sōmēśvara I.

(The closing years of Rājendra’s reign formed the most splendid period of the history of the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line. The extent of the empire was at its widest and its military and naval prestige stood at its highest.) There remained the necessity, ever present in military empires, of carrying out punitive expeditions to suppress outbreaks and keep the conquered territories under control. The emperor was ably assisted by his talented sons and other members of his family, and the tasks of imperial administration were

* 6 of 1890 and 221 of 1894 say “ĕṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟryptography.”

† Fleet EU, xii, pp. 293-4.
‡ DKI, p. 440.
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thus put in commission. Large undertakings, like the Pāṇḍya war against Sundara Pāṇḍya and his confreres, or the Cāḷukya war against Āhavanalla, were carried out in these years by the heir-apparent Rājādhirāja, while a host of feudatories looked after minor affairs like the war of Cōreya in the Nambihallī region of the Mysore country in which 'cows were carried off and women’s girdles were unloosed.' Among such feudatories a few naturally stand out more prominently than the rest in the records of the reign and of these a brief account may be given here.

That even the Pāṇḍyas normally accepted such a position of subordination and reconciled themselves to it is shown by the queen of the Pāṇḍya King Śrīvallabha making gifts to the Tiruvišalār temple early in the reign, possibly when Rājarāja was still alive.† A part of the modern North Arcot district lying round about Brahmadēśam was under the jurisdiction of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, the chief of the Sāmantas as he is called and husband of Rājarāja’s elder sister Kundavai. Two other wives of this person are mentioned, Indalāḍēvi ‡ and Mandaragauravanār Kundāḍēviyar § who, despite the second part of her name, appears to have been different from Parāntakan Kundavai Pirāṭtiyar, the Cōla princess said to have been residing in the palace at Paḷaiyāru in the fourth and fifth years of the reign.¶ A nāḍu came to be called Vallavaraiyar-nāḍu after this chief of the Sāmantas and part of it lay in the modern Salem district.∥ A certain Yādava Bhīma, also called Uttama Cōla Milāḍuḍaiyar, was in charge of a part of the hilly tracts in the modern South Arcot district in the fourth

* EC. x Sp. 14. † 46 of 1907.
‡ 191 of 1915. § 243 of 1915.
¶ 350 of 1907; 639 of 1909. || 157 of 1915.
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year. * Seven or eight years later, we find a Gangai-
koṇḍa Cōla-millāḍaiyar, possibly in charge of the
same division, but only mentioned in the inscriptions as
making an endowment for a lamp to be maintained in
the temple at Kālahasti. † A number of short but
interesting Kanarese and Tamil inscriptions at Kotta-
śivaram, of which one ‡ is dated in the tenth year of
Rājēndra, and the others obviously belong to the same
time, show that, in this reign and that of Rājarāja,
a certain Araiyan Rājarājan alias Vikrama-Cōla
Cōliya-varaiyan distinguished himself greatly in the
Cōla service in the Cālukya and Vēngi wars § and
earned such high titles as Nālmaḍi Bhīma, Cōlana-
ca kra, Sāmantābharaṇaṃ, Vīra-bhuṣaṇaṃ, and Edirtta-
var-kālaṃ (Tam. 'death to foes') or Ahitarottāliyvan
(Kan). Daṇḍanāyaka Nārakkaṇ Kṛṣṇa Rāmaṇ who
built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple under
the orders of Rājarāja continued to serve Rājēndra I
almost till the end of his reign as he is mentioned as
late as 1044 A. D. ¶ His son, Mārāyan Arumoli, also
called Uttamaśāla Brahma-mārāyan, was also a sēnāpati
who assisted Rājēndra about A. D. 1033 in building a
temple to the Piṇḍāri of Kōlar. || It may be observed
that of the two names of this sēnāpati, the first was the
personal name implying his social rank in the
nobility (mārāyan), and the fact that his father called
him after the ruling sovereign at the time of his birth;
the second was the official title of the man in his public
career in the king's service in the army. A Nimbala-
dēvi, the wife of certain Indaḷaḍēva of Taḷaigrāma
in Virūṭa-dēśa, the country round Hangal, made a

* 20 of 1905. † 291 of 1904. ‡ 23 of 1917.
§ 751 of 1917 (n.d.) records the flight of the Vēngi king when he heard of
the advance of this general ordered by the Cōla king.
¶ 217 of 1911. || 480 of 1911, (EC. x Kl. 109-a).
grant to the temple of Tiruvorriyur about 1042 A. D. * We cannot be sure that Indaladéva was an official or a feudatory of the king, as he might have been a merchant, who, like several others of his profession in those days, might have travelled great distances. In any event, Rājendra's claim to have conquered the Mysore country and parts of Raṭapūdi is largely substantiated by such instances. Lastly, there were the Cangalvas and the Kongalvas of Mysore and Coorg. We have traced the rise of Kongalvas into prominence under Rājarāja who, in appreciation of the heroism of Maṇija, conferred on him the title Kṣatriyasikhamañi Kongalva and an estate at Mālambé (Coorg). The Cangalva territory, Canganād, lay in the Arkalgūḍ taluq of Mysore and the Yelusāvira country in Northern Coorg. Both the Cangalvas and the Kongalvas had Cōla prenomens from this time, evidently because the Cōlas imposed their names on the provinces they conquered and on the rulers who accepted a vassal position in the empire. † In the course of a few years, however, the Kongalvas began to claim that they were themselves actually descended from the Cōlas and joined the ranks of the numerous Telugu and Kanarese local dynasties that traced their descent, in a mythical manner, from Karikāla and the Sun, through Jātācōla.

Like his father, Rājendra bore a number of fine birudas. Noteworthy among them are, Muḍigonda-Cōla ‡ and Paṇḍita-Cōla; § he is also once called Virarājendra; † but above all

‡ A name which is applied to many places and buildings in the period, and to a branch of the Kēvēri to our own day. The Tāmbraparni is called Muḍigonda-Sōlap-pērāru in Cōla records from Śrīnādevi.
§ AKE. 1901, i. 12; SII. iii, 127.  † 61 of 1914.
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these in the estimation of the king himself was the
title Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōla,) a name signalised by being attached to the
new capital founded by the king and sometimes called
Gangāpurī in Sanskrit. * In the ruins of this celebrated
city the earliest inscription that can now be traced
seems to be one of Rājakēśarivarman Vīrarājendrā-
dēva. † The large irrigation tank to the north of the
city, the Cōla-gangam of the Tiruvālangādu plates,
has long gone out of use, its extensive bed overgrown
with thick jungle. ‡ (Among the records of the reign
of Rājendra I himself, the new capital is mentioned
rarely, and apparently not earlier than the seventeenth
regnal year. § This city has often been confused with
Mudigonḍa-sōlapuram, and the suggestion has been
made that this was the earlier name of what later came
to be called Ganguikoṇḍa-sōlapuram. ¶ There is no
support for the suggestion in the epigraphy of the reign.
On the other hand, Mudigonḍa-sōlapuram is clearly
stated to be the alternative name of Palaiyāru, || now a
small village on the banks of the Mudigonḍān, within
easy reach of Kumbakōṭam; Palaiyāru possesses an
ancient Śiva temple of remarkable construction in the
late Cōla style which contains, however, no inscription;
and there remain no traces of the palaces at Palaiyāru
in which Kundavai ** and Rājendra †† are said to
have lived in the early years of the reign.

* EI. xv. p. 40 n. 3 where Gopinatha Rao quotes an interesting reference from the Īḍā possibly reminiscent of this foundation.
† 83 of 1892.
‡ A nineteenth century description of the site is quoted in Note B at the end of this Chapter.
§ 61 of 1914; 203 of 1925; 510 of 1926. The curious record 118 of 1888
dated in the 24th year of Rājakēśari Rājendra mentions Gangāpurī.
¶ SII. iii. Index a. v. Mudigonḍa-sōlapuram; also S. K. Aiyangar—South
India and her Muhammandan Invaders, p. 44, n. 2.
|| 271 of 1927.
** 639 of 1909.
†† Tiruvālangādu plates II, 6-7 (Tamil part), 463 of 1908 (Yr. 3).
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In several inscriptions of his reign and of the reigns of his successors, Rājendra is described briefly as the conqueror of Purvadesam, Gangai and Kaḍaram; this must be taken to be a summary statement of his most distant conquests, and on this assumption Purvadesam is best understood to be, not the Vēngi country as was suggested by Venkayya, * but Purvarāṣṭra, the country to the east of the Maikal range, † roughly corresponding to the Southern Kosala country.

The following are the queens of Rājendra who figure in the inscriptions: Tribhuvana or Vānavana-Mahādevīyār, ‡ Mukkōk-kiñān, § Paṇcavan-Māṇḍevīyār ¶ and Vīra-māṇḍevi who apparently performed satī at the king’s death. || Of his sons we shall see that three followed him on the Cōla throne in succession, Rājādhīrāja, Rājendra and Vīra Rājendra, and we cannot decide if any of these was identical with the Cōla-Pāṇḍya Viceroy, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Other sons are known also. A daughter of Rājendra, Arumōli-nangaiyar or Pirūnār, made a present of a costly umbrella of pearls to the temple at Tirumalavāḍi early in the reign of her brother Rājādhīrāja. ** Another daughter was the well-known Aṃmangādevi, the queen of the Eastern Cāḷukya Rājarāja I and mother of Kulōttunga, the first Cōla-Cāḷukya monarch. The latest regnal year mentioned in Rājendra’s inscriptions is 33 †† and this accords well with the fact that his death is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhīrāja dated in his twenty-sixth ‡‡ year. Rājendra’s death occurred, therefore, some time in A.D. 1044.

* ASI. 1911-12 p. 172 n. 1.
† Fleet Gupta Inscriptions p. 192 n. 1; EI. ix. p. 283. ‡ 624 of 1920.
§ 73 of 1921. ¶ 464 of 1918. || 260 of 1915.

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NOTE A

ON MAHIPALA.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has discussed the Ganges campaign at some length in his essay on *Gangaikonda-Cola* and I must explain why I am unable to accept some of his conclusions. Our differences are partly due to the different estimates we have of the value of the Tiruvâlângâdu plates (op. cit. p. 554). I agree with Mr. R. D. Banerji that “the order in which the names of the countries are mentioned (in Râjendrâ’s Tamil inscriptions) prevents us from supposing that Bihar is” Daṇḍabhukti. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: “As the name itself indicates, Bihar must have been on the frontier of some important empire or kingdom, which on that side required protection against a powerful enemy”; I do not see how. Nor is any tangible evidence brought forward by him in support of his position (p. 558) that Magadha was ruled by the Râṣṭrakûta at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth till it was wrested from them by the Pâla opponent of Râjendrâ, Mahîpâla, who installed Dharmapâla viceroy over his new conquest. Banerji has satisfactorily explained the western expansion of the Pâla kingdom in the early years of Mahîpâla by the condition of the Gurjara kingdom after the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. (*Pâlus of Bengal* p. 70.)

Banerji seems to me to be clearly wrong in quoting the evidence of the *Caṇḍakauśikam* of Kṣemisvara who probably lived in the tenth century A.D. at Kânyaubja under king Mahîpâla, the Gurjara ruler, (Macdonnel, *Sanskrit Literature* p. 366; Keith, *Sanskrit Drama* p. 239 and n.) against the Tirumalai rock inscription of Râjendrâ, and in discovering a defeat of Râjendrâ in Mahîpâla’s defeat of the Karnatâs mentioned in the drama. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* pp. 559-62.

Taking his stand on the order in which the events are narrated in verses 116-24 of the Tiruvâlângâdu plates, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar distinguishes a Mahîpâla of Oṭta (N. Orissa) from the famous Pâla king of Bengal, and holds that “Râjendrâ’s general did not come into direct contact with Mahîpâla of Bengal at all” (p. 565). He says that the Tamil records “properly understood” support the same position. To prove this, he relies on the edition of Râjendrâ’s Tamil inscriptions in *Epigraphia Carnatica* and
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finds that No. 84 of Channapaṭṭana (Bangalore Dt.) "gives apparently the correct reading": Tuṇu-kaṭar-Śangamottā-Mahipālanaī; this he translates into: "Oṭṭa-Mahipāla of Sagnama (Sangama ?) which touches the sea." He adds: "the first three words in full in Tamil would be Tuṇu-kaṭar-changamam which means the river mouth which touches the sea." (pp. 564-5). Ignoring the tautology of such a phrase for a moment, one should like to know how Śangamam followed by Oṭṭa becomes Śangamottā instead of 'Śangamavottā' as it should be. I have already pointed out that the Tanjore inscription (SII, ii No. 20 i. 7) reads distinctly: "Tuṇu-kaṭar-cangu-voḍulal-nayipūlanaī" which Hultzsch somewhat arbitrarily changed into: Tuṇu-kaṭar-canguvottā" (EF. ix p. 232 n. 6). The real reading doubtless is that of the Tanjore inscription; and its correct meaning is that the strong Mahipāla was captured together with another person named Sangu. Though we know nothing of the latter, there is little room for doubt that, as Kielhorn suggested years ago, the 'strong Mahipāla' must be the same as the Pāla ruler of Bengal. It seems that Dr. S.K. Aiyangar has, unconsciously, gone too far in reacting against Mr. Banerji's claim, based on a misquotation from the Caṇḍakauṣikam, that Mahipāla of Bengal defeated Rājendra, or at least successfully stopped his crossing the Ganges. But the aibi sought to be established on behalf of the Cola general appears to rest on very flimsy grounds. I must, however, note that a single inscription from Tirukōyilur (128 of 1900) gives the reading 'Śangol-Oṭṭa-Mahipālanaī.' This solitary instance out of over a hundreded inscriptions I have consulted cannot, I think, be regarded as anything but a mistake of the engraver.

Of verses 116-24 of the Tiruvāḷangālu plates, I think the first four complete the account of the campaign undertaken by the general in quest of the Ganges including the overthrow of Mahipāla (119). The rest are devoted to a narration of other achievements of Rājendra. Verses 120 and 121 state that the king personally undertook a campaign against the Oṭṭa—note particularly that there is no mention of Mahipāla here—and his younger brother, before his return to the capital (122). In this campaign the king killed or defeated (vinihātya) the Oṭṭa and his brother and collected a tribute of elephants; the Mahendragiri stone inscription (396 of 1896) states that Vimalāditya, the Kulāṭēvāra, was defeated by Rājendra and compelled to give up

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a number of his elephants to the conqueror. Both the references appear to be to the same campaign; but it is not easy to decide whether the campaign took place in Rājarāja’s life-time and has been mentioned here out of its proper place or whether it occurred sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth year of Rājendrā and is, for some reason, omitted in the Tamil prāṣasti. I am inclined on the whole to the former hypothesis as in these and the succeeding verses the composer of the Sanskrit prāṣasti seems to be winding up his account by putting in the things he omitted to mention before, or had no room to enlarge upon. It must be noticed also that verse 122 states that the king returned to his capital before he undertook the campaign against Kaṭāha (verse 123); Dr. S. K. Aiyangar reverses the order in his summary (p. 564) and holds that the expedition against Kaḷāram started from ‘the coast region of Kalinga’ (p. 566). He adds that all Rājendrā’s records uniformly state that, having reached the mouth of the Ganges and subjugated Orissa, the overseas expedition set sail from there; in saying this he overlooks the fact that we have to distinguish the different campaigns of Rājendrā’s reign by the stages through which we can trace the growth of the tiru manni vāḷaṟṟa introduction; records of the 12th year stop with the conquest of the Ganges, and the overseas expedition does not find mention before the year 14; and it cannot be a mere accident that at each of these stages the Tiruvālāṅgāḷu plates state that the king returned to his capital. On Dr. S. K. Aiyangar’s method of interpretation, we shall have also to admit that Rājendrā started against Ceylon from Malkhed, an obviously impossible assumption.

In the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1928 Vol. XIV pp. 512-20) R. D. Banerji examines the opinions of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on Rājendrā’s Ganges campaign. On the location of Dāpabhāṭukī and the difficulty of postulating the existence, as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar does, of a body of Karpāṭas holding a military lie in Bihar, I find myself in agreement with Banerji. He seems to me to be justified also in his view that the composer of the Tiruvālāṅgāḷu plates “had very hazy notions of the position of these places in the map of India,” and that “Prof. Aiyangar, who relies entirely on the Tiruvālāṅgāḷu plates in preference to the Tirumalai rock inscription, has been clearly non-plussed.” He clinches his arguments about the route of the Cōla army by saying: “An army approaching Bengal and Bihar
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from the South must follow the natural line of communication through Orissa, Midnapur, Hoogly and Howrah to reach Vanga and Uttara Rāḍha, and this is exactly the route described in the Tirumalai rock inscription.” Banerji’s statement, however, that the Cāḷa army followed the coast line from near the Chilka lake and debouched into the interior only once when it went into Kōsala, clearly overlooks the data on the earlier stages of the campaign furnished by the Tirumalai rock inscription. He also observes that Gōvindaendra of the Candra dynasty of Eastern Bengal “had most probably become a vassal of Mahipāla I and therefore a flanking movement may have been expected of him,” and this was possibly the reason why he had to be dealt with before Mahipāla was attacked. This statement from one so well-versed in Pāla history is valuable as affording support to our position on the general relation between Kasyātra, Dharmapāla and Gōvindaendra on the one side, and Mahipāla on the other. It also constitutes a virtual abandonment by Banerji of the interpretation he had put on the Tirumalai rock inscription in his monograph on the Pālus of Bengal that it depicts Bengal as cut up into a number of independent small states, a view that has been cited and commented on in the preceding chapter.

As against S. K. Aiyangar, whom he does not hesitate to accuse of betraying “the spirit of a partisan and not that of a critical historian,” Banerji seeks to buttress his position in regard to the Cakṣuhkaśikā by arguments which do not stand critical examination, and which make it easy, for anyone so minded, to bring with more reason against Banerji himself the charge of uncritical partisanship. Banerji surmises that Prof. Aiyangar has forgotten the existence of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. And the history furnished by these plates is summed up by Banerji with more rhetoric than fidelity in the following terms: “Very shortly afterwards (i.e. after the accession of Mahipāla I) the Gurjara-Prathāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death-blow to Gurjara-Prathāra supremacy in India. He invaded Mālva, captured Ujjain, crossed the Jumna near Kālipī, devastated Kanauj and compelled Mahipāla to flee before his general, the Cāḷukya chief, Narasimha, to Allahabad. Mahipāla I returned to Kanauj after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast
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becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. No Mahipāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty ever defeated any Karnāṭaka army or chief and therefore it is cruel of Professor Aiyar to postulate the production of the drama Candra-
kausikīkam before this unfortunate king."

Now, the Cambay plates of Gōvinda have been edited by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who had no preconceived notions about either Rājendra or Mahipāla of Bengal to uphold, and it is interesting to see how he makes out the relations between Indra III and Mahipāla I, the Pratihāra king, as revealed by these plates and other contemporary inscriptions. In a succinct and full discussion of the historical significance of verse 19 of these plates,* he points out: "But the complete devastation of Mahōdaya, which Indra III is spoken of as having brought about, is merely poetical. For the poet's object appears to be to introduce a play on the words Mahōdaya and Kurāsthala. ** This is also seen from the consideration that, as a matter of fact, for long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes, ruling over northern India. What Indra III actually did beyond attacking Mahōdaya or Kanauj, cannot be inferred from the verse itself. But we can ascertain it with the help of other inscriptions." After a careful examination of other inscriptions, which is too long to be reproduced here, Prof. Bhandarkar reaches the conclusion that though Indra succeeded for a time in depriving Mahipāla of his kingdom, he was soon restored to the throne by the combined efforts of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and the Chandella king Harsadēva. Here, then, it seems we have all the elements needed to satisfy the requirements of the verse in the prologue to the Candra-
kausikīkam which ascribes to Mahipāla, by a natural exaggeration, the repulse of the Karnāṭakas from Kanauj brought about by his allies. In fact by recalling the story of Kauṭilya's expulsion of the Nandas for the sake of Candragupta, the verse in the Candra-
kausikīkam implies what was an essential feature in the restoration of Mahipāla, viz., the large place taken by diplomacy and foreign invasion in bringing about the restoration.

The history furnished by the Cambay plates and other records of the time seems therefore to establish conclusively that

* El. vii, pp. 30–33.
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the Candaikaśikā was enacted before the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahipāla I, nearly a century before the time of the Pāla Mahipāla to whose reign Mr. R. D. Banerji would assign the play. See also Sten Konow, Indische Drama p. 87. and JOR. vi pp. 191 ff.

NOTE B.

GANGAIKÖNDÄ-CÖLA-PURAM

The following interesting account of this place appeared in a local publication of 1855 which is not easily accessible now. It was reproduced once in the IA. iv p. 274, and may well find a place here.

"It may also be mentioned that in the Udayārśāiśīram tāliṅkā there is an embankment 16 miles long, running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. This large tank or lake was filled partly by a channel from the Kolerūn river, upwards of 60 miles in length, which enters it at its southern end, and partly by a smaller channel from the Veḷḷār, which entered it on the north. Traces of both these channels still remain. The tank has been ruined and useless for very many years, and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful, and the act of an invading army. Near the southern extremity of the band there is a village, now surrounded by jungle, called Gangākūndapuram. Immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of a very large size and costly workmanship; and close by, surrounded by jungle, are some remains of ancient buildings, now much resembling the mounds or heaps which indicate the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence, Gangākūndapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a monarchy, and the great tank spread fertility over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. It has often been projected to restore that magnificent work, but the scheme has remained in abeyance for want of engineer officers. At some future time it may be successfully prosecuted, but till then this most fertile tract must remain a jungle, and the few inhabitants will still point
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with pride to the ancient band as a monument of the grand and gigantic enterprise of their ancient sovereigns, and compare it contumaciously with the undertakings of their present rulers. Speaking of the noble temple of Gangākūṇḍapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Kolerūn anikat was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their utmost to prevent this destruction and spoliation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it; but of course without success; they were only punished for contempt. A promise was made indeed, that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed."
CHAPTER XI

THE SUCCESSORS OF RĀJENDRA
(1044-70 A. D.)

Under Rājarāja I, the real founder of the Cōla empire, and his talented son Rājendra I, the usual line of conquest, which was from north to south, had been reversed, and the victorious tiger-banner carried far into the north. Rājendra's sons, three of whom succeeded their father, one after another, on the Cōla throne, inherited an extensive empire, and on the whole, ably maintained its extent and prestige during their reigns. There was much hard, and occasionally fierce fighting, particularly against the Cālukyas across the Tunganabhadrā frontier, and the first of these three kings died on a battle-field in which the second was crowned immediately after his steadiness and valour converted an almost certain defeat into a brilliant victory. There was trouble also from the south, the Pāṇḍya and Kērāla being always in league with the Ceylonese rulers, and waiting to take the fullest advantage of the difficulties that beset their suzerains elsewhere. Towards the end of this period, these troubles, together with others of a dynastic and possibly religious nature, brought about a political revolution which proved the salvation of the empire for well over a century thereafter. As will be shewn later, the exact circumstances under which the Cālukya-Cōla, Rājendra, came to occupy the imperial Cōla throne are not easily determined; but there can be no two opinions on the consequences to the Cōla power of this turn of events. By introducing a fresh, and possibly more vigorous, yet closely related stock of kings to the rule of the empire, and by amalgamating, at a critical time, the
resources of the Eastern Cālukya kingdom with the Cōla, it ensured a continuous and active life for the empire of Rājarāja at a time when his descendants in the main line were overwhelmed in desperate conflicts of which they saw no end.

The Kanyākumāri inscription * of Virarājendra states expressly that Rājadhirāja was the eldest of the three sons of Rājendra who succeeded him in order; this statement is confirmed by the inscriptions of the three reigns taken together; one record of the thirty-fifth year † of Rājadhirāja mentions the significant name tambit-tuṣaiccōla-valanādu which recalls distinctly the praśasti of Rājendra II beginning tirumagal maruviya. This praśasti gives a succinct account of how Rājendra co-operated with his elder brother Rājadhirāja in the prolonged Cālukya war of the reign. Virarājendra was doubtless identical with Vira-Cōla, ‡ the younger brother of Rājendradēva on whom he conferred the title Karikāla Cōla; in fact the W. Cālukya inscriptions call him generally Vira. An inscription of Virarājendra from the Ramnad district § refers to his father (ayyar) who conquered Gangai, Purvadesam and Kaṭāram. From a study of the dates of the inscriptions, it is seen that there is a large measure of overlapping among the reigns, a feature which should cause no surprise after the conjoint rule for over twenty-five years of Rājadhirāja with his father. The latest regnal year of Rājadhirāja mentioned in his records is the thirty-sixth, ¶ falling in A.D. 1053-4.

* Verse 73. † 30 of 1919. ‡ SJ II iii p. 195; EC vii Sk. 136. § 110 of 1908. ¶ 129 of 1912 dated (?) is doubtful. It is a solitary record and the first figure in the date is not secure.
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The approximate date of the accession of Rājendra II has been fixed from his inscriptions as May 28th, A.D. 1052. * Likewise, the highest regnal year of Rājendra II is twelve, taking his rule up to A.D. 1064. Virarājendra’s accession, however, took place some-time in A.D. 1062-3 † which is counted in his records as his first year. ‡ Rājakēsari Rājamahēndra-dēva, whose inscriptions do not carry his reign beyond the third year, must be found a place before the accession of Virarājendra-dēva. His brief praśastis tell us little beyond the fact that he upheld the code laid down by Manu for the administration of the land; but even this statement is not altogether valueless as it is closely corroborated by the Kalingatupparaṇi § which says just the same thing even more forcibly, without mentioning any other fact, about a king whom it places between the sovereign who crowned himself on the field of Koppam (Rājendra II) and the victor of Kūḍal-sangamam (Virarājendra). Further confirmation of the position assigned to Rājamahēndra is found in a single inscription of his stating that the king ‘by a war-elephant caused Āhavamalla to turn his back (on the bank of) the winding river.’ ¶ It seems possible that Rājamahēndra was the son of Rājendra II mentioned in an inscription of the ninth year of that king || under the name


‡ 87 of 1895 of year 9 of Rājendra II is said to mention a gift of year 3 of Virarājendra A.R.E. 1895 i 9. If this is correct, Virarājendra’s accession must be placed earlier. But the published text (S.II. v, 647 ii. 52-3) does not seem to mention any such gift in Virarājendra’s reign though the name Virarājendra does occur.

§ viii 28; S.II. iii, p. 113.

¶ 119 of 1909 cited at S.II. iii p. 191.

|| ‘tum-tirumagan’: 87 of 1895. (S.II. v 647, i. 26). Another record of the same date mentions a Rājamahēndra-road. S.II. iii p. 41 (i. 6.)

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Rājendra, and that when, soon after, he was chosen heir-apparent he assumed the title Rājamahēndra to distinguish himself from his father Rājendra-dēva and his grandfather Rājendra-Cōla-dēva. Here again, the succession of two Rājakēsaris, Rājamahēndra and Virarājendra, must be explained as due to one of them having died as heir-apparent without ever ruling in his own right, and that the other was chosen to fill his place. * This period is brought to a close by the short and troubled reign of Parakēsari Adhirājendra, one of whose records dated in his third year † mentions the eighth year of Virarājendra. The succession and chronology of the period may, therefore, be summed up as follows:—

(1) Rājādhārāja I Rājakēśari ... A. D. 1018-1054
(2) Rājendra II Parakēsari younger brother of (1) A. D. 1052-1064
Rājamahēndra Rājakēśari A. D. 1060-1063
son of (2) died as crown-prince

(3) Virarājendra Rājakēśari A. D. 1063-1069
(younger brother of 1 and 2)

(4) Adhirājendra Parakēsari son A. D. 1067/8-1070
of 3 (?)

Rājādhārāja’s prāṣastis are usually found in two forms, one of them rather short, commencing tīngalēr-peṭa-vaḷar, which records only the earlier achievements of the king and seems to have been stereotyped about the twenty-sixth year of his rule and repeated in that form in some of his later records. The longer form

Cp. El. xviii pp. 30-1.  † 15 of 1890: SII, iii 57.
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tingalēr-taru has many variations and in fact it is seen to have gone through several editions, so to say, some giving more details of transactions only briefly mentioned in others. The interesting details of the battle of Pāṇḍūr and other incidents of Rājādhirāja’s first invasion of the Cālukya country resulting in the destruction of Kollippākkai are given in the inscriptions of the 26th year * and are generally omitted in later records; whereas the detailed description of the Pāṇḍyana and the Ceylonese wars that occurs in the latter is only hinted at briefly in the earlier records. Again, the vulgar insult offered to the ambassadors of Āhavamalla, one of whom was forced to dress as a woman and another was made the subject of a comic tonsure, is mentioned only in some versions but not in others. † A few of the inscriptions of the later years mention fresh transactions not found in the earlier records; ‡ others simply repeat the older forms without making them up-to-date. Further, there is a prabasti beginning tirukkoṭiyodu tyāgakkodi giving no new information and confirming some of the details of the Cālukyan war found in other records.

That Rājādhirāja assumed the title Vijayarājendra after his triumphant entry into Kalyāṇapura has already been mentioned. There are, however, two records of Parakāsari Vijayarājendra which at first sight seem to present a baffling problem. § In one of them, a Kūḷār

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* 172 of 1894; 92 of 1892 which though its date is lost is apparently of the same time. 446 of 1918 (Yr. 34) is also similar.

† Mentioned in 172 of 1894 and 30 of 1919. Also in the introduction beginning: tirukkoṭiyodu (244 of 1925 Yr. 36).

‡ e.g. SII. iii 28 (Yr. 29); 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 81 of 1895; 221 of 1894 (Yr. 32).

§ See the discussion in ARE. 1907, II 38; 1908 II 56.
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record * of the thirty-fifth year, we must necessarily assume that Parakēsari is a mistake for Rājakēsari: for the high regnal year and the identity of the short praśasti in this record with that of Rājādhīrāja beginning Virapāṇḍiyan talaiyum, the last variety of the praśastis found in Rājādhīrāja’s records, leave no room for any alternative. The other record from Pedda-Tippasamudram † falls into the reign of Rājendra II, the younger brother and successor of Rājādhīrāja, as it is dated in Śaka 981, or A. D. 1057-8, and as we have no clear proof of Rājādhīrāja having reigned beyond his 36th year, which would be A. D. 1054-5. Rājendra II was a Parakēsari, and though this record appears to be unique in giving him the Vijayarājendra title, it may be his. It should, however, be noticed that a Rājādhīrāja inscription, doubtfully dated in the 38th year, from Tiruvorriyūr, ‡ just renders it possible that this record is also his. The battle of Koppam, in which Rājādhīrāja lost his life, took place according to Fleet ‘shortly before the 20th January, A. D. 1060,’ as a record dated in Śaka 981 (expired) mentions that Sōmēśvara had then returned from ‘a conquest of the southern countries and of the Cōla.’ § Therefore, the Pedda-Tippasamudram record of Śaka 981 may also be, after all, another instance of a Rājādhīrāja record giving him the Parakēsari title by a mistake. In any case we have no reason to assume that there was an alteration in the official title of the king from Rājakēsari to Parakēsari, ¶ as there are many other records of the 35th and 36th years with the former title.

* 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; EC. x Kl. 112 (b).
† 534 of 1906.
‡ 129 of 1912.
§ BG. I, ii, 441. But this rather late date for the death of Rājādhīrāja is contradicted by the inscriptions of his successor Rājendra; see infra.
¶ Contra ARE. 1908 II 56.

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The Ceylon war of Rājādhīrāja briefly mentioned in the last chapter may now be considered in more detail. Some of the earlier inscriptions * of Rājādhīrāja briefly record that the king of Lankā, the garlanded Vallava, and the king of the Kannakuṣṭhiyar (people of Kannauj), suffered decapitation at the hands of Rājendra. The more detailed account of the occurrences as found in some of the later records † is as follows:—

"With a single unequalled army (he) took the crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of the people of Lankā on the tempestuous ocean; the crown of large jewels, (belonging to) the lord of Lankā, Vikrama-Pāṇḍyan, who, having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country out of fear of himself (Rājādhīrāja) ‡ had entered Iḷam (surrounded by) the seven oceans; the beautiful golden crown of the king of Simhaḻa, Vira-Salāmōghana, who, believing that Iḷam (surrounded by) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kannakuṣṭhi (Kānya-kubja) which belonged to him, had entered (the island) with his relatives and (those of) his countrymen who were willing (to go with him), § and had put on the brilliant crown; who, having been defeated on the battle-field and having lost his black elephant, had fled ignominiously; and who, when (the Cōla king) seized his elder sister along with (his) wife ¶ and cut off the nose of (his) mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused) thereby, and, having fought hard with the sword, had withered || in

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* 92 of 1892; 172 of 1894.
† SII. ii 28, p. 56.
‡ Text: ‘mum-tanakhudindu,’ apparently rendered by Hultzsch into ‘which had previously belonged to him.’
§ “Ilaṅtirindanuṇṇu vangal tanmāṇu tanmazamoṇṇu pugudu” is the text.
¶ Or daughter. The text has kādali.
¶ Text ‘ulareṇa.’ Hultzsch has ‘perished’; but see later.
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a hot battle; and the extremely brilliant crown of large jewels, (belonging to) Śrī Vallavan (Śrī Vallabha) Madanaraṇa, who had come of the family of Kannarāṇa (Krṣṇa) and had become the proud king of Īlam.” *

The Mahāvamsa shows clearly that the years following the deportation of Mahinda V by Rājendra and the annexation of “the whole of Īlamanḍalam” to the Cōla empire (1017 A.D.) were filled with risings on the part of the Singalese subjects against the new Cōla rulers followed by reprisals on their part. The independent testimony of the Ceylonese chronicle not only confirms the account of Rājādhīrāja’s records in its essential features, but furnishes much welcome assistance in fixing the chronology of events which, though spread over several years and apparently connected with more than one campaign, seem to have been grouped together to form a convenient section in the prasasti of Rājādhīrāja. The Mahāvamsa affirms † that the first outbreak of the opposition to the Cōla rule in Ceylon occurred about twelve years after the capture of Mahinda V, when the Cōla wanted to gain control of Mahinda’s son Kassapa, and that this revolt centred round Kassapa; Kassapa and his confederates succeeded in maintaining a contest for six months with the Cōla forces said to have been 95,000 strong; they “killed a great number of Damilas” and compelled the rest to retire and take up “their abode as before in Pulatthinagara.” Thereupon, Kassapa

Six months war of Vikkamabhihu.

* The text is “Kannaran-vai-vanduçai-kola-vijat-taraiyan-āgiya,” which Hultzsch translates into “who had come to Kannaran (Krṣṇa) and taken up (his) abode (with him).” Uṇḍai means in the context ‘pride,’ ‘glory.’ The point seems to be that Madanaraṇa, though a Rāṣṭrakūṭa or, more generally, a Kṛṣṇa by descent, became king of Ceylon.

† Ch. 55 vv. 24-29.

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began to rule the south-eastern portion of the island of Ceylon, the division known as Rohanā, under the title of Vikkamabāhu.* This war of six months preceding the accession of Vikkamabāhu took place about 1029 A.D., in the reign of Rājendra I; but there is nothing to show that Rājādhirāja actually took part in it, though he might have done so.

The Cōla inscriptions affirm that Vikkamabāhu lost his life in the Cōla war, † and that his diadem fell into the hands of Rājādhirāja; the Mahāvamsa, however, says that he suddenly died of a disease in the twelfth year of his reign (1041 A.D.) in the midst of extensive preparations for a Cōla war. It is possible that the Cōla panegyric is more boastful than true, though his crown may have been among the booty of the Cōlas. ‡ Despite Rājendra’s success against Mahinda V, therefore, the whole of Ceylon was held by the Cōlas only for a short while, a period of about a decade, after which the province of Rohanā asserted its independence, and kept up a perpetual war against the Cōla province. In Rājādhirāja’s reign this struggle became very acute as every ruler that came after Vikkamabāhu was actuated by the desire to expel the Damīlas from Ceylon. Neglecting the eight days’ rule of Kittī (A.D. 1041), § the “mighty Mahālānakitti” who became king of Rohanā, “was vanquished in his third year (A.D. 1044) in battle against the Cōlas, and with his own hand he cut his throat and so died a sudden death. ¶ Thereupon the Damīlas took the chief treasures, such as the diadem and the like and sent

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* MV. Ch. 56, vv. 1-6.
† 92 of 1892 where he is only called ‘king of the Ceylonese.’
‡ Geiger CV, ii. p. xxi.  § CV. Ch. 56, v. 7.  ¶ ibid vv. 8-10.
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them to the Monarch of the Cōla land." It is not easy to identify Mahālānakitti with any of the four Singalese rulers mentioned by name in the Cōla inscription quoted above. Vikkamapanḍu (A.D. 1044-47) was according to the Mahāvamsa* the only son of Mahālānakitti, who, having left his country through fear and lived for a time in the Dulu country, returned to Rohaṇa when he heard of the fate of his father, and was killed, after a short rule, in a fight with Jagatīpūla. The Cōla inscription, on the contrary, implies that he was a Pāṇḍya prince who had once ruled over the southern Tamil country, and was compelled by Rājādhirāja himself to abandon southern India and seek his fortune in Ceylon, where he became king. As the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese dynasties were at this time in close political and dynastic alliance with each other and with the Kērāḷas, and were united in their common opposition to Cōla ascendancy, † we have perhaps to assume that the two accounts supplement each other. Vikrama Pāṇḍya had apparently a Singalese father and a Pāṇḍya mother: his early career in the Pāṇḍya country is represented, not quite accurately, by the Mahāvamsa as a sojourn in the Dulu country, or possibly, this sojourn in the Dulu land was an interlude between the Pāṇḍyan and the Ceylonese phases of his career. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that the Cōla inscriptions and the Mahāvamsa speak of one and the same prince here, and that while the Ceylonese account of the manner of his death is not contradicted by the Cōla records, it is quite possible that his diadem also fell into the hands of the Cōlas as is claimed by them. Of Jagatīpūla (A.D. 1047-51), the Mahāvamsa says ‡ that he was 'a sovereign’s son' from Ayōdhya,

* ibid vv. 11-14. † PK. p. 113. ‡ CV. vv. 13-15.
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and that after coming to Ceylon he "slew Vikkama-pāṇḍu in battle and ruled as a mighty man in Rohaṇa for four years. Him also the Cōḷas slew in battle and sent the Mahēśi with her daughter and all the valuable property to the Cōḷa kingdom." If we overlook the discrepancy about the place of origin, Kūnyakubja according to the Cōḷa records and Ayōdhya according to the Mahāvamsa, there is a striking similarity in the fortunes of Jagatīpāla of the chronicle and Vira-Salāmēghan of the inscriptions, and it may be concluded that we have here only one prince mentioned under two different names in our sources. * But this conclusion is not unassailable; the death of Vira-Salāmēghan is mentioned in an inscription dated towards the end of A.D. 1046; † the most critical study of the Mahāvamsa has led to the conclusion that Jagatīpāla began to rule only in A.D. 1047 and went on till four years later. So that, after all, the differences in the names and the places of origin of these two princes may mean that they were two different persons who had little in common with each other besides having attained some celebrity in Ceylon as opponents of the Cōḷa regime and met very similar fates at the hands of their antagonists. How these adventurers from northern India came to Ceylon in search of a career is not easy to explain satisfactorily at present. Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the fourth and last of the princes mentioned in the Cōḷa inscriptions, has been identified with king Parakkama of the Mahāvamsa who was slain in fight with the Cōḷas. ‡ This identification is also to be accepted with caution. Madanarāja was a Vallabha (of the line of Kannara) by descent; Parakkama, on the contrary, was the son

* Cf. Hultsch SII. iii, p. 58.
† ibid. 3rd Decr. A.D. 1046.
‡ ibid.; also MV. 56, v. 16.
of the Paṇḍu king, i.e., Vikkamapaṇḍu. Moreover, the death of Parakkama occurred about A.D. 1053, nearly seven years after the date of Rājadhirāja's inscription (A.D. 1046) in which Madanarāja is mentioned. *

This comparison of the epigraphical account of the Ceylonese war in the records of Rājadhirāja with the events as chronicled in the Mahāvamsa thus points to the need for caution in working the two accounts into a continuous story of the relations between the Cōla empire and that part of Ceylon which was maintaining a vigorous struggle for its independence against great odds. Only two of the kings in the inscriptions of Rājadhirāja can be recognised in the Mahāvamsa viz., Vikramabāhu and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya. Vira-Sālāmēgha and Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja are known only to the Cōla inscriptions, but apparently are not mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. On the contrary, Jagatipāla and Parakkama of the Mahāvamsa, who figured in the later stages of the war of independence and laid down their lives in that war, do not find a place in the Cōla inscriptions. † The inscriptions of Rājadhirāja's successor Rājendra II show that he too had a hand in the suppression of the Ceylonese risings. Records of his fourth year. ‡ A.D. 1055, state that "he despatched an army to Ceylon, where the king Vira-Sālāmēgha was decapitated and the two sons of the Ceylon king Mānūbharana were taken prisoners." Later records

* Cf. Hultsch—JRAS. 1913, pp. 519-21 where the opinions expressed by him in SII. in are withdrawn.

† Jagatipāla's queen and her daughter I.āvatī escaped later on from their captivity in the Cōla country. MV. Ch. 59 vv. 23-4.

‡ SII. iii. 29. JRAS. 1913, p. 519.
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of Rājendradēva mention only Vīra-Salāmēgha.* Rājendradēva’s claim is proved by the presence of an inscription of his reign at Sangili-Kanadarāva in Ceylon. † Despite Vīra-Salāmēgha being called “King of the Kalingas of the strong army,” ‡ there is no reason to distinguish him from the ‘Kannaku ucīyārkāvalan’ of the Rājadhīrāja inscriptions. Surviving the disgrace inflicted on the members of his family, his sister and mother and wife, by the forces of Rājadhīrāja, and the defeat in the ‘hot battle’ that followed thereafter when he sought to avenge the disgrace, this unfortunate prince apparently fell a victim to another Cōla inroad possibly led by Rājendradēva some years later. § The identity of Mānūbharaṇa, the king of the Ceylonese, whose two sons were captured by Rājendra, is not easy to make out, though the suggestion may be offered that he was no other than the king who joined the confederacy of three southern kings whose opposition to Cōla rule in the Pāṇḍya country was suppressed by Rājadhīrāja in the life-time of his father, in one of his early campaigns. ¶

* 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year.
† S.II. iii p. 59; 612 of 1912, (S.II. iv 1408).
‡ viṣṇupādaik-kalingar-man, l. 12 of S.II. iii 29.
§ Supposing that a Vīra-Salāmēgha ‘perished in a hot battle’ (S.II. iii p. 56) with Rājadhīrāja, Hultsch distinguishes from him the ‘kalingar-man’ of the same name of the Rājendra inscriptions (J.R.A.S. 1913 p. 520), and connects the latter with Trilūkasundari, a Kalinga queen of Vijayabāhu I, A.D. 1054-1109, and suggests that her nephew Kitti-siri-mēgha may have been named after Vīra-Salāmēgha. He also suggests that the Pāṇḍya Mānūbharaṇa who was decapitated by Rājadhīrāja was the ancestor of that Mānūbharaṇa who was the nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I; and that Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the Ceylonese opponent of Rājadhīrāja, was the ancestor of his namesake Śrī Vallabha, a third nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I. Arguments from the similarity of common names cannot be final; and Hultsch has not considered the relation between the Mānūbharaṇa whose sons were captured by Rājendra and his namesakes.
¶ Vide p. 269 ante.
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It may be observed that Indian coins found in Ceylon include issues of Rājādhirāja and Rājendra, * and that Cōla inscriptions found in Ceylon, though not numerous or well preserved, carry us right to the end of the period covered in this chapter. † We may, therefore, conclude that the bulk of the island of Ceylon constituted an administrative division of the Cōla empire, while the South-western part of the island, called Rohana in the Mahāvamsa, kept up an incessant warfare for the restoration of Singalese independence. Prince Kittī who assumed the title Vijayabāhu in 1058 A.D. was the leader of this effort. The Mahāvamsa and the inscriptions of Vīrarājendrā give some account of it. ‡ Like all conquerors, the Cōlas were only exasperated by the most natural desire of the Singalese to be rid of them, and seem often to have adopted savage methods of repression such as transportation, decapitation and mutilation, even against the women of the royal family of Ceylon. After the accession of Kulottunga to the Cōla throne in A.D. 1070, Vijayabāhu I succeeded at last where so many of his predecessors had failed and restored the independence of Ceylon; a detailed account of the steps leading to the success of Vijayabāhu belongs to the reign of Kulottunga.

* Codrington, Ceylon Coins pp. 84-5.
† Cf. S.II. iii 84 (266 of 1901) of the 7th year of Vīrarājendradēva, claiming the subjugation of Ceylon among the king’s achievements and 594 of 1912—S.II. iv 1388 (Yr. 3 of Adhirājendradēva).
‡ M.V. Ch. 57 vv. 65 ff. E.Z. ii p. 207; 182 of 1915.
A second war against Sōmeśvara was undertaken by Rājādhirāja between A.D. 1044 and 1046. The Maṇimangalam inscription* of 3rd December, A.D. 1046 gives a short account of this campaign stating that the Cōla king defeated in battle several subordinate chieftains † of the Cālukya forces, and destroyed the palace of the Cālukyas in the town of Kampili. Other inscriptions, of which the earliest is dated in the thirtieth year of Rājādhirāja, furnish some additional information about what followed the destruction of the palace at Kampili. ‡ Another engagement, said to be the third of its kind, followed at Pūndūr, described as a kaḍakamānagāra or cantonment city, on the left bank of the Kṛṣṇā river, in which several Telugu chieftains, vassals of Sōmeśvara, were made prisoners of war together with numberless women; thereupon, the city of Pūndūr was sacked by the Cōla army and razed to the ground, its site being ploughed with asses and sowed with varūñikai, a kind of coarse millet; finally, the large palace at Maṇṇandippai was consigned to the flames, and a pillar of victory erected, bearing the emblem of the tiger. These occurrences, no doubt considerably exaggerated in the partial report of the Cōla records, must have taken place before A.D. 1048; it is even possible that they had happened before the date of the Maṇimangalam inscription, end of A.D. 1046, and were not mentioned in that record.

* SII. iii 28.
† The text is: "Kaṇḍ̄ar Dinakaraṇa Nāraṇa Gajavadi vaṇḍalar teriyal Madiṇđēdanas." Hultsch takes this to be four names; perhaps there are only three. In any case their identity cannot be made out fully though some of them seem to figure in the Western Cālukya inscriptions of the time.
‡ 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 221 of 1894; 81 of 1895 (Yr. 32).
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For all the vaunted successes of the Cōlas, the Cālukyas seem to have retained their power unbroken. The provenance of the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, of which several are dated records, shows that the extent of the Cālukyan empire on the side of the Tungabhadrā continued undiminished. From the Haḍagalli taluq of the Bellary district comes an inscription * of Trailōkyamalladeva (Sōmēśvara I) dated (Śaka 968) early in A. D. 1047 recording a gift by the chieftain Kālidāsa, whose name figures also among the Telugu princelelings † repulsed by the Cōla troops in one of the numerous fights of the time. Two other records ‡ from the same region are dated in the next year, Śaka 969, of which one records a gift of land to a Viṣṇu temple by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarādityarasa, ‘lord of Māhiśmatipura,’ ruling the Sindavāḍi 1000, Beṅnevürü 12 and Naṅganaḍa as a vassal of Sōmēśvara. This chieftain may perhaps be identified with Kaṇḍar-dinakaran of the Cōla inscriptions. § Even if we do not accept the rhapsodies of Bilhana over Sōmēśvara’s conquest of Kāñci or Vikramāditya’s digriyāya, we must assume that the repeated incursions of the Cōlas into Cālukyan territory, however annoying to the king and detrimental to the happiness of his feudatories and subjects, resulted in no permanent loss of territory. On the other hand, the bulk of the fighting is on Cālukyan territory, and in the course of the wars many large cities seem to have suffered considerable damage from the destructive fury of the invader. The aim of the Cōlas was apparently to reduce the Cālukyas to political subjection such as that of the Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and

* 484 of 1914. † 92 of 1892 (S/I, iv 539) l. 34.
‡ 41 of 1904; 711 of 1919.
§ Contra Hultsch, S/I, iii p. 57, n. 1.
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Vēngī kingdoms in this period. In this endeavour they failed totally. It would seem moreover that Sōmeśvara succeeded in extending his influence, at least temporarily, over Vēngī. His Mulguṇḍ inscription * dated A.D. 1053 speaks of one of his sons, Sōmeśvara-dēva, ruling over Belvōla 300 and Puligere 300, as bearing the title Vēngīpura-varēśvara. And there is found in Drākṣūrāma a record of the same king † dated two years later (Śaka 977) registering a gift by a daughter of one of his ministers, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa by name. Though it is not impossible to find other explanations for these facts, ‡ and the evidence is thus of a very inconclusive nature, still, considering that Vikramāditya VI, the son of Sōmeśvara I, is said to have conquered Vēngī, a claim supported by the presence of a number of his inscriptions at Drākṣūrāma and other places in the Telugu country, the suggestion may be made that the Western Cālukyas began to cast longing eyes on Vēngī even from the time of Sōmeśvara I, or at least sought to divide the attention of their Cōla opponents by a hostile movement in the direction of their northern dependency. If such was the policy pursued by Sōmeśvara I, he only succeeded in exasperating the Cōlas the more and goading them to a more relentless hostility.

Rājādhirāja undertook another expedition against the Cālukya in which he was accompanied by his younger brother Rājendra, whom he had chosen as heir-apparent in preference to his sons who, though not mentioned by name, are said to have occupied fairly high positions in

* EI. xvi p. 53.
† 185 of 1893.
‡ Fleet BG. I, ii pp. 440, n. 3 and 452-3. Also IA. xx p. 281 n. 39; and S. K. Aiyangar, Ancient India p. 120 n. 1.
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the administration of the empire. * We get a vivid and obviously true description of the occurrences in this campaign from the records of Rājendra II. The earliest mention of these events is in a record † of his second year A.D. 1054; more details are given in the Maṇimangalam record of his fourth year, A.D. 1055. This inscription records ‡ that the Cōla king sought an occasion for war, invaded the Raṭāmāndalam and began ravaging the country; the proud Cāḷukya Āhavamalla became furious when he heard of this, and marching out with his forces he met the Cōla in pitched battle at Koppam, § a celebrated tīrtha on the Kṛṣṇā, most probably identical with Khidrāpur on the right bank of the river about thirty miles east by south from Kōlhāpur. The battle that followed was long and fiercely fought on either side. For determining its exact course we have to combine information furnished by some of Rājendradēva’s later inscriptions ¶ with that of the Maṇimangalam record mentioned above. In the early stages of the battle, Rājādhirāja himself led the fight, Rājendradēva apparently holding himself in reserve. At this stage, the Cāḷukya forces concentrated

* SH. iii 28 l. 1, which also mentions an elder brother of the king, possibly passed over by Rājendra I.
† 214 of 1911. SH. iii, 55; n p. 304 A (of yr. 3).
‡ SH. iii 20.
§ Fleet EL. xii pp. 296-8. Lat. 16°36’, Long. 74°44’. For an earlier discussion of the identity of Koppam, EC. ix Introduction p. 16 n. 3, where attention is drawn to the reading in 108 of 1911—tīrthakkoppattahavayil. Hultsch rendered ‘Apparumudiratta’ into: “The strength (of whose position is) hard to describe” (SH. iii p. 63). We must now read the phrase as: “Apparumudiratta,” meaning “A tīrtha (whose merits are) hard to describe.” Rājendradēva’s introductions beginning Tirumagal marurūya use the phrase: “Pratyanagaratikoppatvandeditta Āhavamallan.”
¶ 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year. A study of these records by the side of the Maṇimangalam inscription clearly shows that the latter has omitted the earlier stage of the battle in which Rājendra took no part and Rājādhirāja met his fate.

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on the elephant on which the Cōla king was riding and wounded him mortally, so that he "went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the country of Indra, where he was welcomed by the women of the sky." Then the vast ocean-like army of the Kuntalas dashed themselves against the Cōla forces which, unable to withstand the onslaught, broke up and began to retreat in disorder. At this stage, Rājendradēva entered the fray shouting out to his retreating forces: "Fear not," and pressed forward on his elephant like very Death against the Karṇātaka forces, restored order in his army and won a brilliant success by further fighting. * Once more, the enemy concentrated on the Cōla king's elephant, and "the shower of (Āhavamalla's) straight arrows pierced the forehead of his elephant, his royal thigh, and (his) shoulders which resembled hillocks," and many warriors who had mounted the elephant with him perished in the action. But Rājendra was more fortunate than his brother; he succeeded in putting to death several leaders of the Cālukyan army including Jayasimha, the brother of the Cālukya, † Pulakēsin, Daśapanaṇman and Nanni-Nūlumban. At last, "the Śalukki was defeated,—with Vanniya-Rēvan, ‡ Tuttun, (who had) a powerful army, Kuṇḍamayan, whose army spoke (i.e., threatened) death, and other princes,—fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking round, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean." The elephants and horses and camels, the victorious banner of the boar and other insignia of royalty, together with

* From this point the two accounts agree closely.
† This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years.
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the peerless Śattiyavvai, Śangappai and all the other queens, a crowd of women and many other things abandoned by Āhavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Cōla king. Rājendra then did a thing not known before, * and crowned himself king on the battle-field, when the wounds he had received in the fight were still fresh on his body. According to some of the inscriptions, † Rājendra pressed on to Kōlhaḍpur, where he planted a jayastambha, before he returned to his capital Gangāpurī. ‡ Such is the account of this celebrated fight at Koppam as narrated in the Cōla inscriptions. §

Rājendra’s coronation.

* 87 of 1895.
† S.II. iii 55, ii p. 304 C.
‡ 87 of 1895.
§ In the Tirumagal maruviya form of Rājendra’s praṇāmī, the clause that occurs is: ‘Tān munmūnī ṇṇai pinnaduvaṅga munmedir ṇenmūr * * * vratapīṭa-galarai-nilakkamum-gouḍum’, often contracted into ‘pinnadu vāga vratapīṭī.’ This is rendered by Hultsch generally into “while the army of his elder brother was at his back.” In the light of other records (esp. 87 of 1895) which clearly state that Rājādhirāja began the fight and Rājendra entered it after he died, we must, it seems, amend Hultsch’s translation and say—“while the army of his elder brother began to retire” a translation which is also required by the phrase employed in the fuller of the two forms quoted above, viz. “munmedir-śenmū” “going to the front in an opposite direction”, as also by the reading “munmūr ṇṇai pinnaduvaṅga,” “when the advancing army began to retreat” found in some records (S.II. ii p. 305, F and G) and amended by Hultsch into “munmūnī ṇṇai.” It is perhaps hardly conceivable, according to Indian notions of precedence, that while the elder brother was present in person on the battle-field, the younger took the lead; but this consideration need not be pressed as the cumulative force of all the inscriptions taken together is, doubtless, very clear. I may also observe that some records omit the word ‘tan’ in ‘tan munmūn’ e.g., S.II. iii 55: on this account, it should not be assumed, as Hultsch seems to do, that the phrase ‘Tirumaruviya śengol vēndan’ refers to the elder brother, (S.II. iii p. 112—English translation).

It may also be observed, in passing, that the words: “ṭamnānaiyil munmūnai tella munmūnai taviruttu” S.II. iii 55 (II. 1-2), which occurs between “vratapīṭa-galarai-nilakkamum-gouḍum” and “Kōlhaḍ-pratitu jayastambaṁṭṭum,” has been translated by Hultsch into: “when the first elephant (of the enemy) went at his elephant, (his) elder brother stopped (it).” But this seems hardly satisfactory, as the words ‘(of the enemy)’ introduce into the meaning a concept not warranted by the original, and the locative of the first “ṭamnānaiyil” seems to call for another explanation. I think that, in the context, ‘ṉṇai’ should be taken to be a miss-spelling of ‘ṇṇai’ and the phrase translated into: “Displacing the old command (rule) by causing it to follow
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The Cāḷukya inscriptions of the reign of Sōmēśvara tell us nothing of the battle of Koppam, and specific references to his warfare with the Cōḷas are few. In Śaka 981 (expired) he had returned from a conquest of the southern countries and a victory over the Cōḷa, and was camping in the Sindavādi country, * a province ruled by a Mahāmandaleśvara Ciddaṇa Cōḷa-Mahārāja. In Śaka 987 Viṣṇuvar-dhana Vijayāditya was encamped at Agasīyaḷere on his way to the conquest of the south under orders from the king. † Bilhaṇa’s account has, as has been pointed out already, apparently no relation to facts and seems to be pure fabrication. Shortly after the close of Sōmēśvara’s reign, however, we get two inscriptions; ‡ both dated about A.D. 1071, giving an account of the Cōḷa invasion and the death of Rājādhīrāja. Though the date is late and the Cōḷa king is not named, it is easy to infer from the Cōḷa inscriptions that the transactions recorded here relate to the war that led to the battle of Koppam and the death of Rājādhīrāja. § The vigorous language

his own commands." The suggestion made at ARE, 1900 i 20 in reviewing the Tirukōyilūr inscription (123 of 1900, Yr. 6) of Rājendra that the battle of Koppam was a later event than the expedition to Kollāpuram must be abandoned in view of the new identification of Koppam. The wording of the Tirukōyilūr records (EL, vii pp. 145-6), however, seems to lend some support to Hultzsch’s view, and many of the shorter introductions mention Kollāpuram before Koppam.

* BG, I, ii, p. 441, 392 of 1920, ARE, 1921, II 5.

† ARE, 1919 II. 30.

‡ Appigere: BG, I, ii p. 441; and Gawarwad EL, xv, 23. ed. Barnett. See also EC, viii Sorab 325.

§ Fleet and, following him, Barnett ascribe the expedition and apparently the loss of life that followed to Rājendra. But we have no evidence that Rājendra lost his life in the Cāḷukya wars, though he was present at Koppam, cf. SL, iii p. 53.
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employed by these records against the Cōla shows that the silence of the epigraphs of Sōmeśvara’s reign is really due to a reluctance to record publicly in his life-time unfortunate events that caused so much misery and suffering in his country at the hands of the foreign invader. The mahāpātaka great sinner) Tamilian known as Pāṇḍya-Cōla, we are told, took to an evil course (nele getṭu) and abandoning the ancestral observances of his family, entered the Belvōla country, burned several temples including Jinālayas erected by Ganga-perumāṇadi, and was promptly punished for his wicked deeds by losing his life in battle and yielding his head to Sōmeśvara I. The Cōla account of the war, we may therefore conclude, is not by any means a greatly overdrawn picture of their achievement on this occasion.

From the manner of his death Rājādhīrāja came to be known as “the king who died on the back of an elephant,” and he is so styled in the inscriptions of his successors. * From the time he was chosen as heir-apparent by his father to the day when he laid down his life on the field of Koppam, Rājādhīrāja led the life of a warrior king

* 193 of 1025 (Vr. 6 of Rājendra II); possibly also 5 of 1899 of Rājarāja II (Vr. 6). This latter inscription, which is nearly one century later in its date, seems to mix up the achievements of Rājādhīrāja I and Rājendra II. It speaks of “Perumāl Vijayarājendra-deva who was pleased to conquer Kalyāṇapuram and Kollipuram and to fall asleep (i.e., to die) on an elephant” (Slly. iii p. 191). Hultzsch remarks: “This statement must refer to Parakāśari-varman aliya Rājendra-deva, who is known to have set up a pillar of victory at Kollipuram”—a view expressed with more caution in ARE. 1899 I 53 by Venkayya. 472 of 1020 from Sājukki (NA.) of the fourth year of Rājakāśari Rājendra (Kulittunga I) gives the same description much earlier than the record noticed by Hultzsch; the title Vijayarājendra is not, however, given here Rājendra-deva nowhere claims to have conquered Kalyāṇapuram, did not have the title Vijayarājendra, and as far as we know, did not die on an elephant in battle. These features distinctly recall Rājādhīrāja I (ARE. 1925 II 16), whose third year would fall, however, about A.D. 1021, in the
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and took part in many campaigns led by him in person. His record strikes one as that of a born fighter and his warlike energy found full scope in the task of maintaining intact an overgrown empire that had risen on the ruin of old ruling families which never reconciled themselves to subjection to the Cōlas. Some of this fighting, like the fatal expedition that led to Koppam, was of his own seeking. Rājadhirāja was first and foremost a soldier, and possibly his great military talent formed the reason for his being preferred for the succession against an elder brother of his. His performance of the aśvamēdha apparently in his father’s life-time goes a long way to confirm this view.

Briefly and without much detail, Rājadhirāja’s praśastis tell us that he employed his father’s brother, his brothers, elder and younger, and his sons, in important offices of state and constituted them into subordinate rulers of particular regions. The star of Rājadhirāja’s nativity was Pūrva-Phālguni. * Gangaiokonda-Sōlapuram was his capital. † His queens do not figure as prominently in his records as is usual in those of other reigns; Trailōkyam Uḍaiyar was the title, rather than the name, of one of them, ‡ who, if she was the same as the nambirūṭiyār mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra II, § may be taken to have survived her

* 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35).
† 420 of 1925 (Yr. 35).
‡ 446 of 1918 (Yr. 24).
§ 213 of 1894.

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husband. Besides the title Vijayarājendra assumed by him at Kalyāṇapuram, Rājadhirāja had other surnames like Virarājendra-varman, * Āhavamalla-kulāntaka, † and Kalyāṇapurangaṃdaśāla. ‡ Mention is made of a spiritual preceptor (gurudēvar) of the king by name Adhikārikaśārarāyan Vāsudēvanārāyan, also called Ulagālanda-śōla-Brahmamārāyan; § one wonders if Ulagālanda-śōla was also a title of Rājadhirāja, and whether a revenue survey was undertaken, in his reign, of a part of the country. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājadhirāja mentioned in his records may be noticed Dāṇḍanāyaka Śōla Kumaran Parāntaka Mārāyan alias Rājadhirāja Nīla-gangaraiyār; || a certain Pillaiyar Śōla-vallabha-dēva whose wife was called Paṅcavan-mahādēviyār **; Dāṇḍanāyaka Appimayya, †† governor of Mahārājavādi 7000, who had Vāḷīrūru in the Cuddapah district as the seat of his government, and who may or may not be the same as Rājarāja Brahmadhirāja ‡‡ who is mentioned in the very next year as ruler of the same province; and Pillaiyar Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva, doubtless Rājarāja I of Vēṅgi, whose queen Ammaṅgādēvi was the daughter of Rājendra I and the sister of Rājadhirāja, and who is said to have presented, in A.D. 1050, three hundred Rājarāja-mūḍas, gold coins of the Vēṅgi kingdom, to the temple at Tiruvaiyārū in the Tanjore district. §§ There was also Śenāpati Rājendrasōla Māvalivāṇaraiyār, an official who apparently took his title

* 78 of 1920 (Vr. 33).
† 188 of 1919 (Vr. 35).
‡ 258 of 1910 (Vr. 35).
§ 413 of 1902 (Vr. 33).
¶ Tirukkalukkungam is called Ulagajlanda-Śōlapuram in a record of the 26th year (172 of 1894).
|| 102 of 1912.
†† 279 of 1895.
‡‡ 295 of 1922.
** 85 of 1920.
††† 279 of 1895.
§§ 221 of 1894 (S.I. v 520). Viṣṇuvardhana has been identified with the future Kulōttunga I in A.E. 1885 I, 11.
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from Rājendra I under whom his public career might have begun, and who made a large endowment for higher education, of which more will be said in another place.

Turning now to an account of the reign of Rājendradēva, whose independent rule must have commenced some time in A.D. 1054-5, his inscriptions contain, like those of his predecessor, a variety of forms of his praśasti. The shortest form is a summary narration of his successes beginning Iraṭṭapāḍi and found in his records from his second year * onwards. Having much in common with this, but slightly more elaborate, is the form which begins tiru(magal) maruvya also dating from his second year. † But the chief praśasti of the reign is the long account beginning tirumādu (or mādar, puvi-yenum, first appearing in the fourth year, ‡ and undergoing a revision in a subsequent edition, so to say, about the ninth year. § The main differences between the two forms in the treatment of the celebrated battle of Koppam have been dealt with in our account of that fight. The other points in which the later version differs from the earlier are: the omission of all other particulars of the Ceylon war except the mention of Vīra Salāmēghan; the definite statement that after proclaiming himself king on the battle-field in an unprecedented manner, Rājendra returned to

* 214 of 1911. In 421 of 1903 the king seems to be called Rējarēja by mistake. Sewell: (HISI, p. 72) adopts A.D. 1052, May 28, the date of the accession of Rājendradēva, for the battle of Koppam. But we have no evidence that Rājendra did not become heir-apparent some time before the battle.

† 81 of 1928. 173 of 1894 (Vr. 5) has 'milaviya' for 'maruvya,' but is otherwise the same.

‡ 3 of 1892, (SII, iii 29); 396 of 1913.

§ 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915.
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Gangāpurī; a slightly different account of the disposition of the administrative places held by the members of the royal family, given not at the beginning of the record as in the earlier version, but at a later stage; and an account, altogether new, of a fresh war with the Čālukyas.

Both the Kalingattupparāṇī and the Vikrama-

His part at Koppam.
sōlan-ulā make pointed reference to Rājēndra's part in the battle of Koppam. The former records that the king fought fiercely in the battle and saved 'the world' by his success and celebrated his coronation on the field of battle. * The ulā, with intelligible hyperbole, says † that with the aid of a single elephant he captured a thousand of the enemy at Koppam.

Among the king's relatives installed in different posts in the empire, the Maṉimangalam inscription of the fourth year mentions no fewer than thirteen persons,—a paternal uncle (širiya-tālai) of the king, four younger brothers of his, six sons and two grandsons. ‡ The later records of the reign give a shorter list of only six persons so employed comprising the paternal uncle of the earlier record, his son—a new figure, only three of the four younger brothers mentioned before, and one son of the king, Rājēndra-
sōlan; why the rest are omitted it is not easy to explain. One wonders if they had all died in the interval, or were found unfit even for subordinate

* viii 27.
† ll. 38-40.
‡ SII. iii p. 58. 'Kādalar' definitely means 'sons' in this record; Rājēndrasāla one of the 'kādalar' is clearly called 'tan-tirumagan' in 87 of 1895, (contra. Hultzsch. op. cit. p. 62 n. 9)—unless indeed, we must assume the more general meaning for 'kādalar,' take 'tirumagan' to be a loose expression for son-in-law, and identify Rājēndra with Kuśāntunga I. But the phrase 'kādalar kādalar,' clearly means grandsons; and this clearly favours the first suggestion.
employment. There seems to be no evidence whatever by which this can be settled. The fact deserves to be noted, however, in view of somewhat hasty statements which, on very slender evidence, fasten on Kulottunga I a series of cold-blooded political murders calculated to clear his way to the Cōla throne.* The date of the shorter list would fall about A.D. 1061, or nine years before the accession of Kulottunga. Among the titles conferred on these members of the royal family, some like Cōla-Pāṇḍya, Cōla-Gangaṇ and Cōla-Kēralan perhaps connoted the charge of the administration of the particular provinces named; others seem to have been merely titles of personal distinction giving no idea of the spheres of their duties, if any. Such titles are Irumaṇi-sōllam, Karikāla-sōllam, Uttama-sōllam, Vijayālayan, and even names like Śoḷa-vAyōddhirājan and Śoḷa-Kanmakuciyān. Only the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy seems to have left behind a number of inscriptions of their own in the land over which they held sway; but even in their case, it is extremely difficult to identify the particular viceroy from his records, the first viceroy Jātāvarman Sundara alone excepted. †

Rājēndra's son, also called Rājēndra-śoḷa in the records noticed above, was perhaps chosen heir-apparent some time about A.D. 1059, and assumed the title Rājakēsari Rājamahēndra. One inscription ‡ of his third year

* ARE. 1899 I, 51.
† He quotes his father's praśasti in some records. For the others many guesses have been put forward. See notes in the Appendix under 'Cōla-Pāṇḍya' inscriptions.
‡ 119 of 1902. His other records begin in three ways: Manumidi-muṇai-valara; Ṭrumangal-valara; Ṭrumagal-vilonga: none of them is of any historical value.
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claims a victory for him against Āhavamalla at Muḍakkāru, and furnishes valuable confirmation of the events relating to another Cālukya war narrated in more detail in the inscriptions of the ninth year of his father. We learn from these latter * that the Cālukya, anxious to wipe out the disgrace that befell him on the field of Koppam, advanced with numerous forces led by Daṇḍanāyaka Vālūdeva and other chieftains of the army, and a battle ensued on the banks of the Muḍakkāru (winding river) in which the Daṇḍanāyaka and his followers fell, Irugaiyen and others were forced to retreat together with their king and the proud Vikkalan, unable to resist the vigorous attack of the Cōla forces. The inscription of Rājamahēndra says, likewise, that by a war-elephant, he caused Āhavamalla to turn his back on the Muḍakkāru. As it often happened that in the Cālukya wars several Cōla princes fought together on the same field, the inscriptions of successive rulers also often supplement each other.

It is possible, therefore, that the future Virarājendra was also present on this field; and if that was so, this battle must be treated as identical with that of Kūḍal-Śangamam of the records of Virarājendra. A long description of this battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, with some details not found in Rājendra's records, is given in Virarājendra's inscriptions even of the second year † (A.D. 1063-4). It seems hardly likely that two first-class engagements took place on the same field in less than three or four years. In some of his later inscriptions ‡ occur expressions which imply that

* 87 of 1895; SII. v. p. 271 ii. 32-39. † 113 of 1896; 718 of 1909.
‡ SII. iii. 84, 1. 8. Hultzsch thinks this a reference to the fourth encounter preceding that in which Kampili was burnt (ibid. p. 195.)
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Virarājendrā had taken part in the fight at Muḍakārṇu before he became king, and that, in consequence, he came to be called Iraṭṭarāja-kula-kālan. If this view is correct, at least three Cōlas were present at the battle of Kūḍal-Sangamam and took part in the fight: the king Rājendradēva, the heir-apparent Rājamahēndra, and the king's brother Vīra-Cōla Karikāla (Virarājendrā), whose achievements came to be recorded in his inscriptions in detail when, after the death of Rājamahēndra, he became heir-apparent and later king.

The account of the battle of Kūḍal-Sangamam and its antecedents given in the early inscriptions of Virarājendrā is as follows: *

"(He) drove from the battle-field in Gangāpādi into the Tungabhadrā the Mahāsāmantas, whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows, along with Vikkalān who fought under (his) banner at the head of the battle. † (He) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (viz., Vikkalān) had again despatched into Vēngai-nāṇu; fought the Mādāpā-naiyakan Cāmunḍarājan and cut off his head; ‡ and severed the nose from the face of his (viz., Cāmunḍarāja's) only daughter, called Nāgalai, (who was) the queen of Iruγaiyian and who resembled a peacock in beauty.

"The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless sāmantas, together with these (two) sons of Āhavamalla, who were called Vikkalān and Śingapān, at Kūḍal-Sangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave van-guard in advance, and having himself remained

* S.II. iii. p. 37 (ll. 3-8) identical with 113 of 1895.
† I have adopted the reading: "ikalunai virudhu malaikkum" of 113 of 1896.
‡ Hultsch translates: "Iyragan-iyattinai-yāpputu" into "cut off the head of the corpse" apparently failing to notice that "Iyragan" is made up of "Iyru" and "avam," cf. Iyru van-iyattinai (113 of 1896).
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close behind with the kings allied to him, he agitated by means of a single mast elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner troop, * (he) cut to pieces Śīnaga, (the king) of warlike Kēsai; along with the furious elephants of his van-guard. While Kēsava-daṇḍanāyaka, Kēttaraśan, Mārayan of great strength, the strong Pottarayan and (Irīccayan) were fighting, (he) shouted "(Follow) Māvēndi, (who wears) a garland of gold!" and cut to pieces many sāmantas, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Maduvaṇjan, who was in command, fled; Vikkalăn fled with dishevelled hair; Śīnaṇam fled, (his) pride (and) courage forsaking (him); An̄gālana and all others descended from the male elephant on which they were fighting in battle, and fled; Āhavamalla, too, to whom (they were) allied, fled before them. (The king) stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, (seized) his (viz., Āhavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, † white cāmaras, the boar-banner, the ornamental arch (mākara-toraṇa), the female elephant (called) Puṣpaka, ‡ and a herd of war-elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amidat (general) applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour."

Irugaiyan is said in Rājendralēva's records to have fled with Āhavamalla, Vikramāditya and others from the battle of Muḍakkāru; his wife suffered mutilation in the Vēngī fight of Vīrājendrā with Čāmuṇḍarāya just before the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. And Vīrūrājendra is said to have 'seen the back of the hostile Śalukki' at Muḍakkāru before he became king, and there seems to be no other campaign narrated in Vīrājendra's inscriptions that will explain this last reference unless it be the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, described in such detail and said to have taken place before his second year. It is

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* i. e. the van-guard (of the Cōla king)-Hultsch.
† Maṅga-ṭambar.
‡ The text is Puṣpaka-pudiyum.
difficult to resist the conclusion, already suggested, that the Muḍakkāru of the records of Rājendradēvā and Rājamahēndra and the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the early records * of Virarājendra refer to one and the same engagement. The same event is apparently once at least mentioned under the name of Muḍakkāru in the inscriptions of Virarājendra himself.

Where Rājendra’s records simply state that Āhavamalla desired to avenge himself for the defeat at Koppam and advanced in great force, those of Virarājendra show us the extent of the progress made by the Cāḷukyas by recording the necessity for chasing them through Gangapāḍi to the banks of the Tungabhadrā and thereby indicate how little the Cāḷukyas had suffered in the actual extent of the territory ruled by them even after Koppam. They also imply, by what they say about Cāmuṇḍarāyā’s movement against Vēngi, that an important, but unsuccessful, attempt was made by the Cāḷukyas to divide the attention of the Cōḷas between two fronts. This is noteworthy as evidence of the interest of the Western Cāḷukyas in Vēngi apart from any complications arising with regard to the succession after the death of Rājarāja-narēndra. † We have already had some evidence, though slight, of the eagerness of the Western Cāḷukyas to court the friendship of their Eastern cousins. In fact the possession of Vēngi made the Cōḷas formidable to the Western Cāḷukyas; the Cōḷas well understood the importance of Vēngi to them and took care to marry their princesses to the rulers of Vēngi for generations together and otherwise to keep

* Another engagement fixed at this same place for a later day did not come off. See post. pp. 326 ff.
† Contra S. K. Aiyangar-Ancient India p. 121.
on friendly terms with them. For the same reason, the Western Cālukyas, who looked upon Vēngī as a lost dominion, made vain efforts to undo the results of their slackness when it was too late.

Kūḍal-Śangamam must be located at the junction of the Tungabhadra and Kṛṣṇā rivers.† The first battle at this place, the one with which we are now concerned, took place after the Cālukyas were driven across the Gangapādi up to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and after the failure of an expedition sent into Vēngī by the Cālukyas. On a later occasion, when the Cālukya failed to meet Vīrarājendrā at the same place as previously arranged, the Cōla planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra before he retired. ‡ The Śangamam meant by the inscriptions must, therefore, be some confluence of rivers on the course of the Tungabhadra. The choice lies

* Another view of these events is possible. Muḍakkāru may not be Kūḍal-Śangamam; Irugaiyan may have fought at Muḍakkāru, and this need have no connection with the mutilation of his wife in the Vēngī campaign of Vīrarājendrā, which preceded the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. As Vīrarājendrā’s record is dated in his second year (c. A.D. 1064) and the E. Cālukya Kṛjarāja-narāṇḍra died in 1063, it is just possible that Vikramāditya’s entry into Vēngī (Cāmuḍā-Śrīya’s expedition) was connected with some succession dispute after Kṛjarāja’s death. On this scheme, we have to assume that the battle of Muḍakkāru—whatever river may be meant—took place c. A.D. 1060, and three years or so later came the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam recorded in the inscriptions of A.D. 1064. On the whole the view adopted in the text, based on the identification of Muḍakkāru with Kūḍal-Śangamam, seems simpler, and there appears to be nothing that can be urged against such a position. It should also be observed, in this connection, that Vīrarājendrā’s inscriptions of the second year say nothing about his helping Vijayāditya to gain or regain the Vēngī throne,—an event which is not mentioned as having taken place till after the second battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and about the fifth-year of Vīrarājendrā (c. A.D. 1067). So that if we drop the somewhat uncritical assumption that Vikramāditya and Vīrarājendrā concerned themselves about Vēngī only after Kṛjarāja-narāṇḍra’s death, the course of events becomes clear and perhaps more easy to follow.

† S.II. iii. p. 32. ‡ S.II. iii. 30, l. 26.
between Kūḍali at the junction of the Tunga and Bhadrā in Mysore, or that of the Tungabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇā. While the name Kūḍali points to the former as the site of Kūḍal-Śangamam, the Vēngī interlude seems to make the latter more probable; a satisfactory identification of Kândai or Karandai, where the Cōḷa awaited the Cāḷukya for about a month on the second occasion, may decide the choice more definitely.

The latest regnal year in Rājendra's records is the twelfth, † corresponding to A.D. 1063. He was succeeded by Vīrājendra already heir-apparent for sometime after the death of Rājamaheṇdra. Gangāpuri continued to be the Cōḷa capital under Rājendra II and is mentioned as such in an inscription from Kanyā-kumāri, ‡ while another from Kuttālam makes mention of a big bazaar within the fort of this capital city. § Of the queens of Rājendra, only one is mentioned by name in his records, a Kīlganaḍigaḷ. His daughter Madhurāntaki was the wife of the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Rājendra II, afterwards Kulottunga I. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājendra-deva II, prominent mention is made in his records of the Milāḍa chieftain Narasimhavarman who is said to have ruled Milāḍu

* Fleet suggested the confluence of the Pañca-gangā and the Kṛṣṇā in the neighbourhood of Khidrāpūr (Koppam) as the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the Cōḷa inscriptions; and identified Karandai with Iṅcal Karaḥji in the same place (EI. xii p. 298). But as he does not seem to have written the more detailed note promised by him on the subject, it is impossible to see how he would have met the objections to these identifications that arise from the narrative of the campaign as given in the Cōḷa records which do not once mention Raṭṭapāḍi as having been entered by the Cōḷa forces on this occasion. On the later occasion Raṭṭapāḍi is said to have been devastated; but the pillar is erected on the banks of the Tungabhadra.

† 144 of 1896. ‡ TAS. i 164-8. § 102 of 1926 (Yr. 9). ¶ EI. v. p. 77 v. 11; Celling v. 12.

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2000 after his abhiṣeka and coronation under this title. * Others were Sēnāpati Araiyan Kaṇḍakan-gonḍa-sōḷan, † and Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāyān who is mentioned in an inscription from Ceylon, ‡ and who may be identical with Araiyan Rājarājan alias Vīraṭajendrā Jayamuri-nāḍāyān of another inscription from Karuvūr. §

The Vīkramaśōḷan-ulā ¶ records that Rājamahendra made for Ranganātha, the god of Śrīrangam, a serpent-couch set with many precious stones; and the Köyilolugu, a late work on the antiquities and traditions of the Śrīrangam temple, though it knows nothing of the serpent-couch, mentions ¶ many structural alterations in the temple as the work of Rājamahendra, commemorated in the name Rājamahendran-tiruv średni. An inscription ** of the twelfth year of Kulottunga I from the Salem district states that in Rājamahendra's reign there was a land revenue assessment in Kolli-malai-nāḍu. The name of Rajamahendra's queen, Lōkamahādevi, seems to be preserved in a fragmentary inscription from Cidambaram. ††

For a study of the reign of Rājakēsari Vīrāṭajendrā I, (accession A. D. 1062-3), we possess a considerable number of inscriptions with prāśastis in two main forms and in various redactions, which fit into one another with remarkable correctness. ‡‡ The longer prāśasti beginning Tīruvāḷar-tīral-puyattu gives in its earlier form a list of the king's relations on whom he conferred

† 84 of 1895.
‡ 612 of 1912.
§ SII. iii. 21.
¶ 11. 40-42.
‖ In the section on Rājamahendran kainkaryam.
** 502 of 1930.
†† 612 of 1930.
‡‡ An admirable discussion of Vīraṭajendrā's records by Hultsch is found at SII. iii pp. 192-6.
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various official positions, * but omits this list in its later editions. † The praṣasti grows in length as the reign advances, and new events are incorporated in it. The shorter introduction beginning Viraṃe-tuṇaiy-uṇagavum passes through many changes and attains in the seventh year an altogether new cast, and records facts not otherwise known. These changes will be noticed subsequently when they are of any historical importance. The Kalingattupparaṇi and the Vikrama-sōlan-ulā record no events of the reign of Vīrarājendra other than the battle of Kūḍal-Śaṅgamam. The Takka-yāgapparaṇi, ‡ on the other hand, mentions his friendship with Vikramāditya VI.

Early in his reign, the king appointed § Madhurāntaka, described as his son tan-tirup-pudal-vay, to rule over Tondaimanḍalam with the title Cōḷendra; another Gangaikondachōla, also called son, tiṇḍirāl maindan, was made the Cōla-Pañḍya viceroy over the Pañḍya country. It is difficult to decide, in the light of subsequent events, whether the terms pudalvan and maindan are to be understood literally or only as terms of endearment applied to more distant relatives. Nor, on the former assumption, can it be decided if either of them was the son who was the brother-in-law of the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and who had a short rule, on Vīrarājendra’s death, as Parakēsari Adhirājendra. The king’s elder brother Ālavandān and a certain Muḍikondachōla also received titles and recognition; but though they too seem to have been placed in administrative charge of

* SII. iii 20; 113 of 1896 (SII. v. 976).
† SII. iii, 30.
‡ V. 774. Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar’s identification of this king with Rājarāja II seems rather doubtful.
§ 113 of 1896; SII. iii. 20, p. 33.
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parts of the empire, the inscriptions do not tell us what exactly were the areas so entrusted to them.

The early wars of Virarājendrā against the Western Cālukyas, which resulted in the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam so graphically described in the inscription of his second year from Tīruvenkāḍu, * were fought by him, as already observed, perhaps before he came to the throne or was even recognised as the successor to his elder brother Rājendrādeva. The bitterness that characterised the Cālukya wars of this period becomes clear from the eagerness of Virarājendrā to count up every little victory gained by him or his lieutenants as a personal affront to Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla. "In perfect accordance with the longer redaction of the introduction, in which the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam is stated to have been the third encounter with the Cālukyas, the Tīrunāmanallūr inscription of the fourth year attributes to Virarājendrā I the biruda ‘who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times’." † The Kanyākumāri inscription also gives a general description of the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, not very different in character. ‡ In the Karuvūr inscription of the fourth year, § we hear for the first time that Virarājendrā killed the king of Pottappi, the Kēraḷa, the younger brother of king Dhārāvarṣa, and Virakēsari, the son of the Pāṇḍya Śri Vallabha. The Maṇimangalam inscription ¶ of the next year adds to this list an expedition against Udagai and the Kēraḷas, from which Virarājendrā returned after collecting a large tribute in the form of elephants. Whether these achievements, altogether obscure in their nature and origin, were part of the

* 113 of 1896. † Hultsch, SII. iii. p. 193.
‡ v. 76. § SII. iii 20. ¶ SII. iii 30.
continuous war with the Cālukyas that forms the central feature of this reign, or were minor punitive expeditions which had nothing to do with this war, there is no doubt that the 'hot battle' which is next mentioned as having taken place by previous engagement on the banks of a river, of unknown name, did form part of the Cōla-Cālukya hostilities. For in this battle seven Cālukya generals who are named and the kings of the Gangas, the Nuḷumbas, the Kāḍavas and the Vaidumbas are said to have suffered decapitation; and before the Cōla king could get their heads nailed to the gates of his capital, Gangaikonda-Cōla-puram, * the Cālukya king, stung by the intolerable disgrace that had befallen his troops on this field, was roused to a greater effort against his Cōla opponent. Sōmēśvara, we learn, reproached himself saying: 'It is much better to die than to live in disgrace,' and wrote and despatched a letter to the Cōla king in which he assigned as the field for the next battle the very spot at Kūḍal whence his sons and himself had fled before in utter rout, and declared that whoever did not come, through fear, to the appointed field, should thenceforth be no kings but outcastes † who had incurred disgrace in war. This message from the Cālukya, when it was delivered to Vīrārājendrā, greatly pleased him. Accordingly he set out for the fight, and awaited at Kāndai the arrival of the Cālukya king for one full month beyond the date fixed by him. The Cālukya ran away and hid himself in the Western ocean; and the Cōla king subdued all resistance in Iraṭṭapādi by putting

* It must be noted that all the events up to this point are mentioned in a fourth year record found in Majjir, of which only the praśasti is preserved (194 of 1911: EC. ix Cp. 85.)

† The term "piratta" seems to be the Sanskrit word "bhraṣṭa" rather than the Tamil "purattam" a fraud or lias contra Hultsch SII. i ii p. 69.
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to flight Dēvanātha, Śitti and Kēsi, each in a separate direction, and by setting fire to towns; he also planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. Then the Čōla monarch seems to have made an effigy of Sōmeśvara and subjected it to various indignities,* before turning his attention to Vēṅgi where, apparently

* This, I think, is the real meaning, as suggested by A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar (Life and Times of Čālukya Vikramāditya VI. Tamil Edn. pp. 22-3 and n. 3). Hultsch understands this rather obscure passage as referring to Virarājendrā's alliance with Vikramāditya. But that, I think, belongs to a later stage of the war when Sōmeśvara I was no more and to the first fight of Virarājendrā with Sōmeśvara II. On the present occasion, Virarājendrā is still fighting the entire family of Sōmeśvara I and on every front. The division between Vikramāditya VI and his brother which gave Virarājendrā the chance of an alliance with the former did not, it seems, arise until after the death of Sōmeśvara I, of which Virarājendrā had no knowledge on this occasion. The Maṇimangalam inscription of the fifth year, therefore, cannot be said to anticipate, as Hultsch says it does (SJ. iii pp. 194-195), the events recorded in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh years of Virarājendrā. For one thing, the word pirattam in l. 27 of the Maṇimangalam record makes it impossible for us to identify him with Vikramāditya VI (cf. l. 22 of the same record; also Takkayagapparani v. 774, where pirattam, an unfriendly Čālukya, is contrasted with irtattam, a friendly one). Again the expressions of the records of the sixth and seventh years make it clear that they are referring to a single occasion, which is different from that of the Maṇimangalam record and in which Vikramāditya became friends with Virarājendrā. SJ. iii. 83. (Yr. 6), says that Virarājendrā burnt Kampili and occupied Kāraṇigal before Sōmeśvara (II) could unite his necklace (II. 7-8), and this is the first occasion of an encounter with the Čālukyas after the conquest of Vēṅgi on behalf of Vijayāditya VII; 84 (Yr. 7) records (ll. 5-6) that on the same occasion, Sōmeśvara (II) was forced to abandon the Kannarā dri and that the submissive Vikramāditya was invested with the necklace by the Čōla king. The Vikramāṅkadiva Carita also places the alliance between its hero and the Čōla king some time after Sōmeśvara I’s demise and on the banks of the Tungabhadrā; and according to the same poem, at the time of his father’s death, Vikramāditya was absent on a conquering tour which extended to Vēṅgi and Cakrakotta, which, again, seems very probable, as Virarājendrā himself had to go off to Vēṅgi after Sōmeśvara I failed to keep his engagement with him at Kēdal-Śangamam. Lastly, it does not seem necessary to assume that the kayaṅkāh (necklace) was necessarily a symbol of heir-apparensship and not of kingship in general, and hold, as Hultsch does (SJ. iii p. 194), that in the sixth year of Virarājendrā, Sōmeśvara was alive and Sōmeśvara II was still only crown-prince (ll. xx p. 267 under 17-Vienyāditya V and the references given there). Even if the kayaṅkāh was a symbol of subordinate position, Sōmeśvara II’s untying it may mean that his father was no more and that he had become ruler in his own right,— probably the best view of the situation.
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owing to the exertions of the Western Cāḷukyas, things had gone against Vijayāditya, the ally of Vīraraṅgendra.

The question why Śomēśvara I failed to keep an engagement fixed by himself and thus suffered once again the imputation of cowardice at the hands of his Cōla enemy cannot be answered with certainty. The date of the occurrence was some time in the fifth year of Vīraraṅgendra, and from the details preserved in the record the exact day which is mentioned in the Maṇimangalam inscription is seen to have been Monday 10th September A.D. 1067. * Śomēśvara sought relief from an incurable disease by religious drowning in the Tungabhadrā and the date of this occurrence was March 29, A.D. 1068. † The assumption has generally been made that Śomēśvara’s absence from Kūḍal-Śangamam on this occasion was due to his illness and death. ‡ It should, however, be observed that as early as the 10th September A.D. 1067 we find recorded not only the absence of Śomēśvara from Kūḍal-Śangamam but the subsequent campaign of Vīraraṅgendra in Vēṇgī and Cakrakūṭa which resulted in the restoration of the Vēṇgī kingdom to Vijayāditya VII. On the other hand, Bihāna states distinctly that Vikramāditya VI was encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā § on his way back home after his conquests when the news of his father’s death reached him. And his language, though we cannot be sure about it, seems to rule out the protracted illness of Śomēśvara I, who was suddenly

* E.I. vii p. 9.
† Vikramāditya Carita iv 44-68; E.C. vii Sk. 136.
‡ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India p. 123; A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar op. cit. p. 28.
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taken ill, in the midst of his rejoicing over his son’s successes in the digvijaya. Unsatisfactory as it seems, we can, for the present, only assume that if Sömëśvara’s absence was due to illness, his ailment was of a rather longer duration than Bilhaṇa’s account implies.

The conflicting nature of our sources and the secundity of modern research, carried out sometimes under the subtle influence of the nascent patriotism of the Andhra country, have greatly obscured the course of events in the Vēṅgī kingdom during this period; one can hardly be too cautious in dealing with this phase of our subject. A more detailed consideration, however tentative, of the course of events in Vēṅgī will become necessary when we reach the problems connected with the accession of Kulōttunga I to the Cōla throne. Here we may note simply the facts as they are gathered from the inscriptions and the Vikramāṇkādevā Carita which seem to speak for themselves. The Maṇi-mangalam inscription records that from Kūḍal-Śaṅgamam Vīraṇjēndra proceeded to Vēṅgī, after issuing a challenge to the Cālukya, saying: “We do not intend to return (home) till after we reconquer the good Vēṅgī country, once ours; listen! if you are a Vallava, * come and defend.” This challenge to the Cālukya is a clear indication that the Vēṅgī country had just at that time passed into the hands of the W. Cālukyas from Vīraṇjēndra or from his ally, Vijayāditya VII. The rhapsody of Bilhaṇa on Vikramāditya’s digvijaya during the life-time of his father seems to furnish the clue to the real situation by including Vēṅgī and Cakrakūṭa † in an otherwise

* Means both ‘a strong man’ and ‘Cēlukya.’ † iv. 29, 30.
impossible list of conquests attributed to him. Apparently Vikramāditya did succeed in transferring Vengi and Cakrakūṭa from their rulers to himself and adding them to his father’s dominions. Attention has been drawn already to the evidence from some Western Cālukya records of this period showing their eagerness to gain control of Vengi. But if the Mañimangalam record speaks truly, the success of Vikramāditya in the east was shortlived; for it states that in a decisive battle on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, in the neighbourhood of Bezwāda, Vīrājendra inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Cālukya forces commanded by Jananītha,* Rājamayan and others compelling them to flee into the jungle for refuge. After this, the Cōla crossed the Gōdāvari, marched across Kalingam and beyond Cakkarakkōṭam. † Having thus regained Vengi, he bestowed it on Vijayāditya who had sought his protection, before he returned to his capital Gangāpurī, adorned by the splendour of victory gained in many a fight. ‡

The second engagement at Kūḍal-Śangamam, which Āhavamalla failed to keep, and the resumption of the Vengi country, which followed, are briefly alluded

* We have a number of undated inscriptions at Drākṣārma recording vows taken by chieftains promising exclusive allegiance to Śrī Parantaka, Konērmai-koṇḍa Sarvalōkārāya Śrī Viśuvardhanā Mahārāja. Perhaps Vīrājendrā is meant by these titles and the records are of this period (SII iv. 1269-1275).

† 182 of 1915 distinctly says that the Cālukya forces were met at Śakkarakkōṭam and defeated by Vīrājendrā - pādaik-kadālevi vada-śīlai-Cakkarakkōṭatī ṕub-kudamreṇanda Śalukkiyāt - tānaiyik-kanal-pāda nāti: cf. also the early inscriptions of Kulottunga.

‡ Hultsch has clearly misunderstood the phrase—“igāliṣāippūṇḍa jayattirānu-vaḍum” which he translates into: “with the goddess of victory, who had shown hostility in the interval,” and in which he sees “an admission of the fact that the Cōla had experienced reverses.” SII. iii. p. 70 and n. 4. The ‘idāt’ after ‘igal’ is clearly a locative suffix to the preceding word meaning ‘battle,’ not ‘hostility’, in the context.
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to in the shorter praśastiś of the fifth year of Viraraśendra I. * These imply that, by the reconquest of Vengi, Virarājendra fulfilled some vow made by his elder brother; † though we cannot be sure of it, this perhaps means that the Cōla control over Vengi had been lost some time during the reign of Rājendra deva II and that he had died without being able to recover it; if this view is correct, the Western Cālavaka occupation of Vengi must have been more complete and lasted longer than has so far been believed, and Sōmēśvara I must have recompensed himself for the defeat at Koppam by substantial success in another direction. The Kanyākumāri inscription ‡ also states that Vengi and Kalinga, though part of the hereditary dominion of the Cōlas, had been neglected by his brother and allowed to fall under the occupation of hostile kings, and that Virarājendra regained them for the empire.

Virarājendra had his attention drawn to Ceylon by the efforts made by Vijayabāhu to extend his power from Rōhana and to expel the Cōlas from the island. The Mahāvamsa and the only inscription of Virarājendra which gives an account of this war are agreed that Vijayabāhu did not succeed in attaining his object. In the details, the two accounts differ. The Mahāvamsa says § that when the Cōla king heard of Vijayabāhu's

* Hultsch SII. iii. p. 193.
† Hultsch identifies this elder brother of the king with Ajavandān, SII. iii. p. 194.
‡ v. 77.
§ CV. Ch. 58 vv. 1-77. Codrington (Short History p. 56) says: "A first attempt to secure Polonnāruwa was made in or about A.D. 1066 but ended in failure, and Vijayabahu was compelled to fortify himself at Vattagiri (Watkiri-gala in Kegalla district)." I think that the fortification at Vattagiri belongs to the later campaign of 1070 of which the narrative in the CV. begins with v. 18.

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designs, he sent off his Sēnāpati who was then in Pulatthinagara against the Singalese ruler. The Cōla general entered Rōhana, plundered Kajaragāma and returned to his province. Vijayabāhu saw the strength of the Cōla forces and was distracted by rebellions and treachery in his own camp. Nothing came of his effort. The inscription of Virarājendrā dated in his fifth year, A.D. 1067, states that the king sent a large army which crossed the sea in a number of ships without erecting a causeway, defeated the Singalese forces, compelled Vijayabāhu to seek refuge in flight, made his queen captive and restored the whole of Ceylon to Virarājendrā's sway.* We cannot accept the last statement literally; Vijayabāhu renewed the struggle with better results three or four years later, and he could not have done this if he had lost his hold on Rōhana.

For the transactions of the rest of Virarājendrā's reign we have to depend exclusively on the shorter praśasti in its later editions. Records of the seventh year† mention that Virarājendrā conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of a king who had come in search of his aid and protection, and handed it over to him. If the place of this event in these records indicates its chronological position in the reign, it must have occurred before the sixth year, c. A.D. 1068. We know as yet little of the relations between the Cōlas and the empire of Śrī Vijaya, which no doubt is signified by the term Kaḍāram, in the interval that elapsed between Rājendrā's campaign against Sangrāma-Vijayottunga-varman and the reign of Virarājendrā. Consequently we have no means of

† 173 of 1894; 266 of 1901, SII, III, 84.

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elucidating this brief reference to a second expedition against Kaḷāraṃ in this reign.

(On the death of Sōmeśvara I, Sōmeśvara II came to the Cālukyaṇ throne in A. D. 1068 (11th April), and Vīrāṇjendrā took the occasion to renew the ancient feud.)

The inscriptions of Sōmeśvara II state this fact clearly and imply that the Cōla began by attacking the fortress of Guttī and ended by retreating in haste before Sōmeśvara. ¶ The Cōla inscriptions and Bilhaṇa tell another story. The former state that before Sōmeśvara could untie his kāṇṭhikā, that is, on the occasion of his coronation as king, Vīrāṇjendrā burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Kāraḍigal, a village in the Lingsagari Taluk of the Raicūr district, ‡ and that he forced Sōmeśvara to abandon the Kannara country, and invested the Śaṅkukki Vikramāditya with the kāṇṭhikā and Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country conquered on his account, because he had come and sought the aid of the Cōla monarch. § This occasion is no doubt the one mentioned in the Takkayāgapparaṇi which says that the Cōla king, here called Rājagamblāra, took away the fillet of royalty from the Piraṭṭan and conferred it on the Iraṭṭan for the protection of the celebrated seven and a half lakh country. ¶¶ And the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita tells the same story, embellished from the standpoint of the hero of the poem. Soon after his father’s death and brother’s accession, Vikramāditya VI quarrelled with his brother who had fallen into evil courses, and left Kalyāṇa with his younger brother Jayasimha and destroyed the troops sent by his elder brother

¶ RC. vii Sk. 136. ‡ EL. xii. pp. 295, 309. § SII. iii. 84. 

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Sōmeśvara in pursuit of him. He reached the Tungabhadrā and rested his army for a time. * Then he became desirous of war with the Cōlas and started on the expedition after spending some time in Banavīsi. Jayakēśi and the Ālupa king did him obeisance, † and the Cōla himself, unable to resist the advance, sent an ambassador and offered his daughter in marriage to the Cālukya prince, and Vikrama agreed to retire to the banks of the Tungabhadrā, where the Cōla king subsequently met him, the marriage was celebrated and the alliance between the two kings concluded. ‡ It may be noted that Jayakēśi I, the Kaḍamba king of Goa who was ruling in this period, is said in Kaḍamba inscriptions to have placed the Western Cālukya firmly on his own throne, and to have brought about peace between the Cōla and the Cālukya at Kāncī. §

All these lines of evidence point to the conclusion that soon after the death of Āhavamalla, trouble arose between Sōmeśvara II and Vikramāditya, on some matters of importance, if not about the succession itself, that Vikramāditya’s younger brother Jayasimha, and the Kaḍamba Jayakēśi of Goa took his side in the dispute, that Jayakēśi officiated as Vikrama’s ambassador to the Cōla, seeking Vīrarājendra’s aid for his ally, and that as a consequence of the powerful intercession of the Cōla monarch, Sōmeśvara II was compelled to part with portions of his hereditary dominions to Vikramāditya almost immediately after his accession to the throne. Though we have no other evidence for it than that of Bilhaṇa, the marriage of Vikramāditya with a Cōla princess may be accepted as a fact.

* Vikramāṇhādīvā Carīta iv 69 —v. 10.
† v. 25-6.
‡ v. 28 —vi. 3.
§ JBRAS. ix. p. 278, 242; BG. 1, ii p. 567.
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Vikramāditya's inscriptions with the title Trailōkyamalla and bearing dates earlier than A. D. 1076, which marked the commencement of the Cālukya-Vikrama era, are found in the southern parts of the Cālukyan empire; * and this goes far to confirm the hypothesis of a division of territory between the Cālukya brothers. It was not many years before the younger brother completely displaced the elder, as we shall see.

In summing up the earlier achievements of Vīrarājēndra, his later inscriptions which record the transactions just noticed, mention at the outset the beheading of the Pāṇḍya, the collection of tribute from the Kēraḷa and the subjugation of Ceylon, †—events which recall the inscriptions of Rājūdhirāja and Rājēndra. It is quite possible that as in the fight at Muḍākkara, (which we have identified with the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and which is mentioned at the end of this prāśasti and the beginning of the grant portion), Vīrarājēndra took part in the campaigns conducted by his brothers in the southern countries, long before any idea of his accession to the throne dawned on his mind. The wars against Sōmiśvara in which Vīrarājēndra took part are briefly summed up in this form of the prāśasti in the statement that the Cōla king saw the back of Āhavamalla, that is to say, put him to flight, on five different occasions. ‡

From the Tirunāmanallūr inscription of the fourth year, and the Yōgi-mallavaram and Kanyākumāri records of the seventh, § Vīrarājēndra is seen occasionally to have appropriated

* e.g. 127 of 1913; 455 of 1920; E.C. xi Cd. 82, SII. iii p. 65.
† SII. iii. 84 ii. 1-2.
‡ SII. iii. p. 194.
§ 371 of 1902, SII. iii. 81; 273 of 1904.

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the full regal titles of the Western Cālukyas such as Sakala-bhuvanāśraya, Mēdinī-vallabha and Mahā-rājādhirāja, besides specially Cōla titles which, like Āhavamallakulakāla, recall the victories won against the Cālukyas. He also styled himself Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Rājāśraya, and Rājarājendra, titles which, together with Vallabhavallabha, Vīra Cōla, and Karikāla, are found in the Kanyākumārī inscription as well.* The same inscription tells us that Vīrārājendra presented a fine ruby called Trailōkyasāra for being mounted on the crown of the Dancer of the Golden Hall, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram † and that he endowed many brahmadēyas in the countries of Cōla, Tuṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gangavāti, and gratified forty thousand Brahmans, learned in the Vedas, by gifts of land.‡ We have already noticed that Gangāpurī was the capital of the Cōla empire in this reign as well, and that at the end of his wars he returned to it in state. A palace in Gangaikońḍa-sōḷapuram called Śīḷakērala-māligai and a throne in it called Rājendraśīḷa Mūvali-vāṇarājan are mentioned in a record of the fifth year. § The latest regnal year of Vīrārājendra that is found in inscriptions is the eighth, which is mentioned in a record ¶ of the third year of Parakēsari Adhirājendradēva, the son and successor of Vīrārājendra, and the brother-in-law of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Vīrārājendra’s death must have occurred, therefore, early in A.D. 1070. Śrāvaṇa Asĕśā was the asterism of his birth. || One of his queens, Arumolimangai, survived till the fifteenth year of Kulōttunga I; her name is mentioned in an incomplete inscription of that year from Tanjore. ** The presence of Buddhism in the Cōla kingdom in the reign of

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* vv. 75; 77-8. † v. 79 (fragment). ‡ vv. 80-81.
§ 182 of 1915. ¶ SII. iii. 57 ll. 11-12.
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Virarajendra, and the influence of Buddhist scholarship on Tamil literature, are attested by the Virasaliyam, a curious work on Tamil grammar conceived on ultra-Sanskritic lines by Buddhmitra, who calls himself chieftain of Ponperri. This place is identified by Venkayya with Ponpetti in the Paṭṭukkottai taluq of the Tanjore district.

* ARE. 1899, paragraph 50; SII. iii. p. 197; Virasaliyam-Payiram.
CHAPTER XII.

THE ACCESSION OF KULÓTTUNGA I

A. D. 1070

Virarājendrā died early in A. D. 1070, the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded on the throne by Parakēsari Adhirājendrā who had a very short reign of some weeks' duration and was followed by Rājakēsari Kulōttunga Cōla I on the 9th June A. D. 1070. * As we find inscriptions of Adhirājendrā dated in his third year, and as the exact date of Kulōttunga's accession is quite clearly attested by his dated stone inscriptions from the Telugu country, it is evident that Adhirājendrā must have been chosen heir-apparent by Virarājendrā some time in 1067-8. Adhirājendrā's relation to Virarājendrā may be inferred from the explicit statement in the Vikramānkalēva Carita that on the death of his father-in-law, Vikramāditya started for Kānci and Gangākundaapura in order to place his wife's brother on the Cōla throne. † Why his reign was so short and how the Eastern Cēḷukya prince Rājendrā II came to occupy the Cōla throne in 1070 are questions that do not admit of decisive answers. The evidence bearing on them proceeds from several quarters. These various sources of evidence differ so much from one another, and suggest so many explanations of the occurrences that the conviction is borne in upon us that almost every one of our authorities had strong motives to put forward a separate version of the course of events.

* EJ. vii p. 7 a. 5.  
† vi. vv. 6-25.
ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I

As a result of several inter-marriages, for some time the members of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty had become plainly Cōḷas at heart, far more than Cāḷukyas.* The following genealogical table illustrates the interrelation between the two dynasties:

Rājarāja I (Cōḷa).

Rājendra I | Kundava m. Vimalāditya m. | Mūḍava Mahādevi (also of Cōḷa descent.)

Rājendra II Ammangādēvi m. Rājarāja Narendra

Madhurāntaki m. Rājendra II (Cāḷukya) (Kulottunga I). Vijayāditya VII. Śaktivarman II.

The Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates of the period fall into two sets, one of them mentioning the transactions of Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, omitted by others,—a feature not unknown in other passages of E. Cāḷukya history, as for instance the grants of Bādana and Tāḷa II which seem to form a class apart, mentioning facts about the interregnum before the accession of Śaktivarman I, omitted elsewhere.† The facts as set forth in the first set of plates are the following.

Vijayāditya VII. After twelve years had elapsed from the accession of Rājarāja-narendra, his step-brother Vijayāditya ousted him from the throne and crowned himself king in Śaka 952, A. D. 1030; † the grant which mentions this fact is dated in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya.‡ Then the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II, which do not mention any regnal year, state that Śaktivarman was crowned as king in the year Śaka 983, on a

* JA. xx p. 277.
† Pamulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII. ii. 62-3; JAHRZ. ii. 267.
‡ (ibid) l. 81.
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day corresponding to 18th October A.D. 1061, after Rājarāja had enjoyed a reign of forty-one years; they omit the coronation of Vijayāditya in A.D. 1030. * Lastly, the Ryāli plates (two sets) of Vijayāditya VII omit all reference to the occurrences of A.D. 1030-2, give forty-one years to Rājarāja, state that Vijayāditya took by force the kingdom of his step-brother without his knowledge (in his absence?), † that he handed it over to his son Śaktivarman out of the love he bore him, and that, when Śaktivarman died at the end of one year by a bad stroke of fate, Vijayāditya was only persuaded with difficulty, like Arjuna at the death of Abhimanyu, to resume the duties of state. These grants are dated in the twelfth year of Vijayāditya's rule. There is nothing in the palaeography or the dating of these records that raises any doubt as to their genuineness.

Alike in their chronology and in their narration of events, these plates differ from those of Kulottunga which will be noticed presently. These imply that Rājarāja-nārāṇḍra came to the E. Cāḷukya throne in 1018 after Vimalāditya had occupied it for seven years from A.D. 1011, thus completely vindicating the date of Vimalāditya's accession calculated by Kielhorn, 10th May 1011. ‡ But the facts that the Raṇustapūnḍrī grant of Vimalāditya is dated in his eighth regnal year, and that Rājarāja-nārāṇḍra's coronation is stated elsewhere to have occurred in A.D. 1022 should not be lost sight of. Though the grants of Vijayāditya VII

* JAHRS. v. pp. 33. ff.
† parokṣam Rājarājasya bhūtātur-dvaimāturasasya yaḥ|
paryagrahin-mahārājya-śriyasya vīrā-śriyā yutaḥ ¡¡,

My thanks are due to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Madras Museum for assisting me in consulting the unpublished Ryāli plates in his custody. See also ARE. 1925. Il 5; JAHRS. v. p. 44, v. 16.

‡ EJ. vi pp 349-50.
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and Śaktivarman II thus agree with those of the time of Kulottunga I in ascribing a rule of forty-one years to Rājarāja-narêndra, they seem to reckon the years from a different starting point, A.D. 1018, which is four years earlier than the date usually given, in the later grants, for Rājarāja’s coronation, A.D. 1022. The language of the Ryāli plates and the date of Śaktivarman II’s coronation * even raise a doubt if Vijayāditya waited till the natural end of Rājarāja’s life or deposed him earlier. In any event, seeing that Vīrārājendrā’s inscriptions before his seventh year (A.D. 1068-9) do not mention his having had anything to do with Vijayāditya, there is no room for assuming, as has been sometimes done, that he interfered in any dispute relating to the succession, on Rājarāja’s death, between Kulottunga I and Vijayāditya VII or that he helped to keep out the former. †

The hostility of Vijayāditya VII to Rājarāja, and possibly to his son Rājendra-Kulottunga, that becomes apparent from these plates has led to the identification of Vijayāditya VII with Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya (of some Western Cālukya inscriptions) who bears Eastern Cālukya titles like Sarvalokākāli and Vēngi-manḍalēśvara. Fleet who first proposed this identification, basing himself mainly on the similarity of names and titles, ‡ subsequently gave it up and made the Western Cālukya prince a fourth son of Sōmeśvara I, not mentioned by Bilhana, apparently because he played a very insignificant part. § In recent years, Fleet’s original identification has again found support from scholars under the influence of the newly discovered copper-plates of

* This date is given as 5, 986 in ARE. 1914 II 10 and 983 in App. A. (i.eid). The text is: guṇa-vara-nilidhi. The astronomical details fit 983 better.
† ARE. 1901, paragraph 12; SII. iii p. 128.
‡ IA. ix 277-8.
§ EG. I, ii 454 and n. 5.
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Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, and attempts have been made to prove that after the failure of his first usurpation (A.D. 1030-32), Vijayāditya left the Vengi country and sought service under and support from Sōmeśvara I. * But there are several considerations militating against this view, and the arguments urged in its favour are by no means conclusive. It is true that a marriage relation between the two branches of Cālukyas such as was postulated by Fleet is impossible, and Vijayāditya-Viṣṇuvardhana, if he was a son of Sōmeśvara, could not have had an Eastern Cālukya princess for his mother. † It may also be conceded that the omission of this name by Bilhana, and the phrase tatpādapadmārādhaka in the inscriptions, describing the relation of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya to Sōmeśvara I, raise a doubt as to whether he was the son of Sōmeśvara though he is elsewhere called maga and nandanu. ‡ But whether he was a son of Sōmeśvara or not, it seems unlikely that this Western Cālukya feudatory was identical with the step-brother of Rājarāja-narāṇa. The dates of the known inscriptions of the feudatory are: A.D. 1064 and 1066, and his inscriptions bearing these years are found in the Mysore and Bellary districts, and he acknowledges the overlordship of Sōmeśvara in these years. But what we gather from the Eastern Cālukya plates is: (1) that, if Vijayāditya VII was exiled at all, it must have been some time after A.D. 1032, at a time when the Western Cālukya feudatory with whom he is sought to be identified is not known to have recorded any inscriptions; § and (2) that in the years A.D. 1063-70 he

* JAHRS. i p. 215; v 206-8; ARE. 1925 II 3.
† ARE. 1925 II 3.
‡ Fleet. BG. ibid.
§ The Maṇimangalam inscription (A.D. 1046) of Rājarāja has been thought, quite wrongly, to contain a reference to Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. JAHRS. i 219 n. 33. We have only the name Vijayāditya in l. 3 among the leaders of the army, and this proves nothing.

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must have been ruling in Vengi after the death of his son Saktivarman II. Again, there is no getting over the fact that about A.D. 1067-8 Virarajendra did reconquer Vengi from his enemies and hand it over to Vijayaditya VII, which clearly means that Vijayaditya could not have been the feudatory of Someshvara I about the same time. Lastly, the title Vengipuravarvesvara is borne as early as A.D. 1053 by Someshvara-deva, the son of Someshvara I, * which is proof that this title is for some unknown reason borne in this period by the governors of W. Calukya provinces. It seems impossible therefore to uphold the identification of the two Vijayadityas of the Western and Eastern Calukya records of the period.

To return to the evidence from the Eastern Calukya copper-plates. Three grants of the sons of Kulottunga, known as the Teki, Cellur and Pittapuram grants, dated respectively in the seventeenth, twenty-first and twenty-third years of his reign, narrate in almost identical terms the course of events in Vengi as it was described by Kulottunga himself to his son Rajaraja-mummaḍicōda, while sending him to Vengi as viceroy of the northern province of the Cola empire. † From these plates we learn that, at the death of Rajaraja after a rule of forty-one years, Rajendra was first crowned as lord of Vengi and attained great celebrity. He was then crowned in the Cola-rajya, not less exalted in status than the position of Devendra. He married Madhurantakī, the very Lakṣmi risen from the ocean, namely Rajendra-deva, the tilaka of the Solar race. He had many children by her, and to one of them, Rajaraja, he said: "Child, the great kingdom of Vengi was, in

* Mulgunḍ inscription EI. xvi. p. 53.
† EI. vi. 35. SII. i. 39, IA. xix. p. 427; EI. v. 10.
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days gone by, entrusted by me to my paternal uncle, king Vijayāditya, as I was desirous of undertaking a conquering tour (or according to the Cellūr plates, 'as I was desirous of securing the Cōla kingdom'). He too, who was like a god and resembled a lion in his strength, went to heaven after ruling the kingdom for fifteen years." And the Ṭēki plates make it clear that Vijayāditya's death occurred some time in A.D. 1077; * this would mean that Kulōttunga appointed him as his deputy in A.D. 1062 or thereabout.

In order to reconcile these statements of Kulōttunga on his relations with Vijayāditya VII with what we know of them from other sources, we must recall the time and circumstance of the utterance attributed to Kulōttunga. By 1077 Kulōttunga was firmly seated on the Cōla throne; and securely established at the head of a prosperous and extensive empire, he was addressing his own son, after the death of his uncle and on the eve of sending him out as viceroy to the northern kingdom. Paternal solicitude as well as good taste and policy required that, rather than expatiate on ancient family feuds that deserved to be forgotten, he should give the best possible account of the past history of the viceroyalty that the young prince was about to take upon himself.

That Vijayāditya's relations with Kulōttunga and his father, however, had been nothing so pleasant as Kulōttunga afterwards represented them to his son, becomes clear not only from his Pāmulavāka, and Ryāli plates, and the Telugu Academy plates of

* Rājarāja Cōḍa-ganga was crowned in Vēngi in Śaka 1006 (v. 34); before him Vira Cōḍa was viceroy for six years and Mummaḍi-Kōḍa for one year (vv. 19 and 17), so that the beginning of Mummaḍi's viceroyalty fell in Śaka 999 or A.D. 1077.

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Śaktivarman II discussed above, but from other evidence as well. We learn from Eastern Ganga inscriptions that even after Kulottunga became Cōla emperor, the hostile relations between Vijayāditya and his nephew continued more or less unabated. The Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga* state that his father Rājarāja having, in the first instance, become the lord of the goddess of victory in a 'Tamil battle', then married Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōla king. The same lady is described elsewhere in unmistakable terms as the daughter of Rājñendra Cōla and the chief queen of Rājarāja.†

The Ganga king is also said to have offered help to Vijayāditya at the end of his life. The grant that mentions the 'Tamil battle' also states that 'when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left the country of Vēṅgī, as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōḍas,' Rājarāja of Kalinganagara "caused him to enjoy prosperity for a time in the Western region," that is, Vēṅgī to the west of Kalinganagara.‡ The approximate date for these occurrences is furnished by the Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati dated Śaka 997, A. D. 1075, which makes a pointed reference to Vanapati's successes gained on behalf of his Ganga overlord against the Cōla forces. § A war between Kulottunga and the E. Ganga Rājarāja followed by a peace sealed by a dynastic alliance, a mediation by Rājarāja Ganga

* IA. xvii. pp. 166-9; Koni plates, JAI/KS. i pp. 106. it.
† IA. xviii. pp. 163-4.
‡ IA. xx. p. 276.
§ 271 of 1896; EL xiv. 45. E. Ganga Rājarāja came to power on May 20, A. D. 1070 (AJE. 1919, App. A. No. 4.) 248 of 1896, dated Śaka 990, records a gift by a queen of his predecessor Vajabaha. It is surprising that, in utter disregard of all chronology, these inscriptions should have been dragged into a discussion of Virājñendra's movements in JAI/KS. i. p. 215.
between Vijayāditya VII and his nephew Kulōttunta on a subsequent occasion, and the demise of Vijayāditya some time after the successful intercession of Rājarāja are thus clearly attested by the Ganga records of the time.

If Rājendra-Kulōttunga was first crowned as lord of Vēngi, as the later E. Cālukya plates assert (in contradiction to those of Vijayāditya), it is remarkable that these plates fail to give us the exact date of this coronation as they do of most other coronations. The Telugu inscriptions of Kulōttunga containing both regnal years and Śaka dates support the date A.D. 1070 for the commencement of his rule, and this was the date of his accession to the Cōla throne.* The crux of the Kulōttunga problem is, in fact, the question: what did he do with himself in the interval between his father’s death and A.D. 1070? Fleet added up the two statements in the Ṭēki and Cēllūr grants that Kulōttunga appointed his uncle as deputy in Vēngi because he wanted to have (i) a conquering tour and (ii) the Cōḷarājya, and stated that ‘Kulōttunga acquired the Cōla crown by hostile invasion and conquest,’ and placed this event in A.D. 1063, in spite of the indication of a much later date for it furnished by the Vikramāndadeva Carita.† He also pointed out that Kulōttunga’s conquest and annexation of the Cōla empire were not entirely the result of a failure of the Cōla succession, and that it must have been powerfully aided by a rebellion in the Cōla country and a state of anarchy of which we get some idea from the Kalingattuparaṇī. Later writers, while they have recognised the mistake in Fleet’s date for

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* SII. iii. p. 127.  
† IA. xx. 277, 282.
these occurrences, have not been so ready to give up his suggestions of hostile invasion, and in fact have added to it the charge of political murder against Kulottunga. * Reserving the literary sources for more detailed consideration at a later stage, it may be observed here that the course adopted by Fleet in putting together two alternative statements made in peculiar circumstances about past events and evolving the theory of hostile invasion seems to be of doubtful validity, and that even the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita does not contain the remotest suggestion that Kulottunga put his rivals out of the way by secret murder, or even by open fighting. And now we must remember what Fleet was not aware of, viz., that the supposed appointment of Vijayāditya by Kulottunga to deputise for him at Vēṅgi and his occupation of the Cōla throne are separated by the whole interval of the reign of Virarājendra.

At the time of his father’s death and the forcible seizure of the Vēṅgi throne by Vijayāditya mentioned in the Ryāli plates, Kulottunga, or Rājendra as he was then known, must have been a youth in his teens. For considering that he lived on to have a long rule of fifty years from A.D. 1070, it is hardly likely that about A.D. 1062 he was more than twenty years of age. His earliest Tamil inscriptions record certain facts which seem to indicate how Rājendra engaged himself when he was thus kept out of his inheritance. The records of his second year † state that, with the aid only of the strength of his arms and

* ARE. 1899 paragraph 51.
† SII. iii 64-7, as corrected by Hira Lai, EI, ix p. 170 n. 1 and 2. Also 125 of 1900 with the pāḷ mēḷ arivai introduction recording the same transactions in other words.
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his sword, he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured many herds of elephants, levied tribute from the Nāgavamśi king, Dhārāvarśa of Cakrakūṭa, and gently raised the country in the eastern region, like Viṣṇu raising the Earth from the ocean in his boar incarnation, and seated her, to her great pleasure, under the shade of his parasol. 'The lotus-like nila-magcī (earth-maiden) in the direction of the rising sun' is clearly by itself and in the context a periphrasis for Pūrvadēśam, * and the elaborately ceremonial character of the language of these records seems to imply that Rājēndra at least succeeded in making himself acceptable as a great benefactor of that country, if not also as its ruler. His records soon came to describe these achievements as belonging to the period of his ilangōp-paruvam, when he was still heir-apparent. † If this view is correct, we must conclude that Rājēndra spent the best part of the period A.D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar state, and possibly even carved out for himself a small dominion beyond it in the Pūrvadēśa, even if he did not gain complete control over the Cakrakūṭa state and annex parts of the Pūrvadēśa to it, as his inscriptions imply. Possibly this northern extension of the influence of Vēṅgī, so closely allied to the Cōlas, was the cause of Vikramaḍītya’s expedition against Vēṅgī and Cakrakūṭa, counteracted by the campaign of Vīrarājēndra culminating in the battle of Bezwāda. It will be remembered that in the course of this campaign, Vīrarājēndra is said also to have marched up to Šakkarakkōṭtam. After the death of Vīrarājēndra, Kulōttunga marched into the Cōla country in good time to get himself accepted as

* Hultsch’s equation of this phrase with Vēṅgī (SJ II, iii p. 132) is hardly satisfactory, while Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is wide of the mark in suggesting that there is a reference to Kaṭṭaram here (Ancient India, pp. 130-1).

† SJ II, iii. 68.
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king; but more of this later. And as he did some fighting during these years and subsequently came to look upon the whole period as a sort of probation for the Cōla throne, he might have felt justified in saying that he left Vēngī to his uncle Vijayāditya at the death of his father for a double reason.*

We may now turn to the literary evidence on the subject of Kulottunga's accession. On one matter the evidence of two works is in complete accord with that of the inscriptions. Both the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita and the Vikramaśālān-ulā † are explicit in stating that Virarājendra was succeeded by another king before Kulottunga came to the throne; the ulā by its very brief reference giving no particulars whatever of his reign, and the

* It is obviously impossible to discuss fully all the theories that have been suggested about Kulottunga's position in 1063-70. I am fully alive to the responsibility of adding one more to these, not to my knowledge suggested before by others. My only warrant is that this seems to be the normal interpretation of the language of the inscriptions of Kulottunga himself. The other views centre round the hypothesis that Kāḷendra was yuvāraja to his father Rājarāja-nārendra when he fought the campaign against Dhārāvāraṇa or that he was yuvāraja to Virarājendra. The latter seems impossible, in view of Adhuraśānendra's position and inscriptions. The former hypothesis is quite feasible, provided the date is not placed too early. (JAHRS. i. pp. 217-8). But what, on this basis, can be the force of the claim that Kulottunga gently raised the land in the eastern quarter and seated her under his umbrella? Another view makes Kulottunga a dupe of circumstances who, having, after a fight in which Śaktivarman II was killed like Abhimanyu (an inference not supported by the language of the Ryali plates), made his peace with his bereaved uncle, found himself baulked in his design upon the Cōla throne by the prompt usurpation of Virarājendra (JAHRS. v. pp. 208-11). This writer has apparently overlooked the probability that Virarājendra might have been recognised as heir to Kāḷendrāsēva on the death of Rājamaṅendra. He is also clearly wrong in mixing up Yaśāl-karpādēva's inroad into Trikalinga with these transactions, for he did not come to power till A.D. 1073 (EL. xii p. 207). Hultsch's view that before A.D. 1072 Kāḷendra-Kulottunga took Vēngī from his uncle Vijayāditya VII who appears to have received it from the Cōla king Virarājendra (SII. iii. p 132) goes against the express statement in the Šek and other grants that Vijayāditya ruled Vēngī continuously for fifteen years, and is now contradicted by the Ryali plates of the twelfth year of Vijayāditya c. A.D. 1074; but the E. Ganga records (p. 345 ante) must be taken into account here. See also ARE. 1914, II 10 where SII. iii. p. 128 is followed.

† II.44-5—Angavanān hānalpurindavani kāṭṭumna. [349]
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_Carita_ by directly stating that he lost his life in a rebellion that occurred within a few days of his installation* , imply that he had a very short reign; this king was no doubt Parakésari Adhirājēndra of the inscriptions. And Kulōttunga himself recognised the legitimacy of Adhirājēndra's position when he styled himself Rājakēsari. In some of his records, however, is found a double _praśasti_ which, by combining the two forms _viramē tuṇai-yāgavum_ and _pugalmādu vilanga_, seems to set up a claim that Kulōttunga should be considered the direct successor of Vīrājēndra. † And the _Kalingatuppāpari_ of Jayanguṇḍār, makes it a point to ignore the reign of Adhirājēndra. ‡ This poem is often cited in support of the notions that at his birth Kulōttunga was adopted by Rājēndra Cōḷaḍēva I into the Cōḷa family and that he was brought up in his maternal grandfather's court. § But there is nothing in the actual words employed by the poet to suggest either a formal ceremony of adoption or to enable us to know where the prince spent his early years. In fact the date of this prince's birth must be placed at the end of Rājēndra I's reign, some time after A. D. 1040. By that time Rājādhirāja I had long been associated with his father as _yuvavēja_, and there were several brothers of his perhaps occupying responsible posts in the administration of the empire. There was no need for any adoption; and considering his marriage

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* vi. 26
† 156 of 1923 (Yr. 2); 197 1919 (Yr. 5), the former having only _viramē tuṇai_; 197 and 199 of 1929 and 434 of 1912 (Yrs. 37, 38 and 43). _ARE._ 1913, II. 33.
‡ Verse viii. 29 asserts that directly after the victory of Kūḍal-Sangamam the earth, to her great good fortune, passed into the hands of Abbaya, the hero of the poem. The ' _mannar-mannan_ ' or ' _mannar-viran_ ' of x. 25 cannot be Adhirājēndra as Hultsch thinks (_III._ iii p. 129), but Vīrājēndra.
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with Madhurāntaki, it is impossible to postulate it. In
fact all that Jayangouḍār says is that on the birth of
the child, the queen of Gangaikōṇḍa-śōla raised him in
her hands and expressed her admiration of the marks
on his limbs by observing that he was fit to be a son
of the solar line born for its protection; in the very next
verse the poet takes good care to add that the kings of
both the lunar and the solar dynasties, that is Rājarāja-
ṇarāṇeṇḍra and Rājendrā Gangaikōṇḍa, experienced joy
on the occasion of the birth of the prince. * After a
conventional account of the early years of the prince,
the poet states that Abhaya † (Vīrājendrā) made him
crown prince, and then proceeds to describe his
dīgriyajya of which particulars are furnished only with
reference to the northern direction. He is said to have
made his mark in Vayirākaram and Śakkaraṇkkottām.
He was still in the north engaged in these campaigns
when the Cōḷa king died in the south, and there ensued
anarchy and confusion until Abhaya Kulottunag
returned and restored order. This account of Jaya-
gouḍār is remarkable in some ways. It studiously
refrains from mentioning Adhirājendrā and asserts that
Vīrājendrā made Abhaya crown prince for the rule
of the Earth, meaning no doubt, the Cōḷa kingdom;
and it recounts details of campaigns in Wairagārh and
Cakrakūṭa exactly like the early inscriptions of Kulottunag
to which attention has been drawn above.
Though the poet aims, as Fleet has remarked, at
treating Abhaya on the whole as a Cōḷa prince rather
than as Cāḷukya, he has still not altogether suppressed
the Cāḷukya connections, and in his account of the

* x, vv. 5-7.

† 'Abhaya' in this verse x, 18 does refer to Vīrājendrā cf. viii 29; and
from this account of Vīrājendrā's recognition of Kulottunag, the conclusion has
been drawn that Adhirājendrā was a bastard with no title to the throne.
youthful achievements of Abhaya he follows the early records of the reign rather closely. Above all, his account leaves no room for doubt as to the whereabouts of Abhaya at the time when his chance arrived to seize the Cōla throne. It is also of some interest to note that in the account of Abhaya's digvijaya, and in the attempt made, in the inscriptions, to combine the prasasti of Virarājendra with that of Kulottunga, and thus cast a doubt on the legitimacy of Adhirājendra's rule, the poem and the inscriptions are in perfect agreement.

The Vikramāṇkañadeva Carita of Bilhaṇa gives the story from yet another point of view, which is as hostile to Kulottunga as the Kalinguttupparaṇi is favourable to him. * Soon after Vikramāditya's marriage, his father-in-law the Cōla king, died and the kingdom fell into a state of anarchy. When he heard of these things, he set out for Kānci with the definite object of helping the late king's son to the throne. At Kānci, Vikramāditya spent some days in bringing the wicked (duṣṭavarga) to their knees, and then marched to Gangākunḍa where he destroyed the forces of the enemy and finally secured the throne to the Cōla prince. After spending about a month in that city, Vikramāditya, apparently satisfied that peace had been restored, retired to the Tungabhadrā. Within a few days after his return, the news reached him that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion and that Rājiga, the lord of Vēṅgi, had captured the throne vacated by the Cōla prince. 'Vikramāditya VI marched at once against Rājiga. The latter induced Sūmēśvara II to combine with him; and a battle was fought. But the victory rested with

* vi. 7-26.
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Vikramāditya VI; Rājiga fled and Sōmēśvara II was taken prisoner. This lost Sōmēśvara the throne; and shortly afterwards, according to the poem, Vikramāditya VI allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekkan.' *

Certain questions naturally arise from this account: who was responsible for the troubles that followed Virarājendrā's death and rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya to come over to Kānci and Gangākuṇḍa to secure the succession for his brother-in-law? Who were the wicked people of Kānci and the hostile forces of Gangākuṇḍa whom Vikramāditya had to suppress before Adhirājendrā could feel secure on the throne and Vikramāditya himself retire to the Tungabhadrā? And what was the nature of the rebellion in which Adhirājendrā lost his life within a few days after Vikramāditya's retirement? There is no direct statement in the Vikramānkaldeva Carita of Kulottungā's complicity in these conspiracies and rebellions; but the facts that they paved the way for Kulottungā's accession to the Cōḷa throne, that Vikramāditya VI marched against him and made an attempt to oust him after he occupied it, and the silence of the Kalingattupparani on Adhirājendrā's reign seem to furnish some ground for the inference that Kulottungā's ambition and intrigue brought about these occurrences. But a strict regard to the actual statements of Bilhana may not support any conclusion more precise than that of Fleet, † 'that Kulottunga Cōḷadēva I was enabled to seize the Cōḷa crown through internal disturbances in the Cōḷa kingdom, which culminated in the death of the last Cōḷa king.'

† IA. xx. p. 282.
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An attempt has been made * to connect these internal disturbances in the Cōla kingdom that led to the extinction of the direct line of the Cōlas with the story of the persecution suffered by Rāmānuja and his disciples as it is narrated in Vaiśṇava hagiology. Without minimising the difficulty of reconciling all the data proceeding from a mass of contradictory legends, but confining our attention to the professedly earliest biographies of Rāmānuja like the final chapters of the Divyāsūricarita † and the Yatirāja-vaibhava, ‡ it is just possible to identify the Cōla who died as Krimikaṇṭha in consequence of the persecution to which he subjected Rāmānuja and his followers with either Adhirājendrā, or possibly with Virarājendrā with whom the direct Cōla line practically comes to a close. The categorical statement in the Divyāsūricarita that God Śiva of Tiruvārūr proclaimed the end of the rule of the kings of the Cōla family, § and the chaos at the end of Virarājendrā’s rule which is attested by, but not accounted for, by the Kalingattupparaṇi and the Vikramāndkadeva Carita, and which might have been the concomitant of a religious upheaval, lend plausibility to the suggestion thus made. But it must be recognised that the details of the chronology of the life of Rāmānuja furnished by other works are not easy to explain on this assumption, and that it is perhaps impossible to reconcile all the data furnished by legend on any single hypothesis. ¶

* IA. xli pp. 217 ff.
† Ed. Ālkoṇḍavilli Gōvindācārya-Mysore 1885, text in Telugu characters. Nāgarī text in the Sahādaya (New series).
‡ IA. xxxviii pp. 129 ff. See, however, IA. xl p. 152, for a critique.
§ xviii 84.
¶ To refrain from dogmatism in dealing with such shifty material is as necessary as it is difficult. Krimikaṇṭha-Cōla has generally been identified with
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Before concluding this discussion of the circumstances of Kulottunga's accession, it must be pointed out that the provenance of the inscriptions of the early years of Kulottunga now known does not confirm the views to which Hultsch gave expression in his masterly introduction to Kulottunga's inscriptions of these years. It shows, on the contrary, that from A.D. 1070 onwards Kulottunga was practically master of the entire Cōla country, except, of course, for the hostile movement of Vikramāditya VI which remained to be dealt with, and the risings in the south, always ready to break out on every possible occasion and now favoured by the confusion following Virarājendrā's death. Inscriptions of Rājendrā's second year* with the characteristic introduction or with a verifiable date are found in Kaṇḍamangalam (South Arcot) and Vaḻuvūr (Tanjore); of the third year † at Ālanguḍi, Nallūr (Tanjore), Iḍaiyār and Tribhuvani, (South Arcot). And

Kulottunga I, on the strength of the name Kulottunga given to the Cōla persecutor of Rāmānuja in later works like the Rāmāyana. A. Govindacarya-śāmin-Life of Rāmānuja (Madras 1906) p. 170. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India pp. 150 and 207. Dr. Aiyangar is inclined to date the decline of Cōla power from the end of Kulottunga I's reign. op. cit. pp. 152 and 318. It has been pointed out that the traditional date for the foundation of the temple at Meḻukōṭe is against this identification of Krimikaṇṭha. (JA. vol. xli. p. 224). It is possible that 'Kulottunga' is used in later works as a generic name for Cōla. The name is not found even in the Gūrṇamparāprarabhā (Arṇirappādi; ed. Madras 1927). Krimikaṇṭha-Cōla is said to have uprooted and thrown into the sea the image of Gōvindarāja from the front of the Naṭarāja shrine at Cidambaram, and this act of sacrilege is placed by the Diṇṇatuṇicarita at the very beginning of the Cōla persecution of Viṣṇuism, (xviii 72). The same fact is recalled by the much later Prapannātmam (quoted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar op. cit. p. 320). The poet Oṭṭakkūṭan seems to attribute this deed to Kulottunga II—Kulottungadīvan-uiti 76-8; Kaṭṭarājāvīvan-uiti 64-6 which is most explicit, and Takkaygapparuiti v. 777. But no one, on this account, seems to be prepared to identify the persecutor of Rāmānuja with Kulottunga II. This king is, however, known to have extended the temple of Naṭarāja by putting up new structures and 'gilding' it and may be that the Tamil poet in describing this act of his attributes to him a deed of one of his predecessors. Otherwise the genuineness of even the Diṇṇatuṇicarita would be suspect.

* 358 of 1917; 425 of 1912.
† 497 of 1920; 55 of 1911; 279 of 1929; 185 of 1919.
there are records of the second and fourth years already giving him the name Kulottunga.* It seems necessary therefore to give up the ideas that some years elapsed after Rājiga entered the Cōla kingdom and before he actually occupied the territory on the banks of the Kāvēri; and that his formal assumption of Cōla sovereignty in the fifth year was marked by the adoption of the name Kulottunga. † The fact seems to have been that, as is implied by the Vikramāṇkadeva Carita, Rājiga came to the south soon after Adhirājendra’s demise ‡ and appropriated to himself the whole kingdom of the Cōlas, in so far as it was possible to do this by a single formal act. In fact, he became the Cōla king. It remained of course for him to hold the new position against Vikramāditya’s attack and to suppress other disorders. And if it is true, as seems likely, that some other records bearing early regnal years like the second and third of Kulottunga § are also really his, then it becomes quite certain that the title Kulottunga was also assumed by him from the very commencement.

To sum up the results of the discussion. Despite the statement in the Kalingattuppapram that Viṇaratendra made Kulottunga his crown prince, the evidence of Adhirajendra’s inscriptions, the Vikramāṇkadeva Carita and the Vikramaśoḷanulā makes it clear that this could not have happened, and that, consequently, we have to assume that the court-poet of Kulottunga introduced this story to give validity to Kulottunga’s title to the Cōla throne.

* 156 of 1923, (2); 101 of 1928, 468 of 1913 (4). † SII. iii pp. 132, 140.
‡ The civil war between Adhirajendra and the ‘usurper’ postulated in ARE. 1904 paragraph 21 is pure myth. (See n. on 386 of 1903 Yr. 4, post Vol. ii. Appendix).
§ 145, 147, 151 of 1906; 142 of 1929; 55 of 1911; 586 of 1907; 267 of 1917; 126 of 1912.

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There is no direct statement even by Jayangondar that Kulottunga was either adopted into the Cōla family or that he was brought up in the Cōla court. The copper-plate grants of the Eastern Cālukyas, those of Vijayaditya VII, of Śaktivarman II and of the sons of Kulottunga himself, together with the early Tamil records of Kulottunga's reign, lead us to reconstruct the period of Kulottunga's youth and his career until he came to the Cōla throne somewhat as follows. At the time of his father's death, his uncle Vijayaditya made himself master of the Vēngī kingdom and kept the prince Rājendra, as he was then called, out of his inheritance. Alone and unaided, he sought a life of adventure across the Vēngī frontier in the land of Cakrakūṭa and Pūrvadōśa. Possibly he carved a small principality for himself and after making his peace with his uncle Vijayaditya, especially as, after the death of Śaktivarman II, this must have been easy, he bided his time hoping that in some manner he might gain the Cōla throne for himself. The confusion that followed the death of Virarājendra in the internal affairs of the Cōla kingdom helped him to achieve his object in spite of the attempts of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI to prevent the union of the Vēngī and Cōla kingdoms in the same hands. The evidence is not clear on the question of Kulottunga's complicity in the rebellions that at first obstructed the accession and then shortened the rule of Adhirājendra. There is just a possibility that these disturbances were religious in origin and connected with the Cōla persecution of Vaiśnavism in the days of Rāmānuja, a fact well attested in legends, though the details of the story are very obscure. In any event, Kulottunga began to rule in the Cōla kingdom from about the 9th June A.D. 1070. * In his later

* E.I. vii. p. 7 n. 5.
THE COLAS

inscriptions Kulottunga claims to have obtained the Cōla crown by right and thereby become an acceptable companion to the land of the Kāvēri in her loneliness.

* SII. ii. 68. 'Podumai' does not mean 'prostitution' as Hultzsch understands it. The idea is that Lakṣmi, the wealth of the southern country, had become common, ownerless, and the land of the Kāvēri lonely, unaccompanied, when the Cōla succession failed; both found a remedy for their situation in the coming of Kulottunga.
APPENDIX
SELECT LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
Cōḷas AND RELATED DYNASTIES
(CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.)

This list is intended to furnish a handy reference to the most important epigraphs on which the history of the Cōḷas is based. As far as possible, all the inscriptions of definite historical or social importance have been included, and references given to the known editions of published inscriptions. Most of the unpublished inscriptions have been consulted by me, thanks to the courtesy of the Archaeological Department, and the data gathered from their study have been incorporated in the summaries of the records. These will be found arranged in the order of regnal years of the rulers in whose reigns they were recorded, the inscriptions of each regnal year being arranged in the alphabetical order of the villages where they are found. Records dated on a numbered day in a regnal year are placed at the end of that year, e.g., 185th day of year 10 will be found at the end of year 10 and before year 11. Only a few of the Rājakēsari and Parakēsari inscriptions have been included under the particular reigns to which they may be assigned. In the case of most of them, however, the identity of the ruler is either obscure or disputed; hence they have been put together in separate groups, and placed at the beginning of the list. Inscriptions of other contemporary rulers have also been listed wherever, as in the case of Kṛṣṇa III, such a list is calculated to elucidate the course of Cōḷa History.
THE COLAS

The following abbreviations are used for the names of districts:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anantapur</td>
<td>An.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Arcot</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Arcot</td>
<td>SA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td>Bel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chingleput</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chittoor</td>
<td>C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td>Coi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuddapah</td>
<td>Cud.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ganjam</td>
<td>Gj.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Godavari</td>
<td>God.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guntur</td>
<td>Gu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Kanara</td>
<td>SK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishna</td>
<td>Kr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karnool</td>
<td>Kar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>Ms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madura</td>
<td>Md.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malabar</td>
<td>Mal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nellore</td>
<td>Nel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramnad</td>
<td>Rd.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Sm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tanjore</td>
<td>Tj.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tinnevelly</td>
<td>Tin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trichinopoly</td>
<td>Tri.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vizagapatam</td>
<td>Viz.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cochin</td>
<td>Cn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>Mys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudukkottah</td>
<td>Pd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore</td>
<td>Tv.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, caturvedi-mangalam is abbreviated into catm., and n-d. signifies 'no date.'
RÄJAKÉSARIVARMAN

Year 2—Lālgudi (Tri.)—Five kālāni for some lamps in the temple by Aragan Patṭulagan of the Madhurāntakaterinīja-kaikkōla-paḍai, a Kaikkōla of Śōḷamādēviyār Veḷam (in Tanjore). 89 of 1892; SII. iv 536.

Sendalai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp deposed with the sabhā, 61 of 1897; SII. iv 10.

Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Thirty sheep and thirty goats for a lamp in the temple of Tiru-kurakkut-turai- perumānaḍigal at Mahēndra-mangalam. 586 of 1904.

Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Registers the tax-free lands of the temple and allots the revenues therefrom for its various requirements. A special vāriyam and the kaṇakkū did the work. 596 of 1904.

Tirumanaṇajēri (Tj.)—An arrangement by Uḍaiya-pirāt- tiyār Śembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Uttama Cōja, regarding expenses for the temple from the proceeds of 14 vēli of land in Mūlanguḍi. 21 of 1914.

Tirumeyṇānam (Tj.)—The assembly of Nālūr, a trahna- dīya transferred the right of collecting angāḍhik-kāli in the bazaar of their town (engaṭūr) to the temple of Mūlāsthāmuttu Mahādēva of Tirumayṇānam—the rate being kāśinūy nāṇi of each measurable stuff like paddy and rice brought up for sale from outside Nālūr; kidandu vishpāna kuvālāl (heap) nāṇi; one palam of articles sold by weight; one pāṟṟu on each basket of betel-leaves; two nuts for each basket of areca-nuts. This transfer was apparently in consideration of 25 kāśu received by the assembly from the temple. 321 of 1910; SII. iii 90 *

Tirunāgōśvaram (Tj.)—Gift with the consent of the guild (Nagara-anucaiyāl) of vārāvaigal collected annually till then by the Nagaram (i.e., the Perunagaramār of Kumāra-mārtanḍa-puram) on account of two flower gardens of the Milāḻunāiyār-pałḍi of that

* Palæographically of the time of Āditya I. H. K. Sastrī.
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village; the gift was made for the renovation (puduk-kuppuram) of the gopura and the tiruccurrailai (called Mouna-kumara-mattandjan) in the pañji.

222 of 1911; SII. iii. 91 *

Year 2— Tiruppañanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalañju of gold by Sōlap-perumānañjilai Perunarykkiñi-sōlai for lamp.

143 of 1928.

" Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Silver vessels to god Pugalur-dēva. Another damaged record in year 3 of ... varman records gift of a silver vessel by Pattan Dānatongiyār queen of Uttama Cōla-dēva.

70 of 1928.

" Tiruveñkālu (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings to the temple of Tiruveñkālu-dēva by one of the Pārthivaśokharat-terinā-kaikkōlar. ♠ 491 of 1918.

" Tiruvīḍalairudur (Tj.)—Eight Īñakkāsu to the shrine of Purāṇa-qañapati on the south side of the Mūlsthāna at Tiruvīḍalairudil by a native of Īmanallūr, a brahmadēya in Vaḍagarai-маñi-nāḍu.

239 of 1907.

" Uḍaiyārgudi (SA.)—Land and house-sites by purchase for feeding 15 Brahmans and 5 Śivayēgis and for paddy for a Brahman who supplied water for the sacred bath of god.

577 of 1920. †

Year 3—Allūr (Tri.)—Gift of waste land with the permission of Vīrasōla-Īlangōvēl alias Parāntakan Kuñjaramallan.

380 of 1903.

" Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Loan raised from the temple by the Īrār of Tirukkarralipurattu-Menalūr. The interest on the loan of 18 kalañju, 3 mañjādi and 1 kunāgi was one uḷakku of oil every day.

SII. i. 84.

* cf. 199 of 1907; ARE. 1912 II. 12. Kumāra-mattandja was a surname of Nāndivarman II.

† Wrongly explained as ‘a body of weavers’ so named after Rējarēja I in ARE. 1919 II 10.

† This seems to refer to Āditya II falling a victim to some treachery on the part of local chiefs; their lands were confiscated by Rējarēja, and these lands, after purchase by another, came to be used for feeding Brahmans in the Śiva temple at Kṛṣumannār-kōyil of which Uḍaiyārgudi was a hamlet. ARE. 1921 II. 31.
RAJAKESARI

Year 3—Kīḷappalānuvūr (Tri.)—Two silver vessels to the temple by queen of Vikramaśāla Iļangōvēḷar and daughter of Paḷuvēṭṭamaṭyār. 110 of 1895; SII. v. 671.

Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Sale of land by the assembly (mūlaparai) of Tirukkuḷamūkkil to a Vellāḷa, Araiyan Kalangāmalai, for feeding (uttamāgram) a Śiva-yōgin in a temple. 227 of 1911.

Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Mentions one of the Vira-sōla-* teriṇja-kaikkōḷar of Tanjore. 228 of 1911.

Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple for 500 kalaṇju of gold by the assembly of Tirukkuḷamūkkil, in order to pay a part of 3,000 kalaṇju, a daṇḍam levied upon them by Madiraikoṇḍa-uḍaiyār in his 38th year. Mentions Paṇṭippāḷai as those to whom the amount was to be paid and the temple of Jalaśāyanā. 255 of 1911. †

Olagapuram (SA.)—Sheep for lamp by Ambalavan Gaṅḍarādditanār, a perundaram of the king, who built the temple of Śri-Kailāyaṭṭu-Paramasvāmigal; Ulōgamādevi-puram a taniyār in Īyām-nāḍu. 129 of 1919.

Paṇḍāravāḷai (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, by a Vellāḷa of Iḷamangalam a suburb (piṭṭagai) of Rājakēsari-catm., to a resident of Manōramac-cēri ‡ for bringing water from the river for the sacred bath of the deity. Coin karaṅgūsu mentioned. The purchase was bināmi, (anyanāma-karaṇam) 238 of 1923.

Paṇḍāravāḷai (Tj.)—Land by a native of Puḷḷamangalam residing at Naraṭongac-cēri, as a jīvita to a person for bringing water daily from the river for sacred bath. 276 of 1923.

Salem (Sm.)—Five kalaṇju of gold for feeding Brahmans in the temple by a merchant belonging to the maṇi-grānam of Koḷumbāḷur. 47 of 1888; SII. iv. 147.

* Title of Parāntaka I. cf. Samarakēsari and Vikramaśinga in other names of similar groups of Kaikkōḷar. 278, 279 of 1911, ARE. 1912 II. 16.

† Perhaps Gaṅḍarāditiya, Rūḍitiya having died. ARE. 1912 II. 15.

‡ Parakēsari-cēri in the same village mentioned in 268 of 1923. See also next entry.
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Year 3—Śendalai (Tj.)—Gold (for lamp) deposited with the sabhā. 62 of 1897; SII. vi. 11.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Mentions two persons among the Samarakēsari-terīṇja-kaikkōlar. 24 of 1895; SII. v. 580.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Mentions Samarakēsari - * and Vikramaśinga-terīṇja-kaikkōlar. 278 of 1911.

Tirukkoḷambiyūr (Tj.)—Assembly of Dāvidimangalam makes tax-free some temple land in return for 14 kāṣu. 53 of 1925.

Tirunalaivādi (Tri.)—Gold by a native of Tonliai-nāḍu for aval (crushed rice) offering on the Āṛdrā day in the month of Mārgaḷi to Gaṇapati. The temple, which is picturesquely situated on the bend of the Kolliḻam river, is called Punal-vāyil-Śrī-kōyil. 98 of 1920.

Tiruneḻungalām (Tri.)—Year six in words. Image Lōkasundari set up by a private individual in the temple of Tiruneḻungalāṭtu Āḷvār. Also land for offerings. 682 of 1909.

Tiruvāmāṭtur (SA.)—96 sheep by Rāman Siddhavaṭa-van alias Vikkarama-sōja-Milāduḷaiyūn of the Bhūrgaṇa gotra, for lamp in the temple at Tiruvāmāṭtur, a dēvadāna in Vāvalūr-nāḍu, a division of Aruvū-nāḍu. 29 of 1922.

Tiruvelḷaḷai (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Vēdas. 519 of 1905.

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Sale of land by residents of Erumbhiyūr and the assembly of Śrikaṇṭha-catm., to Śebiyan Vēdivēlān. 123 of 1914.

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land by assembly for singing Tiruppadiyam in temple with uṭukkai and tāḷam. The donor was Śebiyan Vēdivēlān. Refers to a śimāvivāda between sabhā and úr. 129 of 1914.

* Also in 279 of 1911 same year and place.
RAJAKESARI

Year 3—Tiruvëdaimarudur (Tj.)—Paddy by Tiraimur sabhå and Tiruvëdaimarudil nagaratår, Tirukkoyil-udaiyär and Śrikåryam-ărây-girñga Irumûdi-sôla-pallava-Araiyar.

152 of 1895 ; S17. v. 716.

" Tiruvëdaimarudur (Tj.)—Provision for supply of two tender cocoanuts daily to the deity. Six karungäsiu with Tiruvëdaimarudil Sënaiyär. 242 of 1907.

" Tiruvëkkkuñj (Tj.)—Land by assembly of Murugavël-mangalam for maintaining three musicians (kålum and gong) during śrikali to Mangàla Nakkar in the temple of Mahàdéva. 116 of 1926.

" Tiruvësilur (Tj.)—Land by queen of Uttama Côla-dëva, who seems to have been the daughter of Milådmålaiyär. 325 of 1907.

" Tiruvësilur (Tj.)—Mentions mother of Śri Uttama Côla-dëva. 327 of 1907.

" Udaiyårguñj (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Paññitavatsalac-cëri. 543 of 1920.


" Udaiyårguñj (SA.)—19 vëlì of land by three persons for feeding 56 Brahmans; king Uttama Côla mentioned. 614 of 1920.

" Uçaiyår (Tri.)—Mentions Kirtti-mårtançla-Brahmaðhi-råjan. 182 of 1907.

" Vëdhaçalam (SA.)—Assignment by residents (ùröm) of Nêrkuppai of some dëvadåna lands got from the king to an individual for supply of sandal paste etc.

57 of 1918. 

* A number of Rëjak. records ranging from year 3 to year 16 come from this place. The temple here came into existence only in Parantaka I's time. Hence this Rëjak. must be either Gándhàrâditya or Sundara Côla. But the name of G. is omitted in the Kanyâkumåri inscription, and he perhaps had a short reign, or was only coregent with his father. ARE. 1921 II. 27.

† Mentions a grant by Uttama Côla and hence may be of Rëjarañj I. ARE. 1918 II. 23.
Year 3+1 Nangavaram (Tri.)—Land for maintaining the boat plying in the tank at Ariyijigai-cattu. 342 of 1903.

Year 4.—Gudimallam (NA.)—Land, two pañjis of 1000 kuṭi each, for offerings etc., to an image of Kuttapperumāl set up in the Paraśurāmāvara temple by Madhurāntaka Gaṅḍarāḍittar. 222 of 1903.

Innambar (Tj.)—Temple called Ariyijigai Vinā Nagar was built in the name of Sāttī-Ariyijigai alias Tennavan Vilapparaiyan of Innambar, and provision made for feeding five Brahmins in the temple. 321 of 1927.

Tirukkurugāvūr (Tj.)—Remission by the assembly (sabbhā) of Poyaikkudi of the taxes due on the lands granted to temple. 430 of 1918.

Tirumāl (Tj.)—Crown set with gems to the temple of Mahākālattu Mahādeva by Kāripuliyan alias Sollamāraiyam of Paluvār in Kunrak-kūram. 114 of 1910.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Land for two gardeners in a garden endowed by the father of the donor, a merchant. 149 of 1928.

Tiruttani (NA.)—Lamp. Endowment to be supervised by the ‘annual committee’ of Tiruttaniyal. (Sunvatsara-vāriyam of the sabbhā). 432 of 1905.

Tiruvanandai (Ch.)—Twenty kuḷaṅju of gold by a merchant of Puruṣottama-mangalam in Valiya-nālū, a district of Malai-nālū, for a perpetual lamp in the Varāhadeva temple of this village, for ghee (neyyennai) supplied as interest by the residents of Paluvār. 263 of 1910.

* 341 n-d. grantha verse gives names of tank and donor; 343 n-d. (Tamil) gives details of daily removal of silt, and of repairs to boat.

† Perhaps son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cēla, son of Gaṅḍarāḍittar. cf. SII. iii. 49 (ARE. 1904 i 20). This Gaṅḍarāḍitya II must have been the religious devotee, author of Tiruvīṣaiappā, rather than the son of Parāntaka, (Venkayya) ASI. 1905-6 p. 178, n. 5.

‡ cf. 117 of 1910 of Year 2 of Parak. who took the head of Pāṇḍya. The Rājak. of this record must be the immediate predecessor of Parak. Arihjaya of Aditya II. ARE. 1910 II. 17.
RAJAKESARI

Year 4.—Tiruvayumbur (Tri.)—15 kaṇaṇu of gold by Tiruvvaranga-dāvaramliyāl Śeṇand-śeyjavāy-muni for a lamp and a pot of water every day to the temple of Tenkailāyattu Mahādeva at Śrikanṭha-catm.

114 of 1914. *

Uḍaivāṟguḻi (SA.)—Land by purchase for the mid-day meal of three persons every day. 560 of 1920.

Uḍaivāṟguḻi (SA.)—Land (iraiyiti) by the great assembly of Viranāraṇa-catm., assembled at Viranāraṇa-yaṅavinṉagar, for food offerings thrice a day to the deity. 562 of 1920.

Venppakkam (Ch.)—Construction of a sluice (tūmbu) by a certain Kēralan Rājādittan alias Nāṉi-viċcūdaramūrāyan who had the jivita in Velikkon-mangalam in Kunra-nāḍu, a sub-division of Õṟṟukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam.

419 of 1923.

Year 4,—, day 89—Śrīrangam (Tri.)—A settlement re: the temple dēvadānas and other matters by the Perunugiri-sabhā of Śrīrangam. 69 of 1892; SII. iv. 516.

, day 204—Mēḻappaḻuvir (Tri.)—Grant of certain rights in the temple of Tiruttōṭṭam-uḍaiyār built by Paḻuvūṭtaraṇaṉan Kannan Maṟavan who seems to have been staying at Śenāpuram in Maḷaḻu. † 394 of 1924.

Year 4 + 1—Tiruvāṉāṭṭir (SA.)—Lamp by Śiriyai-māraṉaiy of Ikkuḷi and his brothers, on behalf of Candirāccan, son of Kāḻi alias Minaṉ Maṟāyan of Teṇnavāl-mādevi in Ven-nāḍu. 27 of 1922.

Year 5.—Kāṉarasaṉavalli (Tri.)—Land (made tax-free by sabhā) for śidāri by a Brahman of Ádanūr. 74 of 1914. ‡

Kilīr (SA.)—Sheep for lamp. Mentions queen of Vikrama Cōla Maḷāḷuḷaiyār, who was the daughter of Pāṇdiyanūr. 7 of 1905. §

* Later than Parāntaka I. AKE. 1915 ii. 20.
† Malūṟṟaiyaiyaṟṟai irukka (Text).
‡ 4th Jan. 964 A. D. (Sundara) or 2nd Jan. 991 A. D. (Rājarāja)—K. V. S. Aliyār, KI. xix. p. 86.
§ cf. 10 of 1905.

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Year 5.—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—70 Ilakkāsu for offerings.

236 of 1911.

Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvāyappāḷi Śrikaṇṭha Perumāḷ. Name Lōkamahādēvi-catm., and the Gaṇapperumakal doing śrīkāryam to this god (inda devarkku) mentioned.

292 of 1897; SII. vi. 270.

Pulūr (Tri.)—One vēli of land for offerings to Paramēvara at Tiruppaḷuvūr in Vijāṭṭur-nāḷu by the chieftain Mahimālaya Irūkkuvēḷ alias Pirāntakan Vira-vēḷaṇ. *

346 of 1918.

Pulalāḷur (Ch.)—Land for offerings at mid-day service to Tirumōrpaḷi-mahādēva of the village, and for a flower garden, at the instance of the assembly of Paramēvāra-catm. in Eyiṅkōṭam, the members of the annual supervision committee and two other persons.

47 of 1923.

Tiṇḍivanam (SA.)—Lamps to Tiruttiradēvavara at Kiḻangil.

143 of 1900; SII. vii, 157.

Tiruvaiyārū (Tj.)—25 kalāṇju of gold for half a lamp deposited with the Nagarattār of Śivapuri.

135 of 1918.

Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Land for feeding 15 Brahmans by Śembaliyan Vēḍi-vēḷār.

103 of 1914.

Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Decision of the assembly of Śrikanṭha-catm. that no taxes shall be levied on the temple belongings; the persons who violate this decision will be shunned and treated as grāṃakāntakas, and fined by the Māheśvaras. The settlement was engraved on the Śrivīmāṇa by the committee supervising the affairs of the temple for the year.

133 of 1914. †

Year 6.—Allūr (Tri.)—Gold for supply of bathing water to temple.

383 of 1903.

* Indicates original employment under Parāntaka I. Hence, this record is one of Gaṇḍarāditya or Parāntaka II. ARE. 1919 II 10.

† ARE. 1915 II 20. Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.); 4th January 961 A. D. (Sundara) or 27th May, 991 A.D. (Rājarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar, EI. xix p. 86.
RAJAKESARI

Year 6.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—900 sheep by the king for ten lamps in his name in the temple of Aṅjanaṇī Durgiyār; an adhikārin distributed these among certain persons who in turn had to supply ghī. These sheep were got when Śippuli-nāḍu and Pākki-nāḍu were conquered * by Paraman Malapādiyār alias Mummuḍi-Cūḷan, chief of Kārukuḍi in Taṇjāvūr-kūṟram. 79 of 1921.

"Kārēripākkam (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp to the Kṛitti-mārttanjan-kālapriya temple. † 382 of 1905.

"Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—Land, 4,000 kuṭi, tax-free, to Viṣṇu temple at Ratnāgrahāra, also called Maṇimangalam alias Uḷokamahādevi ‡ catm. in the Tamil part. The deity is called Dvārapuridēva. The Mahāsabhā agree not to collect  appré, ṭέccaṇu, ṿeṭṭi, veṭṭi kāṇam or anything else, and to condemn every one who does so to pay a fine of 25 kalapēṇu.

7 of 1892 ; SII. iii. 27.

"Paḷāngōyil (NA.)—Lamp by Pāpyan, son of Nūḷambar-Vira-sōḷan. § 362 of 1925.

"Paḷịr (Tri.)—Land by a native of Kāraikkudi for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple. 349 of 1918.

"Paṇḍūraṇvēḷai (Tj.)—Village Kundamangalam, given tax-free (mīḷā-viraiyili) to the temple of Bhūmisundara-viṇṇagar Paramasvāmi at Simhaviṣṇu-catm. in Mudicco-nāḍu, built by the donor Kaṇṇandai Arivānjan Bhūmisundaran alias Sundarasōḷa-Mūvēnda-vēḷan. For securing the exemption from taxes, the donor deposited 200 kalapēṇu of pon with the assembly of Simhaviṣṇu-

* Pākki-nāḍu is the northera part of the Nellore District. Śippuli-nāḍu must also have been there cf. ARE. 1913 II 18 ; also 160 of 1912 of year 34 of Parāntaka I for the earliest conquest. ARE. 1921, II 31.

† Built possibly by Kṛṣṇa III who, in his Karhāq inscription, says that he was encamped at Mēḷpāḍi for ‘establishing his followers in the southern provinces’, and for ‘constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍāmārtēṇḍa, KṛṢṇēvaṇa and others’ (EL. iv p. 281). If this view is correct, this inscription may be one of Ariṇjaya, probably a Kājakēṣari. ARE. 1906 II 21.

‡ After queen of Rājarṣa 1?

§ These names imply a time soon after Parāntaka I. Nūḷamba and Vira may be the same as Nūḷamba Tribhuvana-dhīra or his son Nūḷamba and the Ganga Pṭhiṭiphati II (EL. iv pp. 88, 223). ARE. 1925 II 10.
THE COLAS

catm. Paddy was being sold at 15 kalam per kalaiju. Interest rate was 75 per cent per annum. 232 of 1923.

Year 6.—Pulallur (Ch.)—Lamp to Tanjeladova by the great assembly of Paramesvara-catm. 49 of 1923.

Salem (Sm.)—40 pon by Selvan-adiga to feed Brahmans every year on stated occasions, at the rate of 25 Brahmans per kalaiju, with three curries, half pidi of ghī, curd and betel. The occasions for feeding were the festival in the temple of Kilivanamudayur in Salem and Masi Makham. 49 of 1888; SII. iv 149.

Tiruccirrambalam (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by assembly of Kulakkuji for lump amount received by them from a person, the amount being utilised for offerings to the deity at Tiruccirreemam, a devadāna-brahmadēya in Rajaraja-vaḷanāḍu. 187 of 1926.

Tirumūḷpuram (NA.)—A gift by Madurantakan Gaṇḍarāḍittan. 268 of 1906.

Tiruvērumbur (Tri.) Land sold tax-free by the Perunguri-sabhā of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. met in the Tirucicitraķīṭam of the village; the land was to serve as provision for feeding one Brahman daily in the manner detailed. 101 of 1892; SII. iv. 549.

Tiruvērumbur (Tri.)—Land by a resident of the village for feeding in the choultry on the sacred hill a Brahman versed in the Veda. The Perunguri-sabhā of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. met in the Tirucicitraķīṭam of the village for making the land iraiyili. 127 of 1914.

Tiruvērumbur (Tri.)—Land set apart for feeding Brahmans versed in the Veda. Made tax-free by sabhā of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. Wide discretion to Panmāheṣvarar in enforcing sabhā’s decision. 130 of 1914.

Tiruvērumbur (Tri.)—Land as iraiyili by assembly of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. for the Maṉaviḷāgam of the temple. 131 of 1914.


† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.); 27th December 964 (Sundara-conv. preceding entry) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rējarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar, E.I. xix p. 86.
Rajakesari

Year 6.—Tiruvirāmīsvaram (Tj.)—Gift of land by purchase.

117 of 1911.

Tiruvirāmīsvaram † (Tj.)—Gift of land by purchase.

215 of 1907.

† Perhaps Ramanadecaram of the Devaram-ARE. 1911 II 17.

Usāatusā (SA)—Land by purchase to the assembly called Śāsanuddha-caturvedibhattra-perumbadi-sahasradāna-perumakka of Virānurayana-catm. by Śeppāla Arayyan Śaikararuayanan alias Śeppāla-mutta-raiyar of Mūrupaluvūr(of Manayikkoṭam in Tenalai-nūl) as charity to the temple.

585 of 1920.

Year 6.—Day 55—Sambanārkōyil (Tj.)—Fragment of an introduction (Rājadhīrīja II ?). Land, for welfare of the king, for worship and repairs in temple by the assembly of Talaicangātu. Mentions Rājasundararavadi.

174 of 1925.

Year 7.—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Land by wife of Adigal Paḷuvūṭa-raiyar Kaṇḍalan Māya for daily offerings.

226 of 1926. §

Kuttālam (Tj.) Temple constructed by Śeppiyar Mahā-deviyār, mother of Uttama Cōla. Gift of lands by her as provision for offerings, worship, music and other expenses, and for twenty-five Brahmans reciting the Śāma, Tāttiriyagā and Chandogā Śāma in the temple.

103 of 1926. ¶

Olagapuram (SA)—Sale of land by the Nagarattār of Ulakamādēvīpuram to Gangan-Ambalavan Gānḍarāditta-sōla Viḷapparaiyan of Kuvalālam in Gangaśāyīyira for being presented to the temple for laying out a flower-garden. Mentions Kalikanṭaka-peruvarambu.

127 of 1919.

Text has (Pañca).

§ Palaeographically Rājarāja I-ARE. 1926 II 17.

¶ Ascribed to Parakēsari Uttama Cōla in ARE. 1926 II 18, apparently because Uttama is named at the beginning of the record. But year 7 of Rājarāja-kēsari is mentioned later; perhaps a record of Rājarāja’s time.
THE COLAS

Year 7.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Eighty kālaṇāju of gold by Dharmak-kaṭṭaḷai-kāl borrowed from the temple by the assembly of Aparājita-catm., a hamlet of Tiru-vūgal-puram, on interest at 10 kālaṇāju per annum, the rate being 1/8 kālaṇāju per kālaṇāju per annum, and a fine of 1/8 pong for each day of default. 253 of 1921.

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Land for feeding three Śivayōgins and two Brahmanas in the choultry on the sacred hill of the Āḻvār at Tiruverumbiyūr. 101 of 1914. †

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Land for a channel by the sabhā of Śrikanṭha-catm. 102 of 1914.

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Sale of land by assembly of Perum-veṅgūr to Vēḷān Vīrāṇāyaṇaṇa alias Śembiyāṇ Veṅdivēḷān, who is said to have constructed the Śrī-vimāna of Tiruverumbiyūr Āḻvār. Land also made igaiyili by sabhā after taking igai-kāval-drayam. 104 of 1914. †

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Sale for 45 kālaṇāju of the right to levy some paddy on lands by the assembly of Śrikanṭha-catm. to Śembiyāṇ Vēṅdivēḷān for digging the village tank. 105 of 1914. ‡

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Land as jīvita for maintaining a watchman, bought from the āṟ for money provided by Śembiyāṇ Vēṅdivēḷān, who built the central shrine. 112 of 1914.

Year 8.—Śendalai (Tj.)—Assembly of Candrakākai-catm. sold one vēḷi of land, tax-free, to a person for upkeep of an ambalam which he had erected in the village. 202 of 1926.

* 27th December 964 A.D. (Sundara) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rājarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar El, xix p. 86.


‡ See note under preceding entry. Either 15th August 963 A.D. (Sundara) or 12 August 993 A.D. (Rājarāja)-K. V. S. Aiyar El, xix. p. 86.
RAJAKESARI

Year 8.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Twenty kañjju gold for lamp by Ādityan Kannaradēvan, * son of the Cōla king. Sabhā and ṛū in charge of the endowment.

38 of 1895, SII. v. 595.

" Tirunēługalam (Tri.)—Land to a native of Śūralūr by the Māhēśvaras, temple servants and residents of the village. 683 of 1909.

" Tiruppalālturai (Tri.)—Land to Paramēśvara temple at Tiruppaṇambūdūr in Uttamaśili-catm., a brahmaṇadiya in Ten-karaī, by an officer of Pillaiyār Arikulakēsari-dēvar. † Sabhā makes the land tax-free. 176 of 1907.

" Tiruppalālturai (Tri.)—Land to Tiruppaṇambūdūr Paramēśvara by one of the perundaram of Pillaiyār Arikulakēsari-dēva. ‡ The land was made ḡaṅgūli by the Perungurū-sabhā. 570 of 1908; SII. iii. 111.

" Tiruppalālturai (Tri.)—Land, tax-free, by the Perungurū-sabhā of Uttamaśili-catm. Mentions the servant of Āḷvār Arikulakēsari-dēva who figures as donor in the preceding record (570 of 1908).

574 of 1908 §; SII. iii. 112.

" Ullāmēṇūr (Ch.)—Land sold tax-free by the Mahāsabhā for feeding daily twenty Brahmans in the Kurukṣētra temple of the village. The charity was to be administered by the authorities of the temple (īkhēyil śrīkāryam śeyvārē) 40 of 1898, SII. vi. 323.

* i.e., Krṣṇa, son of Āditya. Archaic palaeography. Āditya I perhaps had a son, an unknown brother of Parāntaka. Thus, archaic Rājakēsari inscriptions may be those of Āditya I, and likewise, Parakēsari records, those of Vijayēlaya. (Hultzsch in ARE. 1895 paragraph 12), cf. 251 of 1894 of Rājak 20; 356 of 1903 of Parak. 15; 218 of 1904 of Rājēk. 37. Also T. A. G. Rao in MCC. Magazine Vol. 24. pp. 128-9, agrees with Hultzsch.

† Son of Parāntaka I (EI. vii pp. 141-2)-ARE. 1908 II 51.

‡ If Arikulakēsari is identical with Ariṅjaya, the Rājakēsari of this record may be Gaṅḍarāditya ASP. 1908-9, p. 122 (H. K. Sastri).

§ King identified with Gaṅḍarāditya by H. K. Sastri. Tiruppāṭurūai and Tiruppaṇambūdūr were apparently hamlets of Uttamaśili, quite close. For Arikulakēsari, see 316 of 1903 of Parak. 3 (Parāntaka I), and EI. vii p. 141. He is said to be a military officer of Parāntaka in ARE. 1909 II. 38, where also the Parak. of 316 of 1903 is taken to be Gaṅḍarāditya.
THE COLAS

Year 8.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—A resolution of a full meeting (ūbagai-vrddhar-amaiya) of the Mahūsabhā, met in the big maṇḍapa, by which paṭṭi-kāḍi was not to be collected after a certain day and the Śraddhāmantar were authorised to punish breaches of the resolution.

62 of 1898; SII. vi. 345.

Year 9.—Alangudi (Tj.)—Land, on a solar eclipse day, by the headman of Taṅjavūr for mid-day offerings every day to Rāghava Perumāḷ at Irumbūlai in Simhavīṣṇu-catm. a brahmādēya on the S. bank.

498 of 1920.

Badūr (NA.)—Land as iṣaïyili to temple by the residents (ūr) of Vādavūr.

410 of 1922.

Śendalai (Tj.)—The Perungūṟi-sabhā of Candiralūka-catm. purchase land in the 53rd kudumbu of the village, and assign it as iṣaïyili bhāratappangu to Śinginandil-Svarūpa-bhāṭṭa of the Ātēya gōtra and Vaikkānasa sūtra, a native of Perumbuliyūr, who has to read the Bhāratam every day in the ambalam built in the brahmasāṭhāna of the village by one Vairamāgha-bhāṭṭāra. Whoever enjoys the pangu after the first incumbent has to do the same.

63 of 1897; SII. vi. 12.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Two bits of land by purchase by two members of the assembly for expenses during the festival to Tiruppeṛundurai-perumāṇ-ṇūḷigaḷ.

209 of 1926.

Tirunāgiśvaram (Tj.)—Mentions Ariṇjiigaip-pirāṭṭiyūr, a Bāṇa queen and daughter of prince Ariṭkulakāsari; and the Simhaḷas.

215 of 1911.

Tiruviṭṭāimarudūr (Tj.)—The laying out of a śīru-śēṇbaga flower-garden by Tiruvenkāṭṭu-piccana.

260 of 1907.

Year 10—Mēlappāḻuvūr (Tri.)—The residents (Naṅgartār) of Avani-Kandarpapura had the inscription engraved to

* Āditya I, ARE. 1926 II. 17.

† The date is doubtful in the original; the regnal year may be 2 or 3. ARE. 1912, II 16.
RAJAKESARI

the effect that the manṣupāḍu prevailing at Nandaipuram from olden times should also be in force in this village. Order issued by Paluvēṭṭaraiyan Maravan Kanḍanār. 365 of 1924.

Year 10—Tirucculi (Rd.)—(Vaṭṭelutu)—Frag. Lamp. 417 of 1914.

" Tiruvviṉaimarudūr (Tj.)—Twenty ḫakkāu equal to 10 kalaṇju pon for a lamp by Poduvan Šīṟṇalī, a woman (peṇṭātti) of the retinue of Udaiya-pirāṭṭiyār, the ṣamīyūr of Ānaimēṟṟuṉīja Udaiyār. Twenty-four kalaṇju more for taṇṇir-amudu-vaṭṭīl. 156 of 1895; SII. v 720.

Year 11.—Tillaisthāṇam (Tj.)—Two paṭṭams of gold made by the auditor of temple accounts (ṣṭrikāryam arāyappēḻḷa) out of 13½ kalaṇju and 2 maṅjaṭṭi collected as kuṟṟa-
danṭam from three persons including the Nagarakkaraṉattān of the place (ṭuvaṟ). 35 of 1895; SII. v 592, same as 283 of 1911.

Year 11, day 300—Tiruppindurutti (Tj.)—30 pon for lamp by Nangai Šattaperumānār, the mistress (bōgiiyar) of the Coḷa king. 105 of 1931. *

Year 12—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Ninety sheep for lamp by Adigal Paluvēṭṭaraiyar Maravan Kanḍan. 229 of 1926. †

" Talaiccangāḍu (Tj.)—Lamp by a merchant of Kollam in Malai-nāḍu. 202 of 1925.

" Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Lamp by a queen, Šembiya . . . . dēviyar alias Kulaṉēṅka Nambirāṭṭiyār. 250 of 1894; SII. v 549.

" Tiruviṉalūr (Tj.)—Ninety-six sheep for a lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍya country. 37 of 1907.

Year 12 + 1.—Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Assignment of a temple land to an individual by the temple authorities at the instance of Adigal Paluvēṭṭaraiyar Maravan Kanḍanār. 370 of 1924.

* Āditya L. ARE. 1931, II. 4.
† Sundara Coḷa—ARE. 1926 II. 7.
THE COLAS


Mēḻappaluvūr (Tri.)—Eight mā of land reclaimed for one lamp in each of the two shrines in Avanikandarpa-jāvara temple in Kunṛak-kūṟram, under orders of Nakkan Pūdi Paḻuveltaraiyan Kumāran Kanḍan. 357 of 1924.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—50 kaḷaṅju gold to Tirmeyttānattu-Mahādeva by Tennavan Pirudi Mārāṣan alias Kāṭṭī Orriyūran, and Varagūna-perumānār queen of Parāntaka Ilangōvēḷār. * With this gold some land was converted from dry to wet cultivation. Among the boundaries is Karikālakkarai. 287 of 1911; SII. iii. 113.

Year 14.—Paṇḍāravāḍai (Tj.)—Twenty karungāsu by Śenda Nakkapirān Bhaṭṭa Sarvakratu-yājīyār (cf. 234 of year 7.) The interest on the amount, 3 kāśu was to be given to the best reciter of certain prescribed portions of the JaininIya Sāma Veda on the night of the Āḍrā festival in Mārgaḷi after the sacred bath of the deity. It was stipulated that no prize-winner should compete a second time. 266 of 1923.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷaṅju of gold for lamp by Nāṅgaḷi Śatapperumānār, the concubine (būgiyār) of the Cōla king. The sabhā and ār undertake to maintain the lamp, by assigning some temple land for the charity, and use the money for making a Namana-manḍapā to the deity. 36 of 1895; SII. v. 593; 284 of 1911 is copy of the same.

* Another name of Vikramakṛṣṇa, contemporary of Āditya II. But this Ilangōvēḷ is mentioned in 27th and 21st year of Rājāk. and Parak. inscriptions, and it is difficult to fit such high figures into the 35 years before the accession of Rājarāja. (ARE. 1912 II. 18). Venkayya suggested Āditya's time for Vikramakṛṣṇa; but palaeographically it seems to be earlier,—H. K. Sastrī, who makes this a Gaṇḍarāditya record. SII. iii. ibid.
RAJAKESARI

Year 14.—Viṣṇu (NA.)—Viṣṇu is called also Mādēvi-āndimangalam. * Mentions Kanakavirakkuratti, a female disciple of Gnyākūrīthārā, and her disciples (vālimānak-kiyār). The vāliyār, lay disciples, undertake the protection and feeding of those 400 tāpasīs, as there was no agreement (kollādāmaiyyil) between them and the 500 male members of the monastery (īkkōiyī-gillaiyil).

84 of 1908; SII. iii. 92. †

Year 15.—Tillaiṭhānam (Tj.)—Lamp by an inhabitant of Taṇjāvūr. Ends: ḍappatīdu maṇṭṭomum piranadēyak-kiḻavarum urōnum. 39 of 1895; SII. v. 596.

Year 16.—Kāvanār (NA.)—400 kuḷi of land by a member of the assembly (āḻunganam) for lamp to Puli-pagava-dēva.

158 of 1921.

" Mēṟappalavūr (Tri.)—An order communicated to Veḷḷin Cintāmanī, the headman of Tattanār, permitting the adoption of the old scale of taxes prevailing at Nandipuram ‡ for the village Paḷavaḻūr by the chief Aḻīgai Paḷavēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavai Kaṇṭanār § to whom Karambiyan Pirāntakan alias Karuvilai-pēraraiyai had petitioned.

367 of 1924.

" Tirucceṅgu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans.

625 of 1905.

" Tiruvaiyāçu (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Mūvaraiyan Pāḷi Nakkan bought from Andanār-ūrār for thirty kaḻaṇju.

249 of 1894; SII. v. 548.

Year 17.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Land by one of the members of the temple of Tiruvēgambam at Kaccippēdu for sandal paste to god at Rājamalla-catm. The charity was under protection of Śri-kōiyī-kaṇavāriyap-perumak-kaḷ.

206 of 1915.

* On the kilvalī, eastern road, like Neṟkuṟam. ARE. 1909 II 36.

† Palaeographically Āḍitya I.

‡ cf. year 10—365 of 1924.

§ This person is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Parāntaka. Must be later, perhaps of the time of Sundara Cōja. cf. 381 of 1924, Parāṅkēsari (Yr. 13). ARE, 1924 II 10. Text has date, 10().

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THE COLAS.

Year 17.—Pandāravaṇḍai (Tj.)—Undertaking by two persons to supply ghī and paddy to temple in return for cows and money received by them at various times in the reign of Madiraikonda Mārāyar. 230 of 1923.

" " Pandāravaṇḍai (Tj.)—Agreement by certain persons to burn lamps in the temple for the money they had received from the temple in the years 1(2), 14 and 19 of Madiraikonda Mahārāyar. 237 of 1923.

" " Śendalai (Tj.)—Ten kaḷāṇju gold by a lady for offerings (tiruvamidū). Deposited with the Vaṭavaṇcālai-perumakkal, the interest being "niśadi kuruṇi nel." 58 of 1897 *; SII. vi. 7.

" " Tillaiśṭhānam (Tj.)—100 sheep with the sabhā for lamp by the Cōla queen Kilāraḍīgaḷ. 41 of 1895; SII. v. 598.

" " Tillaiśṭhānam (Tj.)—Twenty pon for lamp by another Cōla queen Tennavan Mahādeviyr. 42 of 1895; SII. v. 599.

" " Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷāṇju gold for a nandāviḷakkku by ‘Niyamattu Irāśa-mattanḍapurattu Nakkan Aiyāṛraḍīgal,’ the concubine (būgiyar) of the Cōla king. 244 of 1894; SII. v. 543.

" " Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷāṇju for lamp by Déviyr... kolāliyār for which the sabhā of Ādambuli(n)guḷi gave tax-free land. 245 of 1894; SII. v. 544.

" " Tiruvirāḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—Land for jasmine garden by sabhā and ur of Tiraimūr and nagaram of Tiruvirāḷaimarudil. 216 of 1907.

" " Tiruvirāḷimīśvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the gaṇattār of Madanamaṇjari-catm. 138 of 1911.

Year 17, day 122.—Ukkal (NA.)—Mentions a meeting, in the local Viṣṇu temple, of the Mahāsabhā of Śrī-Vikramābharaṇa - catm. including the samvatsara-vāriyappurumakkal and the ēri-vāriyappurumbhaitṭar for the year, and others. 31 of 1893; SII. iii. 13.

* 6-A of 1899 i.e., SII. vi 442 is another similar record of same date.
RAJAKESARI

Year 18.—Kṣiṇyanū (SA.)—75 kaḷaṇju of gold to the sabbhā by an individual for feeding five Brahmanas every day. 155 of 1919.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Twelve kaḷaṇju of gold by Mārāṃbāvai, for lamp to the Piḷārī temple of Māgāḷam at Niyamam. 13 of 1899 *; SII. vi. 449.

Tiruvēṟumbār (Tri.)—Land for lamp to Ten-Kailāyaṭtu-Mahādeva at Śrikaṇṭha-catm. 119 of 1914. †

Year 19.—Tirucceṭṭurai (Tj.)—Śaṅgu iraṇḍu ivai āduvārkku bhūgam (incomplete). 5 8 of 1895; SII. v. 615.

Tiruvaiyāṛu (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Kacippēṭṭuk-kudirec-cēri Ammakkanār* magāḷār Śōḷa-perumāṇaḏāḷ ādēiyār Āliśi-kāṭṭaćaḷ. Mentions (in recording boundaries) Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Nambi Māravānār Tiruppaḷītāmam. 238 of 1894; SII. v. 537.

Tiruvaiyāṛu (Tj.)—Sheep (18.) for lamp by Śōḷa-perumāṇaḏāḷ Dēv . . . . . . ʧtu Ālunḍūr Tirunāṟuṇa Mahādevi. 239 of 1894; SII. v. 538.

Tiruvēṭṭikkuḍi (Tj.)—Ten kaḷaṇju gold for lamp; undertaking to burn a lamp with $\frac{1}{4}$ measure of oil every day, as interest on the sum, by ‘Tiruvēṭṭikkuḍi Tiru (kko). . . . munbu ninju dēvar paṇi ēyōm’ and others. 67 of 1895; SII. v. 624.

Tiruvēṟumbār (Tri.)—Land for lamp and offerings by a Brahman lady who built the shrine of Āḏittabhaṭṭu-raka on the hill. 118 of 1914.

Year 20.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Land for feeding a Brahman in the temple of Pondaṇ Perumāṇaḏāḷ by one of the āḻungavattar of Rājamalla-catm. in Tiruvēṭṭamba puram. 237 of 1915.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by one of the female relatives of Perumbiṭṭugu Muttaraiyan. 314 of 1904.

* cf. 16 of 1898—Year 24.
† Later than Parāntaka I. ARE. 1915 II. 20.
THE COLAS

Year 20.—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—A certain merchant of Tañjāvūr named Karupatka Pujalāya Ṣeṭṭi built the temple called Pujalāya Vinṇagar and set up the deity. He purchased and gave to the temple the land adjoining it. 325 of 1903.

" Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—One hundred sheep left with the pādamūlattār for one lamp and occasional service. 124 of 1895; SII. v. 686.

Year 20, day 333—Tiruvaiyāḻu (Tj.)—Land for lamp by the nurse (tāṭi) of Kannaradēva. 251 of 1894; SII. v 550; MCC. Mag. xxiv. p. 128.

Year 22.—Mēḷappaluvūr (Tri.)—Land, 8 mā, to temple by Vañgan Madavan Puluviṭṭaraiyan Kumaran Maravan, after reclaiming some waste land in the dēvaḷaṇa villages, to provide for one perpetual lamp in each of the shrines in the Amanikandarpā-Iśvara-grha. 360 of 1924.

" Tirakkōṭi (NA.)—Gift to Gangāsūrap - perumballī at Rājendrapuram. 277 of 1916.

" Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—397½ palam of (?) to temple by Mēṟpiḷḷu Kaḷvān Amarakāḷan † of Tirukkōṭiyūr. 169 of 1928.

Year 23.—Puduppākkam (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, to temple of Bhāṭāri by assembly of Nallaḷimangalam, in Mēṟpaḷuḷu-gūr-nāḷu, a sub-division of Māṉayīr-kōṭṭam. Mentions Iḷanakkaḷ Kūṟtigaik-kaṇṭṭār. 61 of 1923.

" Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—Sale of land to Pūḍi Āḍicca Piḷḷāriyar by Parudai of Iḷanamangalam for 5 kaḷaṇṭu by Viḍēḷviḷḷu. 320 of 1903. ‡

" Tirumalavāṭi (Tri.)—Land by Ṭyiravan Ėṇādi, headman (kiḷāṇ) of Ėṛkkāḷu. 18 of 1920.

* cf. 357 of Year 13.
† Perhaps a Muttaraya chief of the locality. ARE. 1928 ii 2.
‡ cf. 316 of 3 Parak.
RAJAKESARI

Year 23.—Tiruppañanam (Tj.)—Twenty kalañju by Kâḷupaṭṭigal-
Tamarmattiyar, * mother of Vayiri Aka .... alias
Tribhuvana-mādōviyār, queen of Śōlap-perumāṇḍigal.
161 of 1928.

" Ukkal (N.A.)—A record by the sabhā of Aparaṭi-
catm., of the receipt of 200 pon from Śedirūr-
Trivikkarama-bhaṭṭa alias Brahmādhīrūjya of the
miyūṭungam of Uttaramūru-catm., for feeding 12
Brahmans. Interesting details.
19 of 1893 ; SIR. iii. 1. †

Year 24.—Nerkuṇam (N.A.)—Gift of three fields as ērippatī by
Nambiyamallanār, son of Nṛpatunga-maṅgalap-pēr-
āraiyar, for the benefit of the tank at Nerkuṇam (Śinga-
purāṇūṭṭuk-kiḻḷi-Nerkuṇam). Ānavāy daṇḍamūḻitṭu
ēppēṟṟatī mangupāḷum ērikkuk-kuṟuttē Nambiyam-
mallanēn. 86 of 1908 ; SIR. iii. 93. ‡

" Niyamam (Tj.)—Five kalañju gold by Adigal Kaṉṭan
Mārambāvai, § queen of Nandipōttāriyar of the
Pallavatilaka race, for offerings to god and feeding
twenty Brahmans and the ‘talippaṇi-keyyum māṇigal.’
The interest is stated to be 1/8 kalañju per kalañju
per pū (harvest). The money was on deposit with the
vest priest, Ittalippaṭṭuḷaiyān Īśvārakkārani Vānak-
dēvan Tiruvoṅkāḷaṇ. 16 of 1899 ; SIR. iii. 94. ¶

" Śendalai (Tj.)—Five kalañju for lamp by the wife of a
learned Brahman.
208 of 1926 ‖

" Takkōḷam (N.A.)—Piritipatiyār son of Māramaraiyar gave
a silver vessel (keṇḍi) weighing 317 kalañju to

* Perhaps Āditya I, who ruled for at least 28 years, espoused the daughter
of a Pallava chieftain. Rājak. records from Tiruppañanam with years 21 to 26
may, hence, be his. Palaeography supports this—ARE. 1928 II. 2.
† Perhaps Āditya I—Hultsch.
‡ Palaeographically, Āditya I. ARE. 1909 II. 36. Ānavāy-danśam is taken
to be the name of a tax by H, K. Sastri; but Ānavāy may have the meaning
’as occasion arises.’
§ 13 of 1899 (Yr. 18) ; 301-A of 1901 from Tiruccennmbuṇḍi.
¶ Palaeographically Āditya I.
‖ Āditya I ; 210 of 1926. ARE. 1926 II. 17.
THE COLAS

Tiruvūral-Mahādeva on the occasion of a solar eclipse.
5 of 1897 ; SII. v. 1368 ; EL. xix. 12 *.

Year 25.—Ālambākam (Tri.)—Land to temple of Saptamātrakas by the assembly of Dantivarma-maṅgalam. 705 of 1909.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṇju gold for lamp, deposited with the Śivapuri-nagarattār.
243 of 1894 ; SII. v. 542

" Tiruvellārāi (Tri.)—Thirty cows for a lamp by Śembiyan Maḷāṇāṭṭu Veļān alias Korṭan Mārān. 522 of 1905.

Year 26.—Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Gift of a rudrākṣa necklace, set with gems to the deity by Gangamāttāṇḍar alias Śembiyan Pṛthivī-gaṅgaraiyar, son of Mahādeva of Pangala-nāḍu. †
177 of 1928.

Year 26, day 181—Śrīrangam (Tri.)—90 kalāṇju of puttaṇika-ganda semmai-pon. Interest rate was one kalam and one tūṇi of old paddy, yielding 120 kalam per annum, for feeding four Brahmins (daily.) ?
70 of 1892 ; SII. iv. 517.

day 280-Ultāramēṟū (Ch.)—Twenty kalāṇju gold for maintaining a place for supply of drinking water during part of the year, before the pramāṇi-maṅḍapa of the village. The total interest yield per annum was 3 kalāṇju, at 3 maṇiṭṭi per kalāṇju per annum (15 per cent). The supervision of the charity was with the tank-committee.
75 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 360.

* Palaeographically earlier than Parāntaka I. The donor here is the same as Pṛthivipati II, son of Mārasimha, and later, friend of Parāntaka I. Date must be either 7th June 894 A.D. or 28th May 895 A.D. giving acc. 870 or 871. The Kanyākumari record says that, Āditya killed Aparājita, whose friend at Śrī-Puḷgambiyam (870 A.D.), was Gaṅga Pṛthivipati I, grandfather of the present donor, ‘The Čējas apparently did not count for much’ at the time of the battle of Śrī-Puḷgambiyam, K.V.S. Aiyar, EL. ibid.

† cf. 139 of 1928, Parak. Yr. 11. Aḷīvin-kallāriyār an alias of Pṛthivi-gaṅgaraiyar. 428 of 1902 (Ś. 871 or A.D. 949) mentions a Kallanangai, daughter of Pṛthivi-gaṅgaraiyar who died at Arungangam, Pangaḷa-nāḍu, part of Palkunga-kōṭam, was in the N. Arcot dt. A Pṛthivigangaraiyar was a feudatory of Parāntaka I, and later of Kṣēṇa III, ARE. 1928 II 3.
RAJAKESARI

Year 27.—Brahmadasam (NA.)—Gold for lamp and for feeding a Brahman by Nallulän Urašimagan Atšamūti. 230 of 1915. *

" Tirukkalukunram (Ch.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu) On being petitioned by Puttan, son of Kuṇavaṇ, the king renewed a gift of land to Tirukkalukunṟattu Śri Mūlaṣṭhānattu-perumāṇadigal, originally made by Skandaśisyā and continued by Pāḷavikoṇḍa Narasīnga-pōṭtaraiyar. 167 of 1834; _EL_. iii. 279. †

" Tirumalaḷūḍī (Tri.)—Land for lamp by purchase from the assembly of Māṛpiḍugu-catm. 15 of 1920.

Year 30.—Tiruvellārāi (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Veda. 518 of 1905.

Year (3)7.—Mōlēvūr (SA.)—Mentions Kannara-dēvar. 218 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Ālumbākkam.—Gift of Land, purchased from the sabhā of Dantivarma-mangalam, which had a tank called Māṛpiḍuguēri. 712 of 1909.

Kōvīlaḷī (Tj.)—Temple of Tiruppuratturai Embeṛumāṇ built of stone by Śēmibyan Vēḷān, who also bought some land from the sabhā of Tiruppōṟūr, for unvaacak-kāṇi. 279 of 1901;  _SII_. vii. 499.

Perungalūr (Pd.)—Fragment in early characters recording a gift of gold. Mentions a temple of Mahādēva at Sōḷacūḷémaṇi-catm., and the village of Perungōḷūr. 203 of 1914.

* Āditya I. The high regnal year will not suit any other Rājāk. before Rājarṣija I. Same donor in 224 of 1915-Parāntaka I, Yr. 17.  _ARE_. 1916 II 9.

† Āditya I. Palaeographically pre-Parāntaka. Kuṇavaṇ Puttar is also mentioned in 103 of 1931. Rājāk. n-d.

‡ Text has 2(7).
THE COLAS

_Tiruccattugai_ (Tj.)—Gold for lamp by Tribhuvanamādēviyar Vayirī-akkanār, queen of the Cōla king and mother-in-law of Kāḍupāṭṭigaḷ. 180 of 1931. *

_Tirunēṭungalām_ (Tri.)—Money for lamp. Refers to Pāṇḍya Varagunā Mahā(ṛāja.) Near this is another fragment of Maṭurai koṇḍa Parakāṣari. 696 of 1909.

_Tiruvilakkudi_ (Tj.)—Money by a merchant for sounding gong † in the temple. 133 of 1926.

* cf. 100 of 1931.

† This purpose is not clear from the very damaged text though we have: _ittā ḍeyakāṇ ḍeyakāṇ... aṭṭū ḍelā_.

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Year 2.—Karuttaḻāṇugūḍi (Tj.)—Mentions Viraṉlappuṇderu in Tanjore. Agreement registering the sale of days (of worship) in three temples by two persons to a third.

49 of 1897; SII. v. 1412.

Kilūr (SA.)—Gift of 192 sheep for two lamps by Śembiyan Milāḻuḷaiyār. 271 of 1902; SII. vii. 900.

Kilūr (SA.)—(4)80 sheep for five lamps. 281 of 1902; SII. vii. 910.

Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by one of Uḍaiyār Viraṉoḷa-teriṇja-kaikkōḷā.

251 of 1911.

Panḍāravāḷai (Tj.)—Gift of thirty kāśu for a lamp by the wife of a merchant of Tribhuvana-māḍēvip-pēran-gāḍi at Taṇiḻavūr.

274 of 1923.

Srīrangam (Tri.)—Gift of 410 pon for feeding a Brahman (vēṭam-vallān) at mid-day (uccīppōdu) service to god Ranganātha. The number of dishes and other details prescribed.

73 of 1892; SII. iv. 520.

Tiruccenduḷai (Tri.)—Twenty kāḷāṇju gold for lamp with paruḷai of Iśāna-mangalam. Weight vidēl-vidugu. The donor was Koḻumbāḷur Nakkan Vikramakesariyār, the dēviyār of Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷ alias Maṟavān Pūdīyār.

306 of 1903.

Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Gift of land, after its purchase from the temple for feeding four Brahmas, by Karraḷi-paṭṭālakan of the Arumōḷi-dēva-teriṇja-kaikkōḷā.

144 of 1928.

Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Land given for five drummers for the temple by Araiyān Ṭidittan Vīman.* 162 of 1928.

* Perhaps father of Vīman Kundavai, mother of Parāntaka II. If so, the king was Ariṇjaya who had a short reign of not less than three years, ARE. 1923 II 8, contra ARE. 1921 II 26 where Vīman Kundavai is connected with Chūkya Bhīma.
THE COLAS

Year 2.—Tiruppaḷananam (Tj.)—Land given by Araiyan Ādittan Vīman for offerings during the ardhaṃa and for lamp. 172 of 1928.

" " Tiruvāḷutepai (Tj.)—Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly (sabha) of Śattanur * to a member of the Ādittapannam-terinda-kaikkōḷar for the maintenance of a coconut and flower garden to the temple. 135 of 1925.

" " Tiruvīḷaimarudur (Tj.)—Mentions the Śingalāntaka-terinda-kaikkōḷar. † 244 of 1907.

" " Tiruvīḷaimarudur (Tj.)—Records the erection, by the Kaikkōḷa-Perumbadai, of window, door, door-post and steps in front of the big maṇḍapa called Tigai-Ayirattaṅṇūṟruvar. 253 of 1907.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟudhi ‡ (SA.)—Gift of 96 sheep and a ram for lamp to Tiruvanantęśvarattāḷvar of Viranarayana- catam, by Parāntakan Mādevālīga alias Śembiyan Mādeviyār, the daughter of Malavaraiyar and queen of Gaṇḍarādittan called here also Merkeḷundarulina-dēvar. 540 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟudhi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a member of the Kōdaḷḷarāmat-terinja-kaikkōḷar. 545 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟudhi (SA.)—Aryan Gūyaṉkkan, one of the Tāyantongat-terinja-kaikkōḷar, gave ten kāsu for cloths to Kuttar, to the south of the stone temple of Tiruvanantęśvarattāḷvar. He also built in the temple shrines to Kuttar, Gaṇapati and Piccar. 555 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟudhi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by the Parāntakat- terinja-kaikkōḷar on behalf of one of themselves. 574 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟudhi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by one of the Mūtta- vāḷ-perga-kaikkōḷar. § 581 of 1920.

* 136 of 1925 is similar.
† Also in 590 of 1920. (Uḍaiyāṟṟudhi.)
‡ Near Kēṭṭumannīrkkāyil (Cidambaram Tj.).
§ 584 of 1920 is similar.
PARAKESARI

Year 2.—Uṣaiyāruguṇi (SA.)—Gold by Kōyil-perrāl alias Vāna-van-māđeviyār, daughter of Pūpāla-sākāriyār, for a lamp and mid-day offerings in the temple and for the sumptuous feeding, once a day, of one Brahman learned in the Veda. 594 of 1920.

Uṣaiyāruguṇi (SA.)—Gold, 12½ kaḷaṇju, by Puluvēttaraiyan Kōdandan Tappili-dharmman for a lamp in the central shrine of the temple. 609 of 1920.

Year 2+1.—Pullamangai * (Tj.)—The village assembly (sabhā) met in the maṇḍapa opposite to the Tiruvālandūrai temple and sold 1½ mā of land to the temple of Kāḷāpiḍāri of Naṭuvīrcēri for 25 kāsu and allowed it to be tax-free as before. 549 of 1921.

Tiruvēṭtimilalai (Tj.)—Silver dish for śrībalu to temple by a certain Tāṇrōṇri-tanicevagān, (tāṇrōṇri being the god’s name.) 439 of 1908 †

Year 3.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Land to Amareśvar-Perumāḷ at Dantivarman-mangalam by the sabhā of that village. 720 of 1909.

Allūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Gāna-māđeviyār, wife of Viraśōja-Ijangōvēḻār, on the occasion of her satī. ‡ 376 of 1903.

Kīlaiyūr (Tj.)—Gold for supply of ghī on new moon days by a certain Tūppil Śattikumārabhaṭṭan residing at Vīrānārāyana-cēri of Vīrānārāyaṇa-catmn, § on the northern bank. 92 of 1925.

Kumbakoṇam (Tj.)—25 kaḷaṇju of gold for lamp by a native of Neḷum-pūraiūr in Malai-nāḍū. 248 of 1911.

Pāṇḍaravāṇai (Tj.)—Four mā of land to a learned Brahman who was doing pūja to Tiruccēyaliūr-perumāḷ at Rājakēsāri-catmn. 252 of 1923.

* Text gives Paṣupati-kōyil.
† The king is said to be Vijayālaya in AŒ, 1909 II 35.
‡ The text is: "Iangōvēḻār-dēviyār Gānămāđeviyār-śrībalu-kūṭḍadu."
§ After Parāntaka I? AŒ, 1925 II 10.
THE COLAS

Year 3.—Śiyamangalam (NA.)—Land. Mentions Gangarāja with surnames Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi * and Mummaḍi-sōlac-cembi-
yan-Śrigangaraiyar, who was governing Palkunra-
kōṭṭam, Venkunra - kōṭṭam and Śingapura - nāḍu, (portions of modern N. and S. Arcot.)

69 of 1900 ; SII. vii. 73.

" Tilaiisṭhānān (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṇju of gold for a lamp by Mullūr-nangai, † mother-in-law of the king. The gold was left with the sabbā and the Pādamūlattār. 45 of 1895 ; SII. v. 602.

" Tirakkēl (NA.)—Sheep for ghi to the Jaina temple (paḷi) at Taṇḍapuram by Erānandi alias Naratonga Pallavaraiyan, a native of Nelvēli in Nelvēli-nāḍu of Tenkarai-Panaiyūr-nāḍu in the Śoḷa-manṭalam.

276 of 1916.

" Tiruccattūral (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṇju of gold for a lamp by Mullūr-nangai, mother of queen Śoḷa-mādeviyyar. ‡ 169 of 1931.

" Tirumalavaḍi (Tri.)—Land by purchase for lamp by Ariṉjigaikōṇi daughter of Mūṭta Udaiyar. 8 of 1920.

" Tirunāmanallār (SA.)—Land reclaimed for temple of Tiruthoṇḍiśvaram by Vikramabhārana Pallavaraiyan under orders of Munaiyadaraiyar Aparāyitan Kulamāṇikkerumānār. 369 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 999.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṇju of gold for lamp by Mullūr-nangai.

125 of 1895 ; SII. v 689.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṇju of gold by Nakkan Ariṉjigai alias Parāntaka Pallavaraiyan for a lamp to be maintained in the temple by the Nagarattār of the village.

165 of 1928.

* Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi was a surname of Mārasimha II (EL. v p. 177). But, as it is not likely that he ruled in Pallava country as a Cōḷa feudatory, this chief was perhaps related to the local Ganga chiefs Śāṅkaradēva and Śōmanāthadēva of the Tiruvallam records of Kēḷarāja I and Kēḷendrā I-AKE. 1900, paragraph 18.

† See also under Tiruccattūral and Tiruppalanam.

‡ 107 of 1931 (Tiruppūndurrutti) is similar.

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Year 3.—Tiruvāduturcai (Tj.)—The boundary (of the land?) purchased from the assembly of Śirupuliyūr by the ār of Karai-nalūr in Pērāvūr-nādu. 107 of 1925.

Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Land for three lamps. Nandā-vilakkku iravum pagalum-erivadaṅku. 234 of 1894; SII. v. 533.

Tiruvāmattur (SA.)—Twenty kalaṇju gold for two lamps by Śembiyan Kāṭimānaṅṭigaḻ who built the Tiruccurru-maṇḍlapam, the gold being left in charge of the sabbā, and ār of the place. 403 of 1903.

Tiruvāmattur (SA.)—Ten pon for lamp by Muṭṭanāṭṭukkarpuṇḍi-nāḍuḷaiya Parabhūmikan Mallan alias Gaṇḍjaradittra Pallavaraiyan. * Sabhaiyum ērum dēva-kamīgālam to protect the gift. 425 of 1903; SII. iii. 95.

Tiruvanṇāmalai (NA.)—Gold for lamp by the Cēra queen Kīḷāṇaṅṭigaḻ. 470 of 1902; SII. viii. 58.

Tiruvēddikudi (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇju gold for lamp in the temple of Parakēsari-purattu-mahādēva, left with the Parakēsariatpurattu-nagarattār. 66 of 1895; SII. v. 623.

Tiruvīḍaimarudur (Tj.)—A silver kalaṣam by a native of Pāṇḍi-nāḷu. 247 of 1907.

Uḍaiyāruguḍi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a Brahman of Pāṇḍitavatsalac-cēri. 556 of 1920.

Uḍaiyāruguḍi (SA.)—Land for akkāra-aṭiyai to god. 582 of 1920.

Uḍaiyāruguḍi (SA.)—Gold by Paṇcevan-mahādēvi, wife of Araiyan Mahimālaya alias Parāntaka Muttaraiyan,

* If this man was an officer of Gaṇḍarāditya, the inscription must be one of Parāntaka I. H. K. Sastri.

† 426 of 1903 is a similar gift by the same donor, which mentions no king but is dated S. 8(7)9. A few years after Takkōlam, this falls in Gaṇḍarāditya’s reign, who must have been a Parakēsari according to the large Leyden grant. AKE. 1904 paragraph, 20.

‡ Evidently so called after Parāntaka I. Same cēri in 559 of 1920.
THE COLAS

for a lamp to Candraśekhara-perumāḷ in the Anantaśvara temple. 602 of 1920.

Year 3.—Uṭaiyāṛuṇḍi (SA.)—The supervisor of temple affairs for the year distributed the temple lands among the temple servants in proportion to the services rendered by them. 605 of 1920.

Year 4.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—The sābhā of Kallaṭuppur raised a loan from the temple of 20 kalaṇju by Kaccipēṭtu-āṇikkal; the interest on the loan was 90 kādi of padilī per annum which was to be taken and measured out in the premises of the temple by the ūramai-seyyum vāriyap-perumakkal. SII. i. 85. *

" Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Lamp to temple by the dēviyār of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, who was the daughter of . . . . . varaiyar. 222 of 1926.

" Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The sixteenth year of Parakōsari Uttama Cōḷa is quoted and Adigal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar mentioned. 373 of 1924.

" Nangavaram (Tri.)—Land to two trumpet-blowers of the Sundarāsvara temple in the village called here Ariṇjigai-catm. † 303 of 1903.

" Tirithamalai (Sm.)—Gold for lamp. Mentions queen of Munmuḍi-zōḷa-perumāḷ. The temple is called Kūja-lāḷvār. 673 of 1905.

" Tiruccenduṟai (Tri.)—Gold by Pūdi Ādittar Piḷāri. 312 of 1903.

" Tirumalai (NA.)—Four kalaṇju gold for feeding one adigal in the paḷḷi on the Tirumalai. 66 of 1907 ‡; SII. iii. 97.

" Tirumāṇaṇjiṟi (Tj.)—Gift of 96 sheep for a lamp, of a lamp-stand, and of the stone on which the inscription is

* Perhaps of Vijayāḷaya—SII. iii p. 17 n. 4.

† Called also Nangai-Brahmadēya in Rējāgambhīra Vaḷa-nāḍu (334 of 1903 of year 34 of Kōṇeṅmaikoṭān.)

‡ The earliest Cōḷa inscription in this locality; it shows that the Jaina settlement on the hill is older than the time of Rējāḷa I, ARE, 1908 II, 51.
PARAKESARI

engraved by a penjalati attached to the (royal?) kitchen at Tañjāvūr. 11 of 1914.

Year 4.—Tiruvāṁāttur (SA.)—Lamp by Kaplāredittan alias . . . Mahārājan of Vāṇagappāḍi. 404 of 1903.

" " Tiruvennādu (Tj.)—Gold ornaments by a Kaikkōlan. Below this is another record of resumption and reassignment at a higher rate of rent of some temple lands. 495 of 1918.

" " Tiruviḍaimarudur (Tj.)—A gold hand (hastaka) set with precious stones. Gift by a merchant. 198 of 1907.

" " Tiruviḷakkudi (Tj.)—36 sheep for a lamp by the headman (kiḷan) of Ärkkādu. 124 of 1926.

" " Tiruviśalār (Tj.)—100 sheep for lamp by Nakkan Ariṇjigai alias Pirāntaka Pallavaraiyan. 18 of 1907.

" " Vēlacēri (Ch.)—Land for lamp and offerings to Kāḷū-bhaṭārī given by the sabhā of the village. 317 of 1911.

Year 5.—Ālambakkam (Tri.)—Land to Amarēvāra- peruṃū. Māripīṭugāri and sale by sabhā of Dantivarmaman-galam mentioned. 715 of 1909. *

" " Kiḷur (SA.)—Gold, 15 kāḷāṇju, for lamp by queen of Vāṇakōvaraiyar, called Ilājaigaḷ magaḷār Nangai Kulamāṇikkattār. Interest rate was kāḷāṇju-vāyī-tīngul urip-puṇī. 299 of 1902 ; El. vii. 141.

" " Pūvāḻakkudi (Pd.)—Construction of the maṇḍapa. 147 of 1907. Pd. 42.

" " Salem. (Sm.)—Year described as ‘Tiruveluttittuc-cellī-nilrayāṇu aiṇjāvadu.’ The sabhā of Rājarājaśrayacatm. accepted an endowment of five kāḷāṇju gold for a lamp. 43 of 1888 ; SII. iv. 141.

" " Śiyamangalam (NA.)—Land by purchase from ār by an inhabitant of the Pāṇḍya country to Tirukkaṛṛuṭi-

* ARE. 1910 II 14.
THE COLAS

mahādevar at Śiyamangalam in Tenṇāṟṟūr-nālu, a sub-division of Palkuṟa-kōṭṭam in Jayangoṇḍaśoḷa-māṇḍalam. 60 of 1900; SII. vii. 64.

Year 5.—Takkōḷam (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp. “Iecīrīkiyil-ārāyvōmum padi(yum) (v)ādamūlattōmum Takkōḷattil nagarattōmum” take charge of them.

60 of 1897; SII. v. 1369.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp (by the queen of) the Pândya king Pirāntakan. 133 of 1931.

Tiruccengāṭṭangudi (Tj.)—Land for two lamps by the assembly of Marugal in lieu of money (pon) taken from a certain Viraśōḷan alias Uttamaśoḷa-nenmali-nāṭṭu-mūvenda-vēḷān. 60 of 1913.

Tirukkaḷāvūr (Tj.)—Land. Īḷakkāśu mentioned. The donor was Śingan Kaliyan alias Uttamaśoḷa-mūvenda-vēḷān of Kommaipākkam. 46 of 1910.

Tiruvēṅguvāsal (Pd.)—(Verse). Lamp by a native of Maḷanāḍu. 239 of 1914.

Year 6.—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Gold, 1½ kaḷūnju and paddy, three kalam, as koṟṟu to Alayūre-cākkai for enacting three scenes of the Śākkaik-kūṭtu on the Āsvati day of the festival in Arpaśi at Tiruvālanduṟṟai-nallūr. 250 of 1926.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—The cows donated to the temple for lamps could not be protected from robbers by the temple authorities and were sold for gold.

315 of 1904; Pd. 44.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by Varuguṇaṇāṭṭi, daughter of Muttaraiyar * and queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷār. 337 of 1904; Pd. 45.

Pullamangai (Tj.)—Land to temple for morning service by Śembiyan Mahāvali Vāṇarāiyar. 559 of 1921.

* Viṣṇuviṭṭu-muttaraiyar. Irukkuvēḷ was the same as Vikramaśaari (ARE, 1908 p. 88) the contemporary of Āditya II-K. V. S. Aiyar EL. xiii. p. 138.
PARAKESARI

Year 6.—Śmūr (Tri.)—Gold, 2½ kalāṇju, for lamp by Pīrāntakan Purusottaman of the Dānatongat * - teriņja kaikkolār.

208 of 1917.

"Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gold, 83 pen (kalāṇju), for two lamps by an uvacca of the temple (sittalī).

27 of 1895; SII. v. 584.

"Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gold, 25 kalāṇju, for lamp deposited with the sabhā and ār.

47 of 1895; SII. v. 604.

"Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Sheep for lamp by Kāman Tāyan, a teacher (vāttī) of Iḍaiyāru.

17 of 1920.

"Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Gold, 30 kalāṇju, for lamp by Tippāṇja-alagiyān Maṟavan. The sabhā of Aniyamangalam invested it in buying 6 mā of land.

148 of 1928.

"Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Lamp, and 25 kalāṇju for its maintenance, by a servant of the headman of Karugāvūr.

153 of 1928.

"Tiruppārkkadal (NA.)—Gold for lamp. The supervision of the charity was vested in the annual tank supervision committee.

685 of 1904.

"Tiruvāmattūr (SA.)—Refers to the mason Arugurtaccaṉ Nārāyaṉa Vaikundan who built the temple (Abhirāmēvara).

413 of 1903.

"Tiruviḍaiamarudūr (Tj.)—Record of an iṙaiyili-nilai given by sabhā of Tiraimūr, nagaram of Tiruviḍaiamarudil and others.

219 of 1907.

"Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Land, after being purchased tax-free from the assembly of Viḍelvīdugu-catam, given for lamp to Kūttapperumāḷ in Tiruvilakkuḍi in the same place.

121 of 1926.

* Was this a surname of Pāṇṭakā? Śmūr has Pāṇṭakā’s records. The Konguḏkarjākkaḷ attributes the conquest of Kongu to Kṛditya I and Pāṇṭaka does not claim to have conquered it. AKE, 1918 II 22.
THE COLAS

Year 6.—Tiruvilamilai (Tj.)—Gold for feeding four Brahmans given by Amarabhujangan Muppuḷi alias Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa-Pallavaraiyan. 436 of 1908.*

Year 7.—Pullamangai (Tj.)—Great assembly of Pullamangalam sold 1½ mā of land for an endowment in the temple by Āridan Māranārāyaṇan. 551 of 1921.

Siddhalingamaḍam (SA.)—Money for two lamps by a female servant of Varagūr-kōṭtamudāiyān. 422 of 1909.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp left with the sabhā and úr of Tiruneyttānam. 28 of 1895 ; SII. v. 585.

Tirupparkadai (NA.)—Sabhā accepts an endowment for offerings and places it under control of the annual tank-committee. The corpus was apparently used for repairing a breach in the tank-bund. 688 of 1904.

Tiruvāṭuturai (Tj.)—Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Śatānuṛ for 15 kāsu endowed to the temple for the sacred bath of the deity at Uttarāyaṇa Sankrānti by Ōmāśi Oṛriyūran Kāttan of Tiruvānaikkā, a dēvadāna-brāhmadēya in Kiliyūr-nāḍū. 127 of 1925.

Tiruvīḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Building of the temple mentioned. Land for a person singing dēśī. 233, 234 of 1907.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Sale of land to revenue officers (puravu-varī tiṇaik-kaḷattār) by the assembly of Vīḍēḷviḍugu-catm. 135 of 1926.

Tiruvoṛrriyūr (Ch.)—30 kalaṇju of ārkkar-commai pon for lamp deposited with the sabhā of Maṇali near Tiruvoṛrriyūr (Tiruvoṛrriyūr-purattu Maṇali-sabha-yōm). 402 of 1896 ; SII. v. 1357, same as 165 of 1912.

* This, like some other records, is on a pillar in a minor shrine in a temple which bears only later C5)a records. The pillars were evidently secured from an older structure. Vijayākṣa? AРЕ. 1909 II 35.
PARAKESARI

Year 8.—Kilappaluvir (Tri.)—Twelve sheep by Kāman Kōviyūr, wife of Paluvēṭtarair Vikramādityaar, for one piṭī of ghī daily to the temple. 237 of 1926.*

Panḍārawādai (Tj.) Tax-free land by madhyasṭhā for music by five persons during śribalī every day. 272 of 1923.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Details of the expenditure of paddy got annually from the dēvadāna village Pūrōgai. 204 of 1926.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṅju of gold for lamp by Pāṇḍiyaṉār Mānābharana-dēvi ..... kilavan. 26 of 1895; SII. v. 583.

Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a native of Nandipuram alias Āyirattāḷi. 145 of 1928.

Tiruppāḷattrai (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The village is called Tiruppāḷattrai in Uttamaśili-catm. a brahmadēya in Tenkarai. 173 of 1907.

Tiruppāḷattrai (Tri.)—A copy of an inscription of the 18th year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsari and of another of the same king, twentieth year. Among the boundaries occur names: Viraśri-kāmukā-vādi; Ādicca Vāykkāl; Kōḷaḷarāma-vādi; Uttamaśili-Vāykkāl. The Perungūrī sabbā of Uttamaśili-catm., ordered the re-engraving of the records found on the older śrīvimāṇa. 174 of 1907; SII. iii. 133. †

Tiruvelḷārāi (Tri.)—Twenty kalāṅju of gold by the queen of Uḷaiyār-Ānaimēṟṟūṉinār (Rājāditya) called Irīyirandēvi-ammanār, to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī ‡ of the big temple at Tiruvelḷārāi. 534 of 1905; SII. iii. 132.

* Was the king Uttama Cōḷa? ARE. 1926 II 20.
† The king may be Arijhaya, or Āditya II or Uttama Cōḷa; probably the last. H. K. Sastri.
THE COLAS

Year 9.—Erumūr (SA.)—Ten kalāmpu of tuḷai poni paid to the village assembly for remission of dues on seven mā of land presented to the temple. 393 of 1913.

Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Land for śrībali and tirupalit-eśicci. Mentions Kōdanṭlarāma-Vāykkāl. 78 of 1914.

Kīḷappalūvūr (Tri.)—Malavar Konkaṇī Śennī Nambiyār, uncle (māmaṭi) of Aḍīgal Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar Māravanan-Kaṇṭhanār, made a gift of land by purchase for a lamp in the temple of Māravaniśvara-grhättu Māhādéva. * 219 of 1926.

Kīḷappalūvūr (Tri.)—Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar Māravanan-Kaṇṭhanār purchased land and assigned portions to several persons for service and for lamp before Māravaniśvarattu-mahādēva. 249 of 1926. †

Kuhūr (Tj.)—25 kābu for lamp to Ādittēṣvaram-uḍaiya Bhaṭṭārakar by a certain Astraśāva with the tiruvuṇ-vāḷigai-perumakkāl of the temple. 292 of 1917 ‡

Paṇḍāraṇvāḷai (Tj.)—Land for expenses on Sankṛāṭi days and 108 copper water pots for bath by the queen-mother (Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār) on behalf of prince Gaṇḍjarāḍiṭṭan Madhurāṇṭakān Uttama Cōja. § 250 of 1923.

Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans by a native of Ḫrōḷu. 636 of 1905.

Tiruppalāṭṭurai (Tri.)—An exchange of land, by the sabbhā of Uttamaśili-catm. Mentions an image of Sūryadēva in the temple at Tiruppāṭṭrurai. 177 of 1907.

* cf. Sambandar on Pāluvūr, esp. v 11, on Malabar Brahmans worshipping here, ARE. 1926 II 9.

† Parak. identified with Uttama Cōja ARE. 1926 II 19.

‡ Record of Pāṟantaka I whose father was Āditya. ARE 1918 II 22.

§ This makes it a record of Uttama Cōja ARE. 1924 II 13 (where Śemiṭṭyan Mahādēva’s charities for Uttama in the reign of Kāḷaṇṭa are referred to in support of the identity.)
PARAKESARI

Year 9.—Tiruvadi (SA.)—Gold for ghī to seven temples:
  Tiruviraṭṭanam, Tiruvāranaṉaṉi, Tirunāḷḷiṉaṉam,
  Tiruvagattīḷaṉam, Tiruvaḷḷiṉaṉam, Tiruvaḷḷiṉaṉam, 368 of 1921.
  Tiruppallaiṉaṉuṉ.

  Tiruvellāṟai (Tri.)—Gold, 25 kaḻaṉu, for lamp by a 524 of 1905.
  native of Iḻaiḻkkuṉi who was a royal officer called
  Kumaran-kōṅ.

Year 10.—Aṉṭanallūr (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by Puliyūr- 348 of 1903.
  nāṭṭu-aḷḷiṅgaḷ, queen of Śebiṉiyan Irukkanvēḷ alias Pūdi
  Parāntakan.

  Karutaṭṭāṅguḍi (Tj.)—Images of two door-keepers set
  up by Śebārkkōṭṭattu Paṭṭina-nāṭṭup-paḷam-paṭṭinattu
  irukkum veḻḷāṭṭi Arunīḷimalai-piṟaṭṭi.
  51 of 1897; SII. v. 1414.

  Kilippaluvūr (Tri.)—90 sheep by nāṭṭar of Kunṟa- 217 of 1926.
  kūṟṟam for lamp to Maravanisvaram-uḷaṅiyār.

  Kiliyanūr (SA.)—Provision for offerings on new moon 148 of 1919.
  days by one of the āḻungaṉam of the village.

  Kuḻumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by the queen 321 of 1904.
  of Śebiṉiyan Irukkanvēḷ.

  Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—When a person described as
  Vilattūr-nāṭṭuk-kōṅ enquired into the affairs of the
  temple (iṅvūr śrīkārinyam-āṟāyāṇika), those who
  were doing nagaraṉaṟiyam in this place (iṅvūr)
  agreed to maintain a perpetual lamp from the proceeds
  of anγaḷṭṭikūḷi collected by the ūr-aiṉvāṟgaḷ.
  40 of 1895; SII. v. 597.

  Tiruccattuṟṟai (Tj.)—Gold by Śebiṉiyan Buvanigangaraiyam
  alias Aḻivin Kallarasi for a lamp Kumaramāṟt-
  tāndan. 177 of 1931 *

  Tiruccendurṟai (Tri.)—Sale of land to Nangai Pūdi
  Ādita-pañjārī by paruḷai for 7½ kaḻaṉu by viṉṟil-
  viṟṟugu-kal. 309 of 1903.

* ARE, 1931 II. 8.
THE COLAS

Year 10.—Tiruccenduṟai (Tri.)—Gold by Pādi Ādioca Piḍāri.

311, 314 of 1903. *

" Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Silver salver (pingālam) for betel offerings to Tirumalavādi Udaiyār by Nakkan Tillaiyalagiyār alias Sōja-mādēviyār. Weight called vaiyagattār-kal mentioned. 1 of 1920.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Lamp by Tennavan Mādēviyār, queen of Rājakēsāri. 166 of 1928.

" Tiruppuṟumbiyam (Tj.)—45 sheep for half a lamp.

76 of 1897 ; SII. vi. 25.

" Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—25 kalaṉju of gold for lamp by Śadirayan Uttamasilīyār wife of Vannāduḷaiyār.

482 of 1918.

" Tiruvenṇainallūr (SA.)—Lands to temple by purchase from the sābbā of Tiruvenṇainallūr by Aparāyītan Uttamasōḷa Mārāyan.

429 of 1921.

" Uḍaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Twenty Ḫakkāku by Śebmiyan Mūvendavēḷān for lamp.

554 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Gold for land for feeding five Brahmans in the temple at mid-day; the donor was Nandi-pāttān alias Śebmiyan Mūvendavēḷān. Mentions tālam and vaṭṭil, five of each. 593 of 1920.

" Uyyakkondān Tirumalai (Tri.)—140 sheep for two lamps (90 and 50) by Viranārāyaṇan alias Śebmiyan-mārāyan, a perundanam of Vīra-sōja-Iḷangōvēḷür of Koḷumbāḷür, to the temple of Kārkūdī† in Nandi-vanma-mangalam. † 470 of 1908 ; SII. iii. 98.

Year 11.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Land for lamp by a member of the āṭunganam of Dantivarma-mangalam. Mentions Māṛpiṭugēri in Dantivarma-mangalam.

711 of 1909.

* 315 of 1903 n.d. records lamps by Śebmiyan Iḷangōvēḷ alias Pādi Aditta Piḍāran.

† Ancient Dēvarāms name for Uyyakkondān Tirumalai—H. K. Sastri.

† In the 10th year of Rājarāja I this name was changed into Rējarāya- catm. For Vīra-sōja Iḷangōvēḷ, see 323 of 1903-ARE. 1909 II 37.

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PARAKESARI

Year 11.—*Andanallur* (Trl.)—Śembiyam Irukkuval *alias* Pūdi Parāntaka built the stone temple (Vaṭatirthanātha) and granted land to it with the permission of Parakēsari. This land was made the kāṇi of Araiyan Virasālāṇ by order of king 359 of 1903. *

"Pangāravāḷai* (Tj.)—Lamp by one of the Madhurāntakattukkeriṇja-kaikkōlar. 240 of 1923. †

"Tiruvcaittalguai* (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Cēdi-mahā-dōviyār, queen of the Malāju首席† Siddhavaḷatuddālīgal. 193 of 1931.

"Tiruvcecinguḻinguguili* (Tj.)—Land sold by the assembly of Marugal for the endowment of a lamp. 62 of 1913.

"Tiruvppalunam* (Tj.)—Thirty kulaṇju gold for a lamp by Tithi-vi-gangaraiyar, § son of Mahādeva of Pangāla-

nāḷu. 139 of 1928.

"Tiruvviṭamurudūr* (Tj.)—Gift of 18 eating vessels (tālam) weighing altogether 262½ pdalam and a large spoon (sāṭìvam) weighing 5 pdalam for feeding Brahmas in the local śāhī—Tiruvviṭamuruda-

Uḍaiyār-sāḷai-ūṭanam-pāvamānakku. 150 of 1895, *SH* v. 714.


Year 12.—*Kīlaiyır* (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by the big assembly of Tiruvaḷundūr on land given for a flower-garden by Kannan Mallun *alias* Udayamāṭṭāṇḍa Muvēndavelūr, headman of Nāgar-kuli in Ambar-nāḷu. 94 of 1925.

* cf. 360 of year 25.
† Must be a record of Uttama Cēḷa *AKE*, 1924 II 13.
‡ *EL* vii, p. 135, for a Narasimharavam (of the time of Kannaraśe) who had the title Siddhavaḷatuddālīgal.
§ cf. 177 of Rājak. 20(6).
¶ 485 of 1918 (n-d) from Tiruvveṅkāḷu mentions a lady Āṭtāḷa Ambalattudālīgal.
THE COLAS

Year 12.—Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—180 sheep for two lamps by Adigal Paluvēṭṭaraiyar Kandjan Sundara Sōlanār.
120 of 1895; SII. v. 681.

Nangavaram (Tri.)—Lōkavidyādhara Brahmāḥdirūjana reclaimed some land and presented it to the goddess Umā-bhaṭṭārakā with the previous permission of the sabbā. 332 of 1903.

Pallikonā (NA.)—Agreement by the assembly of Nandikamba-catm. to remove silt from the tank every year to the extent of 20 kulī with the interest on an endowment by a resident of Iraiyaṅāri in Kaceippāḷu. 474 of 1925.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Mentions Paḷijyudaiya Kanakasāna-bhaṭṭāra, probably a Jaina. 7 of 1899; SII. vi. 443.

Tirakkōḷ (NA.)—Paddy to Kanaviya-śittaiḷigāḷ. Mentions Śembiyan Śembottilāḷanār, son of Viṭṭi-viduḷu Śembottilāḷanār, alias Gaṇapperumāḷār. 279 of 1916.

Tiruccengōḷu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 628 of 1905.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Gift to temple by Pūdi Kūttan of Māramangalam. 147 of 1928.

Uḍhaiyargulī (SA.)—500 kalāṇju gold. Image of Śūrya-dēva set up by Kundavaiyār * who made a gift of gold, 25 kalāṇju, for a lamp in front of it. 606 of 1920.

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Śrīkōyil, snapana-mandālapa, gōpura, sūrvaḷail and minor shrines constructed by Śembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Śrī Uttama Cōḷa, daughter of Maḷaperumāṇa-liṣāḷ, and queen of Gaṇḍarādita-dēvar, son of Paṟantaka-dēva alias Periyaśōḷānār; gift of gold ornaments and silver vessels to the temple by Uḍhaiya Pirāṭṭiyār. 47 of 1918. †

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—45 sheep for half a lamp to Śūrya-dēva of Tirumudukunṟam. 56 of 1918.

* This name makes the inscription a record of the reign of Rējarēja I.
† A record of Uttama Cōḷa.
PARAKESARI

Year 13—Anqanallur (Tri.)—Gold 30 pon for lamp by Tingal-
nimmañigal, queen of Šembiyan Irukkuvëlar, invested
with the ur. 357 of 1903.

Mélappaluvär (Tri.)—Gift of an image of Gañapati, a
pedestal, and a golden flower by the temple manager
Návaluruñiyayn Kanjiñ Tëvañi to the temple with
the permission of Añigañ Páñvëñjaraiyar Kanjiñ
Sundara Sóliñ. 381 of 1924.

Nángupaññi (Pd.)—Refers to Virañj Sóliñ Uttamaññal.
341 of 1914.

Tirukkurugavär (Tj.)—Land by Šemban Arulñ
Uttamanidí alias Uttamañjóla Mánvañavélñ * to nine
persons for beating drums in the temple of Tiruvel-
ḷaññai-Maññáñavá at Tirukkurugavär. 434 of 1918.

Tirupplanan (Tj.)—Land to temple by Pûdi Kúttan
Mangalarn in Nallur-nálu. The king† was staying
at Palaiyëru. 141 of 1928.

Uyyakkopulam Tirumalai (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp
by a Brahman woman. 471 of 1908. †

Vëddhãcalam (S.A.)—Dry land to Súryadëva by
residents of Neñkuppar; converted into wet land later.
59 of 1918.

Year 14—Aññur (Sm.)—Paddy to Tirumëṛrañi Nakkar at Malaiya-
máñáru, a bhramanëya in Áyññur-kúrram in Miláñu, by
three servants of that temple. 407 of 1913.

Kuñumiyamalai (Pd.)—Gold for feeding 15 Śaivas for
seven days during the Máśi Makharn festival of
Tirumëṛrañip-perumáñigal at Tirunikkuñram, a
devadána in Kungiyëru-nálu. 334 of 1904.

Parandur (Ch.)—A transaction of the sabhë of
Aparññita-cánti in Puriññai-náñup-perundarappuram.
Mentions sabhë-vàriñam and ëri-vàriñam. 74 of 1923.

* cf. 433 of 1918 (Year 15)
† Identified with Uttama Cõja-AKE. 1928 II 3.

† Earlier than 472 of 1908 of year 2 of Parakësari who took Vira Pánçiya’s
head which is below this. cf. 470 of 1908 of Parak. 10- AKE. 1909 II 37.
THE COLAS

Year 14.—Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Provision by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāḍittar for bathing the image of the deity every month with 108 pots of honey, ghi, curd etc. 280 of 1906.

"Tiruneṅgalaṁ (Tri.)—Ghi for agnikārya * thrice a day. Gift made by one Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa who was enquiring into temple affairs on behalf of Uttama Cōla Brahmādhirāja-kanmi Śembiyan Vaḍapuraṭiyūr-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷān. 684 of 1909; SII. iii. 140.

"Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Paḻuvēṭtaraiyan Kaṇḍan Amudan. 252 of 1894; SII. v. 551.

"Tiruvōṭṭur (NA.)—A defaulter tracked by the tiruvunuṇṭilai of the temple and made to pay for a lamp to be maintained by him. 102 of 1900; SII. vii. 112.

"Tiruvōṭṭur (NA.)—Sheep lost in a raid (śāṟai) and 200 fresh ones given by Udaiyār Śembiyan Mahādēvi for two lamps. 104 of 1900; SII. vii. 114.

"Udaiyāṟṟugulē (SA.)—Gift of some tank-irrigated land, by purchase, by Kāḷi-kāṟṟai, one of the Udaiyār-Karikāla t-sōḷatteriṇja-kaikkōḷar to seven musicians (uvaṭṭar) for conducting the śrībali to Tirumuḷḷur-udaiya Paramēvara of Tirumuḷḷur alias Simhavishnu-catm., a brahmadēya of the Kā-ṇāḷa. 617 of 1920.

Year 15.—Aṇḍanallur (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Pūḍi-Mādēvaṭiḷa, queen of Kannaṟadēva. 356 of 1903.

"Kāṇēṟṟpuram (Ch.)—Sale of land by Māṅagarattur; temple called Teṅkirunda-nakkar. Mentions Kari-kalasōḷap-pīḷai(yār) in the above temple at Kaḷumbi-luṅgū-mēṟkkūppu in the city. 1 of 1906.

* Agnikārya—not aupāśana; hence there was no goddess in the temple ARE. 1910 II. 18.

† This must be Ḳiditya II; hence the king of this record may be Uttama Cōla. ARE. 1921 II. 29.
PARAKESARI

Year 15.—Kāṇḍiapuram (Ch.)—Land by purchase from the merchants of Kāṇḍiapuram by Ācchān Śenāccan of the Mūttavāḷpera-kaikholār for offerings to Karikālappillaiyār in the temple of Teṅkirundanakkar in the western block of Kaḻumbidugu in Kāṇći; and gift of three kāsu for lamp in that temple. 84 of 1921.

" Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Sheep for ghī. Mentions Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṭravan Kaṭal as having built the temple (Vaṭamūḻcēvara). * 245 of 1926.

" Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pâd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nâḻu. 328 of 1904.

" Mūmandūr (Ch.)—45 1/2 sāvā-mūvāp-pēṟūḷu (sheep) for 1/2 lamp by two persons contributing equal shares. The half lamp was to burn by day before Vāḷisvaram-Uḍaiyār of Narasimha-mangalam. 40 of 1888; SII. iv. 138.

" Mēḷappaluvūr (Tri.)—Land in Urattūr as janmabhūmi to Vēṅgāḷavan Aranjan alias Śembiyan Viraināṭṭuk-kōṇār by the assembly of Kurak-kūṟṟam, under orders of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan Kaṭal Maṭravan, with the condition that the donee should pay 25 tālcēmmaipon annually as fixed assessment (nilaiyippai) on the land. 356 of 1924.

" Vṛddhācalam (Sād.)—Money for ghī for lamp, deposited with the assembly of Arikulakōsari-catam. 46 of 1918. †

Year 15, day 143.—Uttaramōṛūr (Ch.)—Land to Tiruvayōḍhyai Perumāṇaṭigal. The Mahāśābha took pūrvācāram and assigned to the god as iṟaiyili all the iṟai land in Pūṅgōdai-pūṇḍi saying: “kuṭiṭalai veṭṭiyum amaṇḍiyum iṟaiyum eppēṟppatṭidum kollappayāṭṭum.” 14 of 1898; SII. vi. 297.

* cf. 219, 249 of year 9. King identified as Uttama Cōḷa in ARE. 1926 II, 19.

† Either Paṟantaka I or Uttama Cōḷa ARE. 1918 II 22.
THE COLAS

Year 16.—Kilappalavur (Tri.)—Land as devadāna (for offerings) by a private person. 244 of 1926.

Kilivanur (SA.)—Mahāsabhā of Kilmalanur agree to make farmers contribute to annual repairs of a tank named after a person who gave money for the same purpose. 160 of 1919.

Kudumiyamalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nāḍu. 350 of 1904.

Lalugu (Tri.)—Gold by Kōkkilānadi, daughter of Šēramānār, * for lamps. 111 of 1929.

Tirukkalavur (Tj.)—Land as ikaiyili to Mahādīva by the Mūlaparadalip-perumakkal of Tirukkarungavur. 35 of 1910; SII. iii. 123 †

Tiruttani (NA.)—Sale of land by assembly of Tiruttaniyai. 438 of 1905.

Tiruvekymbur (Tri.)—Land for ardhayama offerings by the ūr of the village. 128 of 1914.

Ukkal (NA.)—Land to temple. Nilam figures as unit of land-measurement. The gift was made to Bhuvanamāṇikka-viṇīghra by the Mahāsabhā, including the samvatsara-vārīya and the ṭri-vārīyap-perumakkal at the request (viṇyappam) of Cakrapāni-nambi who was doing śrīkāryam for Perumāṇ-adigal. 28 of 1893; SII. iii. 11. ‡

Uraiyyur (Tri.)—Provision for daily requirements of Tiruvaḷaitalai-perumāḷ at Uraiyyur. 183 of 1907.

Uraiyyargudi (SA.)—Land by two viṇiyar, and gold for its reclamation; two batches of 80 and 20 Brahmans were to be fed for merit of the donors’ uncle in the choultry erected by them. 621 of 1920.

* Queen of Parantaka I AKE: 1929 II 27.
† Uttama C5a or Parantaka I—H.K. Sastrī.
‡ Hulsch identifies the king with Vijayalaya on account of the absence of distinguishing surnames. SII. i. 85, 148; and iii 12 (Introdt).
PARAKESARI

Year 16.—Valappuranadu (Sm.)—Pirantakan Madēvālīgaḷ alias Sembiyen Madēviyār, mother of Gaṇḍaṇ Maduran-takan alias Uttama Cōla, deposited 100 kaḷajīru of gold with the ūrār of some villages in Kollimalai-nāḷu, the ūrār agreeing to pay monthly interest to the sābbhā who were to dispose of it in the manner laid down. 503 of 1930.

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Land and cooking utensils to Tirumudukunrām-ṉālaiyār for offerings in the evening by Irungōnār Nāraṉan Piritipatiyār. 51 of 1918.

Year 16, day 33—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land as igaḷi to Śrī-kurukṣṭrattu-perumānadilai for tiruvennaḷai after taking pūrvādaṇṛ. 34 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 317.

... day 257—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land to the temple of Mahādeva in the neighbouring village of Tiṭṭūṭṭūr for tiruvennaḷai by the Mahāsabhā of Uttaramērūr: 'Pūrvādaḷu-gunaḷu igaḷiḷiyaggio valta bhāmiyāvadū', 4 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 286.

Year 20—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu)—Cows and sheep for lamps. 444 of 1917.

Tiruttangal (Rāl.)—(Vatteluttu)—31 cows for lamp to Tiruvōṅgai-nilai-perumānadilai at Tiruttangāl by a resident of Kāḷanūr in Mālī-nāḷu. 557 of 1922.

Year 21.—Kuṭhuniyānālai (Pāḷ.)—Mentions Madurāntaka Iruk-kuvvēḻḷair alias Ācecaṇ Vikramakēsariyār. 335 of 1904 ; Pāḷ. 65.

Kuṭhuniyānālai (Pāḷ.)—Gift of a village by Madurāntaka-Irakkuvvēḻḷ alias Ādittan Vikramakēsari. 336 of 1904 ; Pāḷ. 63.

Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu) 26 sheep for lamp to Kuttūḷattp-purumānadilai by Dūrmasēṭṭi alias Saḷaiyangavaiyān of the Manīkkirāmam of Tenvārānāḷu. 439 of 1917.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—90 sheep and lamp-stand by a native of Adhirāja-mangalyapuram. 363 of 1921.

* Parāntaka I? AKE. 1923 II 25.
THE COLAS

Year 22.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vallēlutu)—Land for lamp by Kandan Iravi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Kuttālam is said to be in Tenvāra-nāḻu. 441 of 1917.

"Tiruccenduṟṟai (Tri.)—Land as dēnuṟāma by Maduranṭakam Irākkuṟṟēl aliya Đittan-pūdi to Tiruccenduṟṟai kaṟṟēl-paraṁśuvara. 318 of 1903.

"Tirukkalittai (Tj.)—Land for offerings by a membe of the pēḻḻuvattar of Amanināṟiyana-catrm. in Vaḷḷgarai. 295 of 1908. *

Year 23.—Tiruccenduṟṟai (Tri.)—Land by Viraśīla-Iḷangōṟṟel aliya Đittan† Tiruvorriyur-aliya on the occasion of his marriage, (vilakkukku-vulta kūṟṟēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvēvेमn
Year 25.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatṭeḻuttu) - Nine Ḥakkāti for lamp by the ūr of Tirukkāmaṇjūr in Kaḻakkuṭi-nāṭṭu. 443 of 1917.

Year 26.—Tiruccengōṭu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 639 of 1905.

Year 27.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatṭeḻuttu) Lamp to Tirukkurālattu Mahādeva. 438 of 1917.

" Tiruccengōṭu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 631 of 1905.

Year 28.—Kumbakonam (Tj.)—Gold for lamp. 246 of 1911.

" Tiruccengōṭu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding. 638 of 1905.

Year 31.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.) - (Vatṭeḻuttu) Fragment. TAS. i. p. 237. *

Year 32.—Kuṭṭumiyāmalai (Pd.) - Gold for lamp by Mayilai Tiṇḍan alias Avandiyakopa-Pallavaraiyar of Pudukkuṭi. 322 of 1904.

" Tiruccattugai (Tj.)—Gold, 25 kaḷaṇṭu, for lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍiya country. 57 of 1895; SII. v. 614.

Year 33. † —Tiruppalāttuṟai (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp. 252 of 1903.

Year 34.—Śimūr (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Śīṟṟūr in Miya-maḷa-nāṭṭu. 205 of 1917.


Year 35.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatṭeḻuttu)-Six buffaloes for lamp by a native of Vallapuram in Maḷa-nāṭṭu. 447 of 1917.

Year 36.—Śinnamanūr (Md.)—(Vatṭeḻuttu) Lamp. The village is called Alanaṭṭup-piramadeyam Arukōsarinalūr. 443 of 1907; § SII. iii. 109.

* May be Parāntaka I, T. A. G. Rao. † Text has 23.  
‡ Vijayūlaya (Iluttsch) - Parāntaka I (T. A. G. Rao).  
§ Parāntaka I ARE. 1908 ii 51.

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Year 37.—Tirugōkarnṭam (Pd.)—Gold. 308 of 1904.

Year 40.—Tiruvanḍarkōyil (Pondicherry.)—90 sheep for lamp; mentions Tribhuvananādēvi-catm., a brahmadēya on the northern bank of the Peṟnār. 376 of 1917. *

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Marandai (Tīn.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu)-Land for offerings to the Viṣṇu temple at Māṟandāyanallūr, a brahmadēya in Kalakkuḷi-nāḻu. 313 of 1918.

Śemiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)-158 pon (kaḻaṇju) for feeding, with the interest thereon, some persons on the day of Kēṭṭai in the month of Cittirai, the natal star of Śemiyan-Mahādēvīyūr, the mother of Uttama Cōḷa. 489 of 1925.

Tirunāḷpūram (NA.)—120 sheep for a lamp by the Cōḷa queen Paṅcavan-mahādēvi. 338 of 1906.

Tiruvirāṉiśvaram (Tj.)—Money for lamp by a merchant of Viraṉḷap-perunderu of Taṉjāvūr. 128 of 1911.

Uttaramēṟū (Ch.)—Gold for lamp to Jōṟṭai-kōyilin kilalattai-mahādēva on the bank of the tank at Kumaṇa-pāḍi in the town (tivūr). The samvatsara-vāriyap-perumakkal were made responsible for maintaining the lamp. 10 of 1898; SHI. vi. 293.

* Parāntaka I AIE. 1918 II 22.
PARAKESARI VIJAYALAYA.

_Tiruneṭungaḷam_ (Tri)—Tribhuvana-cakravartin Kiṅerin-maikopdān. A gift of land according to an earlier charter of Parakēsari alias Śri Vijayālaya Cōḷa-dēva. 675 of 1909.

See under Parakēsari:

Year 2. + 1.—_Tiruvilimilalai_ 439 of 1908.
Year 4.—_Kānchipuram._  _SII._ 1. 85.
Year 6.—_Tiruvilimilalai._ 436 of 1908.
Year 16.—_Ukkal._ 28 of 1893.
Year 34.—_Sueindram._ 81 of 1896.

under Vikrama Cōḷa:

Year 5.—_Kilputtār_ 164 of 1915,

mentioning a gift in year 4 of Vijayālaya.
RAJAKESARI ĀDITYA I.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Tonḍaināṭu-pāvina (paravina?)
Śōlan-palyānaikkōk-kandanāyina Rājakēsarivarma. Gift of 100 sheep by Kaḻamba-mādevi, wife of Vikki-Aṇṇan on whom was bestowed the hereditary title Śembiyan Tamilavel with other marks of dignity by the Cōla king and by the Śrīmān Sthāṇu Ravi.
286 of 1911 ; SII. iii. 89.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 2.—Tirumeyyānam.
   " Tirunāgēśvaram. 321 of 1910.
   Year 8.—Tillaisthānam. 222 of 1911.
   Year 9.—Śendalai. 38 of 1895.
   Year 14.—Vēdal. 209 of 1926.
   Year 18.—Śendalai. 84 of 1908.
   Year 23.—Tiruppalaiyam.
   " Ukkal. 13 of 1899.
   Year 24.—Nekkunam. 161 of 1928.
   " Niyamam. 19 of 1893.
   " Śendalai. 16 of 1899.
   " Takkōlam. 208 of 1926.
   Year 27.—Brahmadēsam.
   " Tirukkaḷukkuṇiyam. 5 of 1897.
   " 167 of 1894.

under Parāntaka I:

Year 34.—Tonḍamāṇāḷ. 230 of 1903.

under Uttama Cōla:

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumāḷpuram 286 of 1906.
PARAKESARI PARANTAKA I.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 3—Kumbakñam.—A daṇḍam of 3000 on the city in Parāntaka’s 38th year. 255 of 1911.

Year 8—Tillaisthānam—Kaṇnaradēvan a brother of Parāntaka. 38 of 1895.

Year 2—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Land by Pūdi Āditta Piḷāri * on the day of a solar eclipse. 310 of 1903.

Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Two gardens by Pūdi Ādīcēc Piḷāri, queen of Arikula-kēsari, as viṭṭarpuram to the deity of the stone temple built by her. 319 of 1903; SH. iii. 126.

Ś. 832 †—Cendattūr (NA.)—Death of Māvali-Vānaṟāyar alias Kudi-paṭi-tanḍlik-kāmanūr, residing in Igalmāṇai-mangalam, in a cattle raid at Cendattūr. 168 of 1921.

Year 3—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Gold, 60 kalaiṉu, by Pūdi Ādīcēc Piḷāriyār, daughter of Tennaivan Iḷḷḷūngōvēḻār ‡ and queen of Arikulakēsariyār, son of Śōla-Perumānaḻīgal, to the god of the stone temple of Candraśākhara which she had built at Tiruccendurai, near Iśānamangalam (Brahmadēyam Iśānamangalattu Tiruccendurai). The gold was weighed by viṭṭēviviṭṭugukol and left in charge of Iśānamangalattu Paruḷai; interest at the rate of tōṇi and padakku per pā yielding a total of 60 kalam per annum. 316 of 1903; § SH. iii. 96.

* May have been the daughter of Pūdi or Maṉavān Pūdiyār. Hence, Parakēsari of this record must be Uttama or Āditya II. The eclipse points to A. D. 972 in Uttama Cōla’s reign. H. K. Sastri.

† This shows that in A. D. 910 Parāntaka had not yet conquered the Bēnas.

‡ Another name of Maṉavān Pūdiyār. H. K. Sastri.

§ The king of this record was Gaṉḍarāditya. A. D, 956-7 ARE, 1909 II 38, But see p. 150 n. ante.
THE COLAS:

Year 3.—Tirukkuṭikāval (Tj.)—Maduraikonda Parakēsari. Copy of an old Pāṇḍya inscription. 11 of 1931.


" Tiruvvūlurai (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Purchase of land in Śrīrāmānaiturai by Karrāḷi-piecian of Tiruvvūlurai,* who allotted it among one Tiruppadiyam-hymner, those bringing water for the sacred bath, and the pipers of the temple. 139 of 1925.

Year 4, day 325.—Tiruvvidaimarudur (Tj.)—Mentions the using up in building the central shrine of stones with inscriptions registering endowments for lamps in the temple. Copies of these records were accordingly made; and one of them was in the reign of the Kāṭu-paṭṭigaḷ Nandipottaraiyar who had endowed a lamp called Kumāramārtanḍa. The order to copy and re-engrave the records was issued by a meeting in the Nāṭkaśālā of the temple in which were present: ittēvar śriṅkāryam tiruttakkalavā Tiraimūr-sabhāiyārum Tiruvvidairudil Nagarattārum Tirukkōiyil- uṭaiyārgalum and two others, the accountant and manager of the temple.† 199 of 1907; SII. iii. 124.

Year 7.—Madhurāntakam (Ch.)—Parantakadova. Land by the Pernguri-Mahāsabhai of Śrī-Madhurāntaka-cattm., as tiruvvidaiyāṭṭam to Ayōdhya Perumāl. 126 of 1896; ‡ SII. v. 991.

" Takkōlam (NA.)—Gold, 10 kalāṇju, by a lady for a boat to be launched in the big tank. The sabhā of Parundūr undertake to supply as interest 150 kādi of paddy for its maintenance, to be collected with the paṅcavāra. 252 of 1921.

* cf. 126 of 1925 of year 25.

† Probably the earliest record of the new temple. Either Parantakai or Vijayalaya. The earliest ascertainable inscriptions here are those of Parantaka.

‡ Characters of a later time—SII. v. p. 377 n.
PARANTAKA I

Year 9.—Sholingur (NA.)—The king granted the revenue from a field called Yamāvāri (Yamāvārijanitan-npadgyam) for the maintenance of a tank called Cūla-vāridhi on the bank of which the inscription is engraved on a rock. The execution of the grant was entrusted to the Ganga Prthivipati II Hastimalla who was made Bāpādhirāja. Mentions battle of Valāla in which Prthivipati distinguished himself.

9 of 1896; EI. iv. p. 231.

Year 10.—Karuttattānguli (Tj.)—(Parakēsari). 90 sheep by Madurāntakan-Gaḍḷarāddītan to Karundiṭṭai-gūḍī Mahādēva.

42 of 1897; SHI. v. 1405.

* Tiruvāmattur (S.A.)—Madiraikōṇḍa Parakēsari. Land. Mentions the king's other name, Śrī Parantaka-dēva, and an officer of his named Śōlaśikha-maṇḍi Pallaivaraiyan. A case of diversion of charitable endowment from one purpose to another closely allied: land set apart for the maintenance of a mahāmātra who took care of the elephant which carried the śribali was now employed to sound a gong (śenṭāi kalṭuvadāgu) as the old service had stopped.

423 of 1903.

Tiruvidaiamarudur (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa Parakesari. An endowment for the urvaccar. Mentions the agent of the Ĉōḷa king in Kongu.

† 258 of 1907.

Year 11—Pulamangai (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. Land to temple by assembly.

558 of 1921.

* Text reads: padī(ṇam)vadu.

† ARE. gives the date (30); but the text gives 10.
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Year 12—Kilappalawuṇur (Tri.)—Madirakonḍa. Commander Nakkkan Śātan of Paradūr gave 90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvālandurai Mahādeva, to commemorate the victory of Pāḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Amudāṇjanār when the Pāṇḍya king helped by the Ceylonese army attacked the Cōḷa king at the battle of Veḻūr and died.

231 of 1926.

"Takkōlam (NA.)—Maduraikonḍa. Agreement of the assembly of Tiruvūral to measure out 1125 marakkāl of pāṇoavāra paddy due from the dēvadāna village Parundūr by the marakkāl which would hold 7 nāḷi and 1 uṛi by the Rājakēsari-nāḷi.

261 of 1921.

"Tiruppurkkaṇḍal (NA.)—The Mahāsabhā including the members of the year of the kuṭumbu-tōṭa-kalaṇi- and vaṭa-kalaṇi-vāriyaṁ, the Bhaṭṭar and others order the acceptance by the ēri-vāriyaṁ of an endowment of 120 kalaṇju of 9½ māṛi gold as the corpus from the interest on which were to be fed every day four Brahman apūrvinī versed in the Vēḍa in the Sālai- manḍapa built by the donor. This was instituted for the merit of four warriors (śēvaṅkar) who died in a frontal attack (neṛṛi śenṛa) led by the donor, Šennip-pērāraiya, at Veḻūr on the occasion when the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle (asti-kadai sēyda nāṭu) with the Cōḷa king (peru-mānadīgal).

693 of 1904; SII. iii. 99.

"Tiruvidaiamurudūr (Tj.)—Madirakonḍa. Lamp. Mentions Taipāsam.

248 of 1907.

"Uttaramēru (Ch.)—Madirakonḍa. Rules for elections to the vāriyaṁ. Title Parāntaka at end.

2 of 1898; Studies vi.

Year 13.—Tirukkalakkunram (Ch.)—(Vaṭṭeṭṭatu) Madirakonḍa.
A private gift of a lamp by Āmūrkkōṭṭatu Kāraikkāṭṭur Neṭumāṛceṭṭan Šennip-pērāraiyan and his

* This was the second war. Rājasimha was the name of the Pāṇḍya king and Veḻūr was apparently in the Pāṇḍya country. Cf. Udaiyendiram plates of Pṛthivipati II, vv. 10-11 ARE. 1926 II 16.

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mother Kőyinangai. The sabbaiyūr to protect the charity. 168 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 281.

Year 14.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikonnā. Sheep for lamp. Mentions village Parantaka-puram in Kongu-nāḍu. *

290 of 1911.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Madiraikonnā. Gold for lamp by queen Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār.

242 of 1894; SII. v. 541.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonnā. Revision of rules regarding elections to the vāriyam. Titles of the king: Viraṅrāyaṇa, Dēvendra, Cakravartin, Paṇḍita-

vatsalan, Kuṅjara-mallan and Śūraśūljāmanī.

1 of 1898; Studies vi.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonnā. Gold, 12½ kaḷaṇju, for lamp to Tiruppulivanattu Mahādēva given to the sabbā by a member of the yāḷungaṇam of the village (īVuṛ).

87 of 1898; SII. vi. 372.

Year 15.—Erode (Coi.)—Madiraikonnā. Agreement of the people of Elukarait-tiruvāyppuḷi-nāḍu to pay certain taxes for the worship of Venṉaikkūṭta-nāyanār in the temple of Paḷḷi konṇalēvār at IrōṆal: —½ paṇam on each kūṭi:

½ each from bridegroom and bride in marriages; 1 kūṭi and 1 maṇīṭṭi of gold as Śūnjāṭṭuḻūppāḷṭam.

167 of 1910. †

" Kāṭēravuc (Ch.)—Madiraikonnā. 270 sheep for three lamps for which three uḷakku of ghee had to be supplied every day by Caṇḍaparākrama Maṅṟuḷi and his descend-

ants, on pain of a daily fine for default of 4½ (?) at the dhaunāśana. There is also an undertaking to pay one maṇīṭṭi of gold every day to the ruling king (maṅṟuḷi kōvukku) if the charity fails (muṅṭṭu).

SII. i. 82. ‡

* This must have extended partly into Mysore country. cf. 281 of 1911, (Year 18); 427 of 1911 (Year 29) - ARE. 1912 II 13.

† Characters of a later time. Perhaps copy of a genuine record. cf. 258 of 1907 (Yr. 10) and Paṇṭāraka records from Tiruccengōṭu, ARE. 1911 II 20.

‡ SII. i 83 is similar-180 sheep.

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Year 15.—Kuṭrumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for lamp at each of two temples. Mentions a person with the surname Arikulānta-vāraṇa-Pērārāyan. 345 of 1904.

Kuṭrumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gifts of gold for lamps, one each, in the temples of Tirumūlattānattu-perumānādigaḷ and Tirumēṟṟaḷi-perumānādigaḷ by two persons, viz., one of the Pīḷḷaiyār Kōḍaṇṭaḷ * maṇḍaippaiḷin-peṇḍir (7½ kaḷaṇju for nandāvilakkku), and one woman engaged for making sandul (śāndu) to the same prince (3 kaḷaṇju for pagaṉṟilakkku).

347 of 1904; SII. iii. 101.

Uttaramēṟṟ (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land to temples of Tiruppulivanam and Tulāvārattāḷi. The ēṟ who sold the land and got its price, undertook themselves to perform the duties connected with the charity, though ordinarily the samvatsara-vāriyam did so.

8 of 1898; SII. vi. 291.

Year 15, day 55.—Uttaramēṟṟ (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Rules for testing gold (pon sumaijjasan-gāṉbhodarkku) by a committee specially constituted by election for the purpose by order of the saṅha. 12 of 1898; SII. vi. 295.

Year 16.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. The assembly Āṇjaṭṭasam fixes the remuneration to the tank accountant. The koṟṟu was four nāḷi of paddy every day, and seven kaḷaṇju of pure gold every year, and a pair of cloths (granaik-kūṟai). Each accountant had, while presenting the accounts every year, to undergo the ordeal of red-hot iron (maḷi); if he passed the ordeal successfully, he got pādaśēsā (? quarter of the surplus) as bonus; else he was fined 10 kaḷaṇju; no corporal punishment was to be inflicted.

226 of 1915.

Kuṭrumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for lamp by a native of Koḻungōṭūr in Malai-nūḷu. 351 of 1904.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—400 sheep for 4 lamps by the king’s son Kōḍaṇṭaḷarāma. 379 of 1902; SII. vii. 1009.

PARANTAKA I

Year 16.—Tiruppugambiyam (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īlamumkōṉḍa. Seven cows for glī by two persons. 331 of 1927.

Year 16, day 222—Uttarunēṟū (Ch.)—Maduraiṅkōṉḍa. Land bought from ryots by order of assembly for renewing and widening a road which, owing to a flood, had become unfit for use even by cattle. The garden committee executed the order of the assembly.


Year 17.—Brāhumudīśam (NA.)—Maduraiṅkōṉḍa. 325 luḻī of land for offerings by Nalluḷan-Ūradīmagan Āṭṭamūtī. 224 of 1915.


Śrīvunyam (Tri.)—Maduraiṅkōṉḍa. Thirty pūṇ by śen- mài-pañ ṇīrak-kul for lamp, forty for camphor, and one for cotton wick (pīṇju-līri); and a silver lamp-stand (nīkai-riṅkalū). Tiruvanṛṅga-sabbha took charge of the endowments. 72 of 1892; SII, iv. 519.

Tiruvvennamūṇḍī (Tj.)—Maduraiṅkōṉḍa. 16 kaḷaṇju gold for lamp by Guṇvan Śūratoungi, one of the retinue (parivāram) of Nambirūṭṭiyī Ārumōli-nangai, the daughter of Pālunvetṭarṇiyār.

299 of 1901; SII, vii. 520.

Tiruppaḷamam (Tj.)—Maduraiṅkōṉḍa. Gold by Kallur Āccapiliḷī of Koḷumbāḷūr. 140 of 1924.

Tiruvilīṭarudūr (Tj.)—Maduraiṅkōṉḍa. Paddy by inhabitants of Tiruvilīṭi-nāḷu. 245 of 1907.

Year 18.—Pulamangai (Tj.)—Maduraiṅkōṉḍa. Royal gift as kuḻī-nikkiyā-dēṟakānam of five and odd rēḷī of unalienated land yielding 500 kalām of paddy and 5 kaḷaṇju of gold to Tiruvāḷandaṟai-Mahādēva. 555 of 1921.

* Earliest mention of conquest of Ceylon so far known occurs only in year 37. Perhaps this title was assumed after Vēḷūr and fully justified only later. AKE. 1927 II 10.
THE COLAS

Year 18.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for lamp. Mentions Kongap-peruvali. 281 of 1911.

" Tiruvudaimarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for a lamp by a merchant of Kumara-mattandapuram in Tenkari-Tiraimur-nadu. 262 of 1907.

Year 19.—Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep with sabbhā of Sirupaluvur. Lamp by Dañjali Adigañlar of Umbalappuli. 236 of 1926.


" Pillaipakam (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Regulations for election of members to the assembly by the wards of Ningavur in Palkunra-kōṭṭam. 176 of 1930.

" Takkulam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. 800 kūṭi of paddy left with Manayil-kōṭṭattu Tiruvur-purattup-pondiap-pakkattu sabbhā. Interest rate of 4 nāḷi per kūṭi per annum yielding in all 100 kūṭi; the man who came to collect this interest was to be given two meals a day (niśadam iravdu śō₂nu). 8 of 1897; SII. v. 1371.


" Vēñala (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Mentions Viññagar Vayiramāgan and a Kālamukha Daśapuriyan of the Hūrita gotra and Āpastamba sutra. 85 of 1908.

Year 20.—Tiruppalatturai (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. 20 kalajjvē gold for lamp by valavan tamakkai-yurmaiyalâna Arinjigai Adittan. 255 of 1903; SII. viii. 648.

" Tiruvudaimarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for green-gram offering. Forty kalajjvē deposited in parts with the sabbh and ur of Tiraimur. 201 of 1907.

* cf. 290 of 1911 (Year 14)

† cf. 129 of 1907 from Koñumbillur (Vikramaksari). Mēlpēṭti had a matha of Lakkila Pañupata, perhaps a branch of the Kālamukhas, at the beginning of the 11th century A. D. AKE. 1909 II 37.
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Year 20.—Tiruvogiyur (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions wife of Keralā Kuṟumban alias Parakṣari Muvendeṅṭar of Vaḻudi-vāḷ-mangalam. 173 of 1912. *

Year 21.—Kaṇḍiyur (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Thirty kāṇṭju gold by an inhabitant of Taṇṇāvūr, and fifteen kāṇṭju by another for mid-day offerings, converted into land. The Tirukkaṇḍiyur sabbhai was in charge of the endowment. 14 of 1895; SII. v. 569.

“Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Paddy and gold with Kayattūr āgūr of Tiruvigrāpuram in Paṇumā-ṇāḷu of Manayil-kōṭṭam. 12 of 1897; SII. v. 1375.

Year 22.—Kilappalūvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep with sabbha for lamp by Nandin-kaḷattti, a peñṭḷi of the rāḷam of Gaṇḍarāḍittār of Taṇṇāvūr. 241 of 1926.

“Siddhalingamamaṇam (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale by the villagers (ūṟ) of Marudūr, to Iṟaiyṅkudi-kilavan, of the right of taking water for irrigation to ṭatipattti through the sluice of the tank in their village, for a specified sum of money. ündig 376 of 1909.

“Tiruvaiyār (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a queen’s mother (Cūḷa-māḏeṇiyār-tangal-ācci) Perumāl Tiruvaramang. 225 of 1894; SII. v. 524.

Year 23.—Grānumi (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by (people of) Tirumunaippāḷi. 744 of 1905.

“Oddantangal (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land as ḍāṇṭḷi for repairing breaches in the tank in Tūṇāḷu. 206 of 1921.

* The records of this king at Tiruvogiyur range from years 20 to 38 and are perhaps the earliest Cūḷa records in the Northern corner of the Tūṇṭal-mangalam, apparently not conquered by Aditya 1 (Rājāk.) as no records of his are found there. AKE. 1913 II 18.

† Second son of Parṇṭaka 1 and author of a Tiruvaitppā; already a grown up prince. AKE. 1926 II 16.

† Text does not give the name of the person and the sale; says simply ‘writtnak-ṇāḍukōṭṭam’.

§ Called Parṇṭaka-catm. in 193 of 1906.

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Year 23+1.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 455 kalaṅju of gold for a kolgai to the Tiruvulag-Mahāḷēva temple. 231 of 1921.

Year 24.—Jambai (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Mentions the building of a maṇḍapa at the town of Vāḷaiyur by Viranāraṇi-yār, queen of prince Gaṅḍharādita and daughter of Śōkamādevi-yār; also endowment by Nagaratār in whose name the maṇḍapa was built. 108 of 1906.

" Kuttōlam (Tin.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for lamp by Pirāntakan Utanāsī. 446 of 1917. *

" Mahappaluvīr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Three forehead plates made of gold collected from several sources (paḷasārpun and taṇḍappun) by Kānakkōḷanār. An undertaking by the temple servants to burn two perpetual lamps in the temple with 180 sheep purchased out of 20 kalaṅju realised from various sources in the 26th year of the king. 378 of 1924.

" Tillaiśthōnam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Forty Ceylon kalaṅju of gold equal to twenty pun for a lamp given by Pirāntakan Arikulakēsari, the king’s son. 25 of 1895; SII. v. 582.

" Tirukkalāvīr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land for lamp by Nakkan Šandirāḥi of the Jayabhimataḷi at Taṇjāvūr. 38 of 1910; SII. iii. 102.

" Tiruvilaiaruduvīr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Anaimangalam in Paṭṭinak-kūṟam. 250 of 1907.

* This and 448 of year (36) are the only two records of this king so far found in the Pāṇḍya country. 63 of 1905 from Anaimalai of year 33 still left it doubtful if his conquest extended beyond the capital and its outskirts. The conquest of the whole Pāṇḍya country is mentioned in the Udayāndiram and Tiruvilangāḷu plates. Eight Vattuḷattu records from Kuttōlam (Tin.) are also naturally to be assigned to this king. ARE. 1918 II 22.

† Text has: Ḥakkaḷaṅju, Ceylonese kalaṅju was 10 maṅjādi, while the Taṇjore one was 20. See also 156 of 1895, ARE. 1895, paragraph 12.

‡ cf. SII. ii. 66 p. 292; ARE. 1910 II 16.
PARANTAKA I

Year 24.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 12½ karṇajū of gold for lamp by the son of one of the yañangaṇattār. The ēri-vāriyam of each year was to supervise the charity. 58 of 1898; SII. vi. 341.

Vēppanguṇāri (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. A grant of 1,000 kulī of land by the assembly of Kāvanūr as ērippalī. 166 of 1921.


Mēlappūrūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Undertaking by the assembly of Uttamadāni-catm. for the daily supply of ghā for one lamp as interest on gold (9 karṇajū-ūppōkkku śembon) received by them from the temple. 359 of 1924.

Siddhaḷaṅgamaṇḍam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land for music thrice a day during worship. 387 of 1909.

Tilhiṣṭhānam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. An enquiry into temple affairs by royal writ; the Nagaravāriyakkūṭam has part in the enquiry; fine of 12 karṇajū is levied on some defaulters, and is used for making a pattam and for festival. 31 of 1895; SII. v. 588.

Tiruvppariyambiyam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep by the Nāṭṭu-mangāṭiḷgal for lamp. 315 of 1927.

Tiruvāṭṭalurai (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. 11 mā of land for maintenance of pipers in the temple by Tirukkaṟṟāḻippiccēn * who is stated to have built the Gomuktiśvara

* 132 of 1925 (n.d.) is the name label of this person figured as worshipping a linga on the S. wall of the temple.
THE COLAS

temple at Tiruvāḻuturai. On receiving 16½ kalāṇju of gold, the assembly of Śīṟṟānaiccūr made the land tax-free. 126 of 1925.

Year 26.—Erumūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a lady. The sabhā agree to see that the lamp is regularly maintained. 381 of 1913.

Kaṇḍiyūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land given in exchange for 10½ kalāṇju of gold endowed by Pillaiyār Parāntakam Uttamašī for a lamp (pagaḷvilakkku). The sabhā of Tirukkaṇḍiyūr made the exchange. 19 of 1895; SII. v. 575.

Melappāḷuvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of reclaimed land for lamp by Kāḷān Pūḍi, a native of Nelvāyi (Nelvāyi-nilāiyān) in Mīgōḷai Viḷā-nilā. 380 of 1924.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Nangūri-nangai of Mayīlarpil on behalf of her daughter Sōḷa-sīkhamanāiyār, the queen of the Cōḷa king. 158 of 1931.

Tiruvolliyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp and one Ceylonese (Ĭḷa) lamp-stand by a native of Sōḷa-nilā. 184 of 1912.

Tiruvolliyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. A part (of Tiruvolliyūr ?) called Sūṟa-sūḻamaṇip -perunderu. 187 of 1912.

Udayēndiram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Resolution of sabhās of Kāṇjivāyi alias Igal-maṟai-mangalam and Udayacandra-mangalam to live together as one village thereafter. SII. ii. p. 370; EII. iii. p. 147.

Year 27.—Ādíguḍi (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp by a native of Anbū, a brahma-deva in Kīḷ-kūṟru, a subdivision of Kīḷar-kūṟru, to the temple of Tiruvādíguḍi. 106 of 1920.

* Surname of Parāntaka I A.R. 1913 ii 18.
PARANTAKA I

Year 27.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by a merchant of the Mañigrāmam of Ādittapura in Tiruṇeyyṭānam. The gold given for the purpose was taken charge of by Parāḍāya-nakkkan Śrīkandam. *

33 of 1895; SII. v. 590.

" Tiruccengōlu (Sn.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Money for a lamp entrusted to the sabhā of Tiruccengōlu, while the people of the eighteen districts (nāṭṭār) were to protect the grant.

640 of 1905.

" Tiruvilāinarudār (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land to maintain a drummer (uṭukkai-rāśippān) who had to play on the uṭukkai thrice a day (mūṇu sandiyum). The land was given by an officer auditing temple affairs (śrīkāryam arāyikara), the sabhā of Tiraimūr, the nagarattār of Tiruvilāinarudil, the tirukkōyil-uḷaiyār and the pati-pālamulattar, assembled in the theatre (nāṭaka-kālai). · 157 of 1895; SII. v. 721.

" Tiruvisalār (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Provision for the supply of bathing water from the Kāvēri to the deity. The village is called Avani-nārāyana-catm. alias Vēmbahār, a dēvadāna and brahmadēya on the northern bank.

35 of 1907.

" Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by Dēvan Kōsari alias Kuṇjaramalla † Pallavaraiyan.

167 of 1912.

Year 28.—Erumūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. The śrīvimāna was built of stone and the gōpura with aṭṭaparivāra erected by Irungūḷu Kanavān Aparājitān; 3½ vōli of land given by the same person with the permission of the king, Śōlaperumūḷ Parāntaka-dēva, to the temple of Śīrūturukkōyil-bhāṭṭāra at Urumūr, for tiruvemutu, arcanābhāṣṭra and the maintenance of the drummers for śrībali.

384 of 1913. ‡

* cf. 31 of 1895 of year 25.
† A surname of the king, ARE. 1913 ll 18.
‡ 379, 381 and 382 with earlier regnal years in the same temple. Either the construction was finished earlier than year 28 or the earlier grants got engraved in that year after the completion of the work. ARE. 1914 ll 15.

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Year 28.—

Kilür (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for lamp to Tirukkōvalur Tiruviratūnattup-perumāl by the queen Rājadēviyār Tēṣālakkī-perumānār, daughter of Miḷāḻduḷaiyār Kayirūr Perumānār.

279 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 141.

Varikham (N.A.)—Madiraikonda. 500 kuḻi of land by assembly to the wife and children of Sāmināyakkan, a hero who fell in a cattle raid in Varikkiyam alias Candirāditya-mangalam.

180 of 1921.

Tirunāmanallur (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep and an Īḻavālakku by Citrakōmaḷam, a female servant (parivīṟattū) of the queen Kōkkiṇāṇāḷ, mother of Rājadittadeva, who ordered the construction of the stone temple of Tiruttōḷiśvāra (Bhaktajaniśvāra) at Tirunāvalur in Tirumunaippāḍū.

335 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 133.

Tiruppaṭānam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp, Mentions the queen of Śōḷaperumāṇāḷ, Sēyāblauvāna Cintāmaṇiyār of Kāvirippāṭṭatīnām.

137 of 1928.

Vēdāranyam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for a lamp by Arunidhi-Kaliyan of Marudūr, an officer of Śri-Parākāsari.

445 of 1904.

Year 29.—

Bairakūr (Mys.)—(Kanaresc) Madiregondā. A memorial stone for a person who recovered the cows, slew and died.

457 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 203. 

Brahmadēsām (N.A.)—Madiraikonda. Gold diadem to god in charge of the gayuppurumakkal doing śriṅkār-yam of Śri Pondaibhatṭārakar.

202 of 1915.

* It is not clear if the mother or the son built the temple. See Venkayya ASI. 1905-6 p. 180 nr. 7 and 8.

† cf. 46 of 1923 (Vr. 34.)

‡ Rice (p. xxiv) says that this is an isolated instance of such an early Kan. Cōḷa inscription and suspects a later date. But 290 and 281 of 1911 (years 14 and 18) furnish evidence of Varāntaka's sway in Kongu-ARI. 1912 II 13. And there is nothing against the genuineness of this record, H. K. Sastri. EI. x. Additions etc.
PARANTAKA I


Grāmam (S.A.)—Madiraikopāla. Lamp by some servants (kōṇippillaigal) of prince Rājaditya to the temple of Śri-Āṟṟuttalai Mahādeva. 745 of 1905.

Grāmam (S.A.)—Madiraikopāla. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājaditya. 182 of 1906.


Tiruccāṇūr (N.A.)—Madiraikopāla. Lamp apparently by a native of Kōḷungōḷūr in Malai-nāḻu (Cranganore in Cochin?). Tiruccāṇūr is called Tiruccōṇūr twice, and its sabhā mentioned. 260 of 1904.

Tirunāṭanallūr (S.A.)—Maduraikopāla. 100 sheep for a lamp to the shrine of Agastyēsvara by a physician of Pillaiyār Rājaditya. 325 of 1902; SII. vii. 954.

Tirunāṭanallūr (S.A.)—Maduraikopāla. Two lamps to Rājaditya Isvara and Agastyēsvara by a servant of Rājaditya-lēva. Also twenty sheep for offerings at arulhāyāma. 347 of 1902; SII. vii. 977.

Tiruvēḻiyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikopāla. Thirty kuḻūṟu of urkaeccecommai-pon for lamp to Mahādeva by Iravi Nili, daughter of Vijayaṟaṅga-lēva, ‡ the Kēṟṟaraiya. The amount was apparently invested on a field in Tiru-

* cf. 735 of year 36.

† Portrait of warrior. Palaeogr. same as Tirukkaḷukkumam inscription (168 of 1894) of year 13. The raid was by the W. Ganga king. ARE. 1896 paragraph 6)

‡ Perhaps the son or brother and successor of Sthāṇu Ravi, if at all he was an actual ruler of the Cēṟa country. H. K. Sastri.
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vārīyūr which yielded an annual interest of 4½ kōlaṇju at the rate of 3 mañjāli per kalaṇju.

169 of 1912; SII. iii. 103.

Year 29—Tiruvārīyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold, ārkarceen-mai 40 kōlaṇju, for feeding a learned Brahman by a native of Eṭṭiyākuricci in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu who had accepted service in the temple (karmiyāy-vandu).

182 of 1912.

Year 30—Kumaramangalam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Death of Manukulan Śingaperumān in a cattle raid (erumait-toṇu) after recovery of the cattle.

186 of 1921.

Tiruppaḷānam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold by Kāri-Āccan of Āyirattai in Kīḷār-kūṟram and the merchants of the village for burning lamps in the temple.

164 of 1928.

Tiruvārīyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sixty kālaṇju gold for two lamps by Kōlaṇḍarāman, eldest son* of the Cōla king Parākēsari. Part of it, thirty kālaṇju, was perhaps borrowed on interest in the 35th year of the king by the ār of Veḷḷivāyil at the rate of 3 mañjāli per kalaṇju per annum (15%) with the undertaking to provide two meals a day for the person who went to collect the interest.

164 of 1912; SII. iii. 105.

Tiruvārīyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for lamp by Arindigai Perumānār, son of Cōla-perumāṇadigal, to god Śiva at Ādhigrāma. Thirty kālaṇju, † called nīṣka in the Sanskrit part, formed the amount of the endowment.

170 of 1912; SII. iii. 104.

Year 31—Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gift of vessels by men who belonged to the (army) of prince Rājāditya-deva.

187 of 1906.


61 of 1907.

* i.e. Rājāditya of the Leyden grant. cf. 230 of 1903 (Yr. 34) and 318 of 1904 (n.d.) AKE. 1913 II 18.

† Invariably about 80 grains—H. K. Sastri.

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PARANTAKA I

Year 31.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold by queen of Gōvinda Vallavaraiyar and the daughter of the Cōḷa king Parāntaka-deva for lamp in the Tiruvūral-Mahādeva temple at Takkōlam, which the residents of Šembulalai undertook to maintain.

245 of 1921.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Similar gift by queen Viramādevi, * the residents of Urālagam agreeing to maintain the lamp.

246 of 1921.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Tēnūr on the banks of the Vaigai in the Pāṇḍi-nāḍu.

248 of 1921.

Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Dūvedimangalam, a brahmadeva in the same nāḍu as the temple, viz., Pēṟāvūr. The standard for the gold was ārkaiyecom-mai. †

50 of 1925.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp by the Cōḷa queen Amudan Perūḷ alias Pallavan Mādeviyār of Kānattūr in Umbāḷa-nāḍu.

303 of 1906.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp by the queen Amani-mādeviyār who came from Pāṇḍi-nāḍu.

314 of 1906.

Tirunāmnallūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant (ānai-āl) of Rājāditya-deva.

330 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 959.

Tiruppaḷañam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land by the nurse (tādi) of the Cōḷa king Parāntaka. Mentions Karikāla-karai among the boundaries.

129 of 1895 ; SII. v. 693.

Tiruppaḷañam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp by Poriyaḷuman, brother-in-law of Iyumukkaraiyar.

134 of 1928.

* Same as the queen mentioned in 245 of 1921.
† We have also: palangāsinuṭum oppadu. cf. SII. iii p. 229, ARE. 1925 ii 10.
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Year 31.—*Tiruvaiyaru* (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Five velli of land for feeding Sivayogins, given to Niyamadhanaśvāmi, śīśya-praśīya-vargattār by Irumadilōrap-pallavaraiyan alias Namban Aiyaṟṟadigal. 241 of 1894; *SII.* v. 540.

" *Tiruvaiyaru* (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Silver lamp and land by the queen of the Cōla king, Valavan-Māđevari, the daughter of Nīrānāyip-pāḍiyār.

248 of 1894; *SII.* v. 547.

Year 32.—*Kil-muttuṟū* (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Marks the spot where a tiger was killed by Kumāranandi Pulalappan of Vaṭalagarai-Mukkuṭṭūr.

2 of 1896; *EI.* iv. p. 179. *

" *Tirunāmanallū* (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tiruttōńriśvara alias Rājādiya Īśvara by a servant of prince Rājādiya-dēva.

326 of 1902; † *SII.* vii. 955.

" *Tiruttaiyi* (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Land to Subrahmanya temple apparently by one Parakēsari Muttaraiyan.

439 of 1905. ‡

" *Tiruvaiḻimiyai* (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Sheep for lamp.

440 of 1908. §

" *Ūttukkāṟu* (Ch.) — Madiraikonda. Construction of a tank.

347 of 1906.

Year 33—*Ānaimalai* (Md.)—(*Vuṭṭēṟuttu*). Madiraikonda. Records the digging of a tank called Kaliyanari after the donor Marudurnaṭaiyin Arunidi-Kaliyan, an adigai of the Cōla king. Mentions the temple of Naraśingaperumāṇaḷigal on the Tiruvānaimalai.

63 of 1905; *SII.* iii. 106.

* Palaeographically same as No. 1 of year 29. There is a bas-relief of a man fighting a tiger with his sword.

† 328, 336, 348 are similar gifts of servants of R. in the same place.

‡ Said to be ‘apparently later than Rājarāja I,’ but not explained how. *ARE.* 1906 II 21.


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Year 33.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Twelve kaḷaṇju of gold for a lamp by Alagāśaṁ-kramaṁvittan, son of Kūḍal Kīḷār Maṇiśāvaḥāṭṭa Sarvakratukkal, one of the āḻungaiṇam of Rājamalla-catuṁ. 218 of 1915.

Kāvanār (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 400 Kūḷi of land for lamp to Śri Karapurattu Perumāḷ by a member of the āḻungaiṇam. 161 of 1921.

Kīḷār (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkōvalūr Tiruvirattāṇattu Mahādēva, by a Malaiyāṉa-organiecēvagan of the army of Pillaiyar Arivukal-kēsari. 280 of 1902; † EL. vii. p. 141.

Tirumāṇaṇallūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of Rājāditya's Malaiyāṉa-parivāra. 343 of 1902; SII. vii. 973.

Uṭalōṟuguḍi (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Three vīḷi of land by Nandisārūppirān alias Ananta-Vikramappēraiyar, a mahāmātra, for feeding twenty-five Brahmans; also gold for two perpetual lamps in the temple at Tirunānāntāvaram. 539 of 1929.

Year 34.—Kōrilaḷi—(Tj.) Gold, 10 kaḷaṇju, for lamp to Tiruccaṇāṇaimūḷi Mahādēva, by wife of Vimalāṇkūśan Edarnikki, an inhabitant of Śāḻakkirāmam in the Pāṇḍya country. 287 of 1301, SII. vii. 507.

Pulalūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Ten kaḷaṇju of gold by the queen Śeyyabhuvana-cintāmaṇiṉēr for lamp at the shrine of Śrī-Rāghava in the temple of Tiruvayyōḍdlī at Pulvēḻūr in Eyyikōṭṭam 16 of 1923.

Sōīr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Kīṟaḷu pulḷi (num)mā(di)-kkirani(vē)mi āḻuvitta paṭai. 68 of 1890; SII. iv. 392.

Tillaisthāṇam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by queen Mullisvarattu Nambirēṭṭiyār Tennavan-mahādēviṉēr alias Nāṟṉayāṉa Nangūri Nangaiṉēr,

* Pillar bearing the inscription apparently brought from the neighbouring Perunēḷ temple.

† Engraved in continuation of 279 of Year 28.
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called here Śōla-perumānālīgai Mahādeviyār.

44 of 1895; SII. v. 601.

Year 34.—Tiruttai (NA.)—Madiraikopēla. Land by the assembly. 449 of 1905.

" Tiruvaiyāvā (Tj.)—Madiraikopēla. Lamp by queen Cōḷaśikhamāṇi, who was Mayilāppī. . . . . . . Nanguri Nangaiyār magalār. * 226 of 1894; SII. v. 525.

" Tiruvorippōḷ (Ch.)—Madiraikopēla. 96 sheep (navati in Sans. part) for lamp by Māru Paramēśvaran alīus Śēmbiyān Śōliya-varaiyan of Śirukulāṭtīr, ‘who captured Śītpūḷi, † destroyed Nellūr, and on returning from there, made a grant to the temple of Mahādeva at Tiruvorippōḷ.’ (Śītpūḷiyai-yeṇindu Nellūralittu mīṇḍu pāṭugīṇyān). The donor is called Virakirtī in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning.

160 of 1912; SII. iii. 108.

" Tōṇḍamāṇāḍ (G.)—Madiraikopēla. Gold for feeding 1,000 Brahmins on certain festival days. Mentions temple of Kōṇḍaḷarāmēśvara alīus Nālīyēśvara ‡ and a certain Paḷḷippaḷaiyāḷaiya Vaiśēśvara-pāṇḍita-bhaṭṭāra. 230 of 1903.

" Uyyakkoḷōpan Tirumalai (Tri.)—Madiraikopēla. 90 sheep for lamp to Tirukkāṭu-li-Paramēśvaro of Nandipanamamangalam, a brahmanēya on the southern bank, by Pirāntakan Mādevaḷigalār, the wife of Pirāntakan Gaṇḍarādittadēvar § and the daughter of Maḻaperumāḷ. 96 of 1892; SII. ii. 75; iv. 543.

* cf. 44 of 1895 above (same year).

† He must have been the E. Cēḷukyā Bhīma II or one of his subordinates. AKE. 1913, II 18. Perhaps a later member of the Naṟṟa dynasty to which PṛthviVyāghra, the enemy of Udaiyacandra, belonged. H. K. Sastri. cf. 236 of 1912 n.d.

‡ Venkayya thought that this name was connected with Rājāditya (or Gaṇḍarāditya). 164 of 1912 (Yr. 30) makes it clear that Rājāditya had the title Kōṇḍaḷarāma. But Aṇḍitya died at Tōṇḍamāṇāḍūr and the temple may have taken its name from him. He might have had the surname Kōṇḍaḷarāma. H. K. Sastri SII. iii. 105 i.e. 164 of 1912.

§ The author of the Tiruviraiippā-Ilultsch, SII. ii. p. 374, contra Venkayya on 222 of 1903 of Rājak. Yr. 4.

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PARANTAKA I

Year 35.—Emappärur (S.A.)—Madiraikondā. Land by a Brahman for a flower-garden to supply daily a garland six spans long to the deity. 527 of 1921. *

Tukkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikondā. Sale of land, house sites and certain privileges by the headman of Pāsāli in Pāsāli-nādu to residents of Anaiyarkaipudur in consideration of their maintaining a sacred lamp in the temple of Tiruvūral Mahādēva. 254 of 1921.

Tirunāmanallūr (S.A.)—Madiraikondā. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 329 of 1902; SII. vii. 958.

Tiruvāḍutuvai (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Remission of taxes on land purchased for the temple by Kandan Śāttan of Neerkuppi in Taṇjavūr-kāṟṟam, by the assembly of Sīrāñaiśāvar for money received from the donor at the rate of 1½ kaṭaṅju per mā. This and another piece of land got from the same assembly by Tirukkaṟṟalepiccan (122 of Year 38) were for the maintenance of servants who blew the conch and horn, held the parasol (vīṭāṉam) and looked after the flower-garden. 125 of 1925.

Tiruvāḍutuvai (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Fourteen vēli of land bought from the Tiraimūr sabhā and the Tiruvidaiñmarudil nagarattār. Mentions Paṅgaśāviri among boundaries. 149 of 1895; SII. v. 713.

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. Fifty kaṭaṅju of gold for feeding two Mahāvratīs every day, by Ilājaipperāraiyan alias Sōṣāśikhamāṇī Ṭ-Pallavaraiyan. 168 of 1912.

Year 35 + 1.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. 25 kaṭaṅju gold for lamp deposited with the Pati-pālamlattār. Another gift of 15 pon for tiruvamidu to Kalangācudal-nilta-bhujaga. 43 of 1895; SII. v. 600.

* Text gives date 34.
† Surname of Parāntaka. ARE. 1913 II 18.
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Year 36—Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Records that Vellangumaran, the Kāraḷa general of prince Rājāditya, son of Madhurāntaka, built of stone a Śiva temple (Āruttali-Mahādēva) at Mauligrāma, i.e., Mudiyūr on the Peṇṇai river. The record is dated Kali 4044 and Kali day 1,47(70)37 corresponding to 14th January, Saturday, 943 A.D.


" Kilappalūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Agreement by three servants of the temple to put up two picotohs (ēttam) for water for bathing the god and for the flower-garden for money received. 218 of 1926.

" Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vattēluttu). Madiraikōṇḍa. Two lamps by the headman of Kilinallūr.

448 of 1917.

" Tiruvagūlūrai (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land, after purchase (tax-free) from the assemblies of Śiṅg-puliyūr and Śirṛānaicūr, for the maintenance of two hymners, two gardeners, and two maid-servants for gathering flowers for garlands, for offerings in the temple, and for feeding, under the supervision of the donor’s descendants, the Śivayōgūs and the Māhēśvaras on the seven festival days beginning with the asterism Mūla. Mentions Maḷaḷapati often. 111 of 1925.

" Tiruvērumbūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land by the Perunṟi-mahāsabha of the brahmadēva Śrikanṭha-catam., for “tippōkkur-combal kaḷāṇju pērttu uuraiyum tulaiyum valuvādudu invūr-Aḷu kallāy-kōṇḍa pon padinaingaḷāṇju” and another 15 kaḷāṇju for ṭaikāval-drayam on the same land.

100 of 1892; SIL. iv. 547.

Year 37.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 14½ kaḷāṇju gold for lamp by one of the ālunagavattar of Rājamallacatm. in Tiruvēgamabupuram. 217 of 1915.
PARANTAKA I

Year 37.—Lāigvūli (Tri.)—Madiraikondā. Land for two Brahmans * chanting the Tiruppiṇḍiyam thrice every day in the temple of Tiruttavatturai Mahādeva. 99 of 1929.

Kaṇcipuram (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. Sale of lands in Kaṭṭamangalam to the temple of Anantāraṇāyaṇa-Paramasvāmin of Kaceippūḷu who was pleased to lie on his serpent couch in the Tiruveṅkā (the Vēgarati river) (Tiruveṅkā-aṇai-kiṇḍandaraṇīna) by some private persons of the same village for 367 kāṇju gold. 21 of 1921. †

Kīlappaduvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikondā. 90 sheep for lamp by Maṇarkūḍa, a gāṇutūr of Munpālai in the Miḷḷaik-kūṟṟam in Pāṇḍi-nāḷu. 230 of 1926.

Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Madiraikondā. Gold for a lamp, a copper water pot, a lamp stand and a silver tray. 589 of 1904.

Tiruvveṅgūḷu (Sm.)—Madiraikondā. Lamp. 632 of 1905. ‡

Tiruveṅkātī (Tri.)—Madiraikondā. Gold for feeding a Brahman versed in the Vēda. 86 of 1910.

Tiruvvēḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Land for lamp by a merchant of Mayilappil in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. 147 of 1895; SII. v. 711.

Tiruvvēḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Mentions a certain Kavāṇamoli-Mādevan alias Tonḍaradippōli. 207 of 1907.

Uḻaipūṟgūḷi (SA.)—Madurmapuri Ilamum-kondā. Money (90 kāśu) by a woman-servant of the temple kitchen for feeding three persons every day. 553 of 1920.

* contra Sudra Sudvārs doing this now. ARE. 1929 II 25. 104 of 1929 (Rājak. Yr. 3) is a gift supplementing this endowment.

† Palaegraphy two centuries later. Perhaps copy of an old record. Recalls story of Viṣṇu saving a sacrifice by stopping Sarasvati who took the shape of a stream. ARE. 1921 II 25. Tiruvandavaittām 63, 64.

‡ Proof of Kongu conquest ARE. 1906 II 21.
THE COLAS

Year 37.—Uḍaiyāruṇḍi (SA.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp. Mentions Karpagāsadirac-cēri and vāriganuṭṭiṭa manḍāḍikkalanaṅyūn. 597 of 1920.

" Ukkal (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of village of Śodiyambakkam, to the north of Ukkal, as a dēvabhoja by the assembly of Ukkal for various items of expenses detailed, with the remission of veṭṭi, vedilai and vālakkāṇam, the right to punish the crimes and sins of the villagers being also vested in the temple: 'iṇṇākkaḷaṅgaik-kuranganḍa-mangupāṭu dēvarey daṇḍit-tukkolvaṅar-aṅavum.' *

30 of 1893; SII. iii. 12.

Year 38.—Ālambakkam (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. † Land. Dautivarman-mangalam a brahmadēya on the north bank (of the Kāvēri). 714 of 1909.

" Āṇandumangalam (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Five kaţāiḷu of gold for feeding one devotee (aḷiyār) in the Jina-girippaḷli by Vardhamānap-periyāṭigalg, a disciple of Vinaiyābha-sūra-Kuravaḷigalg. 430 of 1922. ‡

Year 38. §—Kumbakoṇam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 250 of 1911.

" Panḍūravaiḷai (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 270 of 1923.

" Pillaiyāṅkham (Ch.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kopoṇḍa. Lamp. 170 of 1930.

" Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kopoṇḍa. ‡ Sale of land for lamp by Mūlaparuḷai. 605 of 1904.

* In add. and corr. to SII. iii. kurraṇḍīlam is explained as 'fine imposed on persons for defaults', and manţupāṭu as 'a similar fine imposed by the village assembly'. The translation of Hultzsch is as given above.

† No reference to taking of Ceylon in year 37. ARE. 1910 II 16.

‡ Engraved on a boulder with three groups of Jaina figures carved in a line—ARE. 1923 II. 113.

§ From here all dated inscriptions are noted with the titles of the king.

‖ Not in the text, which only gives the title Parakēsari.
PARANTAKA I

Year 38.—Srirangam (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. One hundred kalānjulu gold for Sahasradhārā to Ranganātha.
71 of 1892; SII. iv. 518.

" Tirukkōṭikāval (Tj.)—Maduraikonda. Land and gold for offerings in the temple. 15 of 1931.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by a merchant. 342 of 1902; SII. vii. 972.

" Tiruvadi (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp. 362 of 1921.

" Tiruvāṭutuṟai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Sale of land to temple by assembly of Śirṛānaiccūr for money paid on account of the temple by Tirukkāṛraḷi-pīccan. 122 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṭutuṟai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Remission of taxes on the lands of the temple by the assembly of Śirṛānaiccūr for money received by them from Tirukkāṛraḷi-pīccan. 142 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṭutuṟai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Five hundred kalānjulu of gold by Parāntaka-dēvar for constructing the temple with stone from kalappuṟai upwards. 143 of 1925.

" Tiruvīḍaṁmarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Mentions Imaḍi Śrīja Pāḷḷavairaiyan and the Pāḷḷangāviri-nilāḷukāl. 195 of 1907.

" Tiruvīḍaṁmarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp for merit of Ariṇjiyaippirāṭṭiyār. 252 of 1907.

" Tiruvūṭirmaḷalai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 441 of 1908.


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Year 38.—Uḍaiyāṛuḍi (S.A.)—Maduraiṅkōḍa. Three vēḷi of land for feeding 25 Brahmans in temple. The king remitted the taxes on this land. Tennavan Viḷuppēraraiyan, called ‘nammaganār’ by the king, had built a hall in which the assembly met. 604 of 1920.

Viḷappākkam (N.A.)—Maduraiṅkōḍa. The sinking of a well, by a female disciple of Aṛiṭauēmi-piḷārān of Tiruppānmalai. * The ‘twenty-four’ of the ār to protect the charity. apeppūḷi.

53 of 1900; SH. vii. 56.

Year 39.—Grāmam (S.A.)—Maduraiṅkōḍa. 192 of 1906.

Tirukkalāvīr (Tj.)—Maduraiṅkōḍa Parakēsari who also took Īḷam. Land by a servant (peppūḷi) of queen Villavan Mādeviyeṛ. The paraṇai of Karukāvīr near Tirukkuḷamukki, a devalāna in Vaḷagarai Pāmbir-nāḍu, get the money, take charge of the land and make it tax-free; also agree to pay a fine of 100 kalāṇju for default as a body and 50 as individuals. Cultivation rights mentioned.

37 of 1910; SH. iii. 110.

Tirumāḻpuram (N.A.)—Maduraiṅkōḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp. 302 of 1906.


Tirunāmanallūr (S.A.)—Maduraiṅkōḍa. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājaditya.

351 of 1902; SH. vii. 981.

Tirunāmanallūr (S.A.)—Maduraiyum Īḷamum-kōḍa. One hundred sheep for lamp by Mahādevaḷigal, a queen of prince Rājaditya-dēva and daughter of Iḷāḷariyar, for the merit of her elder brother Araiṅar Rājadittan Pugalippar-vaṅgal.


* Another name for Paṇcapāṇḍavamalai, a Jaina centre from the Pallava period to that of Rājārāja I. AKB. 1900, paragraph 16.

↑ Hultsch says that Iḷāḷariyar was a title borne by a line of local chiefs which included Vira Cōḍa, son of Pugalippavarganḍa, perhaps the same as the elder brother Rājadittan of this record. See also EI. iv. p. 139.
PARANTAKA I

Year 39.—Tirunāmanallur (SA.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Lamp. 367 of 1902; SII. vii 997.

" Tiruvōḷaiyū (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Provision by Karraḷi Piccan and the dēvakanmis of the temple for expenses on sankrānti days and special bath on the two ayanasankrāntis, by purchase of 3 mā of land for 8 kalaṅju received from Kaṭṭipuliyūr Nakkan of Taḷikkaḷambūr in Kār-nāḷu, on the north bank. 140 of 1925.

" Tiruvaiyū (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Lamp. 233 of 1894; SII. v. 532.

" Tiruvaiyū (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. 143 of 1918.


Year 40.—Allūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Land. 384 of 1903.

" Brahmaṇadēśam (NA.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. 225 of 1915.

" Kumbakōṇam (Tj)—Maduraiyum (Īlamum)koṇḍa. Sheep for lamp. 235 of 1911.

" Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Maduraiyum (Īlamum)koṇḍa. Two lamps to Sūryaṁdar and other gifts. 253 of 1911.


" Mēḷappalavūr (Tri)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Reclaimed land, by purchase, for lamps. 386 of 1924.

" Palavūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Gold, 30 kalaṅju, for lamp to Paramēśvara by queen Ādittan Karraḷi Pirāṭṭi *. Mentions viḍēṉiḷungukal. 353 of 1918.

* Till now unknown. ARE. 1919 ii 9.

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Year 40.—Srirangam (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda.

345 of 1918.

Srivindram (Tv.)—(Vatteluttu)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda. 100 sheep to Parañcavaiyär for two lamps in two shrines in the Tiruccivindiram temple by a merchant of Karavandapuram in Kalakkuţi-nāḷu.

82 of 1896; EI. v. p. 43.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda. Land, for lamp.

310 of 1906.

Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda.

232 of 1894; SII. v. 531.

Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land for feeding a Brahman sumptuously every day in the Tiruvaiyāru-ṉeḻaiyär temple by queen Ariyigai, daughter of Iladarāyar.

144 of 1918.

Tiruvellai (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa.

520 of 1905.

Year 41.—Allur (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda. Provision for singing Tiruppadiyam hymn every day.

373 of 1903.

Grīnam (SA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda. Lamp.

184 of 1906.

Kilvidi (NA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda. Land by purchase for upkeep of tank at Kilai-valji in Vallanāḍu, a sub-division of Dāmar-kōṭṭam.

143 of 1916.

Lālgudi (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda. Land for offerings.

88 of 1892; SII. iv. 535.

Lālgudi (Tri.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp.

108 of 1929.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sheep for lamp by Pūvan Māran of Nediyatalı in Koḻungōḻur in Malai-nāḍu.

313 of 1906.

Tiruvāmāḻūr (SA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kõnda. Gold for lamp.

419 of 1903.
PARANTAKA I

Year 41.—Tiruvivasagar (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Gold for lamp. 23 of 1907.

Tiruvivasagar (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. 328 of 1907.

Year 8 + 37—Tirunangkādu (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Land for offerings to Tirunangkāṭṭu-perumāḷ by a native of Koḻun-golūr in Malai-nāṭu. Mentions gūḻalai. 465 of 1918.

Year 4(6)—Kapliyār (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Land. 15 of 1895; SII. v. 570.

Tirunanturai (Tj.)—Lamp. Mentions Trailokya Mahā-dōviyār. 135 of 1931.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following:

Allūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Waste land, never known to have been under the plough, reclaimed and given to āṟuṭhikkum yūgiyār. 385 of 1903.

Brahmadēsam (N.A.)—Madiraikonda. Twenty kalaṟju of gold for lamp by Śōḷaśikhamanī Pallavaraiy of Nelvēli in Inga-nāṭu. The śri-vāriyap-perunakkal were in charge of this gift. 213 of 1915.

Girāman (N.A.)—Madiraikonda. Gold, 10 kalaṟju, for lamp, by a native of Kōṭṭāṟu. Sabhā of Tirunāṭiyār in charge. 740 of 1905.

Kalaṉjav (N.A.)—Year 4. Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Land for daily offerings by the assembly of Kalaṉjav. 189 of 1921.

Kāṇippuram (Ch.)—(Floor of the Rājasimhaśvara temple). Madiraikonda. Mentions Tirukkaṟṟali-unpāḷigaṟ. SII. i. 145.

Kuṭanṭiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikonda. The king is also called Śōḷa-perumāṇadigai and Śri Pirāntakaṟ. Gold for a lamp by his son Śri (Kō)daṉṭāṟamaṟ. 318 of 1904.

* The figure is clear on the stone SII. v p. 226 n.
† 230 of 1903 of year 34. ARE. 1905, II. 9.
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*Kumbākōṇam* (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land by assembly, Mūlaparudaip-perumakkal, for feeding two persons in a temple. Mentions Āyirattali in Kīḷārkūṟam, a sub-division of Ten(karai)-nāḍu and abhisēkadakṣiṇai. 249 of 1911.

*Nanganaram* (Tri.)—Madirai-kōṇḍa. Mentions Ariṅjigai-ṭatm. and a Piḷḷāri temple called Kāḷabhaṭṭāri *alias* Śāṭṭanūr-nangal. 345 of 1903.

*Śendalai* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kōṇḍa. Land for offerings under protection of the sabhā and the panmāḥeśvarar. 14 of 1899; *SII*. vi. 450.

*Takkōḷam* (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp by a servant of Madhurāntaka Pallavaraiyar. 253 of 1921.


*Tiruviḻalūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by...nāṭṭuk-kāman-Iyakkanār†-parivārattu Isakka-
nayya Nangal. 29 of 1907 †; *SII*. iii. 107.

*Was* Uttamaśili-catm. in Piḷḷāyakulāṇi-vala-nāḍu (*SII*. ii p. 229) the same as Uttamaśili in the Trichi Taluq and called after this prince? *ARE*. 1907 ii 31.

† Apparently a member of the royal family, not mentioned elsewhere. H. K. Sastri.

‡ Treated as of year 3 and as the earliest reference to the conquest of Madura in *ARE*. 1907 ii 32. But the date of this record is doubtful. The year may have been two figures of which the first is built in, and might be 1, 2, or 3. *SII*. iii p. 242, n. 2.
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S. 868—Bāgali (Bel.)—Katyāra of the Cālukya family was governing the Kogali 500 and the Mā-śāyavādi 140.

75 of 1904.

Ś. 871—Śmapuram (NA.)—Year two, perhaps of Rājaditya, acc. A. D. 948 (Hultsch), in which Cakravarti-Kannaradēva overthrew Rājaditya and entered the Tondai-maṇḍalām. * Construction of a pond called Kālinangai-kulam, so called after a woman who died at Arunugram. She was the daughter of Attimallan alias Kannaradēva-pirittiyi-gangaraiyar.

428 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 194.

The following inscriptions contain the description Kaceiyum-Taṇṭaiyum-konā Kannaradēva:—

Year 5.—Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Land for offerings by sabbā of brahmadēyaṃ Śirīngūr. 375 of 1909. †

Year 15.—Kūram (Ch.)—Gift by a Kārattu Āsiryan. 36 of 1900; SII. vii. 37.

Year 16.—Ukkal (NA.)—The sabbā met in the mukha-maṇḍapa Bhuvanamājikka-Visṇugṛha, apparently to effect the sale, on conditions, of a part of the common lands of the village to some persons. A curious clause forbids any one to set up a prior claim to this land by the production of title-deeds or other evidence.

SII. iii. 7.

Year 17.—Tirukkalukkumram (Ch.)—Lamp by Kāraiyaṭaiyaṇ Baladēvan alias Parāntakap-pēraraṇyan.

169 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 284.

Year 18.—Tiruvagiriṟ (Ch.)—Opens with a Sanskrit verse mentioning Caturāṇana’s place in the maṭha getting the

* The Ḍakṣī inscription dates this event in Ś. 872 current, A. D. 949-50. EI. vi. p. 51.

† Spurious - p. 158, ante.
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Gift. Thirty kaḷaṇju of ūrkāc-cemmai-pon for lamp by the son of a merchant of Mānyakahēṭa, in the camp (kaṭaka) of the Vallabha king, deposited with the residents of Śerruppēṭu (Chetput). 177 of 1912. *

Year 18.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—12½ kaḷaṇju gold for lamp with the ūr, the samvatsara-vāriyam being responsible for its proper maintenance. 89 of 1898; SII. vi. 374.

Year 19.—Tirukkalukkunyam (Ch.)—A person constructs an ambalam, buys some land from one Iśāna Śiva alias Nakkaḷi-bhaṭṭan which he endowed as ambalappuḷam for supply of water and fire (taṇṭir-aṭṭuradakṣum akkini-yaṭṭuradakṣum). The sābha made this land tax-free after collecting a lump sum (iḷai-drawyam) from him. 170 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 285.

" Tirunamalai (NA.)—Lamp to the yaka on the Tirunmalai at Vaigāvūr by a servant of Gangaśādēvi, queen of Kannaradēva-pratigangaraiyar. 65 of 1907.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—90 Sheep for lamp. 354 of 1902; SII. vii. 981.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp. 366 of 1902; SII. vii. 996.

Year 20.—Tirunoggiyūr (Ch.)—One hundred nīkas of pure gold by Caturānana Paṇḍita, pupil of Niraṇjana-guru, for hali in temple. An account of the career of the Paṇḍita given in the grantha part. Favourite of the Vallabha king. 181 of 1912.

Year 22.—Tirunoggiyūr (Ch.)—Gold, ūrkāc-cemmai 30 kaḷaṇju, for lamp by the mother of the Vallabha king Kannaradēva. Perpetual interest 15%. 179 of 1912.

Year 23, day 296.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Mahāsabha records that all the revenues which were due from Ulļiyūr to the ūr were made over to Iśvara-bhaṭṭāra of Tiruvuliyūr for providing music thrice a day for ēribali. The Ulļiyūr people were granted sole right of managing

* cf. EI. iv. p. 281.
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the temple without interference from any external authority (ἐπιτρέπτα-κόψων μυγάφερόν-άδαγασσων).
41 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 324.

Year 25.—Uttaramērār (Ch.)—A resolution of the village assembly relating to the levy and proper collection of fines.
77 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 362.

Year 27.—Takkōlam (N.A.)—Sheep for lamp.
2 of 1897 ; SII. v. 1365.

" Tiruvōttūr (N.A.)—50 Sheep by Kōlanda-manṭḍi for a pugal-viḥakkas.
101 of 1900 ; SII. vii. 111.

Year 28.—Kāvanār (N.A.)—A vyavasthai by assembly of Kāvanār that seller and purchaser, and mortgagor and mortgagee of lands must be of the same community in case of lands being gifts to gods, physicians and ājivakas.
159 of 1921.

(n-d.)—Doddāśivara (Mys.) (Kan.). King’s encampment at Mēlpādi after defeating and killing the Cōla king.
112 of 1899.

" Kilār (S.A.)—Gift of Vaidumbā Mahārāja Śrī Vikramāditya rusing Malāṭu, Vāṇākoppādi, Śiṅgāpura-nāḍu and Venkunta-kōṭṭam.
16 of 1905.

The following inscriptions mention only Kannakadeva without any title :

Year 16.—Tiruvadi (N.A.)—96 sheep for lamp to Gövindaviṇṭagār in Adhirāja-mangalyāpura, by Kaliyan Manṭḍi Aiyar alias Rājaditta Pallavaiyar who had the kāṇi of Śembūṅk-kōṭṭam.
28 of 1903 ; SII. viii. 300.

Year 17.—Tirunāmanallār (S.A.)—10 kāḷiṇḍu of gold for a lamp by Narasimhavarman of the Malayakula. The sabha and ār of Śevalai in Veṇṭai-nāḍu undertake to supply every year 100 nāḷi of ghī by mahādēvi measure. The expression Śevalai-sabha-iṅṭam is also used.
THE COLAS

Year 18—Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Land in Köḷiyūr by assembly of Sīrīṅgaṇ to a dancing woman (Tiruppulippagaṇvar nirutta-viṣṇuki) and her descendants for dancing before god during procession. 370 of 1909.

Year 19—Kīḻūr (SA.)—Fragment. Mentions sabhā of Nittavinōdacatm. on the north bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakōṟpāḍi. 269 of 1902; SII. vii. 898.

Year 20—Kīḻūr (SA.)—Gold, 15 kaḻaṇṭu, with nagaram of Tirukkōḷavāḍu for a lamp. 232 of 1902; SII. vii. 859.

Year 21—Kīḻūr (SA.)—Land purchased from sabhā of Tirukkōḷavāḍu and given to Tiruviraṭṭanamuḍaiya Perumāṇaṭīgaḷ by Vaidumba Mahārāja Sandayan Tiruvaiyan. 268 of 1902; EI. vii. pp. 142-3.

Year 22—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sale of land by sabhā for bhāṭṭaṇavṛtti. 175 of 1902; SII. vii. 802.

Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Lamp. 176 of 1902; SII. vii. 803.

Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sheep by manṭṭḍis of Vākuranāḷu at the rate of one sheep while ‘ascending the kaṭṭil.’ 177 of 1902; SII. vii. 804.

Year 23—Kīḻūr (SA.)—90 sheep. 266 of 1902; SII. vii. 894.

Year 24—Kīḻūr (SA.)—2,304 sheep for 24 lamps by Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvayanār to Tiruviraṭṭinattāḷvār. 267 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 144.

Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Gold for a gong and three trumpets to temple. 385 of 1909.

Year 25—Gramaṇam (SA.)—Gift by Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyan Śrī Kāṇṭha. 743 of 1905.

Year 26—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Placing of four stones in the wall. 172 of 1902; SII. vii. 799.

Jambaḷ (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp and gold for offerings to Sāryadēva in temple of Tiruttāntōṇṛ-āḷvār at Vāḷaiyūr. 112 of 1906.

* cf. 236-A of 1902 (SII. vii. 864) of Rājanā 27, which quotes this gift.
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Year 26.—Kizur (SA.)—100 sheep for lamp by Kōmalam, daughter of Vānavan Mūvendavēlān.

270 of 1902; SII. vii. 899.

" Vēlūr (NA.)—Land to Pannappēvara built by Pannapai on the Sūdāḻu-pārāi-malai (‘the hill of the gambling rock,’ now called Bāvāji hill) by Nujumba Tribhvanadhira.

10 of 1897 * SII. i. 51; EI. iv. pp. 81 ff.

Year 27—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Land for feeding two persons (183); and maintaining in the temple a Brahman versed in Vēda for worship and a man to supply water for the sacred bath (184).

183, 184 of 1902; SII. vii. 810, 811.

Year 28—Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Half-lamp.

364 of 1902; SII. vii. 994.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Kīlūr (SA.)—Gold, twenty kalaṉju, for snapana (bathing) to the god on every sankrānti, by Viraṭṭan Viranāraṇiyār, the senior queen (mūṭṭa-dēvīyār) of Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyanār. One kalam of cleaned paddy was the interest which the sabhā of Nēnmali alias Milāḷa-māṇikkam agreed to measure out in the temple (tāyaivākki kūḷipparambaṭṭu tiru-mugittuk-kodū senyaḷandu kūḷipparamāṉōm); they were also to feed each of the persons who came to collect this paddy (innel tāyaivākku meykaṇḍu). Mentions that 60 kalam by pērijamai was equal to 75 kalam by ēṇṭālik-kāl. 235 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 143.

Tiruvanāṭāmalai (NA.)—20 cows.

475 of 1902; SII. viii. 63.

* Palaeographically same as that of Kaciyum Tāḷajiyum-kōṇḍa Kannaradeva. Hultsch EI. iv. p. 82.
RĀJAKĒSARI GAṆḌARĀDITYA.

See under Rājakēsari:—

Year 8—Tiruppalāṭheṇai. 570 of 1908.

" Tiruppalāṭṭugai. 574 of 1908.

Year 9—Tirunāgēśvaram. 215 of 1911.

PARAKĒSARI ARIṆJAYA.

See under Parakēsari:—

Year 2—Tiruppājanam. 162, 172 of 1928.

under Sandara Cōṭa:—

Year 12—Uḍaiyārguṭi. 572, 587 of 1920.

under Rājakēsari:—

Year 9—Tirunāgēśvaram. 215 of 1911.

under Rājarāja I:—

Year 29—Mēḻpāṭi—Tiruvāriṇjiśvaram built by Rājarāja as Āṟṟūṟu
tuṉji-na-dēヴァryku-pallippaḷai.

86 of 1889; SII. iii. 17.
MADIRAIKONDA RAJAKESARI.

Year 5.—Karikkal (NA.)—A piddari-koyil erected by the wife of a Viravalanjiyan of Mariyadji in Pulivala-nadu. 12 of 1896; EI. iv. p. 331. *

" Tiruvagiyyur (Ch.)—Gift of sheep by one of the Kaleisi-Perundaram who had accompanied Ulaiyar Uttamasiola-deva † to the temple of Tiruvagiyyur-mahadeva. 246 of 1912; SII. iii. 115.

" Velacceri (Ch.)—Sheep by one of the yahungapattar of the village. 315 of 1911; SII. iii. 114. †


Year 12, day 130.—Madhuvantakam (Ch.)—Gift of land, purchased from the unappropriated common land of the village and made tax-free, to the temple of Tiruvan-kuttimal Paramesvara for the long life and victory of the king. 396 of 1922.

Year 14.—Tiruppuugambiyum (Tj.)—Lamp. 75 of 1897; SII. vi. 24.

Year 17.—Allur (Tri.)—Gold. 377 of 1903.

" Tirumalaradi (Tri.)—Lamp. 2 of 1920.

" Tirumalipuram (NA.)—Lamp. 307 of 1906; SII. iii. 118.

" Tirumalipuram (NA.)—Lamp. 308 of 1906; SII. iii. 117.

* Palaeographically resembles the Tamil inscriptions of Ksrra III Rajakula. Hultsch.

† Son of Gaundaraditya Madira. Rajak. † Royal titles due to an early choice for succession. ARE. 1913 II 19.

‡ King identified with Gandaarditya. Got title from Pratataka I, father; succeeded him immediately as Rajaditya had died.—H. K. Sastri.
RĀJAKĒSARI SUNDARA CŌLA.

See under Rājakēsari:—

Year 6.—Kāvērippākkam. 382 of 1905.

under Uttama Cōla:—

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumālpuram. 286 of 1906.

for Ponmālīgai.

under Rājarāja I:—

Year 16.—Tirumalai. A Cōra queen of Parāntaka II. 61 of 1899.

" Tiruvigaimarudūr " 159 of 1895.

Year 21.—Dādāpuram.—(daughter Kundavai). 8 of 1919.

Year 2.—Tiruviṣalūr (Tj.)—Rājakēsari. Land for feeding a Vēdabrāhmaṇa by Pirāntakan Iruṅgōḷar alias Śīriyavēḷar of Koṭumīlūr. * Gift in charge of Mahāsabhā of Avari-nārāyaṇa-catm. 317 of 1907; SII. iii. 119.

Year 4.—Tiruviṣalūr (Tj.)—Rājak. Land purchased for (1)30 Iṭakkāsu from the Perungurip-perumakkaḷ of Amani-nārāyaṇa-catm. by Pirāntakan Iruṅgōḷar alias Śīriyavēḷar. 320 of 1907; SII. iii. 120.

Year 5.—Tiruviṣalūr (Tj.)—Sundara Cōla. Gift of some taxes (gatānaka ?) for whitewashing (?) the temple, and of a lamp by Śīrūvēḷa described as Iruṅgājakula-pradīpa and Pirāntakasyātmaja-vargavarya. 40 of 1907; SII. iii. 121.

Year 7.—Tirukkalittattai (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-īrrakkina Perumāḷ Śrī Sundara Cōla-dēva. Land purchased and made īṣayili for 156 kaḷaṇju of red gold (kombon) given to God Śrikuḷittattai-naḷiyūr of Vaḷlagarai-Vēmbarṟūr by Pirāntakan-śīriyavēḷān alias Tirukkarraḷipiccan, who was serving as general of the king’s forces. 291 of 1908; EI. xii. pp. 121-6.

* See Rājarāja I. Year 27—116 of 1896; MV. Ch. 54 vv. 12 ff.
RAJAKESARI SUNDARA COLA

Year 12.—Udaiyārguḍī (SA.)—Rājakēsari. Land by purchase by Udaiyapirāṭṭiyār Vīman Kundavaiyār, the ācchiyār (mother?) of Ariṇjiya-Pirāntaka-dēvar, for bathing god with 1,000 pots of water on the sankrānti day of every month. 572 of 1920.

Udaiyārguḍī (SA.)—Rājakēsari. Land by purchase by Ādittan Kōdaipirāṭṭiyār, queen of Ariṇjiyagaivarman who died at Ārūr, for bathing god during Citrai-Vishu with 108 potfuls of water; another gift by Udaiyapirāṭṭiyār Vīman Kundavaiyār for 1000 potfuls of water for same purpose. 587 of 1920. †

Year 14.—Tirukkalittāḷḷai (Tj.)—Rājakēsari. Two lamps, twenty-five Ḍhakkāsu for each, by Rājadeci and Kuṇjaramalli the wife and daughter of Śiriyavēḷar.

299 of 1908 ‡; SII. iii. 122.


The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Koḻumbāḷḷ (Pd.)—Madhurāntaka Sundara Cōla. Mentions Pūḍi Paṭṭulagan. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

Tirukkalittāḷḷai (Tj.)—(Perumāḷ) Sundara Cōla ‘who drove the Pānlyya into the forest’. Mentions Pirāntakan Śiriyavēḷar, a general, and Ponmāligai.

302 of 1908.

* i.e., Paṅntaka, son of Ariṇjiya, cf. 589 of year 14. Vīman Kundava, perhaps an E. Ċçuṣuka princess, daughter of Ċçuṣuka-Bhima II (A. D. 934-45). This marriage is much earlier than Cōla Kundavē’s with Vīnallāditya. AKE. 1921 II 26.

† cf. SII. iii. 17 (86 of 1889) of year 29 of Rājarāja I. Pūḍi Ādittan Piṅṭri was another queen of Ariṇjiya. Sundara does not seem to have been the son of this dowager queen as he refers to her by name. Identity of Āḍhunr doubtful. AKE. 1921 II 26.

† Wrongly assigned to Āḍitya II Karikēla, son and successor of Paṅntaka II Sundara, in AKE. 1909 II 40.

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Year 2.—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Sale of land by assembly for a private endowment of a lamp in the temple. 224 of 1911. *

" *Tirumāḷam* (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyantalai-kōṇḍa. Mentions Kāri Puliyant alias Śēlāmārāy, a certain Niraṇjana Paṇḍita and servants of the temple of Ambar Śrī-Mahākāḷam. 117 of 1910. †

" *Uṭṭaiyārūḍi* (S.A.)—Vira Paṇḍiyantalai-kōṇḍa. Three kāsū by Aralīyan Gōyaviṭthankan of the Śingalāntakak terinjja Kaikkōḷar for cloths to the Kūṭtar of the stone temple of Tiru-anantāśvaram. 557 of 1920.

" *Uyyakkōṇḍān-Tirunallai* (Tri.)—Vira Paṇḍiyantalai kōṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkaṟkuṭi ‡ Para-mēśvara by Iruṅgōḷakkōn alias Pugalviṭ-piragandān Avanivallān. The dēvakānmis had to supply every day ¼ measure of ghi by the śūlavālēkku. 472 of 1908; SII. iii. 199.

Year 3.—*Kāvanār* (N.A.)—Vira Paṇḍiyantalai-kōṇḍa. Four hundred kuṭi of waste land by the assembly of Kāvanār for daily night offerings to Pulī-pagava-dēva. Measuring rod called kaṭīgai-kaḷantuk-kōl. A further gift of 800 kuṭi, also to be reclaimed, for lamps at the three services of the deity and for keeping watch of the temple by residing near it with a guard. 160 of 1921.

" *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyantalai-kōṇḍa. Sale of land by the assembly of Śrī Kuḻandai to Kōyil-mayilai alias Parāntaka Mūvēṇā-vēḷān § of Sīringan in Īṅgā-nāḷu, for feeding twenty apūrvis versed in the Vēda and

* This is indirectly mentioned in 225 of 1911 of year 5. ARE. 1912 II 20.
† Text gives year 3.
‡ The name of the place in the Lēḻavām.
§ Adhikāri in charge of īṟi-kēṟyam in the temple of Tiruviḍaiyarudāy (154 of 1895, 214, 255-6 of 1907). Continued in same capacity under Uttaṇa Cēḷa, and was called Madhūrāntaka Mūvēṇa-vēḷān. " His was evidently one of the offices which were solely in charge of public charities and financed by the state." ARE. 1912 II 19.
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five śivayāgenes in the Śrī-kōyil of Tirukkil-kōṭṭattupurumāḷ. Land called sālavēṣa. 230 of 1911.

Year 3.—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyar - tali - koṇḍa. Sale of land to Śiriyinganuḍaiyān Kōyil-mayilai alias Parāntaka Mūvēṇḍa-vēḷan by the mūla-paruṇaip-perumakkāl of Tirukkuḍalamukkil, which he presented as a bhāṭṭauṭṭī to those who expounded the Prābhākaram.

233 of 1911; SII. iii. 200.

" Tāyanur (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyar-tali-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp. 359 of 1909. *

" Tiruvanumalai (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyar-tali-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp. 471 of 1902; SII. viii. 59.


Year 3+1.—Tiruvālaimarudur (Tj.)—‘Virapāṇḍiyarai erindu tali-koṇḍa ’. 256 of 1907.

Year 4.—Kumtiyur (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyar-tali-koṇḍa. Mentions brahmaṇadēyam Periya-vāṇava-mahādevi - caturvēli-mangalattu yālangaṇattu. 18 of 1895; SII. v. 574.

" Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyar-tali-koṇḍa. Gift of 90 sheep, distributed equally between two manḍādis, for a lamp by peṇḍāḷi Dēvavan Pāḷalakkan alias Avanisikhāmaṇi of Kīḷai-Vēḷan at Taṅjavuṛ, called after Udaiyapirattiyār Kīḷanāḍigaḷ, the mother (ūṛi) of Anaimēṟuṇānīr. 226 of 1911; SII. iii. 201.

" Tāḷāvaruviṭṭai (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyar-tali-koṇḍa. Land for lamp by Āsūrī Ādittā-pidāran Kramavittan, a member of the āṭhummum of the village Rājakēsari-catm. 236 of 1923.

* Three records of Pāṭhivēndravarman also come from this place. There is no clue as to the contemporaneity of the two kings or their relation to each other. AKE. 1910 II 17.
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Year 4.—Pāṇḍaṇāyකādi (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyaṇai-talai-κoṇḍa. Twenty kāsū, equal to ten kalanju, for a lamp in the temple of Tiruccēlūr-mahādēva by Nilan Tyāgi, wife of a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mādēvi Pēranguḍi at Taṇjēvūr. 241 of 1923. *

Śiyamangalam (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talai-kōṇḍa. Mentions Śri Gangaraiyai . . . Ganga-cūḷaṁapī etc. † 70 of 1900; SII. vii. 74.

Tāyanūr (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talai-kōṇḍa. 80 sheep for lamp by a native of Maṇḍaikulāṭṭur. 360 of 1909.


Tiruppurumabīyam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talai-kōṇḍa. Land as Nandavanappūgam to Ivvūr-tiru-nandāvanam-maṇḍalan-gēppūn. 69 of 1897; SII. vi. 18.

Tirividiśaṁmarudūr (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talai-kōṇḍa. Śirvagānuḷaiyai Kōyil-mayilai, the adiyārīgal in charge of (ārāykin) śrikāryam, the sahā of Tiraimūr, the Nagarattār of Tiruvidīśaṁmarudul and the divakānmis met in the theatre (nāṭakavāḷai) and arranged for ārīyakkūṭtū ‡ before the god of Tiruvidīśaṁmarudul by setting apart one vēti of land for Kittimā😉KKaḷai, alias Tiruvēl-araicēkkai, who had to dance on 7 occasions (specified) in a year and receive as kōrpy fourteen kalam of paddy from the treasury of the temple. 154 of 1895; SII. iii. 202.

Uṭaiāyārūqi (SA.)—Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talai-kōṇḍa. Dining utensils and money (gold) for feeding one person sumptuously every day. Śrikāryam-ārāyam-gangaperunakkal in charge. 610 of 1920.


* 246 of 1923 quite similar gift by wife of another merchant.
† cf. 69 of Parak. Yr. 3.
‡ Śilappadikāram iii. 12-25 and notes thereon.
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Year 4.—Ukkal (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiya-talai-kōṇḍa. An endowment by a Veḷalai Śenai for the supply of water for six months and agniśṭāi (fire pans) for six months in the Brahmasthāna of the village. The charity was to be supervised by the members in charge of village affairs for each year (avvava-samvatsarangal grāmakāryam tiruttum perumakkal).

32 of 1893; SII. iii. 14.

Year 4, day 170.—Tiruvidiḻaimarudur (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiya-talai-kōṇḍa. Mentions Tiruvidiḻaimarudil Āḻvār śrikāryam-āray-kinca adigāriyāl Sirīngan-mudāiyān Köyil-mayilai Parāntaka Muvēnda-veḷān. Tiraimūr was by the kādanam a kuṭiniikkidēvadāna which had to give as paņcevāram 256 kalam of paddy. But the padiṁārūru (scale of expenses in the temple) showed only 160 kalam. It was denied that the dēvadāna was kuṭiniikki. Then the adigāriyal called for the original document making Tiraimūr a dēvadāna and found that it was kuṭiniikki and accordingly raised the scale of expenses.

214 of 1907; SII. iii. 203.

Year 5.—Bāhūr (Pondicherry)—Pāṇḍiya-talai-kōṇḍa. Lamp.

173 of 1902; SII. vii. 800.

"Kumbakōnam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiya-talai-kōṇḍa. Sale of land by the Mūlaparalai-pērūmakal of Tirukkuṭamukkil, a dēvadāna in Vaḷaṅgarai-Pāmbūr-nāju, to the peyṭāṭṭi Perayan Tribhuvanasundari of the Palaiya-veḷam at Tuṇjavūr for 85 kaḷaiṉu of gold which she had deposited as an endowment for feeding a Śivayōgin. The land mentioned in 224 of 1911 was one of the boundaries of this land.

225 of 1911; SII. iii. 204.

"Papāṭaravāṭai (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiya-talai-kōṇḍa. Money by a resident of Monūramac-cēri for offerings to the image of Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭāraka in the temple on the day of Ārdrā in Mārgāḷi. Mentions the coin akkam.

275 of 1923.

"Tomdu (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiya-talai-kōṇḍa. Ten sheep for lamp to Kiḷanda Perumāḷ by Śūramittirap-peru-
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manṟādi, son of Iruganṟan residing at Kīḻvali-Tonḍūr in Singapura-nādu. 282 of 1916.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj) — Vira Pāṇḍiyam-talai-kōṇḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp by a man of the Tribhuvana-mādēvī-yār-velam; also a lamp-stand, tarā-nilai-vilakkku.
240 of 1894; SII. v. 539.

Tiruvanningalai (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyam-talai-kōṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp.
469 of 1902*; SII. viii. 57.

Tiruviṭaimarudūr (Tj)—Pāṇḍiyam-talai-kōṇḍa. Land for maintaining the campaka flower-garden laid out by Tiruvēṅgaṭattu-piçcan.
249 of 1907.

See under Rājakēsari:—

Year 2—Uḍaiyarguṭi.— 577 of 1920.

* Text gives year 4.
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Ś. 892—Kaḷamūr (NA.) — No name of king. Lamps to Kalikēsari * Viṅgagār-dēvar by the assembly of Kaḷamūr. 246 of 1909.

Year 2.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Pāṇḍiyantalai-kōṇḍa. All temple lands owned to date made tax-free by the assembly of Aiṅgaṭāsam in lieu of the amount of gold, 86¹ kaḷaiṇī, which it owed to the temple. Also sabhā to manage temple affairs by its vāriyam, a gaṇam being forbidden.

195 of 1915.

Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyantalai-kōṇḍa-Kō-Mahārāja. † Fifteen kaḷaiṇī gold with gaṇapprumakkal for a lamp by a merchant of Tiruvēkambacēri.
223 of 1915.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyantalai-kōṇḍa-partma-mahārājar. Land made tax-free by the sabhā; the ār were not to collect any dues.
88 of 1898; SII. iii. 152.

Year 3.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Mentions a couch (tiruppalik-kaṭṭil) given to the Tiruvēral-āḷvār by Arumolī-nangai, the queen of the king (Uḷaiyār).
7 of 1897; SII. iii. 166.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Records the building of the temple and the enclosing verandah by the Virāṭa king Anayaman alias Paramanḍalādītya.
267 of 1906.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Gold for lamp by Nārāyaṇa Kramavittan alias Vaidumbar-āditta-brahmādhi-rājan.
304 of 1906; SII. iii. 165.

* Was Kalikēsari a title of P. † cf. 676 of 1904-Yr. 5. ARE. 1910 II 59.

† This supports the identification of this king with Rējamūrīyar.
ARE. 1916, II. 78.
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Year 3.—Tiruppärkkādal (NA.)—Mentions a meeting in the abhi-
śekamanḍapa of the big temple of the locality (īvuṟ-
periy-a-taḷi) at which were present the Mahāsabhā of
Kāviriṟṟakam alias Amanirārāyaṇa-catm., including
the members for the year of the samvatsara-, ṭōṭta-
ēri-, kaḻani-, paṇḍava-ra-, kaṇakku-, kalingu-, and laqi-
vaḷi-vāryiams, the śri-vaḻivi-nāraṇap-perumakkul,
Pallavan Pirammādarāyan who was ruling the town
(uṟ-ālكرة), and the superintendent (kaṅkāṇi)
Arumbākkilān. The trustees of the temple made a
submission to the meeting that a garden and field of
the arcanābhōga of Tirukkarapurattu Perumān were
silted owing to breaches in the river and lying waste;
the kaḻani-vāriyam were then directed by the
assembly to give 1400 kuḷi of land from the village
maṇijikum. * 692 of 1904; SII. iii. 156.

Uttaramēṟur (Ch.) — Paṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa Pārthivēn-
drādhipati-varman. The Perunguri-sabhā gave land
to Śrī-byṇḍāvanattu-perumāṇaṅgaḷ for tiruccennāḍai,
nandāviliakkum and arcanābhōgam.
73 of 1898; SII. iii. 153.

Uttaramēṟur (Ch.) — Viṟa Paṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa-Pārthi-
vēndra Ādittaparamarkku. † Land by sabhā after
taking pūrva-caṟum to Tiruvāppūṟup-perumāṇaṅgaḷ
for tiruccennāḍai, lamp, āriḷai and arcanābhōga.
38 of 1898; SII. iii. 158.

Uttaramēṟur (Ch.) — Viṟa Paṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Iṟaiyili
land by Perunguri-sabhā after taking pūrva-caṟum to
Aiyān-mahāṣāsta, in the south of the city.
15 of 1898; SII. iii. 167.

Uttaramēṟur (Ch.) — Paṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Iṟaiyili
land by Perunguri-sabhā after taking pūrva-caṟum to
Kurukṣētra-dēva.
16 of 1898; SII. iii. 160.

* This corresponds to modern 'poromboke' and the assemblies had the
disposal of it—H. K. Sastri.

† This 'undoubtedly refers to Pārthivēndravarman' and 'may establish
the king's possible connection with the Cōja Ādityavarman' (Āditya II).
H. K. Sastri.
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Year 3.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konaḍa. Land by Perunguri-sabha to temple after taking pūrvacāram. This land was part of the land escheated to the village owing to default in payment of dues, (igaiyidu ārnōkki viḻunda pūmi).

17 of 1898; SII. iii. 162.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konaḍa. Land by Perunguri-sabha as vyākhyaṅgṛtti to a person teaching the Vyākaraṇa-śāstra in the town.

18 of 1898; SII. iii. 161.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konaḍa. Land by sabha to Tiruppulivanam-udaiyār.

19 of 1898; SII. iii. 154.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konaḍa. The Perunguri-sabha make a list of lands belonging to Tirumāliruṅjōlaip-perumānañīgal of the town, (nam-mūr).

21 of 1898; SII. iii. 163.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konaḍa. The sabha declare tax-free some lands of Durgā-bhaṭṭāraki, after accepting as pūrvacāram the gold due as interest (poli-ponnēy) on account of the documents (kaiyeluttu) of this Bhaṭṭāraki and of the sabha of Dāmokalarac-cēri.

22 of 1898; SII. iii. 159.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konaḍa. The Perunguri-sabha gave land as igaiyili after taking pūrvacāram to Jyeṣṭhā at Kumanpāḍi.

23 of 1898; SII. iii. 169.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konaḍa. Land by sabha likewise to Kumanpāḍi Kīlai-śri-kōyil.

25 of 1898; SII. iii. 168.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konaḍa. The Perunguri-sabha gave igaiyili land for amudu, lamp and areṇā to Mahāviṇyukkaḷ.

26 of 1898; SII. iii. 164.

Year 3, day 119.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa Pārthivendrādhipati-varman. The Perunguri-sabha
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made īraiyili some land of Śri-Gōvardhanattu-perumānaṇḍigal. 13 of 1898; SII. iii. 157.

Year 3, day 173—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa. Land made īraiyili by the Perunguri-sabhā which got pūrvācāram from some person.

60 of 1898; SII. iii. 155.

Year 4.—Takkōlam (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to image of Durgā in the temple of Tiruvūrāl-ālvār by a native of Mahārājapāḍi (E. of Kōlar, including parts of Cuddapah and Chittoor).

14 of 1897; SII. iii. 173.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyananai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthi-vēndrādhipati-varman. Tax-free land purchased from the Perunguri-sabhā and given as śri-bali-bhōga to Subrahmanya-bhaṭṭa of the town.

55 of 1898; SII. iii. 171.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyananai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthi-vēndrādhipati-varman. Land given by Perunguri-sabhā as īraiyili arcana-bhōga to a certain bhaṭṭa after taking pūrvācāram from a merchant of Kāṅcipuram.

24 of 1898; SII. iii. 170.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyansīt-talai-koṇḍa. 180 kula of land given to Gaṇapati in the temple of Kōnerinangai at Kumanpāḍi and recorded by Mahāsabhā.

27 of 1898; SII. iii. 172.

Year 5.—Tāyanūr (SA.)—Land at solar eclipse for five persons providing music for śrībali in the temple of Tāmakkamala Mahādeva at the request of the residents of Tāyanūr made to Nilagangaraiyan Anṇāvan Nāṭṭaṇḍigal.

362 of 1909; SII. iii. 178.

Tāyanūr (SA.)—A declaration that a certain document (ōla) was lost, that two persons had received their full dues on a loan of 30 kaḷaṇju which, apparently, with interest, had become 45 pon and that if they recovered the lost document at some future date, they should treat it as invalid (dead).

364 of 1909; SII. iii. 175.
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Year 5.—Tirumullaiyil (Ch.)—Mentions sabhā of Kalikēsari-catam. (name of Tirumullaiyil?) a tan-kūrum-dēvadānam in Pulār-kōṭṭam.

676 of 1904; SII, iii, 174.*

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pândiyananit-talai-kōṇḍa.
Record by Perunguri-sabhā, Iqaiyili land set apart as viṣaharabhōga to be enjoyed by persons appointed to the place by the sabhā, 36 of 1898; SII, iii, 177.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pândiyananit-talai-kōṇḍa. Iqaiyili land to temple by sabhā after taking pūrvacāram.
28 of 1898; SII, iii, 179.

Year 6.—Brahmadēśam (N.A.)—Land for feeding one Brahman versed in the Vēda. The great men of the assembly of Aiűjaśtaśam of Tiruvelkambapura in Rājamaḷa-catam. made the land tax-free and placed the charity in the charge of the members of the gaṇavāriyam.

208 of 1915.

Pūli (Ch.)—Sale of land from the sabhā-maṇījikkam to temple by sabhā of Kuruṭṭur alias Parantaka-catam. in Ambattūr-ērik-kīḷ-nāḍu of the Pulāl-kōṭṭam.
225 of 1910; SII, iii, 181.

Podavūr (Ch.)—Land for lamp by Tennavan Mādēviyār.
69 of 1923.

Tiruvaḷandai (Ch.)—Parakēsari Vēndrūdivarman.
Twelve kaḷaiyju for lamp by a native of Taiyūr or Talaśayanapuram.
269 of 1910; SII, iii, 180.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pândiyananit-talai-kōṇḍa Pārthivēndrādhīpai-varman. Land set apart, after purchase as kṛi-bali-bhōga to Tiruvunnaūṛp-perumāṇadiga.
20 of 1898; SII, iii, 182.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land as iqaiyili for tiruccennaqāi to Kurukṣētra-dēva of the town, by the Perunguri-sabhā.
37 of 1898; SII, vi, 320.

* Perhaps the king of this record is different and earlier in time, as the record is very archaic—H. K. Sastri.
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Year 7.—Takkōlam (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to Tiru-vūral-ālvār.

The phrase ‘neyyennai’ occurs in this record (as in some others).

4 of 1897; SII. iii. 184.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyansait-talai-kōnda. The Perunguri-sabhā declare some land of the Kurukṣērattu-perumānāligaal to be tax-free, after getting pūrvūcāram from a person.

79 of 1898; SII. iii. 183.

Year 8.—Tiruvāḍandai (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyansait-kōnda Kō-vi-Rājamārāyar. A record of the sabhā and ūr of Tiruvāḍandai. Gift of an image of Maṇavāḷapperumāl to temple of Varāhasvāmin by two Brahman residents of Talasāyanapura an alias Taiyūr; and also of gold for offerings.

254 of 1910; SII. iii. 186.

Year 9.—Anaiakkaṭṭāṭūr (NA.)—The ūr of Anai Akkaraippūlūr give to Āditta-dēva, belonging to emmūr vaikhanasan Kalinikkki-bhaṭṭan, some land and a house to the south of the temple as arcanābhūga. The land given is described thus: “emmūr vilaiyu-pattiyil dēva kuṭṭai-yum unangay-piṭiyum.”

288 of 1895; SII. iii. 187.

Kōṭṭūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādi-Adhipati-varman. Sale of land as tāṇṇūṟṟppattī by ūr to Paṭṭaiyānār, the mēnāyakam (superintendent) of the Perundaram, who built the ambhalam of this village.

252 of 1912; SII. iii. 188.

Madurumangalam (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by Olōka-Mahārāyar to temple of Olōkmahārāyar-Tiruccirram-balattālvār at Maṇalai-mangalam in Maṇayir-kōṭṭam.

320 of 1909; SII. iii. 189.

Podavūr (Ch)—Sale of land, free of taxes, by āravar to Patti, brother of Tennavan-mādeviyār, who had the proprietary right over the village (iuvūr īvītam) of Mērpiddavūr in Puriśai-nāḷu.

68 of 1923.

Year 10.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Kō - Pārthivēndrādhipati - varman. The sabhā of Rājamāttāṇḍa-catm (Maṇayir-kōṭṭattu

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_Tiruvāṟai purattu_ latu-kāṟṟu) accepted from Kumāraṇāṅgai, the daughter of Nandīnāṅgai, herself the daughter of Tiruvāṟal-dēvanār, gold weighing 92 _kalaṇḍu_ (by dharmakāṭṭai-eṭai?) to be used for offerings to Kaligai-viṭānka, set up by Kumāraṇāṅgai in the Iraṇa-śinga-virar-pallik-kaṭṭil-mañḍapam in the temple of Tiruvāṟal-dēvar. Mentions 92 _kāṭi_ of paddy by marakkāl Kavāramoḻi.

13 of 1897 ; _SII._ iii. 190.

Year 10.—_Tirumāḻpuram_ (N.A.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyam-talai-kōṇḍa Pārthivendrādi-varman. 96 sheep for a lamp to Gówindapāḍi-dēva by Vani-parāja Aḻagamaiyan.

327 of 1906 ; _SII._ iii. 192.

"_Vēlaceri_ (Ch.)—Land for offerings to the temple of the Seven Mothers by a native of Māḷa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Sōla-nāḍu.

316 of 1911 ; _SII._ iii. 191.

Year 11.—_Kauṭalār_ (S.A.)—Lamp by Nagarattār. 281 of 1915.

"_Kāram_ (Ch.)—Sale of land tax-free by the āḷum-subhāi to a person for building a rest-house (amphaṭam) and for the supply of water in it during summer.

105 of 1923.

Year 11, day 324.—_Uttaramēṟu_ (Ch.)—Pārthivendrāḥhipati-varman. Land given by the queen (Uḍaiyār-dēviyār) Villavan-mahādeviyyār to the image set up by her and to the temple for śrībali and arcanābhōga, 2920 _kuḷi_; the mahāsabhā take pūrva-caṭaram and make the land tax-free; the śradhāmanastas were to enforce the proper maintenance of the charities; they had power to levy a fine up to 25 _kalaṇḍu_ for default.

32 of 1898 ; _SII._ iii. 193.

Year 12.—_Kāṇḍiṟpuram_ (Ch.)—Fifty _kalaṇḍu_ of gold by Danmapoonār alias Trailōkyya Madēviyyār, the queen of Perumāṇaḷigal; and 200 _kāṭi_ of paddy to be supplied as interest on this amount at 4 per _kalaṇḍu_. Money deposited with the ūr of Tiraiya-mangalam.

17 of 1921.
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Year 12.—Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Anaiyaman Paramanāṭalādittan, called Virāṭarāja, built a maṇḍapa in the temple.
323 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II. 65.

"Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Gift by Virāṭa king (Anaiyamaṇ’s son?) for feeding fifteen Brahmans daily.
324 of 1906.

"Uttaramērur (Ch.)—Pārthivendraḍhipati-varman. Land.
69 of 1898.

Year 12, day 184—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Land by Viśuddhamatipanditar for abhiṣeka to god. The gaṇappu-makkal of the koṭil-vāriyam had to supervise this.
241 of 1915.

day 326—Uttaramērur (Ch.)—Pārthivendraḍhipati-varman. Land, after purchase from the farmers of the town, given to god of the Śrī-Veḷi-viṇṇughra built at Uttaramērur by Kongarayar, for music at sṛbali (sṛbali-koṭṭuvadarkku) by queen (Tambirattiyār) Tribhuvana-mahādeviyār. The sābhā took pūrvē-aṭram from the same queen and made the land ityaiyila. The braddhāmantaś had power to fine defaulting persons 25 kaḷaiṇu each.
49 of 1898; SII. iii. 194.

Year 13.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Thirty kaḷaiṇu gold for maintaining the abhiṣeka-brāhmaṇa by a daily wage and two cloths in every six months; endowment by Mūvāyiravan Trairājya Ghaṭikā Madhyasthan. Kaḷaiṇu is equated with niṣka. The gaṇappu-makkal for each year in charge.
197 of 1915.

"Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Fifty kaḷaiṇu of gold by queen Danmaponnār alias Traillōkyamādeviyār. Residents, ūr, of Pannappuram, were required to supply 100 kāḍi of paddy as interest to the temple, 18 of 1921.

"Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Thirty kaḷaiṇu by same queen to residents (ūr) of Pondūr for one lamp. Measure: uragattu-ninṛār-kāḍak-kil-nilī. 19 of 1921.
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Kīliyanūr (SA.)—Twenty-five sheep for lamp by a certain daṇḍanāyaka. 157 of 1919.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivendra-dhārapati-varman. Twenty-five kaḻaṅju of gold for two lamps left with sahā of Pattālam alias Ėḻumāṟṟuvacatm. by Vajjavai-mahādevi, daughter of Nandi-varma Kūḷupāṭṭi; (perhaps the queen of P.) 266 of 1906; SII. iii. 197.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Land, 2000 kuṭi, by purchase, for feeding a Brahman in a mātha at śīrrayārrūr. The donor was Perumāḷ-pirakērum-ānaiyāḷ Mannan Kannan alias Vāraṇappēraiyāṇ.

328 of 1906; SII. iii. 198.

Tirumullaiyāḷil (Ch.)—Pārthivendra-dhārapati-varman. Viḷattur-kilavan Śingaḷa Vira-nāraṇan, a native of the Cōla country, gave ninety sheep for a perpetual lamp to the Mahādeva of the village, a dēvadēna in Pūḷar-koṭṭatu Vēḷaiyūr-ṉāḷu.

663 of 1904; SII. iii. 196.

Uttaramērū (Ch.)—Pārthivendra-dhārapati varman. Queen (Perumāṉaḻīgal nambirāṭṭiyār) Tribhuvanā Mahādevi gave 192 sheep, for two lamps, to the Perumāṉaḻīgal of the Kongaraiyar Śrīkōyil, distributed equally between the Vēḷāḷar of Panmaic-cēri and the merchants (viyāpārīgal) of Naḻuvilangāḷi. Stops rather abruptly with the clause: "Ivviṭṭa āṭṭu kaṭtika-kāṅa-viḍil anṛḷ-kōvukku dēvarāṭṭiyāṟē niśada-maṅ-jaḍip-pon da......" 52 of 1898; SII. iii. 195.

Vengalattūr (NA.)—Land to temple. 94 of 1921.

Year 13, day 120.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Thirty kaḻaṅju of gold by Caturan Mūvāyiravan Trairāja Ghaṭikā-Madhyas.
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than. It was placed under the charge of Gaṇavari-yap-perumakkaḷ of Rājamalla-catm. subject in case of default, to a fine to be levied by the Śraddhāmantań. Mentions dhanmakkaṭṭalai-tulai-nigai.

194 of 1915.

Year 15.—Parandur (Ch.)—Tax-free gift of land for maintenance of seven musicians for service during śrībali.

75 of 1923. *

PARAKESARI UTTAMA COLA.

Year 2.—Kuhura (Tj.)—Land by purchase for offerings and worship to Aditta Isvaram Udayar. 287 of 1917.

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Remission of taxes on temple land by the assembly of Videliyngu-caitam. for 50 kāsu received from some Karikāla-sōlat-terūja-kaikkōlar. 136 of 1926. *

Year 3.—Minjur (Ch.)—(Verse) Madhurantaka. Temple of Śoja-kulasundara-Viṇṇagar constructed in this year by one Kēsavan Karukkaikkōn for god Alivalak-kēśava. 134 of 1916.

Year 4.—Kumbakonam (Tj.)—Parakēscarivarman. Sale of land by the Mūlaparaṇai of Tirukkuḍamūkkil for a lamp in a temple in the name of Kuri Kolamban, a Kaikkōlan. 245 of 1911; SII. iii. 129.

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakēscarivarman. A silver vessel of 400 kalāṇji for holding offerings to god, presented by Ayyan Mārasingan § alias Viraśekhara Mūvendavēlān. 114 of 1926.

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakēscarivarman. Two kāsu to the temple by Panaikan Kōdaḷḷan, one of the Īḷaiyavāl-perra-kaikkōlar. 125 of 1926.

Year 5.—Viḷanagar (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings at ardhyāṇā service to Tirunanārkōyil Mahādeva at Viḷanagar, a brahmādēya on the south bank, by Oraṭṭanān Sōrabbaiyār, the chief queen (agramaḥādēvi-yār) of king Uttama Cola. Mentions the stream Nēriyulaicōḷap-pērāṟu. 165 of 1925.

Year 6.—Kūnērājapuram (Tj.)—Land for lamp to Adityēśvaram §-ūdaiya Mahādeva at Tirunallam. 638 of 1909; SII. iii. 130.

* Date may be April 12, A. D. 969. ARE. 1926 App. E and Ii 17.
† 22nd April, A. D. 975. ARE. 1913 Ii 20.
‡ Perhaps so called after Ganga Mārāsimha ARE. 1926 Ii 18.
§ After Gaṇḍarāditya I ?

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Year 6.—Pałanköyil (NA.)—Parakësarivarman. Village Ödiyam-
ballam given as a tax-free dëvadänä to Mahädeva at
Tiruppañan-gölür by Kampanan Iräman alias Uttama-
söla Piridi-gangaraiyan, chief of Pangaša-nädu* in
Palkunra-köttam, with the consent of the king got
while he was at Käncipuram. Mentions a Mänavanöm
Mëvändavelän as the väsäl-këlvä. 352 of 1925.

Tiruvañandai (Ch.)—Parakësarivarman. Lamp to
Mañaväla Perumäl* to be maintained with ¼ measure
of oil every day as interest on 30 kažärju of gold
accepted by the úr of Tiruvañandai; who under-
took never to remit the interest in cash (pon) on pain
of a đañjam at the dhamäsana of 4½ kañam and a
manuñwärju of 1 mañjädi pon to the ruling king
(annälkovukku) for every day of default. The oil was
to be given regularly to the Tiruvunñäligai-väriyär.
268 of 1910; SII. iii. 125.

Year 8. †—Kumbakönam (Tj.)—Parakësarivarman. Sheep for
lamp by one perhaps of Uðäiyär-Ganätärädität-teriñja-
kaikójar. 229 of 1911; SII. iii. 131.

” Kumbakönam (Tj.)—Parakësarivarman. Sheep. Men-
tions Śrí-Uttamaśöla-nambräättiyär. 234 of 1911.

” Tiruvenkädü (Tj.)—Parakësarivarman. Land for lamp
by a queen of Uttama Cölä. 486 of 1918.

Year 9.—Kañğiyyär.—(Tj.)—Lamp and offerings on the birthdays
of the donor, Puðuvürädayän Mäyan Känjanan alias
Villavan Mëvändavelän, to Tirukkañğiyyür Viraññänattu
Mahädeva. 13 of 1895; SII. iii. 134.

Year 10.—Nallür (Tj.)—An enquiry into the affairs of the temple
of Mahädeva at Nallür by Mänakkuräi-Viranäräyanä-

* In the Bëga country. The chief was perhaps the son and successor of
Pëthingipati II. ARE. 1925 II 11.

† This image was presented to the temple of Varähädëva by Rëjamärëyar.
264, 266 of 1910 ARE. 1911 II 19.

‡ 30 Jan; A. D. 579. ARE. 1912 II 20.

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när under orders of the king, Śrīkāryam ārācciyil uṇṭaiyār tirumugam koṟuvandu.

41 of 1911; SII. iii. 136.

Year 10.—Uṇṭaiyāruguṭi (SA.)—(Grantha). Building of the sabhā by Nambiyān-bān and land for feeding 100 Brahmans in that hall. 578 of 1920.

Year 11.—Tirukkōṭikāval (Tj.)—Parakēśarivarman. Construction by Śembiyān-mahādēviyār, with stone, of Śrī-vimāna of the temple, an old brick structure, and re-engraving of old inscriptions that lay scattered on the walls of the temple. One of them is a Māṛaṇa-ḍaṇyan record (4+9 yr.) containing a gift of Vara-guṇa-mahārāja. 36 of 1931.

Year 12.—Gōvindaputtur (Tri.)—Land, made tax-free, by Šñkki-jān Araiyan Sankaranārāyaṇan alias Śōla-muttaraiyan of Kuvannūr to the temple of Śrī Kailāyyattu Paramasvāmi at Periya-vāṇavan-mahādēvi-catm. 158 of 1929.


Gōvindaputtur (Tri.)—Parakēśari. Sheep for lamp by Kānci-Akkan, wife of Vikramaśoḷa Mārāyar (See 166). 167 of 1929.

Mēlapaluvūr (Tri.)—96 sheep for lamp in the northern shrine of the Mahādēva temple at Avani-Kandarpakēvār-grham, a devadāna in Mannup-perumalpaluvūr in Kunga-kūṛram. 379 of 1924.

* Figures also in 168, 163 and 160 of years 3, 7 and 7 respectively of Rājaḷa I. See also 164 of year 14 Uttama Cōḷa.
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Year 12.—Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Money to be deposited with the catuvēdi-bhaṭṭattānap-perumakkal, for offerings on birthday of Śembiyan-mahādevīyār, by five queens of Uttama Cōja, Paṭṭan Dānatongī, Malapāḍī Tennavan - mādevīyār, and Vānavan - mahādevīyār, daughter of a certain Irungōḷar, and the daughters of Viḷupparaiyar and Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. 494 of 1925.

Year 12. *—Tiruvilakkuṭi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Remission of taxes by assembly of Vidēlvilugu-catm. on lands purchased by Ayyan Mārasingan alias Viraśekhara Mūvēndavēḷan for lamp and for water from the Kāvērī. 112 of 1926.

" Uṭayāṛguḍi (SA.)—Parakēsari. Land for feeding five Brahmans every day and a perpetual lamp in the temple by Adiṇḍa Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Gaṇḍan Sundara-śōḷan for the merit of his younger brother Gaṇḍan Śatrubhayan-karanār. 592 of 1920. †

Year 13. †—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gift of land by Viranārāyanīyār, daughter of………, and Nambirāṭṭiyār of Śrī Uttamaśōḷar, for providing garlands of flowers to the Tirukkōṭṭattup-perumāl temple. The land was sold to the donor by the mālaparudai of……….. 240 of 1911; SII. iii. 137.


* February 16, A. D. 980 (?) ARE. 1926 App. E. and II 17.

† Uttama Cōja was the only Parak. in this period who ruled over ten years; hence all Parak. records from this place with years 10 to 16 may be his. The name of the feudatory given here, perhaps taken from Paṟṇataka II, also leads us to give this Parak. a place among his successors. ARE. 1921 II 29. See also Vṛddhīcalam under Parak. 12.

‡ 9th June, A. D. 982 ARE. 1912 II 20.

§ A. D. 981-2 ARE. 1908 II 53.

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Year 14.—Aññanallur (Tri.) — Parakèsari. Gift of land by Śembiyān Irukkuvēḷ alias Pūdi Parāntakan, * who built the stone temple (Vaṭatīrthanātha) at Anuvanallur Tiruvālanduṟṟai. Gift of dēvādāna on the day of Jalasamprōkṣaṇa. Contains the phrase: Tiruppadiyam pā. 358 of 1903; SII. iii. 139.

"Gōvindaputtur (Tri.)—Parakèsari. Ambalavan Paḻuvūr-nakkan alias Vikramaśōḷa-mārāyaṇ, the perunduram of Uttamaśōḷa, built of stone the Śrī-vimāṇa of the temple of Vijayamangalattu-mahādēva, and made a gift to it of the village of Neḻuvāyil. 164 of 1929.†

"Tirumullaiṇāyil (Ch.)—(modern Characters). Gift of land, purchased tax-free for 80 pon from the sābhā of Ambattūr, by Taṅṟiratta-mahādēviyār Śembiyān Mahādēviyār, queen of Gaṅḍarāditta-perumāḷ and daughter of Malavaraiyār.

669 of 1904; SII. iii. 141; MCC. Mag. ix. p. 109.

"Tiruvadī (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp in the nāṭakaśāla-maṇḍapa in the temple erected by Attāman Ayyāran alias Kaṇḍatōḷ Gaṅḍappayyan of Pṅgunṟam.

398 of 1921.

"Tiruviḷakkudi (Tj.)—Parakèsari. Silver vessel, weighing thirty Ilakkāśu, for water offering (taṅquir-amudu) to deity during the worship. Gift by Ayyan Mārasingan. (See 112 of year 12). 113 of 1926.

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumālppuram (NA.).—Kō-nōn-inmaikoṇḍān. Gift of a village. Śīrriyāṟṟūr in Maṉaiyil-nāḷu, a subdivision of Maṉaiyil-kōṭṭam had been granted as a dēvādāna and brahmēdyā in the 21st year of Toṇḍa-māṇāṟṟūr-tuṅṭina Uḍaiyār, to the sābhā of Pudupākam, a brahmēdyā of Purisai-nāḷu in the same kōṭṭam. Though a sāsana was drawn up in the next

* Son of Vikramaśēra of Koḍumbēḷur (Venkayya) ARE. 1908 II 88, 91, quoted also by H. K. Sastri.

† The Sanskrit part of the record says that he got the title Vikramaśēḷa-mahārāya from the king, proof that Vikrama Cēḷa was a title of Uttama Cēḷa. ARE. 1929 II 29.
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year, the village was not entered in the accounts as a dēvadāna and brahmādēya. This mistake was rectified in the fourth year of Parakēsarivarman who took Madurai and Ilam, and the sabhā of Puduppākkam were remitting the produce and gold due from them to the Mahādēva temple at Tirumālperū. In the 36th year of the king last mentioned, the dews from Puduppākkam were increased as the result of a fresh grant; the village assembly did not remit the new items properly, and the temple authorities lodged a complaint to the king when he was in the ground-floor (ādi-bhūmi) of the pon-māligai within his palace (nam-viṭṭin-ulāl) at Kāncipuram. The king after due enquiry fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple. Interesting details of administrative procedure given. 286 of 1906; SII. iii. 142.*

Year 15—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Mentions Tirumāyāna-purattukāḍavul-sabhāi who accept an endowment of gold for a lamp. 2 of 1906.

Śebīyamahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gift of lands for offerings and worship in the temple of Kailāsa-mahādēva built by Udaiyapirāṭṭiyār Madhurāntakan Mādevadīgaḷ ṛgar aliṣ Śebīyan-māṭēviyār, mother of Gaṇḍan Madhurāntaka-dēvar aliṣ Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, by Uṛatṭayan Śorabbaiyār aliṣ Trībhuvana-māṭēviyār, queen of Uttama Cōḷa, who purchased, for the purpose, some land to supplement her own. 485 of 1925.

Śebīyamahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. List of articles required for worship etc., on sankrānti days for which provision was made by Uṛatṭayan Śorabbaiyār, the mūṭṭa-nambirāṭṭiyār of Uttama Cōḷa. 488 of 1925.

Śebīyamahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gold forehead plate for the image of the deity by Paṭṭan Dānatongiyār, queen of Uttama Cōḷa. The village with the

* See Introduction to this record by H. K. Sastri for the reasons for assigning it to Uttama Cōḷa.
PARAKESARI UTTAMA COLA

temple of Kaḷḷasamuḍaiyār was founded by Śembiyan Mahādevī, as a brahmādeva in Aḷa-nāḍū on the south bank.*

490 of 1925.

Year 15.—Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Fly-whisk with a gold handle by Paṅcavan Mahādeviyar, queen of Parak. Uttama Cōla. 491 of 1925.

Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.) — Parakēsari. 507½ kaḷaṇju by a lady (queen?), Kaṇṭapparāsiyār alias Sonnamahādeviyār, for offerings on the day of Koṭṭai in Cīṭṭirai, the birthday of Śembiyan Mahādeviyār, the founder of the temple and the village. The money was to be in the charge of Caturvedi-bhaṭṭāṭānaṇaperumakkāl. 492 of 1925.

Tiruvottiyār (Ch.)—An image of Śrībali-dēva, eight bugles (kāḷam) and 24 fly whisks with gold handles made by order of Uttama Cōla, (dēvarāyamey-koṇṭu pavāḻ kēynuttuk-koḻukka). Mentions an officer Šenniyēripaḷaic-cōḷan-Uttamāsoḷan. 166 of 1912; SII. iii. 143.

Year 16.—Ādutugaḷ (Tj.)—Temple of Āpatshāyicēvara built by the mother of Śrī-Madhurāntaka-dēva alias Śrī Uttama Cōla. Mentions the name Tirukkurangaduturai for the place; and the re-engraving on the new structure of worn-out inscriptions mentioning endowments to the shrine. 357 of 1907; SII. iii. 144.

Melappaluvūr (Tri.)—Provision for lamp in temple by Paḷuvēṭṭariyār Kapṭan Maṟavanār. 395 of 1924.

Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.)—Parakēsari. 590 kaḷaṇju of gold by Ārūrān Ambalattāḍīgāl, a queen of Uttama Cōla, and another gift of 145 kaḷaṇju (in both cases weight by ūrkkal) by Uraṭṭaiyan Śōrabbai alias Tribhuvaṇa-mahādeviyār, for offerings on birthdays of Śembiyan Mahādevi. The committee called Śīsana-buddha-caturvedi-bhaṭṭāṭānaṇaperumakkāl, to whom the gifts were entrusted, is said to have been the creation of Śembiyan-māḍēvi herself. 496 of 1925.

* This statement is repeated verbatim in 491 and 492.
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Year 16.—Tirukkolambiýūr (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Land as tiruc- cennadai-puṟam to Madhurāntakan Umā-bhaṭṭāraṇiyār in the Tirukkolamba-dēvar temple by Ārūrān Ponnambalattādīgal, the queen of Uttama Cōḷa, after purchasing it from a lady Kāḷan Śingam, through her son Mahāmātrān Gauṭamaś Kṛṣavān Śrikaṇṭhan of Śanntāṇur. Taxes remitted by assembly of Pṛēvūr in return for a lump payment. Iṭakkarungāsu mentioned.

47 of 1925.

" Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Land as iṟavīlī by Uttamaśōḷa-mādāvīyār alias Gōpaṇ-sākappu......, after purchase from the sabbā and tanippurūr, to Kailāsamunḍaliyā Mahādēva at Tripura ....... mangalam a brahmadīya in Kurumba-nūḍ.

66 of 1928.

" Tiruvorṟiyūr (Ch.)—888 kalaṇju of tulai-nigai-pon from the revenues of the temple (dēvarāyamey-kūṭṭi) for a salver (kuḷīṭṭaṭṭu), and 40 kalaṇju for offerings by Nandiśaṅar alias Parakēsari Viḷupparaṭṭan of Elīnūr, (Elinūr-kilaṇṭan), who was the officer managing the temple affairs (iṟi-kāryam-arāyinṟa) at the time.

245 of 1912 ; SII. iii. 145.

Ś. 901 and Kali 40(8)0—Uyyakkōṇḍān—Tirumalai (Tri.)—Uttama Cōḷa Parakēsari. Land, for offerings.

456 of 1908 * ; SII. iii. 135.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following :—

Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Mentions queen Viḷanārāyaṇiẏūr.

3 of 1906.

Kōṅērīrājapuram (Tj.)—Temple of Tirunallamuḷaiyūr † was built of stone by Māḍēvaḷīgalār, queen of Gaṅḍa- rāditta-dēva and mother of the king.

450 of 1908 ; SII. iii. 146.

* Though very seriously damaged, this record is invaluable for its date.

† Called elsewhere Kāḍityēśvara from Gaṅḍarāditya who is figured in stone in this temple. SII. iii pl. xi.

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PARAKESARI UTTAMA COLA

Talaicangāṇu (Tj.)—Silver vessel (śambaram), weighing 151 kaṭṭāṇu, to the big temple of Mahādeva by Pirāntakan Mādēvigaḷ alias Śembiyan Mahādevi, mother of Uttama Cōla. 204 of 1925.

Tirunāraiyūr (Tj.)—Land for offerings to the temple of Siddheśvaram-upaiya-mahādeva by queen Pirāntakan Mādēvagalār alias Śembiyan Mādēviyūr who gave birth to Uttama Cōla. 159 of 1908; SII. iii. 149.

Tiruppālattuṟai (Tri.)—Mentions construction by someone (king?) of Dayāpara-pārambalam and the grant of some land as ambalappuram, made iṟaiyili by the assembly which received a lump payment. Iṟaiyili-yūga paṇicca......nilamudalum pottagattum iṟaiyili Tiruppālattuṟai sri vimānattē śālēkhai sēydu.......iṟaiyili-kōṟuppu mānumōm perunguṟi-sahāiyōm. * 569 of 1908; SII. iii. 150.

* H. K. Sastri translates: “Caused the deduction of the taxes (to be entered) in the land register (nilamudal i), the tax register (pottagam)” etc.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

(Anc. 25th June—25th July A.D. 985)

Year 2.—Tirunagasayur (Tj.)—Rajak. Silver vessels and a chauri of gold to the temple by Udaya-pirattiyur Sembiyan Mahadoviyar alias Piruntakan Madovadigalur.* 156 of 1908.


Year 3.—Gowindaputtur (Tri.)—Rajak. Sabha of Periya Vana- van Mahadevi-catm. got 200 kalanju from a perundaram of Mummuili-Cula-deva, Ambalavan Paluvur-nakkan alias Vikrama-soja-Maharaian, for the isaihurul on 1½ vedi of land. 168 of 1929.

" Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Rajak. Two silver vessels by the wife (deviyar nambirattigalur) of Vikrama-soja-Ilangovelur, daughter of Paluvettaraiyar, when Kausikan Nakkan Mayan was looking after temple affairs (sri-karyam-urayani) under orders from Adigaal Paluvettaraiyar Kanjan Maravan. 110 of 1895; SII. v. 671.

" Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Rajak. Two gold ornaments by Adigaal Paluvettaraiyar Kanjan Maravan. 111 of 1895; SII. v. 672.

" Sembiyanmahadvi (Tj.)—Rajak. List of articles such as golden pot, pattam, gold flowers, with their weights noted, as presented to the temple of Sri Kailasamalaiyur by the mother of Uttama Cula in the month Mina in that year. 497, 498 of 1925.

* The presence of this lady's name is the reason for assigning this and similar records to this king. (ARE. 1909 II 41).
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Year 3.—Tiruccegāttangudi (Tj.)—Rājak. Rājarāja-dēva. Land for two lamps to shrine of Śīrāla-dēva by Veḷḷālan Ulagan Śirīyian alias Tappillā Muvėndavēḷān. 56 of 1913.

"Tirukkaḷitattai (Tj.)—Rājarājak. Land for offerings and for supply of 108 pots of bathing water at monthly Sankrāntis to the temple of Mahādēva at Amaninārāyaṇa-catem by Kīḷānaḷīgaḻ, the daughter of Viluppastayār and queen of Uttama Cōla-dēva, son of Gaṉḍjarādittā-dēva. 298 of 1908.


"Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Sale of land for upkeep of a lamp. Mentions Madhurāntakan Gaṉḍjarādittān and Šōla-māḍēviyār alias Paṅcavan-māḍēviyār, (queen of Mummudi Cōla), † the latter being donor. 294 of 1906.

"Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Gold by Madhurāntakan Gaṉḍjarādittān. 295 of 1906.

"Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—(Gr. and Tam.) Gold for feeding Brahmanas by Madhurāntakan Ācārapīḷāran (Āditya in the grantha portion), son of Vīra-Śōḷa-Iḷangōvēḻār of Koḷumbūḻūr in Kō-nāḷu. 306 of 1906. ‡

"Tiruppurambiyām (Tj.)—Rājarājak. Silver pot by Udaiya Pirāṭṭiyār, mother of Śri-kaṇḍan Madhurāntakan alias Uttama Cōla, on behalf of her son to god at Tiruppurambiyam. A weighing scale called inguruturviyāk-kali. 338 of 1927.

"Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—A chaṇḍri to temple by Paṅcavan Māḍēviyār, queen of Mummudi Cōla. 147 of 1918.

* Title assumed in this year? - ARE. 1909 II 42. † i.e., Rājarāja I.
‡ Rājarāja I. Sanskrit part gives name Rājarāja.

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Year 3.—Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Rajak. Mummuḍi Cōla-dēva. Gold necklace (pallittongal) called Rājarājan, an álluvattil of gold called Mummuḍi-sōḷan, and a gold door for the Mēvāsi called Rājarājan, by a certain Vaiķkētuṇai Gunaśilam of Mūḷḷak-kurumbu in the Cōla country, for the merit of Adigaḷ Nirādi, chief of Uṟṟukkādu, a village in Āvūr-kōṭtam of Sō-nāḍu, who was in charge of śri-kāryam of Tiruvorriyur-āḻvār. The jewels were made from accumulated savings of 810 kaḷaṇṭu from the temple income. 235 of 1912.

Year 4.—Kilappaluṇūr (Tri.)—Rajak. Mummuḍi. Gold for lamp by Adigaḷ Pāḷuvēṭṭaraivar Kaṅṭan Maravanār-perundirattu Araiyar Sundara-sōḷan who gave 12 kaḷaṇṭu to the Tiruvvalanduṟai-ēriyōyil-udaiyār. 115 of 1895; SII. v. 676.

" Šembiyanmahāḍēvi (Tj.)—Remission by assembly of taxes on some temple lands. 493 of 1925.

" Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Rajak. Mummuḍi Cōla. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Agniśvara at Tirumāḻperu by Madhurāntakan Gaṅḍarādittar with a committee of five members. Proof obtained of neglect and misappropriation of endowments. 283 of 1906.

" Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—96 sheep for a lamp by Uḷaiya-pirāṭṭiyār Tambirāṇaḷigaḷ Vāṇavan-māḍēviyār alias Tribhuvana-māḍēviyār, the mother (ūcći) of Śrī-Rājēndra Cōla-dēvar and the queen of Śrī Rājarāja-dēva. 117-A of 1896; SII. v. 982.

Year 4, day 24.—Madhurāntakam (Ch.)—Kāndalūr-śalaiṅ-kalām-arūṭta Rajak. The maḥāsabhā of the place agreed to conduct a festival to god Tiruvenkāṭṭu-Paramēśvara with the twenty-five pon, collected from a merchant of Viṟṟa-sōḷappēṛangādi; and the tax kaḷaṇṭu-kōḷ-kūṭ. The madhyastha was also a signatory. 395 of 1922.

* 283 of Year 12.  † 446 of 1918 is same but fuller.
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Year 4, day 154.—Madhurantakam (Ch.)—Kāndaiyr-śūlaik-kalam-
arutta. An assignment of land by the mahāsabhā of Madhurantaka-câtun, for opening round the temple a street which was named Tīruvaṇkāṭṭup-perun-deruvu; restrictions placed, and privileges granted to the Śivabrahmapās, uvaccar, tapasvins and the dēvāraḷiyūr who were allowed to settle in it. 337 of 1922.

Year 5.—Dārāsuraṃ (Tj.)—Land for sacred bath and śrīvai to āḻvār of Tirusūmīśvaram at Tirukkuḻamukku.

Kilappaluvir (Tri.)—Rājak. Land sold by sabhā of Śīṟupaluvir to Aḻigaḷ Paḻuvēṭtaraiyar Maṟavai Kaṇṭan. 118 of 1895; SII. v. 679.

Śemhiyanmalādēvi (Tj.)—An order of the assembly to the ūr-vaṇiyam (Frag.) 495 of 1925.

Tīruccengū (Coi.)—(Copper-plate) Rājakēsari. Lands to Paramēśvara of sacred Mūlsthēṇa at Tūṣiyūr by Kollimalaṇavan Oṭṭiyūrān Piridiganḍavarmaṇ.

SII. iii. 213. *

Tīruvaṇḍarkōvēl (Pondicherry)—Rājak. The silver vessels and gold of Tīruvaṇḍai-nakkam-kōyil Paramasvāmin having been utilised in former years by the sabhā, certain lands were given in exchange to the temple in the 28th year of the reign of king Kannaradēva.† Mention is made also of a gift of land in the 14th year of Madiraikōṇḍa Parakēsari. 359 of 1917.

Tīruvaṇḍikkutti (Tj.)—Rājak. Thirty iron torch-lights (tiruppu-pidi-vilakkatu) by Rājarāja-dēva, fifteen servants being retailed for holding the lights. ‡

68 of 1895; SII. v. 625.

* In this record the word ‘kannēṇu’ about which Krishna Sastri makes curious surmises seems really to mean ‘boundary stone’ and is by no means, either a reference to the ‘hero-stones’ of Tamil literature or an engraver’s mistake for ‘kannēṇu.’ The word is very clearly engraved and occurs in three places in the same plate.

† i.e., 967-8 A.D., also the initial date of Uttama Cōja - ARE, 1918 II 23.

‡ Each man held two lights. cf. 53 of 1895 of Yr. 6.

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Year 5.—Tiruvśalur (Tj.)—Gold by a queen of Rājarāja-dēva by name Vaṭān Kājān Tongiār for feeding five Brahmans. One hundred ḍakkāsu yielding 15 kāsu as dharmaappaliśai. 19 of 1907.

Year 6.—Ś. 913.—Jādi - kempanapura (Mys.) — Cōla-nārāyaṇa. Land. MAR. 1917 p. 42.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Undertaking by the residents of Puriśai to pay interest in the form of paddy on 20 kaḷaṇḍu of gold received from the temple of Tiruvūral. 244 of 1921.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Rājak. Fifty iron lights (iruppu-vilakkku) by Rājarāja-dēva for the śrihāli at night; oil 2 measures; the following were to hold these torches: eight sweepers (tirumelukkuṭuvār), four buglers (kaḷamūdigal), one cook of the sālai (aḍuvān), three tenants (kuḍigal) of the flower-garden (vandavanam), and eight others, resident in houses belonging to the temple, who are not dēvar-nivandakkārar and are used to hold the lights every day. 53 of 1895; SII. v. 610.


Tirumaṇaṇi jēri (Tj.)—At the command of Udaiya-piruṭṭiyār, mother of Uttama Cōla, Ārūran Kamban alias Tirukkaraḷ-li-piecean of the village gave 16 kaḷaṇḍu of gold for sandal paste etc., to Mahādēva at Tirumaṇaṇi jēri, which is stated to be near Kaḷalangudi. Mentions puṭiligaivārī. 9 of 1914.

Tiruvvenkāṇḍu (Tj.)—Rājak. Mentions images made and jewels and vessels presented by Parāntakan Mādeviyār alias Śembiyan Mādeviyār, daughter of Mājavaraṇiyār, mother of Uttama Cōla and queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, in the fourth and sixth years of Uttama Cōla, in the fourth

* Sunday 1st December A.D. 989. EL. ix p. 207 (Kielhorn).
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year of Rājakēsari, in the 3rd and 10th years of Para-

Year 6.—Tiruvēśalur (Tj.)—Mentions a person belonging to the Uṭṭaiyur Kōdaṇṭṭarāma-tannicēvagam. 342 of 1907.

Year 7.—Aḻagāḍipattur (Tj.)—Land by sabbā of Pāradhyakkuḷi, a brahmavaīya, to temple for offerings. Mentions the construction of the central shrine with stone by Pāḷāḷi Sattuṇ Kārvēḷar Kangarādittan alias Mummuṭi-Sōjyavavayar. 283 of 1908.

Kēvānāśār (SA.)—Mentions the 15th year of Śrī-Uttama Cōḷa-deva, the son of Śembiyən Māṭēviyar and two Milāḷu chiefs. 176 of 1906.

Gōcindapattur (Tri.)—Ambalavan Pāḷuvār-nakkant alias Rājarāja Pallavaraïyan of Kuvalālam, a perundaram of the king, appointed Śeṭṭapōsa Vēṃayakramavittan as manager of the temple of Viśaiyamangala-devar; and the sabbā entrusted the manager with certain powers. 160 of 1929.

Kulur (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Rājarāja Pallavaraïyan of Kuvalālam, one of the perundaram of the king. 291 of 1917.

Śembiyāmmahādēvi (Tj.)—Gift by Uṟṟaṭṭayan Śorabbaiyar alias Tribhuvana-māṭēvaḷi, the senior queen of Uttama Cōḷa, of 100 hāśu, deposited with the Śūsamānabadhita-caturvēḷi-bhaṭṭattāna-perumakkal of Śrī-kailāsam. From the interest, offerings were to be made in the temple on the Cittirai-tirukkēṭṭai day, the asterism of her mother-in-law, Śembiyən Mahādēviyar, who founded the village. 480 of 1925.

Tiruvattaiyai (Tj.)—Land by royal order to śrīkāyam śeykings Minavan Viḷattur-nāṭṭuk-kōn for an endowment for offerings (as detailed) in temple. 55 of 1895; SII. v. 612.

* This surname of Gaṇḍarādītya and the fact of his rule are new. Rājarāja is the first Rājak after Uttama Cōḷa. Palaeography is in support of this. The order of reigns mentioned in the inscription is not chronological. ARE. 3919 11 14.

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Year 7.—*Tiruvallam (NA.*)—A Brahman set up an image of Umā-bhaṭāraki and granted a lamp. He also purchased 1700 kuṭṭi of land tax-free, after paying ‘vilaiddrayamun iṣṭadrayamum’ to the sabhā of Mandiram alias Jayamīru *-śīkaraṇa-mangalam, and made it over to the Śivabrāhmaṇas who had to feed the lamp and supply the offerings.

8 of 1890; *SII. iii. 50.*

† *Tiruvallam (NA.*)—A visit to Tikkāl śīvār temple by Madhurāntakan Gaṇjālarādittanār who caused 1000 jars of water to be poured over the god. He also held the Śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple and the sabhā of Tirukkālivallam to account for the income and expenditure of the temple scheduled in the tiruvāṇai and the tiruvēlai; (rest of the inscription is built in).

10 of 1890; *SII. iii. 49.*

* Tiruvallam (NA.*)—Details of expenditure for 74 kaṇṭhāju of gold, realised as fine from the Śivabrāhmaṇas for misappropriation of temple lands, and 7 kaṇṭhāju and 4 maṅjādi which Madhurāntakan Gaṇjālarādittanār who scrutinised the temple accounts had added to make up the deficit. The four vāriyar of Tirukkālivallam, the two vāriyar of Mandiram, and two kaṅgāṭis were to look after the expenditure in future. Paddy quoted at forty kāṭi per kaṇṭhāju. Rate of interest 12%. 218 of 1921.*

† *Tiruvārār (Tj.)—Mentions the building of a stone shrine in the temple of Tiruvaramēri-śīvār by Śembīyan Mahādōviyār, and the setting up of two images in it by the same lady, and records that she presented 234 kāṭu, invested with the sabhā of Adiyappi-catm., for daily requirements; additions to the temple and repairs. 571 of 1904.*

* A title of Bīṇa Vikramādiṭiya I.
† 26th September 991 A.D. *E.I.* iv p. 66, Kielhorn.
‡ Perhaps an otherwise unknown son of Madhurāntaka the immediate predecessor of Rājarāja I - Hultzsch, cf. 283 of 1906 of Yr. 4.
§ This settlement is quoted in 227 of 1921 of Yr. 4, day 114 of Rājendra I.
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Year 7.—Tiruvelumbār (Tri.)—Money for feeding six Brahmins versed in the Veda by Ilājarāyā Pugalvippava-gāndan Vira śūlān. * 116 of 1914.

" Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai (Tri.)—2,432 kālaṇja of gold to Uyyakkoṇḍa-nāyanār † temple for festivals by sabhā of Rājāśraya-catm. 457 of 1908.

" Yuddhāvala (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp, and a lamp-stand, by Malaiyavva-dēviyā, daughter of Pottappicōḷar Śatiyarayar and queen of Irungōla Prithipati Amanmallar. Also 2 mā of land for flower-garden. 49 of 1918.

Year 8.—Tumbākkam (Tri.)—Lamp to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Perumāl at Tiruvāyppāli by a resident of Dantivarma-mangalam. 708 of 1909.

" Darinakkōppu (Tv.)—(Vattēṟuttu). Kāndalūr-śalaiikkalam-ayutta. Mentions a meeting in the divadāna Tiruvaramakkōppu of the Kanaṭṭār for looking into the Tāḷikkayakkku and Śavaikkkaṇakkku. (Frag.) T.A.S. i. p. 238.

" Kīppatturar (Tri.)—Palai Ilaiya Irapāya kāranakkal killed Kalikōla Balaśivan Vayiri in a duel (uruvik-kutti); Adigai Paluvēṭṭayaran Kāṇṭan Maṇava-naṟ adjoined the case and as a result 90 sheep were given by the culprit for a lamp. 109 of 1895; SII. v. 670.

" Marudālu (N.A.)—Land for a lamp by residents (nāṭṭēm) of Marudālu to the Perumirukkōyil-āḷyar temple for the merit of Kalippurumān of Mākapūr Pāṭtugai who fell that Marudālu may not be destroyed. ‡ 411 of 1912.

" Paṅcapāṇḍavamalai (N.A.)—Remission by Udaiyār Vira-śūlān, son of Udaiyār Ilājarājar Pugalvippava-gāndan,

* El. iv pp. 136 ff.
† Called Tirukkagūṭi-Vulumayā-dēvar in other 10th century records. ARE. 1909 II 42.
‡ Rice, Mysore and Coorg, pp. 180 ff.
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of karppura-nilai and anniyayava-danyalvai in the village of Kulaigamam, an iriyilip-palliccandam, on a representation from his wife Illa-madoviyar that the collection of these dues by previous (kilaigal-
tul) Illarajar affected this charity (Tiruppanmahai) adversely. 19 of 1890; El iv. p. 139.

Year 8.—Kekilpalam (Nel.)—Lamp by Mumma-/ Vaitumalai Mahara/ Jan alias Visnu-devan alias Darai Arajan.

NI. G. 88.

" Tiruvadandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pula. Ilam, but not Ra/tpuli. Sabha and ur agree to maintain a lamp to Sri Bhaja/akki of Sri Varma-kava, the goddess set up by a merchant of Mylapore, who gave also 15 kaunu of gold towards the lamp. 261 of 1910.

" Tiruvirinnivar gr (Tj.)—Land for lamp and offerings by Kudirakkara Sobhanayyan. 146 of 1911.

Year 9.—Aduvai (Tj.)—Some temple land reclaimed by Sembiy/ yan Madoviyar, mother of Uttama C/ra-dava, and called Sembiyam Mahadevi. 362 of 1907.

" Kilir (SA)—Gold for lamp by Kunda/ ian Amiravalli, the mother of queen Uloka - mahadeviyair; it was deposited with the Tiruvanmahajai sabhai. Also Ilaviyakku worth two kaisu. 239 of 1902; El vii. p. 144.

" Kuhir (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple by some persons called Koliyakku-jaiyair, who were unable to raise the money for paying some fines imposed on them. Mentions the harassing of royal officials in collecting the fine. 277 of 1917.


* cf. 395 of year 16 Uttama C/ra. Hence this Rajak. is Rajaj/ a 1 - who has no attributes up to year 9, becomes Kanda/ u—kalaik-kalaik-grutta in years 10-12, and has later on the Tirumagal introduction. ARE, 1924 ii 10. Kanda/ u expedition placed in the middle of 995 A.D. because some records of year 10 (234, 248 of 1926) mention it while others (193 of 1926) do not ARE, 1926 ii 23.
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Year 9.—Māṇḍū (C.)—Tirunagal-pūla. Ilam and Raṭṭapūḷi included. 96 sheep for lamp; liquid measure Rajakesari. 97 of 1921. *

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Pāṇḍāraṇāḷai (Tīj)—Silver plate and bronze stand to temple by Śembiyan Mahādevi. 262 of 1923.
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``
Tirūgānāṟum (Pūḷ)—Land for up-keep of a tank by a Brahman from the Cōḷa country. 307 of 1904.
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``
Tiraneļganāḷam (Trij)—Land for (feeding) Śivavōgins. 687 of 1909.
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``
Tirappuḷaṇāḷiyan (Pūḷ)—Some gold ornaments and a silver vessel were made out of the savings of the temple treasury between the second and ninth years of the reign. 78 of 1897; SIL vi 28.
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``
Tiruvāḻuturai (Tīj)—Land as nyga-bhōga, on behalf of the temple, by the assembly of Śāttanūr met in the hall (vaṭṭāśāḷai) to Kumaraṇ Śri-kuṇḍājan who had the sākkai-kūpi of the village, for acting the seven ankas of the Ārīyakkūṭṭu on festival days in Purattāśi in the temple of Tiruvāḻuturai-āḻvār. Provision is made for the supply of rice flour, betel leaves and areca nuts, ghi for mixing collyrium and turmeric. 120 of 1925.
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``
Tiruvirilamāṇur (Tīj)—Gift of ornaments to Umābhāṭṭaraki by a servant of Nambirāṭṭiyār Śri Pāṇcavan-Mahādeviyār of Kōḍandārāma-vēḷam of Taṇṭāvūr. 278 of 1907.
``

Year 9, day 158.—Uṭṭaramēṇūr (Ch.)—Decision of the Mahāsabhā about the payment of fines imposed on several castes and communities of the place either in the king’s courts or otherwise †. Mentions the mukha-maṇḍapa of the Tulābhāra Śri-kōyil ‡ where the assembly held its sittings. 197 of 1923.

* Year doubtful (9).
† contra ARF 1923 I 28.
‡ Probably the Sundara Varada temple whence the inscription comes. Perhaps the king performed a Tulābhāra here, ibid.
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Year 10.—Darsanakkoppu (Tv.)—(Vaṭṭeḷuttu). Kāndalūre-cālaik-kalam-arutta. One lamp by the sabhā for the merit of Pullanāraṇyaṇan. TAS. i. p. 239.


Kuhūr (Tj.)—Kāndalūr-śalai. Land and house-site to Āditiya Īṣvara temple for the Śittirait-tiruvilā in the shrine of Naumb Arūraṇ, by the ur and kaṇiyudaiya Kōliyakkuṭaiyargāl. 299 of 1917.

Kuram (Ch.)—Tirunagal-pūḷa. A sabhā-śrīmukham of the sabhā of Kuram providing for repairs etc., of a māṭha. 33-A of 1900; SII. vii. 34.

* Susindrum (Tv.)—(Vaṭṭeḷuttu). Fifty sheep with the Mūlaparalaḷai-sabhai for lamp to Tiruc-ciṅdirattumahādēva by Īḷanāṭṭu Maḷavaraiyān Śenni Kaṇṭṭa. 71 of 1896; EI. v. p. 44; TAS. i. p. 238-9.

Tinḍiṉanam (SA.)—Ṣālaik-kalam-arutta. Land, 2910 kūḷi, reclaimed for a musician who was to play on the lute (viṇai) and a vocalist to accompany the lute in the Tinḍīśvara temple at Kiṭṭangil. 141 of 1900; SII. vii. 154.

Tiruccengōḷu (Coi.)—(Copper-plate). Rājakēsāri. (A) An order of Maḷavaraiyan Sundarāśaḷa that the iṟai collected by him from the Nagarattår of Tuśiyur viz.,

* The astronomical data in this record reduce the king’s accession to 25th June - 25 July A. D. 985, Kielhorn, EI. vi. p. 20.
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muḻumanai-kālum arai-manai araiṅkālum, shall be in the form of nirya-iṅai; and that in the case of dues under danṟangunṟam, the practice of Nandipura shall be followed. (B) Kollimalavan Piradigāndan * makes an endowment for the merit of his father who died in Ceylon (engal-āccar-iḻattuppuṟa avar śrīmadāḥattukkuṟc-ciyṟāṇu.) SII. iii. 212.

Year 10.—Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Kāndalūr-sālai etc. Gold by Kuḻakkudaiyan Arupilai Śrikrappan alias Muvenda Pillavūr Vēḻur. A tiruppadiyam beginning Kōlanār-kulai composed by the father of the donor in praise of Gōvindaṟul-iḻyvar was to be sung at a festival. 333 of 1906.

" Tiruviriḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—Kāndalūr-sālai. Gift of a gold flower by one Ṣrapayaśiva of Tiruppattur. 197 of 1907.


" Tiruvivaiḷ (Tj.)—Kāndalūr-sālai. Money for lamp to Tiruvaiḷ-parumāl at Avaninarayaṇa-catur, a divadāna and brahmadēya. 3 of 1907.

" Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Kāndalūr-sālai. Land, by purchase, for water supply and a lamp. The tank, Kökkilānaiḷippēri, is mentioned among the boundaries. 196 of 1919.

" Uyakkoṇṭān - Tirumalai (Tri.) — Kāndalūr-sālai. Gift, by Sembiyān Madēviyār, mother of Kaṇḍan Madhuṟuṇtakā-devan alias Śrī Uttama Cōla-dēva, to Śrī Karkudhi Vilumiyār at Nandipanma-mangalam, of a jewelled crown comprising: gold 149 kaḷaiṉju; silver 190 odd kaḷaiṉju; muttu (pearl) 700 in number; māṇikkam 3; and diamond (vaiṟām) 27. 95 of 1892; SII. iv. 542. †

* cf. SII. iii. 213 of year 5.
† 459 of 1908 seems to be same record.
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Year 10. — *Vijayanārāyanam.* (Tin.) — *(Vallēluttu)-Kāndalūr-
śālai. Land as śālābhūga purchased from sabhā as ĵaiyili, and fifty sheep for lamp to Manōmaya Īśvarattu
Perumānaḷigai; charities under supervision of sabhā.

7 of 1927.

Year 11.*—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutt. Provision
by sabhā of Vākūr for annual repairs to the tank at Bāhūr, at the rate of padakkun-nil per pū per mā of
land in the village. 178 of 1902 ; *SH.* vii. 805.

* Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Śālaik - kalam - ārutt. Village
called Rājamaḷa† catm. of Tiruvēgaṉārapuram in
(Dāmar)-kōṭṭam. 190 of 1915.

* KōṇērēṆārapuram (Tj.)—Kāndalūr-śālai. Gift by Uḷaiya-
pirāṭṭiyār for singing the Tiruppadiyam. (?) ‡

631 of 1909.

* Olagapuram (SA.)—Kāndalūr-śālai. Land for offerings
to shrine of Īvvūr-tēkkiyīl-vāsāl-mahāśattanār by Naga-
ratṭār of Ulagamādvēvipuram. 144 of 1919.

* Takkōlam (NA.) — Śālaik-kalam-ārutt Rājarājakēsari.
Twenty-five kāppu of gold deposited with Maṭmiyig-
kōṭṭattu-tiruvēgāpurattuc-ēigūr-ūrōm who undertook
to supply paddy to the temple.

3 of 1897 : *SH.* v. 1366.

* Tennērī (Ch.)—Gift of vessels to temple by Śembiyan
Mahādēviyār. Engraved on stone by sabhā by royal
order. 199 of 1901 ; *SH.* vii. 411.

* Tirakkōṭṭheyīvīr(Rd.)—*(Vallēluttu)-Rājarājakēsari. Land,
by purchase, for a lamp and for a Brahman for
explaining the Prābhākaram, by a native of Śatta-
mangalam in Tiraimūr-nāḍu. 333 of 1923.

* Sunday 14th June, A.D. 996-Kielhorn *EL.* vii. p. 169.

† Possibly after a Ganga king - *ARE, 1916* ll 8.

‡ Purpose of grant not in the text, *contra ARE 1910* ll 18.
Year 11.—Tirunāḻpuram (Na.)—Kāndalūr-sālai. Sheep for lamp by a native of the Cōla country to the shrine of Anuma-dēva in the Viṣṇu temple. 335 of 1906.

" Tiruvāḷisvaram (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭelutu) - Kāndalūr - sālai. Land. Village called Rājarāja-catm. 119 of 1905. *

" Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tin.)—Kāndalūr-sālai. 34 sheep for lamp to Gaṇapati in the local temple. The donor was one of the āḷungayattār of the village (iṟvēṟ- āḷungayattār.) 98 of 1914.

" Tiruvirāmēvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the āḷungayattār of the brahmaṇḍēya village, Madanamaṉjari-catm. 136 of 1911.

" Vaḷappuramadu (Sm.)— Kāndalūr-sālai-kalai-kaḷam-aruṭta. The slappuramakkal of Tiruvaṟappalḷi received gold for a lamp from a merchant, Mallaiyān Śettī. Mentions the weight malaikkal. 498 of 1930.

Year 11, day 164.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Śālai-kalai-aruṭta. The great assembly met in the brahmaṇstāna of the village and made the rule that only Brahmans well-versed in the mantras were eligible for appointment as vāriyam-seyyvēr and for taking part in the deliberations of the assembly. Tennēri called Uttama Śūḷa-catm. Nāmmūrīl mantra-brāhmaṇaṁ vallāvē vāriyaṉjeyvāṟagavaṁ saṁk-E-māṟṟaṉjollavaṁ vāṟagavaṁ... mantrabrāhmaṇaṁ-āṟiyē vāriyaṉjeydāṟiṟiyum saṁk-E-māṟṟaṉjollavaṁ tiruvaṟṟai-maṟṟuttār paḻum-daṟṟappaduṟṟavaṁ. 241 of 1922.


* Why is Rājarāja’s conquest of the Pāṇḍyas not mentioned earlier than his year 14? - ARE. 1905 II 13.
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Year 12—Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Kāndalūr-śālai. Rājarājakēsari.

Loan from temple to sabbā who agree to remit paddy as interest. SII. i. 146.

Kīlappalūvar (Tri.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Lamp by Aiyārān Kānān, a Kaikkōlan of Adīgal Paḷuvōṭṭaraiyar, for merit of a person killed by him (paḷakkutta).

122 of 1895; SII. v. 683.

Kōnērērajapuram (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Silver image (of God?) and copper image of Caṅḍēśvara by Nakkan Nallattadiigāl, one of the Rājarājarājētirēṇa Kaikkōlar, and the son of Aṇukkan Mahāmallī, a peṇḍālī in the vēḷām of Rājēkēsari. 627 of 1909.

Kūhūr (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Land by residents of Kūhūr to Pillai Nambī Ārūranār who sang the Tiruppadiyām hymns.

275 of 1917.

Pāṇḍāravāḍai (Tj.)—A gold pot, 20 kaḷaṇī, by Śem- 

bīyan Mahādēvi for the merit of her son Uṭtama Cōḷa.

263 of 1923.

* Pullamangai (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Assembly of Pullamangalām met in the temple to the beat of the drum and made gifts of land, one vēḷi wet land and 440 pārṭī of garden land to some Brahmans verses in the Śāma and Rgyāda.

553 of 1921.

Tinnevelly (Tin.)—(Vaiṭṭeluttu)-Kāndalūr-śālai. Land for offerings to Brahmapuri-ṭēvar at Tirunelvēlī.

84 of 1927.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Kāndalūr-śālai. An agreement of the villagers of Paḻugār regarding terms of an endowment in their charge. Mentions the fact that Madhurāntakan Gaṅḍāraṇītār had fined the men in charge of the store-room in the 4th year of the king’s reign; also the 14th year of a king whose name is lost.

282 of 1906.

* Decr. 28 A.D. 996. - ARE. 1922 App. E.

† cf. 283 of yr. 4.
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Year 12.—Tiruvad (S.A.)—Śālai-kalam-arutta. Tax-free gift of eighteen plots of land (seru) by the sabhā of Avaiyanūr to the temple of Jalaṣayana-mahādeva of that village. 418 of 1921.

" Tiruvad (S.A.)—Śālai-kalam-arutta. The assembly of Rapadhāra-mangalam in Avaiyanūr-nāḍu, a division of Tirumunaiappāli, agreed to furnish the dēvadāna lands of the temple of Jalaṣayana-dēva, 18½ seru of land, with water for irrigation from the irrigation tank of the village. 419 of 1921.

* Tiruvan⇨arkūyil (Pondicherry).—The assembly of Tribhuvana-mahādvī-catm, met in the maṇḍapa built by Mummudīśula-umbala-nāṭṭu-vēḷān, remitted taxes on Muṇṭliyan Valaiippākkam, purchased and given to the temple by Immadīśula Mūvēndavēḷān, and fixed the fines to be paid by those who imposed or realised any taxes on it in future. 362 of 1917.


Year 12, day 231.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Śālai-kalam-arutta. Sabhā orders daṇḍakāṇam to be collected from Vikkiyāṇnan alias Vikrama-cūla-brahmādāryan. 202 of 1901; SII. vii 414.

Year 13—Kāmarasavallī (Tri.)—Śālai. Fifteen kalañju of gold, interest (2½ kalañju) being payable to those who recited the Talavakāra Śāmaṇḍa on the day of Mārgaḷi Tiruvādirai, each reciter being fed and paid 1½ kalañju in gold. 76 of 1914.

Kammarasandra (Mys.)—Ś. 920. † Kanarese. Nolamba Ayyapa-dēva’s son Gannarasa was governing part of Daligavāli. 169 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 111.

* December 1st, A.D. 996-L.D.S. in ARE. 1918 App. E

† Date Ś. 920(3) in ARE, where ‘Hēmarembi’, the corresponding cyclic year, is noted to be wrong. This is the earliest Cōḷa record in Mysore (Rice, Intr. p. 14). But see MAM. 1917 p. 42.
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Year 13.—Tirugōkaiyam (Pd.)—Kāndaḻūr-šālai. Money for payment of taxes. 310 of 1904.

" Tirukkaqaiyur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Purchase of some lands with money from the treasury of Tiruviratāsamudaiya Paramasvāminā, at the instance of the sābhā of Paḻa-vēviya Kāḻavūr, for Udayāsandarām Anu- dakan alias Kāḻakāla Māyilāṭṭi, a merchant residing in the village, who got it made rent-free by the assembly, with the stipulation that he should pay a fixed quantity of paddy to the temple every year for expenses of worship and of three lamps. 242 of 1925.

" Tirumakkottai (Tj.)—Kāndaḻūr-šālai. The assembly of Paḻaiya Šembiyan-mādōvi-catm. issued a new sale deed, in place of an old document lost, to a certain Parakēsari Vilapparamaiyan, the headman of Puravarejilūr, for certain lands which they had sold to him. Refers to about the fourth year of Madilōri plandunārulina Rājakēsari-varman. * "Iqūka translating explained. 266 of 1917.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kāndaḻūr-šālai. The supervisor of the temple of Tiruttikkāli-ūvār, Mummūṭi-šōḷā Pōśan, finding that one of the directors (guṇattar) of the village had received 25 mun. dharmakattalai-tulai-nigai, for a lamp founded by Singapirāṭṭiyār, and that his marumagan had neglected to maintain it, now made a gift of 600 kulī of his land for continuing the charity. 208 of 1921.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kāndaḻūr-šālai. Some ornaments made and handed to the sābhā from 40 kaḻaiju and 7 maṇjādi of gold accumulated from various sources in the treasury of the temple. Also a lamp and jewelled ornament by Mummūṭi-šōḷā Pōśar, the supervisor of the temple. (See 208 of 1921.) 210 of 1921.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kāndaḻūr-šālai. 10 kaḻaiju of gold with the sābhā to Tikkāli-ūvār by Irāyira

* Probably the king’s father Sundara Cōḷa-ĀRE, 1918 II 25.
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Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍi-sōḷa Pōśar of Araiśūr for the Pavitṛvārohaṇa festival. Rate of interest 3 maṇīḍi per kalaiṇju per annum yielding 1½ kalaiṇju. 216 of 1921.

Year 13.—Ukkal (NA.)—Śālai. Record by the Mahāsabhā of Vikramābharana-catm. of a private endowment of 500 kuḷi of land for 4 nāḷi of tiruvamudu every day at noon for Tiruvāymoli-dēva of the place. The land was made tax-free after receipt of a lump payment by the sabhā. 20 of 1893 ; SII, ii. 2.


Araśāṇīmangalam (Ch.)—Kāndāḷūr-śālai. Gift by a certain lady of a foot-rest, a seat (meyṭāngi), 90 sheep for a lamp, and utensils to god Tiruvāvi-bhaṭṭārakar at Araśāṇīmangalam in Venkuṇa-kōṭṭam. 343 of 1923.

Kulakkattūr (Ch.)—New introduction. Taṇḍēvi etc. Mummuḍi-sōḷa Rājarājakēsari. Provision by Kāḷan Mayindan for two lamps in the temple of Ūruṇi-āḷvār at Kaḷakkaṭṭūr, a sāḷābhōga at the instance of the king who desired a gift of only one lamp for the prosperity of all kings and of the world at large. Liquid measure ninḍā-nāḷi. Land for one lamp and sheep for another. 121 of 1923.

Kūhūr (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for lamp to Ādityēvara at Kūhūr by a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mahādēvip-pērangūḍi outside Taṇṭjavūr. Mentions Viḍēḷviḍūga-tukkācći-catm. 279 of 1917.

Mēḻpāḷi (C.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. The assembly of Tiruvallam get gold, tulai-nipai 15 kalaiṇju, and assign 1000 kuḷi of land by Sirgambalattuk-kōḷ to a person residing in Śankarappāḷi in Arumōḷi-dēvap-perunderu of this Rājāśrayapuram, who had to supply ½ measure of gḍī every day for a lamp. The gold was given by a well-known officer of Rājarāja and his son, Śōṇāṭṭu-
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tenkaraip-pāmbuṇik-kūṟṟuttu Araiyuṟuḷaiyin Īṟaiyiravan Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuṟi-śoḻa Pōsan.
87 of 1889; SII. iii. 19. *

Year 14.—Mr̥pūḷi (C.)—Tirumuṇagaḷ-pōḷa. Boundary of dēvadāna lands given tax-free to Cōjendra-simhaśvara from the 10th year, including those mentioned in No. 102 of year 10 and day 107 of Parak. Rājendra. Interesting details of restrictions and privileges relating to irrigation and crops, as in the Tamil part of the Tiruvāḷanganḍu plates. 103 of 1921.

Pēḻavūr (Ch.)—New introduction †. 90 sheep for lamp. 67 of 1923.


Tirunāṅgēvaram (Tj.)—Sūlaṅk, Gangapāḷi etc. The sabbā of Nallūre-cetti sell land tax-free to Tirunāṅgēvaram-uḷaiyamahādēva for 40 kaḻaiṇu endowed by Arinjigaippirāṭṭi alias Bāmp-perundēvi, the daughter of Pillaḷiyur Arikulakēsariyīr. 81 of 1897.
SII. vi. 31; 82 of 1897, SII. vi. 32 is similar.

Tirunāṅgēvaram (Tj.)—Rājaraṇa Rājakēsari. Sale of 1½ vīḷ of land to temple by the assembly of Mādāna-mangalam, a brahmādēya. Tirunāṅgēvaram is called a dēvadāna. The cost of the land, 101 kaḻaiṇu, 6 mā

* Later on, under Rājendra, Uttamaśoḻa Pallavaraiyin. SII. ii. p. 222 n. 4.
† cf. 376 of 1922.
‡ Same form in 22 of 1906-Tirukkaṇḍaiyur, year 14: 81 of 1897-Tirunāṅgēvaram year 14; 23 of 1905-Tirukkaṇḍaiyur year 15 which adds Kuṭamalai-nāḷu, and others.
§ Here T.A.G. Rao accepts the naval victory of Kāndalūr (p. 128).
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and 1 kārī, was the fund formerly deposited for offerings by princess Ariñjigaip-pirattiyār. Mentions the processes involved in making tulai-poun. *

218 of 1911.

Year 14.—Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Tirumalai-pūla. (No mention of Kalinga and Ilam.) Kamban Maṇiyana alias Vikkirama-śingam-mūvēnda-vēḷān got a marakata-dēvar from the king, from the booty obtained in Mahāl, and consecrated it in the temple at Tiruppaḷanam.

135 of 1928.

,, Tiruvṛṇṇairallār (S.A.)—Tirumalai-pūla. Provision for feeding a man who had to bake out water for the sacred bath and blow the conch at Tiruvṛṇṇairai-āḷyār temple. 420 of 1921.

Year 14, day 258.—Mēpāḷi (C.) Kōṇur-yinmai-kopāḷān. Land in several villages to Mahādēva of the Coḷendraśimhēvāra temple constructed by the king in the city of Rājā-śraya-puram, after cancelling the old name Mēpāḍi alias Vīranāraṇapuram. † 101 of 1921.

Year 15.—Agaram (S.A.)—Tirumalai-pūla. Sale of land to Mahāśētā temple by a Kramavittā, one of the managing members (yūḷunganaṁ) of Nṛpatunga-cayantūṅgi-citam. ‡ 369 of 1922.

,, Kāyār (Ch.)—Tirumalai-pūla. Sale of land by the assembly of Kāyār to a person for a lamp to god Āḍērī-dēva. 440 of 1922.

,, Kīlaiyiß (Tj.)—Sale of 7 mā of land tax-free to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa temple by the big assembly of Tiruvaḷundār for 15 āṅku got from Vaiḷikātunai-gūmā-śālan (cf. 91 of year 17) who is also said to have set up the image of goddess in the temple. 93 of 1925.

* cf. preceding entry; also 215 of 1911 (Rājak. 9.)
† cf. 103 of 1921 (ante).
‡ This may have owed its existence to Kayirār Perumāṇār of a Parāntaka inscription (EL, vil p. 141) ARE. 23 II 28. The śāstā is called Kayirār Ayyānār in 370 of 1922 of year 15 from same place.
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Year 15.—Manimangalam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land to Tiruvāyppādi Śrī-Śrīṇa Perumāl. The Mahāsabhā of Ulōka-mahādīvi-catun. (Manimangalam) met taṇṇīrpa-pandaillē dharmi-sēydu (?).

289 of 1897; SII. vi. 267.

"Mōlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land, one mā, reclaimed by Nakkan Kumarakkan, daughter of Dēvar-magal Nakkan Periya Arangapirān, for offerings and worship on special days to the two gods in the temple of Avanikaṇḍarpa Iśvaram. Mentions Adīgal Paḷuvēṭ-ṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavān.

363 of 1924.

"Śērmādēvi (Tin.)—(Vatṭeluttu)—Tirumagal-pōla. Only the introduction is preserved.

182 of 1895; EI. v. p. 46.

"Succindram (Tv.)—(Vatṭeluttu)-Tirumagal-pōla. The Mahāsabhā of Tiruccivindiram met in the agraśālā, being summoned by kālam and kuru (kāḻmūdīcucuk-kuru-sāttī). The Mōlaparuvēla-sabhā managing the affairs of the temple under the Mahāsabhā said that they could no longer remit the iṅai on the dēvadānas of the temple or manage its affairs, and in this they were joined by their tenants (parāṇai-kudiyilār), and having thus resigned everything into the hands of the Mahāsabhā, they undertook to pay a fine of 15 kalaṅju if they revived their claims individually (taniṅcattu-ṭaril) at any time, and 50 kalaṅju of sēydaṟpon if the tenants (kudigal) did so, and not to set up any claims even after paying these fines. Thereupon, the Mahāsabhā ordered that two vāriyar of their choice and the Karanaṭṭān must together manage the affairs of the temple thereafter, and provided for the remuneration in paddy of each of them every day.


443 of 1918.

* Thursday 27th April, A. D. 999 Kielhorn, EI. v. p. 198.
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Year 15. — *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—Gift of śrī-muṣṭi, weight 9 kalaṇju, 9 mañjāśi and 7 mā; inner silver cover 206½ kalα, and 4 mañjāśi; 3 māṇikkam, 36 vayiram and 1938 pearls assorted, by Śembiyam Mahādevi.*

48 of 1918.

Year 16.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—*Tirumagal-pūla.* Land for recitation of the Tiruppadiyam in the temple.

199 of 1915.

,, *Hebbani* (Mys.)—Kan. Navakhaṇḍa-maṇḍalum † daṇḍattigondla. The king's general was Noḷambādhīrāja who gave Perbaṇa (Hebbani) to the plunderer of Kāliyaṇa (Kāℓuvēṭtī ?); and a farmer of the place repaired the big tank which had breached its bank.

*EC.* x. Mb. 208; 100 of 1899.

,, *Kiliyanur* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-pūla.* Gift of a kālam by a native of Sōḷa-nālũ for convoking the assembly of Kiliyanur, a brahmadēśa. Mentions also that the herald was entitled to get two meals (āṇku) every day from the village.

156 of 1919.

,, *Kilur* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-pūla.* Provides for the supply of temple servants, two persons as muṇḍaris by subhā of Tirukkōvalur, and other servants by four other villages named.

231 of 1902; *SII.* vii. 858.

,, *Kuttalām* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pūla.* 360 kalaṇju of gold by Vira-nāraṇan-kutiṭattali, a vaṅgai-vēḻaikkāɾun, residing at Kāvirinallūr, for midnight worship to Šonnavaṇṟivār. The amount was invested with Köyil-maṇḍalaiyūn Eḷuttapāḷam-Śeyya-pūḷam alius Tiruttiruttii-piccan, the rate of interest being one kalam per annum (on each kalaṇju). 106 of 1925.

,, *Māmändūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagal-pūla.* 46 sheep for half a lamp by Namban Rāman to Rudravāḷšvaram Udaiya Mahādeva of Narasimha-mangala in Utta(ma ?) Cōḻēvarapura within Tiruvēṟṟambam to the east of the Citramēgha-tatāka.

39 of 1888; *SII.* iv. 137.

* 47 of 1918 of Parak. 12—same place.

† *i.e.,* the world *EC.* x. Introduction p. xxiv.
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Year 16.—Śiṟuvakkam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūṇa. Land for festival in the Mūlaśthāna temple of Śiṟupākkaṁ. Mentions the eight members of the Manṟāḷi-vāriyam to which was assigned the work of inspecting the produce of temple lands and conducting the festivals with the mēḻvārama received from the tenants. 66 of 1923.

Śrūṭriyam Taṇḍalam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land as śrībali-pattī for the festival of Veḷḷūri-āḻvār by the villagers (ūr) of Sander-Taṇḍalam. 71 of 1923.

Tirumalai (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. (Copy in year 40 of Vira Narasīnga Yādavarāya by Deśāntari Tiruppūlliṅi-dāsa who rebuilt the temple). A paṭṭam,—50 kaḻaṅju, 6 māṅikkam, 4 vaviram and 28 multu,—by Parānta-dēvi Ammanār, the daughter of Śaramāṇār, and queen of (Pomāḷigait-tuṅjināu), viz., Dēvi Ammanār. * 61 of 1889; SII. iv. 293.

Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Tax-free grant of land by Nakkan Tillaṅgaḷaiyār alias Paṅcavan Mahā-deviyār, queen of Rājarāja, for festival and offerings on the day of Śadaiyam (king’s nativity and her own) every month. 47 of 1928.

Tiruppurambiyan (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land for two perpetual lamps (nandāvilakkukku) for the Paḷḷikkaṭṭiḷ of the goddess by ivvūr-vaḷaṅgiyār. 71 of 1897; SII. vi. 20.

Tiruvāḍuturai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Some money which the sabbā of Śirrānaiccūr owed to their Kaḷkkōḷan Karraḷi-paṭṭalagaṅ had become vājasvam and the king demanded its payment; unable to find the money, and unwilling to collect it from the people owing to fear of migration, the sabbā raised a loan from the temple to pay it off and agreed to make some temple lands izaiyili. Kāsu equal to three-fourths kaḻaṅju and three māṉjādi. 105 of 1925.

* 159 of 1895 under Tiruvīṭdaimarudhr.
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Year 16.—Tiruvakkarai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of a dēva-
dāna village to stone temple of Śivalōka-uḍaiya-
Paramasvāmin * built by Śembiyan Mahādēviyār.
Allotments for various requirements of the temple.

200 of 1904.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. The citizens of
Vāṇapuram, i.e., Tiruvallam, sold, tax-free, 700 kulis of
land to Tiruvaiyan Śankara-dēva who granted it to
Tiruvaiya Īśvara, so called after his father. Tiruvaiyan
seems to have claimed descent from the W. Ganga
kings : Gōṇuṇīḍhamma-Parama-Dhamma-mahārāja-
Nipunīlaṇa paramēśvara Śrīnātha Śrīmat-Śiva-
Mahārāja Tiruvaiyan-Śankarādēva.

11 of 1890 ; SII. iii. 51.

Tiruvīḷaimarudār (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Sale of land
by the sabhā of Brahmadēyam Mahēndra-mangalam.
Mention of oppression and torture of people by paqa-
yitār, and an unsuccessful appeal to the king by them ;
also of Pōmālijait-tuṇjina-dēvar-dēviyār-Śrēmānār-
Pīrāntakaṇ-dēviyanīmanār. †

159 of 1895 ; SII. v. 723.

Trichinopoly (Tri.)—Land to the shrine of Tiruccirāp-
palli at Śirrāmbar in Uraiya-rūgam. 412 of 1904.

Vijayanārāyana (Tin.)—(Vāṭṭeḷuttu). Tirumagal-
pūla. The sabhā of Vijayanārāyana-catm., a brahma-
dēya in Nāṭṭārppōkku, having assembled in the
temple of Śaṭṭhakōpa - Viṇṇagara - perumāṇadi in the
village, exempted from taxes two pieces of land given
to the temple by a Brahman.

2 of 1927.

Year 17.—Karuttattāṅgulī (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Sale of land
by the Mahāsabhā of Rājakesari-catm. to Kundavai,
the daughter of emperor Pīrāntaka and elder sister of
the king; she presented it for a lamp to Karundittā-
gudi-mahādēva. Mentions a general edict of the king
ordering the sale of all lands in Brahman villages held

* Candramalāḷīvarā, cf. 95 of 1892 year 10 ; 276 of 1903 year 2(4) ARE.
1904 paragraph 20.

† 61 of 1889 under Tirumalai.
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by lower castes except the kāṇi lands of workmen (pāṇiṣeymakkal pāṇiṣeykāṇiṇiyoliya); and an order based on this from Adigārika Vānavaṉ Mūvēṇavēḷān regulating the manner in which the lands in this place were to be sold for cash and deputing an officer (Uḍaiyār pāṇiṇuvaṇa) Śattambiyār. Locāttambiyār tāṇḍa Mahāśabhaiyōm vīrṇa - nilavilaiyavayam. Attested by several people of the locality (ivōr).

46 of 1897 ; S.II. v 1094.

Year 17.—Kīḷaiyār (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla (in part). 180 sheep for lamp and ghi in the month of Śittirai to the standing Kṛṣṇa in the Citrāmaṇṭapa of the Tirukkkaḍavuḷaiya-emberumān temple at Tiruvaḷuṇḍūr by a royal servant named Valikkēṭumai-Guṇasīlai (cf. 93 of year 15) and his wife Aiyāḷi-puttaki. 91 of 1925.

Maṭkānum (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Āṟūran Udayadivākkaran Arumolī-ṁvēṇavēḷān of Araiśūr, while he was stationed at Paṭṭanaṁ in Paṭṭana-nādu, enquired into some complaints relating to expenses in the Bhūṁiśvara temple and fixed a fresh scale. States that the tiru-nāl of Rājarāja was Śadaiyam. 28 of 1919.

Sōmūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold diadem, to Tirunōmbalūr Paramēśvara at Dēvaṉappāḷi, made out of fines collected from defaulting temple servants, by the survey officer (ulagaduvitta) Tiruvadigal Śattan who enquired into the expenses of the temple.

199 of 1917.

Tenkarai (Md.) — (Granth.) Rājāsraya. A certain Kōḍaṇḍa-cōla made a gift of land to the temple of Madhubhīd (Viṣṇu) in the village of Tēnūr alias Janaṉātha-catm. 132 of 1910.


* No regnal year given in the text.
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Year 17.—Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Twenty kalainju gold, converted into land, for lamp, by queen Tennavan Mahâdevi.
123 of 1895; SII. v. 684.

"Tiruvavandrai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pôhu. (Ilam but not Râtapâli among conquests). Dedication of twelve families (patrinavan-kâli) for conducting a festival of seven days, called Kâjaraja-dêvar-tirunâl (Satabhişaj) in the month of Āvaṇi. The families had to pay ¼ kalainju per head out of their earnings from weaving or venturing on the sea, and to render assistance in celebrating the festival. Other duties and privileges are also mentioned. This was engraved under orders of: (i) Râman Kumaran alûs Sûja-Mûvenda-vêla-Mâryan who was nāûkâlpâti; and (ii) Kârgan Âdittan alûs Dûna-Mûvenda-vêla Mâryan who was nāû-vagai.
274 of 1910.

"Ukkal (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pôhu. The Mahâsabhâ including the (Dhanna)vâriyap-perumakkâl for the year, the Sûltagânhattâr of the locality (emmûr) and some others met in the temple of Mahâsâstâ to the north of the ambalam. Some gifts were made to the temple and these were left in the charge of the Sûltagânhattâr. A fine of one kalainju was to be laid on those who sold betel-leaves outside the Piḷâri temple and the fine to be collected by the vâriyap-perumakkâl. The madhyastha made the record. SII. iii. 6.

"Uttaramûrû (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pôhu. Sheep for lamp, some being bought from the treasury of Subrahmanyadêvar of Uttaramûrû. Others were endowed by different people, one giving 11½ sheep for 1/8 lamp.
54 of 1898; SII. vi. 337.

"Uttaramûrû (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pôhu. 9½ sheep for lamp to the Paramavâmi who was pleased to stand at the Kongarâiyar-sri-koýil of Uttaramûrû. The sheep were left with the sabhaiyâr of Aruśâni-mangalam.
173 of 1923.
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Year 18.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeḻuttu) Rājarājak. 25 sheep for a lamp to the temple of Tiruppottulaiyadēvar. 98 of 1905.

Ärppakam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gift by purchase of tank and land made tax-free (kāḻungutamunu vilai konṭū tiruttir iḻaiyiricci) for offerings to Tiruvirava-Viṇṇagar-āḻvār, in the name of Nambirāṭṭiyār Śembiyān Mukkōk-kiḷān-āḻigal alias Kannara-Nācici-Piḷāra-nangai, by a certain Aragan Kōdanṭarāman of Paṇivaga-mangalam in the Cōḷa country. Liquid measure: sōṭiyam. 139 of 1923.

Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold for a lamp. The samvatsaravāriya of Rājamalla-catm, looking after grāmakārya had to see to its proper maintenance on pain of being fined for default by the Śraddhāmantar. 192 of 1915.

Kāncipuruam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 60 kāḻiṇju of gold by residents of Īriu-naṉraiyur for four lamps in the name of the king to Aṉjaṉaṇḍi Durgaiyār of Kāṇci. 78 of 1921.

Kīḻaiyūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Provision made by assembly of Tiruvallundūr for supply of one kuruṇi of ghi for offerings to Tirukkaḷavaiyaiya-emberumānneyamudusēydaṉ on the day of Pūnarpuṭăm every month with the interest on the sum of money received from Valiikkētuṉai-Guṇaṉaiḷam. (91 of year 17). 95 of 1925.


Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Sale of land by pati-pūdu-mūlatal-tar, paṅcāṭiriyvagal, ṭrikoyiluṭaiyār * and dēva-kanmigal for being endowed for offerings to the

* These are evidently in apposition. See the compound term below.
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temple. The *pati-pāda-mūlā-paṅcācārya-śrīkoyiluḍai-
yār and the dēvakarmis * declare this land free from
the obligation to pay īrai, eccōru, veṭṭi, āṟṟukkulai or
anything else. 46 of 1895; SII. v. 603.

Year 18.—Tirumandikkai (Tv.)—(Valḷēḻuttu.) Tirumagal-pōla.
Gift of Muṭṭam in Vaiḻuva-nāḷ to Tirumandikkai
Mahādeva after changing its name to Mummudji-sōḷa-
nallūr, for a festival and river bath to the god on Śadai-
yam day, the king’s birthday. TAS. i. 291-2.

" Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. (Mentions
conquest of Īḷam.) Land for lamp. 333 of 1927.

" Vṛddhācalam (Sā.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land by resi-
dents of Nēkkuppi for the recitation of Tiruppadiyam
in the local temple. 40 of 1918.

Year 19.—Kōṭṭakarungulam (Tin.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 25 sheep
for lamp to Rūṣinga Īṣvarattu Bhaṭṭāra with an army
officer paṭīattulaivan (of the local garrison?) living in
the place. 272 of 1928.†

" Madras Museum—Tirumagal-pōla. Lamp. Mentions
Taṇṭiyāḷattūr in Śīnattūr-nāḷu, a sub-division of
Puliyūr-kōṭṭam, from Puliyūr near Kōḷambākam to
the west of the Mailāpūr tank. 290 of 1895; also 291.

" Māykanam (Sā.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Salt-pan for lamp
to Śrī-Bhūmiśvarattalvār at Rājarajspārlaṁ in
Mārakūnām, a dēvadāna in Paṭṭima-nāḷu, a sub-division
of Ōyā-nāḷu, by the officer and workers (kuṇīgal)
in the salt-pan. 23 of 1919.

" Tiruccengāḷangudi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land for
feeding in the maṇḍiya of Śīṟuttontōṇḍa Nambī devotees
attending the festival of Šittirait-tiruvāḍīrait of
Śirāja-dēva. 57 of 1913.

* Had there any taxing or assigning powers?

† The Valḷēḻuttu record of Śadaiya-Mārān in this stone temple (270)
makes it more likely that a Pāṇḍya Rājasimha was its builder than the Cēra
feudatory of Rājendra and possibly also of Rājarāja. ARE, 1923 ii. 5.
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Year 19.—Tiruccengattangudi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land for tiruvullū to Śrīnalloaka-nambi, a devotee of Śrīrāja-dēva of Tiruccengattangudi, by two residents of Marugal. Mentions the revenue survey of the seventeenth year; also the phrase: mikudik-kurai-ulłąñanga re: land measurement. 59 of 1913.

Tiruvāḷandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Thirty kaḷaṅju of gold by a merchant of Tiruvorriyūr in Pulär-kōṭṭam to Varāhasvāmi temple. The residents of Taiyūr agreed to pay interest in oil and paddy to the assembly of Tiruvāḷandai for a lamp and for feeding thirty-five Brahmans. 267 of 1910.

Tiruvāḷandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. (Išam but not Raṭṭiapāli among conquests). 16½ kaḷaṅju of gold by a merchant of Kaḻarpāḷḷi in Malai-nāḍu for feeding twelve Brahmans in the Varāha-dēva temple during the thirty days of the month of Kumbha. An instance of vāḍākkaḷān. 273 of 1910.

Uttanūr (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pūla. After 'Kalingamum' in the introduction, we have: "Kuḷamalai-nāḍum akkadal kaḷandāngaru Ni . . . . iḷvramungouḷa tiṉ-ṟiral venriit-tanḻārkoṇulā tannējil" etc. Mentions Arumolijēva-catm. in Pudal-nāḍu. 459 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 123.

Year 19, day 126.—Tiruvvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. String of rubies (māṇikka-nāḍi) by queen Kūttan Vira-nilayaṇiyuṟ alias Cōḷu-Mahālēvijīyūr. 112 of 1896; SII. v. 975.

Year 20.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Mentions an executive assembly (kūṭtam) of 80 persons. 62 of 1914.

Śenūr (NA.)—A new introduction (beg. lost). Gift of land by ēr of Śeyanallār to the temples of Tiruvagatiśvara and Tirumēṟraḷi-dēva, on account of the drummers who beat the drums during the śrībāli

* This is common in the records of the period.
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ceremony; the gift was made at the instance of a local officer. 394 of 1911.

Year 19.—Śomūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A paṭṭam from three kaḷaiṇī of gold collected as daṇḍam from the temple authorities. Mentions Rājādēvar Kaikkōḷap-paṭai, Pirāntakat - teriṇja - kaikkōḷar, Sundarāsōḷat - teriṇja-kaikkōḷar, and Pāṇḍikulāsāni-teriṇja-kaikkōḷar, and Iñāṭu - vagai - śeygiṇa Kuḷattur - uḍaiyār. The offence thus punished was the failure to bring out the image of the goddess on the day of a solar eclipse.

67 of 1890; SII. iv. 391.


491 of 1911 *; EC. iii. Tn. 35.

Year 20.—Tirukkōṭṭhiyūr (Rd.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sheep for lamp by a cavalier of the king commanding the . . . vattāṇa terindu-valangai-veḷaikkārav. Tirukkōṭṭhiyūr is called a dēvadāna in Kōrāḷaśinga-vala-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājarāja-vala-nāḍu. 320 of 1923.

'' Tiruvaṭḻuturai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Agreement between Sādāśiva-bhaṭārā of the maṭha at Tiruvaiyāṛu, as manager of the temple of Tiruvaṭḻuturai on the one part, and the assemblies of Śattanūr (Tiraimūr-nāḍu) and Śirrāṇaicēṛ (Tiruvalundūr-nāḍu) on the other, that the latter shall pay the taxes on the temple lands in their villages in lieu of the interest on loans due from them to the temple which they were unable to pay.

320 of 1923.

'' Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla.—Lamp by Naṉmārṇaiyar or Naṉmānan, son of Tukkarai of the Vaḷdumva family ruling over Ingallūr-nāḍu, a district of Mahārājaḍai.† 14 of 1890; SII. iii. 52.

* MAR. 1912 p. 38.

† Mahārājaḍai 7000 with Vaḷḷēra for its capital must have been in the Cuddapah district, SII. iii. p. 106.
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Year 20.—Tiruanğādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Golden bowl (ponnin kapālam) by Nambirāṭṭiyār Tiṭṭaipirāndernānār alias Sōla-mahādeviyār.

111 of 1896; SIL. v. 974.

Year 21.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. An officer Parāntaka-Sōla Mūvendavēḻān sent an order to the assembly of Nṟapatunga-sāyantāngi-catm. that the property of those who ran away without paying the fines imposed on them was to be sold for any price it could fetch and the money credited to the tālam (treasury) at Kaccipēḍu and a receipt obtained. This was in turn communicated to the sabhā of Tirunārāyaṇac-cōrī, a hamlet of the village, whereupon a certain Kīḷākkil Avaripabarhaṭa was deprived of his bhūtaṅgavam land which was sold to the temple of Mahāstā Kayirūr Ayyan in an ājñākrayam.

379 of 1922.*


8 of 1919.

Dāḍāpuram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Mentions the construction of the three temples at Rājarājapuram (See No. 8 of 1919) by Pirāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār, and records that, on receipt of the royal writ, the officer Āṟūrān Aravanaiyān alias Parākramaśōḷa Mūvendavēḻān of Panaiyār ordered the temple treasury to be examined and the presents to be engraved on stone in the respective temples.

17 of 1919.

Ēmappēṟūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Rājarājavaṉar alias Rājarāja-dēva. 96 sheep for lamp.

517 of 1921.

* This record is treated as an instance of rent recovery in ARE, 1923 II 29.
† This confirms the identity of this person with Sundara Cōḷāḷī. The Jaina shrines exist no longer, though the others do. ARE, 1919 II 11.
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Year 21.—Tirumalai (near Pāḻur NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A verse recording construction of a sluice by Guṇavira-māmuni,* respected by kings and lord of the cool Vaigai-malai; the sluice caused paddy to grow on either side of the hill and was named after Veṅkijāṉa Kanicekara-maru-poreṟuṟiyan. SII, i. 66.

"Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Remission of taxes, after getting 15 kāśu, by the assembly of Kārōḷuc-cēri, a brahmadēya, on lands granted to the temple by the king and queen Paṅcavan-mahādēviyār for special worship every month on the Śadaiyam day. 54 of 1928.

"Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Money, 12 kāśu equal to 96 kalam of paddy, yielding interest of 32 kalam at one tani per kalam, for offerings to Tirunāvukkaraiyā-dēva, installed by Agnikumāra-kramavittan alias PORKYIL CANDÉVARAYOĞI OF KUṆḍūr, a hamlet of Vira-sikānukac-cēri in Viranāṟiyana-catm., an independent village (taniyūr) on the north bank in the Rājendrasimha-vala-nāṭu. 68 of 1928.


"Tiruvaiyāṉu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Temple of Lōka-mahādēviyār built by the queen of Rājarāja, Dantiśakti-Viṭanki alias Lōka-mahādēvi. Sale of land by the authorities of the temple of Tiruvaiyāṉuḷaiyār to the Mahā-dēvakannimis of the temple mentioned above, at 100 kuṇaiju per vēli. Mentions vilaiyāva-ṟam and porulmāvaṟudhip-porucilavōḷai. Formual of sale interesting. 219 of 1894; SII, v. 518.

"Tiruvaiyāṉuḷi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla (in middle of record). While staying at Tiruvallam the king, who bore the surname Sivapāḍa-śeḱhara-dēva, confirmed a

* Rangachari-i p. 80 notices three persons of this name.
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grant of land made in the twelfth year of Parakāsari and made a new grant also.

624 of 1902; SII. viii. 222.

Year 21.—Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tirunagal-pūla. Sale of land to Rājarājēśvaram within the temple of Tikkāli-mahādēva for feeding Brahmans. Mentions the royal officer Araisārušaiyān Irāyiravan Pallavan. 238 of 1921.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirunagal-pūla, (but no Raṭṭapāḍī). A lamp, by a resident of Nārīyānuac-cēri, to Velimalmūrti-āḻvār of Śrī Veḷi-Viṣṇu-grha to be maintained by the Pērūlamaiyār. The Śraddhānantas and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas were themselves to punish defaults.

165 of 1923.

Year 22.—Agaram (S.A.)—Tirunagal-pūla. Sale of land to Paramasvāmiga! Kayirūr Ayyan by a managing member of the assembly.

381 of 1922.

" Agaram (S.A.)—Tirunagal-pūla. (No mention of Raṭṭapāḍī). Resolution passed by the big assembly of Npatunga-sēndāngi-catm. met in the courtyard of Accutapiya-dēvār, setting apart a portion of land belonging to the Muhāsāstā for one perpetual lamp in the temple.

387 of 1922.

" Kāmarasavallī (Tri.)—Tirunagal-pūla. Tanks and ponds in the village and its vicinity for red lotuses in the month of Dhanuṣ. By order of the saṅghā.

69 of 1914.

" Kōlār (Mys.)—A dēvadāna to Piḷāriyār (Kōlāramma):

"paṭṭan kaiyi lārai-aṭṭik-kuṭṭuttarulina dēvadānam: Kuvalāla-nāṭṭu Arāiyārai sarvābōdhaparibhāra-māgak-kuṭṭuttarulindār."

481 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 106 (b).

" Mēl-ēvūr (S.A.)—A member of the Jananātha-teriṇja-valangai-vēlaikkārār set up the image of the goddess Umā-bhaṭṭāraki.

216 of 1904.

* Perhaps conquered at end of year 21 and beginning of year 22. 217 of 1894 mentions it. AKE. 1923 II 27.
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Year 22.—Puñjai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Ten vēli of land by the king for a feeding house Arumōlīdēvan and for daily havirbali to Āḷavallār in the temple, with the condition that taxes on half the portion were to be paid by the temple and the rest by the assembly of Talaccengāḍu. Another tax-free gift of 5 vēli by the assembly for an annual festival in Śittirai and a remission of taxes on land given in the seventeenth year for havirbali-arcanā. 186 of 1925.

"Tiruvaiyāḷu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. (Includes Raṭṭa- pāḷi). 96 Sheep for lamp Vimayan Vambavai, the dēvi (queen) of Śāḷukki Vimayan, and daughter of Vaṇijayan-Peggappai. 217 of 1894; SII. v. 516.

"Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pūla. An increase of puṇnavaṟṟa paddy that the assembly of Mandaram alias Jayamēru-ārikaraṇa-mangalam agreed to pay to the dēvakanmis of the temple. Mentions Irāyiravan Pallavan alias Munnumolujoja-pōkān, lord of Araiśur, and an officer of the Perundanam of Rājarāja-dēva, who raised the contribution from the village. 219 of 1921.

"Tiruvilimilai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla (full). The assembly (mahāsabha) of Tiruimalai, a dēvadāna village of the god in Vēn-ṇēḻu, made provision for the singing of Tiruppadiyam hymns twice a day in the temple. The assembly met in the tirumurukam of the temple (nammāḻvār kōyil.) 423 of 1908.

"Tiruvilimilai (Tj.)—26 kāṣu for lamp by Kaviniyan Ėṟan Śāndan of the locality. 449 of 1908. *

"Uttaramēṟṟ (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of 96 sheep by a Brahman lady of Vāmanac-cēri for lamp to Vēḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār, the Vēṟilamūṭiyār being responsible to the sabbha for its maintenance, and the samvatsara- vāriyam and the Sri-Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish default. 163 of 1923.

* Sen Tamiḻ iii. pp. 359-60, where T. A. Gopinatha Rao reaches the conclusion that Śāndan is identical with Tirumāḻigār-dēvar of the Tiruvissippā.

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Year 23.—Āttūr (Tin.) Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Kīranūr, to the following deities: Rājarāja Viṇṇagar Paḷḷi - koṇḍaruḷina - dēva, Durgā-bhagavatī, Saptamaṭhrkas, Kṣetrapāla and Gaṇapati set up in the temple of Sōmanāṭha-dēva alias Ten-tiruppuṇaṇam-uṭalaiyar at Āṭṭūr-Śendamangalam.

415 of 1930.

Dāḍāpurām (SA.) — Tirumagal-pōla. The dancing girls attached to the temples of Iravi-kulamāṇikka Iēvara and Kundavai Viṇṇagar should accompany the god in procession, and sing and dance during the hunting festival.

14 of 1919.

Eṟumūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Five kaḻaiṇju of gold by Araiyan Viccādiran of Uṟumūr, a dēvadāna and brahmadēya, on receiving which the sabhā agreed themselves to pay the annual fee collected from the uvaccur and to have the sīribali conducted properly.

385 of 1913.

Eṟumūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to temple by the sabhā of Uṟumūr, a dēvadāna and brahmadēya. Mentions taxes: eccōru, vāsalil-pōndu-kuṭimai, and ūrīdu-vari.

388 of 1913.

Maḻūṟpaḻṭa (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The assembly of Periya - maṉuvir alias Rājendraśinga-catm. agree to give paddy to the temple every year, for offerings etc., from lands cultivated by themselves.

510 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 128.

Śėrmūḍēvi (Tin.)—(Vaḷḷēḷuttu). Tirumagal-pōla. 25 cows for lamp. Śoravamahādēvi-catm. was in Mūḷli-nāḍu of Rājarāja-vaḷa-nāḍu.

713 of 1916.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Gold by a native of the Pāṇḍya country.

342 of 1906.

Tirumeṇṉānam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Meeting of Nāḷūr-nambimāṟṟulṭṭa perunguri-mahāsabhai at the big hall called Gaṇḍarāṭiṭṭan. Mentions the Viṇṇu temple Tirunāṟṟyaṇa-Viṇṇagar of Nāḷūr.

326 of 1910.
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Year 23.—Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Nine gold flowers to Kōppaperumāl by Selvan-ācārya, one of the Śatrubhayankaraterinda Veḷam of queen Paṇcavan-mahādeviyār.

62 of 1928.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. 96 sheep for lamp by Udayan Ādittan of Taṇṇirmuttam in Malaināḍu to Śrī-Veḷi-Viṣṇugṛhättu Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār; the Pērīḷamaiyār of the place (iṅvār) to conduct the charity, subject to punishment for default at the hands of the Śraddhāmānantus and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas.

182 of 1923.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. 96 sheep for lamp by a merchant of Naṉuvilangūli, and 13 kaḻaiyū of gold for a lamp to Tiruvāyukkulam-uḍaiyār (Krṣṇa), by a resident of Gōvindac-cēri. The viragāṇattar of the place were trustees (puṇai) of the first gift. The gold was with the vaikāṇasas of the temple. The Śraddhāmānantus had the power to punish default. All these arrangements were made by the sabhā.

187 of 1923.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. 48 sheep for lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār by a resident of Teṟkilangūli with the Kāḷi-gaṇattar of the place (iṅvār) as trustees (puṇai). The Śraddhāmānantus and Śrī Vaiṣṇavas to punish default. The donor gave also a paṭikām.

189 of 1923.

Year 23, day 385.—Tiruvāmattur (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple by Tāmulān Kōrrinangī of Śrīrādhāmanallūr, * the king's agent, and trustee of the temple, who ordered the distribution of certain offerings among 21 temple servants; in year 27, Veḷḷān Ārōran of Pudukkuṇḍi, who belonged to the king's perundaram, took objection to this distribution as it was against the śāstras.

22 of 1922.

Year 24.—Jambai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. The sabhā of Neṟ-kunṟam āḷḷi Vairamōgha-catm. gave land in exchange

* 21 of 1923; year 26, day 306.

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for fields taken up by the bed of their new tank, made by Bāṇa Maṇava Narasimhavarmā. 84 of 1906.

Year 24.—Kāṭahasti (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gold for lamp to the shrine of Maṇikkengai-mādevār. 298 of 1904.

Karuttutāngudi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Arangan Kāri alias Sōlaviccādira Muttaraiyān of the Sīrūdanam of Rājarūja and of the Singalāntakat-terinju-Kudirai-cēvagār caused the death of Kāri-kulir-vēgai of the Iļaiya-paṭalai-irumugī-śōjavēr in a contest (Śri-rājārājadēvar - kuryavillekhat - tōlam eydu ?), and compounded with his relatives (ivanukkurevum muvai kaṭavēr * * * odfum tirundī) and endowed a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādevā.

48 of 1897; SII. v. 1411.

Mēlpādi (C.) — Tirumagal-pūla. Sale of land, tax-free, for pavitrārāhaṇa festival to Mahādevā of the Candra-mauḷāvāra temple, by residents of Mēlpādi alias Rājārārayapuram in Tāy-nāḷu of Perumbāṇappādi, for thirty kaṭañju of gold received from Araiśūrūdai-yān Irāyiravan Pallavariyān alias Mummugī-śōlapōsān of Śō-nāḷu.

96 of 1921.

Mēlpādi (C.) — Tirumagal-pūla. Land, tax-free, by residents of Mēlpādi alias Rājārārayapuram to god-Rājārārayapura Viṭānkar.

99 of 1921.

Olagapuram (SA.)—Land by the nagattār of Ulagamādevipuram for feeding 25 Brahmins in a sālai attached to the temple.

134 of 1916.


702 of 1916.

* 86 of 1906 of year 26.

† In ARE. 1904 II 21 this temple, Maṇikaṅkēvaram, is taken to be of the time of Kulōttunga III. This inscription shows that the shrine itself is older than the present structure of the temple. ARE. 1905 II 11.

† Larger Leyden Grant; also 100 of Yr. 6 of Parak. Rājēndra; ARE. 1921 II 22.
RAJAKEŚARI RAJARAJA I

Year 24.—Śeṇilippērī (Tin.) — (Vaffēluttu). Tirumagal-pōla.  
Lamp by a native of the Cōla country; endowment left in charge of those who, for the time being, were responsible for the daily worship being conducted properly. 419 of 1906.


Tirunāmanattāēr (SĀ.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gifts of gold ornaments made in the thirteenth and nineteenth years engraved now by order. 358 of 1902; SII. vii. 988.

Tiruppūnduruttī (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Assembly of of Tirutturuttī received 20 kāśu from Kūttan Madhurāntakan, a member of the Tailakula-kūla-terīnja-parivāram, and agreed to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple. 78 of 1931.

Tiruppūraiambiyam (Tj.)—Agreement by residents of Śankarappūḷi to burn a lamp in the temple on behalf of Rāman, a servant maid of Mūlai-vēḷam called Madhurāntakat-terinda Vēḷam of the king. 340 of 1927.

Tiruvāḍutugai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōlu. Agreement by the assembly of Ilacikuḍi alias Vikramāśinga-catm., a brahmadaēya in Maṇi-nāḍu in Rājēndrasimha Valanāḍu, to pay taxes levied in the land-survey made by order of the king on the lands at Śattanūr, (a brahmadaēya in Tiraimūr-nāḍu), belonging to the temple of Tiruvāḍu-tūṟaiyudaiya Paramasvāmīgal, in payment of the interest on money which they had received from the temple but could not pay back. 100 kuḷi—one mā. In continuation is another record of year 25 by which the ūr of Iḷangāri-kuḷi in Perēvūr-nāḍu give land for a lamp. 101 of 1925.

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Year 24.—Tiruvaiyâru (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pôla. Gold ornaments and vessels presented to the temple—a long and detailed list. The Uttarakâlîsa * shrine (stone) in the temple was founded by Dantişakti Viṭâñki and was called Lôkamahâdûvîvâra. 222 of 1894; SII. v. 521.

" Tiruvaiyâru (Tj.)—Ornaments and land to the same shrine founded by Dantişakti Viṭâñki. 155, 156 of 1918.

" Tiruvāmâttûr (SA.)—Gift by Tāmulânkórangî of a silver vessel and plate for keeping sacred offerings. 24 of 1922.

" Tiruvēkâḷu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pôla. Gold for Śengai-śûntrîrîvāsîgâi and gold flowers to Tiruvekâḷu-dôva by one of the Mûlaparîvâra and one of the Mûlaparîvâra-vîtîçû (servants) of the king. 454 of 1918. †

" Tiruvîśalû (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pôla. Land for offerings. Refers to a revenue survey made at an earlier date. 44 of 1907.

" Vîddâhocalam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pôla. Residents (ûrûm) of Maṇâlûr agree to supply annually four cloths in lieu of interest due from them to the temple—anudu paûlaippârückku vāy-kalâkkku nālu puļavaï. 45 of 1918.

Year 24, day 124.—Parandûr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pôla. Mentions Citrakûṭam (king’s palace?) at Taṇjâvûr. General order relating to revenue; damaged, but same as the next. 73 of 1923.

Year 24, day 124.—Ukkal (NA.)—Tirumagal-pôla. Oral order of the king seated in the college (kallûri) to the south of the Citrakûṭa at the Taṇjâvûr Periya-śeṇḍu-vāyil (hippodrome gate). Procedure regarding the execution of such oral orders indicated by this inscription. 29 of 1893; SII. iii. 9; PK. pp. 114-5.

* This is the modern name of a small shrine in the Pañcanadâvâra temple. SII. ii p. 278 n. 7.

† No regnal year appears in the text.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 25.—Dādāpuram (SA.)—Sheep for lamps to the temple of Kundavai Vinṭagar-ālvār by princess Parāntakan Kundavaip - pirāṭṭiyār. Senāpati Mummuḍi Śōla Brahma-mahārāyaṇa in charge of the management of the temple. 10 of 1918.

Dādāpuram (SA.) — Tirumagal-pūlā. Sheep left with thirty shepherds for ten lamps to the Irvikula-māṇikka temple, by Kundavai who built the temple. 18 of 1919.

Māmallaipuram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūlā. A vyavasthā relating to division of land and some privileges among the Nagaram and the Pēṟil˘maiyār while Padukkuḷaiyān Īkallhirum Aiṃbidinman who was settling (vaṉai-sey Gin/a) the Āmūr-kōṭṭam was present in the māḷalavanam (flower-garden) to the south of the Jalaśayana-dēva temple of Nagaram Māmallaipuram. SII. i. 40.

Pāṭṭukkanāṟṟaiṭṭi (Tj.)—Land to Mahādēva temple at Nellvāy. Mentions Paṉcavan Brahmādīrāyan ruling Tagaḷūr-nāḷu granted to him as jīvilam by the king. He was an officer of the Perundaram, and his father was a native of Ariyār and called Krumaiya-nīlga-mūṇḍan. 254 of 1909.

Tiruppuramambiyam (Tj.) — Lamp by . . . . Māyiḷaṭṭi of the Śīruṇam of Rājarāja-dēvar. 339 of 1927.

Tiruvalaṇjulī (Tj.)—Land to Kṣetrapāḷa-dēva set up by Nambirāṭṭiyār-ulōga - māḷāvīyār and to Gaṅapati. Mentions land-survey commencing in the sixteenth year. 624-A of 1902; SII. viii. 223.

Tiruvalaṇjulī. (Tj.) — Tirumagal-pūlā. Ornament by Rājarāja’s queen Dantiśakti Viṭṭangi alias Lōkamaḥā-dēvi, his daughter Kundavai, the queen of Viṃalādītīya, and his middle daughter Māḷēvaḍigaj, to the shrine of Kṣetrapāḷa-dēva which had been built by the king. 633 of 1902; SII. viii. 234.
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Year 25.—Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pūla. A paṭṭam of eleven kaḷaṇṭi by Dharmakāṭṭaḷai-tuḷai-nīṟṟai for Tikkāḷi-Aṇḍar by judges (niṟyāyattār) of the village. 221 of 1921.

"Tiruvāṁṭṭār (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Tāmūḷān Korra-nangi enquired into the temple affairs and arranged that the drummers engaged in the temple should, in return for some paddy, take out the god Candrasekharaperumāḷ in procession thrice daily for sīṟbāli. The drummers got the share of the paddy till then given to the Pāḷḷis for measuring the paddy due to the temple from the villagers, (kāl-alavu-kūḷi).

16 of 1922.

"Tiruveṅkāḷu (Tj.)—Thirty kāśu for lamp by queen Vānvan-Mahādeviyyār alias Tribhuvana-mādāviyyār. 442 of 1918.

"Vṛddhācalam (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Money for reading . . . in the temple. 50 of 1918.

Year 25, day 154.—Uttaramāḷūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Two thousand kuḷi of land by the Mahāsabhā for Tiruccennāḷai to the god in the Śrī-Purusottama. 177 of 1923.

Year 25, day 310.—Tanjore—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Gifts to Umbā-Paramēsvāri by the elder sister of Śrī-Rājarāja-dēva, the Mahādevi of Vallavaraiyar Vandya-dēvar.

SII. ii. 2.

Year 26.—Gangaikōṇḍān (Tn.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Land, by purchase from the sabhā, for offerings to Śrī-Kailāyattu Kṣetrapāla in Śrī Vallabha-mangalam, a brahmadēva on the south bank of the Tan-porundam. 160 of 1895; SII. v. 724.


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Nanda-giri-nātha Paṇḍivaiyura-paramēśvara Vetticichilūlamkṣrā vṛṣabha-lāñchana.

86 of 1906 *; El. xi. p. 239 n. 4.

Year 26.—Kaṇḍamangalam (SA.)—Tirunagal-pūla. Land made into an agrahāra called after Tribhuvana-mahādevi to the temples of Jayantāngi-Vināyagar-Paramasvāmi and Śrī-Kailāsām. 354 of 1917.

† Kōnērījāpura (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land by Udaiyā-pirattiyār to two persons at Pūngūri for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple of Tirunallam-ulaiyār. 624 of 1909.

Kūhūr (Tj.)—Money for lamp to Ādityāsvaram-Udaiyār temple at Kūhūr. 276 of 1917.

Śeśilippēri (Tin.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of land by the Mahāśabha of Śrīrālla-mangalam, a brahmadēya in Killa-kūrama, a sub-division of the Rājarāja-maṇḍalām. 422 of 1906.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 96 sheep for lamp. Takkōlam is called Kṣatriya-śikhāmani-puram, a tanigār in Manayi-kōṭłam in the Jayangopa-śōja-maṇḍalam. 259 of 1921.

Uttaranērū (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 48 sheep for half a lamp to Veḷlāimūrthī-ālār by a lady of Panmaic-cēri; the residents of Panmaic-cēri were themselves the trustees (puṇai) and the Śraddhāmantas and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas had the power to punish defaults. 186 of 1923.

Uttaranērū (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 96 sheep for a lamp to Veḷlāimūrthi-ālār in charge (puṇai) of the residents of Panmaic-cēri, the Śraddhāmantas and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish defaults. The donor is described as: Ḣuṃr-yālgamamattārūl Śrī-govindacēri Kaṭṭic-cavma-Kumāra Kramavittan Brahmāṇi Nangai-mādic-cāni. 190 of 1923.

* cf. 84 of 1906 of Year 24.
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Year 26, day 20.—Tanjore.—Begins: “Ēlād-viśva-nilap-śrēṇi-mouṭi - mālīpālaśīlirá Śāsanun Kāḷavarājasya Kāḷā-
kēśari varmaṇah.” Tirumagal-pōla. The king, seated for making dānas, in the Kilaitturu-mañjanaśālai of Irumaḍi-śōla within the Taṇjāvūr Kōyiḷ (palace), ordered that there be engraved on stone all the gifts from himself, his elder sister, and his wives (nām-pēy-qūgala) and other gifts to Śri-Rājarājēvaram-Uḍalīyār of the sacred stone temple built by him (nām eḻappica-
tirukkaḷḷai) in the Taṇjāvūr kūṟṟam of the Pāṇḍyakulāśuni Uaḷa-nāḷu. 105 numbered paragraphs follow. SII. ii. 1.

Year 26, day 206.—Tiruvāmāṭṭur (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Tamīḻan Koṭṭānanga of Śīṟuḷhuma-nallūr, the king’s agent and trustee of the temple, called together the sabhā and the ūr of the village, and enquired into the affairs of the temple, and finding the existence of a certain surplus of paddy due to measurement by the vidiriṅkan-marakkāḷ instead of by the rājakēśari, he ordered this surplus to be utilised for the daily supply of akkāṟu-udisil by name Jayan-
goṇḍa-śōjan to god. Mentions other gifts for lamps: also sāḷābhūga. 10 sheep for one kāḷāṇju.

21 of 1922.

Year 27.—Brahmaddēsam (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Ten kāḷāṇju of gold for which were got 90 sheep (for a lamp) left in charge of the gaṇappuṟumakkal who looked after the śrikāṟyam for the year.

204 of 1915.

“Ēmappēṟūr (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale by residents (Urōm) of Naḷavūr of lands made tax-free to the trustees of the temple of Tiruvāḷandurai-udaiya Paramasvāmin of Ēmappēṟūr for offerings thrice a day.

513 of 1921.

“Kāḷahasti (N.A.)—Verse Ēlād-viśva followed by Tirumagal-pōla. Seems to enforce payment by the upāsakas of arrears of interest on some endowments.

299 of 1904.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 27.—Ś. 933.—Śādhāraṇa.—Kallahalli (Mys.)—Death in a fight of Jeyaya, son of Rājadeva Nolambasēṭṭi who received Kolaṭūr Kal-nāḷ from Nannaiyabhāpa, "Samadhigatapaṇcapsamahāsabda Pallaṇvānaya Śrī Pūthivavallabhā Pallaṇvakulā-tilakānakavākṣyan Kāṇēpuravariśvara Śrīman Nolambādhīrāja Orayyam rājya-le."  

EC. x. Ct. 118.


236 of 1902; SII. vii. 863.

"Mēḷaṇapupuvā (Tri.)—Tīrumagal-pūḷa. At the request of his queen Nakkan Paṇcāvaṇ-mādevi, the daughter of Avani-kandarpap-purattu-dēvanār of Paḷuvār, the king provided for offerings and worship in the temple by granting an additional income of 900 kalam of paddy due on some lands which were surveyed and assessed, the dēvānār lands of Uranguḷi being excepted.  

385 of 1924.

"Śorānāvī (Tim.)—Tīrumagal-pūḷa. Lamp to Cōḷendra-śimhiśvara.  

192 of 1895; SII. v. 756.

"Śorānāvī (Tri.)—The Aga-nāḷigai Śivārāhmanas of the Cōḷendraśinga-śivaṇa agreed, on receiving twelve old kāśu, to burn a perpetual lamp to Kailāsattāḷyār.  

629 of 1916.

"Tīrumanalavāḍi (Tri.)—Money for lamp by Iļangōn Picci, the senior queen (māṭa-dēviyār) of Śōlapperumān and the daughter of Vallavaraiyar.  

14 of 1920.

"Tīrūppugalūr (Tj.)—Undertaking by the Śivārāhmanas at Pugalūr to burn a lamp to Kōṇapperumāḷ for money received by them from a Brahman lady named Gaṇapati Ponnūlvī atias Śōlai.  

69 of 1928.

"Tīruvāṇḍalai (Ch.)— Tīrumagal-pūḷa. Land for offerings in the Varāṇa-dēva temple by the residents of Taḷiyūr atias Rājakēsari-nallūr.  

272 of 1910.

* Text does not give the details given here.
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Year 27.—Tirunēṅkāḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa. Provision for Śadaiyattirunāḷ in Aiippigai and for festival during the six days preceding. 115 of 1896; SII. v. 979.

Tirunēṅkāḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa. Twenty-two pon for lamp to Nāṅgūr Tirunēṅkāḍa-dēvar by Vēḷān Sundara-dōjan, the son of Koḻumbūḷūr Vēḷān Śiṅiya Vēḷān who fell in Īlām in the 3rd year of Uḷaiyār Pon-māḷigaiyir-tuṅjina-dēvar. *

116 of 1896; SII. v. 980.

Tirunēṅkāḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa. Setting up of a copper image of the goddess to Rṣabha-vāhana-dēva by persons of the Rājarūja-jananātha-parīvāra.

457 of 1918.

Tiruvarumbūr (Tri.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa, omitting mun-nirp-paḻundivu-pannirāyiramum.

100-A of 1892; SII. iv. 548.

Tiruvarumbūr (Tri.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa. Land for two lamps. Mention seems to be made of a general tour of inspection by the king (dēvargal) in the course of which Kāji Ādittan audited the accounts of the temple.

109 of 1914.

Uḷaiyāṛgūḍi (S.A.) — Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa. Assembly of Viranāṟṟa-catm. met in the hall Rājarājan, and under orders of the great assembly, decided that a ⅕th share of all lands and tanks in the hamlet should belong to the Tiruvananthēvara temple.

615 of 1920.

Uyyakkokkōḷ-Tirunalai (Tri.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa. 90 sheep for lamp to Kāṛkuḷi-viḷumiyār in Rājāṟayag-catm., in Pāṇṭi-kulāsani-vāḷa-nāḷu. † The donor was queen Nakkan Arumōḷi alias Piridi-māṭōviyār.

455 of 1908.

* See MV. Ch. 54 vv. 12 ff. Mahinda IV. A.D. 954-70. Yr. may be (9) not (3).

† Before and after this year, the village was in Keralāṭaka Vaḷa-nāḷu, ARE. 1909 II. 42.

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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 28.—S. 934.—Balmuri (Mys.)—(Canarese.) King called also Kali Rājarāja. Conquests mentioned: Gangavādi, Malēnāḍ, Nōlamba, Āndhra, Kongo, Kalinga and Pāṇḍya, all becoming Cōla-nāḍ. Lamp by general Paṇcavan Mārāya, the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of Bengi and Ganga Maṇḍalas. He is called Mummudāi-Cōlana-gandhavāraṇam and is said to have seized the Tuḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, held Malēya, pushed aside the Cēra, Teluṅga and Raṭṭiga.

5 of 1895; E.C. iii. Sr. 140.

Year 28.—Jambai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. "A merchant of Jambai had a concubine whom a native of Nāvalūr (now Tirunāmanallūr) attempted to outrage at night. The latter was stabbed by the merchant. The merchant could not be prosecuted. He combined with a relative of the deceased and gave gold for a lamp to burn in the Tāṅṟonri-āḻyār temple at Jambai."

77 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II. 42.


Sevilippēri (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions Neccura-nāḍu in Rājarāja-manṭalām. The village Ten-tirumāliruṇṟōḷai was situated on the north bank of the river Tapporundam. 411 of 1906.

Taṭimalingi (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Grant of land to temple in lieu of 100 kalāṇju of gold (by kem-pōṇaguraśa-nīraik-kai) taken out of the temple treasury by the gāṇumḍas of Māyilangai of Iḷai-nāḍ. 491 of 1911; E.C. iii. Tn. 35.

Tiṟukkaḷḷattai (Tī.)—90 sheep for lamp by Vēmban Śrūḍaiyār aḷḷuś Minavan Mahādēviyār, queen of Rājarāja-dēva. 301 of 1908.

Tiṟumalavāyi (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The king ordered that the central shrine of the temple should be rebuilt, and that certain original inscriptions in the
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temple were to be preserved by being copied in a book. * 92 of 1895; SIT. v. 652.

Year 28.—Tiruttani (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Sale of land tax-free by the assembly of Jananātha-catm. to a private person for feeding pilgrims going to and returning from Śri Vēṇgaḍam. 430 of 1905.

" Tiruvēnkalūḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Lamp by the mother of queen Villavan Mahādeviyār, named Nak-kan Ulōga-cintāmaṇiyār.

117 of 1896; SIT. v. 981; also 447 of 1918 (same).

" Tiruvēnkalūḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gold for offerings to Āḍa-vallār in the temple of Tiruvēnkalūḍaiyār by Kūttan Virāniyār, a queen of the king.

449 of 1918.

Year 28, day 141.—Tirumukkūḍal (N.A.) Tirumagal-pūla. The great assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. including the young and the old met together in the Śębīyan-mahādevi-perumāṇḍapam built by the king † and agreed to pay the āṟigai, and ulavirai on certain temple lands from the interest on 100 kaḷāṇju of gold which they had received from the temple treasury. One of the signatories was the accountant of the samvatsara-vārīyam. 178 of 1915. ‡

Year 29.—Ādanēr (Tin.)—(Vattēḻuttu).—25 sheep for 2 lamps.

433 of 1909.

" Maḷūrpāṭṇa (Mys.)—Eṭadvidesā . . . and Tirumagal-pūla. A dēvadāna on the day of consecration of Jayangopadeśa-vēḷa-vīṭṭagār-āḻvār.

507 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 130.

" Maḷūrpāṭṇa (Mys.)—The mercantile community provide for offerings in the temple by voluntary contributions.

508 of 1911.

* cf. 91 of year 14 of Rēṇḍra.

† Evidently for the meetings of the assembly - ARE. 1916 II. 10.

‡ 171, same day, lays down the details of expenses to be met from this land.

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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 29.—Malārpaṇa (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Meeting of the assembly of Periya-maluvūr alias Rājendra-singa-
catm. in the temple and gift of a dēvadāna on the day of consecration. 510 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 128.

Malārpaṇa (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of a dēvadāna by the assembly of Vāṇḍūr alias Śōla-mādevi-
catm. to the temple of Jayangopa-śōla-Vināgar-
ālvār: “Pirutiṣṭhai-ṣeyda-naṉ ittēvaṟ śri-kōyiliḻe
nāṅgaḻ kūtakkuṟaivaṟak-kūṭiyirundu ittēvaṟkku
udakapūrvaṉṣeydu” etc.

513 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 132.

Mēḻpūṭi (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Construction of the Cōḷēvarah alias Ariṅgai-Iśvara temple by Rājarāja and gifts to it. 83 of 1899; SII. iii. 15.

Mēḻpūṭi (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of a dēvadāna to Ariṅgai Iśvara Mahādēva by the Nagarattār of Pulikkunṟam: “Nir-nilamum kollaiyum kōḻum
uṭṟaḍa-vuṇṟi-lamoḻiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiறuṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟiṟi-Requested Transmission
upprapṭṭadaṁ ittēvaṟkkku vēṇdu niṉandana-
galukkuḷ-lēvadāna iṟaiyīl-yāga.” etc.

84 of 1889; SII iii. 16

Mēḻpūṭi (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift by a cultivator of 96 sheep for the supply of ghī every day for lamp to: “Āṟṟūṟt-tuṇñina-dēvāṟkkku
paḷḷippaṭṭaṇiyāṟa Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājarāja-dēva eṉup-
pittarpūṭina tiru Varinįjiśuvāṟattu Mahādēvaṉkkku.” *

86 of 1889; † SII iii. 17.

Rajakkal (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 600; kūli of land by residents of Elādaḷē for offerings in three services to god Agastiyāvara. Measuring rod kaṉṟaiṟaḻtuḷ-kōḻ.

172 of 1921. ‡

Senkungum (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla.—Twenty pon by a Brahman to merchants of Jayangopa-śōlapuram

* A temple on the burial place (paḷḷippaṭṭaṇa) of Āṟṟūṟt-tuṇñina-dēvā (Van-
 kayā) ARE. 1907 II 30.

† ‘Written in beautiful florid characters’ — Hultsch.

‡ No. 172 in continuation of this mentions Śiṟṟaiṇ-padinaiṇuṇ-kōḻ.
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(in Aṇḍa-nāḍu, Perumbāṇappādi) for purchase of 180 sheep for a lamp at 9 sheep per kāśu. Liquid measure jayangunja-sollaraiyan. 149 of 1921.

Year 29.—Śevilippēri (Tīn.)—Lamp by a merchant of Karavanda-puram in Kajakkudi-nāḍu. 418 of 1906.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pōla. List of villages that had to supply accountants, mānis and treasurers in accordance with the royal order and rates of remuneration for the servants of the temple. 57 of 1893 ; SII. ii. 69.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pōla. List of villages in the Cōla country which had to supply watchmen in accordance with the king’s command. 58 of 1893 ; SII. ii. 70.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pōla. List of persons to whom cattle had been assigned for the supply of gūl at the rate of ½ measure by Aḷavallū every day for each lamp which meant 96 sheep or 48 cows or 16 buffaloes. 20 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 63.

" Tanjore.—This is a continuation of the preceding inscription. It gives the information: 1 kāśu was equal to three sheep. (paras. 18 and 21) 21 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 64.

" Tanjore.—List of metal pinnacles (stūpik-kudam) for the different shrines in the temple with names of donors and description including weight. A gift of year 3 of Rājendra is mentioned. 24 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 90.

" Tanjore.—Catalogue of jewels. 25 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 32 (ll. 1-54) ; v. 1383-1401.

" Tanjore.—An image of Durgā by a native of Nallūr alias Pañcavan-mahādēvi-catism. and gifts of jewels to it described in detail. 26 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 79.

" Tanjore.—An image of Śrikantha and jewels for it by queen Prthivi-mahādēviyār, detailed description. 27 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 80.

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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 29.—Tanjore.—An image of Kālapukkāri given by the son of a Perundanam of the king, described.

28 of 1897; SII. ii. 81.

" Tanjore.—Seven copper images of Gañapati set up by the king, described.

30 of 1897; SII. ii. 84.

" Tanjore.—Ornaments to Parivārālayattu Gañapati by king Rājarāja.

32 of 1897; SII. ii. 86.

" Tanjore.—Ornaments to Parivārālayattu Gañapati by a pānimagan of the king.

33 of 1897; SII. ii. 87.

" Tanjore.—A vessel to same by Rājarāja-dēvar pānimagan puravu-varitmaikkulattu varippottaga nāyakan (master of rent-roll in the department, tīnaiikkalam, of taxes from endowments-Hultsch) Pāṇḍyakulāśani-Valānaṭṭu Pūrkiḷiyūrūṭṭuk-kānadamangalam-ulaiyān Kāñjan Koṇḍaiyan.

34 of 1897; SII. ii. 88.

" Tanjore.—Ornaments to Gañapati.

35 of 1897; SII. ii. 89.

" Tanjore.—Silver vessels by king Rājarāja from his own treasures, and the booty of silver vessels captured in the campaigns in Malai-nāḍu against the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya.

36 of 1897 *; SII. ii. 91.

" Tanjore.—King's grants to the temple including five villages in Ceylon † (continuation of SII. ii. 4)

37 of 1897; SII. ii. 92.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Ornaments by the king out of the Cēra and Pāṇḍya treasures and his own.

38 of 1897; SII. ii. 93.

" Tiruvāḍandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Fifteen kāḷāṇju of gold by a merchant of Koṭungōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu

* It looks as if the king had more gold and precious stones at his disposal, than silver. Hultsch.

† Rājarāja's foreign conquests were not mere inroads. Note omission of details of measurement unlike in villages in the Cēja country, and removal of previous holders in some cases. Money revenue more common outside the Cēja country than in it. Hultsch.
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for feeding 30 Brahmans in the Āḻvār temple at Tiruvañdai from interest (paddy) given by the residents (ūr) of Taiyūr in Kumilī-nādu of the Āmūr-kōṭṭam to the sabbā of Tiruvañdai. The loan is called vāḍākkāṇ. 260 of 1910.

Year 29.—Tiruvaiyăru (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Silver vessels by Viṣṇu-Vardhana-Mahārāja alias Vimalāditya-dēvā, the king's son-in-law, to Lōkamahādēvi-Iśvaram-udāiyā Mahādēva. 215 of 1894; SIL. v. 514.

Tiruviśāḷur (Tj.)—Village called Vēmbaṛṛūr alias Sōla-mārtana-catm. in Maṇi-nādu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vala-nādu. Mentions the performance of tulābāra by the king, and of hiranyagarbha by his queen Dantīśakti-vitaukiyār alias Lōkamahādēviyār in the temple of Tiruviśāḷur. 42 of 1907.*

Ukkāl (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Endowment of a well called Rājarāja, and of a toṭṭi by a servant of the king. 22 of 1893; SIL. iii. 4.

Uttarāmēṛūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 90 sheep by a lady of Trivikramac-cēri for a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti Āḻvār of Śrī Veḷi Viṣṇugṛha. 178 of 1923.

Uyyakkonḍān—Tirumalai (Tri.)—Gold ornament (pāṭṭam) called Jayangoṇḍa-sōḷān. 468 of 1908.

Year 31.—Kanyākumāri (Tri.)—Begins . . . . perumb伽at Kōvi-rājakēsari. The dēvakānmi of Rājarāja-Iśvaram-udāiyār of Kumariikkajikkuḍi sell some land to the Nārpattenāyiravar for the establishment of a taṉṟūṟṟ-pandal named Jayangoṇḍa-sōḷān, † the erection of a Kāvāḷam and the plantation of useful trees in the area which may be enclosed (suṟṟumaṟṟaiṟṟu) for the purpose. T.A.S. i. 168-9.

* Inscription below a sculpture representing the king and queen in a worshipping attitude—K.V.S. Āiyar; E.I. xii. p. 121, n. 2.

† T.A.G. Rao took this to be a surname of Rājādhērāja, and assigned the record to Rājarāja II who was a Parakēsari. 252 of 1915 (Brahmāṇḍam NA), is another record with year 31 which may be of this king.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Ś. 9(2)3.—Kāṇḍāpuram. (Ch.) — (Sanskrit) Records genealogy of E. Cāṇḍikya up to Dānāñjaya; and several titles of Cōla Bhima whom Rājarāja conquered.


Ś. 929 (Prabhava). †—Kālēyūr (Mys.)—Tēyakulatilaka Malepakkala Koṭṭamanaḍala -nātha Apramēya was a pillar of victory. He defeated the Hoysala minister Nāgaṇa; slew in battle at Kalavūr the Hoysala leaders Maṇḍjaga, Kāliga (or Kāḷi-ganga), Nāgavarma and others, winning by his valour in the plain of Kalavūr a name to endure for ever.

353 of 1901 ; EC. iii. i. Tn. 44.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :

Bannūr (Mys.)—(Kanarese) Tirumagal-pūla. Grant to temple at Muttatti. Kuḷamalai-nāḍu is here clearly Koḷa-malē-nāḍūm (Coorg hill country).

EC. iii. Tn. 122.

Brahmadēsam (Tin.)—(Vatṭeluttu) Sale of land.

381 of 1916.

Kāvērippakkam (NA.) Mentions the Cōla feudatory Parāntakap -pallavaraiyan of Umbalā -nāḍu; also Janaṇātha-dēva and Mummudi-Cōla 414 of 1905.

Kōvalūr (NA.)—Sale of land by the assembly of Kōvalūr.

438 of 1922.

Kukūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land by Vayirikuttēran alias Śōlaviccēdira-Pallavaraiyan, headman of Kūrūr, for offerings to a shrine constructed by him.

304 of 1917.

Kuttālam (Tin.)—Tirumagal -pūla. States that when the temple had become dilapidated it was repaired and

* No. 238 records the presentation of ornaments to the temple, and the construction of a tank, Cōla samudram, and a temple. Mentions the Ganga family, a Pīla-rāja, Cōla Bhima Vaidumba.

† Date irregular. Kielhorn considers this of no value for historical purposes; EI. iv. 67. ARE. gives Ś. 9(28).

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the old inscription which was in vattam characters was re-engraved in Tamil on the new stone wall. Sañjaiyan is prefixed to the name of the king. Records a gift of land by residents of the village of Vinñandai alias Vikrama-Pañjya-nallur in Kotti-nadu, a sub-division of Ilamandalam, for a lamp to Tirukkuttalattu-bhat-
tarakan.

454 of 1917.

Kuttalam (Tin.) — Tirumagal-pola. Mentions the re-
engraving in Tamil of old Vattelutu records.

455 of 1917.

Malambi (Cg.)—The king heard of Manija’s heroism in
the battle of Panasoge and sent word to Pañcavan-
Mara to bind on him a pañja (inscribed with the
title) Khatriya-sikhamañi Kongaiya * and give him
Malavvi. Witnesses: Góvinda Ráccamma’s family.

633 of 1912; EC. i. 46.

Mañjapatya (Mys.)—Gift to temple by Nigarili-sóla-
purattu nagaratúr.

509 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 131.

Naráyanañavanam (C.) — Tirumagal-pola. Rájaraja-
késarivarman - Vikkiyannan Pugalvippavargañdan †
of the (Ca)jukki family and two other chiefs
of the Vañiya-nadu gave certain privileges to the
Vellúlas of that district in (Kunrav)-vattanak-kótam.

375 of 1911.

Pallikonda (NA.)—Provision by the assembly for a
festival to Bhatariyar in the village by levying the
water-tax due from certain specified residents of
the village. Near by is another record of about the
same time,—an undertaking by the assembly to main-
tain offerings to and worship of the Bhatariyar from
an endowment by Góvinda Káthaka Sarvakrauyáiyár
of Kalamur, a member of the gána.

477 of 1915.

* This occurred in 1004 A.D. and was the origin of the KongElva line.
EC. i. pp. 16-7. See also year 28-No. 5 of 1896; and Rice - Mysore and Coorg,
pp. 144 ff.

† A title of the Iládas, like whom, the Cañukki were perhaps a local family
subject to the C5jas. ARE. 1912 II, 21.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Talacangudu (Tj.)—Gift of 100 kāśu to be raised in the manner specified, by the assembly of the place for feeding, in the name of Rājarāja, ten Brahmans in the temple Tiruvceitrakūṭattā-āḻvār and for havirbali to the deity. 198 of 1925.

Tanjore.—Mentions one of the pańcudhamārtis of copper placed in the temple of Rājarājēsvaram Udaiyār by the king till his 29th year. 275 of 1911.

Tennēri (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Regulation of dues on areca gardens. 200 of 1901; SII. vii. 412.

Tiruvceiturugai (Tj.)—In praise of a Cōja feudatory. Mentions victories in Puna-nāḍu and Malai-nāḍu, defeat of Valudi, destruction of Vīḷiṉam and of Kaṅkaḷaṅmānagar, as well as defeat of Telunga Bhma. 204 of 1931. *

Tirukkalattalṭai (Tj.)—Rajakēsari. Silver pot to the temple of Śrī-kuḷittīṭai-mahādēva at Vēmbarṭur by Śebiyan-mahādēvi-pirāṭṭiyār who gave birth to Uttama Cōja-dēva. 297 of 1908.

Tirumaiyam (Pd.)—Mentions Perumbiḻuṉu Perundēvi, the mother of Vīḷiṉiḻuṉu-Vilappūrādi-Araiśān alias Śāṭtan Māṇan. 403 of 1906.

Tiruvallam (N. L.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. 36 sheep by Śōla-mahādēviyār, daughter of Tiṭṭaipirān and queen of Rājarāja-dēva, for a lamp in the Brahmiśvara shrine in the temple of Tiruttikkālī-āḻvār; also gold for a chauvi and offerings. 223 of 1921.

Tiruvāṉāṭṭur (S. A.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. A certain Guṇaśīkharan of Vēsāḷiṉaṉṉi made a jewelled gold vessel for the sacred bath of the deity and a pair of bracelets set with precious stones. 23 of 1922.

* Said to be in characters of the 12th century and victories ascribed to the time of Kuḷottunga I and Vikrama Cōja at ARE, 1931 ii 30.

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PARAKESARI RÄJENDRA I

(Acc. 27th March.—7th July A.D. 1012)

Ś. 943 — *Nandiguṇḍa (Mys.) — Tiru manni vaḷara. Malla-
gāvunḍa gave land to Mallaśvara.
2 of 1895 ; EC. iii. Nj. 134.

Ś. 945. — Jödi-Dalasigere (Mys.) — (Kanarese) Gold to temple.
57 gadyāṇa in gold, 359 golden grains of rice, and
42 poruḷ; for Brahmanas and ascetics 37 poruḷ.
171 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Ht. 10.

Ś. 9(48) †—Mavasanahalli (Mys.)—(Kanarese) Pūrva-dēsamum
Gangaiyum koṇḍa. Construction of a sluice.
179 of 1911 ; EC. x. Cb. 13.

Ś. 956. — Kurubhalley (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Death of Cangālva
Bīṇjavuninira-deva, son of Baniki Bunkara- Gavada,
in fight with Cangālva Nāyaka. Mentions former's
wife Pāḍikabbe of the Kampligā-kula.
495 of 1911 ; EC. iv. Yd. 37.

Ś. 963.—Siddhanahalli (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Death of a heroine
in a cattle-lift after the recovery of the lost cattle.
173 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Ht. 11.

Year 2.—Honganūr (Mys.)—Grant of tax-free land, after pur-
chase, for offerings by the assembly of Punganūr alias
Trailokya-mahādēvi-catūm.
199 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Cp. 42-A.

" Kuttālam (Tin.)—Rājendraśimha. Lamp by a certain
Veḷḷān-dēvan Paṭṭālagan, a native of Pāgūr.
479 of 1917.

Year 3.—Karuttattāṅguśi (Tj.)—Sale of land tax-free to the
temple by the sabhā of Pērālattūr for 75 kāśu.
44 of 1897 ; SII. v. 1407.

* Wednesday March 1st, A.D. 1021.—Earliest correct date in current Śaka
year. Kielhorn SJ. iv. 69.
† 949—EC.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—Karuttaṭṭānguḍi (Tj.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple for 20 kāśu by an individual; attested by witnesses. 45 of 1897; SII. v. 1408.

" Kūṭr (8A.)—100 sheep by Rāman Mummiḍisāla for the merit of his mother Rāṣṭēkharan Umai-nangaiyār, who was the daughter of Munāiyadiyaraiyar and the dēvī of Paṭṭalagan Rāman alias Arumojī Śeṣa-milāguḍaiyār. 13 of 1905.

* Malāṛpatnu (Mys.)—Gift of a tax-free devadāna by the sabhā of Traḷḷokya-mahādēvi-catm. alias Punganur with right of irrigation from a tank in the neighbourhood: "Maṇulār ेriyiningum nir-pāccik-kolla candiṅāttavu nil-pāya uḍakapūrvenjejdu koṭṭum Maṇulār ेṛkkū sāmanda Kottayan Ullaman āna Śeṅāriṅādiri gāmunṭanum īṭa - gāmunṭanum uḷiṭṭha ūṭum."
The fine for obstructing the irrigation was fifty kāḷaṇṭu. 506 of 1911; EC. ix. Op. 127.

Malāṛpatnu (Mys.)—Agreement between the dēvakaṃmis of a temple and the sabhā of Vaṇḍār alias Sōja-mādēvi-catm., regarding a perpetual loan in paddy (nellumudal) of 320 kalam and the interest due on it every year (100 kalam) and the methods of enforcing its payment. 512 of 1911; EC. ix. Op. 129.

Nārttamalai (Pd.)—Tiru manni ṭaḷaṭra. Fragment. 358 of 1904.

Nattam (Ch.)—Mentions Paramēvara-mangalam alias Nigarili-śoḷa-catm., the meeting of the samrutsara-vāriyam who had met in the Rājendraśōlana-catuśālai; and Kaṇajarai Aïyan Sūryan ṣme was the settlement officer (vagai ṭeyginga) of the district (koṭṭum) 262 of 1912.

Paṇḍāravaḍai (Tj.)—Sale for 70 kāśu of 9 mā tax-free by the big assembly of Rājakēsari-catm., to Āḷvār Śrī Pirantakan Śrī Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār, for the maintenance of a free dispensary founded by her, * Year said to be lost in ARE, 1912.
THE COLAS

Savarpan Araiyan Madhurantakan being the name of the physician. * 248 of 1923.

Year 3.—śermādevī (Tin.)—(Vattelutu). The vaikhānasas of Nigarilī-sōla-vinărāgar in the Nigarilī-sōla-catm., undertake to burn half a lamp for kāśu deposited with them. "Krīyādālayit actu śrī-kūgil vāriyam śey-vāre muṭṭina neyyiṟaṭṭi attuviccu erivippāragavu... Ipparīsa oṭti ikkāśu kouḍa vaikhānasarūmil munninṟūmē erippūrāntum." 179 of 1895; EJ. v. p. 47.

śermādevī (Tin.)—Assignment of a street with houses by Mahāsabha of Nigarilī-sōla-catm., for residence of Tiraiyaiṟat-tavaiṟāyyavar. 651 of 1916.

śivankōral (Ch.)—The assembly (sabhā) of the village got money from a private person and declared some lands below the tank Brāhmaḍhirāyap-puntūri rent-free in order to provide for offerings and lamp to the local temple of Mahādeva. 289 of 1912.

tanjore.—Vessels in copper, zinc (tavā), and bell-metal (venkalam) to ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār in the temple by Uḷaiyār Śrī Kājarāṭḷēvaram Uḷaiyārkkū Śrī-karyāṉjey-ginṟa Poḷgaiṉāṭḷu Kīḷavān Ādittan Śūryan aliṟs Tennavan Mūvēndra Veḷān. 31 of 1897; VII. ii. 85.

tirukkāravāsāl (Tj.)—Tiru mānu valara, † to Maḻṇaikkaṇaikkam. Land by purchase for lamp to Tirukkāṟūyil-uḷaiyār. 451 of 1908.

tirunukkōral (NA.)—Three kāḷāṇju of gold by niṟaiṅkal, yielding interest of 9 maṇḍāṭi per year for offerings at Mūśi-makham. Price of paddy taken to be 40 kūji per kāḷāṇju as an average ‡ (ērītuṉ-jurungitum). 176 of 1915.

* ARE. 1925 II. 14, cf. 249 of year 7.
† Usually no introduction in records earlier than year 5—ARE. 1909 II. 42.
‡ Con. 245 of about 20 years later. Interest and prices tripled, ARE. 1916 II. 12
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—Tirumukkudal (NA.)—Twenty-five pēli of land by Rājarāja-dēva, seated on Rājārāya, given at the instance of Dāmodarabhaṭṭan of Kaḷalangudi, * who was made mahāyastha (naduvirukkam) in the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumukkudal. 196 of 1917.

"Tiruvaṭutlagai (Tj.)—Gift, by a native of Tiruvilimilalai, a brahmādēya, of paddy from interest on which the Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple agreed to get daily three pots of water for the sacred bath from the Kāvēri during the three services. 116 of 1925. †

"Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—164 gold flowers to the Uttarakailasa shrine (modern name) by Dantiśakti alias Lōka-mahādēvi, queen of Rājarāja. 220 of 1894; SII. v. 519.

"Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Seven bronze lamp-stands to Ulōka-Mahādēvi-Iśvaram-udaiya Mahādēva at Tiruvaiyāru by Dantiśakti Viṭumkiyar, queen of Rājarāja. 152 of 1918. ‡

"Tiruvallanjuži (Tj.)—Two gold flowers to Kiṭtrapālādēva (of the stone temple built by Dantiśakti alias Lōka-mādēvi) out of the gold used for her hraṇyagarbha in the temple of Tiruvīšalur in the 29th year of Rājarāja. 633-C. of 1902; SII. viii. 237.

"Tiruvallam (NA.)—People of Vānapuram sold tax-free 1000 kuṭi of land to Vaidumban Śankara-dēva Sōmanātha to whose name are prefixed the same epithets as those of Tiruvaiyānu Śankara-dēva (Rājarāja I Yr. 16—SII. iii. 51). Sōmanātha assigned the land to the Mahādēva temple of Tiruvaiyāna-Iśvara which the members of his family had caused to be built on the southern side of Tiruvallam-Udaiyār; he also gave 96 sheep for a lamp. 82 of 1889; SII. iii. 53.

* This person appears also in the Larger Leyden Grant, ARE. 1918 II. 26.
† 117 n.d. is a list of images and lamp-stands (with details) in the temple of Tiruvaṭutlagai-udaiyār in Śittanbur alias Abhayārāya-catm. (cf. 104. n.d.)
‡ cf. 154 of year 21.
THE COLAS

Year 3.—Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Money, 46 kāśu, to temple for offerings and festivals and feeding by a cavalier of the king’s troops (taṭi-mārūn-kaṭkaiivaḷaṟ), a native of Aṭṭupalliniyam. 459 of 1918.

“Tiruvengumbūr (Tri.)—Eight kāśu to the Śrī Kōyilulaiyār for lamp to Tiruvengumbūr-ulaiyamahādēva by one of the ālumgaṇattar of Śrikanṭha-caṭam. 100 of 1914.

“Tiruvīḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—45 sheep for a lamp at night at the gate called Ėkanāyaka-tiruvīḷal.

200 of 1907.

“Tiruvīḷalūr (Tj.)—Gold to provide śidāri for the incense. 15 of 1907.

“Tiruvīḷalūr (Tj.)—Ornaments by the queen of the Pāṇḍya Śri-vāḷuvaṟ. 46 of 1907.

“Tiruvīḷalūr (Tj.)—Silver kulaśa by a queen. 340 of 1907.

“Tiruvīḷalūr (Tj.)—Mentions the building of the Tiruvurkalayam and the gōpuram to Tiruvīḷalūr Mahādēva temple at Vēmbargūr alias Śri Śōlamāṭ-tāṇḍaṟ-caṭam. 341 of 1907.

“Tiruvīḷalūr (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Nakkaṇ Śembiyan-mādēviyār, queen of Rājēndra. 348 of 1907.

“Uṭṭaiyāṟguḍi (SA.)—Gift, by Kamban Madhurāntakaṇ, a member of the elephant corps (perundarattu ānaiyāṟ); lamp-stand and gold for lamp and offerings on specified days. 598 of 1920.

“Uttarāmēṟur (Ch.)—Land by the assembly for three daily offerings to Rāghava-dēva in the temple of Vēḷḷaimūrti-āḷvār, and for flower-garden, with the stipulation that food offered at the two services should be given away to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas reciting the Tiruppadiyam hymns. 181 of 1923.

* cf. 53 of 1907 of Vikramaseṣṭha, a surname of Rājēndra. ARE, 1908 II. 55.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—Uṭṭatūr (Tri.)—Death (?) of a certain Śrutmān Nakkan Candiran alias Rājamalla-muttaraiyan of the elephant-corps, when, in a fight with Satyārāya*, he was ordered by the king to pierce the (enemy’s) elephant. A gift was made on his behalf to the temple of Mahādeva at Uṭṭatūr. 515 of 1912.

" Uyyakkondūn-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Survey of temple lands and change of tenants under orders of the king residing in his palace at Palaiyāru. 463 of 1908.

" Uyyakkondūn-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Records the survey mentioned in the last inscription. 473 of 1908.

Year 3, day (3)50.—Brahmādēsam (NA.)—Gold for offerings by Indalādēyi, wife of Vallaṇaras Vandyādēvar. Subbā of Parākraracēla-cant. take charge of the five kaḻanju given. Measure: Śrī Pālandaiyam-marakkāl. 191 of 1915.

Year 4.—Aḷagāḍripūttūr (Tj.)—Land for offerings at the shrine of Sūrya-deva constructed in the temple by a native of Kallūr in Mēl-vēmba-nāḷu in Pāṇḍi-nāḷu alias Rāja-rāja-maṇḍalam. Mentions Kurngūr Madam where the assembly of Parādiyakudi (a hamlet of Aḷagāḍripūttūr) met to make a gift to the temple. The māṭha was to the north of the village tank. 289 of 1908; ARK. 1909 II. 43.

" Allūr (Tri.)—Provision for feeding five Brahmans on new-moon days. 355 of 1903.

" Dādāpuram (SA.)—Sheep for ten lamps to temple of Kundavaipi-vinnagar by Kundavaip-pirāṭiyār. 12 of 1919.


* Hojja inscription of A.D. 1067-8 in Fleet DKD. p. 433. ARK. 1913 II. 22.

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THE COLAS

Year 4.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Sale of land by merchants (mā-nagaram) of Kāncipuram for offerings and worship to god Gaṇapatiyār Kāncipura Aḷagar on the northern side of the temple called Aṇjāṇjaṇḍi-ambalam-Rājendra-gōḷa. 76 of 1921.

Kāvantandalam (Ch.)—Land by sabbā as ḍraiḍyili ḍeva-dāna to temple of Rājendra-cōḷēvāra built by a revenue officer (nāṭu vagai-seyginā) Piccan. 210 of 1901; SII. vii. 423.

Kilūr (SA.)—Gift by Pirāntakan-yādava-bhīman alias Uttama-cōḷa-milāduḷaiyār of the Bhārgava-gōtra at the request of Araiyan Malaiyarāddittan alias Cēlinādu-vēḷān of Āvīyūr. The sabbā of Tirukkōvālūr sold land for the purpose. 20 of 1905.

Kuttālam (Tj.)—Sale of 8 mā of land tax-free to temple by the assembly of Villavanmādēvi-catm., on payment of 43 kāṣu. 104 of 1926.

Maykālam (SA.)—Taxes on a salt-paan for two lamps to Tiruppūmicecuram-udaiyār by the ār. 24 of 1919.*

Minnūr (Ch.)—Land for festivals etc. in the temple of Śōjakulasundara - viṇṇagār-āḷvār at Minūr by the ārār. Mentions Kallāḷiāvaram-udaiyār. 133 of 1916.

Śermādēvi (Tiu.)—(Vatteuttu). Deposit by a Brahman lady of six kāṣu in the hands of the Vaikhānasas for half a lamp before Nigarilisōla-viṇṇagār-āḷvār. 708 of 1916.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp by one of the Janaṇāthat-teriṇja-valangai - vēḷaikkārar of Pangala-nāḍu. 393 of 1921.

Tiruvāduturōi (Tj.)—Sale of land and house sites for one hundred and twenty kāṣu, current and capable of passing for full value, by the assembly of

* cf. 23 of 1919 (Rūjara I, Yr. 19.)

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Palaiya-Vänavan-mädévi-catm. (in Innambur-nádu of Räjendr-simha-vala-nádu) to Ályär Śri-Pirántakan-Śri-Kundavai-pirättiyär who conferred it on Savarñan Araiyan Candrasékharan alias Uttama-Cóla-acalan and his descendants as the physicians of the village. The transaction was engraved on the temple walls by order of the king. Another record (113) in continuation is the undertaking by the assembly to pay the taxes on this land and on the houses in return for 80 káśu got from the donor. 112, 113 of 1925.

Year 4.—Tiruvaiyäru (Tj.)—Šakkaḍi Samudaiyan alias Śem- biyau-mädevip-perundatān appointed to the Tatṭarakkäṇi of the Uōka-mahädevi-Isvaram by order of Dëviyär Dantiśakti. 216 of 1894; SII. v. 515.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Araiśurudaiyān Irāyiravan Pallavaraiyan alias Uttamasōla-Pallavaraiyan, of the Perundaram of the king, had built a shrine Räjäräjësvara; he bought 2000 kuli of land tax-free for 50 anrādu-naráhāśu from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam for two lamps to the shrine. 299 of 1897; SII. iii. 54.

Tiruvenkāthu (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a servant (adigāricci) of the queen. 463 of 1918.

Tiruvenkāthu (Tj.)—Money, 333 kāśu, yielding interest 41½ kāśu per annum, for incense etc., by queen Nakkan Karukkamandäl alias Pañcavan-mädēviyär. 464 of 1918.

Tiruvikalär (Tj.)—Gift of land as śalyakriyābhōga by Ályär Śri Pirántakan Kundavai-pirättiyär while she was in the palace (köyil) at Palaiyāru. 350 of 1907; also 351.

Uḍâiyārgudi (SA.)—Umbrella with 19,908 pearls with a gold ornamental handle (?) of 25½ kalaṇju by the Kaikkōjaś of Viranārikaṇa-catm., a brahmadēya in Räjendrasimha-vala-nádu. 613 of 1920.

* cf. 248 of 1923 of Year 3.

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THE COLAS

Year 4.—Ukkal (NA.)—Sale of land, 3000 kuţi, by Mahāsabhā as bōgām for two boats (ōdam) given to the tank of the place by a servant of the king. Also sale of five picottahs (ēltam) besides one already bought for the ōdam. 27 of 1893 ; SII. iii. 10.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land, 720 kuţi, by sabhā of Uttaramērūr alias Rājēndrasālā-catm., set apart as tax-free Bhaviṣyak-kīṭaippuram, to enable a person to reside permanently (nirāntaram) in the village and teach, (ōduvippārāga). 29 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 312.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—480 kuţi of land set apart as Tayit-tiriyak-kīṭaippuram by the Mahāsabhā. 33 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 316.

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Maṇṭaik-kaṭakākam. Land by residents of Naṅkurppai for reciting the Tiruppadiyam. 44 of 1918.

Year 4, day 84.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Hereditary appointment of a Śivabrahmaṇa to the place of arcaka in the Subrahmaṇya temple. He was to perform the usual services (munbu-sēyyak-kaṭava-nibandam) with the temple lands. 53 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 336.

Year 4, day 114.—Tiruvaḷlam (NA.)—While Naṅuvirukkum Puvatta Bhaṭṭa Sōmayājiyār of Koṭṭaiyūr was seated in the hall Arumuḷi-dēvan on the north side of the temple of Śoḷandrasimha-Ivaram-uḍaiyār at Malpāḍi alias Rājāsrayapuram and audited the temple accounts, the scale of expenses of the Tikkālivaḷlam-uḍaiyā-mahā-dēva temple was fixed in conformity with the inscription engraved on stone by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāccan in the 7th year of Rājarāja* and with other relevant factors. 227 of 1921.

Year 4, day 352.—Tirumukkūdal (NA.)—120 kādi of paddy for offerings on new moon days. Mentions Rājarāja-vādyamahārājan an earlier donor and the officer Śembangudaiyār whose order the sabhā carries out in appropriating the paddy in a detailed manner for expenses. 175 of 1915.

* cf. 10 of 1890 of Year 7 Rājarāja I.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 5.—Ammanguḍi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (Frag). Land tax-free to Rājarājēśvaram - uḍaiya - mahādēva. Also provision for lamp. 236 of 1927.

Embāqi (NA.)—Tiru manni valara up to sembarirutta-gumulṭiyum. Order issued by the king in year 5 from his palace at Paḷaiyāṟu regarding the dues from the village Perumaḍi. The village had not paid up even by year 25, day 32. 585 of 1906.


Karuttaṭṭaṅguḍi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara up to Maṇṇaik - kaṭakkam. Gold diadem made out of gold accumulated till year 4 in various ways including piṭiliguivāri and gifts by different donors. The diadem was called Rājendrasanṭan-paṭṭam. 50 of 1897; SII. v. 1413.

Kīḻappaluvūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to Maṇṇaik-kaṭakkam. Lamp by Arinji-māḍēvaḷiga, * a pen-gāṭṭi of Nambirāṭṭiyūr Paṇḍi-māḍēviyūr, on behalf of her daughter Arumoḷi-dēvan Bhōgi Bhaṭṭan Gaṇḍāraḍitt. 235 of 1926.

Kōṇerirājapuram (Tj.)—Damaged. Mentions year 3 and Āḻvār Ṭ Parantakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār and her palace at Paḷaiyāṟu. 639 of 1909.

Olagapuram (SA.)—Tiru manni valara to Maṇṇaik-kaṭakkam. Records previous gifts of land to the temple not recorded before and now caused to be engraved by the taṇḍuvāṇ for the year. Mentions Kalikoṇḍap-pērēri and Gaṇḍaraḍittap-pērēri. 140 of 1919.

* A striking instance of misleading names having no reference to the status of the persons bearing them.

† Probably died between years 3 and 5 of Rājendra. ARE. 1910 II 20. Centre 249 of 1923 year 7 and ARE. 1924 II 14 where this mistake is corrected.
THE COLAS

Year 5.—Śinnamanūr (Md.)—Tiru manni valara up to Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam. Sale of land for a lamp to Durgāpara-
maṇḍavīyār by the shrāvās of three villages, Arikēsarin-
nālūr, Arpagaśekharā-maṇḍalam and Mandragaurav-
maṇḍalam met in the śrīvāsalgopuram of Durgā-
paramaṇḍavīyār. 439 of 1907.

Tiruppallālturāi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara. Last con-
quest mentioned is Īla-maṇḍalam. * Land.
257 of 1903; also 275; † SII. viii. 650, 674.

Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara to Īla-maṇḍa-
lam. Lands of the temple exempted from taxes by
the assembly of Bhūlōkāmaṇīkka-catm., and provision
made for worship to Śrī-kāmēvaram-ulaiyār and
recitation of the Vēdas. Endowment was 50 kāśu
yielding 75 kulam interest per annum. 52 of 1928.

Tiruvallām (NA.)—Tiru manni valara to Īla-maṇḍa-
lam. Sale of land by Vānapurattu-ūr, tax-free, with
well, śrī-nirkkal and ēṭta-nirkkal and irrigation right.
Notable phrases: engalur maṇjikkamāy vigga nilam;
śīr vilaiyum maṟṟu silliṟai sōṟu-māḻtu velți amaṇji-
yum maṟṟumonṟum kāḷapperādōmāṇīm.
4 of 1890; SII. iv. 327.

Tiruveṟumbār (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to Maṇṇaik-
kaḍakkam. Land for offerings to Tirumalai-āḻvār of
Tiruveṟumbiyūr by ūr. Grant made in Rājarāja's

Tiruvīsaliur (Tj.)—Provision for feeding Brahmans.
Mentions Urttiran Arumōḷi alias Piruti-mahādēviyār,
queen of Rājarāja-dēva. ‡ 349 of 1907.

Tribhuwanī (Pondicherry)—Tiru manni valara up to
Īla-maṇḍalam. * This temple of Naḻuvil-śīrā-nārāyana-
vinṇagarat Tribhuwanamāđēvi-catm., a brahmadēya
in Jayangoḷa-śōja-maṇḍalam, shall be under the

* Ceylon must have been conquered before 1015-6 A.D. ARE. 1908 II 55.
† 275 is dated Tuesday 26th March, A.D. 1017-EI. viii 262 (Kielhorn.)
‡ cf. 27 of 1897.

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protection of the regiments of Śri-Vādanūr Tillaiyālip-perumbadai and ...... Pallāyiravan of our lord Rājarāja-dēvar."

Year 5.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vālara up to Maṇṇaik-kaṭṭukkam. Land for various purposes to Śri Kṛṣṇa in the temple of Kongarayir called Rājendra-sōḷa-vīṅgaṅgar by the sabhā of Uttaramērūr alias Rājendra-sōḷa-catam. The endowment was in charge of the Śri-Kṛṣṇa-gaṇap-perumakkal. 174 of 1923.

Vyddhācalam (SA)—Tiru manni vālara up to Ḫa-maṇḍalam. Gold, 10 kaḷaṇju, for lamp to Neṅguṟṟai-tirumudukuram - uṇḍaiyār by Śembiyān - dēvaṅgaḷār, daughter of Paḷuveltṭaraiyar and wife of Muṅṅai Vallavaraiyar. 39 of 1918.


Year 5, day 281.—Paṇṭāvarai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vālara up to Ḫa-maṇḍalam. An undertaking by two shepherds to supply ghī, ¼ measure daily, for lamp to the central shrine of Tirucelūr-dēva for 90 sheep received by them from Āḷṉār Śrī Parāntakan Śrī Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār ‡ 256 of 1923.

Year 6.—Kaṇṭhipīṭ (Tj.)—Tiru manni vālara up to Palpalāndi-vum. A long record giving interesting details of the expenditure in the temple of Kaṇṭhipīṭ situated in Āḷṉārattāḷi. 22 of 1895; SII. v. 578.


† In other Brahmadēsam records, the wife is called Indaḷa-dēviyar. The Tanjore records mention another wife - Parāntakan Kundavai. The chieftain was perhaps a native of Kongu (157 of 1915) - A.R.E. 1916 II 13.

‡ See n. to 630 of 1909 Year 5.
THE COŁAS

Year 6.—Kиіппалууіі (Tri.)—Tiru mannі vaіаra up to Palpa-landіvum. Undertaking by the priests of the temple of Tiruvălanduраі-ălvă to measure out a stipulated quantity of ghi daily for 15 kăsu received by them from the temple treasury. 227 of 1926.

Mëlpădі (C.)—Tiru mannі vaіаra up to Palpa-landіvum 72 kaalăju gold at the instance of Irăyiravan Pallavan aliaс Uțtamașăla Pallavaraiyan, lord of Arașiūr, for 720 sheep, distributed among shepherds who had to supply two measures of ghi daily by the Răjakăsări measure. Adhikărin Udayamăttăndă Mûvēndavēlăn executed the order. 100 of 1921.

Nattam (Ch.)—Tiru mannі vaіаra. Land for offerings. Mentions assembly of Nigarili-sōla-catm., which included 12 members of the samvatsară-văriyam doing śri-kăryam. Details of prices, wages and yiel'd of land. 263 of 1912.

Paṇḍăravădăi (Tj)—Tiru mannі vaіаra to Palpa-landіvum. Two lamp-stands and 90 sheep for lamp to Tirucceľūr-mahădēva at Răjakăsări-catm.,* in Nallūrnădu by Āļvar Śri-Parăntakan Śrī-Kundavaip-pirăṭṭiyăr. 239 of 1923.

Śeṁadēvi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Tiru mannі vaіаra up to Ila-maṇḍalamuludum. Gift of hereditary karănmai over a dēvadăna tank to the merchant Mannaṅk-kădăn alias Tirunilakaṇḍă-śeṭti of Nagaram Răjēndras-ōlapurum, by the assembly of Nigarili-sōla-catm., a brahmadēya in Mulśi-nădu in Răjarăja-maṇḍalam, the merchant being required to pay two kăsu to Kăllăsa-muḍaiyăr as uḷava-kăsu on each vēli of land. 614 of 1916.

Suldenahălțăi (Mys.)—The năttăr of Kaivāra-nădu in Gangapallapuram (of Nulumbapădī aliaс Nigarili-sōla- padī) make an arrangement for the sacrifice by the

* Perhaps after Aditya I. Răjagiri, a small place a mile from Köyil Tēva- ráyanpătal, has ruins of temples, now forming private premises - ARE. 1924 II 8.

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Kurattyiar of the naḍu of a goat (aḍu) on each Tuesday to Bhaṭṭāraki Munḍēsvari of Jayangonḍa-sōḷa-catm. 484 of 1911; E. x. Kl. 26.

Year 6.—Tirunāgēsvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Palpaṇḍidivum. A jewel to temple made from the accumulated income (antarāyattil kūḍina mudal) from the fief (kāṉi) of Aḷigal-āccan, one of the Iḷaiya-kuṇijira-mallar in the army of Rājendra-Cōla-dēvā commanded by Adikārīgal Śōḷa-Mūvēndavēḻār.

211 of 1911.


" Tiruvēṭṭutṭirai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaṇḍidivum. Sale of naṉjai and puṉjai, 2 vēḷi, 8 mā each of common land, tax-free (cost 10 kāṉu, ippai-kāval 190), to the temple by the assembly of Abhayārāya-catm. alias Śāṭtanur met at the Ulagalandan to the north of the temple. Mentions the māḷiṅaṅk-kōḷ by which 100 kuḷi was a mā. Also land given to the temple in year 5 by the ūr of Kāṉanur in Pēṟivūr-naḍu for a lamp.

102 of 1925.

" Tiruvēṭṭutṭirai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Palpaṇḍidivum. Sale of one vēḷi of land to the temple for forty kāṉu by the assembly of Pēṟivūr, a brahmadēva in Pēṟivūr-naḍu, with an undertaking to pay all its taxes for a further sum of 90 kāṉu received by them.

109 of 1925.

" Tiruvēḷangāṭu (NA.)—Copper-plates. SII. iii. 205.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaṇḍidivum. Sale of waste land by residents of Vāṇapuram.

220 of 1921.

" Tiruvilakkūṭi (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Tolperun-gāval Palperundivum. Detailed description of tax-free lands endowed for flower-gardens and śrībali to

* After a surname of Rājendra - ARE. 1909 II. 43.
THE COLAS

Tiruverudupadi-mahadeva in Ka¿alangu¿i also known as Vi¿elvi¿ugu-catm., in the (2)0, 24, and 27th years of R¿jar¿ja by the residents of Ka¿alangu¿i, I¿aiy¿ru and P¿n¿r. Also gift by his queen Arumo¿-d¿viy¿r made in year 2 of R¿j¿n¿dra of 50 cows of which only 26 survived in year 5.

Year 6.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tiru mann¿ va¿ara up to Pa¿lpa¿ndivum. The great men of the village of Tribhvana-m¿d¿vi-catm., made an order that every 6 m¿ of land irrigated by the tank Madhur¿ntakap¿r¿r must pay one kalam of paddy as ñri¿-ã¿y¿m and that the tank-committee must collect this and maintain the tank in good repair.

Uttaram¿r¿r (Ch.)—Tiru mann¿ va¿ara up to Pa¿lpa¿ndivum. Apportionment by the village assembly of shares in arcan¿r¿tti among the four Vaikh¿nasas of Kongaraiya Ñri-k¿y¿l in lieu of those held by them at Ara¿ni¿mangalam, an arcan¿bh¿ga.

Velacc¿ri (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by a Brahman lady, the wife of one of the a¿unga¿rt¿¿ of the village.

Velacc¿ri (Ch.)—Tiru mann¿ va¿ara to Pa¿lpa¿ndivum. Sale of lands held by non-brahmans to the temple with the king’s permission.

Year 6, day 185.—Tiruppanangili (Tri.)—Tiru mann¿ va¿ara up to Pa¿lpa¿ndivam. Under the supervision of the m¿lapura¿lai¿r, the prumakkal of the M¿laic-c¿ri-m¿ni¿ymbalam administer an endowment of 150 k¿su for Ñi¿-h¿laip-parupp¿m-p¿n¿y¿m. The schedule of expenses gives the information that 2 n¿¿ parupp¿ (dholl) = k¿¿¿¿ i¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿ paddy; one p¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿¿ of ghi = 2 n¿¿ paddy; sugar one palam = two n¿¿ of paddy; and that one popikka¿r¿y¿m¿d¿¿¿ = four n¿¿ of paddy.

91 of 1892; SII, iv. 538.


† Though this number is not quoted, this record seems to be treated at ARE. 1912 II 23 as a sale by public auction for default in payment of taxes.

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Year 7.—Elahurige (Mys.)—Irāsāntira-sōla-dēvar. Below a female figure: "represents wife of Mūkkaiyan" who performed sati. Mūkkaiyan was the gānuma of Kuḷattūr

MAR. 1917, p. 42.

Kūnērīrājapuram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Ceylon conquest (variation at end). Some drummers of the temple undertook to beat drums, and blow horns and conches during the early morning service in consideration of the money they received from a private person.

642 of 1909.

Kuḷūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Sale of land by the assembly of Tirupperundurai, a brahmadēya in Tirunārāiyūr-nāḍu. Mentions a revenue survey.

296 of 1917.

Paṇḍhāḍavūḍai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to tiruttā-gumudīyum. Sale of house-site (1½ grounds) to Āḷvār Śri Kundavaip-pirāṭtiyār by a resident of Kalākkara-cēri of the village, to make up the deficit in the vaidyabhūga provided by her for the hospital called Sundara-sōla-viṇāgar-ätula-sālai at Taṇjāvūr. The vaidyabhūga given by her in year 3 (No. 248) and the present gift were to be enjoyed by Savarṇan Araiyān Madhurāntakan and his descendants who were natives of Marugal. Both these transactions were engraved by the big assembly by order of the princess communicated to them from the palace at Paḷaiyāru. *

249 of 1923.

Rāmanāṭhan Kōgil (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Land for worship and offerings to god in the Paḷavam-Mahādevīvarum built as a paṭṭipuḷai † at Paḷaiyāru atlast Muṇḍikopla-sōlapuram in Tirunārāiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Kṣatriya - sikhāmaṇi - vaḷa - nāḍu. Mentions Tiruvādirai as natal star of Rājendrā and Rēvati as that of his queen; also Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita who supervised the affairs of the temple.

271 of 1927.

* This palace was the home of Rājendrā, cf. 463 of 1908 (year 3)
† This word is sought to be erased in the record - AKE. 1927 II 13.
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Year 7.—Śāṅgēndi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara * up to tiruttagu-
muḍiyum. Sale of land to Kālāsamudaiya-mahādeva
by the assembly of Śāṅgēndi-mangalam for money
given by a lady for a lamp. Another gift of land by
the same assembly for offerings. 325 of 1928.

Śēkunyam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagu-
muḍiyum. Land, tax-free, to Jayangoḷa-sōḷāvara, by
merchants assembled in the hall (built by) the supervi-
sor of Vikkūr alias Jayangoḷa-sōḷapuram. Details
of temple expenditure given. 152 of 1921.

Tanjore.—Tiru manni vaḷara to Śāndimat-tivu (Kērala).
Money to image of Śrī-Kaṇṭha deposited with the
karaṇattār by the Perundanattuk-kārmigal of Rājendra
Cōla and lent out to villages on interest at the rate of 3
kūrṇi paddy per kāsī per annum.
29 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 82.

Tiruvaḍi (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpalan-
divum. 90 sheep for lamp by a captain (nāyakau)
of the Rājakuharateriūja-villigal of Eranallūrk-kalagam-
āna-udaiyar-paḷai.
394 of 1921.

Uyakkoḷan-Tīrumulai (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to
Palpalandivum. 90 sheep for lamp by Sōlai-irūja-
singam, for merit of her mother Devan Pērramai, the
pēṇāṭṭi of Rājendra-sōḷa Irakkuvēḷar of Koḻumkūḻur.
97 of 1892 ; SII. iv. 544.

Year 7, day 186. — Tiruvallam (NA.) — Tiru manni vaḷara
to (tiruttagu)muḍiyum. Deposit of gold in temple
treasury for the daily supply of tumbai flower and an
extra quantity of it on Sankṛanti days to Tikkāli-
vallam-udaiyur. Grain measure paṇcavarakkāl.
226 of 1921.†

Year 7, day 229.—Tīrumukkūḍal (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to
tiruttagumuḍiyum. Detailed regulation by the sabhā
of Madhurāntaka-catam., a taniyūr, of the cultivation
of a Nandavana belonging to Mahā-vigṣṭu of

*In later characters. 
† 228 of year 14, day 187, is similar.

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Tirumukkūḷal by the Vaikhvānasas of the temple, and provision for the expenses of cultivation. Wages, manure, irrigation, and lease and cultivation rights dealt with. 172 of 1915; ARE. 1916 II. 11.

Year 8.—Agaram (Ch.)—The king constructed the village of Vānmanangai and settled in it 4000 Brahmans.

232 of 1931.*

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagumudiyum. Lamp to temple of Tiru-śūlait-turai-aiyār of Iḷangōkkuḷi, a hamlet of Rājarāja-caṭm., by a native of the Cōla country. 74 of 1907.

Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagumudiyum. Land made tax-free by assembly met in the Kailāsana-uḍaiyār temple after being summoned by double bugle (irattāik-kāḷum). 72 of 1914.

Kīḻppaluṉūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to tiruttagumudiyum. Sabhā of Śīṟupaluṉūr took fifty kāśu from Innāṭṭu-mannu-perumpaluṉūr Adigaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar-penḏāṭṭi Virāṅan-ōṟṟiyūr. 104 of 1895; SH. v. 665.

Kōḷār (Mys.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagumudiyum. Five buffaloes for one lamp left with the Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple. EC. x. K. 106 (a)

Puṉjai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagumudiyum. Decision of the assembly (mūlaparauḷai) of Talaiccaṅgaḻṟu met at Mummulvi-śōḷan-mañḍala to pay taxes, in return for fifty kāśu, on two vēḷi of land at Pūḍanūr which had been purchased by the Periyatul-li-mahāḍōva temple for expenses of the Vaīgaśī festival and for feeding Brahmans on the occasion. It also agreed to pay taxes on two vēḷi of temple land at Kilppulam in lieu of interest on 100 kāśu which had been received by it on kaiyeḻuttōḷai from the same temple. Engraved by order of the assembly on the walls of Tirumannipalli-uḍaiyār. 187 of 1925.

* No. 231, 235 refer to the king’s construction of the Kailāsanātha temple in the village.
THE COLAS

Year 8.—Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagaṇumudiyum. Remission by village assembly of taxes due on land granted for a flower-garden to the temple. Another remission of taxes on other lands given to certain images including one of Śembiyanmahādevīyīr. Mentions Vikramaśōla-vadi.

481 of 1925.

Śivapuram (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagaṇumudiyum. Two lamps by the king to the Rājarājēśvara temple in Uṟūlagam in Puriśai-nāḷu of the Maṇavik-kōṭṭam. Sheep 180. 18 of 1896; SII. v. 881.

Takkōlām (N.A.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagaṇumudiyum. 32 cows by a private individual for milk to god for the merit of the king’s mother Tibhuvanamādevīyīr.

276 of 1921.

Tirunāgēśvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to tiruttagaṇumudiyum. Gift of 48 sheep for half-lamp by a peyṭāṭṭi of Uḷaiyār - ānaimēṭṭuṇinār - veḷal alias Abhimāna-bhūsāṇat-terinda-tiruvandik - kāppu - veḷal for merit of her daughter.

212 of 1911.

Uḷaiyārguḷi (S.A.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Raṭṭapūḍi conquest. Fifty kāśu for sale of land by sabhā to Tribhuvana-mahādevīyīr Vānava Mahādevīyīr, queen of Rājēndra-sōla-dēvar, for offerings and worship to images of Candrasékharā Perumāḷ and his consort set up by her. Tiruvanasantēśvara of the temple is called nammūladeyvum by the sabhā.

624 of 1920. *

Year 8, day 50.—Tinnevelly—Tiru manni vaḷara † up to tiruttagaṇumudiyum. Enquiry by Adigārigaḷ Brahmasēr-kīḷār into the Kōyil-karumam. Mentions the Tirunēvēḷi Vaḷuṇjīyar who gave 5½ nilam in Kaṇṭhunur as dēvadāna izaiyili.

157 of 1894; SII. v. 449.

* In App. F of ARE. 1921 this record is treated doubtfully as of Rājēndra I or II.

† Later characters-copy ?
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 9. — Agaram (S.A.) — Tīru manni valaṟa up to tiruttagumuliyum. Deliberations of the great assembly of Nīpatunga-Sentāngi-catm. alias Jananātha-catm. relating to the occupation of temple land (of Mahāśīstā) by artisans and others, and the assignment, in return, of several kinds of services to them such as conducting worship, supplying oil for lamps, keeping watch over the temple etc.; mentions Sattagayattur.

386 of 1922.

Ś. 943 *— Belūra (Mys.) — Rebuilding of an old temple and its consecration after Rudra-hōma and large scale feeding. Gift of land to it.

139 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 16.

Ś. 943. — Gōvindavādi (Ch.) — Tīru manni valaṟa up to Iraṭṭa-pāṭi conquest. 96 sheep for lamp in the temple of Tiruvīrāḷ-Ṇṟăr at Takkōlam alias Katriyāśhāmāṇi-param. Six hāṣa for supply of flowers given on the 345th day of the same year.

37 of 1923.

Ś. 943.— Marūr (Mys.) — (Kanarese). Mentions the Nāṭtaraya Huḷḷimadda and his part in the administration of justice. In this case capital punishment was awarded for assault and manslaughter.

497 of 1911; EC. iv. Hs. 10-11 †

Ś. 943. — Melpādi (C.) — Tīru manni valaṟa up to Iraṭṭapāṭi. Some shepherds give an undertaking, before Maṇḍumudaiya Ilakkuḷivar Paṇḍitar Kaumigal, to secure the supply of ghī for a lamp by a shepherd Éran Sattan under all circumstances.

85 of 1889; SII. iii. 18.

Ś. 943. — Somūr (Tri.) — Tīru manni valaṟa up to Iraṭṭapāṭi conquest. Fifteen cows for one lamp by Veḷḷāḷan Śingan-śolai resident of Dēvanapāḷī. The temple authorities (īvuvār-srīkōṭuḷaiyōm) undertake to protect the charity. “Nāṭingina sīlām pōğiṟu sāvāṁuvaḷ-perumbaṉuṟaḻuk-kāṟu” etc.

69 of 1890; SII. iv. 393.


† Obscure language difficult to interpret—Rice (n. to Eng. Trans.)
THE COLAS

Year 9.*—Tirukkaļittai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara up to navanidikkulappuramalaiagaṭum. Remission of taxes on temple land in Vēmbarur alias Śōjamārtaṇḍa-catm., by the mahāsāhā of that village. Mentions a survey. The taxes included; siddhāya-kāsu; pañcavrāra-nellu; payaṇu; tuvarai and other āriṇuvarai; ēri-ivy; śilvarai. The remission was made after taking 65 kāsu from the Śri-Kuḍittittai temple. The names of śēris in the place give surnames of Rājarāja.

292 of 1908.

" Tirukkaļittai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara to conquest of Iraṭṭapadi. Similar to the above (292). Mentions a kaṭligai (ghatikā) in Vēmbarur which included this village and Tiruvilālur; as also many śēris of the town.

233 of 1908.

" Tirumukkōjual (NA.)—Tiru manni valara to navanidikkulappuramalaiagaṭum. 90 sheep for lamp by the headman (kīlavan) of Kāmavur-Kiliñalur to the north of Vānavan-Mahādēvi-catm., a tuniyūr.

170 of 1915.

" Tiruwadi (SA.)—Tiru manni valara up to Iraṭṭapadi conquest. One hundred kāsu by Aṇukki Śattan Rāmadevi, a penḍatti of the Periya-vēlam of Itajendrašīla, to the Nagarattār of Adiyaraiya-mangalam, who had to give as interest fifty kalam of paddy to the temple for offerings on specified occasions. Mentions Arumoti-dēvan marakkāl.

401 of 1921.

" Tiruvāduṭturai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara. Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Kāvanur for 100 kāsu.

128 of 1925.

" Tiruviḍaiyil (Tj.)—A Śivabrāhmaṇa took from Korrīyammari 12 kalam of paddy at interest of 3 kṛṇuni of paddy annually for offerings during the Śittirai festival. Another gift by same donor of 28 kalam (yielding annually 7 kalam at 3 kṛṇuni per kalam) for feeding dancing girls during the festival.

28, 29 of 1918.

* Wednesday, 8th February 1921, Jacobii, EI. xi. p. 121.

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Year 9.—Tiruvīśalur (Tj.)—Twenty-five kāśu for a lamp to Umāsahitar by a native of Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 346 of 1907.

Year 9, day 38.—Tirumukkūḷal (NA.)—Tiru manni valara to tiruttagunudiyum. 90 sheep for lamp by Maṇḍai-
nangai, the senior wife of Prundamam Rājarājan alias Vānavan Brahmādhirājan, in charge of kaṇāni-
and ūr of Kūlalur. 174 of 1915.

Year 10. — Kottasīvaran (An.) — (Kan. and Tamil). This Maṇḍapa erected by Arīyaru Rājarājan alias Vikrama Cōḷa * Cōḷiya-varaiyan, chief of Śattamangalam in Tirēmūr-nāḍu and commander of the forces (of the king), on the 40th day opposite the 160th (of this year). Below are titles: Nālamaṇī Bhima, Cōḷana-cakra, and Sāmantābharanam in Kan.; Nānmadibhiman and Sāmantābharaṇan in Tamil, perhaps titles of the chief who built the Maṇḍapa. Another record (24)—Edirītvarkālan and Aḥitaroṭṭalivān in Kan.; and Vayiri-
nārāyaṇan and Virabhiman in Tamil, of about the same period (as in No. 23). No. 30—is Tamil verse 
mentioning Nānmaṇivima and Telungar. On same pillar in old Kannada: Jayaśingakulakāla and Sāma-
talaprañarā. No. 31—Tamil verse mentions battle with Kalingas, Oḍijas and Telungas; also titles in 
Nāgari: Aḥitaroṭṭaliva etc. 23, 24, 30 and 31 of 1917.

" Taḷi-malingi (Mys.) — Tiru manni valara. Muṣāngi
is here called Mayal. Apparently Gangaṇḍi was called 
Mudikōṇḍa - cōḷa-maṇḍala; and Māyilangai (Malingi 
opposite Taḷakkuḷ on the other side of the river) was
called Jananāṭhapura: Gangaṇḍiyāna Mudikōṇḍa-
śōla-maṇḍalattu tenkurai - nāṭtu - Māyilangai tan 
(yāna ?) Jananāṭhapurattu.

490 of 1911; BC. iii. Tn. 34.

" Tanjore—Tiru manni valara up to naranidikkulapp
peru-malaĭgaḷum (i.e., Iraṭṭapāḷi). Loans from endow-
ments to Mahāmāru Viṭānaka and his consort (set up

* Surname of Rājendra? ARE. 1917 II. 2. cf. 752 of 1917.
The Colas

by Rājarāja, by the śīrōdanaṭṭup *-panimakkal, for
interest at the rate of mukkurṇi per kāśu per annum
(Continuation of SII. ii 82 of year 7).

SII. ii. 83.

Year 10.—Tirumālpuram (NA.) — Money for supply of four
kālāṇju of Śidārī by a native of the Cōla country,
292 of 1906.

"Tiruṇṇal (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to kulappu-
rumalum. Remission of taxes on the temple
land by the assembly of Bhūlōka-Māṇikka- catm., in
consideration of 150 kāśu from the temple.
44 of 1928.

"Tiruvāṇḍākōṇi (Pondicherry)—Tiru manni vaḷara to
kulappu-malaṃgam followed by: Fāradu nigalā
pāṇḍi-maṇḍalattu-Maduraiyil māligai eḻuppuṭtu tan
mayan Śoḷa-pāṇḍiyan-en vibriscākaiydu taṇḍārc-
cālaikkalumagutta kōṇparakōsari. 363 of 1917.

"Tiruvilimilalai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (dam.) to
Muyangi and a little more. Mentions copper image of
Alagiyamāṇavāla caused to be made by the mother of
Rājendraśōla-Aṇukkap-pallavaraiyai.
444 of 1908.

"Uṭaiyāṟūḍu (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to conquest
of Iraṭṭaṟāḷ debería. Sixty kāśu by the headman (kiḷān) of
Ārkkādu for the daily supply of 1000 lotuses for
worship. The assembly met in the hall constructed
by Tennaivan Vilupparaiyai, called nammaganār by
the king. Assembly calls the Tiruvanantēvāra
nammūlaḍeyavam. 625 of 1920.

"Uṭaiyāṟūḍu (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to conquest
of Iraṭṭaṟāḷ debería. Agreement by some villagers to supply
the flowers stipulated in No. 625 as interest on 60 kāśu
received by them from the treasury of the temple,
626 of 1920.

* 'Servants of the minor treasure' (SII. ii. p. 405) servants or officers of
the king when he was young (cītu-danam) — ibid n. 2.
Year 10.—Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai (Trj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to conquest of Iraṭṭapadi. Paddy for abhiṣeka to the god on the king's birthday (ārḍrā) to Tirukkaṅkudi-vīḷumīya-dēva. 464 of 1908.

Veḷacēri (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to conquest of Iraṭṭapadi. Assembly (mahāsabhā) of Veḷacēri sold 1500 kulis of land to the temple, and receiving 13 kāsu made the land tax-free. Also gift of 23 kāsu for a lamp by a Brahman lady. 305 of 1911.

Year 10, day 107.—Mēḷpadi (C.) — Tiru manni vaḷara to Iraṭṭapadi conquest. Paddy and money of the temple not properly appropriated for expenses since the third year. As a result of audit by a royal officer, a fresh allocation is made. 102 of 1921.

Year 11.—Aṇpara (S.A.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to teripunar-kengaiyum. Land for offerings and lamp to Mahāśastā Kayirmir Aiyānār by the members of the big assembly of Nṛpatunga-sēntanḡi-catm., alias Jananātha-catm., a brahmudēya. The assembly met in the Ayyanār temple. 365 of 1922.

Kilaiyur (Tj.) — Tiru manni vaḷara. Land for the maintenance of two persons singing the tiruppadiyam during the three services of Tirukkadavulaiya-dēvar, each getting three kuri of paddy per diem. 96 of 1925.

Kōlr (Mys.)—Puvavēsamum Gangaīyum koṇḍā. A royal gift of devadāna from the camp at Kānsīpursam. The record furnishes interesting details of procedure followed on such occasions. 476 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 112 (a).

Kuṇbum (Mys.)—Śri Puvavēsamum Gangaīyum Kaṭāramum-koṇḍā. EC. x. Ct. 47.

* This, and 91 and 93 of years 17 and 18 of Rējarēju, are records on pillars, and part of the introduction is omitted; perhaps for lack of space.
THE COLAS

Year 11.—Tirumukkūṭal * (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara to Gangai-yum. 113 sheep to temple of Venṭaik-kuttar at Tirumukkūṭal in or near Nirkunram, the northern hamlet of Madhurāntaka-catm., a taniyūr in Kāḷattūr-kōṭṭam, by a native of Akkāramangalam. The sheep were in charge of Tirumukkūṭalum Kūṭalūrūm Ürūm. 167 of 1915.

Year 12.—Kalūhusti (N.A.)—Gold for the Kṛttikā-dīpa and 90 sheep by Gangaikōṇḍa-cōḷa-milāṭuḷaiyūr, a chief of Milāṭu. 291 of 1904.

Tirumalai (Pōḷūr N.A.)—Tiru manni valara to teqipunay-kangaiyum. Lamp to Palliḍicandam Vaigavūr Tirumalai-dēva by Iṣaiyāmaṇi-mangai also called Pallavaśār-dēvīyūr Śiṃṇavaiyūr. Sixty kāsū, the amount of the endowment, was converted into land. SII. i. 68.

Uyyakkōṇḍān-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to teqipunay-kangaiyum. Provision for feeding Śiva-yōgins in the Tiruvāḷasvaram-Rājendraśīlān at the foot of the hill on which the temple of Tirukkāṟkuṭi Vilumiyūr-dēva stands. 467 of 1908.

Year 13.—Malūr (Mys.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Sale of land by sabbhā of Rājendraśinga-catm. EII. ix. Cp. 84.

Tirumalai (N.A.)—Tiru manni valara to teqipunay-kangaiyum. Twenty kāsū for lamp and ten kāsū for tiruvamiḍu to Śri-Kundavai-juṇālaya-dēva of Tirumalai by Cāṇuṇḍappai, the wife (maṇavāṭi) of Nandappayyan, a merchant of Pūrumbāṇappāḍik-karaivali-Malliyyūr. 80 of 1887; SII. i. 67; EII. ix. pp. 229-33.

Year 13, day 207.—Emppérūr (SA.)—Kūṇėrīmaikōṇḍān. An order of Udaiyār Rājendra-Cōḷa-dēva * who was pleased to take Pūrvadeśam and Cangai,* confiscating the lands of persons who did not settle down in Tirumunappāḍi-nāḍū and had migrated elsewhere, and granting the

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lands to others who undertook to cultivate them or rear areca-palms thereon. *

331 of 1921.

Year 14.—Puñjai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vañjara (full). Undertaking by the assembly (mūlapurañjara) of Talaccangāḍu to pay some taxes for the temple on some lands, to enable the temple to meet expenses of daily worship and offerings and of a special festival once a year to Rābhavāhana-dēva in the big temple for the victory of the king’s arms (bhujam vardhamtaruḷa.)

182 of 1925.

" Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vañjara up to tegi-punnay-kangayum. Records the re-copying (from the books) on stone of the order of Rījarāja at the instance of Narākkāṇ Rāman (who built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). The dēvakannus and the sabhā of Gāndarāditta-catm. executed the order.

91 of 1895; SII. v. 651.

" Tirunōgōśvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vañjara (full though damaged). List of jewels etc. owned by the temple, engraved by order of the king made at the instance of a servant Kupḷaṇ Kōval-nāthan.

213 of 111.

Year 14, day 341.—Kramīr (S.A.)—Tiru manni vañjara (apparently full). Assembly of Vaḷavan-mādēvi-catm. met in the temple and in the presence of the annual supervision committee and agreed to pay in paddy the silvāri on certain temple lands, the income to be utilised for lamps and offerings.

398 of 1913.

Year 15.—Mēḷappalurūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vañjara (full). An undertaking by the managers of the temple of Paḷuvūr to burn a perpetual lamp before Pagaśivāṣaiy-Īśvarattu-mahādēva and another before Amanikandarpā-Īśvarattu-mahādēva for lands and money received by them respectively from two persons as an atonement for homicide.

372 of 1924.

533 is similar.

Called samvatteśaram bygina Brvāriya-perumakkal.
THE COLAS

Year 15.—Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟa (full). An agreement of the Mahāsabhā of Paḍa-ēviya Tirukkaḍaiyūr in Uyyakkoṇḍair-vaḷanāṭu to maintain an endowment for two meals to Māhēśvaras at midday.

20 of 1906.

Year 16.—Kaṉci puram (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟa (full). Gold by Nigarili-Lōkamādevi, a servant of queen Mukkōk-kilān-āṟigal, and by a dancing girl of the temple called Perri-ponnambalam, for two lamps before Aṉjaṉaṇḍi-durgaiyūr.

73 of 1921.

Kilār (Mys.)—Purvaḍīsamum Gaṇagiyum Kaṭāramun-kouḷa. Gift of a devadāna to Piḷāriyūr of Kuvalai by the king seated in the palace at Vikrama-cōḷa-pura in the Kaviri-nūṭ. The grant was ordered on the 240th day and entered in the revenue register on the 281st day. 475 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 111.


Tirumalavaṭṭi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟa (full). Piḷḷaiyūr Arumolī-ṅgaṇaiyāna-piṟān gave 180 sheep for two lamps, distributed among eight shepherds, one getting 45, three others getting 45 together, and the rest 22½ each; 45 sheep being counted as yielding one āḷakkku of ghi daily, and 22½ sheep, 2½ sōvūṭu.

77 of 1895; SII. v. 635.

Tirumalavaṭṭi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟa (full.) Lamp by Śrī Krṣṇan Kausalaiyūr, wife of Nārukkaṇ Śrī Krṣṇan Rāman alias Rājendraśōḷa Brahmanārāyar, (the builder of the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). 100 hāśu for 90 sheep distributed among four persons equally, each getting 25 hāśu, the equivalent of 22½ sheep, and having to supply 22½ naḍis of ghi per annum.

78 of 1895; SII. v. 636.
Year 16.—Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full.) Fifty kāśu for ten lamps to Ādittēvara temple at Tiruppurambiyam, deposited with viraiyākkalip-perunderuvī-cangarappāḍiyām.

80 of 1897; SII. vi. 30.

Tiruvāḍūtūraj (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full.) Undertaking by Śiva-brāhmaṇaś to provide offerings to god for midday service and to feed an apūrvī daily with the same, out of the interest on 45 kāśu received by them from a person, the rate of interest being two tūṇi of paddy per kāśu per annum.

134 of 1925.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full.) Sale of land as śālābhōga to temple for feeding devotees by the assembly of Kadallangudi who received a lump sum towards payment of taxes due on the land. They agreed to maintain the feeding house on behalf of the temple and supply red lilies to the god.

140 of 1926.

Tribhuvani (Pondicherry).—Tiru manni valara. Assembly met at night, resolved that the village of Varakkūr (dvavāna) divided into six divisions and assigned to 48 tenants with rights of sale and mortgage, was not liable to pay any taxes except those due to the Naduvil-Śrī-kōyil and the tank Kōṭikilānaṭip-pērēri. The dues to the temple amounted to 5 kālam per mā (by maṛakkāl equal to nālāyiruvan) from year 17.

189 of 1919.

Year 16, day 32.—Tirumukkūṭal (NA).—Tiru manni valara. An agreement by certain Vaikhānasses of the temple with the officers Puravu - vari - tiyai - kālam and Vari-pottagam to use the surplus paddy due by them (as discovered by a scrutiny of the temple accounts) for the recitation of the tiruppadiyam in the temple for the first time. Mentions Ģembīyan-māhādēvi-perumāṇḍapam in the middle of Madhurāntaka-catm.

183 of 1915.
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Year 17.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tiru manni vālava to pāl-pālānandivum. King called Vira Bājendra Cōla. Land to temple of Tirunallūr-Mahādeva, by royal order issued from palace at Gangaikonda-cōḻapuram.

61 of 1914.

Year 17.—Kilpākkam (N.A.)—The great assembly of Nityavinōda catm, assembled in the temple of Śrī Kailāsa in the village, borrowed twenty kalaju of gold from the temple of Rājāditta-Iśvaram-uḍaiyār and placed it in the hands of the īr-vāriyam, who had to supply oil, as interest.

38 of 1911.

Kōṅērījapuṟam (Tj.)—Tiru manni vālava (full). Setting up of image of Kṣetrapāla-dēva by queen Arindavan-mahādevi who also bought some land for it in year 16.

632 of 1909.

Tirunalavādi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vālava (full). One hundred kāsu for lamp by Teccappan Sembian Mādēvi, the wife (mārāsiyār) of Arumōli alias Uttamaśāla-brahama-māriyār to Tirunalavādi-mahādeva. The money was distributed among shepherds in the same manner and proportion as in 78 (year 16). 78-B mentions a dantak-kāl-pallikkaṭṭil given to the deity.

78-A and B of 1895; SII. v. 637-8.

* Uḍaiyārgudi (S.A.)—Tiru manni vālava (full.) Land, tax-free, for feeding ten devotees at midday worship and for feeding twenty-five Brahmans in a choultry erected for the merit and in the name of queen Vānavan-mādēvi. The land was sold to the queen for 160 kāsu by the Perunguri-sabhā.

627 of 1920.

Year 18.—Mysore—(Kanarese)—Gangeyum Pūrvadēsamum Kaḍāramun āṇḍa. Erection and endowment of the Siddhāśvara temple on the demise (siddhi) of the dāṇḍanāyaka of Śrī-yuddhamalla-dēva. Writer of the inscription was the son of Mahāmātra Ajavarmaya.

502 of 1911; EC. ix. Mi. 1.

Treated doubtfully as Rājendra I or II. in ARE. 1921 App. F.
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Year 18.—Tirukkālar (Tj.)—Copper-plates. Tiru manni valara. Registers extent of dēvadāna lands belonging to the temple. SHI. iii 207; ARE. 1903 II 17.

Year 18, day 93.—Tiruvāṁūṭṭur (SA.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Land for campaka flower-garden. Also, land for village doctor, by many corporate bodies acting together. 18 of 1922.

Year 19.—Mārur (Mys.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Sale of land by assembly to temple on receipt of money from the king. 195 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 84.

Year 19, day 238.—Tirumalalavāṭi (Tri)—Tiru manni valara (full). Two vessels of gold (198 kal.²) and silver (294½ kal.) by queen Vānaṇa-mādēvi. 79 of 1875.

Year 19, day 343.—Uṭtaramērūr (Ch)—Tiru manni valara (full). 2240 kulī of land lying waste (maṇījikkam) without yielding any taxes was reclaimed by the assembly and presented tax-free for three daily offerings and special worship on the four ayaṇam and visu days and during eclipses to Ananta-nārāyaṇa on the third storey of the temple; some other lands for lamps and offerings to the three (auxiliary) images in the lower floor and 1470 kulī for recitation of Tiruvāynoli by three persons during morning and evening services. 176 of 1923.

Year 20.—Kūḷattār (NA.) Gold to Kumbiśvaram Udaiya-mahā-dīva at Vikraṇgā-satam. Mentions a number of persons of the āṭungayattār of the sābhā of the village. 155 of 1916.

Kāṇciṣūram (Ch.)—Pūrvadēsamum Gangaiguṃ Kidāramum kovalu. Sale by some merchants of Kāṇciṣūram of one tūṇī of land as a tax-free dēvadāna for 127 kalāṇju of gold to Tiruvekhā-aṇaik-kiḍandaruḷaṇa Paramasvāmi at Kāṇciṣūram. 23 of 1921.

Kīṭhūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Land by purchase as ivaivali from ēr by Madhurāntakan-dēvi for feeding persons who attended the nine days festival in the Āḍitta-lāvaram-udaiyār temple. 303 of 1917.
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Year 20.—*Marudādu (N.A.)—Tiru manni valara.* 90 sheep for a lamp with ārār of whom some are named. Also sale of land for digging a tank, by a servant of a daṇḍa-nāyaka. The village is also called Vikrama-sūla-nālūr. 407 of 1912.

"Nangavaram (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full). The king dismissed two of the temple drummers and appointed another man instead. 335 of 1903.

"Śūlapuram (N.A.)—Tiru manni valara (damaged). Sale of land 14000 kuli (by 16 śān-kōl) to temple by the residents (nagarattōm) of the city as iṣaiyili dēva-dāna. 344 of 1912.

"Tirumalavadi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara. Paddy for offerings to images of Pīḷḷaiyār Tiruṇana-sambandadigal, Tiruṇāvukkaraiya-dēva and Nambi Āṟūrānār set up by Tirumālarangam alias Tiruṇallittūma-picean and his lady. 37 of 1920.

"Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara. List of gifts by Rājendra-sūla-dēva’s Anukkiyār Paravainangaiyār for plating and gilding certain portions of the temple; also gift of pearls and coral wreaths by Arumoli-Kūtvan alias Lōkamārāyan; other gifts. ‘Rājarājan-kāśa-nirākal is mentioned as a standard of weight for gold. 680 of 1919.

"Vēddhācalam (N.A.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Land for monthly festivals (tiruvādirai) pannagavya, hōma etc., in temple, for the prosperity of the king. 54 of 1918.

Year 21.—*Ratnagiri (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full).* Sale of land tax-free to temple for 380 kāśu by the assembly of Ariṅjigai-catm., after paying taxes on part of it for fifteen years on behalf of the original holders who had left the place to live elsewhere without arranging to pay the accumulated dues on the land. 189 of 1914; ARE. 1915 II 22.

* Vast quantities of gold and copper and the building of the temple mentioned.

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Year 21.—Tiruvaiyāḻu (Tj.)—Tiru maṇṇi vaḻara (full). Gold ornaments, jewelled, to Ulōkamāhādevi-Iśvaram-uḍaiyār by Dantiśakti.

154 of 1918.

Year 22.—S. 955 †—Belāṭhīru (Mys.)—(Kanareṣe)—Pārvatēśa-muṇi Gangaiyam Kṣetramuṇ-gūḍha. Fragment giving the titles assumed by the Vīra Bāḷaji Djarmma merchants in grants made by them.

140 of 1898 : EC. iv. Hg. 17.

Year 22.—Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Pārvatēśa etc. Tax-free gift of 1000 kuṭi of land as dēva-dāna and of 3600 kuṭi by sale or 47 kuṭaija by the mā-nagarattōm of Kāṇci-puram for worship in the temple Tiruvaiṣṭā-bhuyagṛhathu-mahāviṣṇu. 6 of 1921.

Kōḷur (Mys.) -- Tiru maṇṇi vaḻara (full). Gift of buffaloes for lamp in the Pīḷāri (Kōḷaramma) temple built to the king’s order by Mārailan Aruṇomōli aliṣu Sēnpiṭi Uṭtanāsōla-Brahmamārāyaṇ, son of Narākāṇ Śrī Kṛṣṇa Rāmaṇ aliṣu Rājendra-sōla Brahmatmārāyana of Veṇāṭṭu Amaṇḍu aliṣu Kērāḷāntakacatu.

480 of 1911 : Ec'. x. Kl. 109 (a).

Kōḷambandal (NA.)—Tiru maṇṇi vaḻara. Land and gold to 24 dancing girls of Gangaiṇḍa śōla Iśvaram Uḍaiyār built by priest Iṣāna Śiva Paṇḍita (cf. SII. ii. 9).

414 of 1902 : SII. vii. 1047.

Year 23.—Kutṭālam (Tj.)—Tiru maṇṇi vaḻara (full). Land for feeding śivayōgins at midday service for the prosperity of the king’s arms. Further gift of 12 kāśu for taxes on the land.

99 of 1926.

Maṭūr (Mys.)—Tiru maṇṇi vaḻara (full). Remission by assembly of taxes on certain temple lands after receiving gold in lieu of the taxes from a servant of the king and headman of a village.

196 of 1911 : EC. ix. Cp. 82, 83.

Tiruppūrambiyaṁ (Tj.)—Money by Dēvan-Purāmbyāḷ Āḍāl-viṭanka-māṇikkam, a maid-servant of the bathing

* cf. 152 of Year 3.


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establishment called Ilankēvara-kula-kāla-teriṅja-tirumanjanattīr vēlam for offerings, worship, etc., to Umāparamēsvariyāl of the Tiruppallikkattil, an image set up by her. 323 of 1927.

Year 24.—Oidambaram (SA)—Tiru manni vaḷara. After Takkaṇṭalāḷamnum, the introduction is not in the usual form, but different. Gift of viravu-nilam ekupattē-kālē-araiκkāṇi; deducting land taken up by hījai, nāraiḥāṇu, kollai and nattam, making up muppatunālē-kālē-araiκkāṇi, the net arable land was forty vēli. The total yield (varişayiliṭṭapadi) was 4500 kalam of paddy; of this the mēlvāram was 2250 kalam which, at eight kalam one tāṇi and one padakku per kāsu, yielded 2644 kāsu which with 40 kāsu from another source formed the fund for the expenses in the temple, to be administered by Kuṃmēṇakapuraṭṭu ēṟina-yaṭṭaṭīrīgaṭ, Vēḷāṭar, Šankarappāṭiyar, Šāliyar, Puṭṭinavar and other kuṭīgaṭ and the kēl-kalanaiṭīgaṭ including carpenters (taceṭ), blacksmiths (kollai), goldsmiths (ṭaṭṭāṛ) and the koliyar. Another gift by Nakkan Paravai, the aṇukki of the king, for feeding Brahmans and maintaining the required establishment, yielding mēlvāram of 1225 kalam, to be spent in the manner detailed. 118 of 1888; SI. iv. 223.

Kanṭākumāri (Tr.)—Pūrvadēsamum Gangaiyum Kaṭṭāramum koṇḍarulīna. Fifty sheep for lamp by Šōjakulavali, the cook of the king (Uṭṭaiyār Šrī Rājēndra-suṭāṭāvaṭkut-tiruvanamu aṭṭam peyṭṭi). T.A.S. i. p. 161.

Mannārkōvil (Tin.)—Pūrvadēsamum Gangaiyum Kaṭṭāramum koṇḍa. Reports that the Gōpaḷāsvāmin temple was formerly called Rājēndra-cōḷa-viṇṇagar and built by the Cēra king Rājasimha. * The king made a grant of land to the temple from his palace at Kāṇḍēpuram to take effect from year 15 of Jayāvarman Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍyan, one of the king’s sons. 112 of 1905.

* 111 and 113 of 1905 give the name of Rājanī-dēva, another Cēra king. These were probably Cōḷa feudatories. ARE. 1905 II 14.
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"Takkōlam (NA.)—Tiru manni vahara (full). Beginning lost. Twelve kaḷaiṇju of gold (kuḷai-nilai-pon) received from Sarabandōḷavai of Tondamān-Pēḷḷīrūr, the peṇḍṭi of Rājendra-vōla Brahmatirāyar, for a lamp to be maintained by the assembly of Urigaiyūr alias Rājamārtunda-catn., a dēvāḷāna of Tiruvūr-gal-mahādeva. 256 of 1921.

Year 24, day 230.—Brāhmaṇḍam (SA.)—Land for worship and offerings to Pāṭalīśvaram-udaiyār by Parāntakan Śuttamāliyār alias Mukkōkiḷānaḍīḷaṇ for the king’s success (bhūjām vardhiḷku), the king being present in the temple of Rājarājeśvaram-udaiyār at the time. 188 of 1918.

Year 25.—Jumīṭi (SA.)—An agreement among citizens (nagarulār) of the city of Vālaiyār alias Nittavindaparam on the N. bank of the Peṇṇūr. An interesting commutation of old endowments. 82 of 1906.

"Tirunakavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vahara. Silver kava-cam to be used at the three sacred baths and 30 kāḷu for one lamp by Udaiyār Śrī Rājendra-vōla-dēvar-anukkiśūrgiḷa-paṅcavam-mādēvi. 70 of 1920.

Year 25, day 112.—Eṇuvāḍiram (SA.)—Tiru manni vahara (full). At the king’s order, the assembly of brahmadāyam tanīyār Rājarāja-catn. met in the Mummuḍiśōḷān with Nambi Udutūr-udaiyān who governed the village, and made a ryavasthai regarding incomes from the lands of a number of shrines: Rājarāja Viṇṇagar-āḻvār, Kundavai-and Sundarāsōḷa-āḻvaṟās, Dēvēndra, Sarasvatī, Śrī Bhāṣṭārakaiyīṟ, Mahāmāṭṭīyār, Śūryādeva, Saptamāṭa, Mahāsāstā, Durgaiyār, Subrahmaṉya, Jyeṣṭhaiyār and the village gods. 335 of 1917.

Year 26—Ś. 959.—Ankanāṭhapuram (Mys.)—(Kan). Mentions the Cangāḷva of Kāḍāḷu in Nōḷṇāḍ coming on an expedition. Grant of Nāgavangalām as a kai-nāḍ tree
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of all imposts. Some Gävunḍas made chiefs of certain territories. 142 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 104.

Year 26.—Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara. Remission of certain taxes on lands granted for feeding in the Gangaikondān-sālai in the temple by the great assembly of Gaṇḍarādita-catur., met at the hall Uttamaśoḷam-manḍapam. 33 of 1920.

" Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara. Fourteen kāśu and vessels for early morning offerings by Tirumālar ānānī; Tiruppalittāna-piecūn. 61 of 1920.

" Tiruvolliyūṛ (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara. Adigāraḷ Raṇarāṇḍraśinga Mūvendāḷḷāṛ ēnquired into the affairs of the temple in the Vakkāṇikkum-manḍapam, and fixed details of service to be maintained from kuggulāṇam and the excess paddy collected from the servants of the temple and the tenants of the dēvadāna villages. Interesting schedule of expenses. 146 of 1912.

" Tiruvolliyūṛ (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara. Sale of land by people of Igaṇaiyūṛ (dēvadāna) to Šattān Rāma-dēviyūṛ, the añjukkiyūṛ of the king, for maintaining twelve dēvaruḷiyūṛ in the temple for the goddess Gaurī. 153 of 1912.

Year 26, day 180.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Sale of 1,520 kūfi, tax-free, by the assembly to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḷvār of Rājendra-sōḷa-viṇṇagar for providing seven kūruṇi of paddy daily to three persons reciting the Tiruvāyimōḻī in the temple; also two plots of land, one as Vājasanēyak-kiḻaiippūram and the other for a flower-garden and festival in Māsi Panarasu. Names of taxes remitted: one set giving śittāyam pāncaVARōm śiliṉI ecęṙruķāṉgarisī āṭrurkkāl-amaṉīṭ; another ēriṅ魄āḍaṉeḷu ulavigai nirvīḷai and other piḍāgaṉiṟi. 194 of 1923.

Year 27.—Alūṛ (Mys.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Land to Cāmuṇḍiśvarī by the ār including Māṇikka-ṭēṭṭi of
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Vañnapuram (in this nāḍu), and Rājendra-śōla-gāmun-ḍan of Vinṇamangalam, who was doing the nāțtu-gāmunḍu.

EC. ix. Nl. 7 (a).

Year 27.—Arpākkan (Ch.)—Tiru manni vāḻāra. Land by residents (Ūr) of Arpākkan for the maintenance of seven musicians for service in the temple Tiruvil-vinṇagara-āḷyāṟ. 145 of 1923.

" Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Tiru manni vāḻāra. Money for nāḷegu by a native of Mivanam for which some temple land was made tax-free. Also gold for lamp. Mentions Kundavaip-pēṟēri and Sundarasōḻap-pēṟēri. 264 of 1915.

Year 28.—Tiruvāḻatutuṟai (Tij.)—Tiru manni vāḻāra. Land, half-vēḷi, made tax-free for 200 kāśu received from the temple by assembly (sabhā) of Mērkili-mangalam with the condition that the Māhēśvaras of Sarva-dēvan Tirumaḻam called after the king’s guru should be fed daily. Mentions Tūtuvan Arumōḷi, a woman of the Periya Vēḷam, as owning some adjacent land in describing boundaries. 103 of 1925.

Year 29.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tiru manni vāḻāra. Land by the assembly of Kāmarasavalli-catm. to Śākkai-māṟūyan Vikarameśōḷam for performing the sākkai-kūṭtu thrice during either of the Tiruvādirai festivals in Mārgaḷi and Vaiyāśi. Śēris numbered one to four in the village mentioned. 65 of 1914.

Tirhamalai. (Sm.)—Pūṟvadeśam etc. Gift of three villages by Uttamaśōḷa-Puṟamalai-nāṉṟaiṉ, who seems to have been the chief of Rājendra-śōla-viriyūr-nāḍu. The donor repaired the temple and constructed the Mukhamandapa. Taguḷur-nāḍu was a sub-division of Nigarili-śōla-maṇḍalam. 670 of 1905.

Tiruvimal (Tij.)—Tiru manni vāḻāra (full). Land for lamp by a queen. Mentions a revenue survey of the country. 347 of 1907.

* May 6, 1941 A.D. ARE. 1915. App. F. (L.D.S.)

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Year 29.—Tiruvorgiyur (Ch.)—Money deposited, interest to be paid in paddy, with the inhabitants of Iganiyur, for offerings every year at the festival of pudiyodu (first crop?) by Nakkan Kodaí alias Kañcipuram-nangaí, a magal (maid-servant?) of Tiruvêkambam-udaiya-Mahâdeva of Nagaram Kañcipuram. 139 of 1912.

"Tiruvorgiyur (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Gift of tulai-nirai-pon and Madhurântaka-dêvan-mâdai for Mârgalît-tiruvâdirai and for feeding three Brahmans learned in the Védas. Money loaned out on interest at 2 kalam of paddy per annum by the Râjakâsari-maraâkîl on each pon and mâdai, with the nagaratâr of Tiruvorgiyur and the residents of Mañjiyan-Kârâṇai. 140 of 1912.

"Tiruvorgiyur (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Râjarâyan kâsin* for feeding a Brahman by Kûttan Gañavadi, the military officer of Gangaikonojâna alias Uttama-söljâmarâyan, also called Sirudanam Peřudanam mūrâyan. Money loaned out to merchants of the place, interest being payable in paddy. Mentions Æriyammai and her money gift. 141 of 1912.

"Trihuvani (Pondicherry) — Tiru manni valara. Assembly agree regarding land for feeding the Śrîvaishnavas of the eighteen districts in the Râjendra-söljâna-sâdham not to change its class or levy on it ēri-áyam and sëruvâri. 187 of 1919.

Year 30.—Kanûjiyur (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara. Appointment of new dancing-master, the late master's brother-in-law (maïlunwan), mun-gândaruwan araiyan Râjarâjan alias Mudikonojâ - söljâ - vâcîya - mûrâyan; the place was to be hereditary (vargattâr). 23 of 1895; SII. v. 579.

* Must have been à mâdai as interest was 1 kalam per annum. ARE. 1913 II 22.

† Treasuries small and big (Hultsch); minority and majority of the king? Perhaps purely honorary titles implying status in official life or society. ARE. 1913 II. 22.
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Year 30.—Tirunāgēvāram (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara. Mentions innādu vagai-seyyinga Koḍandīḻai Uḍaiyān. Adigīragal Rājendraśāla-mūvēnda-vēḷān sent a niyōgam (order) that a tirukkoḻgai, tiruk-koḻukku and tirukkoḻam were to be made from gold accumulated in the form of flowers and broken jewels. Another niyōgam from the mūluparaṇaṇi aṭ Tirukkuḍamūkki. The niyōgam was addressed to Śrīkoṭīvāriyam-seyyvār Dēvakamnīs, Paṇḍāragal and Karṇatēn. Mentions also Kṣatriya-malla-teriṇja-valangai-vēḷaiṅkārār.

83 of 1897; SI. vi. 33.

"Tiruvovrigīyr (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara (full). 90 sheep for lamp by Mārāyan Gangaikoṇḍa-ślōn alias Uttamaśōla-mūrāyan, chief of Tiruvārur, for the merit of one Gaṇavādī Iḷūmbaṇ alias Tannai-munivār-penḍirganda Viśaisayriraiyya *, who stabbed himself and died (in order to relieve) the distress of the donor. Another gift of 90 sheep for lamp by Nimbāḷa-dōvi, wife of Indaḷa-dōva of Taḷaiṅgrāma in Virāṭadēṣa. ↑

138 of 1912.

"Tiruvovrigīyr (Ch.)—Sale of land, for the maintenance of a flower-garden and the supply of four garlands every day, to Nāgalabbai Sāni alias Āriyavammā, wife of Prabhākara-bhāṭṭa of Māykaḷūpuram in the Āravēḷa. "The land purchased included house-sites for the tenants who cultivated it; and it was also specified in the deed that the tenants were not liable to pay any kind of içai (the kuṭiṇai of other inscriptions) such as vēṭi, amaiṇji and kēṟumet "

155 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 22.

"Tiruvovrigīyr (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara. Sale of land by assembly of Maṇali alias Simhaviṣṇu-catm. to a person who presented it to the temple. Mentions that eight Madhurāntaka-dēvan-māḷai was the price of 2000 kuḷi of land.

156 of 1912.

* Same as Kūttan Gaṇavādi of 141 cf. 411 of 1912 of Yr. 8 of Rājarēja, ARE. 1913 II. 22.

† Country round Hangal, itself called Virāṭanagari or Virāṭakēṭe in inscriptions. — ibid.

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Year 30.—Uttarambr̥ (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Sale of some waste land (innilangal innaḷvaraiyil iṟaiyirādu kiṟandamaiyil), tax-free, by the sabhā to the Rājendra-sōka-vinnagar for a flower-garden, including 120 kuḷi as Nanda-vanappuṇgam for three gardeners (uḷappār), and to provide for a māṭha called after Kundavai-ḻiyār for feeding Śrī-vaiṣṇavas. The tenants had not to pay uḷavirai. 184 of 1923.

Year 31.—Ś. 9(51.) * Śuttār̥u (Mys.)—Pārvadeśam etc. Land to temples for services in them including “Paṉum-mahāsabdamaram триkālu hājisuvadakkē.”

1 of 1895; EC. iii. Nj. 164.

Year 31.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. 90 sheep for lamp by Nittavindat-teriṆja-Valangai-vēḷai . . . . . given to Tiruvuṅṟūḷigai-vaḷaiyār and Dēvakanmigaḷ.

17 of 1890; SI. iv. 340.

Tiruvanniyiṟ (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full) — 150 kāstī by Caturāmamā Paṇḍita of Tiruvorrayiṟ and Tirumayānām for ghī to bathe god on the Mārgalī-tiruvādirai day, the king’s birthday.

104 of 1912; 399 of 1896; SII. v. 1354.

Year 32.—Kāṭuṅḷuḷi (Mys.)—Pārvadeśam etc. Construction of a tank at Paṭṭandūr by Rājarāja Vēḷiṇ, son of the Nāṭṭukkānumūḷ of Śennāi-nāḍu.

170 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 142.

Tirunāṭēvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Mentions years 24 and 31 of the king and Narukkan Kṛṣṇa Rāman who gave some land to temple for bath, flowers and offerings to god. Mentions veṭṭān veṭṭī among taxes (vaṟigal.) 217 of 1911.

Year 32, day 70.—Tiruvāṁṭṭūr (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Gold vessel called Rājendraśāḷan for sacred bath to god.

28 of 1922.

Year 33.—Tiruvāṁūr (Ch.)—

79 of 1909.

PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

 Ağaram (Ch.)—Construction of stone temple of Tirukkailāyar at Vānavan-mahādevi, (Vanamangai.)

231 of 1931.

Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Provision for daily offerings and feeding of hundreds of Vaiṣṇava pilgrims coming from the Tiruvēṅgaṇa-malai.

255 of 1915.

Eṉāyiram (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. By the king’s order, 46 vēli of land was given to Rājarāja-vinṇagar by the assembly of tanīyūr Rājarāja-catm. for offerings, the recitation of Tiruvāyumōli and the maintenance of an educational institution in which Vēdas, vyākaraṇa and mīmāṁsā were taught.

333 of 1917.

Mahēndragiri (Gj.) (Sanskrit).—Below the inscription is engraved a tiger with double fish in front. Having defeated Vimalāditya, the king set up a pillar of victory on the Mahēndra mountain.

396 of 1896*; SII. v. 1351.

Mangalam (Sm.)—Gift of the village Mangalam as a dēvadāna to the temple of Rājaśēkhara - Īśvaramuktiyai-mahādeva built by Kongilāndar of Muddalināyappalī alias Jayangonḍa-sōlapuram in Vallavaraiyar-nāḍu. Proclaims that the property of those who steal away the cattle from this dēvadāna or otherwise cause any injury to the village shall become the property of the god. Mentions Munnūruvar of some nāḍu.

157 of 1915.

Nambikālī (Mys.)—(Kan.)—Ereya Gāyupāla, son of Arasigaya Gāyupāla, who took Belagattīr in Cōrayadeva’s war when cows were carried off and women’s clothes were unloosed (tōra gōalu peṇjīrīn ude uchchalu), fought and went to svarga.


* 397 (SII. v. 1352) is a Tamil version of same. Also 858 of 1917, a much damaged record, begins with names Madhurāntaka and Rājēndra.
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Pailabanda (An.)—Tiru manni valara. * Cows for lamp to the Mahādeva temple. 7 of 1917.

Polonnaruva (Ceylon.)—Tiru manni valara. Mentions shrine of Paḻiṅkonḍār within the temple of Vānavanmādévi-Iśvaram Uḍaiyār. 595 of 1912; SIH. iv. 1389, 1390.

Śembiyanmahādevi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara to tiruktugumudiyum. Decision of the assembly, met in the Śembiyan-mahādeviyāl-periyu-mañḍapam, to utilise the vellān-veṭṭi from the dēvadāna lands of Ādityēvaram Uḍaiya-mahādeva at Mōganur, a western hamlet of the village, for a lamp in that temple. 483 of 1925.

Śivapuri (SA.)—Pūrva-dēkanum Gangaīyum Kaḍārānum koṇḍa. Gold by Nāṭṭāmai . . . . . . . , a maid-servant of the bathing establishment in the palace at Gangaikoṇḍa-sōḷapuram. 510 of 1926.

Tālaiicangādu (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full); damaged. Remission of taxes on some temple lands by assembly in lieu of the annual interest of 150 kaḷaṉju due on 800 kāśu equal to 400 kaḷaṉju of gold (by standard Rājendra-sōḷan-māḷai) received from a merchant of the Vira-sōḷa-maḷigai at Gangaikoṇḍa-sōḷapuram on account of the temple of Tiruvaiyppūli-āḻvār. 203 of 1925.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full). List of lands lying waste till year 21, and brought under cultivation, for feeding Śivayōgins and tapasvins on the occasion of the midday offering, by a servant of the king. 75 of 1920.


* Evidence of annexation of Nulambapāṭi-ARE. 1917 II 2.

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Tirunayaiyur (Tj.) — Mentions a dēvadāna village belonging to the temple of Arumōli-dēva Iśvara at Pālaiyānu. 157 of 1908.


Tiruvāṭṭumai (Tj.) — List of presents to temple by several persons including Rājendra’s mother, the guru of Uḍaiyār Rājādhīrāja-dēva and servants of the Periyavēlam. Mentions Rājarājamādai as test of fineness of gold. 104 of 1925.

Tirunayaiyur (Tj.) — Verse:

‘rājaṇi-rājanām-mahāṭu-svāyam-ratnīru śāsanam /
śrīd-śrīṇcanda-cōlaṇṇa parakēsari-varumājanah’ //
214 of 1894; SII. v. 513.

Tirunavēdu (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara to tolperungāval (palpaṇdīvum). Gold by Uḍaiyā-pirāṭṭiyār Tribhuvana-mādeviyār, mother of the king. 460 of 1908.

Tiruvōlxiyur (Ch.) — Erection of the Śrī-vimānam to Dēveśā in Ādhipurī in fine black stone (utibahulatavarai-raśmabhīḥ keṣau-varṇaiḥ) by Ravi. called Vara Viracōjakṣan, under orders of Rājendra, the son of Rājarāja. The vimāna was of three tiers (tritalam) and built at the instance of Caturānana (Paṇḍita). 105 of 1892; SII. iv. 553; also 126 of 1912.

For daughter see—Rājādhīrāja I-Yr. 29, day 102—Tirumalavāḍi, 71 of 1920.
RĀJAKĪŚARI RĀJĀDHIRAJA I.

[ acc.—* 15 Mar.—3rd Decr. A.D. 1018. ]

Year 2.—Sṇḍalai (Tj.)—Śrī-bali in the temple of Perundurai-
uḷaiyār had to be stopped owing to absence of drum-
mers and the land appertaining to this service was thereupon transferred to some others. 201 of 1926.

Year 3 †—Koṭṭaiyūr (Tj.)—Rājak. alias Tribhuvana-cakravartin Rājādhiraja-dēva. 270 kāsu by Arumoli-nangai, wife of Araiyān Porcočiān of Ėr alias Kulōttunga-śaṅa-Savan-
namangalam for offerings to an image of Śrī-lāyingam-
purāṇa-dēva (Linga-purāṇa-dēva) set up by her. 241 of 1927.

Year 5.—Kāḷahasti (C.) Sale of land for areca-nut garden in the name of Tirukkaṇṇappa-dēva, for 250 kāsu from the temple treasury. 125 of 1922.

Year 5, day 87.—Kāḷahasti (C.) — Cakravartin R. An order (ulvari) of gift of tax-free land in Paḷaiyūr in Āmbar-nāḍu of Uyyakkoṇṭār-vaḷa-nāḍu. 124 of 1922.

Year 10.—Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Tingaiṭṭa-rū. Remission by royal order of taxes on some lands belonging to the temple of Tiruvōḷirukkai-mahādēva for a lump payment of 100 kāsu (Rājarājan kāsu 75, paḷangāsu 25) made to the assembly of Śaṭṭiyakkūḷi 484 of 1925. ‡

Year 24.—Pvṇāḍum (S.A.)—Vijayarājendra-dēva who was pleased to take the head of Vīra Pāṇja, the Śeṣaṇ-śālai, Ilangai and Raṭṭāpālī 7½ lakhs, and to perform the anointment of victors at Kālyāṇapura. Money for offerings. 245 of 1929.

† Saturday, April 30th 1020 A.D. ARE. 1927, App. E.
‡ The regnal year is really 36 in the impression, though it is given as 10 in ARE. 1926. This is followed by a long introduction of Vijayarājendra stopping with the regnal year.
RAJAKESARI RAJADHIRAJA I

Year 26.—Pemmâlam (S.A.)—Who took the head of Vira Pândya and destroyed the ships at Kândaḷur-ûilai. Records rates of taxes due to temple in merchandise.

244 of 1929.

" " Tirukkalâkkunram (Ch.)—Tingalâr-taru. The naga-ratâr (names of viyâpârigal given) of Tirukkalâkkunram alias Ulagâlaṇâda-sônâpuram make a nîlavilai-avayak-kaiyelutu, for tiruccennudai and arcânâ-bhôga to the god on the hill top. Reason for this disposal of the land: innilam kâlkâlây-kidânda-maiyin. 172 of 1894; SII. v. 465.

" * Tirumalavâli (Tri.)—Tingalâr-pēga. The Perunguri-mahâsabhâ of Gaṇḍarâditta-catm. dispose of some taxes and institute a festival on: nammai uṣâiya râkravarti Śrî-Râjendra-sônâ-dêvar tirunâÿattiram. 75 of 1895; SII. v. 633.

" Tiruvâgâriyâr (Ch.)—Tingalâr-taru. An enquiry into temple affairs by the adhikârîgal Valâvan Mûvânda-vêlâr and Vikkira-sînga-mûvânda-vêlâr held in the manâlapa of the temple called Maṇṇai-kônâ-sônân. They sold uncultivated waste lands of the temple to a military officer of the Côla country, who brought them under cultivation and provided paddy for offerings on festive occasions. The temple share (iţär) was 28 kâlam of paddy on each vêlî for one class of land, and 19 kâlam for another. The donor was the chief of Śattimangalam, of the rank of perundanam-daṇḍanâyakam and was named Sôlan Kumaran Madhrântaka Mârâyan. 103 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 24.

Year 26, day 120.—Brahmadâsam (NA.)—Tingalâr-taru. The assembly which met under a tamarind tree sold land for a water-pandal for quenching the thirst of the king Śrî-uṣâiyâr Râjendrâ-côla-dêva and queen Vira-mahâ-dêviyâr, who is said to have entered the supreme feet of Brahmâ in the very same tomb in which the body

† cf. 102 of 1912 of Year 28, day 134.
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of king Rājendra Cōla was interred; the gift was by sēnāpati Madhurāntakan alias Parakšari Vēḷār, who was the brother of the queen. 260 of 1915.

Year 27.—Kāḷīcipuram (Ch.)—Tigaiḷēr-taru up to Kolīppāk-kaiyulferi-maḷuppi, and then Villavar Minavar etc. Köṅāri ēr took five kaḷanju for offerings to Tirumāṉattu Brahmlēvarum Udaiya-mahādēva of Kāḷīcipuram. Details of expenditure given for the annual interest of 8 kalam and one tēni of paddy, at one kalam and two tēni per pon-kaḷanju. Ippomudagpon-kolgavem-śollapperadhūgamavum.

54 of 1893; SII. iv. 867.

Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tigaiḷēr-taru to Kolīppākkaiyulferi-maḷuppi. Money by a Brahman lady for festival and offerings, including the service of eight men who helped in the Āṭa-mangalam during the abhiṣēka on the Śadaiyam day of every month.

49 of 1928; ARE. 1928 II 7.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tigaiḷēr-taru. Details of quantities of paddy due from temple lands bought over by Rājendra-sōla-dēva-aṅukkiyār Paravainangaiyār for expenses connected with offerings and worship to Tiruvvarancriyudaiyār.

679 of 1919.

Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Money for Māśi-makham by members of the assembly of Maṅali alias Śingavishyucatm. deposited with the revenue-accountant (puravuvvarit-tinaik-kalattuk-kaṇakkan) of Śiyuvāyppēḍu alias Mummuḍisōla-nallur, who had to pay the interest in paddy.

142 of 1912.

Year 27, day 241. *—Tiruppangili (Tri.)—Tigaiḷēr-taru (omissions and abridgments). Sale of land as abhiṣēka-dakṣiṇā by the mūlaparuḍai of taniyār Tiruvellaiyarai to Rājādhirāja-dēvar perundanam Uttama-ōḷanallur-udaiyān Venkādat Śankarān alias Daṇḍanāyaka Rājādhirāja Pallavaraiyān, for feeding Brahmanas.

90 of 1892; SII. iv. 537.

RAJAKESARI RAJADHIRAJA I

Year 27 + 1.—Tirumaṇaṇjēri (Tj.)—Land for feeding annually 1000 devotees including Śivayōgins and tapasvins in the temple of Tirukkaṇṭai-mahādēva in the locality on Panguni-uttiram day. 2 of 1914.

Year 28.—Kāḷahasti (C.)—Mentions the king's conquest of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Cēra king and Ceylon. Two lamps. 283 of 1904.

Kīliyanūr (SA.)—Tingalēr-taru (part). Sale of land for 22 kāśu by assembly of Kēralāntaka-catm. to temple of Tiruvāgāvala for the maintenance of a feeding-house called Maravadigal. The land was made iṟaiyiti after payment of 78 more kāśu. 151 of 1919 *

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. Thirty kāśu for special offerings paid to the assembly (sabhā) of Kāva-
nūr alias Kamala-nārāyaṇa-catm. who agreed to pay as interest 75 kalam of paddy every year for offerings. Mentions images of the Bhaktas (63 nāyanār) † (putṭarkāl-tirumēni). Catalogue of temple servants. 137 of 1912.

Uḷḷattār (Tri.)—Parakēsari ‡ alias Rājādhīrāja-dēva who destroyed the ships at Śālai and took the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya. Sale of land to temple. 513 of 1912.

Vēppangulam (Ch.) — Tingalēr - taru (variant form). Fixing expenses in temple by royal order. 417 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 3.

Year 28, day 134.—Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Sale of land by some members of the assembly of Maṇali alias Śingaviṣṇu-
catm. a dēvadāna of the temple of Tiruvorriyūr-ṇādaiyār. to Daṇḍanāyakam Śōlan Kumaran Parāntaka Mārayan alias Rājādhīrāja Nilagangaraiyār. 102 of 1912.

* cf 182, Year 29.

† Their stories were compiled in an abbreviated form by Nambi Ṭēṇēr Nambī in the time of Rējakēla I, under the name Tiruttirōṭṭoṭṭogai (sic). ARE. 1913, II. 24.

‡ Apparently a mistake for Rējak.
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Year 29.—Gangavāra (Mys.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). A grant by persons named. 176 of 1911; EC. ix. Dv. 75.

" Kiliyanūr (SA.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple by assembly for feeding-house. Sale price 30 kāsu; iṣaidravyam 50 kāsu. 152 of 1919. *

" † Manimangalam (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. The Mahāsabhā of Rājacūlamaṇi-catm. met in the Brahmarshānam and sold 2000 kuli of land to the temple of Tuvarāpati alias Kāmakkōli-viṇṇagar-āḻvār for 100 kāsu. 6 of 1892; SII. iii. 28.

" Tirumalavūli (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. Land for lamp by Araiyan Jayangonāda-śōliyar, also Paṇcavan-mādeviyār wife of Sōla-vallabha-dēva, called Pilliāiyār. 85 of 1920.

" Tirunēkāḍu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). Land, by the king, seated on the flight of steps to the north of the Gangai-kōṇḍa-śōḻan-māligai inside the palace in Gangai-kōṇḍa-śōḻapuram, for offerings to Ardhanāri-dēva in the temple of Tirunēkāḍu-lāiyār given as dēvadāna (dēvadānamāiga vāriyilīṭtu.) 114 of 1896; SII. v. 978.

Year 29, day 102.—Tirumalavūli (Tri.) — Tingalēr - taru. A pearl umbrella by Madhurāntaka-dēvan Arumōli-naṅgaiyār alias Pirānnār, daughter of Rājēndra-cōḷa-dēva. 71 of 1920.

Year 30.—Enṉāyiram (SA.) — Tingalēr - taru. ‡ Assembly (Perunguri) of taniyūr Rājarāja-catm. met in the maṇḍapa Mummuḍi-śōḻan with Arangan Vīrīrundān alias Nirupēndra-śōḷa-Mūvēnda-vēḷar ṣ who was governing the village, and ordered the lands of the temple of Tiruvāyppāḍi-dēvar to be taxed on the lowest

* cf. 151 of Year 28.
‡ As in 221 of 1894 Yr. 32.
§ 240 of 1929 (Peṇṇēḍam, Year 32, day 345) also mentions him.
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scale (kaḍaiṭtaram), as were those of Rājarāja-vinnagar-dōvar and Kundavai-vinnagar-dōvar. The
royal order dated 137th day in the 27th year reached
the assembly only on 240th day in the 30th year.

330 of 1917.

Year 30.—Kanyākumāri (Tri.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum Śēra-
jan śālaiyum Ilangaiyum-tanḍāirkōṇḍa. Order to the
officers of the salt department (uppaḷaṇγaḷ kāṟuṇey-
vārum kaṇṭāṇi śeyvārum) in Rājarāja-pañḍi-niluju to
remit to the Śri Vallavapperuṅjālai alias Rājarājap-
peruṅjālai of Kaḷikkuḍi, salt at the rate “uppu muda-
lilum selvilum kalattvāy nāṭigai-yurai” (one nāṭi
of salt per kalam of salt added to stock or spent from
it,—Gopinatha Rao). Mentions that Nāṇjinnāṭṭu Manar-
kuḍi alias Mahāpāḷalukalākālap-petalām had stopped
remitting the kaiyurai salt for sometime before this

Year 30.—Ś. 97(0)—Mīndigal (Mys.)—(Kan). Vira Pāṇḍiyan-
taleyum Śēraḷan śālēyum. Land to temple. Con-
struction of a tank and sluice. Repair of temple with
plastering. Mentions Đaṇḍanāyaka Appimayya, gover-
nor of Mahārāja-vāḷi 7000 with Vallūr (Cud.) as his
seat. 279 of 1895 ; EC. x. Ct. 30 ; EL. v. p. 205.

Year 30.—Tiruvallam (N.A.) — Tingalēr-taru (with variant
readings). The sahī of Mandaram undertake to supply
three tumbai garlands (tiruppaḷiittānum) daily as
interest on 10 kalam 6 nāṭi and 1 uḷākku of paddy (?).
6 of 1890 ; S.I. iv. 329.

"Tiruvendēdu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Amalan śeyyavāyār
set up an image of Picca-dēvar, gave lands for its
requirements, presented gold and silver ornaments to
it, opened a charity house (śālai) and provided for its
maintenance. Daily wage of a woman servant of the
śālai was one kūṟūṇi of paddy. The same person
obtained lands for the temple from the king’s father
who was pleased to take the Pūrvadēsam, Gangai and
Kidāram.

450 of 1918.

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Year 30.—Trihuvani (Pondicherry)—Tingalér-taru (full). Land for offerings in the name of Rājendra-sōla by Sānāpati Rājendra-sōla Māvalīvaṇarājar, under the auspices of the great assembly of the village, a taniyūr, which met in the Maṇḍapa built by Śembiyan Umbaḷa-nāṭṭu-Mūvendavēḷān for the merit of Rājendra. 72 vēli yielding 12,000 kalam of paddy per annum, of which 2475 kalam went for festivals (specified), feeding Vaiṣṇavas and reciting the Tiruvāymoli, the balance going to the maintenance of an elaborately organised college of higher learning. Conditions laid down regarding the grading and taxation of this land. Exemptions for teachers and students. 176 of 1919.

Year 31.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Tingalér-taru. The servants of the temple residing at Madhuranṭaka-catm. received five kāśu from a merchant of that village and agreed to supply paddy towards the interest for maintaining a lamp in the temple of Kailāsamūdaiya-mahādōva.

721 of 1909.

Munagamakulapalli (C.)—(Kan). Rājarāja Brahmādhira was ruling Mahārājāvūḍi 7000. Mentions death of Mādabbe, wife of Sōvayya alias Rājendra-cōḷa-dēśa-Raṭṭāguḍi, son of Kommayya Raṭṭāguḍi.

295 of 1922.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tingalér-taru. In compliance with the king’s order, Vēṇkāṭan Tirunilakaṇṭhan alias Adhikāri Irumudi-sama-mūvendavēḷān utilised certain gold and silver vessels in the temple treasury for the erection of a golden pavilion for Udaiyār Vidi-viṣṭāka-dēva of Tiruvārūr. Other gifts recorded in continuation (verses.)

670 of 1919.

Tiruvilimilalai (Tj.)—A detailed description of the boundaries of Jayangoḍa-sōla-nallūr, a devadāna village of the temple of Tiruvilimilalai. Mention a survey of the temple lands.

393 of 1908.

* No. 723 recording the erection of a maṇḍapa in the temple says that the temple was founded by Dantu.
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Year 31.—Tiruvorliyar (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). The mahāsabba of Sundaraśīla-catm. and Vānava-mahādevicatm. sold land as māhipputram to Āriyavammī alias Nāgalavai𬶐, the wife of Prabhākara-bhaṭṭaṇ of Mogaḷpuram in the Āriyadēśa, who had done tiruppani to the local god and founded the Rājendra-sūljan-matḥa. 107 of 1892*; SII. iv. 555; 132 of 1912.

" Tīrūvoraliyar (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. 95 sheep for a lamp by Catural-caturi, the agamuḻiyal of Nāgan Perungāḷan and a dēvaraiyāl of the temple. 147 of 1912.

Year 32.—Basinikūḷa (C.) — Tīngalēr-peya. 1,500 merchants of all samayaśe, of the four quarters, including nāḍu, nagara and nāṇadēśī met at Sirivalī in Mugaṇāḷu† in Puraṇi-mūrayaṇḍi of Jayangonda-sūla-manṭalām, and resolved to convert the village into a nāṇadēṣiya Daśamalī-Śrīvirapatṭaṇa and grant certain privileges to the residents of that village. 342 of 1912.

" Nandi (Mys.)—Tīngalēr-peya (with alterations). Adīgārīgāl Māṭṭuṇḍaiyar ... alias ... Vīra Viccādīra Mūvendavaelār gave jewels to Mahānandīśvara on the Nandi hill. BC. x. Ch. 21.

" Tīṟucceṉgalaiṭṭangūḷi (Tj.)—Tīngalēr-taru. Land tax-free to temple in the village by the assembly of Tīrukkanpuram met in the temple of Brahmīśvaramuḻaiya-mahādēva of their village. 55 of 1913.

" Tīṟumalaṇaḍi (Tri.)—Tīngalēr-taru. The Perunugurimahāsabhai of Gaṇḍarāḍita-catm. met in the Śri Gaṇḍarāḍitac-cūri of the place (nammūr) and gave land for ten lamps to the temple. 81 of 1895; SII. v. 641. ‡

* cf 127 of 1912 n.d.
† cf. 256 of 1912, ARE. 1913 II 25.
‡ Astronomical details given fit only year 22. (Kielhorn EL. iv. p. 218). But the praśasti records late transactions of the reign and must be of year 32.
THE COLAS

Year 32. *—Tiruvaiyār (Tj.)—Tingalēr - taru. Three hundred Rājarāja-māḍas by Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva†; also gifts in year 27 of Periya-dēvar who conquered Pūrvadēsam etc., and year 31 of Rājādhīrāja. 300 Rājarāja-māḍas equalled 337½ kalañju by kuṭtiñakkal.

221 of 1894; SII. v. 520.

" Tiruvīḍhamarudār (Tj.)—Tingalēr - pega - valar. An endowment in favour of Araiyā Tiruvīḍhamarudār-unāśiyan alias Munnunṭi-śōla-nittappēraraiyan and his troupe. The grant proper begins with the word ' Kōrenimattaiyōkān.'

264 of 1907.

" Viḍḍhācālam (Sā.)—Tingalēr-valar. 32 cows for lamp. King called Jayagondā-śōla.

55 of 1918.

Year 32, day 28.—Temōri (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyat-talaiyum etc.—On a representation made to Adhikāri Vikarāyaṉa-Mūvandēlār who had convened an assembly in the hall called Rājarājan in Uttama-śōla-catm., the lands in the village were properly classified and assessed. The new award was engraved in the temple of Uttama-śōla-varam-unāśiyan.

239 of 1922.

Year 33.—Ś. 971—Cik-kāṭi (Mys.)-(Kan.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talēyum Cērālam sāleyum Lankaiyum dāṇḍālukonda. Erection of temple and grant of land and cows.

EC. iv. Gu. 93. ‡

Year 33.—Gangavāru (Mys.)—Tingalēr-taru. Seṇnai-nāḍu was the jirīta § conferred by the king on Seṇnati Rājendrā-śōla-brahma-mārāyar.

177 of 1911; EC. ix. Dv. 76.

* Introduction same also in 444 of 1905—year 31, Tiruttanī.

† Perhaps the future Kulōttunga I—ARE. 1895, paragraph 11.

‡ Ha. 32 n.d. mentions a war between Rājādlurāja and a Pallava; Ch. 50, the burning of the Cālukya palace at Kampili (on the Tungabhadṛī, in the Bellary District). EC. iv. Introduction p. 14.

§ Rice takes this to be the authorisation of some collections during the officers’ life-time. Eng. Tr. p. 85.
RAJAKESARI RAJADHIRAJA I

Year 33.—Kulambandal (NA.)—Tingalér-taru. Provision for a lamp and for antik-kāppu by Udaiyār Rājadhirājar Gurudēvar Adhikārigal Pārāśarya Vāsudēva-nārāyaṇan alias Ulagalanda-śōla Brahnamārājan.

413 of 1902; SII. vii. 1046.


505 of 1911; EC. ix. Nl. 25.

Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—Tingalér-taru. Agreement by the mahāsabhā of Abhayāśraya-catm. to pay all taxes on certain specified lands of the temple in lieu of interest on 250 kāśu received by them from the temple. Mentions grain measure: āyiravan-marakkāl and the Kuṇjaramallan-vāykkāl.

52 of 1925.

Tirumalaṇvūṭi (Tri.)—Tingalér-taru. Vira-rājendra-varman. Land, for daily worship of some images, by the Perungūrī - mahāsabhā of Gāṇṭharādiṭyā - catm. assembled in the temple Gāṇṭharādiṭyā-vinnagar.

78 of 1920.

Tiruvitiukkūṭi (Tj.)—Tingalér-taru. (form including Pūṇḍūr). Remission of taxes on some temple lands for a lump sum by the assembly of Gangaikonda-śōla-catm.

119 of 1926.

Yeldūr (Mys.)—Vira-Pūṇḍiyam talaiyum Śrēṇjan-sēlaiyum Ilmangiyum Iraṭṭapūṭiyum koṇḍa. Gifts to temple for tiruvamidu.

471 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 106 (a).

Year 34.—Brahmādēśam (NA.)—Tingalér-taru. Gold, 12 kāḷañju, for offerings to Pāsūpatamūrti when taken out on procession for śri-bali; the gift was by a woman of Niyanam in Pūḷar-kōṭṭam of Jayangonḍa-śōla-mandalam.

262 of 1915.
THE COLAS

Year 34.—Penumālam (SA.)—Rājak. Vijayarājendra-dēva who was pleased to take the head of Viṇḍṭya, the śālai of Śrūla, Ilanāia, Iraṭṭapā́di 7¼ lakhs, and who performed the anointment of victors at Kalyāṇapūram. Money for offerings to god and goddess. 245 of 1929.

Tiruvavāṇa (Tj.)—Tingalār-taru as in 92 of 1892 n.d. Sheep for two lamps by Arāiyān Nambanāgai, mother of queen Trailōkyam-udāiyār. 446 of 1918.


Year 35.—Ś. 975.—Kālayanā (Mys.)—(Kan.). Consecration of Gangōśvara and grant of land to the temple. 143 of 1898; EI. iv. Hg. 114.

Year 35.—Kōlär (Mys.)—Vaṇḍivāṇa-talaiyum Śrī... śālaiyum Ilanajīyum Iraṭṭapā́di. Viṇḍṭyālekkhamum kōṇṭu Kaliyāma-parattu jaya...m nāṭṭi virasanyasanattu viggirundu Vijayarājendirān-sangahśkan. jīna etc. (Fragment.) The king is called Parakēsari. 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 112 (b).

Kēmērivāṇapuraṇam (Tj.) — Same introduction as the preceding, with Śrūla-talaiyum for śālaiyum. Lamp to Vaṁśa temple. 656 of 1909 ‡.


Pāṇḍāravaṭdāi (Tj.) — Tingalār-taru. Agreement by assembly of Rājakēsari-catm. to pay all taxes on some temple lands in lieu of interest on amounts borrowed

† King taken to be different from and brother of Rājak. Rājadhirāja by Rice—EC. x p. xxvii.
‡ Text has year 34.
§ As in 179 of 1894.

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from the temple treasury in the 28th year of Periyadēvar who took Pārvadeśam etc., for the purchase of house-sites, and in the 31st year of Rājādhirāja amounting with interest to 710 kāśu. One kanañju was equal to two kāśu. 228 of 1923.

Year 35.—Tiruvaidandai (Ch.)—Vijayarājendra. Gift of this village to Mahā-viśṇu. Income from sekkirai and other dues was to be spent on monthly festivals on the day of Pūrva Phālguni, the king's asterism. The village was in Pañavīr-nādu, a sub-division of Kalliyāṅapuram-konṭa *-sōḻak-kōṭṭam (formerly Āmūr-kōṭṭam) in Jayangondi-śōḻa-maṇḍalam. The record is signed by 70 officers. 258 of 1910.

Year 35, day 90.—Tirukkolambiyir (Tj.)—Kōṇērinmaikōṇḍān. Royal gift of land as provision for wages, 75 kalam per annum, for two gardeners for a flower-garden after his name. 45 of 1925.

Year 35, day 93.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tingalēr-taru. Land, after alteration of its class by sahā in accordance with royal order, to the temple. Mentions Adhikāri-Āhavamalla-Kulāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān. 188 of 1919.

Year 35, day 281.—Kāñcipuram (Ch.)—Royal grant of a tax-free village, Sarvatīrthamallur, for worship and offerings to Sarvatīrthham-uṭaiya-mahādēva at the request of a number of royal officials, while the king was seated on the throne Pāllavarāyan in the Vejī-melai maṇḍapam in his palace at Gangaikōṇḍa-śōḻapuram. 420 of 1925.

Year 36.—Karsanapalli (C.)—Gift of tax on oil-mills for a lamp in the temple of Angakkāra-Iśvaram-uṭaiyār at Mattukura, an Erīvirapattāna, † by Sōḻakula-kāraṇa-Mūvēnda-vēḷān, who was the revenue officer in charge of the district, for the prosperity of the emperor. 321 of 1912.

* This conquest was in or a little before the 35th year of the reign — ARE, 1911 II 23.
† cf. 342 of 1912 of year 32.
THE COLAS

Year 36.—Kōṅerirājapuram (Tj.) — Tingalēr-taru. Land to temple at Tirunallam by the assembly of Pāvaikkudhi met under a tamarind tree * called Rājendraśōlan on the bank of the channel called suttamallī-vāykkal.

640 of 1909.

Sembiyanmahādevī (Tj.) See under year 10.

Takkōḷam (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. † Vijayarājendra-dēva. Undertaking by some persons in charge of the central shrine in the temple of Tiruvūral-mahādēva in Takkōḷam alias Iraṭṭapūḍi-konḍa-sōlapuram, to supply 7 nāḷi and one uṛi of ghi by Arumoli-dōvan measure as interest on 12 kalāṇju of gold received by them.

262 of 1921. ‡

Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tj.)—Tirukkoḍiyodu. Vijayarājendra-dēva. This introduction stresses the conquest of Āhavamalla and says that the Vijayarājendra title was assumed at the vīrābhīṣka that followed it. Gift of some land as sālābhōja, after reclamation, by Piccan Ādittan alias Vijayarājendra-Mūvēnda-vēḷan of Kōmakkuḍi, for feeding 17 persons in Rājadhīrājan-sālai and meeting the expenses of worship to Kālakāla-dēva.

244 of 1925.

§ Tiruvadi (SA.)—Tingalēr-taru. Rājākōṣari alias Uḍaiyūr Tribhuvana-cakravartin Rājādhīrāja-dēva. 96 sheep by two persons for a lamp

392 of 1921.

Year 38.—Tiruvoggiyūr (Ch.)—Sale of land by sabbā of Kuraṭṭūr for the daily services in the temple of Tiruvoggiyūr-uḍaiyūr-kāraṇai-viṭanka-dōvar.

129 of 1912.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Dārāsuraṁ (Tj.) — Records that the image of dvārapālaka under which the inscription is engraved was

* cf. the village peepal with a big platform round it in the centre of almost every Mysore village—ARE. 1910 ii 21.

† As in 172 of 1894.

‡ Text gives year (3)6.

§ The year is given as 18 in ARE. 1923, App. B.

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brought by the king from Kalyāṇapuram after his
capture of the place.
24 of 1908.

Eragaram (Tj.)—Part of the introduction of Rājādhirāja.
Seems to relate to the assignment of seven vēli of land
belonging to the temple on kuṭiningū-dēvadānam
tenure to Sundara Cōjaṇ Rājādhirāja-viccādira Palla-
varaiyan as the taxes on this land were not properly
paid up till then. 283 of 1927.

Puñjai (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Remission of taxes by
the king of some temple lands with orders to the
assembly on Talaiccangādu to take over the manage-
ment of the lands hitherto in the possession of the
temple. Mentions improvement of certain lands made
on behalf of the temple by a lady of the periya-vēlam
by name Sōman Śoḷakulasundari. 185 of 1925.

Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—Vira Pāṇdiyan-talaiyum etc.
Order of the king to the śthānattār and the dēvakannis
to bring under cultivation 6 mā of (waste) land for the
maintenance of two gardeners to look after the Rājā-
dhirājan-tirunandavanam. 48 of 1925.

Tiruppangili (Tj.) — Tingalēr-taru (variant form) 96
sheep for lamp. 92 of 1892; SII. iv. 539.

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.) — Sale of land tax-free by the
inhabitants (ūr) of Vesaśāru-pādiyūr to the Brahman
lady Āriyavannmai * for feeding the māhēśvaras in
the Rājēndraśūlan, the maṭṭha founded by her.
Mentions irrigation rights and other matters.
127 of 1912.

Tribhuvani (Pondicherry.)—Tingalēr-taru. In accor-
dance with royal order, the sabhā gave two vēli of land
as goldsmith's service-inam (kāṇi) to Aranagan Komāran
alias Rājādhirāja-perundaṭṭān who was required to
do goldsmith's work for himself and others within the
village and its hamlets. 210 of 1919.

* cf. Year 31—107 of 1892.
THE COLAS

Vellore (NA).—Fragment of praśasti.

41 of 1888; SII. iv. 139.

See under Rājendra II

Year 6.—Puṇḍari—193 of 1925 for king’s death on back of an
elephant; also 5 of 1899 (SII. vi. 440.) of year 6 of
Rājarāja II.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 2.—Tirunagovaram (Tj.) — Irañapadi etc. Receipt by the Mulaaparuñaiyar of Tirukkuñamukkil and other temple authorities of 100 kāśu from an individual for repairing damages caused by floods to the irrigation channel. Interest at one kalam of paddy on each kāśu was to be devoted to offerings in the temple (25 kalam) and to expounding the Śiva-dharma (75 kalam) in the assembly hall Tirucirrambalampuñaiyan built in the temple by the same person. Lands belonging to the temple and adjoining the channel were also damaged; the chieftain Vikiramasingapallavaraiyan lent to the trustees of the temple the amount required for restoring these to their original condition.

214 of 1911; ARE. 1912 II 24.

Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tirunagaj-maruviiya. Remission of taxes on a flower-garden, called 'Pomenda-soljan, by the ur of Kāraikkāl which met in the Durgā temple in the Sēnāmukham* of the village. Also remission of taxes on lands for gardens by the assembly of Bhulōka-māñikka-catm. in year 3 of Rājak. Virarajendra-dēva.

81 of 1928.

Year 3.—Jambai (SA.) — Tiru-maruviiya sengolvendan. A village officer demanded taxes from a woman, who declared that she was not liable. The former seems to have put her through an ordeal. The woman took poison and died. A meeting of the people from 'the four quarters, eighteen districts and various countries' was held, and it was decided that the man was liable. In order to expiate his sin he paid 32 kāśu for a lamp at the temple of Tiruttāntōṇṛ Mahādēva. The

* cf. Sēnāmukhattār in a Siam inscription. JRAS. 1913 p. 337, ARE. 1928 II 8.)
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vanik-kirumattar and the Šankarappüdiyär undertook the task of supplying 2/3 and 1/3 of the oil required.

80 of 1906.


478 of 1911 ; ĖC. x. Kl. 107.

" Tirukkolambiyär (Tj.)—Tirumagał-maruviya. Undertaking by the Śivabrahmanas and two uvaccōr of the temple to perform certain specified ceremonies including hūma on every new-moon day to god Nānādēśīya-Viṣṇukar, from the interest on money and produce of land given to them by an officer of the sigulanattupperundaram named Maṇaikkudan Devan alia Kājāraja Tādigaippādi-nāḍāļvān of Śattanūr. 51 of 1925.

" Tiruvaiyāgu (Tj.) — Fragments of the introduction. Gold ornaments to the Ten-kailāsa shrine in the temple by Nambirāṭṭiyār Trailōkyam-uḍaiyār Adigāricci.

213 of 1894 ; SII. v. 512.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru - maruviya. 25 kalajuju of gold given to temple authorities for feeding a learned Brehman and for other purposes. The total interest was padakkunel every day. 75 of 1889 ; SII. iii. 55.

" Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapädi etc. Details of the quantity of gold used for plating and gilding the different parts of golden pavilion-(ponnin tirumaṇḍapam).

669 of 1919.


396 of 1912.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 4.—* Manimangalam (Ch.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Sale of land in Amanpakkam, tax-free, to Kāmakavaitiyā, mother of Sēnāpati Jayangonḍa-sōḷa Brahmādhirāja, who gave it to the temple. Mentions meeting at the Brahmasthāna maṇḍapa of the Mahāsaṅkha of Rāja-cūḷāmaṇi-caruppēdi-mangalam.

3 of 1892; SII. iii. 29.

" Tiruppugalār (Tj.)—Tirumagaḷ-maruviyva. Remission of taxes on temple lands by the assembly of Bhūlōka-māṇikka-catm.

79 of 1928.

" Tiruvāḻuturai (Tj.)—Iraṭapāṭi etc. (in middle of the record). Royal (Kōṇerini-maṇḍān) confirmation of grant made by the Māheśvaras of certain privileges in the temple to Parasūrāman Sankaran of Āṭangārikuḍi for his acts of piety, such as, providing for offerings at Tiruvāḻuturai on festival days in Purattāsi, constructing in his own village a temple called Madhurāntaka-Iśvara and endowing lamps and offerings therein. His father provided also a perpetual lamp in the temple at Tiruvāḻuturai.

108 of 1925.

Year 4, day 184.—Kanyākkumāri (Tv.)—Iraṭapāṭi etc. The king, seated on Kāḻuveṭṭi in Kērāḷa-māḷigai in Gāngaikōṇḍa-sōḷapuram, orders certain taxes from dēvādana villages to be devoted to a festival on the birthday of Nampenūḷaṭi Kilānaṭigai. Kanyākkumāri is called Gāṅgai-kōṇḍa-sōḷapuram. Details of taxation and administrative procedure given.

TAS. i. pp. 164-8.

Year 5.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tirumagaḷ - maruviyva. Sale of land to temple of Bhavurudraśomīśvara-dēva on the south bank of the river Vēkā (Vēgavit) by the assembly of Parākrama-sōḷa-catm. in Dāmar-nāḍu of Jayangonḍa-sōḷa-maṇḍalam. Rights of irrigation and residence for labourers secured.

244 of 1915.

THE COLAS

Year 5.—Brahmadēsām (NA.)—Tirumagal-maruvinya. Rajak. *
Uḍaiyār Rājendra. Sale of land tax-free to temple of Uruttīraśūla-mahādēva on the south bank of the Veḷkā at Parakrama-śūla-catam. by the Mahāsabhā of Ven-
kuḷattūr alias Panaṃcēvara-catam. Rights of irrigation
secured. 256 of 1915.

Kūḻūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-maruvinya. Sale of land to
temple of Tirukkōvalūr tax-free by ūr of Pudupāṭūr
as provision for recitation of Tiruvemēravai on Margaḷi
Tiruvādirai days and for offerings and prasādam to
persons specified. 12 of 1905.

Kuttalām (Tj.)—Iraṭṭopāḍi etc. Money to the temple
of Šonnavāraṇīvar at Vignu-nirt-turunti by a native of
Jayangoṇḍa-śūla-puram for feeding itinerant Šaiva
devotees to secure success to the arms of the king.†
486 of 1907.

Kūvam (Ch.)—Tirumādar-puviyenum. Sale of land
for 160 kāśu by the assembly of Kōṭṭūr alias Cōla-
vidyādharan-catam., in Kaṇṇūr-nāḍu of Manavirkōṭṭūm
in Jayangoṇḍa-śūla-maṇḍalām through which a feeder
channel to the Tribhuvana-mūḍēvīp-pērēri at Kūvam
alias Madhurāntakanallūr was to pass. 328 of 1909.

Tirukkalukkuṇṇam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-nilaviya. ‡ 90
sheep for lamp. 173 of 1894; SII. v. 466.

Tiruḷḷupugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruvinya. Agreement
by the assembly of Pugalūr to pay ten kāśu as interest
on forty kāśu lent to them from the sum given by
Pākaraṇa Arumōḷi alias Akāraṇa-dāṇi Pallavaraiyar of
Veḷūr for the expenses of the nēḷḷrām ceremony in
the temple. 57 of 1928.

* Mistake for Parak. Confusion due to overlapping reigns and independent
exercise of powers at the close of a reign. ARE. 1916. II 14.

† The details given here are not in the text, which is an incomplete record
giving only the name of temple followed by the names of some Šivabṛhmanas.

‡ This short form has much in common with Iraṭṭopāḍi etc.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 5.—Tiruvaṭumbā (Tri.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Money for lampstand by a yeṇḍāṭṭa of the Uyyakkonḍā-teriṇḍa-tirumaṇiṆaṭṭār-vuḷani at Gangai-koṇḍa-śoḷa-puram.
121 of 1914.

Year 5, day 35.—Kutṭālam (Tj.)—Begins Kōṇerūnmaikaṇḍān. Tiru-maruviya in middle of record. Land, tax-free, given in year 3 day 143 for festivals to Šonnavaṛi-yum-mahādīva at Vingu-nīrt-turutti (in Tiruvalunduṁ-nāṇu) on the king's birthdays. Also gift of taxes due from some villages, amounting to eighty kāṭu per annum, for Màrgaḻi-tiruvādirai, to the temple. Regulation of expenses (nivandam), made on the day mentioned in year 5.
101 of 1926.

Year 5, day 135.—Mēlaţuvaḷūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Land as naṭṭuvak-kuṇi to a dancing master.
361 of 1924.

Year 6.—Ś. 979 *.—Bēḷaṭāru (Mys.) (Kan.). A long pathetic poem on the sati of Dēkabbā, the daughter of a chief of Nugunuḍ, her husband having been sentenced to death and the sentence executed at Taḷakkād for his having killed a member of the royal family in a wrestling contest. 141 of 1898; EJ. iv. Hg. 18; EJ. vi. pp. 213-9 (Fleet).

Year 6.—Puṇjai (Tj.) †—Irāṭalupiḷi etc. Agreement of the assembly to pay taxes on some lands in lieu of interest at 50 per cent. from the 3rd year on 80 kāṭu received by them in parts from Irumaṇī-śoḷa-muvenda-vēḷār in year 36 of Anaimṟṟuṇjiyarulina Vijaya-rājendra-dēva and in year 3 of Rājendra-dēva. Produce from the land to be used for midday service to Tiruvalambaram-ulaiya-nayanār, his consort and the Pillaiyār set up by him in the temple. Also gift of 30 kuḷaṇju to temple for beating the kuccōram (ʔ) on the marriage day of Āḷappiyandār; this gift was made in year (3) 2 of Parak. Rājendra who took Pūrvadēśam, Gangai, and Kaḷāram.
103 of 1925.


† The text gives date year 3 immediately after the introduction and then mentions year 6; also expression “Ilaikkoḷai leydu kuṇutta-nilam.”
THE COLAS

Year 6.—_Tanjore_ (Tj)—_Tirumagar-maruviiya_. Royal order to provide a _tüni_ of paddy daily for playing the _Rājarājēśvaranātaka_ in the Rājarājēśvara temple to Śāntik-kūttan Tiruvālăn Tirumudukunān _alias_ Vijayarājendrācāryan and his _vargattār_ as _kāni_. The performance was to take place in the _Udaiyār-vaiāśip-Periya-tiruvilā_, the total annual allowance being 120 _kalam_ to be given out of the temple treasury.

55 of 1893; _SII_. ii. 67.


"_Tiruppugalār_ (Tj.) — _Tirumagar-maruviiya_. Money, by Devan-pāṭṭagāl-Puṇjāram and her daughter belonging to the Śivapūṇḍikāhara-teriṇjia-tirumāṇjanattār Vēlam, for offerings to Ulaguuyakoppā-sōla-sūrya-dēva, set up by them in the temple. 64 of 1928. *

"_Tiruvallam_ (NA.) — _Tirumagar-maruviiya_. Gift of 1,500 _kuṭṭi_ to be cleared of forest and cultivated as _arcanā-bhāya_, for worshipping Durgā standing in the north-western corner of the temple, to a Śivabrāhmaṇa by the _devakanmis_ and residents (ūr) of . . . . . . _nūr_. 217 of 1921.

"_Tribhuvani_ (Pondicherry) — _Tirumagar-maruviiya_. Order of Tirumandirā-ōlai Pallavan Pallavaraiyār at the request of Sēnāpati Vāṇādhirājar that none except the Vēḷḷāḷas of Vākkūr should levy or _pāy_ any kind of _āḷ_ within the village, and that others who do so should be considered to have transgressed the law. This was agreed when Perumpuliyūr-nambi was inspecting the temple business. † 180 of 1919.

* cf. 63 of year 11.
† _Business was transacted by assembly at night_. _ARE_. 1919, II 15.
Year 6.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry.)—Tirumagal-maruviy. An order of the assembly in accordance with a royal mandate altering the classification of land at Putthu already granted for the merit of Udayan-pirattiyar Pirantakan Uleng-mudōviyar. Refers to kaṭhāiyud of Villavarayar Mūvenda-vēḷu, the adhikārin who is called annān and Šenāpati Rājendra Vaiyāgarac-cōḷan. 181 of 1919.

Year 6, day 300.—Vēppangulam (Ch.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Sale of land as iyaiyilī dhvudāna for 97 kalaṇju of gold. 416 of 1902: SII. viii. 1.

Year 7.—Kōṇrīrājapuram (Tj.)—Iraṭapāḷi etc. Land. The Perunugari-sabhai of Pāvaikkuḷi met in the temple of Madhurāntaki Iśvaram-udaiyār. 634 of 1909.

Puṇjai (Tj.)—Tirumōdar-puviyenum. An iyaiyikāval of 200 kāśi received by the assembly of Talaccangūdu from the temple for taxes on 2½ vēli of land given in return for 1½ vēli which, having been assigned to the temple for havirbali-dāna, and found unproductive owing to the high level of the land and the difficulty of irrigating it, had therefore to be resumed as village common land. 194 of 1925.

Śingavaram (S.A.)—Tirumagal-maruviy. Lamp by a chief in atonement of his having stabbed a military official. 227 of 1904.

Tirumulai (NA.)—Kōparatrakēsari alias Śrī Rājendra-cōḷa-dōva. Adhikāri Kōryamangalam-udaiyān made an enquiry of Śīrūdanam Panimagau Kudippangudaiyān and Tiruyēngala-dōva Karmis, discovered irregularities in the maintenance of lamps endowed before, only two out of twenty-one were being burnt, and regulated matters for the future, the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas accepting his finding. 61 of 1889: SII. iv. 293.

* A later copy. May be of Rājendra I.
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Year 7.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — Tirumagal - maruviya.
Land, for offerings etc., to Vira-sōla-vināgar-Śīvār; made iṟaiyili by the great assembly which met at night in the temple. Royal order suggesting the action. 183 of 1919.

Year 8.—Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tirumādar-puviyenum. Land left in charge of dēvakannis for offerings to an image set up by Śirudanap-perundaram Sēnāpati Araiyan Kaṭakkangonḍa-sōlān Rājarāja Aṇīmurī - nāḍāltyān the son of an Aṇukki of Rājendra-cōla-dēva I. Other gifts. 84 of 1805; SI: v. 644.


" Tiruvārū (Tj.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Land for offerings, for feeding twelve sīvayōgins every day in the temple, and for two ear-ornaments to the god. 677 of 1919.

" Tiruvārū (Tj.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Deposit of gold with certain merchants of Tiruvārū for offerings and oil for bath to the god; further gifts of gold for clothes to images and fees to temple songsters and servants. 678 of 1919.

Year 9.—Brahmadēsam (NA)—The assembly of Karaikkōṭtu-brahmadēsam alias Parākrama-sōla-catm. met in the temple of Pondai-udaiyār, and ordered the public sale of land to the temple of Rudraśölai-mahādēva on the southern bank of the Veṭkā. 270 of 1915.

" Karuvū (Coi.)—Tirumagal - maruviya. Grant of a village to the Tiruvānilai temple. Signed by five officers who also appear in an inscription of Vira-rājendra (SI: iii. 20), one of them being Araiyan Rājarājan alias Viraraṇḍra Jayamuri-nāḍāltyān, perhaps the same as Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāltyār of the Ceylon inscription (Sangili-Kanadarava) of Rājendra. 59 of 1890; SI: iii. 21.
PARAKESÁRI RAJENDRA II

Year 9.—Karuvúr (Coi.)—Tirumág! - maruviya. Grant of Nelváyppaḻi to the Tiruvánilai temple. Signed by the same officers as the preceding (SII. iii 21), some prefixing Kulöttunga to their names.

65 of 1890; SII. iii. 22.

" Kuttálam (Tj.)—Tirumádu - puviyenun (later form). Undertaking by a number of Brahmins of Tiruvañundúr, a brahmádévya, to feed Śivabráhmanaś during the mid-day service of Šonnavaṉarivaṟ with the interest (30 kaḷum) on 25 kāśu received by them from Veṅkaṉan-Āḻavallān, a merchant in the big bazaar (angádi) within the fort of Gangaikōṇḍa-ōḻapurm, who had made this endowment for the prosperity of the king’s arms.

102 of 1926.

" Mahábalipuram (Ch.)—Iruṭṭapāṭi etc. The nagarattār of Nagaramámmallapuram alias Janaṉáthapuram define limits of tax-free lands held by Śri - Paramēśvara-maháváraḥ-vaṁaprattāḻvār, make some additions to them and regulate expenses.

54 of 1890; SII. iv. 377.

" Pulalār (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, as Bhārata-vrtti for the exposition of the Bhāratam, Rāmāyaṇam and similar Purāṇas in the temple of Tiruvaiyōdūhi, by the assembly of the village.

48 of 1923.

" Tirumalavāṭi (Tri.) — Tirumádar - puviyenun. Ornaments including a ‘mantrapuspam with nilam and other items, Rājādhirāja is called the elder brother of the king and a gift of year 3 of Virarājendrā-dēva (successor) is mentioned. *

87 of 1895; SII. v. 647.

Year 10.—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Iruṭṭapāṭi etc. Paddy for offerings. Interest 6 nāṭi per kaḷam per month.

171 of 1902; SII. vii. 798.

* ARE. 1895 paragraph 9, contra the published text (SII. v. 647 II. 52-3).
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Year 10.—Tereyūr (Mys.)—An introduction with many gaps. Capture of 75 elephants of the Bhadra species including Śatrubhayankara and Karapattira as well as camels and queens of Áhamalla.

EC. xii. Mi. 76.

,, Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru-marurviya. Land and certain rights to a Śivabrāhmaṇa for the worship of Tribhuvanásundara (Ṣōla-kēraḷa-viṭānkar), his consort and Pillaiyār set up by the assembly and some regiments of the army named. 214 of 1921.

,, Tiruvallam (NA.)—850 kuṭi of land as urvanābhōga to Sōla-kēraḷa-viṭānkar set up by the assembly. Land sold as devadāna izaiyili to the temple by the sabhā. 215 of 1921.

Year 11. — Kaḷuttār (NA.) — Tirumādu-puviyenum. Sale of tax-free land to one of the āṭungaṭṭar by sabhā including the samvatsara-vāriyam of Vikramaśingacatun., for the perumbali offerings on Sundays to the Pāśupatamūrtigal in the temple of Tiruk-kumbisvaram-ūḷaiya Mahādōva. Special grant, in lieu of taxes, of 37 kāśu, equal to 10 kaḷaiju and 9 maṇḍi * of gold of the fineness of Madhurāntakam-māṇḍai. 157 of 1916.

,, Tiruppurgalār (Tj.) — Iraṭṭapadi etc. Ornaments presented to Śinga-dōva and his two consorts set up in the temple at Pugalur by Devanpatṭagal-Pandurām and her daughter belonging to the Śivapadasekhara-teriṇja-tirumanaṭṭar-veḷāin. 63 of 1928.†


* 15 kaḷaiju 9 maṇḍi and 2 māḍ, as now read. Codrington, Ceylon Cōlas p. 85.

† cf. 64 of year 6.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:


Kunadaru Korale (Ceylon) — Mentions Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāḻvēn. 612 of 1912 †; SII. iv. 1408.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tirunādu-ṇuviyenum. An order (of the king) of Vēḷāḷakūṭṭan alias Śembīyan Mūvēnda-vēḷān to cover with gold plates certain portions of the garbhagṛha and the ardhamāṇḍapa of the temple. 675 of 1919. ‡

* This name occurs also in 247 of 1909 (a-d.) as an alias Kālamūr with part of the introduction of Parak. Rājadra.
† cf. 600 of 1912; MV. Chh. 56, 58-60
‡ cf. 669 of year 3; 670 of Rājēdbhirāja 31.
RAJKESARI RAJAMAHENDRA-DEVA

Year 2.—Cidambaram (SA.)—Frag. Mentions Parantakan Lōka-mahūdūvīyār. 612 of 1930.

"Hōsahāḷī (Mys.)—Manunidi-mūrai - vaḷara. Gift of land to Tiruviyulūr Parānjōti alias Agūraśīva of the Tiruvūral-māṭha, who was a native of Avikūr alias Jayangoṇḍa-sōḷapuram in Perumbhaniṇḍi.

172 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 33.

"Pulallūr (Ch.)—Tirumangai-vaḷara. Land given as Bhārata-vṛtti by a lady, wife of one of the āḷuṅgaṇam of Madhurāṇṭaka-catm. 50 of 1932.

"Tiruvadandai (Ch.) 275 of 1910.

"Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagāḷ - viṅgaṇa. Śankarana Gaṇḍarāḍittan alias Śenāpati Gaṇḍarāja-cūḷiyavaṇigār purchased from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam 800 kuḷī of land for 64 good current kāśu equal to 22 kaḷaṅjū and 8 maṅjāḍi in gold at 7 maṅjāḍi per kāśu, and presented it to the temple.

5 of 1890; SHI. iii. 56.

Year 3.—Grāmam (SA.) 741 of 1905.


"Olagapuram (SA.)—Manunidi-mūrai-vaḷara. Sale of land by the nagarattār of Ulōga-māḍēviṇur for being presented to the temple of Ariṇḍarkēśari-Iśvaram to meet the expenses of the shrine of Rājendra-sōḷa-viṭankaṇcar in it. 130 of 1919.

"Olagapuram (SA.)—Manunidi-mūrai-vaḷara. Sale of land by the nagarattār of Ulōga-māḍēviṇur to a certain Śattan for being presented to the temple of Ariṇḍigai-Vinnagar Virirundāḷvar of śivur-tirumēḻardhuwulī for expenses. The sale-deed was drawn up by
RAJAKESARI RAJAMAHENDRA-DEVA

Samantabahu Ācārya, a worshipper of the Sundara-śoḍhap-perumbāḷḷi of this town. 141 of 1919.

Year 3.—Tiruppāpuliyūr (SA.) — Short introduction says that the king fought with Āhavamalla. *

119 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 743.

* This confirms his place between Rājendrā and Virarājendrā cf. SII. iii. pp. 113 ff. ARE. 1902 paragraph 9.
Year 2. — Ālambakkam (Tri.) — Tiruvalar-tiralpuya. Assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. met in the temple of Tiruvil-lūlūr–Pallikkonṭalāvār of this village and made a gift of land to Tiruvilūśvaram-udaiya-mahādēva. 718 of 1909.

"Tiruvanṇāmalai (N.A.) — Repair of a tank by Topdai-mānācī, daughter of Gangaiyār, to whom the lands irrigated by it were surrendered by former tenants who, being unable to repair the tank, had allowed the lands to lie waste for a long time, 552 of 1902; SII. viii. 143.

Tiruvenkādu (Tj.) — Tiruvalar-tiralpuya. Taxes in several villages in three nāḍus in the Rājādhirāja-vala-nāḍu granted for festivals and offerings on Ayilliyam days (the king’s asterism) to Tiruvenkādu-udaiyar. 113 of 1896; SII. v. 976. ‡

"Tiruvorvīyur (Ch.) — Vīramē-tuṇaiyāgavaum. Apportionment of 120 kāśu paid as rent by the Śāliya merchants in the Jayaśinga-kula-kāla-perundurō of Tiruvorvīyur for special services in the temple on the day of Āśleṣa, the star of the king’s nativity, as settled by the officer Jayaśinga-kula-kāla-viluppāraiyan, after an enquiry held in the vakkānikkum-manḍapa in front of the temple. 136 of 1912.

Year 3. — Puṭjadi (Tj.) — 80 kāśu by six persons for obtaining the tirukkāṉaṇakkāl (title-deed ?) which had been lost after the death of their relation, a certain Tiruvēṇkādu-udaiyān of Koṇṇadūr. 190 of 1925.

* Rējamahēndra was the immediate predecessor of Vīrājēndra. ARE. 1910 II 12.

† Read as 22 in ARE. 1910 II 22.
‡ 482 of 1918 (Yr. 2 + 1) is similar.
§ Probably after a surname of the king, the opponent of W. Cīlvukya Jayasimha III. Other quarters in the place were: Tribhuwanasundarap-perundurō of the Mangādis, and Nagpattemḻiṟap-perundurō of sculptors and artisans. ARE. 1913 II 32.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Year 3.—Tiruvāmmattūr (SA.)—Viramē-tunaiyāgavum. Gold and cows for two lamps by Viccādiran-madhurāntakam alias Sēnāpati Virarājendra Kārāṇai Viḻupparaiyan of Kālīkula. 3 of 1922.

Uyyakkōṇān-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Taxes for a festival by the king while seated on the throne called Abhimāna-rāman at Tiruvānaikkāval. Among the taxes mentioned is duṣabanda. 462 of 1908.

Year 3 + 1. — Kuruvār (Coi.)—Tiruvaḷar-tirai. Grant of a divadāna by the king from his palace at Gangai-kōṇḍa-sōḷapuram. 58 of 1890; SIHL. iii. 20.

Year 4.—Māṉūr (Mys.)—Tiruvaḷar-tirai-puṇya up to Gangai-mūnayar; only the introduction is preserved. 194 of 1911; LC. ix. Cp. 85.

Punganūr (NA.)

541 of 1906.

Tennīri (Ch.)—Viramē-tunai (part). 93 sheep for lamp distributed among three persons, 48 with one and 22½ with each of the other two. 198 of 1901; SIHL. vii. 410.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Viramē-tunai up to kāṅkūṇḍu, and then—Svasti Śri Sakala-bhūvan-āśraya-Śri-Mēlini—Vallabhā—Mahārvājādhirāja—Cūḷakula-sundara * Nāṉjiya-Kulāntaka Āhavanallakula-kāla Āhavanallunai munmaṇṭi † vemkāṇṭha (Rājaśēkhara) Rājāśraya (Rājarājēndra) Śri Vira Cūḷa ‡ Karikūla-vēḷa Śri Virarājēndra-dēva Rājākarivarsemblermān-adigal Kōṅrūrnaṅkōṇḍān. Object of the record is not clear §. Mentions the nagarattār of Tirunāvalur alias Rājądittapuram. 371 of 1902; SIHL. iii. 81.

Tiruvvōḷiyūr (Ch.)—Tiruvaḷar-tirai-puṇya. Sale of land by residents of Elinulai for presentation as

* Śēkhara in others.
† Aiṇṭaṇḍi in later records. ‡ cf. Virasīlīyam. § Land to Tiruttoṭṭāvar. ARE. 1902 App. B.
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madappuram to the Rājendra-śoḷa-maḍam. The price was paid by Tiruvarama-ḍevan alias Mummuḍi-
śoḷa Brahmārāyaṇ of Viranārāyaṇa-catm., a taniyūr
in Rājendraśinga-vaḷa-ṇāḍu of the Śoḷa-ṇaḍaḷam.
Land was made īgaiyī, the taxes remitted being
named. 135 of 1912.

Year 5.—Accavappākkam (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇai (part). Gift of
paddy and taxes (named) to god.
253 of 1901; SII. vii. 467.

" Byādarahalli (Mys.)—Viramē-tuṇai up to Śinganānai-
yun-ṇaḷaiyyaṇagāṇḍu. Self-immolation (tippāya)
of a lady on the death of her husband.

" Gangaikondacōḷapuram (Tri.)—Tiruvalar-tiru followed
by Viramē-tuṇai several times. Long but ill-preserved.
82 of 1892 *; SII. iv. 529.

" Kili (SA.)—Viramē-tuṇai up to munnava virada-
mudittu. 48 sheep for lamp by a Maṇḍalī.
273 of 1902; SII. iii. 82.

" Maṇimangalam (Ch.) — Tiruvalar-tirulpuya. 4450
kuḷi of land to temple as arcanaḥhōga by Śenāpati
Jayangōḍa-śoḷa Brahmādhirāja whose father Maṇjīp-
payamūr alias Jayasimha-kulāntaka-piramārayar had
purchased the land from the village.
2 of 1892; SII. iii. 30.

" Tiruvogiyūr (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇaiyāgavan. Sale of
land to temple by assemblies of Sundara-śoḷa-catm. and
Vānava-mādeva-catm., the temple share of produce
being 30 kalam per vēli. Another sale of waste land
in year 6 by assembly of Śingaṉīṉu-catm. for Virā-
ṛājendran-tirunandavanam, founded by Tiruvaran-
γaṇa Rājendra-mūvēnda-vēḷan of Maṇakkuḍi.
228 of 1912.

* 82-b mentions year 23 of Ayyan who took Pūrvaḍhām, Gangai, and
Kaṭāran. SII. iii. p. 195 and n. 11.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Year 5.—Tiruvoggiyur (Ch.)—Viramé-túvaiyágavum. Shrine of Padambakka-dëva * was built of stone by adhitári Rájendra Múvenda-völän. 232 of 1912.

Year 5, day 348.—Tirumukkújil (N.A.)—Tiruvu§ar-tirálpuya. Royal order assigning the taxes of Vayalaikkávúr, making it a tax-free dèvadána, for the requirements of a Víṣṇu temple at Tirumukkújil in Madhurántaka-catam. Mentions eight officers, the satí Rájendra-śoḷamávali-váparájan in the Sóla-Kcárañ-tírumáligai at Gangaikónda-śoḷapuram. Details of the equipment of a hospital (átula-śálaï), and a school in the temple are also given. 182 of 1915.

Year 6.—Janbái (N.A.)—Viramé-túvaiyágavum. Gift of land to an accountant (nagurdkkamkkan) by the temple authorities among whom figures the Mahárvatí Lakulíśvara Páṇḍita.† The beneficiary was to write up the accounts of the temple. 100 of 1906.

Pottáppallí (Mys.)—Titles as in 371 of 1902 (Yr. 4) with variations, most important among them being aímannadívenkañgla for mummañi. Gift of wet land (nír nilam) 50 kuli and dry land (tåláførbam) 1000 kuli by an orphan for the merit of his deceased father and his mother who committed satí (tiyilpáñjíl). 188 of 1911; EC. x. Ct. 161.

Tiññivánam (N.A.)—Viramé-túvai (full). Twelve cows for offerings of ghi and curd for hóma and amudú to the Tiruvunmáligai sabhaiyár of the temple. 207 of 1902; SII. iii. 83.

Year 7.—Badur (N.A.)—Gold for lamp by two goldsmiths of Vádavúr. 411 of 1922.

Perumbér (Ch.) — Viramé-túvai (alternative form). The Mahásabhá of taniyår Madhurántaka-catam give traiyili land, from land described as parappum tålívum-íngi-mañjikkanágak-kiñdanda nilattil, to Tiruttán-

* ARE. 1913 II 32.
† Same as in 85 of 1889. (Múlpá) Yr. 9 of Rájendra I. ARE. 1907 II 39.

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tonri-mahā-Śri-karaṇa Īśvaram-udaiyar at Namār-piṭāgai-peru-Perūr alias Tribhuvana-nallūr.

266 of 1901; SII. iii. 84.

Year 7.—Tirukkalukkunram (Ch.)—Virami-tuṇai as in 266 of 1901. 90 sheep for one lamp; again 270 for three.

175 of 1894; SII. v. 468.


Ś. 991—(Saumya) * Yogi-Mallavaram (C.)—Sakalabhu-vannāśravya. † After Śaka year, Virami-tuṇaiyāgavum.
Mentions temple of Piplāśvaram-udaiya-mahādeva.

273 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Eluvanāśūr (SA.)—A curious declaration by a sati:
"If she lived after her husband, she should become the slave of her co-wives. Whoever said she ought not to die should incur the sin of prostituting his wife. If she did not die, those who did not bind and throw her into the fire and kill her should incur the sin of prostituting their wives."

156 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II 41.

Kaṭambarkoḻil (Ch)—Tiruvāḷar-tirai (part). Sale of land by ūr.

226 of 1901; SII. vii. 439.

Takkōḻam (NA.)—Tiruvāḷar-tiraiḻpuya (with variations) and signatures.

19 of 1897; SII. v. 1382.

Tirupputtūr (Md.)—Sanskrit part mentions Kollāpura.
A part of the Tamil introduction and mention of ayyar (father?) who took Gangai, Pūrvadeśam and Kaṭāram.

110 of 1908.

* This gives acc. Ś. 986 (1062-4 A.D.) contra, Kielhorn A.D. 1062-3. Perhaps cyclic year in this Y.M. record is wrong. Ruled up to 1907-8. ARE. 1904, paragraph 21.

† See under yr. 4 (371 of 1902). The variants noted there are from this record.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

_Tiruvorripūr_ (Ch.)—Reclamation of 60 _vēli_ of waste land in Singavishṇu-catm, by order of the king. It was to be called Virarājendravilāgam, its produce being utilised for services in the temple 'for the health of Cakravartin Virarājendra-ḍēva, for the increase of his race; for the prosperity of the _tirumangalyam_ of the queen, and for the health of their children.' Paddy, gold and _kāsu_ were appropriated to various items of expenditure including (a) the pay of two priests and a musician for _pallīyē_ ; (b) _tiruvādirai-tirunāḷ_ including recitation of the _tiruvembāvai_ and (c) the maintenance of 22 _tēliyilār_ who danced and sang, one dancing master, 16 _dēvaratīyār_ who recited the _tiruppādiyam_ in the _agamārtga_ and (d) of four cooks.

128 of 1912; _ARE_. 1913 II 32.

_Yōgi Mallavaram_ (C.)—Virarājendra-ḍēva. Taxes from Munñaippūndi, a _dēva_dāna, made over to the temple of Tiruppalādiśvara of Tiruccukanūr by Nāraṇa-ḍēva, a local chieftain with Cālukya titles. 266 of 1904.
PARAKESARI ADHIRAJENDRA-DIWA.

Year 2.—Gidangil (S.A.)—Said to be copy. Gift of land, by purchase from ird by a certain Satta Nalayiravan alias Karikula-sola Sengeni-nadivalvan.

227 of 1902; SII. vii. 854.

" Tiruvakkurai (S.A.)—The rimuna of Varadaraja-perumal (in the Candramaulisvara temple) which had been previously built of bricks by Kocola, was now reconstructed of stone.

205 of 1904. *

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Tingalr-malaredu. Remission of taxes on four maid of land by assembly (name lost) in favour of Tirukkarali-mahadeva for seven kasis received from the temple treasury.

123 of 1926.

Year 3.—Kalavai (N.A.)—Tingalr-malaredu. Sale of land by the mahaswaha to the Tirukkairisvara temple at Ulagalanda-Cola-catam.

228 of 1901; SII. vii. 442.

" Kilur (S.A.)—Tiru-maapandaiyum. Lamp.

256 of 1902; SII. vii. 884.

" Kuhur (Tj.)—Tingalr-malaredu. Land for recitation by a person of Tirupadiyam twice a day before Mambalam-udaiya-mahadeva for (the recovery of the health of ?) the king.

280 of 1917.

" Mogavadi (N.A.)

573 of 1906.

" Panaiyavaram (S.A.)

438 of 1903.

" Panaiyavaram (S.A.)—Gift of land by purchase to Paravai I Sivaram-udaiya-mahadeva by a native of Mitalai- kurrum in Rajaraja-Panda-nalu.

322 of 1917.

" Polonnuruva (Cey.)—Tingalr-malaredu. Gift of five kasi for lamp to Vanavan-madavi-Sivaram at Jananathamangala (old name of Polonnaruva), left in the

* Rightful successor of Virarajendra I; in possession of Kocola as capital in Yr. 3.=1072-4 (SII. iii. p. 117) Rajaendra II, Kulashtunga, usurper. ARE. 1904, paragraph 21.

† Paravaipuram, old name of Panaiyavaram. ARE. 1918 I. 32.

‡ Siva temple Ferguson i. 246. cf. SII. iii. p. 114-8.
PARAKESARI ADHIRAJENDRA-DEVA

charge of the priests and their descendants, servants, dancing girls and the nāṭṭavar.

594 of 1912; SII. iv. 1388.

Year 3.—Puduppādi (NA.)—Sale of land on the banks of the Pālār by the villagers (Puduppādi ār) to the temple as the land had become unfit for cultivation in a flood.

428 of 1905.

Pullaganṭivāripalle (Cud.)—Mentions Iraṭapādi-kopda-sōla-maṇḍalam.

537 of 1905.

Tirukklāṇūr (Tj.)—Gift of land and house by the assembly (sabhā) of Alaiyūr to the Viṣṇu-temple of Maṇavāla - āḷvār. Mentions Virarājendrā - devar-vāykkāl.

165 of 1911.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Fragment.

355 of 1902; SII. vii. 985.

Tiruppāvoor (Ch.)—Tiru-mañjundaiyum. Order issued by king from his palace at Gangai-konṭa-sōlapuram remitting some taxes in the village of Śālai in Kākkanūr-nāḍu as dēvadāna to the temple at Tiruppāsūr. Officers of Uṭjankūṭṭam mentioned.

113 of 1930.

Tiruvōggriyūr (Ch.)—Tingalēr-malarndu. Sale of land to temple by the assembly of Sundara-sōla-catm.

219 of 1912.

Vippanguli (Ch.)—Tingalēr-malarndu. Three officers record dues from dēvadāna villages as obtaining from year 7 plus 1 of emperor Virarājendra.

418 of 1902; SII. viii. 4.

Year 3, day 200.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tingalēr - malarndu. Enquiry into and a fresh settlement of temple affairs by two royal officers. Reference is made to an earlier settlement of the eighth year of emperor Virarājendradēva.

15 of 1890; SII. iii. 57.

The regnal is missing or uncertain in the following:

Polonnaruva (Cey.)—Tingalēr-malarndu.

596 of 1912; SII. iv. 1392.
COILÁ-PÁNDYA : JÁTÁVARMAN SUNDARA.

Year 4.—Mannárkköyil.—(Tin.)—Land to Rájendra-sóla Vinñagar, by sabhā of Rájarája-catm. for settling temple servants. 107 of 1905.

Year 6.—Ambásanadram (Tin.) — Incomplete. Mentions Rájarája-catm. a brahmadéya in Muéli-nádu of Muḍilokha-sóla-vala-nádu in Rájarája-Páñdi-nádu. 70 of 1907.


" Páthivasēkharapuram (Tv.)—(Vallāluttu). Provision for a perpetual lamp and the sumptuous feeding (agravum uṟṟavaṟum) of one Brahman every day in the temple of the village. TAS. vi. i. App.

Year 8.—Virasikhamani (Tin.) — (Vallāluttu) † No Jaṭ. title. Lamp. 40 of 1908.

Year 9.—Sucindram (Tv.)—Lamp. 76 of 1896.


* Palaeogr. later.
† The only other Vallāluttu record of this king is 162 of 1895 (Gaṅgai-kōppōṇ). ARE. 1908 II 41.
COLA-PANDYA JATAVARMAN SUNDARA

Year 10.—Śīrmatēvi (Tin.) — Incomplete. Mentions Śōḷendra-sīṅga-śvaram-uṭalīyār. 615 of 1916.

" Vijayanāṟaṇāṁ (Tin.)—The village is called Jayangonḍa-śōḷa-catm. * in Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷa-nāḻu. 5 of 1927.

Year 11.—Ādanār (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu). Lamp. 439 of 1909.


" Cōḻapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—80 Sheep for a lamp in same temple by Uṭalīyār-perundanattu-devan-Varaiyān alias Śōḷa-mārāyan. The sheep were left with one person, for whom another was guarantor. TAS. vi. p. 9.

" Cōḻapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Sābha of Śivajjuva-mangalam alias Kurula (?)-kulāśani-catm., a brahmādēya in Nāṭṭīrangoppokku of Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷa-nāḻu, sold some of the common land (engalur vēḻuḻukkuḷutta podu-nilanāṟavu) to the dēvakkumis of the same temple in Kaṭṭār. Some conditions made regarding payment of taxes. TAS. vii. pp. 11-2.

Year 12.—Cōḻapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Incomplete. 45 of 1896.

" Śīrmatēvi (Tin.)—The Śivabrāhinmanas of Akanūligai received 36 kāśu from Śrīkāṇṭha Dāmālarabhatto for a lamp to Kailāsam-uṭalīyār. Mentions the temple Cōḻendraśīṅga-śvaram. 193 of 1895; SII. v. 757; 621 of 1916.

Year 13.—Ambasamudram (Tin.)—Gift for merit of the Nāṇa-drśittisai—1,500 of Rājendra-cōḷa-māṇḍalam. The temple is called Tiruccālait-tuṟai-uḻvār. 82 of 1907.

* Not found in Rājarāja's records from the place. ARE. 1927 ii 35.
THE COLAS

Year 13.—Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of land, 14½ nilam (vēli) and 2 mā, including dry and wet lands, to Rājendra-sōla-viṇṇagar of Rājarāja-catm., by the Mahāsabhā of the place. The names of ēris in this village, twelve in number, furnish an example of the Cōla practice of renaming places: Rājarāja, Mummuḷi-sōla, Arumōli-dēva, Nittavinōḍa, Cōḷendrasimha, Sundara-sōla, Vānavan-māḍēvi, Uttama-sōla, Śembiyan-māḍēvi, Kundavai, Paṅcavan-māḍēvi, Lōka-māḍēvi.


Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of land. Long account of land converted to vellān-vagai, a tenure. 110 of 1905.

Śermāḍēvi (Tin.)—Sale of land by Mahāsabhā of Nigarili-sōla-catm., to the temple of Śri-Kailāsam-uṭlaiyar of the village. 612 of 1916.

Tiruvālīśvaram (Tin.)—Lamps. Temple of Tiruvāllīcūram-uṭlaiyar was in Rājarāja-catm, a brahmacārya in Muḷḷi-nāḍu. 115 of 1905.

Year 14—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Incomplete. 75 of 1907.


Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of a whole village to same temple, by two bhaṭṭas who were brothers. 106 of 1905.

Śermāḍēvi (Tin.)—Half a lamp by a lady. 618 of 1916.

Year 14, day 320.—Śermāḍēvi (Tin.)—Provision by sābhā for offerings to Uyyakkōṇḍān (Tiruccenna)ḍai in the Nigarili-sōla-viṇṇagar temple. 712 of 1916.

* Yr. 15 of this prince = Yr. 24 of his father (ARE. 1905 II 25). Hence acc. 1020-1 A.D. See PK. p. 116.

† Temple built by Rāśinga himself (113 of 1905).
COLA-PANDYA JATAVARMAN SUNDARA

Year 15.—Śirumādevi (Tin.)—Land for tirumeykkāppu in the Nigarili-śōla-vināgar-ālyār temple. 700 of 1916.

Year 16.—Ambāsāmudram (Tin.)—Lamp to Tiruccālait-tugai-yuḍaiya-mahādeva in Rājarāja-caṭm. 77 of 1907.

" Mannārkōṣil (Tin.)—Land. Mentions the Čēra king Rājarāja-dēva and kuṭiningāk-kārāṉaith. ¶ 111 of 1905.

Year 17.—Śirumādevi (Tin.)—Fifty sheep for a perpetual lamp and a sandivēlakku to Kailāsam-uḷaiyār. 622 of 1916.

" Tiruvālīsvarām (Tin.)—Uḷaiyār Śrī Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya-dēva, * seated in the manṭepa outside his palace at Rājendra-sūlapuram, gave, in accordance with the order of his annmān (the Cōla emperor ?), five vēli of land, after purchase, to the temple in Rājarāja-caṭm. in Muḷjī-ṇāḷu in Muḷikōṇḍa-śōla-vāḷa-ṇāḷu, for festivals, the feeding of Brahmans, and the reading of Śivādharmā. The gift included paddy given by the cultivator (vṛllān) as the landlord’s share, uruvukōṭi-kāṣu and kākṣi-erudu-kāṣu. 327 of 1916.

Year 17, day 7.—Śirumādevi (Tin.)—Uḷaiyār Śrī Sundara C. P.-dēva. † Remission of taxes with effect from year 16 on lands at Kallīr in Mēl-Vēmba-ṇāḷu in Muḷikōṇḍa-śōla-vāḷa-ṇāḷu in favour of Kailāsam-uḷaiyār, by the king seated in the western hall of his palace at Rājendra-sūlapuram at the instance of his annmān. Mentions items of money-income: alḷagerudu-kāṭci-kāṣu, kāṭci-erudu-kāṣu, and ārkkalāṇjī; and also a number of royal officers. The lands got the new name Śivāpāḍasōkhara-nallūr. 619 of 1916.

Year 17, day 65.—Tiruvālīsvarām (Tin.)—Uḷaiyār Śrī Sundara C. P.-dēva ‡. Begins with the phrase: vūriyiliṅgu.

* This prince without any distinguishing epithet was another and a later prince than Jat. Sundara C. P. and was perhaps the successor of Mīg. Vikrama C.P. and a nephew of Rājādhīraja I. ARE. 1917 II. 3.

† See note above. ‡ See n. ante.
THE COLAS

The king being at dinner in the siddar-kūḍam in his pleasure-garden called Puttan on the north side of Mālakkuḷak-kil-Madurai was seated (?) on the Rājendra-sōḷa-Alimūrakkacengirai. The order of ammān was received and sanction given for variyiliḻu. (See No. 327 ante.) 332 of 1916.

Year 18.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—60 sheep for lamp. The Tiruppottudaiyār and Tiruccūlait-turai Śrī-mūlasthāna temples are said to have been in the southern hamlet of Rājarāja-catam. 102 of 1905.

Year 19.—Cerumangalam (Tv.)—A zinc (tarī) lamp-stand to Ten-tiruvaram-udaiyār of the village by Tiruvograi-covagan Māyilāṭṭi, the younger brother of Śankarapāḍhīyan Kāṭani-venṇi of Mukkurai alius Mummudi-śōlapuram in Purangarambai-nāḷu, a sub-division of Arumoolidēva-vala-nāḷu in the Śōla-maṇḍalam.


Cōḷapuram (Nagercoil)—(Tv.) Lamp. 34 of 1896.

Cōḷapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—12½ cows (muśu) for half a lamp by the woman (meye) Tavaśi Nāṛpatteṇṇāyira Ārāmali-dōvi of the place (ivōr) to Rājendra-sōḷa-iśvaram-udaiyār in the interior (ullālai) of Tirukkōtit̄ar alius Mummudi-śōla-nallūr.


Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Order of puravu-vari-tīnaik-kaḷat-tār and varip-pottiyam-udaiyār that the ten persons who had the kāni of the 2 vēli of temple lands at Kallūr, under the name Śivapādaśekhara-nallūr, had relinquished them in favour of the temple servants who would thenceforth cultivate them. "Māṇaivira Purāntuka" appearing in this record was perhaps a surname of the king. 630 of 1916.†

† This record taken along with 619 (Yr. 17, day 7) shows that the viceroy in both must be the same.

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COLAPANDYAJATAVARMANSUNDARA

Year 20.—Tiruvidänkōtu (Tv.)—(Valleluttu). Gold for lamp.
20 kažaiju, kāsi vigai kallāl mhadju mātu.

_TAS._ iv, pp. 139-41.

Year 21.—Ānaimalai (Md.)—25 sheep for lamp. Mentions Kīl-
Iraṇiyorvam and Tiruvānaimalai. Sheep left with
Nakkan Šeņbagam of the vettikkudi of Śrī Narasimha-
dēva.

_64 of 1905._

" Ānaimalai (Md.)—Lamp to Narasimha-āyā on the
Tiruvānaimalai in Kīl-Iraṇiyorvam in the Rājendra-
Cōla-vala-nādu of the Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nādu.

_65 of 1905._

" Gangaikōmāna(Tin.)—(Valleluttu) land.

_162 of 1895;_ _SII._ v. 726.

" Tiruvāliśvaram (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a certain
woman (poylātu). Puttargal-paṇḍiiram, of the Ultra-
maṇiyā-Pirāṭṭiyār-vēḷam. The lamp was in the charge
of a commandant (poylait-talaivan).

_330 of 1916._

Year 23.—Ādanār (Tin.)—(Valleluttu). Damaged.

_438 of 1909._

" Šermādevi (Tin.)—Tiru manni vāļara * (part). Sale
of land by assembly of Rājarāja-catun. to the temple of
Kailāsam-μāiýā in Nigarilī-sōla-catun.

_617 of 1916._

Year 30.—Āṭṭār(Tin.)—Lamp by one of the Sundara-sōla-
Pāṇḍyaṭ-terinda-vēḷar.

_395 of 1930._

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :

_Ambāsamudram_ (Tin.)—Lamp. Mentions aganālīgai-
yōm.

_76 of 1907._

_Ambāsamudram_ (Tin.)—Mentions Muttūṟṟukūṟram.

_80 of 1907._

* Clearly implying that this viceroy was the son of Rājendra I. _ARE._

_1917 II 3._

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THE COLAS

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp. Mentions Kṣatriyaśikhūmanipuram and the shrine of Karumāṇıkka-deva in the temple of Tiruc-cālait-turai. 85 of 1907.

Cōlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Two lamps. 38 of 1896.

Cōlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Sale of land by úr of Karumbaḷu alias Ālagiya-sōja-nallūr of Nāṅja-nāl.


Cōlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Sale of land by úr to फू engulūr Madilagattu Rājendraśōja-īsvaram.

TAS. vi. i. App.

Mannārkōyil (Tin.)—Mentions the Cōra king Rājasimha. 114 of 1905.

Śevilippēri (Tin.)—50 sheep for lamp. 410 of 1906.
COLA-PÂNDYA: JÂTÂVARMAN UDÂIYÂR ŚRÎ COLA PÂNDYA-DÈVA.

Year 3.—Śevîlippēri (Tin.).—25 sheep to temple of Tentirumâli-ruâjâlai by a native of Dēvar-veṭṭi-kulâ near Tirunelvēli in Kil-vēmâ-nâunu, of the Muţli-konđa-sâla-valanânu in Râjarâja-pâṇḍi-nâudu. 408 of 1906.


Year 3, day 380.—Śûvolución (Tin.).—The king from his throne in the tirumâjâlana-sâlai of the palace at Râjendrâ-śâljâpuram declared tax-free certain dēvâdâna lands at Kallûr, four vēlis (including two vēlis called Śiva-pâdaśâkhârâ-nâllûr), and had them entered in the register under the orders of his father (nammâyyar) the Cōla emperor (Virâjendrâ) whose eulogy commences víramâ-tuṇâyâgavum. Temple Kâlâsâmudâiyyâr said to be on the Muţlikonđa-sōlappârâru, Tâmaraparâṇî. Many revenue officials sign the record. 642 of 1916. †

Year 24.—Şucîndram (Tv.)—Lamp. 69 of 1896. ‡


Year 25—Şucîndram (Tv.)—Land. 70 of 1896. §

* Viceroy must be Gangâikoṇḍâ appointed by Virâjendrâ. TAS. ibid.
† Viceroy was Gangâikoṇḍâ-sōḷâḷ of Virâjendrâ’s records. (EL. xi. 293) —IRE. 1917 II 3.
‡ Perhaps the first Cōla-Pâṇḍya ruler. K.V.S. Aiyar. EL. xi. p. 293.
§ See last note.
THE COLAS

Year 25.—Sucindram (Tv.)—Sabhā of Sundara-śōla-catm. sell land for 60 kāśu, being igai-poruḷ and vīlaip-poruḷ, to the temple. Procedure of sale interesting. Mentions Veṅkāḷan Śankaranāna Sēnāpati Malayappic-cōḷan vaitta Abhayākaran tiruvamudu. Also two lamps endowed. 


Record from which the name and regnal year of viceroy have disappeared:—


* Perhaps Vikrama C.P.-dēva. ARE, 1917 II 3.
CÔLA-PANDYA: MĂRAVARMAN UDĂIYĂR

ŚRĪ VIKRAMA

Year 20.—Ādana (Tin.)—(Vallēluttu). Before this is a line in Vallēluttu mentioning year 3 of Jañāvarman Sundara Côla-Pandya-dēva. 434 of 1909.

Year 21.—Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailāyam-udaiya Mahādeva of Nigarili-sōla-catm. by a Brahman lady of the Kupālina-gōtra. 194 of 1895; NIH. v. 758.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a Brahman lady. 628 of 1916.

Year 22.—Śermādēvi (Tin.)—25 Sheep for a half-lamp to Kailāsam-udaiyār by Kuṭiṭāni-Gengōli of the Śeramānār-vōlām. 620 of 1916.

Year 24.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—Money. 100 of 1896.

Year 25.—Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailāsam-udaiyār. 616 of 1916.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—25 cows for lamp by Daṇḍanāyakam Parākrama-nārāyaṇa Brahmadhirājan. 627 of 1916.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—The Aganālīgai-sivabrahmanar of Sōlendra-singa-lāvara and Kailāsa temples at Nigarili-sōla-catm., received twelve kāśu from a Brahman lady and agreed to serve in the Rājālhirājac-curṟulai of the temple and burn a lamp to Daksīṇāmūrti in the same temple. 640 of 1916.

Tiruvālīśvaram (Tin.)—13 cows for half a lamp. 328 of 1916.

* Indirect evidence of sway of the C.-P. s over Kērala. ARE, 1917 II 4.

† King identified with Mūmmūḍi-sōḷi, younger brother of Rājendra-dēva (II) ARE, 1917 II 3.
THE COLAS

Year 29.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—The sabhā of Kaḻikkuṭi met in the mukha-maṇḍapa of the Rājarājīśvara temple and resolved to devote 20 kāśu, collected by public subscription (payiṣampukku) at their instance (nāṁ dēśaṇuṇṭu) by Accan Mārgili, a merchant of Kūnārī alias Gangaikoṇda-ṉōḷapuram, and intended to be the corpus for meeting expenses for tiruvāniḍu in the temple, for repairing breaches in the Kōṇāḷar-kulam, the perumakkal of Rājarājīśvaram undertaking to supply daily two nāḷi of rice for offerings.

TAS. i. pp. 249-50 (R). *

* T.A.G. Rao is surprised at the Pṛṇḍya titles in this record and seems also to mistake its import.
CÔLA-PÂNDYA: MÂRAVARMAN UDÂIYÂR
SRI PARÂKRAMA

Year 3.—*Tiruvâltivaram* (Tin).—Twenty-five sheep for half a lamp to Tiruvâltivaram-udâiyâr by Râman Keñi alias Nađuvirukkai Tanam-šethi. 329 of 1916.

Year 4.—*Śermâdēvi* (Tin.).—Money, 12 kâśu, with Agânâlîgâiyâr by Yôga-dêva and (his wife) Sôma-dêvi of Kâśmirâdēsa for a lamp in the temple of Kâlîsam-udâiyâr at Nigarili-sôla-catm., a brahmâdêya in Muñli-nâdu, a sub-division of Uttama-sôla-vala-nâdu in 'Râjarâja-pândhi-nâdu.' 613 of 1916.

CÔLA-PÂNDYA: JÂTÂVARMAN UDÂIYÂR VîRA *

Year 21.—*Pericoikôgil* (Rd.).—Land for offerings during one service every day and for a lamp to Ksêtrapâla-dêva in the temple of Muñtîvaram-udâiyâr in Môn-Marudûr alias Jayângônâ-sôjanallûr. Mentions Kulâsani Ambalattâdi also called Râjâdhîrâja-pûngunra-nâdâlûn and his brother Kulâsani Mâruva-mânikkam alias Adhirâjâdhîrâja-pûngunra-nâdâlûn. 99 of 1924.

* Perhaps Mummuḏi-sôjan on whom his elder brother Râjendra conferred the Côle-Pândya title (S.R. iii. p. 62), or Gangaikoṇḍa-sôjan who received from his father Vîrâjândra-dêva the Pândya country and the title. *ARE* 1924 II 25.
ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 30.—n. *—Regarding the omission of Cōla in the *Periplus*, Krom says: “Is this an omission or had the Cōla temporarily disappeared before the spreading power of the Pāṇḍyas chronicled in Tamil poems? Another Tamil legend connects the Pallavas with the Cōlas, making the first of them the son of a Cōla king and a nāgī. Could the Pallavas for whom, however, a Parthian origin has sometimes been postulated, have taken the place of the Cōlas, as in the centuries after the fall of the Pallavas, the Cōlas again rise into importance in the same territory?” *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* p. 70. See, however, *Studies*, p. 11.

Page 64.—ll. 1-3.—The camp of Poraian (Poraian pāṇāgai) is mentioned by Poygaiyār in another poem as well, *Naṟṟiḷai* 18.

Page 100.—n. *—But see pp. 263-64 infra.

Page 103.—n. *—A.K. Kumaraswami, *J.AOS*, ii. p. 181. Also the occurrence of Kanarese words in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, second century A.D. (*JR:* A. 1904, pp. 399 ff.) may be noted. *MAR*, 1926, pp. 11 ff. discusses these words and expressions in detail.

Page 104.—n. *—For a discussion of this passage in the *Periplus* with reference to Indian boat-designs, see Hornell, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii. pp. 215 ff. He suggests that the Colambia of the first century had close kinship with the two-masted Javanese outrigger ships of the Boro-Budur sculptures. But surely the two-masted ships without outriggers on the Andhra and Kurumbar Coins seem to be nearer the vessels mentioned by the *Periplus* than Javanese sculptures of the 8th or 9th century A.D.

Page 127.—n. †—It must be noted, however, that Išāngalī is said to have been the ancestor of Āditya who covered the
ADDITIONAL NOTES

Cidambaram temple with gold from Kongu. Even if this is a reference to Aditya I who conquered Kongu and annexed Tondai-nadu to the Cola kingdom, Idangalai might have been connected with the Colas only by giving his daughter in marriage to a Cola prince. At any rate, we have no evidence that the Colas were descended from the Velas in the male line.

Page 137.—n. §—On Mārāmbai and the title Pahavatikaka see also EI. xviii. p. 118. The two inscriptions mentioned at the end of the note now published as 301-A and 303 of 1901 (Nos. 523 and 525 of SI. vii.) may not belong to Nṛpatunga's reign; their beginnings are lost.

Para 153 and n.*—It is doubtful if Cālukya Bhima's territory could have extended up to Sītpuli-nadu between Venkatagiri and Gudur (Rapur Tq). It may have been an attempt of Parantaka to subdue the Telugu Colas. XI. R. 47 (p. 1267) l. 34 mentions Cēḷupuli-nadu.

Page 186.—Il. 9-10.—The third year of Sundara Cola, about 959 A.D. is based on the text of 116 of 1896 in SII. v. But the figure '3' is doubtful in that inscription, and as the general is mentioned in an inscription of Sundara Cola in the seventh year (291 of 1208), Śrīrya-vēḷār must have fought and died in Ceylon after that date. K.V.S. Aiyar suggests the ninth year, c. A.D. 965 (EI. vii. p. 124), and this is quite possible.

Page 217.—n. §—Published EI. xxi. pp. 29 ff. An incomplete inscription from Tiruvatturugu (Tq.), 204 of 1931, mentions victories in Pampa-nadu and Malai-nadu, the defeat of Vaiṭuli (Vaiḍyava), the destruction of Vīśnum with its strong ramparts, the sowing of cowries in Karkadalai-malai-nagar, and the defeat of Telungu-Bhima, and Janaṅathan-omberumān Śembiyar Kēn. Evidently it is in praise of a chief who took part in these events, but whose name is lost. The inscription seems to be of the time of Rājaṛāja I; I have examined the impression and am unable to accept the twelfth century date suggested in ARE. 1931, 1130.
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Page 220.—n. ↑—"The Sultān takes the official title of king of the thirteen provinces and of the 12,000 islands. According to Owen this is scarcely a third or a fourth of the actual number, although, apart from more reefs, a few hundred only appear on the most carefully prepared charts. Ptolemy reckoned as many as 1,378, but not more than 175 are inhabited." The Universal Geograph by Elisee Reclus, ed. A.H. Keane, Vol. viii. India and Indo-China, p. 384.

Page 221.—ll. 14-5.—Another inscription of the thirty-first year of Rājāraja comes from Brahmagām (NA.), 252 of 1915.

Page 224.—l. 8.—Attention is drawn to the flight of Buddhist monks from Magadha to the South mentioned by Tārānātha (Schiefer p. 255), and the foundation of the monastery at Negapatam by a king of Sumatra may be explained, it is said, 'as the continuation of the relations between Magadha and the Archipelago.' Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde Deel 90 (1933) pp. 19-20. But there are insuperable chronological difficulties in the way of accepting this; the Muhammadan invasion which dispersed the monks of Magadha did not occur before the twelfth century.

Page 260.—n *—It is perhaps worth noting that Ferrand (Relations ii. p. 646 n. 11; J.A. 11 : 14 pp. 173, 176 n. 1) has made a serious mistake in supposing that Hultsch locates Malaiyūr in the North Arcot District (EJ. ix. p. 231). Hultsch's remark about Mulliyūr relates to the donative part of the Tirumalai record, not the praśasti narrating the campaign.

Pages 259-265.—Rouffaer proposes a different scheme of identifications for the places mentioned in the Tanjore inscription in an important contribution in Bijdragen, Deel 77 (1921). I translate below the passage summing up his conclusions:

We find the 13 states in Rājendra's Tanjore manifesto summed up in this soundly rhetorical and partly geographical order:

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

[1 = 14 see end] 1. Kedah (Kaḷāraṃ) the pre-eminently strong, particularly on land (by its elephants);

[2-4 on Sumatra] 2. Palembang (Śri Vijayam), the rich emporium *; 3. Pane; Panai (Paṇṇai) the river-town; 4. Djambi (Malaiyur), the ancient;

[5-8 on the Malay Peninsula:] 5. Hasin, Ma Hasin (Māyirudīngam), the sea-town; 6 Wurawāri = Gangā-yu = Langkāsūka (I-Langāsōkam), the unconquerable; 7. Pahang, or rather Penang (Mā-pappālam), the water state (defended by an abundance of deep waters); 8. either Dinding or Braus, in Perak (Mēvilimban-gam), encircled by a wall (defended by beautiful walls), or probably also the equally ancient Kelang in Selangor;

[9 on Campa’s south coast] 9. Phanrang, Pāṇḍuranga? (Vaḷaippandāru wherein, according to a kind communication of Prof. Van Ronkel, Tamil vaḷai means ‘fortress’) in parts still wild (possessing at once cultivated lands (?) and waste-land);

[10-11; back on the north of the Malay Peninsula] 10. Ptolemy’s Takōla = Takkōla of the Milindapaṇha (i.e., Menander dialogues c. 400 A.D.) = Takuā Pā of to-day (Gerini-1909), Mal. Takōpa, on the W. coast, 8° 25’ N.L. (Talaitakkōlam, in which Tamil talai means chief, original, Coedes); 11. Tāmbra-linga. (Linga of Copper) = either Chaïyya or Bandon or—and in my opinion the most likely—Ligor, (Lakon, Nagor, Nakor, all meaning Nagara; against which Ligor can just be a corruption of an older ‘Lingga’; the Lo-yue of Kiu-Tan’s sea-itinerary of c. 800 A.D.), thus all three on the E. coast resp. 9° 20’ 9° 5’ and 8° 22’ N.L. (Mā-Damālingam, Coedes pp. 15-18 and 32-3; where he first publishes a Buddhist inscription from Jaiya = Chaïya, dated 4332 Kali = 1230 A.D., given by Śri Dharmārāja, prince of Tāmbralinga).

* Coedes (p. 5, n. 1) remarks that some of the ornate epithets which in Hultsch’s translation of the inscription in 1891 all become related to Kāḷāram may probably relate to Śri Vijayam.
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The first, Ptolemy's emporium Takōla thus from c. 150 A.D., is described in this Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D., as praised by great men versed in the sciences; which, via the Milinda-panha of the 5th century A.D. and the Bactrian prince Menander alias Milinda (c. 155 B.C.) praised therein, was known not simply in India itself but in the land of the Yavanas=Greeks.

The second, I think, is no other than Ligor=Lo- Yue (c. 800 A.D.)=Linga, say: 'Śiva's town'; later become Buddhist, and the city (Nagara) or capital of Buddha, Dharma-nagari (Nagarakretayama of 1365 A.D., 15:1) alias Nagara Śrī Dharma-rāja (924 A.D.; Gerini p. 107), thus in the manner of the older Śrī Vijaya=Palembang, and the much later (15th century?) 'Siak Śrī Indrapura'=Siyak in 1365 A.D.; all sign-boards of political power like Great Berlin, or Great Netherlands or Great(er) Britain:—here in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. described as 'intrepid in great and terrible combats.'

[12-13, to the S.W. and W.S.W. of Takkola-Ligor]
12. Great Atjeh, Lamperi (I-Lāmrilidēsam), of which the terrible force (Atjeh wars 1872-1905 !) was conquered by a violent attack: and 13. the Nicobars (Mā-Nakka-vāram), these islands of naked idyllic wilds described as: 'of which the gardens of flowers resemble the zone of the nymph of the southern region'.

and—I, Rājendra Cōla king by the grace of gods (since 1012 A.D.), repeat:

[14=1; Alpha and Omega] Kedha (Kadāram) the mighty (on land), protected by the sea.
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