THE CÔLAS Vol. I
Frontispiece.

SEAL OF THE TIRUVALANGADU COPPER-PLATES.

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THE CŌLĀS

BY

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology
University of Madras

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To the accession of Kulōttunga I

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PREFACE

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

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

Inscriptions come to our aid only from the accession of Vijayalaya in the ninth century, and even then their distribution in time and space is naturally very uneven; for the early period, and we do not know of a time when there were no Cōlas, we depend altogether on extant Tamil Literature surviving for the most part
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<td><strong>ARE.</strong></td>
<td>Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras.</td>
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<td><strong>ASC.</strong></td>
<td>Archaeological Survey Reports, Ceylon.</td>
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<td><strong>ASI.</strong></td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports of the Director-General.</td>
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<td><strong>ASSI.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>BEFEIO.</strong></td>
<td>Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.</td>
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<td><strong>EC.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>IA.</strong></td>
<td>Indian Antiquary.</td>
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<td><strong>IHQ.</strong></td>
<td>Indian Historical Quarterly.</td>
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<td><strong>JA.</strong></td>
<td>Journal Asiatique.</td>
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<td><strong>JAHRS.</strong></td>
<td>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.</td>
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<td><strong>JBBRAS.</strong></td>
<td>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
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<td><strong>JIH.</strong></td>
<td>Journal of Indian History.</td>
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<td><strong>TAR.</strong></td>
<td>Travancore Archaeological Reports.</td>
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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 Cōlavarmasacakritram. 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 Cōḷa dynasty numbered eighty-four kings or sixteen. Epigraphy has made remarkable progress in South India during the last fifty years. Hultzsch, Venkayya and Krishna Sastri have brought out scholarly editions of many of the inscriptions. Of the 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 Cōḷas.

To attempt a task of this nature in a subject which, thanks to fresh discoveries or new interpretations of old material, is apt to have its foundations disturbed from time to time, is, we are warned, to run the risk of our structure collapsing no sooner than it is reared. But this is, in regard to Cōḷa history, greatly to underestimate the permanence of the results reached so far;
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 Anantapur, * whose kings traced their descent from Karikāla. Nothing definite is known, however, of their connection with the early Cōlas. Again, from about the twelfth century, there were a number of local dynasties which claimed also to be among the descendants of Karikāla and to belong to the Kaśyapa gōtra. Besides their legendary pedigree there seems to be no evidence connecting them in any manner with the Cōlas of the Tamil country. Of these late Telugu-Cōlas, who have left behind a large number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions, we need make only passing mention in this history.

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

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

The period covered by the extant literature of the Śangam is unfortunately not easy to determine with any measure of exactness; though it seems most likely that it extended from five to ten generations at the most. Excepting the longer epics, the Śilappadikāram and the Maṇimekalai which, by common consent, are taken to belong to the closing stages of the Śangam age, the poems have reached us in the form of systematic anthologies, some of which, like the Ahanānūru, follow a highly intricate scheme in their arrangement. Each individual poem has generally attached to it a colophon on the authorship and subject-matter of the poem; in the poems of the division called 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 Nyāyapravṛtta, unless indeed this Canto is treated as having suffered a later revision. See Nyāyapravṛtta pp. xiii-xvi for a succinct review of the discussion by A. B. Dhruva.
poetesses patronised by them. The task of reducing these names to an ordered scheme in which the different generations of contemporaries can be marked off from one another has not yet commanded the attention and patient thought that it merits. Some writers have been apt to draw on their imagination and invent genealogical connections not supported by the sources; others have confessed themselves beaten in the game and have denounced the colophons as late and untrustworthy guesses, not worth much consideration at the hands of the modern historian.* Before adopting this counsel of despair, one would do well to recollect that some anthologies, like the Kalittogai, are said to have been put together by a poet represented in the collection itself, and that no reasoned case has been made out against accepting the literary tradition relating to these anthologies and the individual poems in them.† In any attempt to deal systematically with the data drawn from these poems, the casual nature of the poems and the wide difference between the purpose of the anthologist who brought them together and that of the modern historian must not be lost sight of; or one might fall easily into the error of finding a continuous story out of discontinuous material.

On the history of the Cōlas 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 Cōlas in the interval between the end of the Šangam age and the rise of Vijayālaya, that is, in the age of Paṇḍya-Pallava dominance, we have practically no record. The scanty

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

The dynasty of Vijayālaya has left behind a large number of stone inscriptions and a few copper-plate grants of great value to the historian. The illustrious Rājarāja I, under whom South Indian monarchy attained a sweep and splendour till then unknown, conceived the idea of prefixing to his inscriptions a set historical introduction recounting, in an ornate and poetic style of Tamil, the main achievements of his reign and kept up-to-date by additions made to it from time to time. The narration of the descent of a king and, incidentally, of some salient facts relating to himself and his ancestors was for centuries before Rājarāja's accession the more or less universal practice of kings and chiefs who followed the norm set before them by the Śmyti and Dharmaśāstra of the country for the drawing up of charters (Śāsanam) setting forth gifts (dāna) of various kinds. But such narration formed part, generally speaking, only of copper-plate grants (tāmra-śāsana) and was composed de novo on each separate occasion; and this practice, while it gave full scope for the fancy of the poet-composer of the prāṣasti, sometimes resulted in contradictory and confusing statements made about the same king in different grants. In ordering, therefore, the writing, on stone, in set form and in the language of the people, of an official and authorised account of the leading events of his reign, Rājarāja initiated a practice which, as it was kept up by his successors, not only satisfied the boundless vanity of this race of kings, but furnishes to the historian a formal record of exceptional value.
SOURCES

of the transactions of each reign.* Most of these historical introductions have been the subjects of scholarly discussion and elucidation by Hultzsch and Venkayya in the earlier volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, and though these mey-kkārtikāḷ occasionally merit the waggish description of them as po-y-kkārtikāḷ, 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, mathas and Brahmans; sometimes the construction of a temple or its renovation, or the setting up of a new image forms the subject of an inscription. To provide for the maintenance of a lamp in a temple was a common method of earning religious merit for oneself or of expiating an offence. This was done by gifts of money or cattle calculated at so much or so many per lamp, and it was possible for two or more persons to endow a lamp jointly and apportion the merit among themselves in accordance with the share contributed by each. Often the lamps were to burn throughout the day and night, to be perpetual, (nandā vilakkku); ‡

* These introductions were, in some inscriptions, omitted in part owing to exigencies of space. e.g. 96 of 1925 of the eleventh year of Rājendrā I.
† 142 of 1902. EL. vii p. 161.
‡ It is interesting to observe that Parimāḷāḷaḷagar explains the phrase ‘ poyyā vilakkam ’ in Kural 758 by ‘ nanda vilakkku’.
but day-lamps, night-lamps and lamps for the occasions when pūja was performed (sandī) were also known. * When the lamps were provided for by gifts of cattle, the expression ‘śānā-mūnā-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 ‘sandī-villakkus’ which figures so often in the inscriptions and is usually translated into “twilight-lamp.” See Tamil Lexicon s. v. —canti.
† 120 of 1926 (year 6 of Rējendra I).
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 Kānṭāka 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 (Rājjak. 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 (Kuśśtunga I, 23).
‡ ARE. 1895, 17 and 1908, II 49. See also Venkayya IA. xxxvii pp. 199-200.
that the Tamil country exchanged its language for Telugu or Kanarese during the period of these records. The long Marathi inscription of Tanjore of A.D. 1803 is another instance. Vaṭṭeḻuttu was the prevalent script in which Tamil was written in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Pāṇḍya and Čēra 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 Rājendracōla Rājakēsari. By mixing up in its historical introduction the events of different reigns, the record rouses suspicion; its palaeography belongs to the fourteenth century, and it is found in a temple of which the walls bear no other inscription of an earlier date than the reign of Rājarāja III.

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

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

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

After drawing attention to the destruction of the Kalinari Īśvara by the inhabitants of Tirunāmālair, the government epigraphist says in his report: "The Nāṭṭukōṭṭai 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 Ekāmṛanātha temple at Conjeevaram, the Jambukēśvara temple on the island of Srirangam, the central shrine of the temple at Tiruvanāmalai, the same at Tiruvāṇṇainālūr 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 SIL (Texts). There is also a real danger that in the race between publication and collection, collection might suffer in the future without publication gaining adequately.
THE COLAS

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

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

* SII. II. No. 76.
† For a comparison and critique of these lists see TAS. iii; also EI. xv.
data. "The fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious." * Relatively few inscriptions quote any definite era like the Śaka or Kaliyuga, † but in several instances the details furnished are so full and accurate that, together with the historical introductions characteristic of particular monarchs and the regnal years cited, they have led to the attainment of chronological results of precision and value. These results show that whenever possible the Cōḷa 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 Cōḷa 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 Vīramālāndra which does not admit of verification." EJ. 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 Rastrakūta inscriptions of the time of Kṛṣṇa III, those of the Eastern Cālukyas and some even of the Eastern Gangas, and the inscriptions of the Western Cālukyas, often go to confirm or modify impressions obtained by a study of Cōla records. The records of prominent feudatory dynasties, or of individuals like Kopperunjinga, become important as we approach the period of the decline of Cōla power. Hoysala records also explain in part the politics of the period of decline.

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

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 Śrī Rājarājadēva' (Hultsch IA. xxv, p. 317) combines the squatting figure on the obv. with the symbols and legend on the rev.
books which, like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, have for ages served as popular cyclopaedias of national culture, were frequently revised; the time, the authorship and the extent of such revisions are so obscure that it is hopeless to make an intelligent use of data drawn from these works. * Lastly, in the few works of which we have definite knowledge in regard to authorship and provenance, a great amount of space is taken up by conventional descriptions, and it is seldom that we come across the plain downright statement of a fact. In Tamil literature, the poems of the Sangam age are very realistic and prima facie trustworthy and do not share the demerits of the literature of a more fulsome age; but by a cruel irony of fate these poems are involved in some chronological obscurity; and the compositions, especially those of the Cōla period, of which we know the authors and dates, exhibit in abundant measure all the defects of court poetry. Still, after all allowance is made, the evidence from indigenous literature for the history of the Cōla kingdom will be seen to be not inconsiderable in volume and will, if used with care, go far to eke out the testimony of archaeology.

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

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

Equally remarkable is the settlement of the Vaiṣṇava canon of the "Four Thousand Sacred
Hymns” which took place about the same time as the Śaiva canon was fixed by Nāmbi Āṇḍar Nāmbi. The Divya-sūri-carīta 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 Kalingattupparāṇi of Jayangonḍār and the three ulāś and the Kulottungan Piḷḷai-tamil of Oṭṭakkuṭṭan. The first is a work on Tamil grammar composed by a Buddhist writer in the reign of Vīrājēndra. The Yāpparungalam and the Yāpparungalak-kārikai are other works on one branch of grammar, prosody, by a Jaina writer, Amitasāgara, of somewhat earlier date. These three works possess glosses slightly later than the original texts; and the examples cited by the authors of these commentaries to illustrate particular rules of grammar are often of uncommon interest; they provide fresh information, and confirm, and sometimes elucidate, data drawn from the inscriptions. The Kalingattupparaṇi of Jayangonḍār is a war-poem of the
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conventional parani type, which has for its subject-matter the conquest of the Kalinga country by Karuṇākarat-tonḍaimān, the celebrated generalissimo of Kulottunga I. The poem is justly celebrated for the excellence of its diction and its superb display of metrical effects; it fetched the title of Kavi-cakravarti (Emperor of Poetry) to its author, a title which seems to have been kept on as a sort of poet-laureateship, or at any rate was conferred also on Ottakkuttan who, though himself a poet of no mean order, paid his predecessor the high compliment of imitating him closely in his Takkayapparani on a well-known theme of mythology. For all its fabulous and supernatural elements, and the absurd hyperboles characteristic of it, the Kalingattupparani is still valuable to the historian as it furnishes much welcome information on the Cōla genealogy and on the details of the Kalinga campaign of Kulottunga, 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. Ottakkuttan chose the ulā as the vehicle of his encomiums on three successive monarchs who followed Kulottunga I. The ulā is, like the parani, a conventional literary form. If the parani is par excellence a war-poem, the ulā is just its opposite; free from the cares and anxieties of his high station, with no troubles domestic or foreign to cloud his happiness, the king with his retinue is conceived as going for a stroll round the capital city; the beginning of the ulā generally gives a more or less studied account of the achievements of the king and his ancestors, and provides a somewhat detailed description of the chief men among his courtiers who accompany him and the place they occupy in the administration of the country; this
part of the poem is of considerable historical value. What follows in the *ulā* is not of much immediate interest to us; it is, to a modern student, a monotonous account of the amorous looks and the tell-tale acts of the women of the city who, at the sight of the king, become agitated and love-sick. Besides the three *ulās*, on Vikrama, Kulottunga II and Rājarāja II, Ottakkūttan also wrote the *Kulottunga-sūlan - pilīlai - tamil*, a child-poem on Kulottunga II; notable for its fine sentiment and high eloquence, this poem is not nearly so useful to us as the *ulās*.

The number of late chronicles and Sthalapurāṇas is legion. The *Navacōḷa-carita*, a Vira-śaiva compilation available in a Kanarese and a Telugu version, the *Bṛhadīśvara-mahatmya* or the *Cōḷavamsacaritra* in Sanskrit, of which there is a Tamil translation among the Mackenzie Mss., and the *Kōṇgudēśa-Rājākāl*, 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.

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

EARLY NOTICES

According to tradition, the Cōla country comprised the land between two streams having the same name, Vellāru,* in the north and the south, the sea on the east and Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west. This area includes the modern districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and part of the Pudukkottah state. The Kāvēri and its branches including the Coleroon (Kollūdam) 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.

* * kaḷal kilakkut-teḻkuk-karai puraḷ Vellēnu
kuḍa-tiśaiyil kōṭṭaiikkaraiyum—vaḍa tiśaiyil
ēṇṭṭi Vellēruṟupattu nēṅkādam
Šēṇṭṭuk-kellaiyenac-col.

Though ascribed by some to Kamban (see e.g. p. 56 of the Śoḷamangala satakam) the veṉbā seems to be more ancient in origin; others ascribe it to Auvaiyūr. (Taylor III 42). Kōṭṭai-karai "means 'fort bank' and tradition says that it refers to the great embankment of which traces still stand in the Kulittalai taluk of Trichinopoly"—Gazetteer of the Tanjore Dt. I p. 15.

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The whole surface of the delta is one even level of paddy fields interspersed only with tops or clumps of coconut, mango and other fruit trees. There are no forests or tall tree jungles." * The soil is very favourable also to the bamboo and the plantain.

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

Kāvēripatnam 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

† Māṇimākalai I, 9-12; 23-4
‡ "According to some it is the Chabaris Emporium mentioned by Ptolemy in the 1st cent. A.D. The inscriptions secured from the modern Kāvērippatnam and its vicinity leave no doubt as to its identity with Kāvērippūṭṭānām alias Puhūr, though the monuments of Pallavanccaram and Śrīśvetāvara are not of such early date as could be expected."—ARE, 1919 II 2.
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modern representative of the more ancient Uraiyur which is now a suburb of Trichinopoly, and Kumbakonam are the other notable cities of the Cōla country. 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 Parime-
lalagar is inclined to make it the name, like Pāṇḍya and Cēra, of a ruling family or clan of immemorial antiquity * and renown. The story of the eponymous brothers Cēran, Śōlan and Pāṇḍiyan 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 ‘Cēra’ (thief). §

* See Kuraḷ 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—t—may have in some circumstances (for which we have parallels in Dravidian) changed to—b,—is justified, then one might conceivably connect Cōla with Cōḷ— 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 negro race, the descendants of the so-called Rākṣasas of old, came to Malaya from Southern India and were followed by their early successors, the Dravidians,
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Other names in common use for the Cōlas are Killi, Valavan and Šembiyan. Killi 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 Neługilli, 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 Šibijātaka among the Jātaka stories of Buddhism. ‡

The Cōlas adopted the tiger as their crest; the same animal was figured on their banner. Not one of the numberless references to this Cōla emblem which occur in Tamil literature tells us anything of its origin. Some late local chieftains of the Telugu country who claimed descent from Karikala 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 aryenised 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 Killi = 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 Vīraṭāṭiyam, comment on Tattita, v. 3.
§ EL. xi, p. 338.
And the Sindas of the Naga family, who used the Vyāghralāṅchana, had the story that Sinda, their eponymous ancestor, born of the serpent king Dharaṅendra 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 Moriyar (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 Vadugar formed the vanguard of the invading Mauryas (Aham 281); elsewhere

* EI. iii 231-2.
† Mahābhāṣya, ed. Kielhorn, II p. 270.
‡ Vide Hultzsch—Asoka Inscriptions—Index s. v. Cōḍa.
§ D. R. Bhandarkar—Asoka p. 38.
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 Asoka 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 Asoka’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 Tārānath. * 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 Śrīraṅga Śenguttuvam, 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, Parankōranār (Aham 69) and Ārāyanār (Pūram 175). The expression cannot therefore be made much of, especially because ‘vamba’ is an adjective with several meanings of which ‘unsteady,’ ‘restless,’ is admittedly one. And supposing for a moment that Māmūlanār was thinking of the Imperial Mauryas, he knows of the Nandas and their wealth,—nothing could have struck him more than the ‘restlessness’ of these Mauryas, eager to annex all the kingdoms of India to their empire. Even accepting the other meaning suggested for the word ‘vamba,’ ‘new,’ we are not aware of any insuperable difficulty in supposing that, at the time when Māmūlanār was writing, the Mauryan expansion to the South was a fact of recent history. One fails to see moreover how some confusion between the Mauryas and the Guptas that marks the legendary genealogy of an obscure clan of rulers in North India can furnish an analogue for a similar confusion in the mind of a South Indian Tamil poet of unknown age; much less, how such inferential confusion can be made the basis for suggesting a date for the poet and his compositions. M. S. R. was strongly influenced by Smith’s view of Samudragupta the Indian Napoleon’s campaign in the South based on his early
country and have been with good reason identified with the Satiyaputa of the Aśoka inscriptions, perhaps agreed to serve as wardens of the marches for the Mauryan Empire in the South; when they found the chieftain of Mōhūr troublesome and themselves unequal to subjugating him, they were assisted in their task by the advent of Mauryan troops with a Vaḍuga vanguard. Mōhūr is probably represented to-day by its modern namesake in the South Arcot district, not far from the famous Āṭūr pass through which, in recent times, Haidar Ali came down so often on the southern plains.†

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

The part taken from the sixth century B.C. by Southern India in the growing commerce between the Western countries identification of ‘Palakka’ of the Allahabad pillar inscription with Palghat, which is no longer considered sound. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar says of Aham 281: “The Kōśar are called here Vaḍugār.” It may be so, in which case Vaḍugār munnura 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 Mūriyar who, in conjunction with the Kōśar, could have attempted a raid into the Tamil country” is hardly convincing. See his Tamils pp. 522-3.

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

† Studies in South Indian Jainism p. 140. Many other places also bear the name Mōhūr and the identification of the place must be considered tentative.
and those in the East as far as China is sufficiently known. * Of the direction and nature of this trade and of its economic importance, something will be said further on. Here we may note that to this commerce we owe, in the main, two valuable notices of Southern India and the Cola 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 Cola country in particular which, considering the paucity of early notices of the Coromandel coast, is of uncommon interest to the student of Cola 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 Cola country into two parts, a coastal district and an inland district. There is, as we shall see, evidence of Cola rule from two centres at this period—Puhār or Kuvērippaṭṭinam on the coast and Uṛaiyūr inland. Pattinam, meaning a port-town, was the name of the Cola capital on the coast, and the phrase in the Periplus, 'the coast country, which lies on a bay',

* See Kennedy JRAS. 1898 pp. 248-87 for a full discussion of this subject. Prof. Jules Bloch in his paper "Nom du Riz" (Etudes Asiatiques Vol. I, pp. 37-47) denies that the Greek term for rice is derived from Tam. Ariti; 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. Oruson, comes to the conclusion: "Varigi or Varizi 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 Pattinam of the Pattinappālai,* specially as it is placed in contrast with 'a region inland called Araguru,' which doubtless is the same as Uraiṉyūr. 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 'Cola.' 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 Markaṇṇam.

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 Kāveripatnam (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 Uraiṉyūr, 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-maṇḍalām.'" (p. 241). This is hardly satisfactory as Cōla-maṇḍalām only means Cōla country, not 'coast.'

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


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

* Caldwell says: “General Cunningham objects to this identification that Arcot is quite a modern name; but it must, as Col. Yule has pointed out, be at least as old as 1340 A.D., for it is mentioned by Ibn Batuta. The name is properly ār—kāḍ, Tam. the six forests, and the Hindus of the place regard it as an ancient city, though not mentioned by the name in the Purāṇas, and point out the ‘six forests’ in which six of the rītas 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 Adēisathros (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-chwang’s data about Chu-lien when he proposed to identify Ptolemy’s Sora, the capital of Arkatos, with Zora or Jora (the Jorampun of the maps), an old town lying immediately under the walls of Karnul (Anc. Geogr. p. 626.)

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

tēngamaḷ viritār—iyayēraḷiśi
vāṇḍumēśu neyda—nelliḷai malaru
mariyalangalai—yārkkaṇḍanna.

There is also a stray venbā (Perundogai No. 988) which mentions Alīśi-kāḍu, the kāḍu (forest) of Alīśi. This princeling had a son Śēndan, who sometimes connected with the Cōla capital Uraiyilḷr (Kurundogai No. 258). Arrkāḍu is said to be in the Cōla country by the editor of the Narrikai.

‡ See Yule and Burnell-Hobson-Jobson s. v. Arcot, where it is pointed out that of several places of this name in the Southern districts besides the town of Arcot near Vellore, one in Tanjore would correspond best with Harkatu of Ibn Batuta.
‘Sorai nomads’ and ‘Arkatos,’ the inference has been made* that there were two different 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 Kāveripaṭṭinam, its most celebrated emporium. Some of these references must be as old as the Periplus, if not earlier. “The Questions of King Milinda,” a Buddhist work of the beginning of the Christian era, mentions Kola-Pattana among the best-known sea-port towns of the time, and Kola-pattana must be, says Rhys Davids, some place on the Coromandel coast. † Most probably this is a reference to Kāveri-paṭṭinam, the Pattana par excellence on the Coromandel coast, which figures elsewhere in Pali Buddhist literature as well. M. Sylvain Levi has pointed out that Puhār, the great centre of traffic between Southern India and the islands of the Archipelago, was the original abode of the somewhat obscure sea-goddess Maṇimekhalā—“girdle of gems”—after whom Mādhavi’s celebrated daughter and the poem of Śātтан narrating the story of her spiritual life came to

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* D. R. Bhandarkar-Asoka p. 39.
† Rhys Davids-The Questions of King Milinda (SBE.) i, p. xlv 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 Kāvēripaṭṭana.

According to the Mahāvamsa, the island of Ceylon began to fall under powerful Cōla influences very early in its history. The relations between the Damīlas 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 Damīlas 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 Damīla of noble descent, Eḻūra by name, came to Ceylon from the Cōla country (Cōlarattha), overpowered Asela who was then ruling in the island, and himself reigned as king for forty-four years, ‘with even justice towards friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law.’ † Many stories are told in illustration of the

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

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

† See Geiger’s Mahāvamsa chh. xxii-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 Cōlarattha (xxii 13) and dakhīnam Madhuram puram Pāṇḍu-rājas (vii, 50), besides the common form Damīla employed of both countries. Further, the story of the justice done by the king to the cow that lost its calf narrated of Eḻūra 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 Mahaweli-ganga, was its southern limit.† Then began a war between Elāra and Duṭṭhagāmanī, so called because he was wroth with his father who stood in the way of his fighting the Damīlas; the object of Duṭṭhagāmanī in undertaking this war was twofold: to restore the political unity of Ceylon and to bring glory to the doctrine of the Buddha by driving out the Damīlas addicted to false beliefs. The details of the campaign that followed are very clearly recorded in the Mahāvamsa; ‡ success attended the arms of Duṭṭhagāmanī, and his conquered foe was pursued up to the vicinity of Anurādhapura, and Elāra met his death in a heroic combat with Duṭṭhagāmanī beneath the walls of that city. Then Duṭṭhagāmanī marched into the city, "and when he had summoned the people from a yājuna around, he celebrated the funeral rites for king Elāra. On the spot where his body had fallen, he burned it with the catafalque, the MV is localised at Tiruvārur on the continent, and there is a stone monument in that place representing the central incident of the story. See Epigr. Zeylanica iii pp. 1-47 for the chronology of the MV. "The length of Elāra's reign may be accepted as correct." ibid p. 5 n. 1.

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

* See JRAS. 1913, pp. 529-31. Some vague popular legends connect the poet of the Kūgal, Tiruvalluvar, with a merchant prince, Elela 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, Pūlattha and others; xxxiv, 19 ff. for the infamous career of Anulā-dēvi who made over the country to a succession of her Tamil paramours.
CHAPTER III

THE COLAS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

The earliest Cōla kings of whom we have tangible evidence are those mentioned in the 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 Vijayalaya 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 Kōccenganān. There is

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

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no sure means of settling the order of their succession, of fixing their relations with one another and with many other princes and prinelings of about the same period. If Puhār or Kāvirippūmpatīnām rose in importance only in the time of Karikāla, then the civil strife between the two branches of the Cōlas, one of them apparently stationed at Urāiyūr 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-māḍattu-urandai-pokki (l. 285) of the Pattimappalai has been generally understood by modern writers. But under the name of Kōkāndi (Maṇimēkalai-xxii, l. 37) the city seems to have had great celebrity from very early times. Cf. n 2 at p. 561 of Pattuppattu *(1931). A nur Sūmā from this place seems to be mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions of the second century B.C. (Linders, No. 817). The Šilappadhikāram gives a legend of the foundation of Urāiyūr (Kēḻi) being due to a cock (kōl) 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 (Śrāvakenguttuvan, 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 Maṇakōlī and Perunāṟṟi; that Neḍungīlī was the brother of Nageṇgai, and that these were the children of Maṇakōlī, and that Perunāṟṟi of Rājasāyam fame (Pūgam 16), was the son of Neḍungīlī and identical with the prince who sought refuge with Malaiyān Tirumudikkāri (Pūgam 174), that Kōḷī Valavan (of the Maṇimēkalai, and Nalangiḷī (the foe of Neḍungīlī) were the sons of Viraṅ-Kēḷī, all these statements are based on assumptions which, however plausible, seem to lack positive evidence. Again, it appears unlikely that the same prince, Irāyasāyam-Vēṭṭa Perunāṟṟi, was aided on the same occasion both by Genguttuva and Malaiyān Tirumudikkāri; there is nothing in the language of Šilapp. xxvii ii. 118-23 and Pūgam 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 Cola kings known to this literature. The Colas were even then looked upon as descended from the sun—a fact that received elaborate emphasis in later times in the long mythical genealogies incorporated in copper-plate charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in the Kanyakumāri stone inscription of Virarājendrā, and in literary works like the Kilingattupparaṇi and the Vikramasūlaṇ Uliā. Coeval with Agastya and Parasurāma was king Kāntan, whose devotion to the former brought the river Kāveri into existence, and who at the bidding of Pārvati (Kanni) entrusted his kingdom for a time to his illegitimate son Kakandan, in order to escape the fury of Parasurāma, who waged relentless war against all Kṣatriyas.† He ruled from Campā, later on called Kākandī, Puhār and Kāvirippūmpattinam. Another legendary hero was Tūngeyil-erinda-toṭittit-cembiyan, who destroyed some mysterious flying fortress of the Asuras § and also instituted in Puhār, at the instance of Agastya, an annual festival to Indra of the duration of twenty-eight days. || The story of the king who sentenced his son to death for having killed a calf by rash driving and that of another who rescued the dove from the hawk, but not the names of Manu and Śibi, are known ** to this

* Manimākalai: ēngadiro-celvan tirukkulam, 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-sammāra of Śiva.
|| Maṇi i, ll. 1-9.
|| Maṇi xxii l. 210 and n. It should be observed that this story does not occur in the earlier anthologies.
** Puram 37 ll. 5-6 and n.
early literature. The king of the bird-story is, however, once called Šembīyan. * Some of these legends, like the story of the calf and the prince, † the origin of the Kāvēri and the institution of the festival to Indra, are not found in the anthologies of the Šangam, and make their appearance for the first time in the twin epics of the Šilappadikāram and the Maṇimēkalai which may, at the earliest, be dated some generations subsequent to the reign of Karikāla.

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

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

* ibid., 1. 6.
† This story is localised at Tiruvārūr by the Periyapūṟam, a work of the twelfth century A. D.
‡ 'Uruvappahrēt:' Paṇantar (Puruṇāṇ 4) and Perunguntar Kīḻt (Puruṇam 266) celebrated him. Line 130 of the Porunar-Ṇṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟرفضa gives his relationship with Karikāla.
§ Verse 3, end of Porunar-Ṇṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ tamilāntaṇ 31 ff. — translated below.
¶ Pattinapāḷai II. 220-228 and Porunar. II. 131 ff. — translated below. A vērbā in the Paḷamolī says that a certain Piśārttāḷai 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 Marugan's anger, inherited the throne from his mother's womb; he forced his enemies to do his behests, and filled with uneasiness the lands of those that did not submit; like the young sun spreading the rays of dawn on the ocean before rising in the sky, so from the day he began to crawl as a baby, he bore on his shoulders his excellent country, and daily increased its prosperity. As the fierce whelp of the lion, proud of its strength greater than that of Death, while it has not yet given up sucking the breast of its dam, quickly kills the elephant in its first hunt for food,"

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

Venni has been identified with Kōvil

Venni, a village fifteen miles to the east of Tanjore. Though we know very little of the circumstances that led to this battle, there can be no doubt that it marked the turning point in Karikāla's career; for in this battle he seems to have broken the back of a widespread confederacy formed against him. Besides the two crowned kings of the Pāṇḍya and Cēra 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—Iaiyōn, 'prince.' Contra Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Ancient India p. 92.

† The text has: iru-peru vēndarum oru kaḻat-taviya (146, Pūmunar). Nacci

nārkkiniyar takes this to mean that they died (paḻumpaḻi); but the Cēra, we know, sustained a wound in his back, and committed suicide by the process of slow starvation—Vaṭakkiruttal, on which see Pūram 65 II. 9-11 and Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar's n. thereunder. Also Studies p. 20 and n.
and shared the defeat at the hands of Karikāla. * Much sympathy was felt for the 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 Ven̄ikkuyattiyār, possibly a resident of Ven̄ṇi 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 Ven̄ṇi watered by the freshes (of the Kāvēri) ?"

If Ven̄ṇi was the first great battle of Karikāla's reign which established him firmly on his throne and secured for him some sort of hegemony among the 'three crowned monarchs' of the Tamil land, there was no lack of other opportunities for the exercise of his arms. He defeated a confederacy of nine minor chieftains in a battle at Vākaipparandalai: Paranar, 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 Patlinappālai describes fully the destruction carried by the forces of Karikāla into the

* Aham 55, 246; also Puṭum 65, 66.
† 'Vaḷ-vaṭakirundan' (Puṭum 65, 1. 11) does not seem to mean that the king cut his throat with a sword (P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar T. mīś p. 336) but that he held a sword while starving, to indicate the cause of his action—vaṭaka vaṭakirundan (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 Čōja king.
¶ Aham 125.
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territories of his enemies and the awe inspired by his deeds of valour, * and adds that as a result of his campaigns, the numerous Oliyar submitted to him, the ancient Aruvāḷar carried out his commands, the Northerners lost splendour, and the Westerners were depressed; conscious of the might of his large army ready to shatter the fortresses of enemy kings, (Karikāla) turned his flushed look of anger against the Pāṇḍya whose strength gave way; the line of low herdsmen was brought to an end, and the family of Irungōvē was uprooted. If we disregard the vague statements about Northerners and Westerners in these lines from the Pattinappālai, we see that for all his heroism on the battle-field Karikāla's permanent conquests did not extend much beyond the land of the Kāvēri. The Aruvāḷar were the inhabitants of the AruvāṆād which comprised the lower valley of the PeṅṆār, 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 Kāvirippūmattinam and its foreshore, which takes up so much of the Pattinappālai, gives a vivid idea of the state of industry and commerce under Karikāla who is said to have promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land and added to the prosperity of the country by multiplying irrigation tanks. ‡

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

Personal Life.

While UruttirangāṆaṆaṆār, the author of the Pattinappālai, tells us vaguely

* ll. 228–73; the following lines 274–82 are translated here.
† Aham 141–felkuḍi niṟutta perumheyark-Karikāl. This poem has been misunderstood as containing a reference to the Kuṟumbar.
‡ KiṆu konnu niṟṟkkki kuḷandottu vaḷam-herukki-i.e. destroying forests to extend the inhabited country, and digging tanks to improve fertility. Pattinappālai ll. 283–4.
that he enjoyed the society of women and children,* the late annotator Naccinärkkuniyar, possibly reproducing a correct tradition, states that Karikāla took to wife a Vēḻir girl from Nāṅgūr, † a place celebrated in the poems of Tirumangai Āḻvār for the heroism of its warriors. A daughter of Karikāla, Ādimandī 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 ii. 295-9
‡ Śil. xxii ii. 11 ff. and n.
§ Putam 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 Malepādu plates of Puṇya Kumāra, † a Telugu-Cōḍa king of the seventh or eighth century. Nothing can be more typical of the manner in which legends grow than the way in which this story mingles with another stream of legend centring round Triṇētra Pallava, and culminates in the celebrated jingle of the late Telugu-Cōḍa plates: caraṇa-sarōruha vihata - viścana - pāllavara-trīlōcana - pramukha-kēlila - prihitīśvara - kāvīla - 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 Kaṟūr, and his conquest of Kaṇcē and settlement of agrarian colonies in the Tondaimandalam are other elements in the Karikāla legends that can find no support from the earliest authorities on his reign. It would seem that the Tondaimāṇḍalam was ruled by Tondaimāṇ Illandiraiyan in the days of Karikāla; and there is no satisfactory evidence in support of the suggestion that has been made that this chieftain was

* Śi. v. ii. 89-110.

† Kavēra—tanayī—vaḷḷīlānghana—prāṣamana—pamukhī—dyanēkātiśaya-kāriṇaḥ
do Kariṅalasa, K. l. 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 Triṇētra whose third eye was blinded by his lotus foot."
the grandson of Karikāla, or, at least, a viceroy ap-
pointed by him after his conquest of Kānci. *

We now pass on to Nalangilli and his rival Neɖun-
gilli who, judging from the civil war between them which lasted till the
death of Neɖungilli † at the Kāriyārū must have belonged to rival branches of the Cōla family which ruled with Pulhūr and Uṟaiyūr for their respective centres. Nalangilli had a younger brother, Māvaḷattān; and his memory is preserved to us by the poet Tāmappal-kaṇṇanār who, when Māvaḷattān 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 inflam-
mable princeling and his boon-companion, the Brahman poet of Dāmal. §

The Maṇimēkalai ¶ mentions a great battle at the Kāriyārū in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra were defeated by a junior prince (Iḷangōn) of the Cōla family in the reign of Māvaṅkili, also called Neɖumuḍik-
killi and KIllivalavan in this poem. This battle has been identified with the one in which Neɖungilli met his fate and the civil strife came to an end; || from this the inference has been drawn that the Iḷangōn of the Maṇimēkalai was no other than Nalangilli, and that Nalangilli was the younger brother of Neɖumuḍik-killi:

* See Studies, essay II, for a full discussion of these points.
† Though Neɖungilli figures without any attribute in some colophons, there is nothing to prevent his being identified with the king who died at the Kāriyārū.
‡ Puram 43.
¶ xix, ii. 125-7.
some writers go further and argue that because Nalangilli is called Śeṭcenni-Nalangilli, * he may be a grandson of Ilañjeṭcenni, the father of Karikāla, with the result that Neđumudik-killi, Nalangilli and Māvaḷattān 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 Puranāṇūṇu and the Maṉimekālaī; nothing is known of the circumstances of NeĎungilli’s death at the Kāriyāru, a fact which finds only the most casual mention in the colophon to Puram 47; we are to infer from this that as there was a civil war between Nalangilli and NeĎungilli, 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 Maṉimekālaī, 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 Māvaḷattān were the sons of Karikāla.

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

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

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

The poet who praised his lord with such strident notes was no base sycophant. In striking contrast with the foregoing, is the moving exhortation to peace addressed to the king when he was besieging Uraiyyur 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 Sr, and 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 Kuriyārun-tuñjiya 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 Cēra and Pāṇḍya emblems.

† Puram 73; Kanak. pp. 74-5.
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 Uraiyūr Mudukaṇṭan Śūṭṭanūr, 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-palī. §

Neṟungillī, the opponent of Nalangillī in the civil war, is addressed in two poems by Kōvūr-Kilār, the author of the exhortation addressed to both of them to cease from their strife. These poems add a little to our knowledge of the occurrences in the war. One of them mentions that Neṟungillī was once shut up in Āvūr which, like Uraiyūr, 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 l. 10-12.
† ibid 400, l. 19.
‡ ibid 27, 29.
§ Col. to Puram 61 where he is called Nalangillī Śēṭṭennī.
¶ 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!"

Neđungilli, 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 Uraiyr, a minstrel, Ḵandattan by name, who had entered Uraiyr from the camp of Nalangilli, was taken to be a spy, and was about to be killed when Kovur-Kilăr put in a successful plea for his life being spared. The short poem is a fine picture of bardic life in the Sangam age:

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

Close to Nalangilli and Neđungilli in time, because the same poets are found composing poems in their praise, was Killivalavan who died at Kulamurram. Another Killivalavan, the subject of a single poem of Kovyur-Kilăr, is said to

*K Puram 47. Kanakasabhai, 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 Kovur-Kilār composed after the king had captured Karuvūr, depicts a later stage in his Cēra war than another † poem by Ālattur Kilār, 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 Śīṟukūḍī. He ruled with Uraiyūr as his capital. § “This king, who (we may infer) possessed considerable ability, was both brave and generous, but somewhat headstrong. Hence a great deal of good advice is, in a very tactful way, offered to him by the minstrels; and he seems to have been all the better for it.” The following lines are by Vellaikkudi-nākanar, ¶ who was rewarded on the spot by a remission of the arrears due on his lands.

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

Though the resplendent sun in diverse quarters rise;
And though the silvery planet to the south decline;
Thy land shall flourish, where through channels deep,
Kāverī 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 Kūlamugam, 'Pavilion by the tank.'
† Puram 36.
‡ Puram 173.
§ Puram 69, l. 12.
¶ IA. xxix pp. 251-2. Puram 35; I have reproduced Pope’s translation.

[ 50 ]
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 Kīḷār made an effort to divert the king's
attention from his enterprise and save Karūr from
destruction, by gently reproaching him with pitting
himself against a foe unworthy of his mettle * :—

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

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

* Puram 36. IA, ibid p. 252.
expression 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'zt the lordly city old, whose king
Was circled round by girded elephants.
There in dark deep moat alligators congregate.
In the wide waters of the guarded lake
Are crocodiles that fierce in fight
Dart forth to catch the shadows cast
By gleam of watchman's torch at midnight hour.
Its walls like burnish'd copper shone.
This seemed not fair to thine eyes; for thou didst
Work destruction mightily, glorious king!

'The delicate lyric warning against arrogance'
addressed to the proud conqueror by Mūlam-kīlar 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-Kīlar also described this event at some
length in a poem that has not been preserved in its
entirety. ‡

* Puram 37; IA. ibid.
† Puram 40; IA. ibid. 254.
‡ Puram 373.
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The poems of the Puranānūru are silent on the relations between Kiliḷivaḷavan and his southern neighbour the Pandya; but a poem of Nakkirar * in the Ahanānūru makes pointed reference to a defeat sustained by the forces of a Kiliḷivaḷavan under the walls of Madura at the hands of the Pandya commander-in-chief, Paḷaiyan Māran. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, we may assume that the king whose defeat is alluded to by Nakkirar was the one that died at Kujamuiram. † Kiliḷivaḷavan evidently waged war in another direction against the Malaiyamān chieftain of Malādu, a district on the banks of the Peṅnar which had Tirukkōyilūr 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-kārī who is celebrated in several poems of the Pūram 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) Vaḷavaṅkīḷi who was 'maiytūnu' to the Cēra king Sengṟṟuvaṇ, and was established on the Cēḷa throne by the latter after suppressing, in the battle of Nerivaiyil, a rebellion in which nine princes of the blood royal had taken part (p. 75); and (b) the Cēḷa king of the Maṇimikanai and the father of Udayakumaran (p. 77). It is not certain that the twin Epics of the Anklet and the Jewel-belt relate to the same period of time as the poems of the Puranānūru 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 'maiytūnu-valavaṅkīḷi' of the Śilappadikāram (xxvii-l. 118) is not the same as 'Kiliḷivaḷavan,' and as there is nothing in the numerous poems of the Pūram 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 Cēḷa contemporary of Sengṟṟuvaṇ was according to the Śilappadikāram, Perunakīḷi, whom Aḍiyāṅkkanallīr calls Perunakīḷi; and the Pandit himself identifies him with Rājaśayam-vṛṣṭa Perunakīḷi, and this, in itself, is really more plausible than the suggestion of Kanakasabhai. The absence of all mention of a fight at the Kāriyāṟu or a combination of the Pandya and the Cēḷa against Kujamugattu-ṕuḷiya Kiliḷivaḷavan, 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.

[ 53 ]
Māṇikkattu Nappāsalaiyār for the liberal patronage he extended to the minstrels, a trait which is emphasised also by Kōvūr-Kīḻār in the following poem by which he succeeded in releasing the children of the Malaiyamān from a cruel death to which the victorious Cōḷa 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 Māṇikkattu Nappāsalaiyār 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 Uṟaiyūr, impregnable city of the valiant Śōgar, is the home of Equity;—justice is not thy peculiar praise!

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

* Puram 46; IA. xxix p. 256.
† Puram 39; IA. xxix pp. 253-4.
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How shall I tell of thy glorious prowess that withered the fadeless Vañji, destroying the 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 Kulamurram 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, Murókkattu 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 Vañavan, entreating him,
Like minstrels, bowing low, with suppliant hand,
Praising, thou didst bear off his life,
Leader of hosts that crowd the glorious field,
Crowned with gold wreath, Lord of the mighty car!

The other, by Māsāttamār of Āduturāi, 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 Vañavan 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 Kōpperunāḷan who also ruled from Uraiyyūr. Himself a poet, * he was an intimate friend of two poets—Āndaiyūr of (Irum) Pīsīr and Pottiyūr. Āndai (owl) sounds more like a nickname than a name proper †; but the poet is not known by any other name. He was a native of the Pūṇḍya country and gave some good counsel ‡ to the king of that country, Āṟivudai Nambi. Pottiyūr was a native of the Cōla country and resided at Uraiyyūr. The intimate friendship between these and Kōpperunāḷan became a classic example in later literature § like that between Damon and Pythias. Āndai was a jolly good fellow and his poems ring with the true enjoyment of life. Asked once why, though old, his hair had not turned grey, he gave the answer:

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

Here is another poem evincing the attachment felt by him to Kōpperunāḷan, 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 mellow, And with the fat of turtle satiates their desire,

* Author of Kurundogai Nos. 20, 53, 129, 147.
† The grammarians explain it, however, as Ādan tandai (Ādan's father).
‡ Puram 184.
§ Parimēlalagar on Kūṭai 785; and Naccinārkkiniyar on Tol. Karpú.
Su. 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
no flaw.*

All the day long he laughs with heart right glad!

A beautiful poem † by Pullārūr Eyiriyananur 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 Köpperunjolan and his two sons. By a strange irony of fate, this winsome monarch, who engaged the deepest affection of two poets for life and in death, was unable to compose his differences with his own children. His agnostic utterance on suicide is perhaps sufficient proof that he found in it his last refuge from the troubles of life: ‡

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

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

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

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 Ki[i] lived and
| died;

Ki[i], with wealth of chariots, o'er which waves the
[conqueror's wreath ?

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

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

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

Perunarkilli must have been a powerful monarch, as he is the only one among the Tamil sovereigns of the Sangam age who performed the liñjavai. It is likely that the Cêra Mari Venko and the Pândya Ugrapperuvaludi both attended this great inauguration of Perunarkilli’s rule, and that the fine benediction of Auvaiyär 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 outstretched 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 without limit on the needy; only the good deeds that you do now will stand by you at the time of your death. Ye monarchs!

* Puram 367; Kanakasabhai, p. 78.
(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 Čēra Māndarañ-jēral-irumpọrañ, in which the chieftain Tērvanmalaiyan fought on the side of the Čōla king. Neither the friend nor the foe † of the Čōla on this occasion could now be ascertained.

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

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

† Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar has indeed suggested (Aingurumāru-introd. p. 15.) that the Čēra enemy was the same as Yēnaikkatē-yēnal-irumpọrañ who was defeated and captured by Pāṇḍya Neṇuṇjēlyyan, the victor of Talaṭyālangūnam. Great as is the weight of his authority, I hesitate to follow him here. See, however, Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, Ancient Dekkhan p. 202.
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of Pāmulūr, a Cēra fortress; * how he earned the prefix to his name, Neydalangūnal, is not known. Śeruppāḷi, overthrown by the second prince, is also only a name. The Cōla Muḍittalaik-kōpperunāṅkili (the great good Kili, the king with the crowned head) is remembered by a single poem of Muḍamōsiyūr (Mōsi, the Lame), who lived in the part of Uraiyyūr known as Ēniiccēri. The poem † is a fine piece giving expression to the poet’s grave concern for the safety of the Cōla who was riding an elephant, which, having suddenly turned mad, was carrying him past Karuvūr. The poet was then in the company of a Cēra prince, and explained to him what was happening before their eyes. The rushing elephant is picturesquely compared to a ship sailing on the high sea.

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

“Thou art the Lord of the Kāvirī and its cool waters; this king is the lion of the warlike race of Pāṇcavas, 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 Urandāi, where virtue abides; this king, thinking that paddy and water are cheap, has made himself Lord of the mountain sandal and the

* Puram 203.
† Puram 13.
‡ This king was wrongly identified with Karikāḷa by Kanakasabhai.—See P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar Tamil, p. 367. n.
sea pearl together with the thundering drums, and rules with
tongue mercy Kudal, 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-maivalavan 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-pahradakkaip-peru-viñnar(nar)kj-killī is the
name of another Cōla prince celebrated by Paranār and
Kalāttalaiyar, of the age of Karikāla and his father.
Three poems in the Puranānūru describe the sad fate
of this prince and his Cōra opponent Kuḍakkō Neḻuṇ-
jēral-Ādan, both of whom fell on the field of battle.
Another prince with a strongly marked individuality
was Pōrvaik-kopperunark-killī who figures in a doz-
zen 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.
erratic prince with a real passion. Sattandaiyar, 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 Uraiyyur. Tittan once forced the chieftain Katti and his companion Paman to fall back in disorder after a hasty advance on Uraiyyur. As this incident is recorded by Paranar, Tittan and his eccentric son must have preceded Karikala. Tittan had also a daughter Aiyai. Solan Nalluruttiru and Nambi Neduunjeliyan are represented each by a single poem. The former was a poet himself, and in fact we have no knowledge of him except as an author. A whole section on Mullai, comprising seventeen songs in the anthology called Kalittogai, is said to be his work, and in a short poem in the Puranangaru he sings his ideal of a felicitous life: to shun misers and seek the company of strong and noble friends. Nambi Neduunjeliyan forms the subject of a fine eulogium from Pereyil Muguvalar (the Laughing Man of the Big Fortress)—a poem, remarkable for its fine array of short sentences and its vivid portraits.

The life of Kocengangan, like that of Karikala, 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 Puranangaru

* Puram 80 2.
† Puram 80, 352, 395; Aham 6, 122, 152, 188, 226
‡ Aham 226.
§ Aham 6; Paranai.
‖ Puram 190.
‖ Puram 239.
** Puram 74.
and the forty verses that constitute the poem *Kalavali* by Poygaiyār form the earliest evidence of this king's life. The references to him in the hymns of Tirugnānasambandar and Tirumangai Ālvar as well as Sundarāmūrti 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 Tiruvālangādu plates of the reign of Rājendra Cōla. The *Kalingattupparagyi* and the *Vikramaśālan-ulā* more or less agree with the copper-plates, but the main stream of legend flows through the *Andādi* of Nambi-Āṇdar-Nambi to the *Periya Purāṇam* of Śekkiliṟ, the ocean in which all the streams of Śaivite legend mingle in the Tamil country.

The *Kalavali* † is a poem of moderate length, giving a somewhat conventional, though occasionally gruesome, description of the battle of Kāḻumalum, near Karuvūr in the Kongu country, § in which Senganān defeated and made captive the Cēra king Kaṇaikkāirumporai. The poet Poygai, a friend of the Cēra, placated the Cēra conqueror by singing of his valour in the battle-field and thereby secured the release of the Cēra from captivity. The verse in the

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† Appar-Kurikkai v. 4, Tiruppāṭuk-Kiruttēṅṟakam)-v. 6; Also Sundarār Tiruvāṅtugai v. 2. Tiruvālangādu plates-v. 43: tinru-lēṅpūr-bhāndhār.
‡ See IA. xviii pp. 259-65 for a translation and critique of the poem by V. Kanakasabhai.
§ See *Seran Senguttuvam* p. 183. Akham 44 seems to give some details of the events which preceded the battle.
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Puranānūru 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-Aiyār.

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

† 'Tnṭjiya' 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 Kāḷavati. See Studies pp. 14-16.

‡ By understanding 'Kaṇaiyan' in Aham 44 as the abbreviation of Kaṇaikkēl-irumpoḻai, it is possible to avoid much unnecessary confusion. Contra Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, Kāḷavati-introd., pp. 6-7.
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Though we have no contemporary evidence bearing on Kōccenganāṉ'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 Poygaiyar of the Kalavāḷī with the Āḻvār of the same name strengthens this supposition. * Tirumangai-Āḻvār in one of his hymns on Tirunāṟaiyūr † makes the achievements of Kōccenganāṉ and his

* It must, however, be noted here that several scholars of repute are opposed to the identification of the two Poygais, and Pandit E. V. Anantarama Aiyar who is among them proposes to postulate two Śēngaṇāṉs as well (see his edn. of the Kalavāḷī 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 Yipparrungala-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 Śen-Tamil Vol. i p. 6; also his Āḻvāṟkaḷ Kālanidai 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 Tirunandai 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 Kalavāḷī. And Tirumangai's pāsūram is silent about Kalmalām and the Kalavāḷī. But considering that the religious hymns of Poygai-Āḻvār are all, like the Kalavāḷī, 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 Yipparrungala-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 Gūpasaṅgara, the author of the Yipparrungala-virutti, it seems necessary to accept the correctness of Pandit Raghava Aiyangar's position. See, on the other side, K. S. Srinivasa Pillai-Tamil Varāḻiṟṟṟḷ vol. ii, p. 176-7, Sentamikeeḻu Vol. ii, article on Poygaiyūr by Pandit N. M. Venkatasami Nattar, and Kalavāḷī, ed. Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, introduction. The novel suggestion of Pandit Anantarama Aiyar that Śēngaṇāṉ, the Śaiva nāyāṉār, was different from Kōccenganāṉ of the Kalavāḷī is based entirely on the silence of the Periyapurāṇam on the Kalavāḷī. The Pandit naively discovers another reason in that, according to him, Śēkkiḻṟ is marked off the nāyāṉār from the other person by calling the former Śēngaṇāṉ !

† Periya Tirumolṉi VI, 6.
worship at Tirunaraiyur the refrain of his song. Here is no room for doubting that the Alvar 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 Tirunaraiyur. 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. Tirumangai 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 Viḷandai Vēl. In the hymns of Gnanasambandar and Sundaramūrti the great temples to Śiva at Ambari Vaigal, and Namilam are definitely said to have been founded by Śenganān. The Anbil plates ‡ of Sundara Cōla state, generally that Kōccenegaṇān built temples to Gaurīśa all over the country, while the Tiruvalangādu plates, as we have seen, hint at the spider story. The Anbil plates give the name of Śenganān’s son, Nallaṭikkōn. It is not till we get to the Periya Purāṇam that the king gets transformed out of recognition and figures as the son of Subhadēva and Kanalavati, and the founder of Jambukēśvara. That Śekkilār’s account

* Verse 3 line 3 of the hymn looks almost a copy of the Kalavali, of course allowing for the difference in metre: Kauvai-mūkāṭirandu veṇṇi-jēgu-kalai-manar maṅimagīnūl kēbanēga; also verse 4, 1, 3.

† Ten· Tamiḷan Vaṭapulakākōn Śōlan (5); Tennyūn Kugakonaun Śōlan (6); see vv. 4, 6, 9 of the hymn. Also Pandit Raghuva Aiyangar Āḻvākar Kalūnai pp. 157f. The Vēl of Viḷandai might have been a commander on the Cēra side.

‡ Akhila-ṇanapāḍi-kipta-gaurīśa-dhāmō (v. 13), EL, xv p. 60.
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includes the absurd story of the birth of Śengaṇān 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 Śengaṇān, his birth in the Cōla family and the foundation of numerous Śiva temples besides the Jambukēśvara are the only elements in Śōkkiḷēr'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 Kāveripatnām still survive, nothing has been discovered yet in these places that furnishes even a trace of their former greatness.* We are left only with the evidence of literature and synchronisms with the history of neighbouring lands. When the suggestion was first made that Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon, who was the contemporary of the Cēra Śenguttuvan, was no other than Gajabāhu I of the Mahāvamsa, who ruled from A.D. 113 to 135, Dr. Hultzsch entered a caveat, saying: † "With due respect to Mr. Kumara-swami's sagacity, I am not prepared to accept this view, unless the identity of the two Gajabāhus is not only supported by the mere identity of name, but proved by internal reasons, and until the chronology of the earlier history of Ceylon has been subjected to a critical examination." Now, the chronology of

* AKR. 1909-10, pp. 16-17.
† SII. ii, p. 378.
Ceylonese history has been the subject of considerable discussion, and as a result,* the dates of the early kings of Ceylon are as well established as can be desired. There is only one Gajabahu 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 *Silappadikāram* between Śenguttuvan and Gajabahu 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 Sangam anthologies, the notices of South India by classical works of the early centuries of the Christian era, like the *Periplus* and Ptolemy’s geography, and the numerous finds of Roman coins of the early Roman Empire in several places in Southern India. This would lead any unbiassed student to the conclusion that the Tamil anthologies were contemporary with the classical works and the Roman coins.‡

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

* 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 *JIKAS*. (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 Puranānīru, Pattuppāṭu 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 Alvar 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 Senganan as a spider transformed into a Cōla king, by showing that Senganan had already become a legendary figure, points in the same direction; and Senganan was apparently among the latest of the early Cōlas of whom we have spoken in this chapter.

† See Ante pp. 33ff. Notice also the names Paṇaya māraka and Pilaya-māraka in the Ceylon list recalling Paḷaiyan Maṇan 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 Senguttuvan and his contemporaries had some generations of predecessors and successors, the best working hypothesis is to assign the Sangam Age to the first three or four centuries of the Christian era.

Recent discussions centering round the twenty-ninth canto of the Maṇimēkalai and its relation to Diūnāga’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 Ubbhayavyāyāṅti in Vaidharmya Dṛṣṭāntābhāsa, (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 इक्कावत as an instance of aḍyamāṇā-ubhaya-siddha-sādharmya-dṛṣṭāntābhāsa, the N. explains the example only as referring to the sattvavādi; but the M. (ll 383-4) applies it to the sattva-vādi as well. Again there are differences in terminology which can only be noted, without criticism, as some at least of them may be merely textual errors in the Tamil work: (a) In the enumeration of p.क्षिभुस्त as the M. has aprasiddha-sambandha, the ninth category, in the place of prasiddhasambandha of the N.; (b) for anyatarasiddha and saṁdihā-siddha of the N. among hetvābhāsas, the M. substitutes anyathāsiddha and siddhāsiddha; (c) for
that a different and a simpler exposition of logical principles has already been given earlier in the canto, and that the exposition of fallacies in accordance with the Nyāyapravēśa has come in as a clumsy afterthought, introduced by the impossible statement that upanaya and nigamana may be subsumed under drśānta. This statement gives, in our view, the clue to the real history of the chapter. In its original form it contained only the exposition which takes the first place in the chapter, was pre-Dīnāga in its content, and stood for a syllogism of five members. Some pious student of Dīnāga, in his anxiety to glorify his master, by giving a rendering of the 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 Maṇimēkalai in their earlier phases.

viruddhavyabhicāri of the N. we have viruddha-vyabhiṣṭi in M. (ii) in naming drśāntādhūsas, where the N. has sādhanadharma-asiddha etc., the M. gives sādhanadharma-vikāla etc. It may be noted that Dharmakṛṣṇa too uses 'vikāla' for 'asiddha'. See JIII. x pt. ii, for a review of the Nyāyapravēśa (ed. Drhuva) by S.S.S.

* ll. 45-108.

† ll. 109-110. On this Mr. Dhruva remarks: "The author of the Maṇimēkalai does not perceive that the last two avayavas can never be included in the drśānta as he ignorantly imagines." (p. xv).

‡ Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, has studied the Sāṅkhya in the Maṇimēkalai 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 Maṇimēkalai.
CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE SANGAM AGE.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible for us to view the political events of the Sangam 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 Sangam gives us an unusually complete and true picture.

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

* The old term Dravidian, now fallen into much contempt with some writers, does not mean anything essentially different. Inferences from language or culture to race are of course not warranted.
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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 Šangam. 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 Kaļabhra interregnum, ‡ cannot be received with too much suspicion. Our course must be to treat the entire corpus of the Šangam works, (including also the Šilappadikāram 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 glibly prolific, is one that ought to be used with the utmost caution, considering how easy it is, with a little ingenuity, to make out a philological case for the wildest absurdity." (The History of British Civilisation, 1 p. 14).

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

‡ ibid. p. 537.
To trace fully the elements of pre-Aryan Tamil culture that survived into historical times would involve an extensive application of comparative methods to the literature of the Sangam age, such as cannot be undertaken here. These survivals are seen sometimes to exist by the side of the newer practices; just as the electric train and the country cart are both seen in use today, so in the Manimekalai 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 Iṟaiyanar Kaḻaviyāl, 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 (kānak-kūttam), 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 tiḷais. 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 tiḷais are treated as varieties of Gāndharva, and the Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paisāca forms are grouped

* vi. II. 66–7.
† E. g. Gautama iv. 6 ff. (Mysore ed. n.)
‡ Maṟaiyār-ēttu-mangal eṟṟaiḻ, Su. 92 in Poruḻ; Iṟaiyanar, Su. 1.
§ Tolkāppiyam Poruḻ. 104–6.
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under *kaikkilai,* — courses not very satisfactory in themselves. But the attempt to impound the remaining Aryan forms, Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa and Daiva under *perundiyai* 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 *Paṭṭinappālai* *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 *śēmbu* (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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Puram 368, I.A. xxix pp. 282-3.
† Puram 40, ll. 10-11.
‡ Purunar-Dṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟrndppadai, ll. 245-6.
war was not, as so often made out, the pleasant diversion of a few professionals which left the normal course of life in the country untouched. The Sanskrit conception of the state (राज्य) as an organism with seven limbs (ाङ्ग) was known and accepted, and the Kural, * introducing a slight but significant change, makes the remaining six elements subject to the king. In other respects as well, the concepts of polity gain a certain clarity and precision in the hands of Tiruvalluvar, unknown to their sources. The ten verses † in which he deals with the essentials of nadu (राष्ट्र) are far more clear-cut in their analysis of the physical basis of the life of the state than the corresponding statements in the Arthasastras known to us, and the concluding declaration ‡:

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

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

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* No. 381
† Nos. 731-40
‡ No. 740.
§ Nos. 751-60.
¶ No. 756 Parimelalagar has taken nuporn to mean escheat and treasure-trove; but see Divyakaram, 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 Ahanānūru * 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 Kūṟṟal, 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-

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, l. 13-5—Koppu-cōḷar kōṇandai vaṅga naṅga raru naḷiṇin-feriyav-varum-agañ.
† No 448, Pope’s translation.
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. 955, 564.
† No. 581.
‡ No. 638.
§ No. 872.
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 Kuru affirm: †

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 Silappadikâram and the Mañimekalai of groups called aimperungeulu and enperāyam. Another group of five categories of persons is sometimes added to these to make up the ‘eighteen kilaippalor’

* Mañi. xxii 1. 208.
† Nos. 543; 545—6. cf. also Mañi—vii ii. 8 ff.
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as the early lexicon Divākaram calls them, or the 'eighteen surram' as they are more commonly known. There are noticeable divergences among the earliest authorities on the content of aimperungulu and eṣperayam: * 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 'eṣperayam' were the eight groups of attendants who contributed to the 'pomp and dignity' with which the king was surrounded, somehow convinced himself that the 'aimperungulu' was of another order, and has made a number of statements not one of which is warranted by his sources. "The council of representatives safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people; the priests directed all religious ceremonies; the physicians attended to all matters affecting the health of the king and his subjects; the astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events; the ministers attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and the administration of justice. Separate places were assigned in the capital town, for each of these assemblies, for their meetings and transaction of business. ...The power of government was entirely vested in the king and in the 'Five Great Assemblies.' It is most remarkable that this system of government was followed in the three kingdoms of the Pāṇḍya, Cōla and Cēra, although they were independent of each other. There is reason to believe therefore that they followed this system of government which obtained in the country.

* See PK. pp. 32-3.
† The 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 'māśanam' which at best may mean 'elders'.

For the germ of a popular assembly, not organised on any scientific basis of representation, but still virtually representing such public opinion as there was, we must turn really to the institution called 'manram' (hall) and 'podiyil' (common place) in this early literature. The two sections on 'avai' (sabha) 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 Parimēlālagar that these sections have

*As may be expected, scholars who are not in a position to control Kasakasabhai'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 nirankūṭavam utprekṣyath!
reference to the king's sabhā. Frequent as are the allusions to the 'sabhā' or 'manram' in the works of the period, few specific details of its nature and working are forthcoming. Its place in the administration of justice, especially in the capital city of the king, is well attested. The sons of Malaiyamān were tried and sentenced, and later released by the intercession of Kōvūr-Kīlār, in the manram of Uraiyūr; * and Pottiyūr, after the death of his friend Köpperuṇjōlan, could not bear the sight of the same manram bereft of him. The Porunar-āṟṟuppaṭai † makes a pithy statement about adults setting aside their feuds while they entered the sabhā, which might mean either that they got their disputes adjudicated or laid their private quarrels aside for the discharge of common duties. We can infer naturally that the sabhā or manram was also availed of by the king for purposes of general consultation; 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 manram of the rural areas. Each village had its common place of meeting, generally under the shade of a big tree where men, women and children met for all the common activities of the

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

The chief sources of royal revenue appear to have been land and trade. The mā and the vēli as measures of land were already known; ‡ but we have no means of determining precisely the king's share of the produce of agriculture. The peasant was the backbone of the country's prosperity and was held in great esteem. The author of the Kurai 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 Pattinappālai ¶ must go a long way to convince us of the high place occupied by customs duties as a source of revenue.

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

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

The prison formed part of the system of administration. * The Cēra Kāṇaikkūl-Irumpoparai was detained by Śenganān in a prison, which, from its name Kudavăyr-kottam, is sometimes taken to have been in Kumbakōnām or a smaller place, also near it, now called Koḍavaśal. †

An army of well-equipped professional soldiers was regularly maintained and no doubt found frequent employment in those bellicose times. The captains of the army were distinguished by the title of ēnādi conferred on them in a ceremony of formal investiture at which the king presented his chosen commander with a ring and other insignia of high military rank. ‡ The Puranānāru 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,

* Mani xix ll. 42-3.
† See Kāḷavati-ed. Anantarama Aiyar p. 10. (Introdn.)
‡ See Naccinakkikiniyar on mārīyam-perra-neppumaliyānum (Tel. Pornī. Purattinai, Su. 8.)
§ Nos. 167, 394.
not so (their infamy) to the ear. Hence, you are pleasant in one way, they in another; what is there else in which they do not equal you? Yet, what wonder is it, tell us, noble one! that this world cherishes you, O! 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 Ṣangam literature have been brought to light. The setting up of memorial stones for this and other purposes was so common that, at an early date, literary convention came to standardise the procedure adopted on such occasions. †

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

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

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

* Maṇi. xxiii 11. 13 ff and n.
† Puram 40. Modern warfare is no stranger to such unchivalrous practices.
Witness enemy guns cast into memorial shields.
‡ Kanakasabhai has edited and translated the poem, JA. xviii. p. 253.
§ Kaḷavaḷi 9.
¶ Verse 29.
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 vīraliyar, I spent many pleasant days. On occasions, he entreated me to eat food prepared from rice; then I ate fine cooked rice which, with unbroken edges and erect like fingers, resembled the buds of the mullai (flower), together with curries sweetened with milk, in such quantity that they filled me up to the neck. So I stayed happily with him, and by eating flesh day and night, the edges of my teeth became blunt like the

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

The habit of eating betel leaves after food was well-known. Women are said to have given up eating betel leaves and bathing in cold water when their husbands fell in battle.* Kovalan’s wife Kannaki 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 Kalingattupparai tells us that Kadiyalur Rudrangaṇanār got for his Pattinappalai over a million and a half gold pieces from Karikāla. ‡ If legend says true, only a small part of early Tamil poetry has come down to us; but what we possess of this literature bears evidence of its great qualities. The poems, specially the shorter ones, are full of colour and true to life. They abound in fine

* Puram 62 l. 14.
† Śīl xvi l. 55.
‡ v. 185—The figure given is 1600,000; ‘Pattoṭṭunāṟṟāyiram,’
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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 کړال of Tiruvalļuvar 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 pāṇar and viraliyar 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 Śītā, the wife of Rāma of the swift chariot, the great

* Puṟam 335.
† Puṟam 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 āṟṟuppāḷai, in which a poet narrates his experiences of a patron and invites others to bring themselves to his notice, some are addressed to the pāṇar 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 Kiḷḷivalavaṉ, 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 Arangēṟṟukāḷai 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 *Silappadikāram*, 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 ādesī 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 *Manimekalai* †, like Vātsyāyana’s *Kāmasūtra*, indicates that the nātaka magalir, the hetaerae, underwent a regular course of instruction extending over a number of years and comprising royal dances, popular dances, singing, lute-playing, flute-playing, cookery, perfumery, painting, flowerwork and so on. Several varieties of the *vina* and the *yāli* are mentioned; it is not easy to understand their exact forms now, though it is clear that a high stage of development had then been reached in these arts, apparently after a long evolution.

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

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* These are detailed in *Sil.* vi 39 ff.
† *Mañi* ii 11. 18-32.
‡ *Puṣāṇ* 378.
§ *Mañi.* iii, 11. 127 ff.
¶ *Mañi* xix 11. 102 ff.
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Such gardens possessed shallow wells or tanks with mechanical fittings, artificial hillocks, rivulets and waterfalls, bowers of flower plants and glass houses, for the amusement of the inmates of the mansions that stood in their midst. Mirrors were also known and used. * The opening canto of the Śilappadikāram gives an account of a wedding in high society which, though no doubt slightly idealised, may perhaps be accepted as based upon reality. The bride, Kaṇṭaki, 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 mandapā adorned with pearls and flowers and supported on jewelled pillars with flower-festooned capitals, underneath an azure canopy, Kōvalan, led in the Vedic rituals by an aged Brahman (priest), went round the fire in the company of her who rivalled Arundhati—blessed are the eyes of those who saw the sight."

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

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

Puhār or Kāvirippūmpattinam was one of the few great cities of the time, and, being on the sea coast, it was also the great emporium of the kingdom. The city, its port and trade are fully described in the poems. The author of the Śīlappadikāram 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.
† Puram 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 Puhår like huge elephants chafing at their posts. Yet others, flying over shops where fish and flesh were being sliced and fried and whose thresholds were strewn with fresh sand and flowers, announced the sale of high-class liquor to their numberless customers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Under the guardianship of the gods of enduring glory, horses with a noble gait had come by the sea; bagfuls of black pepper had been brought in caria; 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 Kāvāri,

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

† lli. 213-17.
‡ lli. 184-193.
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 Śangam. † Even inland cities like Madura had guards of 'dumb melechas' and 'yavanas' in complete armour keeping watch in the king's palaces. The *Perumbāṉ-āṟṟuppadai*, ‡ a poem of the same period, speaks of tall lighthouses on the coast summoning ships to harbour by the night.

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

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* The annotator makes this Kadāram (Sumatra).
† *PK.* p. 35. Kanakasabhai *op. cit.* Chh. ii and iii.
‡ ll. 346–50.
¶ *ibid* p. 183.
Sewell *J.R.A.S.* 1904.
of the rise, zenith and decay of this active commerce. Casual statements made by the classical authors and, more decidedly, the evidence of the early Chinese annals, prove that along the sea-route from the Far-East to the West, India acted as an intermediary for many generations. The maritime trade of the Indian ocean in the early centuries of the Christian era is in itself a subject too vast, and authentic evidence on it is too extensive, * for us to attempt anything more than to draw attention to a few of its aspects that should interest students of 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.)
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 Ceras. But see Hudson, Europe and China (Arnold, 1931) pp. 100-2. Roman coins need not actually have reached China.

† Periplus Sec. 59.

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

Of the carrying trade of the Indian ocean and the Arabian sea, the Cōlas 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

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† Rostovtceff *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

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

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

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

Among the industries of the Cōla country as of South India in general, in this period as always, the chief place was held by agriculture. The high place of agriculture in the national economy and the phenomenal fertility of the soil in the basin of the Kāverī 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' † (kaḍaśiyar) as one of the poets of the Purānanūṟu 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 Naccinārkkiṇiyar 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.
† Purām 61, 1, 1.
and enjoyed the _jus connubii_ with royal families. These were doubtless the nobles of the land who shared with the king the pleasures of war and chase and the table. The poorer _veḷḷāḷas_ 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 _Puṟanānūṟu_, * 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 _Uraiyaṟṟ_ was a great centre of the trade in fine cotton stuffs. The _Porunarruppattai_ 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 _Maṉimekalai_ 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 ll. 12-3.
† _Puṟam_ 125, l. 1.
‡ ll. 82-3.
§ l. 155.
¶ iii. 167-8.
of the population. No detailed or specific information is forthcoming on the other trades of which a general idea may be gathered from the descriptions of city life quoted above. Cots made of leather straps plaited apparently on wooden frames are mentioned; and the leather workers came from the low class of the pulaiyas.* If the mention, in the Maqimēkalai, † 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 Cūla empire of the tenth century and later; the numerous inscriptions of that time furnish unmistakable evidence of the subordinate role of coin in the transactions of everyday life; the

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

In no sphere is the influence of Aryan ideas on Tamil culture in early historical times more evident than in that of religion and ethics. These ideas embodied in a number of myths, legends and social practices which form the common stock of practically the whole of India, had already become an integral part of the civilisation of the Tamils, and the Śangам 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 Dharmāṣṭras. An exhaustive study of the history of Indian Mythology, by tracing the stages through which each single legend passes before attaining a final and fixed form which it retains ever after, might lead to results of value to the internal chronology of the body of Śangam literature. Even otherwise, one can see that poems like the Śilappadikāram and the Maṉīmekalai which differ from the other poems of the Śangam, not only in their great length and their literary form, but in the much freer use they make of these northern legends and myths, must be

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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 Manimekalai, 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 Maṇimekalai 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

Some social Customs.

* Maṇi xi ll. 84-87, xviii ll. 90 ff., xix ll. 51 ff.
in Sanskrit, is clearly mentioned in the *Porunar-āṟṟuppatai*, * 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 (*arangū*) and apparently expelled from the class thereafter. § A bath in the sea at Kanyakumari was held to absolve a woman from the sin of incest; at any rate it was accepted as an act of penance for those who had incurred the sin. ¶ After child-birth women bathed at night in tanks on the tenth day. || The phenomena of possession and the evil eye were believed in ** and carefully guarded against by the hair of children being dressed with ghee and white mustard. Divination was practised †† and faith in omens was common. The author of the *Silappadikāram* says picturesquely that coming events were foreshadowed by the throbbing of the left eye of Kaṇṇākki and the right one of Mādavi ‡‡ on the day of the festival of Indra.

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

Sati is frequently mentioned and was fairly common, but by no means universal. 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 Sati were applauded by public opinion. The true wife was indeed she who, at the death of her husband, entered his burning pyre as if she were entering the cool water in a tank for bathing. ¶ Still, the more human, though less heroic, ideal that women were ordinarily expected to adopt is perhaps best expressed in the lines of the

* Puram 239, li. 20-21.
† Maṇi. vi. 54-59.
‡ ibid. i. 71.
§ Puram, 246.
¶ Puram 246 and Maṇi. lii li. 42-5; xvi 23 ff.; xviii 11-15
GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE

Maṇimekalai, * 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 Kural 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 Maṇimekalai; † and a song of Avūr Mūlam-kilār in the Puranānūṟu which eulogises the Brahman Viṇṇandāyana of the Kauṇḍinya-gōṭra who lived in Pūṇjārur in the Cōla country gives an idea of the high position held in society by prominent Śrōtriya families:

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

* xviii, l. 98-102.
† v, l. 133.
‡ Puram 166.
§ ie., performed the twenty-one varieties of Vedic sacrifices.
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to your station, gentle and of rare virtue, wearing the netlike garment laid down in the Śāstra (for such occasions), sparing of speech, with small foreheads, large hips, abundant tresses, are carrying out the duties set for them. From the forest and from the town, having twice seven 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 freshes 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. 367, l. 12.
"Karpu is that (form) in which a bridegroom from a family fit to accept, accepts a bride given by persons of a family fit to give her and takes her to wife with the (proper) ritual." *

We learn further that the rites of marriage might be performed even when there happened to be no one to dispose of the marriageable girl, and that the rites primarily meant for the three higher classes, might also be adopted on occasions by the lower. † We are told, in fine, that these rituals were ordained by the sages (aiyar) after falsehood and sin had made their appearance. ‡ This last statement distinctly recalls the legends of the origin of human marriage current among Sanskrit writers and detailed fully in the Mahabharata. 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 il. 54-5.
|| Śil. v il. 169-72, xiv il. 7-10.
of the Tamils. The worship of Murugan embodied some indigenous features like the velanāḍal. Indra came in also for special worship as on the occasion of the festival held in Puhār in his honour. That music and dance were from early times closely intertwined with religious rites is seen from the descriptions in the Śilappadikāram of the more or less primitive worship of Korravai by vēḻṩuvar, of Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇṇan) by shepherdesses and of Murugan by kuruvaṭas. A temple of Saraswati is mentioned in the Maṇimēkalai, * which also alludes to the presence of kapālikas. † If the author of the Kalavali was the same as the Vaisnava saint Poygaiyār who is counted among the three earliest āḻvārs, then we shall have to trace to this period also the beginnings of the bhakti cult of the Vaisnāvas, and there is nothing improbable in this. The Maṇimēkalai appears to mention even the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. ‡

Belief in reincarnation, the effects of karma in successive births and the power of Fate was part of the common basis of all religion in India, and this is clearly seen to have been generally accepted in the Tamil country also. The practice of austerities (tapas) was held to be meritorious and productive of great good. § The joyous faith in good living that breathes through the poems of the 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

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*xiiii, 1. 106.
† vi, 86.
‡ xxvii 1. 98. See PK, pp. 20-21.
§ Porunar, 11. 91-2.
escape was the repression of the will to live. This note of sadness, already traceable in Uraithūr MudukaṉṆan Śātanaṅr, * 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. ‡ Aravanavadigañ, the celebrated Buddhist monk, whom the Maṇimēkalai connects successively with Puḥar, Vaiñji and Kāñci, 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 Il. 97 ff.
‡ See s. v. Arugan and Puttan in the Indexes to the Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai; and Maduraikkāñji Il. 475-87.
§ He has been identified on rather insufficient grounds with Dharmapūla, JOR. 1927, pp. 197 ff.
The transition from the Sangam age to that in which the Pāṇḍyās of the line of Kaṭungon and the Pallavas of the Simhaviṣṇu line divide for three centuries the Tamil land between them is completely hidden from our view. The same darkness shrouds the fortunes of the Cōḷas for three centuries more, until the accession of Vijayālaya in the second quarter of the ninth century. Epigraphy and literature, however, provide a few peep-holes through which we obtain glimpses of the interesting transformations that come over this ancient line of kings in this long interval. One thing seems certain, that when the power of the Cōḷas fell to a low ebb and that of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyās rose to the north and south of them, the scions of this ancient royal line found themselves compelled to seek service and patronage under their more successful rivals; this is a feature common to several dynasties of Indian kings in the days of their tribulation. The Western Cāḷukyas in the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, the Eastern Cāḷukyas between Rājarāja’s conquest of Vengi and the accession of Kulottunga I to the Cōḷa throne, the Pāṇḍyās and the Pallavas themselves, besides the Gangas and the Bāṇas after the expansion of the Cōḷa power under the successors of Vijayālaya, are among the most conspicuous examples of this common feature of Indian history. Ancient memories die hard, and great dynastic names, though borne for a time in obscurity, have often, with a turn in the wheel of fortune, been the cause of a renascence of power and glory. It may be
doubted if, for all their troubles in this period, the Cōlas ever completely lost their hold on Uraiyūr. Vijayālaya when he comes into prominence rises from the same neighbourhood, and the remotest claimants to Cōla descent in the Telugu country, and even further north, glory in the names of Uraiyūr and the Kāvēri; contemporary epigraphical evidence may also be cited pointing to the same conclusion. The dispersion of the Cōlas in the period of their weakness, the poor and disposed among them going out in quest of fortune, is attested by the occurrence of names of princes and chieftains claiming Cōla connections in places as far removed from one another as Koñumbāḷūr (Pudukottah), Śīyyāḷi (Shiyali), Hēmavati and Māḷēpāḷu. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Guttas of Guttal (Bombay), like the Cōlas of the Telugu country, are examples of what may be styled dynastic drift in Indian History.

The Veḻvikudi grant of the Pāṇḍyas and some Pallava charters mention the obscure clan of the Kaḷabhraś who were responsible for much political unsettlement in the country, and whose overthrow formed the first step in the resurrection 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 Cōlas of the Telugu (Rāṇānṭha) country and the Tamil Cōlas; the Māḷēpāḷu plates of Puṇyak māra, I think, form an important link in the chain of evidence, and suggest that the Pallava dominion of the Suhāvīṟṟu line may have been the medium through which the drift of Cōlas to the north took place. The attempts to explain the origin of the Telugu-Cōlas by supposing that the Telugu country formed part of the empire of the early Cōla king, 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. Contrā Venkayya ASF. 1905-6 p. 175 n. 8.
towards the end of the sixth century. We may assume that the predatory activities of the Kalabhras * 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 wresting from the hands of the Kalabhras 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 Kalabhras 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 Buddhaghōsa 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 Abhidhammāvatūra, he gives a glowing account of Kāveripāṭṭaṇa, with its concourse of rich merchants,

* See PK. pp. 47-9.
† Buddhadatta’s Manuals-Part I (1915) and Part II (1928)-ed. A. P. Buddhadatta (Pali Text Society).
‡ Cf. A. P. Buddhadatta’s introduction to Part II of the Manuals; contra P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar-Tamils p. 528. He makes nonsense of the line ‘Ayum suvatinā sādhau yācitena kuto 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 Buddhasiha, while he was residing in the lovely monastery of Veṇhudāsa in a city on the banks of the Kāvēri, by name Bhūtamangalam, † described by him as the hub of Cōḷaraṭṭha. He adds also that this work was begun and finished when Accutavikkanta of the Kalabhrakula was ruling the earth. ‡ This Accuta could have been no other than the king of the same name who is reputed, in literary tradition, § to have kept in confinement the three Tamil kings, the Cēra, Cōḷa and 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 Kalabhras a tribe of Kali kings and stating that they uprooted many adhirājar and meddled with brahmadeya rights, the Vēḻvikuḍi 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, Buddhadatta is called an inhabitant of Uragapura which perhaps means that Uraiyaṭṭu was his native place.

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

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

‡ Accut Accutavikkante Kalabhakulavaddhane /
    Mahim samanusasante śraddhō ca samāpiti / /
A. P. Buddhadatta adopts the reading Kalambakula, and holds them to be Kaḷambas.

§ Tamil Naṭalar Caritai vv. 154-57.
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Of these Dhananjaya is represented by a single stone inscription * in the Cuddapah district and possibly by some others in Hēmavati and Niḍugal. 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 Pṛthivīvallabha borne by Puṇyakumāra, and the name of his queen Vasanta-Pūrī-Cōla-Mahādēvi † show his connection with the Cāḻukyas. 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 Cāḻukyas of this period. King Cōjamahārāja Prthivīvallabha Vikramaditya Satyaditya 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 Siddhi 1000 (Sidhout country) besides the Rēnāṇḍu 7000. A Cōla Māhārāja Kumārāṅkuṣa figures as the vijñāapti 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). Vikramaditya II claims to have conquered the Cōlas among others. S.H. i p. 146; EI. v. p. 204.
SANGAM AGE TO VIJAYALAYA

been of the Kāśyapa Gōtra and to have descended from Karikāla and ruled at Uraiyur.*

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 Velurpāḷaiyam plates describe Buddhavarmā of the late fourth or early fifth century A. D. as ‘the submarine fire to the ocean of the Cōḷa army.’ ‡ Again, Simhavisṇu (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

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

† Much less can anything be made of the silence of the Sātavāhana inscription recording Gautamiputra’s conquests. Contra Venkayya-ASL, 1905:16170 n.

‡ SII. ii p. 508 l. 14.

§ ibid ll. 16-17.

¶ Kielhorn’s List of SII. No. 5 (E.I. vii).
claim is false, or the Rēṇūṇḍu 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 Kāncipuram and thus brought prosperity to the Cōḷa, Kērāḷa and Pāṇḍya. § Vikramāditya I, the successor of Pulakēśin II, also claims conquest of the Cōḷa country, and his Gadvāḷ plates (674 A. D.) mention his victorious camp in the ancient Cōḷa capital Uraiyūr on the southern bank of the Kāveri. ¶ The Vēlvikuḍi grant tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kōccaḍaiyān 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 Maṅgaḷaḍaiyān calls him the tilaka of two races, the lunar and the solar. The Cōḷas are

* SII. i, 33.
† "Vibhūtim Cōḷānūm katham aham avēkṣya vipulām",—ibid, 34. Hultzsch understands by 'vibhūtim Cōḷānūm' "the great power of the Cōḷas". But as it is not a proper description of the position of the Cōḷas after their conquest by Simhavīṣṇu, and as such a description is hardly likely to be found in a Pallava grant, I take 'Cōḷānūm' to mean the country.
‡ SII. i, p. 161 ll. 14-5.
§ El. vi, p. 6, verses 29-31.
¶ El. x, p. 103. Uragapura is not as Hultzsch thought Negapatam, but Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly.
|| ASI. 1903-4 p. 275.
counted by the Śinnamanūr plates among the allies of the Pallavas who sustained a severe defeat near Kumbakonam at the hands of Śrī Mara Śrī-Vallabha (c. 815-62 A. D.).

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

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

† The references are easily got in any edition of the Periya Purāṇam. See also ASI. 1905 & p. 170-7. I cannot discover why Venkayya should have included Iḻanagali, a vēḷ chieftain of Kōṇāṭu (Pudukkottah) in his account of the Cōḷas of this period.
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Perumāḷ. * Though Śēkkiḷar, the author of the Periya Purāṇam, is our main authority for these statements, many of them are also found in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi’s brief andādi which was the basis of the Purāṇam, and the names at least of the kings and chieftains go back to the time of Sundaramūrti, in the eighth century A. D. The Divyasūri-carita and the Guru-paramparā tell the same tale from the Vaiṣṇava side. Dēvadēvi, the hetaera who captivated āḻvār Tondarādippodi for a time, met the holy man first when she was returning from the court of the Cōla king at Uraiyūr. The celebrated Uraiyūr-nācciyūr, who declined to marry a mortal, and insisted successfully on her union with Lord Ranganātha, was a Cōla princess, the daughter of Dharmavarmā of the solar line ruling at Uraiyūr. 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 nāyanārs in these works are sufficient indication that some old and genuine traditions must have survived at the time and that a few, though not all, of the allusions to the Cōlas culled from these books may be quite trustworthy.

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

* Śrīman Perumāḷ-Nāyanār Purāṇam v. 92.
over them and bided their time. For aught we know, they were occupied in finding suitable matches for their children, often with a view to political influence, with their more successful rivals, and in promoting the religious movements of the time. Buddhism and Jainism seem to have dominated the land for a while; Accuta, the Kañabhrā 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-ālvār. Buddhadatta gives testimony to the construction, at an earlier period, of two large monasteries in the Cūla country. But, thanks to the pious exertions of the ālvārs 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 Cūlas, in an unostentatious way, assisted the Hindu revival by lending their support impartially to the apostles of Vaiṣṇavism and Īaivism.
CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF VIJAYALAYA. ADITYA I

(c. 850-907 A. D.)

"At the head of the great battle of Sri Purambiya, this hero (Prthivipati I) quickly defeated Varaguna, the Lord of the Pandyas; and having, at the expense of his own life, secured that his friend was Aparajita (unconquered) in fact as in name, he ascended to heaven." * In these terms the Udayendiram 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 Pandyas 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 Calukyas and Pandyas, they were themselves in no position to pursue the advantage gained. Among the allies of the Pallavas were, besides the Ganga feudatory, the Cōla ruler Aditya I who, though he must have taken a subordinate place in the battle of Sri Purambiyam, 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.

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

* 675 of 1909. A Vijayalaya-caturvālmangalam is mentioned among the brahmaṇḍaṇv villages which were required to supply men for service in the Tanjore temple in Rājarāja's reign (SII. ii 69, para 139). See also 164 of 1915 (Vikrama Cola 5) for a reference to a kalvetta of the fourth year of Vijayalaya in the North Arcot district. A Pāṇḍya inscription of the thirteenth century from Nārtāmalai (Pl. 282) mentions a Vijayalayaśēśavarā temple.

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

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

What was the political position of Vijayarāja and from whom did he capture Tanjore? In order to answer these questions, we must try and establish the probable date of Vijayarāja's rule. This is easily ascertained by calculating backwards from the accession of Parāntaka I, the grandson of Vijayarāja. 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 Čōla 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-kuṇram, ‡ dated in the twenty-seventh year of Rajakēsari, 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 Skandasisya and continued by Pādavikōṇḍa Narasinga-pōttaraiyar, both well-known Pallava kings. Such a renewal is normal after a conquest, and as Āditya I is known to have conquered the Pallavas and annexed the Toṇḍaimandalam to the Čōla 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 Tiruvillimilalai.
† EI. viii. p. 260.
‡ 167 of 1894; EI. iii, p. 279.
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called Rājakēsari, * without any other name. How much longer Aditya ruled after the date of the Tirukkaluk-kunram inscription cannot now be ascertained. But an inscription from Takkōlam dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsari, no doubt Aditya I, mentions a solar eclipse which occurred in 894 or 895 A.D. † This would give A.D. 870 or 871 for the accession of Aditya, and a rule of about 36 years for him till 907 A.D. We thus get 870 or thereabouts for the close of the reign of Vijayālaya, which might have begun, therefore, sometime before 850 A.D. ‡

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

* Anbil Plates (Fl. xv) vv. 17-18.
† FL. xix, No. 12.
‡ K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar observes: "If Vijayalaya came of the same family as the Cōla Mahārāja Kumārankuṣa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his." T. AS. iii, p. 108. Kumārankuṣa, as we have seen, figures as the viṭāpā in the Vēḷurpāḷiyam plates of Nandivarman III. It is extremely doubtful, however, if he and Vijayalaya belonged to one and the same branch of the Cōlas. See ante p. 124.
§ I.K. pp. 73 ff.
¶ FL. xiii pp. 134 ff, where these records are tentatively referred to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (p. 130). Note particularly Taṉjaṭ-ṭiṇam pāṭi nīnigār; Taṉjaṭ-kōn; Taṉjai māṇiṇiṭṭālān 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 Varaguna’s time, either of their own accord or as a result of temptations offered by Varaguna, they appear to have thrown in their lot with the Pāṇḍyas. The result was that they lost Tanjore, which was captured by Vijayālaya acting in the interest of the Pallavas. Little could the Pallava ruler have suspected that in thus employing his Cōla subordinate, he was, as the Indian saying has it, training his tiger-cub to a taste for blood. Nor could Vijayālaya have dreamt that his vicarious victory was to be the beginning of one of the most splendid empires known to Indian History.

The success of Vijayālaya meant the weakening of the Muttaraiya allies of the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇavarman, who undertook an expedition calculated to redress the balance. This began well enough, and Idavai, on the north bank of the Kāvēri in the Cōla country, was reached. But the Pallava ruler Aparājīta who succeeded Nṛpatungavarman, just before this Pāṇḍya invasion, made a great effort. He got all his allies together, most prominent among them being the Ganga king Pithivipati 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 Pāṇḍyanaitekaṇḍa-
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 Varaguṇa- varman. Contra Rangachari T), 183.
that the Cōla Āditya, 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, Āditya lived to share the spoils of victory. Possibly, in his gratitude to his Cōla ally, Aparājita not only allowed Āditya to keep what his father had taken from the Muttaraiyar, but added some new territory in the neighbourhood to the sphere of his rule. Such were the humble beginnings of the great empire of the Cōlas.

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

* Inscription 337 of 1912 (Rangachari Ct. 226) of Pānduvaṇyya mentioning the Cōla-Śiva is too fragmentary to throw any light on the political relations of the age. *Centra* Dubreuil, *Pallavas* p. 83. T. A. Gopinatha Rao writes (F.L. xv, p. 49) 'It is known from other records that Āditya and the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna marched against the Pallava Nṛpatungavarman, otherwise known also by the name of Aparājītavarman, defeated and killed him.' Apart from the identification of Aparājīta with Nṛpatunga for which there is no evidence, it is difficult to believe that the expedition which led to the overthrow of Aparājīta had anything to do with Varaguna’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 Vījāḷāya and in the early years of Āditya I is not final. It is quite likely that the aggrandisement of Vījāḷāya at the expense of the Muttaraiyar had nothing whatever to do with the struggle between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas. In that case, Vījāḷāya 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, F.L. xix p. 87 n. 6. Yet another view may be taken: The Muttaraiyar being allies of the Pallavas, the Cōlas may, under Vījāḷāya, have found occasion to join the Pāṇḍyas and to throw off the Pallava yoke. On this supposition the capture of Tanjore by Vījāḷāya 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 Āditya fought on Varaguna’s side at Śrī Puṇambiyam. An objection to this view is the difficulty of explaining how, after the defeat he suffered on this occasion, Āditya recovered sufficiently to overthrow Aparājīta later, and why Aparājīta failed, after his success at Śrī Puṇambiyam, to reassert his supremacy over the Cōla.
The Tiruvālangūdu plates state that he overthrew the strong Pallava ruler Aparājīta, and deprived him of his territory. The Kanyakumāri inscription gives him the surname Kōdanḍarāma, and states that in a battle he pounced upon and slew the Pallava king who was seated on the back of a tall elephant. A record from Tillaisthānam confirms this evidence by clearly stating that Rājakēsari extended his power to the Tondainād. Āditya must be taken, therefore, to have put an end to the Pallava power by annexing Tondaimandalam, and to have extended the Cōḷa dominions, till they bordered on those of the Rāstrakūtas. Aparājīta’s inscriptions mention his eighteenth regnal year; and no record from Tondaimandalam that can be attributed to Āditya bears a date earlier than his twenty-third regnal year. But as a gift, a devadāna, was made in the 21st year, the conquest and annexation of the Pallava territory may be dated roughly about 890 A. D.

The Ganga king may have assisted Āditya in this conquest; at any rate we find him soon after acknowledging Āditya’s suzerainty; Pritipatiyār, son of Māramaraiyar, no other than the well-known Prthivīpati II, son of Mārasimha of the Udayēndiram grant, presented a silver vessel (kendi) to the temple of 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.  †† S.I. iii No. 142.
‖ 5 of 1897; E.I. ix 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 Kadupattiga. * Another record from Niyamam mentions that Adigal Kanjan Marambavai, queen of Nandipottaraiyar 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 Kongudēsa-rajakkal affirms that Aditya, after being crowned at Tanjavur-patnam, came to Kongudēsa, conquered the country and governed it in addition to his own; it also says that he took the town of Talaikūḍ. 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 (S.II. 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 Puṟambiyam appears to have left no inscriptions to the south of Kaḷiḻipuram. The death of Pṛthivipati on the field perhaps left Aparājita at the mercy of his overbearing ally Aditya who managed to take the southern Tonḍaimanḍalam as the price of his co-operation. He chose the next opportunity to complete the destruction of the Pallavas.

It seems unlikely that Mārumbāvai was the queen of Nandi III of Teḻḷū, 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 1901). See ARE. 1901, paragraph 10; S.II. ii. p. 513, n.
plausible. For one thing, Parāntaka's records are found in the Kongudēśa, and he does not claim to have conquered it. Early in his reign is mentioned an officer of his supervising temple affairs in Kongu. * So it is quite reasonable to suppose that Āditya conquered the Kongu country. The mention of Tālaikād implies that Āditya took the country from the Western Gangas; there is again nothing improbable in this, and we have seen Prthivīpati II acknowledging the overlordship of Āditya. About the same time the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa claims to have fought in Kongu; Āditya might have taken part of the Kongu country from him. The Anbil plates, which say that Āditya built temples along the entire course of the Kāveri from the Sahyādri to the sea, also seem to lend support to the statement in the chronicle of Kongu kings.

An undated inscription † from Tillaisthānam shows that Āditya was on very friendly terms with his Cēra contemporary Sthānu-Ravi. This records a gift by Kaḍamba-mādevi, on whose husband, Vikki-Aṇṇan, the two monarchs jointly conferred the personal privileges, of 'throne, chauri, palanquin, drum, a palace, pōnakam (?), bugle, elephant-corps' and the hereditary title Šembaliyan Tamīlā-vel. 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 Sthānu-Ravi employed to co-operate with Āditya in his Kongu campaign against the Pāṇḍya? We know that Āditya's son Parāntaka married a daughter of the Cēra king.

* 258 of 1907. The regnal year of this record is 10, not 30.
† 286 of 1911.
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It is natural to assume that this friendship between the two ancient lines of rulers began with the extension of Cola rule to Kongu. There is mention of a Vikkiyaṇḍa, son of Pṛthivipati, 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 Tondaimanad, near Kālahasti, in the Chittoor district. A temple was erected over his remains by his pious son Parāntaka and called by the names Kōdanḍarāmēśvara 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.

ARF. 1912 II, 11 suggests the identification of Sthāṇu-Ravi with Kökkandana Ravi of the Candrāditya family (148 of 1910) on palaeographical grounds. The epithet ‘pāl-yaṇai-kōk-kaṇḍan’ in the Tillaistham inscription, like the phrase ‘Tondai-nāḍu-pārvina-Śūjan’, applies to Rājadēva and not to Sthāṇu-Ravi, as ARF. (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-Aṇḍana distinguished himself on this occasion as an able general.” (ibid). In the same paragraph we find the suggestion thrown out that Vikki-Aṇḍana was, like his wife Kaṭamba-mādēvi, of Kaṇṭaka origin, and that he was a Vēḷir chieftain of Kōṭumbāḷī (Pudukōṭṭai).

† 332 of 1912. Śebmiyan Mahībāli Dāṇarasa (of this record) is no other than Pṛthivipati II.

‡ EL. xv, p. 50.

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

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

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

* vv. 28-35.
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 Virarājendra.*

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

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

Parāntaka I ruled for about forty-five years, as the latest inscription of his reign is dated in his forty-fifth regnal year; even the forty-sixth year seems to occur in a single inscription from Kaṇḍiyūr, near Tanjore. Parāntaka’s rule was one of increasing success and prosperity for the best part of it; he followed up his father’s victories by putting an end to Pāṇḍyan independence and extending the empire up to Kanyakumāri in the south; he even invaded Ceylon, though the raid, as we shall see, failed of its object. Elsewhere, he subjugated the Bāṇas, and the Ganga king Hastimalla acknowledged his sway. The last vestiges of Pallava power disappeared and the dominion of Parāntaka extended up to Nellore in the north. Towards the end of his reign, however, an unforeseen disaster overtook the Cōḷa empire; the Rāstrakūṭas 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 Cōḷa power for a period of over four decades thereafter until the accession of the celebrated Rājarāja I in 985 A.D.

*Was it an accident that Aditya’s Pāṇḍya contemporary was a Parāntaka Vīranāraṇya, and that Aditya’s son also had the names Parāntaka and Vīranāraṇya? 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 Maduraikonda (who captured Madura) as early as his third year.* The conquest and subjugation of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was, however, a gradual process; the earliest inscription of Parāntaka actually found in the Pāṇḍya country is dated in his 24th year. † The Śinnamanur and the Udayēndiram plates concur in the name of the Pāṇḍya king, Rājasimha, who suffered deprivation and exile at the hands of Parāntaka. Says the Mahāvamsa ‡:

"While thus the sovereign of Lanka (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 Lanka, took counsel with his officials, equipped military forces, appointed his Sakkasēṇipati as leader of the troops, and betook himself to Mahātīthī. 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 Sakkasēṇipati 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 upasuyya (plague) to the undoing of the Pāṇḍu (king). When the ruler of Lanka 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 Tiruvēlangala plates, however, give some information which is borne out by the contemporary account given by the Udayēndiran plates of Ganga Prthivipati II. The stone inscriptions of Parāntaka and the Mahāvamsa provide a fairly clear and cogent account of what happened.
‡ CV. Ch. 52, vv. 70 ff.
defeat at the hands of Parantaka. The second stage begins with his appeal for aid to the Ceylonese ruler and ends with a fight in which the Pandyyan and Ceylonese troops together sustained defeat and retreated before the Cöla 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 Sakkasenupati and the plague.

The first stage in the account of the Mahavamsa corresponds, doubtless, to the raid on Madura in the first years of Parantaka's rule which led to his adopting the title Madhurüntaka, the destroyer of Madura. The second stage in the war is thus graphically pictured by the Udayëndiram plates of Prthivipati in 921-2 A. D. *

"His (Parantaka's) army, having crushed at the head of a battle the Pandyya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants together with (the city of) Madhura. 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 Sangrama Rāghava (i.e., Rama in battle) which is full of meaning. When he defeated the Pandyya (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) Vibbīśana on account of the proximity (of the Cöla dominions to Ceylon)."

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

* SII ii, No. 76 vv. 9-11.

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Konda, in a record of Parantaka. * Two inscriptions of the twelfth year make casual allusions to incidents in the battle of Vejjiir in which the Pandyya and Ceylonese forces were defeated by the Cōla. † One is a gift to commemorate the victory of Paluvettaraiyar Kaṇḍan Amudanār on the occasion when the Pandyya king, helped by the Ceylonese army, attacked the Cōla king at the battle of Vejjiir. ‡ Another is an endowment for the merit of four soldiers (sēvakar) who died in a frontal attack (nerṛsēnṛa) led by Šennipperaraiyan at Vejju (Vellur) on the occasion when the Pandyan and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle with the Cōla. ‡‡ It is clear that there was a great and decisive battle at Vejjiir 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 Parantaka at Vejju paved the way for the progressive conquest and annexation of the Pandyan 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 Vejju (Vellur) and fully justified only later—a curious instance of academic orthodoxy. See, also SII, iii, Introdn. p. 11. No. 332 of 1927 is a Rājakēsari record, not one of Parantaka, as stated in Are. 1927, App C.

† 231 of 1926. The Pandy a did not die, as stated in Are. 1926 II, 16. There must be some mistake here. The actual phrase in the inscriptions is ‘āṭikaṇāi iesya Ḍāṅgu.

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

§ CV, Ch. 53 vv. 5 ff.
"At that time the Panḍu king through fear of the Cōḷa (king) left his country, took ship and came to Mahāśītha. 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 Panḍu king,' the nobles dwelling on the island for some reason or other stirred up a sorry strife to the undoing of the Panḍu king. The Panḍu 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 Tiruvalangāḍu plates saying:

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

Rājasimha proceeded to Kērala from Ceylon because it was the home of his mother Vānavaṇa-mahādevi. ‡ 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The intervals between his Pāṇḍyan wars were employed by Parāntaka in extending his power elsewhere. The Sholingur rock inscription † of the ninth year mentions that the Ganga Prthivipati II got the title of Bānādhīrāja from Parāntaka and that he distinguished himself in a fight at Vallāla. The Udayēndiram plates of Prthivipati ‡ state that Parāntaka uprooted two Bāna kings and conquered the Vaidumbas. The Bānas were an ancient line of kings who ruled for over two centuries in the tract that came to be called Perumbāṇappāḍi, the Bāna country. § This was the area to the north of the Pālār, between Punganūr in the west and Kāḷahasti in the east. There is reason to believe that at an earlier period they ruled the territory further north and were forced to migrate south in the period of the rise and expansion of the Cālukyas of Būdāmi. 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 Īḷangōvēḻar 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-pāṇḍiyian,' it is difficult to believe that he was also the Tennavan Īḷangōvēḻar whose daughter Ādicca Piṭārī had become the wife of Arikulakēṣari as early as the third year (910 A.D.) of Parāntaka I. These chiefs were Kāḷḷar (140 of 1928-Parāntaka I, year 17), and had dynastic connections with the Muttaraiyar (337 of 1904, Pd. 45). Īḷangali-Nāṉyānūr was believed to be of their family (Pēṭiyā Purāṇami, contra Nambi Aṉgūr Nambi.

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

* Hastimalla got the title Bāṇādhīrāja from Parāntaka before 916 A.D. (Sholingur record). Vijayāditya II Prabhāmēru ruled the Bāṇa territory independently till 909 A.D. † The conquest of the Bāṇas by Parāntaka must have taken place in the intervening period of six or seven years. The great-grandson of Vijayāditya Prabhāmēru is known from his Udayендiram 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 Parāntaka 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

* Parivi and Nandagiri occupy in late Bāṇa records a position similar to that of Īrālayir and the Kāvēri in the Telugu Cōḷa 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 Côla lands by Kṛṣṇa III which ended so disastrously for the Côlas.

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 Rānāṅḍu 7000 country under them, and their inscriptions tell us that in the great battle of Soremati (c. 880 A. D.) they took the side of the Bāṇas against the Nolambas and the Gangas. This alliance with, and possibly subordination to, the Bāṇas continued until the time of Parāntaka’s war with them. We have no direct means of identifying the opponent of Parāntaka. Some records * of Kannaradēva (Kṛṣṇa III) from the South Arcot district mention the Vaidumba Mahārāja Īlandayan Tiruvayan and Tiruvayan Śrīkanṭha; the Vaidumba chief reduced to submission by Parāntaka about 915 A. D. must have been Īlandayan Tiruvayan himself or his immediate predecessor. The Vaidumbas, like the Bāṇas, sought refuge with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the onslaught of the Côlas. In later times, under Rājarāja I and Rājendra, when the Côla empire regained its ascendancy, the son and grandson of Tiruvayan accepted subordinate positions under the Côlas.

Two inscriptions † from Tiruvorriyur contain the most casual reference to a campaign in the Nellore district. An officer of Parāntaka, Māgar Paramōśvaran, a native of

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

From about 940 A.D., Parāntaka experienced the increasing difficulty of defending an empire at a great many points; in less than fifty years a small principality had grown into a widespread dominion at the expense of its neighbouring states; the very quickness of the expansion was fraught with danger and dynasties which had been dispossessed and driven out of their traditional homes could not all be expected to give in without further struggle. Nor was it likely that other powers like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas would view without concern the progress of the Cōḷa 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 SII. iii 108 (introdn.) make Śīṭpulī a personal name, and suggest that Śīṭpulī was the general of Bhīma. But 79 of 1921 (Rājak. 6) mentions Śīṭpulī-ṇāḍu and Pāki-ṇāḍu. The latter is well known as Pāṭa-rāṣṭra.

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

The death of Ganga Prthivipati II, the trusted friend and grateful vassal of Parāntaka I, which must have occurred about 940 A. D., * may be said to mark the commencement of Parāntaka's troubles from this quarter. Prthivipati left no son, Vikkiyanṭa 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 Bānas and the Vaidumbas were already by the side of Kṛṣṇa soliciting his protection and aid against the powerful Cōḷa. Kṛṣṇa was in the prime of life and had just encountered and overcome opposition at home and was not reluctant to seize the favourable moment that chance offered to him for making a great advance to the south.

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

* Rangachari says that Prthivipati became a vassal of Kṛṣṇa III, and was living in A.D. 953 (N.A. 586). In saying this, he overlooks Hultsch's warning that the Attimallar of this record is a different person (El. vii p. 195)
† 332 of 1912.
‡ Rice Mysore and Coorg, p. 45
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 Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu. 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 Peṭṭā. ‡ Tirunāvalūr, a village near Grāmam, called Rājādittapuram till about 1140 A.D., § was the residence of Rājāditya for many years. We also find Arikulakēsari ¶ in the same region about the same time, no doubt assisting his brother, Rājāditya. It is clear, therefore, that Parāntaka was not unmindful of the repercussions of his aggressive policy against the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas, and that though he expected much from the loyal support of 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; EJ. vii p. 194.
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 Rāstrakūṭa king
Kṛṣṇa III’ and suggests that the date is ‘probably the
second year after the occupation of the Tondaināḍu’
by him. But the suggestion is contradicted by the
record itself which says that it was the year in which
Kṛṣṇa entered Tondaimandalam; and we have no other
instance in his numerous records from that country
of his using the date of his entry into Tondai-
mandalam 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 Kanyakumāri inscription of Vira-

* No. 236 of 1913 dates his death in S. 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.
PARANTAKA I

rajugendra categorically affirms that Parantaka earned the name Vira-Cōla by his victory over the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja.* Despite the lateness of the testimony, it is so definite and so probable in itself that we can hardly brush it aside as of no value. If this victory was a fact, it can be placed only in the interval between 940 and 948 A.D., and it is quite likely that Rājāditya had an active share in gaining this success, and that Parantaka in appreciation of his son's valour and his own growing age, conferred on Rājāditya the position of co-regent in the administration of the empire. †

The third method in which the Solapuram record is dated is by describing it as the year in which Cakravartin Kannaradeva Vallabhan entered Tonḍai-māṇḍalam after the overthrow of Rājāditya. It seems likely that this record was engraved very soon after Rājāditya's death, when the consequences of the battle of Takkolam 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 Bütuga II affords striking confirmation of this date. It dates the battle of Takkolam (in which Rājāditya lost his life at the hands of Bütuga) in the current Śaka year 872, i.e. A.D. 949-50. ‡ Again Parantaka'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.
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 Takkolam. Thus all lines of evidence point to one date, 949 A.D., as the year which decided the fortunes of the contest between Parantaka 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-konda. This has created some confusion, and led some scholars to imagine that Kṛṣṇa’s invasion and occupation of Tondaimandalam was earlier than the battle of Takkolam. † 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 Tondaimandalam as early as A.D. 944-5, how can we account for Parantaka’s inscriptions being found in the Arcot districts till 948 A.D., for the presence of Rājaḍitya at Takkolam in 949 A.D., and for the battle of Takkolam 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-pāḍēśvara temple from which the inscription comes was renovated in the reign of Kulōttunga I.

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

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

The Invasion.

It has been pointed out before that
Parantaka 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 Parantaka
fulfilled their purpose for quite a number of years, and
that in this period the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler suffered a
defeat at the hands of Parantaka 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 Arkōyam in the North
Arcot district. ‡ The Ātakūr 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 Kacciyum-Taṅkaiyum-konḍu, in others he is simply called by his name without
any distinguishing title. But as the range of dates and the provenance of both
sets of these records are identical, and as no palaeographical differences divide
the two groups, they may both be treated as relating to Kṛṣṇa III.

‡ EJ. iv, p. 331 n. 3.
Kannaradeva was fighting the Cōla. Būtuga made the howdah the battle-field, and aimed at, pierced and killed Rajaditya'—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 Tirnvālangādu plates † say that Rajaditya went to heaven after conquering Kṛṣnarāja; the larger Leyden grant is more explicit and records ‡:

"The heroic Rajaditya, the ornament of the solar race, having shaken in battle the unshakable Kṛṣnarāja 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 Rajaditya.

* This important inscription has been edited twice by Fleet—EL. ii pp. 167 ff; vi pp. 50-7. The text has: 'Māvādi-Cōla-Rajadityana mālī (bandu) Taṅkāla-dol kādī kondu bijayam-jeyyuttu iṣdu' (l. 4); and "Kannaradevan Cōlanam kādwandu Būtugam Rajadityanam bisergeye kalan-āgi guri (svi)-giridū kādī kondu Banavase Pannirccasiram 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 Rajaditya to his foes. But the phrase 'bisergeye kalan-āgi' must really be read: 'bisergeye kalanāgi'; the words 'biserge' and 'kalan' mean respectively the howdah fastened to the hack of elephants for riding on, and field (of battle). Būtuga made the howdah of Rajaditya's elephant itself the battle-field. This interpretation is borne out by the Cōla inscriptions. The larger Leyden grant says: "Rajaditya-sa viro ravi kalātipakah Kṛṣnarāja samkhyākhyākhyān-ājau * * nagendra-skanda-variti vidalīta-kṛdayah * * viralokah-jagāna," a clear statement which leaves not the slightest room for the suspicion of treachery on the part of Rajaditya's opponent. See JRAS. 1909, pp. 443-6. Other Cōla inscriptions from Kumbakonam and Tirunāgāvaram mention the 'king who died on the back of an elephant.' ARE. 1912, II, 14, Fleet's old mistake is repeated in the Kadamba-kula (Bombay, 1931) p. 86

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

We cannot say for certain if these are merely empty

* 338, 356 of 1902 (Tirunāmanallūr).
† El. iii p. 179-80. Also the Kudīr plates of Mūrasimha (A.D. 963) ii. 88 ff.
† El. iv. p. 280.

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

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

Only a few inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Tanjore attest the closing years of Parāntaka's reign, and they are dated in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth regnal years of Parāntaka who must have therefore lived up to 935 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 Rājāditya, called also Kōdaṇḍarāma, the eldest son of Parāntaka who died in the battle of Takkōlam. Another queen of Parāntaka, a Kērala princess, the mother of Aṛiṇjayā, 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 Gangāikonḍa-Cholapuram?

† Nos. 465 of 1918, 15 of 1895, and 135 of 1931. Krishna Sastri has said (StH, 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 A.S. 1909-9, p. 123 n 1. The larger Leyden grant (v. 19) categorically asserts that Rājāditya began to rule after the death of Parāntaka, and then proceeds to give an account of Rājāditya's war with Kṛṣṇa. I am inclined to accept the contemporary stone records as more valid evidence than the statement in a copper-plate grant dated after more than half-a-century of the utmost confusion.

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

possibly in Aditya’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 Malaiyālis into the Cōla country in search of service under the king and his sons. Vellangumaran, 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, Parantaka had four other sons: Gandarāditya, Arikulakēsari, Uttamaśili and Arindigai or Arinjaya of the plates. One daughter of his, Vīramādevī, called also Gōvinda Vallavaraiyar is mentioned;† and it is likely that another, Anupamā, was married to the chief of Koḍumbāḷur. That Parantaka 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 Uttaramērūr. § He performed several kēmagarbhas and tulābharas, and gave brahmadēyas. ¶ The Tiruvālāngādu plates describe

* Iravi Nilī, the daughter of the Cēra King, Vijayarāja, is another. She gave 30-halaṅju of gold for a lamp in the Tiruviriyār temple. (SII. iii No. 103).

† Nos. 245-6 of 1921 (year 31).

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

§ See Studies pp. 163 ff.

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

* See also Gaṇḍarāditya's Tiruviláiippa on Kāyil: Tennanāṭṭum Iḻumuttāppavai tisag-cengīk-ōdan kāli-viandān Śembiyan ponnāṭtindā. * * * * Tūlayaṅkāṭāttu (v. 3).

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

I.—Chronology and order of succession.

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

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

* Three inscriptions, all of the ninth year of a Parantakadeva, pose one of the minor problems in Cōla epigraphy. No 16 of 1896 from Tiruvālangādu, North Arcot, calls the king Parakṣari and Tribhuvana-Cakravartin. No. 261 of 1923 from Kēyil-Tēvarāyanpēṭai, Tanjore Dt., does the same, and in addition gives a historical introduction beginning pū-mangai-valara. No. 225 of 1929 from TiruvatJitlai, S. Arcot, gives the same introduction, but calls the king Rājarāsari and Cakravartin. If the records are genuine, they must be of the reign of either Parāntaka I Parakṣari, or Parāntaka II Rājakṣari. But the absence of other Cōla prasasti 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 26.

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of North Arcot and Chingleput constitute the first group of these records; the latest year in them is twenty-eight, and this would take us to A.D. 965. * Of the remaining stone inscriptions of the period, ten inscriptions belong to Maduraikonda Rājakēsari and bear dates in regnal years ranging from five to seventeen.

Four inscriptions belong to Sundara Cōla with titles Madhurāntaka and Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-irakkina; 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 Utama 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 Intro, 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 Tōṇḍaiśaṇḍalam 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 (Kēḻir) 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, 185, 188.
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couple Kali year 4083 (A.D. 981-2) with his regnal year thirteen, fix Uttama Côla’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 Côla. Unfortunately for us, Madhava 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 Côla was a Rājakēsari we have to depend on the opening of the Tamil part of the record. The Tiruvālangūḍu plates imply, and the Leyden grant expressly affirms, that after the death of Rājāditya the succession took place in the following order: Gaṇḍarāditya, Arindama, Parāntaka, Āditya and Madhurāntaka. The Kanyakumāri inscription of Vīrājēndra which, though a stone inscription, resembles the copper-plates in the form of its lengthy preamble, gives only the names of Arindama and Parāntaka II between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja, apparently because the author of the praśasti had no other object in view than to trace the descent of the reigning king in the direct line from Vijayālaya. The genealogy of the Côlas 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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<tr>
<th>By Kōkkiēn</th>
<th>Parāntaka I</th>
<th>By Kērala princess</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Rājaditya</td>
<td>Gaṇḍarāditya</td>
<td>Ariṅjaya m.</td>
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<td>Vaidumba race</td>
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<td>Madhurāntaka</td>
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<td>Sundara Parāntaka</td>
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<td>Uttama (Parakēsari)</td>
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<td>Aditya II.</td>
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<td>Rājarāja I.</td>
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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 Maduraikōnda Rājakēsari, Sundara, Aditya and Uttama, extend to 45 years, a period much too long for the interval between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja. Then there is the possibility that Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariṅjaya also ruled as kings. A Rājakēsari inscription possibly of Rājarāja I’s reign* mentions the second year of Gaṇḍarādityadēva alias Mummudicōla-dēva, while taking stock of the gifts made by his queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi at various times to the temple of Tiruvenkāḍu. Records of the eighth year of Rājakēsari † show that Arikulakēsari, the son of Parāntaka, stood in the

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

As for Ariñjaya, besides the statements in the copper-plates regarding his rule, there is a Raja Kesari record dated in the twelfth year † which mentions two queens of ‘Ariñjigaivarman who died at Ariñj,” and inscriptions from Mêlpâdi dated late in the reign of Rajaranja I ‡ mention the construction by him of the Cōḷēśvara temple as a memorial shrine (pallippadai) to Ardūrttiñjina-Deva. These references render it probable that Ariñjaya 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 litiic records.

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

Meaning of talai-konda.

* Krishna Sastri remarks: “The epithet Alvar is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time,” and then proceeds, “if Arivuk Kesari, Ariv Kesari, Ariñjaya or Ariñdana died before the 8th year of Gandaraditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arivuk Kesari who, as the Anbil plates say, was Prince Sundara Cûja born of a Vaidumba princess.” (S.II, III, Introd. p. 14). But though Arivuk Kesari may be identified with Ariñjaya, there is nothing to show that he predeceased Gandaraditya. We know that, in many records of Rajaraja I, his elder sister Kundavai is called Alvar during her life-time. Further, seeing that Gandaraditya and Sundara Cûja who succeeded him were both Raja Kesaris, Krishna Sastri suggests (ibid n. 2) that the intervening Parakèsari must be identified with the infant son of Gandaraditya who, though chosen for succession, ‘may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.’ Ingenious, but not likely. See also K.I, xv, p. 53 where Gopinatha Rao adopts the same arrangement, cutting out Ariñjaya and making Gandaraditya a Parakèsari who followed his elder brother Kûjaditya Rujak Kesari.

† 587 of 1920 (under Sundara).
‡ 33, 84, 86 of 1889 (S.II, iii 15-17).
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period; because Vīra Paṇḍya claims to have done this to a Cōla king and others claim to have done the same thing to Vīra Paṇḍya 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 Paṇḍya 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 Kūlottunga III, the phrase 'Pāṇḍiyanai muḍittalai koṇḍaruraiya' employed in some records is explained by another phrase: 'avan muḍi mēl adi 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-sōjapuram mounted his state elephant by placing his foot on the head of his sāmanla, 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 KI. xv p. 54; others say Gaṇḍarāditya, QJMS. xvii p. 195. See also ARE, 1921, ll 61.
† SIU. 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 Tiruvāṅgāḍu plates make an express declaration that Āditya II killed Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle and brought his severed head to the Cōḷa capital. * Even here the lateness of the testimony throws suspicion on the event. There is no clear evidence, however, that a Cōḷa 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 Cōḷa king or prince.

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

* vv. 67 and 68. Contra Kielhorn, List p. 115 n. 2 written before the Tiruvāṅgāḍu plates were discovered.
† ARE. 1904 ii, 20; 1909 ii, 39.
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 Maduraikonda Rājakēsari, appears to have been accepted without sufficient examination of the evidence. ‡ The title Maduraikonda was taken to imply that the king was the son of Maduraikonda Parakesari, Parāntaka I. Hence when Gaṇḍarāditya was believed to be a Parakesari, Maduraikonda was identified with Ariñjaya Rājakēsari. ¶ Later when Gaṇḍarāditya became a Rājakēsari himself, he was said to be also Maduraikonda Rājakēsari. But this assumption is by no means an

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

† ASI. 1908-9 p. 122.

‡ As a matter of fact, the discussion of the subject in ARE. 1912, II 17 with reference to No. 306 of 1911 (year 7) is very cautious. It is said that the title Maduraikonda 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 Cūja Parāntaka II and Āditya II Karikāla. The conclusion is: "In any case we may for the present provisionally presume that Maduraikonda Rājakēsari is identical with Gaṇḍarāditya." It is on the basis of this provisional conclusion that Krishna Sastri arranges the inscriptions in SII. iii, part 3. See p. 250 No. 114, introduction and note 4.

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

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

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

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* 291 of 1908. EI. xii pp. 121-6.
† SII. iii 115 (246 of 1912).
explain this, but he says elsewhere: * "At the time of Gandarāditya's death, Uttama Cōla must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gandarāditya had ruled and died." Surely it is not easy to reconcile the two positions that the king of the Tiruvorriyūr record was Gandarāditya, 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 Gandarāditya counted his regnal years from the death of Rājāditya (949 A. D.), if we identify him with Maduraikonda 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 Tiruvorriyūr record cited at the beginning of this paragraph cannot, therefore, be assigned to Gandarāditya. 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 Aditya who was ably assisting him in his warlike enterprises, it seems unlikely that he recognised, and that so early in his reign, a prince from a collateral, although senior, branch of his family as heir apparent. The only suggestion that offers itself, and for which support may be found in analogous cases from Cōla records, is that though the gift recorded in the inscription was made in the fifth year of Sundara Cōla when

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

There remain two further questions to be discussed—the position of Vīra - Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa Parakēsari and the identity of Pārthivendravarman who bears the same title. The former may certainly be identified with Āditya, the son of Sundāra Cōla, who according to the Tiruvāḷangādu plates and the Leyden grant fought against Vīra Pāṇḍya. † But Āditya II was followed by another Parakēsari, viz., Madhūrāntaka 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 Gaṅḍārāditya, 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.

‡ S.II. iii, Introd. p. 16.
it seems hardly consistent with the position held by Krishna Sastri, not by us, that Uttama Cōla was chosen successor in Gaṇḍarāditya’s reign, and that on account of his tender age, “the claims of Gaṇḍarāditya’s chosen successor were temporarily set aside and postponed.” * For, if this was so, how can it be said that he succeeded to the throne not in his own right, but at the request of Rājarāja? Then again the implication that the son of a Rājakēsari must be a Parakēsari is contradicted by the example of Rājarāja I, who was a Rājakēsari himself and the son of a Rājakēsari. It may also be stated here that Ariṇjaya, who must have ruled a short while as Parakēsari, was also the son of a Parakēsari. The true explanation of two 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 Tiruvālāngādu 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-kāṇṇan by name, whose existence may be inferred from the inscriptions of Rājarāja, see *SL* ii, p. 460 and n. 2.
The identity of Parthivendravarman, whose records, are found in the districts of North and South Arcot, and Chingleput, is involved in much obscurity. The suggestion* that he was the same as Prthivipati II, the Ganga feudatory of Parantaka, is the result of a very dubious inference from the resemblance in meaning between the names Prthivipati and Parthivendra. It is also partly the result of a confusion between the Ganga king and a feudatory of Krsna III who, though he had the name Kannaradeva-Prthivigangariyar, was quite different from the Ganga.† After examining the records of Aditya II and Parthivendravarman, Krishna Sastri has reached the following conclusion:‡ "Both these kings claim the epithet, 'who took the head of Pandya or Vira-Pandya'—evidently the same Pandya king who was at war with Sundara Cōla Parantaka II—and the title Parakesarivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Tonḍai-maṇḍalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Parthivendra Adityavarman may have been a prince of the royal family and viceroy of Tonḍai-maṇḍalam. Aditya Karikāla appears to have been the actual successor." The inscriptions of Pandyan-talai-konda Parakesari are not so very few after all; and what is more important, they are not confined to 'the south,' if by that is meant the country to the south of and outside Tonḍai-maṇḍalam. There are five inscriptions of his in North Arcot and more in South Arcot. On examination we find that the Parthivendravarman records

* ARE, 1921 II 61.
‡ SII. iii (Intr.) p. 15.
differ from those of Āditya Parakēsari in their provenance only in so far as the former are found in Chingleput district also, and are not found south of 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 'Kōvirājamārāyārar'; † in an early record of the third year he is even called Pārthivēndra Ādittaparumār; ‡ his queens have also the full regal style,—udaiyar dēviyar Villavan mahā-deviyar; § Perumānaḍīgaḷ dēviyar-tanmappōnār-āgiya Trailōkya mahādeviyār. ¶ 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 Karikāḷa 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

* 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 Parakēsari Uttama Cōla.

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

Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarūditya  
Parakēsari Ariṇjaya  
Rājakēsari Sundara Cōla  
(Madurai-konḍa)  
[Parakēsari Āditya II  
Pārthivēndra Karikūla  

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

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

One final consideration remains to be urged in addition to those so far dealt with. If Āditya and Pārthivēndravarman were not identical, the highest regnal year for Āditya would be that found in the records of Parakēsari who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, namely five. We must naturally assume these five years to have been those immediately preceding Uttama Cōla’s accession in A.D. 969-70; this would lead to Āditya’s initial year falling somewhere about A.D. 964/5, which would be in the 8th or 9th year of Sundara Cōla according to the chronology suggested above. The fact that Sundara Cōla is clearly described as having come out successful in the Pāṇḍyan war before his seventh year (A.D. 963), together with the statement of the Leyden grant that Āditya took part in the fight at Śēvūr when still young, may lend some support to the view that Āditya had become sub-king earlier in Sundara’s reign. This argument cannot
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 Tiruvālan-gādu and the Leyden grants which, though vague, doubtless imply that he ruled in his own right as king, but by three Rājakēsari inscriptions * from the Trichinopoly district, all dated in the eighth year and mentioning Pillāiyār or Ālvār Arikulakēsari-dēva. The sphere of Cōla rule in his day must have been very limited and at the time of his death, about A.D. 957, † Krṣṇa III was still perhaps in Tōndai-maṇḍalam consolidating his position and distributing the conquered country among his allies and servants. Gaṇḍarāditya left behind an infant son, Uttama Cōla, by his queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi. This lady who survived her husband and even her son for many years, and lived on till 1001 A.D. ‡, must have been widowed in early youth. After the death of her husband, hers was a life devoted to religion and charity. The number of stone temples to Śiva built by her, and of substantial endowments for their up-keep after the commencement of her son's rule will be noticed later. Very probably Gaṇḍarāditya was the author of the single hymn on the temple of Cidambaram. In this hymn there is a distinct statement that Parāntaka I

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* 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 Cōja. See post, p. 187 n. ‡
‡ 200 of 1904.
conquered the Pāṇḍya country and Ḫām, and covered the temple of Naṭarāja with gold; and the author calls himself, like Parāntaka, the king of Kōḷi (Uṟaiyūr) and the lord of the Taṇjaiyar (people of Tanjore). * Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have been known also as Meṟkēḻundaruḷina-ḍēvar, the king who went to the west. †

The identity in meaning of the titles Arīkulaṅkēsari and Arīṇjaya 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, Arīṇjaya 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 Čāḷukya Bhīma II of Vēṇgī, ‡ such an alliance between the Čōḷas and the Čāḷukyas in this period when the Čōḷas were reduced to virtual subordination to the Rastrakūṭas seems hardly likely. If, however, Kundavai was an Eastern Čāḷukya princess, her marriage with Arīṇjaya must have taken place before the invasion of the Čōḷa country by Kṛṣṇa and sometime after the raid on Nellore by Māraṇ Paramēśvaran, in the reign of Parāntaka I. But two inscriptions § from Tiruppaḷanam, dated in the second year of Parakēsari, mention an Araiyan Āḍittan Vīman making some gifts to the local...

* These features of the hymn render it more likely that its author was this king rather than the official of Rājēḷa, Madhurāntaka Gaṇḍarādittar, who is found employed in enquiring into the affairs of temples and whose name seems to imply that he was the son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Čōḷa. Contra Venkayya ASI. 1905–6 p. 173, n. 5.
† 540 of 1920.
‡ 587 of 1920. ARE. 1921, II 26.
§ 162, 172 of 1928.
temple, and there is nothing to preclude this noble (Araiyan) from being the father of Ariṇjaya’s queen. * If this view is correct, these Parakēsari records must be assigned to Ariṇjaya, and in view of the strict limits placed on the duration of Ariṇjaya’s rule by the general chronology of the period we must assume, what is not unlikely, that Ariṇjaya was chosen heir apparent to Gaṇḍarāditya † sometime soon after the death of Parāntaka I. Ariṇjaya is said to have died at Āṭṭūr, ‡ a place that cannot be definitely identified. An inscription of Rājarāja I states that he built at Mēlpādi a memorial shrine (pallipādai) § to the king who died at Āṭṭūr and this implies that Āṭṭūr was somewhere in that neighbourhood. Probably, Ariṇjaya had entered upon the task of regaining the Cōla possessions in the north lost to Kṛṣṇa III. This suggestion gains force from an inscription ¶ from Tirmūgēśvaram which mentions Ariṇjigap-pirāṭṭiyār, 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 identified with Gaṇḍarāditya. It suggests that even under Gaṇḍarāditya 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.
for a time. After the death of Gaṇḍarādityya, his efforts were continued by Ariṅjaya who fell fighting at Āppūr. If this view of Gaṇḍarādityya’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.

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

* 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 Koḍumbālūr, 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 Vallaṭha 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 Vallaṭha king. The senāpati betook himself thither, fought with the troops of this (Vallaṭha) king, defeated them and remained master of the battle-field. As the kings with the Vallaṭha (king) at their head, were unable to vanquish our king, they made a friendly treaty with the ruler of Lanka. In this way the fame of the king penetrated to Jambudīpa, spreading over Lanka and crossing the ocean."

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

* 302 of 1908. Kanyākumāri inscription v. 63.
† 116 of 1896, S.I. v. 980 (Yr. 27 of Rājarāja I).
‡ Ch. 54 vv 12-16.
§ The N. W. part of Ceylon (Geiger). The Vallaṭha has sometimes been identified with the Rāṣṭrākūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (Codrington Ceylon Coins p. 56). But the Cēḷas were called 'Valava' 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
Besides Aditya II, two other persons claim success against Vira Pāṇḍya. One of these is Pārthālivendra-varman of whom something has been said already. The other is Bhūti-vikramakēsari of Koṭumbāḷit, who claims to have conquered Vira Pāṇḍya in battle. The inscription * which gives this information, also states that Vikramakēsari turned the waters of the Kāvēri red with the blood shed by the army of the Pallava, put an end to Vaṅcīvel and ruled from Koṭumbāḷit. He had two queens Karrajī and Varagunā. A Rājakēsari inscription, from which the date has been lost, † mentions that Karrajip-pirāṭti was the wife of Tennavan Ilangōvēḷar alias Maṟavān Pādiyār, which may be other names of Vikramakēsari. Two others dated in the thirteenth year of Rājakēsari mention Varagunā-perumānār, apparently the other queen of Vikramakēsari. One of these, from Tillaiyēnum, ‡ says that she was the queen of Parāntaka Ilangōvēḷar, a title showing doubtless the subordinate relation in which Vikramakēsari stood to Parāntaka.

in particular attention may be drawn here. Vira Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Čilē' bore that title for thirteen years. (PK. p. 102). This clearly means that Vira 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., Vira 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 Rāṣṭrakūta invasion for a contest between the Čilēs and the Paṇḍyas in the South—a contest which gave Vira Pāṇḍya the occasion to 'take the head of the Čilē.' If Pārthālivendra-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.
‡ SII. iii 113; Krishna Sastri ascribes this record to Gaṇḍarāditya on the ground that Vikramakēsari is palaeographically earlier than the time of Āditya II to which Venkayya ascribed him. I think Venkayya was right. Arguments from palaeography can be hardly conclusive when the difference in time is so little as that between Gaṇḍarāditya and Āditya II. See JOR. vii. pp. 1 ff.
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 Kaṟrali by the names of Parāntaka and Āditya-varmā, apparently after his Cōla sovereign and his son. Lastly, as has been mentioned before, Parāntaka Śīriyavēḷūr of Koṇumbāḷūr 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 Koṇumbāḷūr and the Cōlas under Parāntaka I continued under his successors also, and that Vikramakēsari † assisted Sundara Cōla and his son in subduing the rebellious Vīrā Pāṇḍya.

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

* K. V. Subramania Aiyar who edits this record (E.I. 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 Īḷangōvēḷūr aliṟ Tennavan Īḷangōvēḷūr, whom he also identifies with Vikramakēsari; but does not deal with the problems raised by the Vikramakēsari record from Koṇumbāḷūr.

† A record of the sixth year of Parākēsari (337 of 1904) from Koṇumiyamalur mentions a Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi-prumānūr, queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷūr; from this, the conclusion has been drawn that this was another name of Vikramakēsari (AKE. 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 Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ cannot be the same as Parāntaka Īḷangōvēḷūr, 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 Īḷangōvēḷūr, 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 Vīrā Pāṇḍya in which Vikramakēsari took part. It seems better to treat Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ and his Muttaraiya wife Varaguṇā as persons not represented in the genealogy of the Koṇumbāḷūr record. There are other names of Irukkuvēḷūr, like Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷūr and Mahimalaya Irukkuvēḷūr in the Pudukottah inscriptions for which there is no room in the Koṇumbāḷūr genealogy. Possibly Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷūr of Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Pd. 63 and 65), also called Ādittan (Accan) Vikramakēsari, was a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāntaka I.
the Pallavas on the banks of the Kāvēri. This by itself might justify a much earlier age for the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsari; but as on palaeographical considerations no earlier date than that of Gāṅdarādītya can be assigned for this record, * the suggestion may be made that by the Pallava in this context we must understand Vallabha, and explain the fight in which Vikramakēsari took part with such distinction as having occurred on the occasion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa’s raid into the Cōla country which is said to have taken him as far as Rāmēsvaram.

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

In Sundara Cōḷa's reign literature, both Sanskrit
and Tamil, received encouragement;
not only does the earliest Cōḷa copper-
plate grant known so far date from his time, but a highly
poetic eulogium of his reign, in the commentary of the
Viraśāliyam, bears witness to his patronage of letters. ||
This eulogy, which calls Sundara Cōḷa 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 Cōḷa 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 Cōḷa's last days appear to have been
clouded by a domestic tragedy. An
inscription from Uḍaiyāruguḍi dated
in the second year of Rājakēsari **
records the measures taken by the Sabhā of Śrī

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

Viranārāyana - caturvēdimangalam under orders from the king for the confiscation and sale of the properties of some persons who were liable for treason as they had murdered "Karikāla Cōla who took the head of the Pāṇḍya." This record clearly shows that Āditya II fell a victim to assassination. The only possible kings to whom this Rājakēsari record can be assigned are Sundara Cōla himself, and Āditya's younger brother, Rājarāja, who succeeded Uttama Cōla, a Parakēsari. But the early regnal year rules out Sundara Cōla, as we cannot suppose that Āditya, whose inscriptions range at least up to the fifth year, began to reign before his father. Therefore the inscription is doubtless a record of Rājarāja's reign. If this inference is accepted,—the palaeography and the astronomical data of the record support this view—then it follows that the murder of Āditya II remained 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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Tiruvālangādu 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 Uḍaiyārguḍī 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 Kāli (Sin), entreated Arumolivārma, 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., Arumolivārma’s) country.”

The sun of Āditya had set; the darkness of sin prevailed; the people wanted Arumoli to dispel it; but Uttama’s cupidity triumphed, because of Arumoli’s restraint. Arumoli 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 Arumoli, and in the words, again, of the Tiruvālangādu plates: †

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

* vv. 68-9. The expression employed literally means ‘set’ (ustam gatavāt) — 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 Tiruvālangādu plates is rather stating in an indirect way that as Uttama was reigning, Rājaṛāja did not wish to rebel against authority.” (Cf. JMS. xvii p. 190). 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 Cāḷa’s claims to succession than they merit—for why did his son not succeed him? and why did he make Arumoli yuvārāja in his own reign if not at his accession? and (2) because it ignores the important evidence of the Uḍaiyārguḍī inscription of Rājaṛāja.
We find accordingly Madhuvantakan Gaṇḍarādittan, who must have been a son of Madhuvantaka 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 Parakesari (who took the head of Vira Pāṇḍya) and of Pārthivendranāra-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 Rastrakūṭa invasion. These inscriptions are found in Uttaramērūr, Kāncipuram, Takkōlam and Tiruvanṭāmalai, and furnish clear evidence of the renewed Cōla occupation of the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput, and considering that the bulk of these inscriptions relate to normal transactions like endowments, sales and irrigation works, we may conclude that general peace had been restored, and that the effects of the wars were fast fading out of memory.

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

* Contra K. V. S. Aiyar—Ancient Dekhan p 243. The difficulties regarding the ages of Uttama Cōla and his son pointed out by Aiyar are not so serious as he makes them out. We may suppose that Gaṇḍarāditya died A.D. 957 and that then Uttama was 12; he came to the throne when he was, say, 24 in 969, and then had a son aged three; this son would be about 23 in 989 when he is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign. The omission of his name from the Leyden and Tiruvalangādu plates is only to be expected in the conditions of the case.
of the latter, which probably contained a genealogical account of the dynasty in Sanskrit verse, is unfortunately lost; only the concluding prose portion mentioning the object of the grant survives. In some of the stone inscriptions and in the copper-plate grant, the king is clearly described as Parakṣāri Uttama Cōla; but a number of other stone inscriptions bearing only the Parakṣāri 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. I 20, Nos. 152 4 are, no doubt, coins of Rājendra I.

† Codrington—*Ceylon Coins* p. 74.
Uttama Cola'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 Pañīya king jatilavarman, one of whose documents is also found in the Museum ". I examined the seal and found it true to the facsimile in E1. iii. plate p. 104, No. 3, which again very closely resembles the seal of the Tiruvālandāṭu plates of Rājendra (plate opp. p. 413 in SII. iii).

Krishna Sastri holds that the Parakeśarivarman, a record (śilālakṣaṇai) 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 Kacccippēṣu 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 Il jum Koppa Parakeśeri" in l. 96, which might naturally lead to the supposition that the Parakeśari of ll. 28-29 must be a different king. There is, however, another mention of Parakeśari (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 Parantaka I, the Nagarattēr of Kacccippēṣu regulated the expenditure to be met from endowments made in the sixteenth year of Parakeśari (note in particular enpu ippatiśu in l. 96). If this view is accepted, the Parakeśari of l. 72 would be not Uttama, but Parantaka I, and the same may be true of ll. 28-9. In any event, there are difficulties in the way of accepting Krishna Sastri's views on the extent of Vijayālaya's power, and another solution seems called for. It is inconceivable that before the date of the battle of Pūrumbiyam, 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 Parakeśari title in l. 12; we have only the Parakeśari 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 Parakeśari of ll. 28-9 and 72 is the same as Maduraiyum Il jum Koppa Parakeśari of l. 96, than to equate one of them with Vijayālaya and the other with Uttama. I wish also to add that Karikēla-tegri might have got its name as much by association with Aditya II Karikēla as after "the ancient Cōla king Karikēla." (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 Paḻuvūr-nakkan of Kuvalālam (Kōlār). He was an officer of perundaram rank who built of stone the old shrine of Vijayamangalam celebrated by Tirunāvukkaṇaḷu as a temple in Gōvandaputtūr on the banks of the Coleroon, * commemorating Arjuna's (Vijaya's) penance for obtaining the favour of Śiva; † and on this officer, Uttama Cōla conferred the title Vikramaśūlamārāyar, ‡ 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 Mummudiśūla 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) Sorabbaiyār, a Kanarese name (?), who is called agrumahādeviyār and mūltanambirāliyār in the fifth and the fifteenth years of the reign; ‖ she had also the title of Tribhuvana-mahādeviyār,

* v. 3 of his Divāram on Tiruvīṣayamangai. † 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, Šebmiyanmahādēvi—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 Puliccayan Śāmi Abbai, as the spouse of Vikramaśōla Malāḍuḍaiyār. This Malāḍa chieftain, a feudatory of the Cōlas, in the hilly tracts of South Arcot, might have got the title from Uttama Cōla, who was also known as Vikrama; if this view is correct, the inscription is certainly one of Rājarāja I.

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

Rājarāja the Great (A.D. 985-1014).

Rājakēsari Arumolivarman, 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-mahādevī, 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 Vijayalaya 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 Rastrakūta 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

* EI. ix. p. 217.
† vv. 61-3.

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in resources, possessed of a powerful standing army, well-tried and equal to the greatest enterprises. More wonderful than the work of this great monarch must have been his personality. But of him we have no authentic description; no eyewitness has rendered to Rājarāja the service which Nuniz and Paes did to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya. There is not even a well-attested statue, or painting of this king * that has come down to us. All that we know of his reign, however, and that is not little, attests his potent personality and the firm grasp of his intellect which allowed nothing to escape its vigilance and applied itself with as much vigour to the minutest details as to the sublimest ambitions of 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, Śembaliyan-mahādevi, the mother of Uttama Cōla, indicate that he was a great and good man as well as a far-sighted ruler.

Very early in his reign ‡ Rājarāja assumed the title Mummadī 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 ‘Kāndaliur-sālaik-kalamagutta’, which precedes the name of the king in several of his

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

† 633 of 1902.
‡ 453 of 1908 (yr. 3).
§ See SJ. ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 6. The best explanation seems to be: ‘the thrice (powerful) Cōla.'
inscriptions from the fourth year onwards. Though this title appears from the fourth year, no inscription of Rājarāja has been found in the Kēraḷa 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 Tiruvalangādu plates giving a detailed account of the king's digvijaya state that he began with the conquest of the southern direction. This account mentions the capture of the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga, and then states:

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

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

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

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

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

The Pallavas and Pändyas followed the injunctions of the Dharmasūtras, 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 Rājarārāja was the first Tamil king who conceived the idea of formulating in set phrases an official record of the chief events of his reign which was to serve as an introduction to his stone inscriptions. In this he was followed by almost every one of his successors on the Cōla throne, and we shall see that the praśasti of his son Rājendra I, which is rather brief in the early regnal years, grows in length as the reign advances and descriptions of fresh events are added on to it as they take place; these official 'historical introductions' in the Cōla inscriptions are, in fact, an important aid to the discovery of the particular king to whose reign any given record belongs. Sometimes the same king used two or more forms of such introductions, and Rājarāja I

* 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.
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 Kāndalūr 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 Rājaraja “destroyed the town of Madurai, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolla-desam and Koṇungūlur and that the kings of the sea waited on him.”

One question suggests itself naturally in relation to this southern campaign of Rājaraja. Did he conquer Madura and the Pāṇḍya country first and march into Kēraṇa by the southern passes that led into it from the Tinnevelly district, or was the line of his march the other way round? The Tiruvālangādu 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 Vilinām and on Śālai. § But the bare mention of Kāndalūr Śālai in the earlier records of the reign and in the opening lines of the ‘tirumagal-pōla’ introduction, and the provenance of Rājaraja’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

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* 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 Kāndalūr or Kāndalūr Śālai was near Vilinām. . . . Kāndalūr Śālai which is said to belong to the Cēra king in later inscriptions was probably held by the Pāṇḍyas when it was attacked by Rājaraja.” Venkayya, SIIL. ii. Intr. p. 2.
¶ Darśanankōppu (Yr. 8), Sucindram (Yr. 10), Vijayanārāyaṇam (Yr. 10).
that the Tiruvālangādu plates and the later inscriptions of Rājarāja mixed up facts relating to several distinct campaigns against the southern country. For it is clear that Rājarāja sent more than one expedition against the Pāṇḍya and his ally the Cēra. One seems to have been directed specially against Kollam. The campaign in which Rājarāja claims, in his Tanjore inscriptions, * to have conquered the Cēra and the Pāṇḍyas in the Malai-nāḍu (Mountain country) was quite obviously different from and later than that in which Kāndalūr and Vilinām were attacked.

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

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* SII. ii 1 paragraphs 34, 51 etc. It is these campaigns to which the Tiruvālangādu plates refer in v. 83 as the conquest of Paraśurāma’s country. Contra Venkayya SII. ii, Intr. p. 4.
† SII. ii 1 para. 51  ‡ 236 of 1902 (Yr. 27).
§ See Aṭṭiyarkkuāllār on SII. xi l. 53. Kielhorn calls it Malabar. EM. vii-List No. 704. See also EC. iii TN. 122.
¶ SII. iii 19, 51.
|| End of the tirumagaḷ introduction. ** viii v. 24
only the conquest of Udagai besides the foundation by him of the Šadaiyam festival in the Čēra country. In all his three ulas, the poet Ōṭṭakkūttan 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 Čōla general who most distinguished himself in the campaigns in the West was perhaps no other than the crown prince Rājēndra. * He was afterwards made Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of the Vēngī and Ganga-maṇḍalas. He had also the title Paṅcavanmārūya. This "tusker of Mummudī-Cōla," as he is called, 'seized the Tuḷūva and Konkaṇa, held Malēya (Malabar), and pushed aside the Čēra,' as well as the Telunga and the Rattiga. † As chief military officer in the Ganga-maṇḍala, he carried out the royal order conferring on Manija the village of Malavvi (Coorg) and the title Kṣaṭriya-śikhūmaṇi-kongālva in recognition of his heroism in the battle of Paṇasoge. We do not know the occasion of this battle; perhaps it was fought against the Cangālvas, a petty local dynasty. In any case, this was the beginning of the line of Kongālvas who ruled a small kingdom for about a century as the subordinates of the Čōlas to whom they owed their existence, and then disappeared with the expulsion of the Čōlas from these regions after the rise of the Hoysalas. ‡

* _EC._ iii Sr. 125.
† No. 5 of 1895 (Yr 28), _EC._ iii Sr. 140; also _i._ Cg. 46 and pp. 12-13.
‡ A record from Kaleyūr (353 of 1901) dated Saka 929 mentions that a Čōla general Aprameya defeated some Hoysala leaders. But Kielhorn considers this date 'of no value for historical purposes' _EI._ iv pp. 67-8. _Contra Rice, Mysore and Coorg_ pp. 86, 144-5.
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(Jlam (Ceylon) is included among the conquests of Räjarāja from the first in the tirumagal introduction, *(993 A.D.). The king is said to have taken the Jlämanyālam owned by the fierce Singalas and famed in all the eight directions.† In his twenty-ninth year (1014 A.D.) Räjarāja made a grant of several villages in Ceylon for various purposes to the celebrated temple he had erected at Tanjore.)‡ The Tiruvālangādu plates contain the following picturesque account of the invasion of Ceylon: §

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

(This naval expedition of Räjarāja 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 Räjarāja’s son and successor Rājendra I. But the Mahāvamsa makes no mention of Räjarāja’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 Kaṇṇaṭa mercenaries in a large part of his kingdom.¶ As a result of the military rising, Mahinda had to take refuge in the inaccessible hill country in the south-east of Ceylon called Rōhaṇa. Räjarāja then found his opportunity and made himself master of Northern Ceylon which became a province (maṇḍalam) under the name of Mummudi-sōla-maṇḍalam. **

* 261 of 1910.  † SII. iii 4, 15.  § v. 80.  ¶ CV. Ch. iv, v. 4-12.  ** SII. ii 92 paragraph 12.
The Coḍa 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 Coḷas. While the earlier Tamil invaders of Ceylon had aimed at the overlordship only of Rājarattha, the Coḷas were bent upon the mastery of the whole island. This decided the choice of their capital. There is practically no trace of Coḷa rule in Anurādhapura. When Singalese sovereignty was restored under Vijayabāhu I, he crowned himself at Anurādhapura, but continued to have Polonnaruwa for his capital, as it was more central and rendered easier the task of controlling the turbulent province of Rōhana. Polonnaruwa was renamed Jananātha-mangalam, after another title assumed by Rājarāja about the middle of his reign. Rājarāja’s inscriptions have been found in Ceylon. It is probable that Rājarāja signalised the Coḷa 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
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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 Taḷi Kumaran built another temple called Rājarājēśvara at Mahātiththa (Mantota) which was also named Rājarājapura, and richly endowed the new temple. †

(Turning now to Rājarāja's conquests in other directions, Gangapadi Noḷumbapāḍi and Taḍigaipāḍi sometimes called Taḍigaivali, all of them in the Mysore country became parts of the Cōla kingdom in Rājarāja's time.)

One of the variant forms of the introduction to the king's stone inscriptions implies that the conquest of the Mysore country immediately followed the victory at Śālai, and that it was undertaken before the expedition against the Eastern Cālukyas into the Vēṅgī country. ‡ After his victory at Śālai, Rājarāja is here said to have gained successes at Tattapāḍi (Taḍigaipāḍi?), Talaikkāḍu, Noḷumbapāḍi and Pirudigangar-vaḷanāḍu. This campaign against the Noḷambas and the Gangas, first mentioned in the eighth and ninth § years of the king's reign, would seem in reality to have advanced very far, if not actually ended by the sixth year (A.D. 991), as we find an inscription of Coja-nāraśayāṇa, obviously a name of Rājarāja I, in the Mysore country dated in this year (Śaka 913). ¶ An official from Kōḷār in the Gangasāyira with a Ganga name made an endowment in

* ASC. 1906 pp. 17 ff. † 616 of 1912 (SJII. iv. 1412).
‡ 67 of 1923. ARE. 1923 II, 27.
§ 97 of 1921 (Yr. 9?). See SJII. ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 1. where a record of the 8th year from Tiruvaṅgandai 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 Rājarāja I. * This conquest was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the Colas 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 Tiruccengōdu, 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 Tāḍīgarāḍi was probably undertaken from the side of Kongu and as part of the campaign in Kuṭalamalai-nādu. By the time of this war the Nolambas had long ceased to be an independent power and become subordinate to the Gangas. In the tenth century the name Nolamba-vīḍi still included ‡ not only the districts of Tunkūr and Citaldurg, but much of the Bangalore, Kūlār and Bellary districts and even parts of Salem and N. Arcot; this is sufficient proof of the place once held by the Nolambas 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 Daligapāḍi as a feudatory of Rājarāja. § A certain Nolambūḍhirāja was the general of the

* 127 of 1919. The official's name Gangan Ambalavanān Gaṇḍarāditta Śōjā Vilupparaiyan seems to imply that he rose to prominence in Uttama Cōla's reign, if not earlier.

† Sī. iii 213. No. 212 also of Rājakēsari and of the 10th year mentions Mahāvairaiyan Sundararājan as the donor. This name suggests the reign of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōja, and if this is correct, the father of the donor must, like Śījīvavēryār have met his fate in the Ceylonese expedition of that monarch's time. AKE. 1914 II, 15.

‡ E1. 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, Nolambādhiraṅga 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 Taḍigaipādi ‡ and Taḷakkāḍ after crossing the Kāveri from the Kongu country, was a complete success, and made the Cōlas supreme in the entire Ganga country for a period of more than one century. The easy success was partly also the result of the disappearance of the Rāstrakūṭa power, which had taken place about 973 A.D., when Taila II Aḥavamalla restored the ancient Cāḷukya line to power. By this political revolution the Gangas and the Nolambas lost their chief support, as there was nothing yet to bind them to the newly risen Cāḷukya power corresponding to the dynastic alliances and common enterprises that had brought them close to the Rāstrakūṭas. But the Western Cāḷukyas were by no means indifferent to the advancing power of the Cōlas under Rājarāja, and in an inscription dated 992 A.D., Tailapa II claims to have gained a victory against the Cōla king. § In the present state of epigraphical knowledge it is not

* EC. x Mb. 208.
† ibid. Ct. 118.
‡ "The present Kṛṣṇarājapet, Nāgamangala, Maṇḍya, Seringapatam and Maḷavalli ēḷūkas 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 Cāḷukyas and the Cōlas by the assumption that it was a continuation of the Pallava tradition by the Cōlas, that the Cōlas were of the Solar race while the Cāḷukyas were of the Lunar, and that the former were Saivas while the latter were Vaiṣṇavas and patronised Jainism (SII. ii Intr. p. 5 and n. 4.). Such efforts lead nowhere.
possible to give a complete account of the political relations among the Western 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 Mālwa and must have found it hard to sustain themselves against two powerful enemies attacking them from opposite directions. The inscriptions of Rājarāja from about 1003 A.D. † roundly assert that he captured by force Raṭṭapāḍi, ‘the seven and a half lakh country.’ This is a violent exaggeration. (More trustworthy is the poetic statement in the Tiruvālangādu plates ‡ that Satyāśraya, though, true to his origin from Taila (oil), he fled from the battle-field in order to escape the misery of facing the ocean-like army of Rājarāja, still became himself the abode of misery (kaṣṭāśraya).) An inscription of Satyāśraya from Hōṭṭūr (Dharwar), dated Śaka 9(2)9 (1007 A.D.), states that the Nūrmaḍi Cōla Rājēndra Vidyādhara, the son of Rājarāja Nityavinōda and the ornament of the Cōlakula, advanced as far as Dōnūr in the Bijapur district, with an army of 900,000 troops, plundered the whole country, killed women, children and Brahmins, caught

* S.II. ii 1, paragraph 92. Judging by the relative value of the presents made to the temple at the conclusion of these campaigns, it would seem that the success in the Cālukya war was nothing by the side of the victories gained elsewhere.
† 338 of 1927 (Year 18), A.R.E. 1927 ii 11. 97 of 1921 also mentions Raṭṭapāḍi.
‡ v. 81.
hold of girls and destroyed their caste. The same
record proceeds further to say that Satyāśraya, 'the
slayer of the Tamil' (Tigula-māri), thereupon forced
the Cōla to turn back, captured his paraphernalia
(vastu-vāhana) and thus conquered the southern
quarter. * Though the account of wholesale slaughter
and rape must be discounted as proceeding from a
hostile source, still this account given by the Cālukya
inscription of Rājendra's invasion of Rāṭṭapādi 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 Rāṭṭapādi proper there are no
traces (as there are in Nuḷambapādi and Gangaṇapādi)
of the occupation of the country by the Cōlas. †
The existence of an inscription of a feudatory of
Āhavamalla Sattiga dated Śaka 928 at Cēbrōlu ‡ in the
Gunṭīr district indicates that at this time Satyāśraya
may have commanded the resources also of the
Eastern Cālukya kingdom of Vēṇī in his Cōla war,
and this was doubtless the cause of Rājarāja's invasion
of Vēṇī 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

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* 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 Cālukyas.

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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 Mahādāṇḍanāyaka for the Ganga and Vēngī maṇḍalas towards the close of his reign is sufficient proof of the extent of his empire and of the contiguity of these two maṇḍalas.

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

— 5 of 1895 (Yr. 28)—E.C. iiii Sr. 140

† Contra Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Gangai-Kōṇḍa, pp. 541-2.

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the continuance of the Cōla empire under Kulōttunga 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 Cēbrōlu inscription of Satyāśraya implies, they even made an attempt to unite the resources of the Eastern Cāḷukyas to their own; but being subject to attacks from the Paramāras in the north and the Cōlas in the south, they failed to do more than just keep their hold over their ancestral territory, the Rāṭṭapāḍi 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.
Rājarāja who aimed at recapturing every province that had ever been held by Parāntaka I and extend the empire still further, sent an expedition in the northern direction early in his reign. An inscription from Kāncipuram, * dated in the 6th year of Rājakēsari and recording a royal gift of a large herd of sheep to a Durgā temple states that the sheep were got when Śītpuli-nādu and Pāki-nādu were conquered by Paraman Malapādiyar alias Mummaḍi-sōlan, the chief of Kāru-kuḍi in Taṅjāvūr 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 Araṇan, perhaps an official in the king’s employ.

The actual occasion for Rājarāja’s interference in the internal affairs of Vengi must have occurred later than the expedition just mentioned. The presence of Satyāśraya for a time in the Vengi kingdom had, no doubt, something to do with it. There were, however, deeper causes accounting alike for the presence of Satyāśraya in Guṇṭūr and for the interest of Rājarāja in the affairs of Vengi. Despite the abundance of Eastern Cāḷukya 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 Cāḷukyas appear to have begun sometime in the reign of Amma II (945–70 A.D.)

* 79 of 1921.
† V. Rangachari-Nellore 239. There is a village Cippili in the Madana-palli Taluk of the Chittoor district.
and they were started apparently by the intrigues of the ambitious Rastrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa III with the younger branch of the Eastern Cālukyas.) After the eleventh year of his reign, Ammarāṭa is said to have fled to Kalinga from the anger of Kṛṣṇa III, and this receives remarkable confirmation from the Arumbāka plates of Bādapa which state that, having made himself a suppliant of Kṛṣṇarāja, the Vallabha king, Bādapa drove out of his kingdom the powerful king Ammarāṭa, fought against some of his relations, favoured his friends and ruled the Vēṅgī kingdom with justice. These statements cannot be accepted literally, but when considered along with the information furnished by other sources, they provide an important link in the confused story of this period. We now possess this story in two rival versions vouchsafed by the two branches of the Eastern Cālukyas who were at war for a whole generation. The Pabhubarrū 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, Ammarāṭa had some trouble from Kṛṣṇa about the eleventh year of his reign, but it was not serious; at


† EJ. xix No. 24. The text (p.142) has Karnaṭa; 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.

§ Arājakam in Śaktivarman’s grant (l. 35); anāyikā in the Rāpaparṇi 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 Bādapā, without stating the duration of Amma II’s reign, say that Bādapā succeeded in expelling Amma II from the throne with the aid of Kṛṣṇa III and ruled the Vēṅgī kingdom after him. If this means that Bādapā’s rule began in Kṛṣṇa’s life-time, the reign of Bādapā 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, Bādapā succeeded in uniting the whole of the Vēṅgī kingdom in his hands and forcing the senior line into exile. It is remarkable how the Śrī Pūndi plates of Tāḷa II ‘reconstruct’ the story of the interval between Tāḷa I and Tāḷa II manifestly with a view to showing that the younger line had the greater right to the Vēṅgī throne. * Whether Tāḷa II ruled independently after his elder brother Bādapā or not, † there can be no question that the plates of Bādapā and Tāḷa II are to be properly assigned to the interregnum mentioned in the later plates of the elder line. The long feud between the two branches which began in 925 A.D. with the usurpation of Tāḷa I reached a head in the reign of Amma II, and as a result the kingdom was divided for a time between the two branches till the princes of the elder line were driven out and completely

* El. xix p. 149. From an inscription at Kāñcipuram (287, 288 of 1931) it would appear that the Eastern Ganta Kēmārṇava 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-pūṇḍī grant ascribes this to a bad stroke of fate. * Of the events that led up to Śaktivarman’s accession, his Pabhūbarī plates say:

“His youth shone like that of a lion when in the Tamil battle (dramilāhave) he attacked the formidable elephants (of the enemy). He performed a wonderful feat when with his own hands he killed the sharp and peerless hero sent (against him ?) by 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 Tiruvalangūḍu 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 (arandhram-andhram) 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 Kāṇṭipuram, dated in Ś. 923 (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

* Daiva-duscitayā (l. 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 Sastri, by translating ‘dandā’ into a ‘club’ or ‘mace’ and ‘han’ 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-Cōdas 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 Cōla 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-nādu and Śīṭpuli-nādu, i. e., the Telugu-Cōda 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 Cōla 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 Vēngī kingdom. In any event, it is quite certain that Śaktivarman owed much to the Cōla king’s support, and possibly he consented to recognise the overlordship of Rājarāja in some form after becoming king of Vēngī. We know that the exact date of Vimalāditya’s accession in Vēngī 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 Dekhan 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.
nārāyaṇa, a surname evidently modelled on that of Rājarāja, Cōla-nārāyaṇa. 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 Rājendrā. †

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

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

† Korumell plates—IA. xiv p. 52 ll. 55–65.
‡ 396, 397 of 1896; ASI. 1911–12 pp. 171–2.
§ ASI. 1911–12 p. 172 n. 2.
The inscriptions are recorded in the name of Rājendra and mention the erection of a pillar of victory by him on the high peak of the Mahendra mountain. But this expedition against Vimalāditya finds no place in Rājendra's historical introduction. It took place in the reign of his father and accounts for Rājarāja's claim that he conquered Kalinga. * Vimalāditya, the Cālukya son-in-law of Rājarāja, made some presents in 1014 A.D. to a temple in Tiruvaiyāru, 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 Kandālur 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 Kūlūta is not mentioned in the detailed list of countries given in that connection.

† 215 of 1894.

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

There is in existence, however, at Kanyakumāri an inscription dated in the thirty-first year of a Rajakesari Rājarāja-deva. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated, its beginning being lost; it records the establishment of a shed for supplying drinking water (*tanniṟppandal*) called Jayangoṇḍa-sūlan, § 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 Rājarājesvara, which stands to this day, the finest monument of a splendid period of South Indian history and the most beautiful specimen of Tamil architecture at its best. The temple is remarkable alike for its stupendous proportions and for the simplicity of its design. A

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* EJ. viii p. 260. † 117 A of 1896.
‡ This seems to be the proper explanation of the apparently puzzling reference to a gift of the third year of Rājendra in SII. ii 90.
§ Gopinatha Rao thought this surname to be that of Rājendhirāja and assigned this record to Rājarāja II, who, however, was a Parakesari. (TAS. i, p. 168). 233 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 Rajaraja's twenty-ninth year we see the hand of a masterful and imaginative administrator. Karuvur Devar, a contemporary hymnist, celebrated the new temple in one of his sacred hymns. Thanjavur, it should be noted, was not among the numerous sacred spots of Saivism consecrated by the hymns of the Devaram Saints, Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramurthi. The temple was altogether a creation of Rajaraja'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 Rajendra than under himself, mark out Rajaraja 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 Cūḍāmanī Vihāra in Negapatam by the Śailendra king, Śrī Māra-vijayottungavarman, the lord of Śrī Viṣaya and Kāṭāha across the sea. This Vihāra, which was building in the twenty-first year of Rājarāja, was named after the father of its founder, and the Cūla 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-ťıng’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, Mummadicōla, Jayangonda and Arumoli, which became part of the names of cities (Puram), vaḷanāḍus and maṇḍalams, the king also called

* l. 118 of the grant (Tamil part).
† Gerini-Researches p. 527. Also ARE. 1899, paragraph 48.

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himself Colendrasimha, Śivapūdaśekhara, Kṣatriyasikhāmaṇi, Jananātha, Nigarili-śūla, Rājendrasimha, Cōla-mārtanda, Rājāśraya, Rāja-mārtanda, Nityavināda, Pāṇḍyakulāsani, Kēralāntaka, Śingalāntaka, Ravikulamaṇikya, Telingakulakāla * and so on. Many of these names, together with those of other members of the royal family, like Kundavai, Śembiyan-mahādevi and others often distinguished the wards (śēris) in the larger villages and towns of the Cōla 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, Dantisakti Viṭtanki, also called Lōka-mahādevi, appears to have occupied the most important place among them. With her we find the king in Tiruviśalūr in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. On this occasion the king performed the tulabhāra and his queen Dantisakti the hiranya-garbha in the temple at Tiruviśalūr.‡ The inscription recording this fact is engraved below a sculptured representation of the king and the queen in a worshipping posture. Some of the gold was used to make some flowers for Kṣetrapāla in the shrine built by the queen at Tiruvalaṅjuḷi. § The mother of Rājendra, the

* Pd. 91.
† Mannar-kōvīl in the Tinnevelly district had twelve śēris so named, see 109 of 1905 (E.I. xi pp. 292-8). Tirukkaṭṭittai in Tanjore had the following śēris, among others: Arumolūdevacēri, Jananāṭhacēri, Nittavinādacēri, Rājakāśarecēri, Nigarilīśolacēri, Alagiyanolacēri, Śingalāntakacēri, Kundavaacēri, Sojakulamundacēri, Rājamārtudacēri, and Rājarājacēri (292 of 1903 of the ninth year of Rājendra I).
‡ 42 of 1907. For hiranya-garbha in modern times, see Galletti—The Dutch in Malabar p. 110 and n.
§ 633-C. of 1902 (Rājendra 3).
only son of Rājarāja we know, was Vānavan-mahādēvi alias Tribhuvana-mahādēvi. * An inscription of the twenty-seventh year mentions Ilangōn Picci as the name of the senior queen (mūṭṭa-dēviyār) of the Cōla king (Śalaaperumānn) 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-pirāṭṭiyār and the daughter of Pon-māligait-tuṇjina-dēvar. § Kundavai was much respected and treated with great affection by her brother. Her gifts to the Tanjore temple were recorded, next to the king’s own, on the walls of the central shrine, while those of the queens and the officers of state found a place only on the niches and pillars of the enclosure. ¶ One wonders if Ilangōn Picci was the daughter of Kundavai whom the king, her mother’s younger brother, took to wife; such marriages are not unknown in the Tamil country to-day. Rājarāja must have had at least three daughters, because an inscription from Tīruvalaṅkuḷi mentions besides the younger Kundavai, the queen of Čālukya-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 Tīrumukkūḍal ** of a māṇḍapa called after Šembiyan Mahādēvi, the queen of Gaṅdarāditya and mother of Uṭtama Cōla, and the foundation of the Cōḷēvara or Aṭiṅjigai-Iśvara temple at Mēlpādi. ††

* 117-A of 1896; 448 of 1918. † 14 of 1920.
‡ S.II. ii 2. § 8 of 1919.
¶ S.II. ii. Introdn. p. 8. || 638 of 1902 (Yr. 25).
** 178 of 1915 (Yr. 28). †† S.II. iii 15.
This history of the reign may be concluded with an account of the leading officials and feudatories who distinguished themselves in the royal service. Mention has been made already of the place held by Mahādanaṇḍanaṇyaka Pañcavān Mahārāya, (probably identical with the crown-prince) the sphere of whose command extended over the Ganga and Vēngī maṇḍalas, and the Noḻamba feudatories of the king in the Ganga country. Paraman Maḻapāḍiyār alias Mummuḍi-śōlān was a general who conquered the Śītpuli and Pāki nāḍus early in this reign. In the Trichinopoly district, the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, of uncertain origin but closely allied to the royal family from the days when Parāntaka I married a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar princess, were occupying a respected position, and were apparently in the enjoyment of full responsibility for the administration of a small area around Paḻuvūr. The inscriptions of Adigal Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavān, which clearly acknowledge the overlordship of Rājarāja are found in Kīḷa- and Mēlapalānuvari 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 Mēlapalānuvari, † and adopted the ancient standard prevailing at Nandipuram for regulating taxation in Paḻuvūr. ‡ The latest records mentioning him seem to be dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja. § Madhurāntaka Gaṇḍarādittan 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 Stil. iii 49; ante p. 193 and n. * A certain Gaṇḍarādittan Madhurāntakan is also mentioned in 356 of 1917 (Yr. 10).
of temple-affairs, so to say. We see him conducting enquiries into the affairs of temples in various parts of the country, punishing defaulters * and making proper arrangements for the prevention of neglect in subsequent years. He has been wrongly identified with Gaṅḍarādittar, the author of the Ṭīṟuvaiṉaippā, 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, Udaiyār Vīraśol̄ar, son of Udaiyār Ilāḍarājar Pugalvippavar-gaṇḍan, 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 Tiruvaiyavan Śakkaradeva who claimed descent from the Gaṅga kings of Kōḷār and built at Tiruvallam a temple called Tiruvaiyā-Iśvara apparently after his father. The high-sounding titles that precede the name of this obscure chieftain constitute a clear warning against hasty inferences from such titles in regard to the political status of the person employing them. Nannamarāyar of the Vaidumba family, the son of Tukkarai who possessed the Ingallūr-nādu in Mahaṇājapādi, 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 Ṭīṟuvaiṉaippā refers to the Tanjore temple whereas it is on Cidambaram. See T. A. G. Rao-Śālavami-carittiruc-cuṟukkam p. 16 n.
‡ 19 of 1890 (E.I, iv p. 139.)
§ 11 of 1890 (S.II, iii 51).

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Arcot about 1005 A. D. * A Mummuḍi Vaitumbamahārājan made a gift in Rēḍḍipūlem in Nellore about A. D. 993. † This shows that the Vaidumbas continued under Rājarāja, as under his predecessors after Parāntaka I, to occupy subordinate official positions in the Cōla administrative system. Mention is made of a Śālukki Vīmayan whose dēvi (queen), Vīmayan Vambavai, endowed a lamp in the temple at Tiruvaiyār 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, Maṭavān Nārāsimhavārman, 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 Śenāpati Śri Kṛṣṇan Rāman of Aman-kuḍi, ¶ who is called Rājendrasāla Brahmanarāyan in the larger Leyden grant, || as the person who built the tirucchurālai, the surrounding enclosure and maṇḍapa of the Tanjore temple under the king’s orders. Îrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍi-sōla-pūṣan 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.
† N. J. C. 88.
‡ 217 of 1894 (SII. v 516).
§ 84, 86 of 1906.
¶ SII. ii 31.
|| 1. 437.
** SII. ii 55.
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attesting the Leyden grant and an important inscription from Ukkal* relating to revenue settlement. Sēnāpati Kuṟavaṇa Ulagalandān alias Rājarāja Mahārājan who is also mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions, † apparently got his surname Ulagalandān (one who measured the world) after carrying out the revenue survey which began in the sixteenth year (A. D. 1001), formed one of the most original and important administrative achievements of the reign ‡ and furnished the basis for the revenue policy for many years thereafter, as can be seen from the numerous references to the survey in subsequent records.

* SII. iii, 9.
† SII. ii 95, p. 459.
‡ 624-A of 1902; 44 of 1907 (Vr. 24).
RAJENDRA I - (1012-1044 A.D.)

Parakēśari-varman Rājendrā-cōḷadēva 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 Rājendrā. 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 Rājendrā's nativity was Ārdra. §

Rājendrā 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, Rājendra turned these initial advantages to the best possible use and succeeded in raising the Cōla empire to the position of the most extensive and most respected Hindu state of his time, and one which possessed though perhaps only for a time a not inconsiderable dominion over the Malay peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago. The history of Rājendra's reign is very largely the history of the extensive wars and conquests he undertook in the first half of his reign. Like his father, he has left behind in his stone inscriptions and in the Tiruvālangādu copper-plates a trustworthy account of the military and naval transactions of his reign which receive confirmation at all points at which we have the means of controlling it by other evidence.

The most common form of Rājendra's Tamil prāstis. His prāstis is that which begins tiru manni valara. We come across this form as early as the third year, though it is more generally employed only from the fifth. This introduction progress-ively 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 prāasti known so far from only one inscription of the tenth year, gives some particulars about Pāṇḍyan affairs which are confirmed by the Tiruvālangādu plates. In another inscription dated in the twenty-fourth year, the Tamil prāasti

* 363 of 1917.  
† 118 of 1888.
follows the usual form up to the conquest of Takkanālađam, 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 Rājakēśari * is beset with many difficulties of interpretation, and as it is a copy of an earlier original, it is possible that a mistake has occurred in the re-engraving. Lastly, the account given of Rājendra's military achievements in the Sanskrit part of the Tiruvālangādu plates was written, quite obviously, † after all conquests were over, and by the side of indications gained from the different stages of the Tamil praśasti 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 praśasti 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 praśasti.

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, Parakēśari and Rājakēśari ruled together and shared the burdens of empire. The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja, with the introduction

* The mistake possibly arose from a Rājakēśari also having ruled jointly with the king for some years before the date of the record; but see infra.
† AKE. 1906 II 13.
‡ EI. ix p. 218.
beginning "tingaḷērtaru," 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 Rājādhirāja's reign, his records must be understood to supplement those of Rājēndra by giving an alternative description of more or less the same transactions from the standpoint of Rājādhirāja's part in them. * In an inscription of his twenty-sixth year from Tirumalavādi which adopts the shorter form of his introduction, † Rājādhirāja'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, Mahōdai in the West and Kadēram in the East. This clear statement that the son ruled in full regal state in the life-time of his father, and that for as many as twenty-six years, provides the key for the proper understanding of an important aspect of Cōla history. Adopted in the first instance, possibly, as a device to obviate disputed succession, the system of choosing a successor in the life-time of the ruling king and associating him, after a formal installation, in the discharge of important public duties pointed the way, under the stress of empire, to a more deliberate and extensive application of the

Princes as administrators.

* Hultzsch observed: "Rājādhirāja appears to have been coregent of (his predecessor Rājēndra 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 Hultzsch said this, 172 of 1894 (Tirukkalukkumāram) of the 26th year was the earliest record available. Since then, the "tingaḷēr" 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 prasasti, give imperial titles to Rājādhirāja e.g., Tribhuvanakravartī (241 of 1927) and Cakravartīga (124 of 1922), really belong to Rājādhirāja 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 Rājādhirāja inherited his kingdom from his father—ARE. 1913 II 26.
principle to the administrative arrangements of the empire. The princes of the blood royal who had come of age were appointed to positions of authority in the different provinces of the empire, care being taken to give to each the position suited to his capacity and talent. The person chosen as heir apparent was distinguished from the rest by a formal installation, and by his higher status; in the case of Rājādhirāja, who was not the eldest son of Rājendra and must have been chosen as yuvārāja 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.
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 Idīturai-nādu, Banavāse (Vanavāsi) encircled by a continuous hedge of forest, Kolliippākkai whose ramparts were surrounded by sulli trees, and Maṅṇaikkaḍakkam whose fortifications were unapproachable. Whether this account is a retrospective version of Rājendra's invasion of Raṭṭapāḍi of the year 1004 A.D. so vividly described in the Hoṭṭūr record dated three years after it, or recounts a second campaign necessitated by the recovery of Satyāśraya, cannot be decided with certainty. In any event, the campaign took place before 1008 A.D. because it was directed against Satyāśraya himself, who was succeeded by Vikramāditya V about that year. Idīturai-nādu, Ededore 2000, "was a stretch of country between the rivers Kṛṣṇā on the north and Tungabhadra on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district." * Kolliippākkai was, doubtless, Kulpak, about 45 miles north-east of Hyderabad, "invariably termed Kolliippāka in the inscriptions," † and the centre of a 7000 district which was later on, at the beginning of the next century, ruled for some time by Sōmēśvara III, as viceroy under his father Vikramāditya VI. Kulpak was still the centre of a province ruled by a governor under the Kākatiyas in the thirteenth century. In Maṅṇaikkaḍakkam with its strong fortifications one may easily recognise the Māṇyākhēṭa which according to the Kanyākumāri

* Fleet, E.J. xii pp. 295-6.
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inscription * became the sporting ground of Rajendra's forces in battle. Manyakhēṭa (Mulkhed) must have suffered greatly in this invasion of Rajendra. In the closing years of Rāstrakūṭa domination, it had been once sacked and plundered by the Paramāra ruler of Mūlwa; and now, forty years later, under the Cāḷukyas, a worse fate overtook the unfortunate city. This must have weighed greatly with the Cāḷukyas who, soon after, transferred the capital to Kalyāṇi or Kalyāṇapura, 48 miles to the N. E. of Mulkhed. † An inscription of Rajendra from the Trichinopoly district, dated in his third year, ‡ mentions an incident in the fight with Satyāśraya before Maṇḍaiṅkaḍakamm. A certain Śrutimān Nakkan Candran, a native of Uṛrattur, was ordered by the king's own mouth (perumāḻ 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 Mahāḍēva in his native village of Uṛrattur. In this campaign, therefore, Rajendra crossed the Tungabhadrā, carried the war into the heart of the Cāḷukya 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. Cāḷukya 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 '1, 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 Rāstrakūṭa country," (italics mine- Gangāikōndā Cāḷa 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 Rājendra's inscriptions also belong to the war which was waged about 1004 A.D. against Satyaśraya by Rājarāja, and that in this war the advance of Rājendra against the Cālukyas started from somewhere in the N.W. of Mysore, took a generally north-eastern line along the course of the Tungabhadra until the Raichūr doab was reached, when a more northerly course was struck, and Kulpak and Mālkhed became the objects of attack. A mandapa at Tiruvorriyur called Māṇnaikonda-Śōla was among the mementos of this campaign.*

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

* 103 of 1912. † 50 of 1897; 439 of 1907.
‡ 4 of 1890; 257 of 1903. 585 of 1906 from Emblem (also fifth year) carries the conquests further up to Śāndimattīvu. But as the inscription mentions the 25th year of the reign, it was engraved much later and is to be accepted with caution.
§ CV. ii p. xiii.
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exception of its remoter parts which were still held by the Singhalese. As a result of his expedition Rājendra
claims to have captured the crown of the kings of
Ceylon* the exceedingly beautiful crowns of their
queens, the fine crown and the garland of Indra which
the Pāṇḍya had previously deposited with them (the
kings of Ceylon), and the whole Īla-maṇḍalam on the
transparent sea. The Mahāvamsa does not mince mat-
ters 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 (Mahindu 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 Pullatthinagara as base,
the Cōlas held sway over Rājarattha as far as the locality known as
Rakkhapēṣuṇakaṇṭha. . . . 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 Īlam (who
was as tempestuous as) the sea in fighting.” But in the phrase: “poru-kaṇḍal-
Īḷṭarāśar-ṭamudiyum,” porukaṇḍal is an attribute, not of ‘araśar,’ but of
Īlam’. See EI. ix p. 233 The plurals in ‘araśar’ and ‘avar dēviyar’ 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.

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

Rājendrā's success was complete, and the whole of the island became a Cōla province. We have some inscriptions of Rājendrā 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 Rājendrā'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 Rājendrā's invasion, possibly also after the death of Mahinda V, his son Kassapa who had been brought up in secret by the Singhalese for fear of the Cōlas, became the centre of a national resistance against the Tamil power, and that, after a six month's war in which a great number of Damīlas were killed by the Singhalese forces, he succeeded in making Rohanā 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 Vikkama-bāhu's reign belong to a later stage of Rājendrā'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 Kerala 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 Śāndimattīvū, in view of its strong fortress, by Parasurāma who, roused in war, had uprooted the kings (of the world) twenty-one times. ‡ Some light is thrown on these rather obscure transactions by the account of Rājendra's southern campaign given by the Tiruvālāngādu plates and by a single stone inscription of the tenth year § which gives an account of Rājendra's policy in the Pāṇḍya country, not found in the other stone records of the reign. The Tiruvālāngādu 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 Trīśanku (the south) desirous of conquering the Pāṇḍya king.

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

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

After establishing there his own son, 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 (Paramēśvara) 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 Kēraḷa in great force, and there ensued a fierce battle which brought ruin upon kings.

After having (thus) conquered the Kēraḷa king and harrowed the land guarded by the austerities of the lord of the 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 Kēraḷa countries had been conquered by Rājarāja very early in his reign, and the many ancient islands towards its end. These new conquests were the Maldives; the obscure Sandimattiva 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 Tiruviśalūr by the queen of a Pāṇḍya king called Śrīvalluvar. While the Tamil praśasti of Rājendra mentions some new achievements

* 46 of 1907.
of the king in Ceylon and Kēraḷa, 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 Tiruvālāngādu 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 Kēraḷa country as well, was Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya to whose time belong the largest number of the Cōla-Pāṇḍya inscriptions so far known.

An inscription of 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-Sōḷa-vināgar, and that this grant was to take effect from the fifteenth year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Assuming that the fifteenth year of the viceroy fell either in the twenty-fourth year of the emperor or possibly a little earlier, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya must have been appointed viceroy about the sixth or seventh year of Rājendra, a date which fits in with the indications furnished by the Tiruvālāngādu plates taken along with the Tamil prāṣasti. The
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Mannārkōvil inscription is also valuable in other respects. It shows that the viceroys enjoyed almost regal status and were allowed officially to issue orders dated in their own years of office. It also indicates the close contact maintained between the headquarters of the empire,—Rājendrā was residing in his palace at Kāṇcipuram 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 Jatāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya ruled as viceroy for at least twenty-three years, up to about A. D. 1040. One of the latest * of these inscriptions opens with the praśasti of Rājendrā himself, (tiru manni valara). Another states that Sucindram in Nānjinād (South Travancore) came to be called Sundara-śoḷa-caturvēdimangalam after the viceroy.† One curious fact not easy to explain is the record of a grant at Kottar (near Nagercoil) in south Travancore by an Eastern Cālukya prince who called himself Sarvalōkaśrāya Śrī Viśuvardhana Mahārūja alias Cālukya Vijayāditya Vikkiyaṇṇa. The inscription is dated in the 11th year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya ‡, i.e., about A. D. 1029. Kottar 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 Kottar for some years. But his identity is uncertain in the extreme.

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

* 617 of 1916. † TAS. iv pp. 134-5. ‡ 44 of 1896.

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was displaying unwonted energy in recovering territory lost to the Cōlas in previous wars. The Baḷagāṁve 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. † Rājendrā's war against Jayasimha is described in his Tamil praśasti in the following terms:

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

The assertion that the whole of Raṭṭapāḍi fell into the hands of Rājendrā 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 DΚD. 436.
‡ Hultzsch translates "payangoṇu paḷimiga" into "out of fear and full of vengeance." (E.F. ix p. 233). Paḷi means 'vengeance' in some contexts; but here it has surely another meaning: 'disrepute'. The idea is that by his flight he lost his reputation as king or warrior. The phrase 'nāvanidikkuḷap-perumali-galum' is not clear. Hultzsch understands this independently of the Raṭṭapāḍi campaign, and translates: "the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubāra)." 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 Nāvanidhi-kula, like Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Paḷcappāḷi and Māṇuṇi-gēśa. (Sewell-Historical Inscriptions p. 65, n.) But unlike kōṇam, paḷi and dēśa, an ending in kuḷa 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 Rājendrā. 'Kulap-peru-maligal' suggest, by recalling the 'Kulaparvatas' of legend, the vastness of the treasure; and 'nāvanidhi,' though usually employed of the insignia of Kubāra, is introduced here to suggest the variety of the treasures of the Cāḷukya monarch. cf. kuladhanaṇa-akṣiḥam yātāca mukta bhayaṃ avalambya paṭīyaṃ samadā (v. 105) of the same context in the Tiruvāḷangāḍu plates.
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 Tiruvālānγādu 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 Kannepuram on his march against the Ratta country, there was fierce battle between the forces of the Cōla 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 (dviṣadindhana.)

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 Ededore 2000 and affirms that he had regained it after driving out the strong Cōla, lord of the five Drāvidas. §

* SH ii p. 94-5. n. 4. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks Maski more likely.
† 99-108. ‡ v. 101, SH. iii p. 423.
§ IA. viii 18; Fleck DKD. 436; EI. xii pp. 295-6. Krishna Sastri’s translation of verse 103 of the Tiruvālānγādu plates is wrong in implying that the Raṭṭarāja lost his life in the war; parikhanḍita 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 Tiruvālangādu 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 Tiruvālangādu 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 Gōḍāvari. § 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 Cēra ūcāgūṭīyam's exploits as narrated in the Śilappadikāram. (Cēra-koṇḍa-Cōla p. 548). We may wonder whether Rājendra was such a Quixote! The poet Nārāyaṇa has made another guess (uṭpāṭkṛtip), 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 vījīgāḥ; 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.
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 Gōdāvari after conquering Mahipāla and taking away his fame together with many precious jewels. Then the valourous Rājendra struck the evil-minded Otta 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 prāṣasti records the same transactions, almost in the same order, but with much more detail, as follows:

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

* See E.I. ii p. 233. The notes below explain the variations in my rendering.
† Hultzsch 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: 'Kāmiḏai vaṇanagar Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum.'
§ Another form has 'veḷḷiṇa vīrar' for 'veḷḷilai-vīrar.'
¶ Read: "pāṇḍaip-pala- māsuni-dīlam" (S.II. ii 20 i.5 and p. 108) for 'pāṇḍaip-pala-nan-māsuni-dīlam' (Hultzsch) of the Tirumalai rock; or translate "Māsuni-dēśa celebrated for fruits (amidst) green foliage."
Map
Showing
RĀJENDRA'S
Expedition
To the
GANGES
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whose great fame knew no decline *; Oḍḍa-viśaya which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence †; the good Kōsalai-nāḍu, where Brahmans assembled; Tanḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, (land which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkaṇalājām, whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Rāṇaśūra; Vangāla-ḍēśa, where the rain water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvinda-candra 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 Mahīpāla ‡ together with Sāṅgu who wore the anklet (of valour); Uttiralājam (on the shore of) the expansive ocean (producing) pearls; and the Gāṅgā whose waters bearing fragrant flowers § dashed against the bathing places (tīrthā).

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

* This seems better for ' apavriti vam-kirtti Ṛdīnakar ', than ' which was famous for unceasing abundance ' (Hultsch).

† ' Miloī ' is a synonym for kāva-kāḍu ' ; Maṇimēkalat, xxviii, l. 25.

‡ Read: " todā-kudā-cangu-todāqal Mahīpālanai " (Tanjore S.II. u 20 plate.) Hultsch's talk of 'ear-rings, slippers and bracelets' of Mahīpāla is entirely out of place. Often also " todā-kudā-canguq-aqal Mahīpālan " (478 of 1602), where ' sāṅgu ' may mean conch (sankha)

§ ' Vēgimalar ' for ' vēgī-manal ' in some copies.

¶ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar suggests that this campaign started from Kulpak, the northern limit of Rājendrā's earlier campaigns, or ' from somewhere not far off,' (Gangai-kondo-Cōla p. 549). There is no evidence, however, to show that at any time Rājendrā became master of the W. Cālukya 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 Tiruvāḷangāḍu plates are explicit, as Dr. Aiyangar has himself noticed (ibid. p. 547), that the expedition started from the Cōla capital.
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Śakkarakkōṭṭam has been identified with Cakrakōṭya which finds mention in a Nāgavaṃśi copper-plate grant from Bastar dated A.D. 1065, and its modern representative is probably Citrakūṭa or Citrakoṭa, 8 miles from Rājāpura where the copper-plates were found. Rājāpura, the capital of Bastar, is itself 22 miles north-west of Jagadālpur, on the bank of the Indrāvati river. Śakkarakkōṭṭam and the places that follow up to Māśuṇi-dēśam have thus to be sought in the territory contiguous to the Vēṅgī kingdom to the north-west of it. Māśuṇi-dēśam literally means the land of the snakes; the kings of the Chindaka family represented by the Rājāpura plates, called themselves Nāga-vamśo-dbhava (born of the Cobra race), and Bhōgavatī-pura-varēśvara (lord of Bhōgavatī, the best of cities); in a later stone inscription of Śaka 1140, one of them is called Śri-bhujagavara-bhūṣaṇa-mahārājulu, † the māharāja who was the ornament of the race of the best of serpents. It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that by Māśuṇi-dēśam is meant the land ruled by these kings. On this assumption, Madurai-maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaiikkōṇam and Paṅcappallī must be sought in the same region and held to be parts of Māśuṇi-dēśam. It may be noted that Cakrakoṭa is itself called a maṇḍala ‡ like Madurai-maṇḍalam, and that the donor of the Rājāpura plates is called Madhu-rāṅtuka.

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 suggestion § 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.
Bhōja of Dhārā mentioned in the Udaipur 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 Tiruvālānḍādu 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 prāṣasti which was recorded almost immediately after the campaign must be accepted as the more authentic. On this basis, "most probably Daṇḍabhukti was the march-land between Orissa and Bengal," † and its ruler Dharmapāla, of whom we know nothing more than his name, may have been a relative of Mahīpāla, the powerful Pāla ruler of Bengal at the time. The language of the Tamil inscription appears to suggest, ‡ what seems likely even otherwise, that Mahīpāla had a sort of

* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that "Śādinagar of Tamil, hitherto read Śādinagar, Jāmīgar of the Muhammadan historians," is no other than Yaṃdānagar, identified with Būkka by Hiralal and said to have been founded by one of the early Kṣari kings of Orissa. (Gangar-kōṇḍa-Cōla p. 550). But he does not say how he gets his new reading Śādinagar. The Tirumalai rock inscription clearly has "vāṇkirtti-yaṇīnagar" (El. ix p. 232, plate 1. 8) and the Tanjore record equally clearly "vāṇkirtti Ayānagar" (S/I. ii plate 3, 1. 5, end), "vāṇkirtti-yaṇīnagar" is often found (77, 78, 78 A of 1893) and vāṇkirtti Ayānagar in 171 of 1894—all of years 16 and 17. One may doubt also whether the rather colourless "pūṇamra ṛṭ" 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. D. Banerji - Pālas of Bengal p. 71.

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

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

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

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* A Lākṣnavāra was nāmat-prasthivaka-rūmaita-cakra-cūtāmaṇī in the reign of Rāmapāla, (ibid p. 72.)

† ibid. pp. 72-73; cf Prabodha-candrādyaya, Act ii, where we have: nīmad-ayam daśāyukha-pradātā-dīgato-bhavijati, and Gauḍam rāṣtram-anutāmam nirupama tatrāpi Kāḍhāpurī.

‡ See note A at the end of the chapter. § v. 117, 119.
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veracity of the inscriptions of Rajendra, and held that the expedition was nothing more than a pilgrimage to the Ganges. * Though the fetching of the water of the Ganges was perhaps present from the beginning as the object of the expedition, † the motive behind it was undoubtedly an exhibition of the power of the Cola empire and a demonstration of its strength to the rulers of Northern India. Such divyavajayas 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 Cola capital, but doing so after establishing a right of way, so to say, across territories outside the empire by a strong show of force. This becomes clear from the statement that at the end of the expedition Rajendra erected a ‘liquid pillar of victory’ (jalamayam jayastambham) in his capital with the waters of the Ganges in the form of the tank Colaganga. ‡ "The invasion of the great southern conqueror Rajendra Cola I," says R.D. Banerji, "seems to have left some permanent marks in Bengal. . . . Some obscure Karñāta chief seems to have followed Rajendra Cola I and settled in western Bengal . . . From him was descended Sāmantasena, who is generally taken to be the founder of the Sena dynasty." § The

Effects.

* 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 Rajendra Cola’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 Tiruvālamkāvu 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-
saravali of Trilōcana Śivācārya mentions the fact that Rājendra imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges into his own kingdom and established them in Kāñcīpura and in the Cōla country.*

(Rājendra’s overseas expedition against Kaḍāram is mentioned for the first time in his inscriptions of the fourteenth year. †

While the Tiruvalangādu plates dismiss this achievement in a half verse which merely records that the king conquered Kaṭāha with his powerful troops that had crossed the ocean, ‡ the Tamil prāṣasti gives a detailed narrative of the expedition and its course in the following words: §

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

* Verse 111, end of Anantasambha’s gloss (Madras Mss Library). In two verses introduced by the glossator with the words ‘atra pūrvakathā-pravam- gar,’ Rājendra is said to have himself gone to bathe in the Ganges. Krishna Sastri wrongly ascribes these statements to the Siddhāntasūtā 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 Majūr of the 13th year (Ec. ix ep. 84) which also gives the full introduction. There is a fragment dated in the 11th year from Kurubūgu (Mysore) mentioning the conquest of Kaḍāram (Ec. x ct. 47). But the date is obviously too early; perhaps an instance of a gift of the 11th year recorded some years later.

‡ v. 123.

§ SII, ii p. 100. The notes that follow explain my differences with Hultsch.
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had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādhara-tūrāna 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 ¶; Māyiruḍingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilangāsūka (i.e. Lankāsūka) undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māpappāḷam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Mūvilimbangam, having fine walls as defence; Vāḷaiappandūru having vilappandūru (?); Talaitakkōlam praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Mādamūlaṅgam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuridēsam, whose fierce strength rose in war **; Mānakkavāram, in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting ††; and Kāḷāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep ‡‡ sea.

* Hultsch has: 'extensive city of the enemy.' The Tanjore text 'śrītavamahānāgar' can hardly give his meaning. I take it to be 'śrītav-avān+shanāgar'. The tempting suggestion of Coedes, that this and the following phrases may be attributes of Śrīvijaya (BEFO, xvii 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 "van-malai-ūreyil."

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

†† 'Was subdued by a vehement (attack),' Hultsch. The text is 'kalāmudir - kaṇḍUNDIR' which means that the fierce strength (kaṇḍUNDIR) increased (mudir) in fighting or war (kalām).

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

‡‡‡ 'Toņu-kāḍal' is rendered by Hultsch into 'the neighbouring sea.' But 'tonu' in the sense of 'touch' is a late form; and 'tonu-kāḍal' is a classic phrase containing an allusion to the story of the sea being dug out by the sons of Sagnāra; 'tonu' 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 Hultzsch. The larger Leyden grant had been known already for some years, and Hultzsch recognised at once in Sangrāma-vijayottunga-varman of Rājendra’s inscription, a successor of Māra-vijayottunga-varman of Kaṭāha or Kiḍāram of the Leyden grant. But his search for this place extended no further than the southern districts of the Madras Presidency, and strangely enough, as it now appears, he overlooked the facts that Rājendra’s expedition was a naval war and that the Pāṇḍya country had been conquered and subjected to the Cōla sway several years before the date of this expedition; and he identified Kiḍāram with the “headquarters of a talluqa of the Rāmnād zamindari in the Madura district. †” Even as late as 1903, though a great advance had been made by him from his original position, Hultzsch was still far from the mark when he said: ‡ “Of the numerous places which are mentioned in connection with this expedition, Mr. Venkayya has identified two, viz., Nakka-vāram and Pappālam. The former is the Tamil name of the Nicobar islands, § and according to the Mahāvamsa (lxxvi, 63) Papphāla was a port in Ramāṭhia, i.e., the Talaing country of Burma. Hence Kiḍāram will have to be looked for in farther India.” / For

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

One fact to which Hultzsch himself drew pointed attention has sometimes escaped the notice of later authors who have discussed this campaign. It is that the inscription clearly implies that all the places named were taken from the king of Kaḍāram and in the course of a single campaign. In the words of Coedes:

* "The text says in effect that Rājendra Cōla I, after having vanquished the king of Kaḍāram,

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* *ARB. 1908, paragraph 25.*

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

‡ *ARB. 1919, paragraphs 46-47.*

§ *ibid. 1922, paragraph 14.*

† *op. cit. p. 5.*
seized his treasures, then a certain number of countries and lastly Kadāram. 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 Kadāram, 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 Kadāram and Śrī Vijaya, the two places ruled by the same king in the reign of Rājarāja, and conquered by Rājendra from Sangrāma-vijayottunga-varman.

"Now, the annals of the Song (dynasty of China) mention, in 1003 and 1008, two embassies from the country of San-fo-tsi, the first sent by the king Sseu-li-tchou-lo-wou-ni-fo-ma-tiao-houa and the second by the king Sseu-li-ma-lo-pi. It is not necessary to be a sinologue to recognise in the first name a magnificent transcription of Śrī-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 Kadāram and Śrī Vijaya. San-fo-tsi was first used by the Chinese writers of the Song period for the place called Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che in the earlier literature of China; all Chinese writers have identified this name with Palembang, on the eastern coast of Sumatra. And Coedes has shown good reason for restoring the name

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

Śrī Vijaya.

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

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

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

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 Lingya-ssen-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. § Māpappālam, as was shown by Venkayya, is mentioned in the Maḥāvamsa ¶ under the name Papphālam, || as the place where the Tamil general Adicca landed when he was sent on an expedition against Rāmaṇṇadēśa by Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon about 1165 A.D. From this Venkayya concluded that Māpappālam must be a place

* ibid. pp. 533-4. Coedes (p. 9.) leaves the question undecided whether 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-tsing, annexed Malāyu between 672 and 703 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 Śrīnga), 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 Pappālām in an expedition against Ramaññadēsa violently contradicts the assumption that all the places captured by Rājendra were dependent on Palembang and within easy reach of it. Coedes, however, draws attention to the fact that the long list of the grievances which Parākramabāhu had against the ruler of Rāmañña ends with his capture by force of a Sinhalese 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 Māppappālām 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 Cūła I, of a locality which became part of Pegu in the 12th century, is not

* E.g. Kaṅṭaram with (Śrī)-khettara, ancient Prome (Kanakasāhhai); Mālāmalingam 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 Pappālām and Kusumi, the two ports mentioned in the Mahāvamsa account of the Ceylonese expedition against Ramaññadēsa must both be identified together; and that as Kusumi is clearly Bassien, the former must be either Dagan or Rangoon, the neighbouring port. This argument clearly underrates the express statement in the Mahāvamsa that the fleet was scattered by a storm and that different parts of it drifted to different ports (Ch. 76 vv. 56, 59, 63), which need not have been adjacent.
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sufficient to invalidate the identification of these conquests with the vassal states of Palembang. Mēviljimbangam and Vaḷaippandūru * do not lend themselves to any identification at present.

Talaittakkōlam. Talaittakkōlam, 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-ssëu-kia (llangāsōkam) “can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights; there is also an overland route (between the two countries)”.

Gerini identifies Tan-ma-ling with Temiling or Tembeling at the mouth of the Kwāntan river in Pahang, on the East coast of the Malay peninsula; § on this identification the learned translators of Chau Ju-kua observe: “As our author states that a land route existed between Tan-ma-ling and Ling-ya-ssi-kia, which we have good reason to believe was about Kedah on the West coast of the peninsula, it seems safe to conclude that Tan-ma-ling cannot have been very far from where Gerini has located it.” Blagden points out,

* Mēviljimbangam is sought in Perak by Rouffaer, and in Karmaranga (Kālasāpurā) by Levi. The former also identifies Vaḷaippandūru with Paṇḍu-ranga in Cāmpā. Krom observes: “All these conjectures depend on our opinions, not on sufficient grounds.” See Krom Hindο-Javanische-Geschiedenis pp. 251-2.

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

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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 Lankāsuka or perhaps both occupied the peninsula in all its width and faced the gulf of Siam as well as the Straits. * Ilāmuridēsām 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. Mā-nakkavāram, 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 Kiḍāram in the Kalingattupparai 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-ling and Tāmalingam, and there should be no difficulty in accepting the view that all the three forms are variants of the same name. Coedes’ suggestion that the Tamil name might be read ‘Tamaralingam’ (p. 17) is therefore unnecessary; it is inadmissible as ‘Mādamalingam, (or Mādamalingam) alliterates with the first half of the line ‘titamtribāvimai’ 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 Kathāritāgara, 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 Rājendrā's inscriptions. The Kalingattupparani clearly states that Kadāram was laved by the waves of the ocean. * The word Kālagam in the Paṭṭinappālai, according to the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, designates the country known as Kaḍāram, † an interpretation which has the sanction of old lexicons like the Pingalam. From these references to Kaḍāram, especially the one in the Paṭṭinappālai, we may conclude that it was an important port on the ocean route along which the trade between India and the East passed. "Now there is a country," says Coedes, ‡ "known to the Chinese of which the name seems to correspond very well with Kaṭāha, that is, Kie-teh'a where I-tsing stayed on two occasions." The same place is called in later Chinese works Kie-t'o. These different names represent phonetically and geographically the modern Kedah, on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Ancient Kedah would appear to have been more to the south than modern Kedah which as has been shown above was occupied by Lankāsuka. At any rate, a study of I-tsing's itineraries proves to us that Kie-tch'a was the last stage in Malay before the pilgrim started to cross the Bay of Bengal on his outward voyage, and, inversely, the first place he touched after crossing the Bay on his return from India. In this fact is perhaps to be found the

* vv. 138, 189.
† Paṭṭinappālai p. 550 (3rd Edn.). Skt. Kaṭāha and Tamil Kaḍāram are, as pointed out by Coedes (op. cit. p. 20; also Ferrand, JA. 1922 pp 50-1), semantically related, and mean "a copper cauldron"; Tam. Kaḍāram has also the sense of "brown colour bordering on the black", and Kālagam the sense of "blackness". Apparently this synonymity has induced Naccinārkkiniyar and the lexicographers to gloss Kālagam by Kaḍāram. Kaḍāram and Kīṭāram 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 Kadāram. For if, as seems most probable, Kadāram 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 Kadāram. 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 Kadāram 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 Rājendrā's reign. That the Cōla empire of South India was in constant communication with the islands of the Archipelago and

* Ferrand says that Kadāram, Kaṭhāha and Kāḷaṇgam cannot represent Kedah on the W. coast of the Malay peninsula (JA. 1922 p. 51). "Geographically," he says, "Kadāram and Kaṭhāha are situated in Sumatra according to Tamil texts," and he cites the authority of the Śrīpāṇḍya 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 Śrīvakaḷam was also the king of Kadāram in the thirteenth as in the eleventh century. The political position of Śrī Vijaya and Kadāram 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. 439 ff. in the paper "A propos de la chute Du Régne de Śrī Vijaya," where he reiterates his view that Kaṭhāha is Kedah. Though Ferrand was inclined in 1922 (JA. p. 51) to locate Kaṭhāha 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 S. K. Aiyangar bases his identification of Kaṭhāha with Kerti on the N. E. coast of Sumatra (GangaiKondā Cōla pp. 568 ff.) has now been superseded.

† S. K. Aiyangar, op. cit. pp. 566; 571.

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with China in this period is very clear. The construction of the Cūdāmaṇi-vihāra in Negapatam by Māra-vajyottunga-varman of the Sālendra dynasty of Śrī-Vijaya could not have been an isolated undertaking all by itself, but one of the normal results of a growing intercourse between the Eastern islands and South India for purposes of trade. As in ancient times, this trade was part of a flourishing maritime commerce between the countries of the Western world and China, in which Arabs, Indians and the people of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago acted as intermediaries.

At the end of the tenth century A. D. * the Chinese government awoke to the value of the foreign trade which was just then reviving after a long interruption owing to the troubles which broke out in China in the latter part of the 9th century, and with the object of increasing this trade "a mission was sent abroad by the Emperor with credentials under the imperial seal and provisions of gold and piece-goods to induce the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea to trade' to come to China." It must have been in response to such friendly invitations that the kings of Śrī Vijaya sent the embassies of the years 1003 and 1008 A. D. to which we have already made reference. The annals of the Song dynasty record that the first mission to China from Chu-lien (Cōla) reached that country in A. D. 1015 and state that the king of their country was Lo-ts’al-ts’a (Rājarāja), which is correct as Rājarāja lived up to 1016 A. D. or thereabout. † Another embassy

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† 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-chā Yūn-to-lo-chu-lo (Sē Rāja Indra Cōla) reached China in 1033 A.D., and a third in 1077 A.D. from Kulōttunga-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-kū-fei states of San-fu-ta’sī (Sērī-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-shī (Arabs) and Ku-līn (Quilon) on the west; they all pass through it on their way to China.”

At the date of Rājēndra’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 Rājēndra confirmed in perpetuity the original grant of Ānaimangalam to the Cūḍāmanī-vihāra in Negapatam, clearly implies that in the beginning of Rājēndra’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 Rājēndra 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 Rājendra are accepted as literally true, the campaign led to any more permanent result than a vague acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the invader on the part of Sangrāma-Vijayottunga-varman. We shall see later that one of the successors of Rājendra, Virarājendra I, claims to have conquered Kaḍāram and restored it to its ruler who supplicated for it before the conqueror. In any case, there is no evidence to show that the Cōḷas made any attempt to rule these lands as provinces of their empire. * At best, they might have received a periodical tribute. The fragmentary Tamil inscription in Sumatra dated 1088 A.D. † proves only the presence of Tamil merchants in the island, a fact even otherwise well-established.

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

‡ ARE. 1892 p. 12.
† Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India p. 108; Gangākhonda Cōḷa; 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 Rajadhiraja. (In any case, the records of Rajadhiraja 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 Pândya and Kërala kingdoms called for severe action, and the extensive campaign undertaken by Rajadhiraja for the suppression of these risings is described in the following terms: +

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

* 118 of 1888 (S.II. iv 223) dated in the 24th year and found in Cidambaram. This record is curious in many ways and needs rather cautious handling. It starts in the usual manner, tiru manni vâhara etc., and follows the regular form up to labbana-âstamum in the narrative of the Ganges campaign. At this point, the prâhârî takes a new turn, and what follows in this record is found almost word for word in some of the later records (e.g. 87 of 1895) of Rajendra II, the second son of Rajendra I and successor to Rajadhiraja. We may be tempted to assume that Rajendra II's record borrowed the expression from his father's Cidambaram prâhârî which omitted the latter half of the usual form and substituted an account of the events of the second part of the king's reign. The beginning tiru manni vâhara and the high regnal year, 24, of this record favour this supposition. But there are difficulties. The king is called Rajakârsenâ, a title which neither of the two Rajendras had; the new portion does not fit in well with the first part of the old prâhârî reproduced here. This record is doubtless a copy of an earlier original, made in the reign of Kulâttunga III. (See beginning of 117 of 1888, S.II. 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.II. iii. p. 56. I have altered Hultsch's translation at some points.

‡ Though "temmûvar" may mean Pândyas it seems possible that here it means only "kings of the South," an alliance between Ceylon (Mânâbharañâ) (S.II. iii 29, I. 13), Kërala and Pândya being meant.

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trampled by his furious elephant Attivarana; and drove to the ancient Mullaiyur, Sundara Pandyan 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 Vepadh to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the Senior (chief) of Iramakundam.* While the strong Villavan (Cera), in his terror hid himself in the jungle, (the Cola) put on a fresh (garland of) Vanji flower, † and forthwith destroyed the ships at Kandalur-salai on the never-decreasing ocean."

The exact date of this invasion of the Pandya and Kerala countries is unknown. As there are no Pandyan 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 Cola-Pandya inscriptions of the period throws any light on these transactions. Sundara Pandya was perhaps the chief of the whole confederacy which organised the rebellion. §

In the course of this expedition, on his way from the Pandya country to Kandalur, and most probably as a result of his successful attack on the king of Venad whom he "sent to heaven," Rajadhiraja is said to have liberated the king of the Kupakas, a local chieftain of south Travancore, from his bondage apparently to the ruler of Venad. ¶

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

* This event is omitted in some records e.g., 6 of 1890. Hultsch translates differently; but see ARE. 1930 II 46.
† Lit. " was attacked by pains in the bowels."
‡ The symbol of an aggressive invasion.
§ PK. p. 113. ¶ 75 of 1895. ARE. 1913 II. 26.
the Dutch. It was cut up into a number of petty principalities which, with their endless feuds and alliances, more or less formed a world apart. Irāmakuḍam, or more accurately Rāmaghaṭa, was one of these principalities which centred round Mt. D'Eli, the मूसक hill or Eli-malai (rat-hill), and ruled over by the मूसaka kings whose annals form the subject-matter of the Kāṇya called मूसakavamśam. * 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 performing 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 मूसaka country by Paraśurāma who crowned him after an abhiṣeka with pots (ghata, kudam) of water; hence the name of the family—Rāmaghaṭa, or Irāmakuḍam in Tamil. A Vatteluttu record † of the eleventh century recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Eli-malai is dated in the fifty-ninth regnal year of a मूसaka king, Kaṇḍan Kārivarman alias Rāmakuḍa Mūvar Tiruvadi; the inscription also mentions Rājendra-sōla-samaiya-senapati. Most probably this Mūvar Tiruvadi was the ruler against whom Rājūdhirāja's expedition was directed.

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

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

In some of the early inscriptions * of Rājadhirāja, he is said to have invaded Ceylon after the victory at Kāndalūr-sālai and to have beheaded "the king of Lankā, the, Vallava (wearing) a garland, and the lord of Kannakucei (Kanouj)". The same fact is mentioned in the curious record of Rājendra I with the double praśasti from Cidambaram, in which Vīrasalāmēgha is said to have been caught and slain by Rājendra in the course of a campaign in Ceylon. It is quite possible that this campaign of Rājadhirāja 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 Rājadhirāja cited at the beginning of this paragraph, ‡ and the authenticity of the Cidambaram inscription of Rājendra are not beyond cavil, and as one other record of Rājadhirāja, § 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 Rājadhirāja. We shall see, however, that according to the chronology of the Mahāvamsa, some of the incidents of Rājadhirāja's Ceylon war, at least those connected with the Singhalese king Vikramabāhu I, must have taken place before the death of Rājendra Cōla I. The war itself dragged on into the reign of Rājadhirāja and even his brother Rājendra 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.
Another war had to be waged against the Western Calukyas by Rajadhiraja, 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 Ahavamalla, must have occurred sometime after 1042 A.D., the last known date for Jayasimha II, and consequently in the last years of Rajendra's reign. We have seen that after the battle of Musangi (c. 1021 A.D.), Jayasimha II made himself master of the Raichur doab and reached the Tungabhadra. In the remaining twenty years or so of his reign, he seems to have been left alone by Rajendra who was engaged in other directions. Some inscriptions in the Bellary district show that Jayasimha II even crossed the Tungabhadra in the period and annexed parts of the Bellary district to his dominions after displacing the Cola control over the tract. One of his vassals, Jagadéka-malla Udayaditya Nolamba Pallava Perumāṇaḍi, claims in A.D. 1033 to have ruled the Nolamba-vādi 32000 among other districts; this seems to be an exaggeration, if it is not a mere repetition of a traditional title of the Nolambas. But after the long interval during which the Calukyas were left free to pursue their plans, and after the accession of Trailékymalla Ahavamalla Somesvara I, the Cola 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 Sōmesvara's accession. Whatever that may be, Sōmesvara had to face a fresh Cola invasion into his territory led by Rajadhiraja; one set of Cola 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 Cōla 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 Cōlas, who set fire to the city of Kolliippākkai.
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
Rājādhirāja. They mention 'a hot battle at Pūṇḍi
with (the) swelling waters' in which Viccaya ‡ fled in
fear, abandoning his father and mother to the mercies
of the Cōla army; when Āhavamalla, in his fear, sent
messengers (for opening negotiations), they were rudely
handled by the Cōla and were forced to carry on their
persons inscriptions proclaiming the flight of Āhavamalla
in fear; then, followed by his forces, the Cōla took his
herd of elephants for bathing them in the three bathing
ghats (turai), Śiṣruturai, Perundurai and the Daiva-
ḥīmakasi, and engraved the emblem of the fierce tiger
on hills marked by the boar sign of the enemy, and
planted the pillar of victory; § he played games ¶ with
the kings who prostrated themselves at his feet, and
raised aloft the banner of charity with that of the tiger,
distributing among the needy the ancient treasures
captured from the enemy; he then defeated several

* Hultsch says that the Cōla forces were led by a commander named
Kēvudan; but I am not sure of the text here. See e. g. 54 of 1893 and
6 of 1890.
† 172 of 1894 (Yr. 26); 92 of 1892 (a. d.) SII, v 465; iv 539.
‡ This could not have been Vijayāditya.
§ cf. Kalingattupparani viii, 56.
¶ The expression used is 'tenṇṭa'—some game with a ball seems
to be meant.
leaders of enemy forces such as the Nūlumba, Kālidāsa, Čāmunḍa, 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 Čālukya 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 Čālukyas; 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 Kalyāṇapuram was sacked and its royal palace razed to the ground after its guards had been overpowered. And Rājadhirāja assumed in that city the title of Vijayarājendra and performed a Virābhisēka; this is confirmed by another inscription of a later date in Rājadhirāja's reign, † with a unique prasasti beginning tirukkoṭiyodu; this record lays great stress on the victory against Āhavamalla, and states that the title Vijayarājendra was adopted by the king at the Virābhisēka that followed the victory. And at Dārāsuram 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 (Yr. 36).

‡ The text, as copied by me direct from the pedestal of the image is “(I.1) Svastīśrī Viṣṇuchar Śrī Vijayarājenderaṇa—(I.2) Kalyāṇa-puram-arittu kṣatu vandana dvārapālakakura.” In I.2 ‘ga’ is engraved below the line; cf. yaḥ Kalyāṇapuram dadiḥa of v. 73 of the Kanyākumāri 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 Rājadhirāja or of the later war which, as we shall see, led to his death on the battlefield of Koppam. In all the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, * there is nothing that would lead us to imagine that so great a disaster overtook him soon after his accession as is implied by the Cōla records cited above. Though it may be conceded that the Cōla accounts of the war are altogether too favourable to their own side, their substantial correctness seems to be beyond cavil. The chronology of the war is equally indisputable. All these incidents are narrated in records of the twenty-sixth or earlier years of Rājadhirāja, and must have occurred before 1044 A.D.; and Sōmēśvara I did not become king before 1042 A.D. Moreover, the Dārasuram dvārapālaka and other images in the same place give clear proof that Rājadhirāja sacked Kalyāṇapuram, and that, like Napoleon, he carried off some fine works of art to his own country and the only occasion on which he claims, in his inscriptions, to have reached Kalyāṇapuram is in the course of the expedition we are now dealing with. Pūndi, where a pitched battle was fought in this war, and possibly once again when another Cōla invasion took place a few years later, was on the banks of

* The vague phrase "balavac-cōla-narēndra-darpa-dalana" 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." (EI. xv. p. 86 n. 6; pp. 87, 97). The inscriptions noticed by Fleet (DKD. p. 441) are of a later date and will be considered in the proper place. I find it impossible to attach any value to the poetry of Bilbaṇa who in his Viṃstvacarita makes Sōmēśvara enter Kāṭcipuram in victory. (I. 114-7) It was more or less the poet’s job to do it as Sōmēśvara was the father of Bilbaṇa’s more fortunate hero Vikramāditya VI.

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the Kṛṣṇā, perhaps in the Raichūr doab. * By the three turais, Śiruturai, Perundurai, and Daiva-bhīmakasi are no doubt meant the rivers Tungabhadrā, Kṛṣṇā † and, probably, the Bhūmā. Some of the minor incidents, for which the Cōla ruler takes credit, look extremely realistic, and show the relentless nature of the hostilities between the protagonists in this long contest.

It is a fact of some importance that the mention of Kalyāṇapura in this campaign appears to be about ten years earlier than “the very earliest epigraphic mention of the place” which has been traced by Fleet in a record of A.D. 1053, ‡ and here it is already called ‘an old city’, § and a royal palace of the Cālukyas in it is also mentioned. This would suggest that Kalyāṇapura must have been at least a subsidiary capital for some years before the time when, according to Fleet, it was “founded or developed into a capital” by Sōmēśvara I.

(The closing years of Rājendra’s reign formed the most splendid period of the history of the Cōlas of the Vijayālaya line. The extent of the empire was at its widest and its military and naval prestige stood at its highest.) There remained the necessity, ever present in military empires, of carrying out punitive expeditions to suppress outbreaks and keep the conquered territories under control. The emperor was ably assisted by his talented sons and other members of his family, and the tasks of imperial administration were

* 6 of 1890 and 221 of 1894 say "lānputtal Firifir-(rijai)-farat-(Punttor)i-kaduka-mā-nagar."

† Fleet EL. 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 Čākukya 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 Nambihalli region of the Mysore country in which 'cows were carried off and women's girdles were unloosed.' * Among such feudatories a few naturally stand out more prominently than the rest in the records of the reign and of these a brief account may be given here.

That even the Pāṇḍyas normally accepted such a position of subordination and reconciled themselves to it is shown by the queen of the Pāṇḍya King Śrīvallabha making gifts to the Tiruviṣalūr temple early in the reign, possibly when Rājarāja was still alive. † A part of the modern North Arcot district lying round about Brahmadēśam was under the jurisdiction of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, the chief of the Sāmantas as he is called and husband of Rājarāja's elder sister Kundavai. Two other wives of this person are mentioned, Indalādēvi ‡ and Mandara-gauravanār Kundādēviyar § who, despite the second part of her name, appears to have been different from Parāntakan Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār, the Cōla princess said to have been residing in the palace at 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 Milāḍuḍaiyār, 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-muḷaṇḍaiyār, 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 Kāḷahasti. † A number of short but
interesting Kanarese and Tamil inscriptions at Kotta-
sīvaram, 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 Cāḷukya and Vēngi wars § and
earned such high titles as Nālmaṇi Bhīma, Cōlana-
cakra, Sāmanta-bharaṇaṁ, Vīra-bhuṣanam, and Edirtta-
var-kālan (Tam. ‘death to foes’) or Ahitarottalivan
(Kan). Daṇḍanāyakan Nārakkan Kṛṣṇan Rāman 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, Mārayan Arumoli, also
called Uttamaśilā Brahma-mārayan, was also a sēnāpati
who assisted Rājēndra about A. D. 1033 in building a
temple to the Piḍāri 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 (mārayam), 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 Indalādēva of Taḷaigrāma
in Viṟuṭa-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 Indaladeva was an official or a feudatory of the king, as he might have been a merchant, who, like several others of his profession in those days, might have travelled great distances. In any event, Rājendra's claim to have conquered the Mysore country and parts of Raṭṭapūḍi is largely substantiated by such instances. Lastly, there were the Cangāḷivas and the Kongāḷivas of Mysore and Coorg. We have traced the rise of Kongāḷivas into prominence under Rājarāja who, in appreciation of the heroism of Maṇija, conferred on him the title Kṣatriyāsikhaṇāṇi Kongāḷva and an estate at Māḷambi (Coorg). The Cangāḷva territory, Canganāḍ, lay in the Arkalgūḍ taluq of Mysore and the Yēḷusāvira country in Northern Coorg. Both the Cangāḷivas and the Kongāḷivas 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 Kongāḷivas 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 Karikāḷa and the Sun, through Jaṭācōla.

Like his father, Rājendra bore a number of fine birudas. Noteworthy among them are, Muṇḍigonda-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 Kēvērī to our own day. The Tambraparnī is called Muṇḍigonda-Śūlap-pērṇū in Cōla records from Śrīmadēvi.

§ AKE. 1901, i, 12; S.II. iii, 127. ¶ 61 of 1914.
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these in the estimation of the king himself was the title Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa, a name signalised by being attached to the new capital founded by the king and sometimes called Gangāpurī in Sanskrit.* In the ruins of this celebrated city the earliest inscription that can now be traced seems to be one of Rājakēsarivarman Vīrarājendra-deva. † The large irrigation tank to the north of the city, the Cōḷa-gangam of the Tiruvalangādu 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 Muḍigonḍa-sōḷapuram, and the suggestion has been made that this was the earlier name of what later came to be called Gangaikōṇḍa-sōḷapuram. ¶ There is no support for the suggestion in the epigraphy of the reign. On the other hand, Muḍigonḍa-sōḷapuram is clearly stated to be the alternative name of Paḷaiyāru, now a small village on the banks of the Muḍigondān, within easy reach of Kumbakōṇam; Paḷaiyāru possesses an ancient Śiva temple of remarkable construction in the late Cōḷa style which contains, however, no inscription; and there remain no traces of the palaces at Paḷaiyāru in which Kundavai ** and Rājendra †† are said to have lived in the early years of the reign.

* El. xv. p. 49 n. 3 where Gopinatha Rao quotes an interesting reference from the Iṣṭu possibly reminiscent of this foundation.
† 82 of 1892.
‡ A nineteenth century description of the site is quoted in Note B at the end of this Chapter.
§ 61 of 1914: 203 of 1925: 510 of 1926. The curious record 118 of 1888 dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsa Rājendra mentions Gangāpurī.
¶ S.II. iii. Index s. v. Muḍigonḍa-sōḷapuram; also S. K. Aiyangar—South India and her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 44, n. 2.
‖ 271 of 1927.
** 639 of 1909.
†† Tiruvalangādu plates ll, 6-7 (Tamil part), 463 of 1908 (Yr. 3).
In several inscriptions of his reign and of the reigns of his successors, Rajendra is described briefly as the conqueror of Purvadeśam, Gangai and Kaṭāraṇam; this must be taken to be a summary statement of his most distant conquests, and on this assumption Purvadeśam is best understood to be, not the Vēngi country as was suggested by Venkayya, * but Purvāstra, the country to the east of the Maikal range, † roughly corresponding to the Southern Kōsala country.

The following are the queens of Rajendra who figure in the inscriptions: Tribhuvana or Vānavan-Mahādeviyār, ‡ Mukkōkkilān, § Paṅcavān-Mādeviyār ¶ and Vīra-mādevi who apparently performed satī at the king’s death. ‼ Of his sons we shall see that three followed him on the Cōla throne in succession, Rājadhirāja, 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 Rajendra, Arumoli-nangaiyar or Piriñār, made a present of a costly umbrella of pearls to the temple at Tirumalavādi early in the reign of her brother Rājadhirāja. ** Another daughter was the well-known Ammangādevi, the queen of the Eastern Čāḷukya Rājarāja I and mother of Kulottunga, the first Cōla-Čāḷukya monarch. The latest regnal year mentioned in Rajendra’s inscriptions is 33 †† and this accords well with the fact that his death is recorded in an inscription of Rājadhirāja 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.
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 Tiruvālangādu plates (*op. cit.* p. 554). I agree with Mr. R. D. Banerji that “the order in which the names of the countries are mentioned (in Rājendra’s Tamil inscriptions) prevents us from supposing that Bihar is” Dāṇḍabhukti. 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 Rāṣṭrakūṭas at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth till it was wrested from them by the Pāla opponent of Rājendra, Mahipāla, who installed Dharmapāla viceroy over his new conquest. Banerji has satisfactorily explained the western expansion of the Pāla kingdom in the early years of Mahipāla by the condition of the Gurjara kingdom after the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. (*Pālas of Bengal* p. 70.)

Banerji seems to me to be clearly wrong in quoting the evidence of the *Candhakausikam* of Kṣemisvara who probably lived in the tenth century A.D. at Kāṇyakubja under king Mahipāla, the Gurjara ruler, (*Macdonnell, Sanskrit Literature* p. 366; Keith, *Sanskrit Drama* p. 239 and n.) against the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendra, and in discovering a defeat of Rājendra in Mahipāla’s defeat of the Kāṇṭātas 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 Tiruvālangādu plates, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar distinguishes a Mahipāla of Oṭṭa (N. Orissa) from the famous Pāla king of Bengal, and holds that “Rājendra’s general did not come into direct contact with Mahipāla of Bengal at all” (p. 565). He says that the Tamil records “properly understood” support the same position. To prove this, he relies on the edition of Rājendra’s Tamil inscriptions in *Epigraphia Carnatica* and
finds that No. 84 of Channapatna (Bangalore Dt.) ‘gives apparently the correct reading’: Toḍu-kalaṭ-Sangamottā-Mahipālanai; this he translates into: “Oṭṭa-Mahipāla of Sangama (Sangama?) which touches the sea.” He adds: “the first three words in full in Tamil would be Toḍu-kalaṭ-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 Sangamam followed by Oṭṭa becomes Sangamottā instead of ‘Sangamavotta’ as it should be. I have already pointed out that the Tanjore inscription (SII. ii No. 20 l. 7) reads distinctly: “Toḍu-kalaṭ-cangu-vottal” which Hultzsch somewhat arbitrarily changed into: Toḍu-kalaṭ-canguvottal’ (EL. 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. Bonerji’s claim, based on a misquotation from the Caṇḍakauśikam, that Mahipāla of Bengal defeated Rājendra, or at least successfully stopped his crossing the Ganges. But the alibi sought to be established on behalf of the Cola general appears to rest on very flimsy grounds. I must, however, note that a single inscription from Tirukovilur (128 of 1900) gives the reading ‘Sangot-Oṭṭa-Mahipālanai.’ This solitary instance out of over a hundred inscriptions I have consulted cannot, I think, be regarded as anything but a mistake of the engraver.

Of verses 116-24 of the Tiruvilāṅgaḷu 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 Kulāṭēvara, 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 Rājendra and is, for some reason, omitted in the Tamil praṇāsti. I am inclined on the whole to the former hypothesis as in these and the succeeding verses the composer of the Sanskrit praṇāsti 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 Kaṭāra started from ‘the coast region of Kalinga’ (p. 566). He adds that all Rājendra’s records uniformly state that, having reached the mouth of the Ganges and subdued Orissa, the overseas expedition set sail from there; in saying this he overlooks the fact that we have to distinguish the different campaigns of Rājendra’s reign by the stages through which we can trace the growth of the tiru mānura vaṭāra 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 Tiruvālānagāḍu 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 Rājendra started against Ceylon from Malkhā, 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 Rājendra’s Ganges campaign. On the location of Danajarbhukti and the difficulty of postulating the existence, as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar does, of a body of Karṇātas holding a military fief 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 Tiruvālānagāḍu 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 Tiruvālānagāḍu 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 Rādhā, and this is exactly the route described in the Tirumalai rock inscription." Banerji's statement, however, that the Cōḷa army followed the coast line from near the Chilka lake and debouched into the interior only once when it went into Kōśala, clearly overlooks the data on the earlier stages of the campaign furnished by the Tirumalai rock inscription. He also observes that Gōvindaçandra of the Cendra 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 Kaṇḍaśa, Dharmapāla and Gōvindaçandra on the one side, and Mahipāla on the other. It also constitutes a virtual abandonment by Banerji of the interpretation he had put on the Tirumalai rock inscription in his monograph on the Pālas of Bengal that it depicts Bengal as cut up into a number of independent small states, a view that has been cited and commented on in the preceding chapter.

As against S. K. Aiyangar, whom he does not hesitate to accuse of betraying "the spirit of a partisan and not that of a critical historian," Banerji seeks to buttress his position in regard to the Caṇḍakauṭikā 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) the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāstrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death-blow to Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy in India. He invaded Mālva, captured Ujjain, crossed the Jumna near Kālpī, 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 Rāstrakūṭa 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 Aiyangar to postulate the production of the drama Canda-Kauśikam before this unfortunate king."

Now, the Cambay plates of Gōvinda have been edited by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who had no preconceived notions about either Rājendra or Mahipāla of Bengal to uphold, and it is interesting to see how he makes out the relations between Indra III and Mahipāla I, the Pratihāra king, as revealed by these plates and other contemporary inscriptions. In a succinct and full discussion of the historical significance of verse 19 of these plates, * he points out: "But the complete devastation of Mahōdaya, which Indra III is spoken of as having brought about, is merely poetical. For the poet's object appears to be to introduce a play on the words Mahōdaya and Kuśasthala. * * * This is also seen from the consideration that, as a matter of fact, for long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes, ruling over northern India. What Indra III actually did beyond attacking Mahōdaya or Kanauj, cannot be inferred from the verse itself. But we can ascertain it with the help of other inscriptions." After a careful examination of other inscriptions, which is too long to be reproduced here, Prof. Bhandarkar reaches the conclusion that though Indra succeeded for a time in depriving Mahipāla of his kingdom, he was soon restored to the throne by the combined efforts of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and the Chandella king Harsādeva. Here, then, it seems we have all the elements needed to satisfy the requirements of the verse in the prologue to the Canda-Kauśikam 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 Kautilya's expulsion of the Nandas for the sake of Candragupta, the verse in the Canda-Kauśikam 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 Candakausikam was enacted before the Gurjara-Pratihara Mahapala I, nearly a century before the time of the Pala Mahapala to whose reign Mr. R. D. Banerji would assign the play. See also Sten Konow, Indische Drama p. 87. and JOR. vi pp. 191 ff.

NOTE B.

GANGAIKONDA-COLA-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 Udaiyarpalaiyam talukā 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 Gangakundapuram. 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, Gangakundapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a monarchy, and the great tank spread fertility over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. It has often been projected to restore that magnificent work, but the scheme has remained in abeyance for want of engineer officers. At some future time it may be successfully prosecuted, but till then this most fertile tract must remain a jungle, and the few inhabitants will still point
with pride to the ancient band as a monument of the grand and gigantic enterprise of their ancient sovereigns, and compare it contemptuously with the undertakings of their present rulers. Speaking of the noble temple of Gangākūndaparam, it must not be omitted that when the lower Kolērūn anikat was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their utmost to prevent this destruction and spoliation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it; but of course without success; they were only punished for contempt. A promise was made indeed, that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed."
CHAPTER XI

THE SUCCESSORS OF RĀJĒNDRA
(1044-70 A. D.)

Under Rājarāja I, the real founder of the Cōḷa empire, and his talented son Rājēndra I, the usual line of conquest, which was from north to south, had been reversed, and the victorious tiger-banner carried far into the north. Rājēndra’s sons, three of whom succeeded their father, one after another, on the Cōḷa 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 Tunga-bhadra frontier, and the first of these three kings died on a battle-field in which the second was crowned immediately after his steadiness and valour converted an almost certain defeat into a brilliant victory. There was trouble also from the south, the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa being always in league with the Ceylonese rulers, and waiting to take the fullest advantage of the difficulties that beset their suzerains elsewhere. Towards the end of this period, these troubles, together with others of a dynastic and possibly religious nature, brought about a political revolution which proved the salvation of the empire for well over a century thereafter. As will be shown later, the exact circumstances under which the Cālukya-Cōḷa, Rājēndra, came to occupy the imperial Cōḷa throne are not easily determined; but there can be no two opinions on the consequences to the Cōḷa power of this turn of events. By introducing a fresh, and possibly more vigorous, yet closely related stock of kings to the rule of the empire, and by amalgamating, at a critical time, the
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resources of the Eastern 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 Kanyakumāri inscription * of Virarājendrap
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-tuvaiccōla-valanādu which recalls distinctly the
prasasti of Rājendra II beginning tirumagal marupiya.
This prasasti gives a succinct account of how
Rājendra co-operated with his elder brother Rājadhirāja
in the prolonged Cālukya war of the reign.
Virarājendrap was doubtless identical with Vīra-Cōla, ‡
the younger brother of Rājendra-deva on whom he con-
ferred the title Karikāla Cōla; in fact the W. Cālukya
inscriptions call him generally Vīra. An inscription
of Virarājendrap from the Ramnad district § refers to
his father (ayyar) who conquered Gangai, Pūrvadēsam
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.
‡ Sl. iii p. 195; EC. vii Sk. 136.
§ 110 of 1908.
‖ 129 of 1912 dated (8)8 is doubtful. It is a solitary record and the first figure in the date is not secure.

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The approximate date of the accession of Rājendra II has been fixed from his inscriptions as May 28th, A.D. 1052. * Likewise, the highest regnal year of Rājendra II is twelve, taking his rule up to A.D. 1064. Virarājendra's accession, however, took place sometime in A.D. 1062-3 † which is counted in his records as his first year. ‡ Rajakesari Rājamahendrādēva, whose inscriptions do not carry his reign beyond the third year, must be found a place before the accession of Virarājendra-dēva. His brief prasastis 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 Kalingattupparaṇi § which says just the same thing even more forcibly, without mentioning any other fact, about a king whom it places between the sovereign who crowned himself on the field of Koppam (Rājendra II) and the victor of Kūḍal-sangamam (Virarājendra). Further confirmation of the position assigned to Rājamahendra 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 Rājamahendra was the son of Rājendra II mentioned in an inscription of the ninth year of that king II under the name

‡ 87 of 1895 of year 9 of Rājendra II is said to mention a gift of year 3 of Virarājendra ARE. 1895 I 9. If this is correct, Virarājendra’s accession must be placed earlier. But the published text (S.II. v, 647 ll. 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 1902 cited at S.II. iii p. 191.  
|| ‘tan-tirumagan’ : 87 of 1895. (S.II. v 647, l. 26). Another record of the same date mentions a Rājamahendra-road. S.II. iii p. 41 (l. 6.)
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Rājēndra, and that when, soon after, he was chosen heir-apparent he assumed the title Rājamahēndra to distinguish himself from his father Rājēndra-dēva and his grandfather Rājēndra-Cōla-dēva. Here again, the succession of two Rājakēsaris, Rājamahēndra and Virarājēndra, must be explained as due to one of them having died as heir-apparent without ever ruling in his own right, and that the other was chosen to fill his place. * This period is brought to a close by the short and troubled reign of Parakēsari Adhirājēndra, one of whose records dated in his third year † mentions the eighth year of Virarājēndra. The succession and chronology of the period may, therefore, be summed up as follows:—

(1) Rājādhīrāja I Rājakēsari ... A. D. 1018-1054
(2) Rājēndra II Parakēsari younger brother of (1) A. D. 1052-1064
Rājamahēndra Rājakēsari son of (2) died as crown-prince A. D. 1060-1063
(3) Virarājēndra Rājakēsari (younger brother of 1 and 2) A. D. 1063-1069
(4) Adhirājēndra Parakēsari son of (3) (?) A. D. 1067/8-1070

Rājādhīrāja’s praśastis are usually found in two forms, one of them rather short, commencing tingalēr-pera-valar, which records only the earlier achievements of the king and seems to have been stereotyped about the twenty-sixth year of his rule and repeated in that form in some of his later records. The longer form

* Cp. EL. xviii pp. 30-1.
† 15 of 1890: SII. iii 57.
TINGALER-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 Pundur and other incidents of Rajadhiraja's first invasion of the Calukya country resulting in the destruction of Kolliippukkai are given in the inscriptions of the 26th year * and are generally omitted in later records; whereas the detailed description of the Pandyyan and the Ceylonese wars that occurs in the latter is only hinted at briefly in the earlier records. Again, the vulgar insult offered to the ambassadors of Ahavamalla, one of whom was forced to dress as a woman and another was made the subject of a comic tonsure, is mentioned only in some versions but not in others. † A few of the inscriptions of the later years mention fresh transactions not found in the earlier records; ‡ others simply repeat the older forms without making them up-to-date. Further, there is a prabasti beginning tirukkodiyodu tyagakkodi giving no new information and confirming some of the details of the Calukyan war found in other records.

That Rajadhiraja assumed the title Vijayarajendra after his triumphant entry into Kalyanapura has already been mentioned. There are, however, two records of Parakasari Vijayarajendra which at first sight seem to present a baffling problem. § In one of them, a Kolar

* 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: tirukkodiyodu (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 Parakesari is a mistake for Rajakesari: for the high regnal year and the identity of the short praśasti in this record with that of Rajadhiraja beginning Virapāṇḍiyan talaiyum, the last variety of the praśastis found in Rajadhiraja's records, leave no room for any alternative. The other record from Pedda-Tippasamudram † falls into the reign of Rajendra II, the younger brother and successor of Rajadhiraja, as it is dated in Śaka 981, or A. D. 1057-8, and as we have no clear proof of Rajadhiraja having reigned beyond his 36th year, which would be A. D. 1054-5. Rajendra II was a Parakesari, 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 Rajadhiraja inscription, doubtfully dated in the 38th year, from Tiruvorriyur,‡ just renders it possible that this record is also his. The battle of Koppam, in which Rajadhiraja lost his life, took place according to Fleet * shortly before the 20th January, A. D. 1060,' as a record dated in Śaka 981 (expired) mentions that Śomēśvara had then returned from 'a conquest of the southern countries and of the Cōla.' § Therefore, the Pedda-Tippasamudram record of Śaka 981 may also be, after all, another instance of a Rajadhiraja record giving him the Parakesari 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 Rajakesari to Parakesari, ¶ as there are many other records of the 35th and 36th years with the former title.

* 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; E.C. x Kl. 112 (b).
† 534 of 1906.
‡ 129 of 1912.
§ BG. I, ii, 441. But this rather late date for the death of Rajadhiraja is contradicted by the inscriptions of his successor Rajendra; see infra.
¶ Contra ARE. 1908 II 56.
The Ceylon war of Rājadhirāja briefly mentioned in the last chapter may now be considered in more detail. Some of the earlier inscriptions* of Rājadhirāja briefly record that the king of Lankā, the garlanded Vallava, and the king of the Kannakucciyar (people of Kanauj), suffered decapitation at the hands of Rājendra. The more detailed account of the occurrences as found in some of the later records† is as follows:—

"With a single unequalled army (he) took the crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of the people of Lankā on the tempestuous ocean; the crown of large jewels, (belonging to) the lord of Lankā, Vikrama-Pāṇḍyana, who, having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country out of fear of himself (Rājadhirāja)‡ had entered Iḷam (surrounded by) the seven oceans; the beautiful golden crown of the king of Simhaḷa, Vira-Salāmōghan, who, believing that Iḷam (surrounded by) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kannakuccī (Kānyakubja) which belonged to him, had entered (the island) with his relatives and (those of) his countrymen who were willing (to go with him);§ and had put on the brilliant crown; who, having been defeated on the battle-field and having lost his black elephant, had fled ignominiously; and who, when (the Cōḷā king) seized his elder sister along with (his) wife ¶ and cut off the nose of (his) mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused) thereby, and, having fought hard with the sword, had withered || in

* 92 of 1892; 172 of 1894. † SII. iii 28, p. 56.
‡ Text: 'mum-tanakkuṇḍaṇḍu,' apparently rendered by Hultzsch into 'which had previously belonged to him.'
§ "Iśāhīrdentenụnụ ulangol tannādụ tannuzagụnụ pugundu" is the text.
¶ Or daughter. The text has kādali.
|| Text 'ularnda.' 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) Madanarājan, who had come of the family of Kannaran (Krṣṇa) and had become the proud king of Ilam." *

The Mahāvamsa shows clearly that the years following the deportation of Mahinda V by Rājendra and the annexation of the whole of Ilamandalam to the Cōla empire (1017 A.D.) were filled with risings on the part of the Singalese subjects against the new Cōla rulers followed by reprisals on their part. The independent testimony of the Ceylonese chronicle not only confirms the account of Rājadhirāja’s records in its essential features, but furnishes much welcome assistance in fixing the chronology of events which, though spread over several years and apparently connected with more than one campaign, seem to have been grouped together to form a convenient section in the prasasti of Rājadhirāja. The Mahāvamsa affirms † that the first outbreak of the opposition to the Cōla rule in Ceylon occurred about twelve years after the capture of Mahinda V, when the Cōla wanted to gain control of Mahinda’s son Kassapa, and that this revolt centred round Kassapa; Kassapa and his confederates succeeded in maintaining a contest for six months with the Cōla forces said to have been 95,000 strong; they “killed a great number of Damiņas” and compelled the rest to retire and take up “their abode as before in Pulatthinagara.” Thereupon, Kassapa

Six months war of Vikkamabēhu.

* The text is “Kannaran-vadduṇḍai-kola-vijait-taraian-āgiya,” which Hultsch translates into “who had come to Kannaran (Krishna) and taken up (his) abode (with him).” Ugai means in the context ‘pride,’ ‘glory.’ The point seems to be that Madanarāja, though a Rāṭrakūṭa or, more generally, a Karnāta by descent, became king of Ceylon.

† Ch. 55 vv. 24-29.

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began to rule the south-eastern portion of the island of Ceylon, the division known as Rohaṇa, under the title of 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 Rohaṇa 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 Damijas from Ceylon. Neglecting the eight days’ rule of Kitti (A.D. 1041), § the “mighty Mahālānakitti” who became king of Rohaṇa, “was vanquished in his third year (A.D. 1044) in battle against the Cōlas, and with his own hand he cut his throat and so died a sudden death. ¶ Thereupon the Damijas 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 Rohana when he heard of the fate of his father, and was killed, after a short rule, in a fight with Jagatīpāla. The Cōla inscription, on the contrary, implies that he was a Pāṇḍya prince who had once ruled over the southern Tamil country, and was compelled by Rajadhirāja himself to abandon southern India and seek his fortune in Ceylon, where he became king. As the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese dynasties were at this time in close political and dynastic alliance with each other and with the Kēralas, and were united in their common opposition to Cōla ascendancy, † we have perhaps to assume that the two accounts supplement each other. Vikrama Pāṇḍya had apparently a Singalese father and a Pāṇḍya mother: his early career in the Pāṇḍya country is represented, not quite accurately, by the Mahāvamsa as a sojourn in the Dulu country, or possibly, this sojourn in the Dulu land was an interlude between the Pāṇḍyan and the Ceylonese phases of his career. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that the Cōla inscriptions and the Mahāvamsa speak of one and the same prince here, and that while the Ceylonese account of the manner of his death is not contradicted by the Cōla records, it is quite possible that his diadem also fell into the hands of the Cōḷas as is claimed by them. Of Jagatīpāla (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-
panḍu in battle and ruled as a mighty man in Rohana
for four years. Him also the Cōḷas slew in battle and
sent the Mahēsi with her daughter and all the valuable
property to the Cōḷa kingdom.” If we overlook the
discrepancy about the place of origin, Kūnyakubja
according to the Cōḷa records and Ayōdhyā according
to the Mahāvamsa, there is a striking similarity in the
fortunes of Jagatīpāla of the chronicle and Virā-
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 Virā-
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 dif-
ferent persons who had little in common with each
other besides having attained some celebrity in Ceylon
as opponents of the Cōḷa regime and met very similar
fates at the hands of their antagonists. How these
adventurers from northern India came to Ceylon in
search of a career is not easy to explain satisfactorily
at present. Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the fourth and
last of the princes mentioned in the Cōḷa inscriptions,
has been identified with king Parakkama of the
Mahāvamsa who was slain in fight with the Cōḷas. ‡
This identification is also to be accepted with caution.
Madanarāja was a Vallabha (of the line of Kannara) by
descent; Parakkama, on the contrary, was the son

* Cf. Hultzsch SII. iii, p. 53.
† ibid. 3rd Decr. A. D. 1046. ‡ ibid.; also MV. 56, v. 16.
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of the Paṇḍu king, i.e., Vikkamapanḍu. Moreover, the death of Parakkama occurred about A.D. 1053, nearly seven years after the date of Rajadhirāja’s inscription (A.D. 1046) in which Madanarāja is mentioned. *

This comparison of the epigraphical account of the Ceylonese war in the records of Rajadhirāja 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 Rajadhirāja can be recognised in the Mahāvamsa viz., Vikramabāhu and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya. Vira-Salāmeśha and Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja are known only to the Cōla inscriptions, but apparently are not mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. On the contrary, Jagatīpāla and Parakkama of the Mahāvamsa, who figured in the later stages of the war of independence and laid down their lives in that war, do not find a place in the Cōla inscriptions. † The inscriptions of Rajadhirāja’s successor Rajendra II show that he too had a hand in the suppression of the Ceylonese risings. Records of his fourth year, J.A. D. 1055, state that “he despatched an army to Ceylon, where the king Vira-Salāmeśha was decapitated and the two sons of the Ceylon king Mānābharaṇa were taken prisoners.” Later records

* Cf. Hultsch—JRAS. 1913, pp. 519-21 where the opinions expressed by him in SII. in are withdrawn.
† Jagatīpāla’s queen and her daughter I.śavyati escaped later on from their captivity in the Cōla country. MV. Ch. 59 vv. 23-4.
‡ SII. iii. 29. JRAS. 1913, p. 519.
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 ‘Kannakuṭciyar-kāvalan’ of the Rājadhirāja inscriptions. Surviving the disgrace inflicted on the members of his family, his sister and mother and wife, by the forces of Rājadhirāja, 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 Mānābharaṇa, 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 Rājadhirāja 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).
‡ viṇgaṭaḍaik-kalinga-man, l. 12 of S.II. iii 29.
§ Supposing that a Vīra-Salāmēgha ‘perished in a hot battle’ (S.II. iii p. 56) with Rājadhirāja, Hultzsch distinguishes from him the ‘kalinga-man’ of the same name of the Rājendra inscriptions (J.R.A.S. 1913 p. 520), and connects the latter with Trilōkasundari, a Kalinga queen of Vijayabāhu I, A.D. 1054-1109, and suggests that her nephew Kitti-sirī-mēgha may have been named after Vīra-Salāmēgha. He also suggests that the Pāṇḍya Mānābharaṇa who was decapitated by Rājadhirāja was the ancestor of that Mānābharaṇa who was the nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I; and that Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the Ceylonese opponent of Rājadhirāja, 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 Hultzsch has not considered the relation between the Mānābharaṇa 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 Rājādhīraja and Rajendra, * and that Cōla inscriptions found in Ceylon, though not numerous or well preserved, carry us right to the end of the period covered in this chapter. † We may, therefore, conclude that the bulk of the island of Ceylon constituted an administrative division of the Cōla empire, while the South-western part of the island, called Rohana in the Mahāvamsa, kept up an incessant warfare for the restoration of Singalese independence. Prince Kitti who assumed the title Vijayabāhu in 1058 A.D. was the leader of this effort. The Mahāvamsa and the inscriptions of Vīrājendradāsa 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 Vīrājendradāsa, claiming the subjugation of Ceylon among the king’s achievements and 594 of 1912—S.II. iv 1388 (Yr. 3 of Adhirājendradāsa).

‡ MV. Ch. 57 vv. 65 ff. E.Z. ii p. 207; 182 of 1915.

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A second war against Sōmeśvara was undertaken by Rājadhirāja 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 Rājadhirāja, 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 kaḍakamāṇagar 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 varūṭikai, a kind of coarse millet; finally, the large palace at Maṇḍandippai was consigned to the flames, and a pillar of victory erected, bearing the emblem of the tiger. These occurrences, no doubt considerably exaggerated in the partial report of the Cōla records, must have taken place before A.D. 1048; it is even possible that they had happened before the date of the Maṇimangalam inscription, end of A.D. 1046, and were not mentioned in that record.

* SII. iii 28.
† The text is: "Kaṇḍar Dinakaran Nāraṇan Ānavaṇa vaṇḍalar teriyal Maṇṭṭādanam." Hultzsch takes this to be four names; perhaps there are only three. In any case their identity cannot be made out fully though some of them seem to figure in the Western 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 Cōḷas, the Cāḷukyas 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 Cāḷukyan empire on the side of the Tungabhadrā continued undiminished. From the Haḍagāli taluq of the Bellary district comes an inscription * of Trailōkyamalladēva (Sōmēśvara I) dated (Śaka 968) early in A. D. 1047 recording a gift by the chieftain Kālidāsa, whose name figures also among the Telugu princeings † repulsed by the Cōḷa 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 Gaṇḍāraṇḍityarasa, ‘lord of Māhiṃatāpura,’ ruling the Sindavaḍi 1000, Bṛṇī<cv>evuru 12 and Nūruganda as a vassal of Sōmēśvara. This chieftain may perhaps be identified with Kaṇḍar-dinakaran of the Cōḷa inscriptions. § Even if we do not accept the rhapsodies of Bilhana over Sōmēśvara’s conquest of Kāṇeī or Vikramādiyta’s digriyāya, we must assume that the repeated incursions of the Cōḷas into Cāḷukyan 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 Cāḷukyan 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 Cōḷas was apparently to reduce the Cāḷukyas to political subjection such as that of the Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and

* 484 of 1914. † 92 of 1892 (SII, iv 539) 1. 31.
‡ 41 of 1904; 711 of 1919.
§ Contra Hultzsch, SII. iii p. 57, n. 1.
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Vēngī kingdoms in this period. In this endeavour they failed totally. It would seem moreover that Sōmēśvara succeeded in extending his influence, at least temporarily, over Vēngī. His Mulguṇḍ inscription * dated A.D. 1053 speaks of one of his sons, Sōmēśvara-deva, ruling over Belvōla 300 and Puligere 300, as bearing the title Vēngipura-varēśvara. And there is found in Drāksārāma 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 Sōmēśvara I, is said to have conquered Vēngī, a claim supported by the presence of a number of his inscriptions at Drāksārāma and other places in the Telugu country, the suggestion may be made that the Western Cālukyas began to cast longing eyes on Vēngī even from the time of Sōmēśvara I, or at least sought to divide the attention of their Cēla opponents by a hostile movement in the direction of their northern dependency. If such was the policy pursued by Sōmēśvara I, he only succeeded in exasperating the Cēlas 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 Mañimangalam record of his fourth year, A.D. 1055. This inscription records ‡ that the Cōla king sought an occasion for war, invaded the Raṭhamaṇḍalam and began ravaging the country; the proud Cālukya Āhavamalla became furious when he heard of this, and marching out with his forces he met the Cōla in pitched battle at Koppam, § a celebrated tīrtha on the Kṛṣṇā, most probably identical with Khidrāpur on the right bank of the river about thirty miles east by south from Kōlhapūr. 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 Mañimangalam record mentioned above. In the early stages of the battle, Rājādhīrāja himself led the fight, Rājendradēva apparently holding himself in reserve. At this stage, the Cālukya forces concentrated

* SII. iii 28 l. 1, which also mentions an elder brother of the king, possibly passed over by Rājendra I.
† 214 of 1911. SII. iii, 55 : n p. 304 A (of Yr. 3).
‡ SII. iii 20.
§ Fleet EJ. xii pp. 296-8. Lat. 16°36’, Long. 74°44’. For an earlier discussion of the identity of Koppam, E.C. ix Introduction p. 16 n. 3, where attention is drawn to the reading in 168 of 1911—fīrthakoppattuahavayil. Hultzsch rendered ‘sapparumdiratta’ into: “The strength (of whose position is) hard to describe” (SII. iii p. 63). We must now read the phrase as: “sapparumdirattu,” meaning “a tīrtha (whose merits are) hard to describe.” Rājendradēva’s introductions beginning Tirumagal maruniya use the phrase: “prāranganarik-koppattu-ravedirits Āhavamallan.”
¶ 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year. A study of these records by the side of the Mañimangalam inscription clearly shows that the latter has omitted the earlier stage of the battle in which Rājendra took no part and Rājādhīrāja met his fate.
on the elephant on which the Cōla king was riding and wounded him mortally, so that he “went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the country of Indra, where he was welcomed by the women of the sky.” Then the vast ocean-like army of the Kuntalas dashed themselves against the Cōla forces which, unable to withstand the onslaught, broke up and began to retreat in disorder. At this stage, Rājendradēva entered the fray shouting out to his retreating forces: “Fear not,” and pressed forward on his elephant like very Death against the Karṇāṭaka 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 Cālukya army including Jayasimha, the brother of the Cālukya, Pūlakēsin, Daśapanman and Nanni-Nuḷumban. At last, “the Śālukki was defeated,—with Vanniya-Rēvan, Tuttan, (who had) a powerful army, Kuṇḍamayan, whose army spoke (i.e., threatened) death, and other princes,—fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking round, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean.” The elephants and horses and camels, the victorious banner of the boar and other insignia of royalty, together with

* From this point the two accounts agree closely.

† This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramaḍiya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years.

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the peerless Śattiyavvai, Śāngappai and all the other queens, a crowd of women and many other things abandoned by Āhavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Cōla king. Rājendra then did a thing not known before, * and crowned himself king on the battle-field, when the wounds he had received in the fight were still fresh on his body. According to some of the inscriptions, † Rājendra pressed on to Kōlhāpūr, where he planted a jayastambhā, 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 maruvaiya form of Rājendrā's prākṛtis, the clause that occurs is: "Tan munndi pinnaduvāga munmedir śennug * * Iraitapadi-yeśarai-yilakkamum-goḍu", often contracted into ' pinnadu vāga Iraitapādī.' This is rendered by Hultzsch 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 Rājendrāja began the fight and Rājendra entered it after he died, we must, it seems, amend Hultzsch'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-śennug" "going to the front in an opposite direction", as also by the reading "munndū pinnaduvāga," "when the advancing army began to retreat" found in some records (S.II. ii p. 305, F and G) and amended by Hultzsch into "munndū āndā." 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 munndā' e.g., S.II. iii 55: on this account, it should not be assumed, as Hultzsch seems to do, that the phrase 'Tirumaruvaiya ēngōl vōndān' refers to the elder brother, (S.II. iii p. 112—English translation).

It may also be observed, in passing, that the words: "tanāṇaiyil munndāi sella munndāi tavirvittu" S.II. iii 55 (ll. 1-2), which occurs between "Iraitapadi-yeśarai-yilakkamum-goḍu" and "Kōlhāpurattu jayastamba-nāṭṭū," has been translated by Hultzsch 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 "tanāṇaiyil" seems to call for another explanation. I think that, in the context, 'āṇai' should be taken to be a mis-spelling of 'Āṇai' 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 Śomēśvara tell us nothing of the battle of Koppam, and specific references to his warfare with the Cōḷa 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 Sindavaḍi country, * a province ruled by a Mahāmanḍaleśvara Ciddāṇa Cōḷa-Mahārāja. In Śaka 987 Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya was encamped at Agasiyakere on his way to the conquest of the south under orders from the king. † Bilhana's account has, as has been pointed out already, apparently no relation to facts and seems to be pure fabrication. Shortly after the close of Śomēśvara's reign, however, we get two inscriptions, ‡ both dated about A.D. 1071, giving an account of the Cōḷa invasion and the death of Rājadhirāja. Though the date is late and the Cōḷa king is not named, it is easy to infer from the Cōḷa inscriptions that the transactions recorded here relate to the war that led to the battle of Koppam and the death of Rājadhirāja. § The vigorous language

* BG. I, ii, p. 441; 392 of 1920, ARE. 1921, II 5.
† ARE. 1919 II 30.
‡ Appicere: BG. I, ii p. 441; and Gawurwad KI. 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 Śomēśvara'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 mahāpāṭalaka (great sinner) Tamilian known as Pāṇḍya-Cōla, we are told, took to an evil course (nele gettu) and abandoning the ancestral observances of his family, entered the Belvāla 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 Śomēśvara 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.

A great warrior.

* 193 of 1925 (Yr. 6 of Rājendra II; possibly also 5 of 1899 of Rājarāja II (Yr. 6). This latter inscription, which is nearly one century later in its date, seems to mix up the achievements of Rājādhīrāja I and Rājendra II. It speaks of "Perumāḷ Vijayarājēndra-deva who was pleased to conquer Kalyāṇapuram and Kolīipuram and to fall asleep (i.e., to die) on an elephant" (SlI. iii p. 191). Hultzsch remarks: "This statement must refer to Parākṣēsvararvarman alias Rājēndradēva, who is known to have set up a pillar of victory at Kolīipuram"—a view expressed with more caution in ARE. 1899 I 53 by Venkayya. 472 of 1920 from Sajukki (NA.) of the fourth year of Rājakēseri Rājendra (Kulottunga 1) gives the same description much earlier than the record noticed by Hultzsch; the title Vijayarājēndra is not, however, given here Rājēndradēva nowhere claims to have conquered Kalyāṇapuram, did not have the title Vijayarajendha, 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
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. Rājādhirāja was first and foremost a soldier, and possibly his great military talent formed the reason for his being preferred for the succession against an elder brother of his. His performance of the aśvamēdha apparently in his father’s life-time goes a long way to confirm this view.

Briefly and without much detail, Rājādhirāja’s prāṣastiś tell us that he employed his father’s brother, his brothers, elder and younger, and his sons, in important offices of state and constituted them into subordinate rulers of particular regions. The star of Rājādhirāja’s nativity was Pūrva-Phālguni. * GangaiKonda-Śolapuram was his capital. † His queens do not figure as prominently in his records as is usual in those of other reigns; Trailōkyam Uḍaiyār was the title, rather than the name, of one of them, ‡ who, if she was the same as the nambiraṭṭiyār mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Rājendra II, § may be taken to have survived her reign of Rājendra I. (See also 472 of 1920—Vr. 4 of Kulūttunga I.) If this view is correct, I am not sure it is, the theory, that during the Kāḷaṅguḷi famine the state could not help the sufferers owing to the treasury being impoverished by the horse-sacrifice of Rājādhirāja (ARE. 1899 I 53), cannot stand. But after all the famine might have occurred in the reign of Rājendra II, about A.D. 1055; only the king might have been wrongly described in the record of Rājārāja II. The horse-sacrifice is, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja as early as the 26th year, A.D. 1044, if not earlier.

* 258 of 1910 (Vr. 35). † 420 of 1925 (Vr. 35). ‡ 446 of 1918 (Vr. 24). § 213 of 1894.
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husband. Besides the title Vijayarājendra assumed by him at Kalyāṇapuram, Rājādhira āja had other surnames like Virarājendra-varman, *Āhavamalla-kulāntaka, † and Kalyāṇapurangouḍāsūla. ‡ Mention is made of a spiritual preceptor (gurudēvar) of the king by name Adhikārika Pāruṣārayan Vāsudēvanārāyaṇan, also called Ulagaḷanda-sōla-Brahmamāraṇyan; § one wonders if Ulagaḷanda-sōla was also a title of Rājādhira āja, and whether a revenue survey was undertaken, in his reign, of a part of the country. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājādhira āja mentioned in his records may be noticed Dāṇḍanāyakan Śōla Kumaran Pāraṇtaka Māraṇyan alias Rājādhira āja Nīlā-gangaraiyar; || a certain Pīḷaiyār Śōla-vallabha-dēva whose wife was called Paṅcavan-mahādēviyār **; Dāṇḍanāyaka Appimayya, †† governor of Mahārājavādi 7000, who had Vāḷḷūru in the Cuddapah district as the seat of his government, and who may or may not be the same as Rājarāja Brahmadhira āja ․ ‥ who is mentioned in the very next year as ruler of the same province; and Pīḷaiyār Viṃuvardhana-dēva, doubtless Rājarāja I of Vēngī, whose queen Ammangādēvi was the daughter of Rājendra I and the sister of Rājādhira āja, and who is said to have presented, in A.D. 1050, three hundred Rājarāja-māduṇas, gold coins of the Vēngī kingdom, to the temple at Tiruvaiyārū in the Tanjore district. §§ There was also Sēnāpati Rājendraśōla Māvalivāṇaraiyar, 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).
¶ Tirukkalukkunjam is called Ulagalanda-ōjapuram in a record of the 26th year (172 of 1894).
|| 102 of 1912. ** 85 of 1920. †† 279 of 1895. ‥ ‥ 259 of 1922.
 §§ 221 of 1894 (S/I, v 520). Viṃuvardhana has been identified with the future Kuloṭtunga I in ARE, 1895 I, 11.

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from Rājendra I under whom his public career might have begun, and who made a large endowment for higher education, of which more will be said in another place.

Turning now to an account of the reign of Rājendradēva, whose independent rule must have commenced some time in A.D. 1054-5, his inscriptions contain, like those of his predecessor, a variety of forms of his praśasti. The shortest form is a summary narration of his successes beginning Iraṭṭapādi and found in his records from his second year onwards. Having much in common with this, but slightly more elaborate, is the form which begins tiru(magāl) maruviya also dating from his second year.† But the chief praśasti of the reign is the long account beginning tirumādu (or mādar) puni-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 Rējjarēja by mistake. Sewell: (HIS I. p. 72) adopts A.D. 1052, May 28, the date of the accession of Rājendradēva, for the battle of Koppam. But we have no evidence that Rājendra did not become heir-apparent some time before the battle.

† 81 of 1928. 173 of 1894 (Yr. 5) has ' milaviya ' for ' maruviya,' but is otherwise the same.

‡ 3 of 1892, (SII, iii 29); 396 of 1913.  § 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915.
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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 Cālukyās.

Both the Kalingattupparaṇi and the Vikrama-
śōlan-ulā make pointed reference to Rājendra's part in the battle of Koppam. The former records that the king fought fiercely in the battle and saved 'the world' by his success and celebrated his coronation on the field of battle. * The ulā, with intelligible hyperbole, says † that with the aid of a single elephant he captured a thousand of the enemy at Koppam.

Among the king's relatives installed in different posts in the empire, the Maṇimangalam inscription of the fourth year mentions no fewer than thirteen persons,—a paternal uncle (śirīya-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, Rājendra-
śōlan; why the rest are omitted it is not easy to explain. One wonders if they had all died in the interval, or were found unfit even for subordinate

* viii 27.
† II. 38-40.
‡ SII. iii p. 58. 'Kādalār' definitely means 'sons' in this record; Rājendraśōla one of the 'kādalār' is clearly called 'tan-irumagan' in 87 of 1895, (contra, Hultzsch. op. cit. p. 62 n. 9)—unless indeed, we must assume the more general meaning for 'kādalār,' take 'irumagan' to be a loose expression for son-in-law, and identify Rājendra with Kuśatunga I. But the phrase 'kādalār kādalār,' 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 Cōḷa 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 Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa-Gāgan and Cōḷa-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-śōlau, Karikāla-śōlau, Uttam-śōlau, Vijayaśālau, and even names like Śōḷa-vaYōddhirājau and Śōḷa-Kanma-kuceiyau. Only the Cōḷa-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 Sundarā alone excepted. †

Rājēndra’s son, also called Rājēndra-śōlau in the records noticed above, was perhaps chosen heir-apparent some time about A.D. 1059, and assumed the title Rājakēsari Rājamaṇḍrā. 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 ‘Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya’ inscriptions.
‡ 119 of 1902. His other records begin in three ways: Manunidi-muṟai-valaṟa; tirumangai-valaṟa; tirumagal-vilanga: none of them is of any historical value.
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claims a victory for him against Āhavamalla at Muḍakkāru, and furnishes valuable confirmation of the events relating to another 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, Irugaiyan and others were forced to retreat together with their king and the proud Vikkalan, unable to resist the vigorous attack of the Cōla forces. The inscription of Rājamahēndra says, likewise, that by a war-elephant, he caused Āhavamalla to turn his back on the Muḍakkāru. As it often happened that in the Cālukya wars several Cōla princes fought together on the same field, the inscriptions of successive rulers also often supplement each other.

It is possible, therefore, that the future Viṭarāṇendra 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 Viṭarāṇendra. A long description of this battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, with some details not found in Rājendra’s records, is given in Viṭarāṇendra’s inscriptions even of the second year † (A.D. 1063-4). It seems hardly likely that two first-class engagements took place on the same field in less than three or four years. In some of his later inscriptions ‡ occur expressions which imply that

* 87 of 1895; S.II. v. p. 271 ll. 32-39.
† 113 of 1896; 718 of 1909.
‡ S.II. iii. 84, l. 8. Hultsch thinks this a reference to the fourth encounter preceding that in which Kampili was burnt (ibid. p. 195.)

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Virarājendra had taken part in the fight at Muḍak-kāru before he became king, and that, in consequence, he came to be called Iraṭṭarāja-kula-kālan. If this view is correct, at least three Cōlas were present at the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and took part in the fight: the king Rājendradēva, the heir-apparent Rājamaḥendra, and the king’s brother Vīra-Cōla Karikāla (Virarājendra), whose achievements came to be recorded in his inscriptions in detail when, after the death of Rājamahendra, he became heir-apparent and later king.

The account of the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and its antecedents given in the early inscriptions of Virarājendra is as follows: *

"(He) drove from the battle-field in Gangapādi into the Tungabhadrā the Mahāsāmantas, whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows, along with Vikkalan who fought under (his) banner at the head of the battle. † (He) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (viz., Vikkalan) had again despatched into Vēngai-nāḍu; fought the Mādapḷa-nāyakan Cāmuṇḍarājan and cut off his head; ‡ and severed the nose from the face of his (viz., Cāmuṇḍarāja’s) only daughter, called Nāgalai, (who was) the queen of Irugaiyan and who resembled a peacock in beauty.

"The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless sāmantas, together with these (two) sons of Xhavamalla, who were called Vikkalan and Śingaṇ, at Kūḍal-Śangamam 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: "ikalmunai virudoṭu malaikkum" of 113 of 1896.
‡ Hultzsch translates: "śṛgavan-ḥrattinai-yarputta" into "cut off the head of the corpse" apparently failing to notice that "śṛgavan" is made up of "śṛgu" and "avu," cf. śṛgu van-ḥrattinai (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 Śrīgaṇe, (the king) of warlike Kōsalai; along with the furious elephants of his van-guard. While Kēssāva-dandālaṇaya, Kēttarasān, Mārayan of great strength, the strong Pēttrayan and (Irēccayān) were fighting, (he) shouted "(Follow) Māvēndi, (who wears) a garland of gold!" and cut to pieces many samantas, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Maduvanaṇ, who was in command, fled; Viṅkalas, who was in command, fled; Śīgaṇaṇ fled, (his) pride (and) courage forsaking (him); Anṇalan and all others descended from the male elephant on which they were fighting in battle, and fled; Āhavamaṇa, 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., Āhavamaṇa’s) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, † white cāmaras, the boar-banner, the ornamental arch (makāra-tōrana), the female elephant (called) Puspaka, † and a herd of war-elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amid general applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour.

Irugaiyan is said in Rājendrāya’s records to have fled with Āhavamaṇa, Viṅkamādiya and others from the battle of Muḍakkāru; his wife suffered mutilation in the Vēngī fight of Virarājendra with Cāmuṇḍārya just before the battle of Kūḍal-Śaṅgamam. And Virarājendra is said to have ‘seen the back of the hostile Śaḷukki’ at Muḍakkāru before he became king, and there seems to be no other campaign narrated in Virarājendra’s inscriptions that will explain this last reference unless it be the battle of Kūḍal-Śaṅgamam, described in such detail and said to have taken place before his second year. It is

* i.e. the van-guard (of the Cōla king)–Hultsch.
† Miṅga-śambhar.
† The text is Puspakap-pidiyum.
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difficult to resist the conclusion, already suggested, that the Muddakkuru of the records of Rajendra and Rajamahendra and the Kudal-Sangamam of the early records * of ViraRajendra refer to one and the same engagement. The same event is apparently once at least mentioned under the name of Muddakkuru in the inscriptions of ViraRajendra himself.

Where Rajendra’s records simply state that Ahavamalla desired to avenge himself for the defeat at Koppan and advanced in great force, those of ViraRajendra show us the extent of the progress made by the Calukyas by recording the necessity for chasing them through Gangapadi to the banks of the Tungabhadra and thereby indicate how little the Calukyas had suffered in the actual extent of the territory ruled by them even after Koppan. They also imply, by what they say about Cauondaraya’s movement against Vengi, that an important, but unsuccessful, attempt was made by the Calukyas to divide the attention of the Colas between two fronts. This is noteworthy as evidence of the interest of the Western Calukyas in Vengi apart from any complications arising with regard to the succession after the death of Rajaraja-narendra. † We have already had some evidence, though slight, of the eagerness of the Western Calukyas to court the friendship of their Eastern cousins. In fact the possession of Vengi made the Colas formidable to the Western Calukyas; the Colas well understood the importance of Vengi to them and took care to marry their princesses to the rulers of Vengi for generations together and otherwise to keep

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* Another engagement fixed at this same place for a later day did not come off. See post. pp. 326 ff.
† Contra S. K. Aiyangar-Ancient India p. 121.
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on friendly terms with them. For the same reason, the Western Cāḷukyas, who looked upon Vēṅgē 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 Cāḷukyas were driven across the Gangapāḍi up to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and after the failure of an expedition sent into Vēṅgē by the Cāḷukyas. On a later occasion, when the Cāḷukya failed to meet Virarājendrā at the same place as previously arranged, the Cōḷa 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. Muḍakkāḷu may not be Kūḍal-Śangamam; Irugaiyan may have fought at Muḍakkāḷu, and this need have no connection with the mutilation of his wife in the Vēṅgē campaign of Virarājendrā, which preceded the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. As Virarājendrā’s record is dated in his second year (c. A.D. 1064) and the E. Cāḷukya Rājarāja-nārāṇendra died in 1063, it is just possible that Vikramāditya’s entry into Vēṅgē (Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya’s expedition) was connected with some succession dispute after Rājarāja’s death. On this scheme, we have to assume that the battle of Muḍakkāḷu—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 Muḍakkāḷu 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 Virarājendrā’s inscriptions of the second year say nothing about his helping Vijayāditya to gain or regain the Vēṅgē 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 Virarājendrā (c. A.D. 1067). So that if we drop the somewhat uncritical assumption that Vikramāditya and Virarājendrā concerned themselves about Vēṅgē only after Rājarāja-nārāṇendra’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 Kūḍāli at the junction of the Tungā and Bhadrā in Mysore, or that of the Tungabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇā. While the name Kūḍāli points to the former as the site of Kūḍal-Śangamam, the Vēngī interlude seems to make the latter more probable; a satisfactory identification of Kāndai or Karandai, where the Cōla awaited the Cālukya 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 Rājamahēndra. Gangāpuri continued to be the Cōla 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 Kīlāṇadīgal. His daughter Madhurāntaki was the wife of the Eastern Cālukya prince Rājendra II, afterwards Kūlōttunga I. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājendradēva II, prominent mention is made in his records of the Milāḍa chieftain Narasimhavarman who is said to have ruled Milāḍu

* Fleet suggested the confluence of the Paṅca-gangā and the Kṛṣṇā in the neighbourhood of Khidrāpūr (Koppam) as the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the Cōla inscriptions; and identified Karandai with Īncal Karāhjī in the same place (EL. 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 Cōla records which do not once mention Raṭṭapāḍī as having been entered by the Cōla forces on this occasion. On the later occasion Raṭṭapāḍī is said to have been devastated; but the pillar is erected on the banks of the Tungabhadrā.

† 144 of 1898. † 164-8. 
‡ TAS. i 102 of 1926 (Yr. 9). ¶ EL. v. p. 77 v. 11; Cemtr v. 12.
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2000 after his abhisèka and coronation under this title. *
Others were Sènàpati Araiyan Kadakkan-gonda-sòlàn, †
and Sènàpati Jayamuri-nàdàlvàn who is mentioned in
an inscription from Ceylon, ‡ and who may be identical
with Araiyan Ràjàrajàn alias Víraràjèndra Jayamuri-
àdàlvàn of another inscription from Karuvùr. §

The Vikrama-sòlàn-ulà ¶ records that Ràjàmahèndra
made for Ranganàtha, the god of Srîrangam, a serpent-
couch set with many precious stones; and the Kòyil-
olugu, a late work on the antiquities and traditions
of the Srîrangam temple, though it knows nothing of
the serpent-couch, mentions many structural altera-
tions in the temple as the work of Ràjàmahèndra,
commemorated in the name Ràjàmahèndran - tiruvìdî.
An inscription ** of the twelfth year of Kulòttunga I
from the Salem district states that in Ràjàmahèndra's
reign there was a land revenue assessment in Kolli-
malai-nàðù. The name of Ràjàmahèndra's queen,
Lòkamahàdèvi, seems to be preserved in a fragmentary
inscription from Cidambaram. ††

For a study of the reign of Ràjakèsari Víra-
àjèndra I, (accession A. D. 1062-3), we
possess a considerable number of
inscriptions with praśastis in two main forms and in
various redactions, which fit into one another with
remarkable correctness. ‡‡ The longer praśasti begin-
ning Tiruvañar-tiral-puyattu gives in its earlier form a
list of the king's relations on whom he conferred

‡ 612 of 1912. § SII. iii. 21. ‡† 612 of 1930.
¶ In the section on Ràjàmahèndran kainkaryam.
** 502 of 1930. ‡‡ An admirable discussion of Víraràjèndra's records by Hultsch is found
at SII. iii pp. 192-6.
various official positions, * but omits this list in its later editions. † The prābasti grows in length as the reign advances, and new events are incorporated in it. The shorter introduction beginning Viramē-tuyaiy-āgarum 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 Vikramaśōlau-ulā record no events of the reign of Virarājendra other than the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. The Takka-yāgapparaṇi, ‡ on the other hand, mentions his friendship with Vikramāditya VI.

Early in his reign, the king appointed Madhurantaka, described as his son tan-tirup-pudalvan, to rule over Tondaimandalam with the title Cōḷendra; another Gangaikonḍa-śōla, also called son, tiṇḍiral maindan, was made the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy over the Pāṇḍya country. It is difficult to decide, in the light of subsequent events, whether the terms pudalvan and maindan are to be understood literally or only as terms of endearment applied to more distant relatives. Nor, on the former assumption, can it be decided if either of them was the son who was the brother-in-law of the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and who had a short rule, on Virarājendra’s death, as Parakēsari Adhirājendra. The king’s elder brother Ālavandān and a certain Muḍikonḍa-śōlan also received titles and recognition; but though they too seem to have been placed in administrative charge of

* SII. iii 20 ; 113 of 1896 (SII. v. 976).
† SII. iii, 30.
‡ V. 774. Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar’s identification of this king with 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 Virarājendra against the Western Cālukyas, which resulted in the battle of Kūḍal-Sangamam so graphically described in the inscription of his second year from Tiruvenkādu, * were fought by him, as already observed, perhaps before he came to the throne or was even recognised as the successor to his elder brother Rājendra-deva. The bitterness that characterised the Cālukya wars of this period becomes clear from the eagerness of Virarājendra to count up every little victory gained by him or his lieutenants as a personal affront to Śōmeśvara I Āhavamalla. "In perfect accordance with the longer redaction of the introduction, in which the battle of Kūḍal-Sangamam is stated to have been the third encounter with the Cālukyas, the Tirunāmanallūr inscription of the fourth year attributes to Virarājendra I the biruda 'who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times'." † The Kanyakumāri inscription also gives a general description of the battle of Kūḍal-Sangamam, not very different in character. ‡ In the Karuvūr inscription of the fourth year, § we hear for the first time that Virarājendra killed the king of Pottappi, the Kēraḷa, the younger brother of king Dhārāvaraṣa, and Virakēsari, the son of the Pāṇḍya Śri Vallaṭhabha. The Manimangalam inscription ¶ of the next year adds to this list an expedition against Udagai and the Kēralas, from which Virarājendra returned after collecting a large tribute in the form of elephants. Whether these achievements, altogether obscure in their nature and origin, were part of the

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* 113 of 1896.
† Hultsch, SII. iii. p. 193.
‡ v. 76.
§ SII. iii 20.
¶ SII. iii 30.
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continuous war with the Cāḷukyas that forms the central feature of this reign, or were minor punitive expeditions which had nothing to do with this war, there is no doubt that the ‘hot battle’ which is next mentioned as having taken place by previous engagement on the banks of a river, of unknown name, did form part of the Cōla-Cāḷukya hostilities. For in this battle seven Cāḷukya generals who are named and the kings of the Gangas, the Nuḷumbas, the Kāḍavas and the Vaidumbas are said to have suffered decapitation; and before the Cōla king could get their heads nailed to the gates of his capital, Gangaikonda-śōḷapuram, the Cāḷukya 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 Kuḍal whence his sons and himself had fled before in utter rout, and declared that whoever did not come, through fear, to the appointed field, should thenceforth be no kings but outcastes who had incurred disgrace in war. This message from the Cāḷukya, when it was delivered to Virarājendra, greatly pleased him. Accordingly he set out for the fight, and awaited at Kāndai the arrival of the Cāḷukya king for one full month beyond the date fixed by him. The Cāḷukya ran away and hid himself in the Western ocean; and the Cōla king subdued all resistance in Iraṭṭapāḍi by putting...

* It must be noted that all the events up to this point are mentioned in a fourth year record found in Māḷur, of which only the praśasti is preserved (194 of 1911: E.C. ix Cp. 85.)

† The term “piratā” seems to be the Sanskrit word “bhratā” rather than the Tamil “pirattam” a fraud or liar contra Hultsch SII. iii p. 69.
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to flight Dévanātha, 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 Cōla monarch seems to have made an effigy of Sōmēśvara and subjected it to various indignities,* before turning his attention to Vēngī where, apparently

* This, I think, is the real meaning, as suggested by A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar (Life and Times of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Tamil Edn. pp. 22-3 and n. 3). Hultzsch 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 Sōmēśvara I was no more and to the first fight of Virarājendra with Sōmēśvara II. On the present occasion, Virarājendra is still fighting the entire family of Sōmēśvara I and on every front. The division between Vikramāditya VI and his brother which gave Virarājendra the chance of an alliance with the former did not, it seems, arise until after the death of Sōmēśvara I, of which Virarājendra had no knowledge on this occasion. The Maṇimangalam inscription of the fifth year, therefore, cannot be said to anticipate, as Hultzsch says it does (S/I. iii pp. 194-195), the events recorded in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh years of Virarājendra. For one thing, the word piraffan 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 Takkayagapparai v. 774, where piraffan, an unfriendly Cālukya, is contrasted with iraffan, 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 Virarājendra. S/I. iii. 83. (Yr. 6), says that Virarājendra burnt Kampili and occupied Karañjīgal before Sōmēśvara (II) could unlace his necklace (ll. 7-8), and this is the first occasion of an encounter with the Cālukyas after the conquest of Vēngī on behalf of Vijayāditya VII; 84 (Yr. 7) records (ll. 5-6) that on the same occasion, Sōmēśvara (II) was forced to abandon the Kannarādrā and that the submissive Vikramāditya was invested with the necklace by the Cōla king. The Vikramāditya Carita also places the alliance between its hero and the Cōla king some time after Sōmēśvara 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 Vēngī and Cakrakṛta, which, again, seems very probable, as Virarājendra himself had to go off to Vēngī after Sōmēśvara I failed to keep his engagement with him at Kējāl-Sagamam. Lastly, it does not seem necessary to assume that the kanṭhilā (necklace) was necessarily a symbol of heir-apparentship and not of kingship in general, and hold, as Hultzsch does (S/I. iii p. 194), that in the sixth year of Virarājendra, Sōmēśvara was alive and Sōmēśvara II was still only crown-prince (I. A. xx p. 267 under 17.-Vijayāditya V and the references given there). Even if the kanṭhilā was a symbol of subordinate position, Sōmēśvara II's untying it may mean that his father was no more and that he had become ruler in his own right,— probably the best view of the situation.
owing to the exertions of the Western Cālukyas, things had gone against Vijayāditya, the ally of Virarājendra.

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 Virarājendra, 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 Virarājendra in Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa which resulted in the restoration of the Vēngī kingdom to Vijayāditya VII. On the other hand, Bilhāna 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

* EE. vii p. 9.
† Vikramāditya Carita iv 44-68; EC. vii Sk. 136.
‡ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India p. 123; A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar op. cit. p. 23.
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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 Sōmesvara's absence was due to illness, his ailment was of a rather longer duration than Bilhana's account implies.

The conflicting nature of our sources and the fecundity of modern research, carried out sometimes under the subtle influence of the nascent patriotism of the Andhra country, have greatly obscured the course of events in the Vēngi 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 Vēngi will become necessary when we reach the problems connected with the accession of Kulōttunga I to the Čōla throne. Here we may note simply the facts as they are gathered from the inscriptions and the Vikramānkadēvā Carita which seem to speak for themselves. The Manimangalam inscription records that from Kūḍal-Sangamam Virarājendra proceeded to Vēngi, after issuing a challenge to the Čālukya, saying: "We do not intend to return (home) till after we reconquer the good Vēngi country, once ours; listen! if you are a Vallava, * come and defend." This challenge to the Čālukya is a clear indication that the Vēngi country had just at that time passed into the hands of the W. Čālukyas from Virarājendra or from his ally, Vijayāditya VII. The rhapsody of Bilhana on Vikramāditya's digvijaya during the life-time of his father seems to furnish the clue to the real situation by including Vēngi and Cakrakūṭa † in an otherwise

* Means both 'a strong man' and 'Čālukya.' † iv. 29, 30.
impossible list of conquests attributed to him. Apparently Vikramāditya did succeed in transferring Vengi and Cakrakūta from their rulers to himself and adding them to his father’s dominions. Attention has been drawn already to the evidence from some Western Cañukya records of this period showing their eagerness to gain control of Vengi. But if the Manaṅmangalam record speaks truly, the success of Vikramāditya in the east was shortlived; for it states that in a decisive battle on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, in the neighbourhood of Bezwāda, Virarājendra inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Cañukya forces commanded by Jananītha, Rājamanya and others compelling them to flee into the jungle for refuge. After this, the Cōla crossed the Godāvari, 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 Kuḍal-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 Dārkkātīmā recording vows taken by chieftains promising exclusive allegiance to Śri Parāntaka, Konerinmai-koṇḍar Sarvalokāśraya Śri Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja. Perhaps Virarājendra is meant by these titles and the records are of this period (SII iv. 1269–1275).

† 182 of 1915 distinctly says that the Caukkya forces were met at Śakkarakkōṭam and defeated by Virarājendra - paṇaik-kaṇḍelvi vada-tilāiCakkarakkōṭante prak-kaṇḍanejunda raṇukṣiyat - tāṇaiyak-anal-panā mājī : cf. also the early inscriptions of Kulottunga.

‡ Hultzsch has clearly misunderstood the phrase-“igalidippīṣṭa jayattiru-voṭum” which he translates into: “with the goddess of victory, who had shown hostility in the interval,” and in which he sees “an admission of the fact that the Caukṣa had experienced reverses.” SII. iii. p. 70 and n. 4. The ‘idat’ after ‘igal’ is clearly a locative suffix to the preceding word meaning ‘battle,’ not ‘hostility’, in the context.
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to in the shorter *prābastis* of the fifth year of Vīra-
rājendrā I. * These imply that, by the reconquest of Vēngī, Vīrarājendrā fulfilled some vow made by his elder brother; † though we cannot be sure of it, this perhaps means that the Cōla control over Vēngī had been lost some time during the reign of Rājendradeva II and that he had died without being able to recover it; if this view is correct, the Western Cālukya occupation of Vēngī 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 Vēngī 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 Vīrarājendrā regained them for the empire.

Vīrarājendrā 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 Vīrarājendrā 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

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* Hultsch *SH.* iii. p. 193.
† Hultsch identifies this elder brother of the king with Ṣavandāna, 
*SH.* iii. p. 194.
‡ v. 77.
§ *CV.* Ch. 58 vv. 1-77. Codrington ( *Short History* p. 56) says: "A first attempt to secure Polonnaruwa was made in or about A.D. 1066 but ended in failure, and Vijayabāhu was compelled to fortify himself at Vītagiri (Wickirigala in Kīgalla district)." I think that the fortification at Vītagiri belongs to the later campaigns 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 Viśarājendrā 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 Viśarājendrā'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 Viśarājendrā's reign we have to depend exclusively on the shorter prāṣasti in its later editions. Records of the seventh year † mention that Viśarājendrā 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 Viśarājendrā. Consequently we have no means of

† 175 of 1894; 266 of 1901, Sll. ill. 84.
elucidating this brief reference to a second expedition against Kaḍāram in this reign.

(On the death of Sōmēśvara I, Sōmēśvara II came to the Cālukyan throne in A. D. 1068 (11th April), and Vīrarājendra took the occasion to renew the ancient feud.)

The inscriptions of Sōmēśvara II state this fact clearly and imply that the Cōla began by attacking the fortress of Gutti and ended by retreating in haste before Sōmēśvara. ♦ The Cōla inscriptions and Bilhana tell another story. The former state that before Sōmēśvara could untie his kaṇṭhikā, that is, on the occasion of his coronation as king, † Vīrarājendra burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karadigal, a village in the Lingsagar Taluk of the Raicūr district, ‡ and that he forced Sōmēśvara to abandon the Kannara country, and invested the Śalukki Vikramāditya with the kaṇṭhikā and Raṭṭapādi 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 Takkayāgapparāṇi which says that the Cōla king, here called Rājagambhirā, 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 Vikramānkaṭṭeṇa Carita tells the same story, embellished from the standpoint of the hero of the poem. Soon after his father’s death and brother’s accession, Vikramāditya VI quarrelled with his brother who had fallen into evil courses, and left Kalyāṇa with his younger brother Jayasimha and destroyed the troops sent by his elder brother

* E. C. vii Sk. 136.  † S.II. iii. 83.
‡ E. I. xii. pp. 295, 309.  § S.II. iii. 84.  ¶ v. 774.

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Sōmēśvara 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 Banavāsī. Jayakēśi and the Ālūpa 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 Kāṇcī. §

All these lines of evidence point to the conclusion that soon after the death of Āhavamalla, trouble arose between Sōmēśvara II and Vikrama, on some matters of importance, if not about the succession itself, that Vikrama’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 Viṇarājendra’s aid for his ally, and that as a consequence of the powerful intercession of the Cōla monarch, Sōmēśvara II was compelled to part with portions of his hereditary dominions to Vikrama almost immediately after his accession to the throne. Though we have no other evidence for it than that of Bilhana, the marriage of Vikrama with a Cōla princess may be accepted as a fact.

* Vikramaṇkhaḍēva Carita iv 69 — v. 10.
† v. 25-6.
‡ v. 28 — vi. 3.
§ JBFRAS. ix. p. 278, 242 ; BG. i, ii p. 567.
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Vikramāditya’s inscriptions with the title Trailokya-malla and bearing dates earlier than A.D. 1076, which marked the commencement of the Cālukya-Vikrama era, are found in the southern parts of the Cālukyan empire; * and this goes far to confirm the hypothesis of a division of territory between the Cālukya brothers. It was not many years before the younger brother completely displaced the elder, as we shall see.

In summing up the earlier achievements of Viśvarājendra, his later inscriptions which record the transactions just noticed, mention at the outset the beheading of the Pāṇḍya, the collection of tribute from the Kōraḷa and the subjugation of Ceylon, †—events which recall the inscriptions of Rājādhīrāja and Rājendra. It is quite possible that as in the fight at Muḍākkāru, (which we have identified with the first battle of Kūṭal-Sangamam and which is mentioned at the end of this prāṣasti and the beginning of the grant portion), Viśvarājendra 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 Sōmeśvara in which Viśvarājendra took part are briefly summed up in this form of the prāṣasti 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 Kanyakumāri records of the seventh, § Viśvarājendra is seen occasionally to have appropriated

* e.g. 127 of 1913; 455 of 1920; E.C. xi Cd. 82, S/I. iii p. 65.
† S/I. iii, 84 ii, 1-2.
‡ S/I. iii, p. 194.
§ 371 of 1902, S/I. iii, 81; 273 of 1904.
the full regal titles of the Western Cañikyas such as Sakala-bhuvanāśraya, Medini-vallabha and Mahā-
rajādhirāja, besides specially Ṛṣa titles which, like Āhavamallakulakāla, recall the victories won against
the Cañikyas. He also styled himself Pāṇḍyakulāntaka,
Rājāśraya, and Rājarājendra, titles which, together with
Vallabhavallabha, Vīra Ṛṣa, and Karikāla, are found
in the Kanyakumāri inscription as well. * The same
inscription tells us that Vīrarājendra presented a fine
ruby called Trailokyasāra for being mounted on the
crown of the Dancer of the Golden Hall, Naṭarāja of
Cidambaram † and that he endowed many brahmādyas
in the countries of Ṛṣa, Tuṅḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gangavāti,
and gratified forty thousand Brahmanas, learned in the
Vedas, by gifts of land. ‡ We have already noticed
that Gangāpurī was the capital of the Ṛṣa empire in
this reign as well, and that at the end of his wars he
returned to it in state. A palace in Gangai kölna-sōla-
puram called Śṭalakērala-māligai and a throne in it
called Rājendrasōla Mūvali-vāṇarājan are mentioned in
a record of the fifth year. § The latest regnal year of
Vīrarājendra that is found in inscriptions is the eighth,
which is mentioned in a record ¶ of the third year of
Parakesari Adhirājendra, the son and successor
of Vīrarājendra, and the brother-in-law of Cañukya
Vikramāditya VI. Vīrarājendra’s death must have
occurred, therefore, early in A.D. 1070. Śrāvaṇa Āśleṣā
was the asterism of his birth. || One of his queens,
Arumolīnangai, survived till the fifteenth year of Kulōt-
tunga I; her name is mentioned in an incomplete
inscription of that year from Tanjore. ** The presence
of Buddhism in the Ṛṣa kingdom in the reign of

* vv. 75; 77-8. † v. 79 (fragment). ‡ vv. 80-81.
§ 182 of 1915. ¶ SII. iii. 57 ll. 11-12.
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Virarājendra, and the influence of Buddhist scholarship on Tamil literature, are attested by the Virasoliyam, a curious work on Tamil grammar conceived on ultra-Sanskritic lines by Buddhamitra, who calls himself chieftain of Ponperri. This place is identified by Venkayya with Ponpetti in the Paṭṭukkōṭṭai tāluq of the Tanjore district.*

* ARE. 1899, paragraph 50; SII. iii. p. 197; Virasoliyam-Payiram.
CHAPTER XII.

THE ACCESSION OF KULÖTTUNGA I

A. D. 1070

Virarājendra died early in A. D. 1070, the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded on the throne by Parakēsari Adhirājendra who had a very short reign of some weeks' duration and was followed by Rājakēsari Kulōttunga Cōla I on the 9th June A. D. 1070. * As we find inscriptions of Adhirājendra dated in his third year, and as the exact date of Kulōttunga's accession is quite clearly attested by his dated stone inscriptions from the Telugu country, it is evident that Adhirājendra must have been chosen heir-apparent by Virarājendra some time in 1067-8. Adhirājendra's relation to Virarājendra may be inferred from the explicit statement in the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita that on the death of his father-in-law, Vikramāditya started for Kānci and Gangākundapura in order to place his wife's brother on the Cōla throne. † Why his reign was so short and how the Eastern Cālikya prince Rajendra 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 n. 5.
† vi. vv. 6-25.
ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I

As a result of several inter-marriages, for some time the members of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty had become plainly Cōlas at heart, far more than Cālukyas. * The following genealogical table illustrates the interrelation between the two dynasties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rājarāja I (Cōla)</th>
<th>Rājendra I</th>
<th>Kundavā m. Vimalāditya m.</th>
<th>Muḷava Mahādevī (also of Cōla descent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rājendra II Ammangadēvi m. Rājarāja Narendra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhurāntaki m.</td>
<td>Rājendra II (Cālukya) Vājīyāditya VII.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kulottunga I).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Šaktivarman II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Eastern Cālukya copper-plates of the period fall into two sets, one of them mentioning the transactions of Vājīyāditya VII and his son Šaktivarman II, omitted by others,—a feature not unknown in other passages of E. Cālukya history, as for instance the grants of Bādapa and Tāla II which seem to form a class apart, mentioning facts about the interregnum before the accession of Šaktivarman I, omitted elsewhere.† The facts as set forth in the first set of plates are the following.

After twelve years had elapsed from the accession of Rājarāja-narendra, his step-brother Vājīyāditya 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 Vājīyāditya. ‡ Then the Telugu Academy plates of Šaktivarman II, which do not mention any regnal year, state that Šaktivarman was crowned as king in the year Śaka 983, on a

* IA. xx p. 277.
† Pamulavāka plates of Vājīyāditya VII. ii. 62-3; JAHRS. ii. 287.
‡ (ibid) l. 81.
THE COLAS

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-narendra came to the E. Cālukya throne in 1018 after Vimalāditya had occupied it for seven years from A.D. 1011, thus completely vindicating the date of Vimalāditya’s accession calculated by Kielhorn, 10th May 1011. ‡ But the facts that the Ranastapūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya is dated in his eighth regnal year, and that Rājarāja-narendra’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 Rājarājaśya bṛhātur-dvaimāṭurasya yah | paryagrāhīn-mahārājya-śriyaṁ vīra-śriyaṁ yutah ||

My thanks are due to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Madras Museum for assisting me in consulting the unpublished Ryāli plates in his custody. See also ARE. 1925. ll 5; JAHRS. v. p. 44, v. 16.
‡ El. 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-narēndra, they seem to reckon the years from a different starting point, A.D. 1018, which is four years earlier than the date usually given, in the later grants, for Rājarāja's coronation, A.D. 1022. The language of the Ryāli plates and the date of Śaktivarman II's coronation * even raise a doubt if Vijayāditya waited till the natural end of Rājarāja's life or deposed him earlier. In any event, seeing that Virarājendra'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 Sarvalokāsvraya and Vēṇī-manḍalēsvara. 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 Sōmēśvara 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 986 in ARE. 1914 II 10 and 983 in App. A. (ibid.). The text is: guna-vam-nidhi. The astronomical details fit 983 better.
† ARE. 1901, paragraph 12; SII. iii p. 128.
‡ IA. xx 277-8.
§ BG. I, ii 454 and n. 5.
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Vijayaditya 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), Vijayaditya left the Vēngī country and sought service under and support from Sōmeśvara I. * But there are several considerations militating against this view, and the arguments urged in its favour are by no means conclusive. It is true that a marriage relation between the two branches of Cālukyas such as was postulated by Fleet is impossible, and Vijayaditya-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 tatpādamadmarādhaka in the inscriptions, describing the relation of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayaditya to Sōmeśvara I, raise a doubt as to whether he was the son of Sōmeśvara though he is elsewhere called maga and nandana. ‡ But whether he was a son of Sōmeśvara or not, it seems unlikely that this Western Cālukya feudatory was identical with the step-brother of Rājarāja-nārāṇa. The dates of the known inscriptions of the feudatory are: A.D. 1064 and 1066, and his inscriptions bearing these years are found in the Mysore and Bellāry districts, and he acknowledges the overlordship of Sōmeśvara in these years. But what we gather from the Eastern Cālukya plates is: (1) that, if Vijayaditya 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 Maņimangalam inscription (A.D. 1046) of Rājāhirāja has been thought, quite wrongly, to contain a reference to Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayaditya. JAHRS. i 219 n. 33. We have only the name Vijayaditya in l. 3 among the leaders of the army, and this proves nothing.
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 Somesvara I about the same time. Lastly, the title Vengipuravarēśvara is borne as early as A.D. 1053 by Somesvara-dēva, the son of Somesvara I, which is proof that this title is for some unknown reason borne in this period by the governors of W. Cāḷukya provinces. It seems impossible therefore to uphold the identification of the two Vijayadityas of the Western and Eastern Cāḷukya records of the period.

To return to the evidence from the Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates. Three grants of the sons of Kulottunga, known as the Teki, Cellūr 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 Rājarājamummaḍicōḍa, while sending him to Vengi as viceroy of the northern province of the Cōla empire. From these plates we learn that, at the death of Rājarāja after a rule of forty-one years, Rājendra was first crowned as lord of Vengi and attained great celebrity. He was then crowned in the Cōla-rājya, not less exalted in status than the position of Devendra. He married Madhurantakī, the very Lakṣmī risen from the ocean, namely Rājendra-dēva, the tilaka of the Solar race. He had many children by her, and to one of them, Rājarāja, he said: “Child, the great kingdom of Vengī was, in

* Mulgunḍ inscription El. xvi. p. 53.
† El. vi. 35. SII. i. 39, IA. xix. p. 427; El. v. 10.
days gone by, entrusted by me to my paternal uncle, king Vijayāditya, as I was desirous of undertaking a conquering tour (or according to the Cellūr plates, 'as I was desirous of securing the Cōla kingdom'). He too, who was like a god and resembled a lion in his strength, went to heaven after ruling the kingdom for fifteen years." And the Tēki plates make it clear that Vijayāditya's death occurred some time in A.D. 1077; * this would mean that Kulōttunga appointed him as his deputy in A.D. 1062 or thereabout.

In order to reconcile these statements of Kulōttunga on his relations with Vijayāditya VII with what we know of them from other sources, we must recall the time and circumstance of the utterance attributed to Kulōttunga. By 1077 Kulōttunga was firmly seated on the Cōla throne; and securely established at the head of a prosperous and extensive empire, he was addressing his own son, after the death of his uncle and on the eve of sending him out as viceroy to the northern kingdom. Paternal solicitude as well as good taste and policy required that, rather than 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

* Rājaraja Cōḍa-ganga was crowned in Vēngi in Śaka 1006 (v. 34); before him Vira Cōḍa was viceroy for six years and Mummaḍi-Cōḍa for one year (vv. 19 and 17), so that the beginning of Mummaḍi's viceroyalty fell in Śaka 999 or A.D. 1077.
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 Vizagapatnam plates of Anantavarman Cōdaganga* state that his father Rājarāja having, in the first instance, become the lord of the goddess of victory in a 'Tamil battle', then married Rājjasundari, the daughter of the Cōla king. The same lady is described elsewhere in unmistakable terms as the daughter of Rājendra Cōla and the chief queen of Rājarāja. †

The Ganga king is also said to have offered help to Vijayāditya at the end of his life. The grant that mentions the ‘Tamil battle’ also states that ‘when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left the country of Vēngi, as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōlas,’ Rājarāja of Kalinganagara ‘caused him to enjoy prosperity for a time in the Western region,’ that is, Vēngi to the west of Kalinganagara. ‡ The approximate date for these occurrences is furnished by the Dirghasī 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. xviii. pp. 163-4.
‡ IA. xx. p. 276.
§ 271 of 1896; EL. iv. 45. E. Ganga Rājarāja came to power on May 20, A.D. 1070 (ARE. 1919, App. A, No. 4.) 248 of 1896, dated Śaka 990, records a gift by a queen of his predecessor Vajrabhasta. It is surprising that, in utter disregard of all chronology, these inscriptions should have been dragged into a discussion of Virarājendra’s movements in JAIFRS. i. p. 215.
between Vijayāditya VII and his nephew Kulottunga on a subsequent occasion, and the demise of Vijayāditya some time after the successful intercession of Rājarāja are thus clearly attested by the Ganga records of the time.

If Rājendra-Kulottunga was first crowned as lord of Vengi, as the later E. Cālukya plates assert (in contradiction to those of Vijayāditya), it is remarkable that these plates fail to give us the exact date of this coronation as they do of most other coronations. The Telugu inscriptions of Kulottunga containing both regnal years and Śaka dates support the date A.D. 1070 for the commencement of his rule, and this was the date of his accession to the Cōla throne. * The crux of the Kulottunga problem is, in fact, the question: what did he do with himself in the interval between his father's death and A.D. 1070? Fleet added up the two statements in the Teki and Cellur grants that Kulottunga appointed his uncle as deputy in Vengi because he wanted to have (i) a conquering tour and (ii) the Cōlarājya, and stated that 'Kulottunga acquired the Cōla crown by hostile invasion and conquest,' and placed this event in A.D. 1063, in spite of the indication of a much later date for it furnished by the Vikramānkaṭēva Carita. † He also pointed out that Kulottunga's conquest and annexation of the Cōla empire were not entirely the result of a failure of the Cōla succession, and that it must have been powerfully aided by a rebellion in the Cōla country and a state of anarchy of which we get some idea from the Kalingattupparāṇi. Later writers, while they have recognised the mistake in Fleet's date for

* SII. iii. p. 127.  † IA. xx. 277, 282.
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these occurrences, have not been so ready to give up his suggestions of hostile invasion, and in fact have added to it the charge of political murder against 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 Vikramāṇkadeva 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 Vengi 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 Vengi 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. 179 n. 1 and 2. Also 125 of 1900 with the pāli mēl arivai introduction recording the same transactions in other words.
his sword, he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured many herds of elephants, levied tribute from the Nāgavamsi king, Dhāravarsa of Cakrakūta, and gently raised the country in the eastern region, like Viśṇu 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-magnī (earth-maiden) in the direction of the rising sun' is clearly by itself and in the context a periphrasis for Pūrvadēsam, * and the elaborately ceremonial character of the language of these records seems to imply that Rājendra at least succeeded in making himself acceptable as a great benefactor of that country, if not also as its ruler. His records soon came to describe these achievements as belonging to the period of his iḷangōp-paruvam, when he was still heir-apparent. † If this view is correct, we must conclude that Rājendra spent the best part of the period A.D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar state, and possibly even carved out for himself a small dominion beyond it in the Pūrvadēsa, even if he did not gain complete control over the Cakrakūta state and annex parts of the Pūrvadēsa to it, as his inscriptions imply. Possibly this northern extension of the influence of Vēngī, so closely allied to the Cōlas, was the cause of Vikramaḍītya's expedition against Vēngī and Cakrakūta, counteracted by the campaign of Vīraraṅgendrā culminating in the battle of Bezwāda. It will be remembered that in the course of this campaign, Vīraraṅgendrā is said also to have marched up to Śakkarakkōṭṭam. After the death of Vīraraṅgendrā, Kulaṭṭunga marched into the Cōla country in good time to get himself accepted as

* Hultzsch's equation of this phrase with Vēngī (*S.II. iii p. 132) is hardly satisfactory, while Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is wide of the mark in suggesting that there is a reference to Kaḍāram here (*Ancient India*, pp. 130-1).

† *S.II. iii. 68.*
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 Vēngi 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 Vikramānkadēva Carita and the Vikramaśālan-ūlā † are explicit in stating that Virarājendra was succeeded by another king before Kulottunga came to the throne; the ūlā 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 Rājendradeva was yuvārāja to his father Rājaśīra-nārāṇḍra when he fought the campaign against Dharāvarṣa or that he was yuvārāja to Virarājendra. The latter seems impossible, in view of Adhuraśīra'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 Saktīvarman II was killed like Abhimanyu (an inference not supported by the language of the Rayuli 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 Rājendradeva on the death of Rājamahendradeva. He is also clearly wrong in mixing up Yaśāk-karpadeva's inroad into Trikalinga with these transactions, for he did not come to power till A.D. 1073 (EL. xii p. 207). Hultzsch's view that before A.D. 1072 Rājendra-Kulottunga took Vēngi from his uncle Vijayāditya VII who appears to have received it from the Cōla king Virarājendra (S.II. iii. p. 132) goes against the express statement in the Tēki and other grants that Vijayāditya ruled Vēngi continuously for fifteen years, and is now contradicted by the Rayuli plates of the twelfth year of Vijayāditya c. A.D. 1074; but the E. Ganga records (p. 345 ante) must be taken into account here. See also ARE. 1914, II 10 where S.II. iii. p. 128 is followed.

† II.44-5—Angewanpin hāvalpurindavani hāttānum.
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 Parakṣāri Adhirājendrā of the inscriptions. And Kulōttunga himself recognised the legitimacy of Adhirājendrā's position when he styled himself Rājakōsāri. In some of his records, however, is found a double praśasti which, by combining the two forms viramē ṛuṇai-yāgavum and purāmādu vilānga, seems to set up a claim that Kulōttunga should be considered the direct successor of Vīrājendrā. † And the Kalingattupparani of Jayangonḍār, makes it a point to ignore the reign of Adhirājendrā. ‡ This poem is often cited in support of the notions that at his birth Kulōttunga was adopted by Rājendrā Cōḷadēva I into the Cōla family and that he was brought up in his maternal grandfather's court. § But there is nothing in the actual words employed by the poet to suggest either a formal ceremony of adoption or to enable us to know where the prince spent his early years. In fact the date of this prince's birth must be placed at the end of Rājendrā I's reign, some time after A. D. 1040. By that time Rājādhirājā I had long been associated with his father as ṣuvarāja, and there were several brothers of his perhaps occupying responsible posts in the administration of the empire. There was no need for any adoption; and considering his marriage

* vi, 26
† 156 of 1923 (Yr. 2); 197 1919 (Yr. 5), the former having only viramē ṛuṇai; 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 Kūṭal-Sangamam the earth, to her great good fortune, passed into the hands of Abhaya, the hero of the poem. The 'mānar-mānar' or 'mānar-vīrān' of x. 25 cannot be Adhirājendrā as Hultzsch thinks (SII. iii p. 129), but Vīrājendrā.
with Madhurāntaki, it is impossible to postulate it. In fact all that Jayangondar says is that on the birth of the child, the queen of Gangaikonda-śoña 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 Rājarājanarāṇendra and Rājendra Gangaikonda, experienced joy on the occasion of the birth of the prince. * After a conventional account of the early years of the prince, the poet states that Abhaya (Virarājendra) made him crown prince, and then proceeds to describe his digvijaya of which particulars are furnished only with reference to the northern direction. He is said to have made his mark in Vayirākaram and Śakkarakkottam. He was still in the north engaged in these campaigns when the Cōla king died in the south, and there ensued anarchy and confusion until Abhaya Kulottunga returned and restored order. This account of Jayangondar is remarkable in some ways. It studiously refrains from mentioning Adhirājendra and asserts that Virarājendra made Abhaya crown prince for the rule of the Earth, meaning no doubt, the Cōla kingdom; and it recounts details of campaigns in Wairagarh and Cakrakūṭa exactly like the early inscriptions of Kulottunga to which attention has been drawn above. Though the poet aims, as Fleet has remarked, at treating Abhaya on the whole as a Cōla prince rather than as Cālukya, he has still not altogether suppressed the Cālukya connections, and in his account of the

* x, vv. 5-7.

† 'Abhaya' in this verse x. 18 does refer to Virarājendra cf. viii 29; and from this account of Virarājendra's recognition of Kulottunga, the conclusion has been drawn that Adhirājendra was a bastard with no title to the throne.
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 praśasti of Virarājendra with that of Kulōttunga, and thus cast a doubt on the legitimacy of Adhirājendra's rule, the poem and the inscriptions are in perfect agreement.

The Vikramāṇkadeva Carita of Bilhaṇa gives the story from yet another point of view, which is as hostile to Kulōttunga as the Kalinguttupparāṇi is favourable to him. *

Soon after Vikramādiṭya'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, Vikramādiṭya spent some days in bringing the wicked (duṣṭavarga) to their knees, and then marched to Gangākuṇḍa 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, Vikramādiṭya, 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 Vēṇgi, had captured the throne vacated by the Cōla prince. Vikramādiṭya VI marched at once against Rājiga. The latter induced Sōmeśvara II to combine with him; and a battle was fought. But the victory rested with
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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 Virarājendra’s death and rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya to come over to Kānci and Gangākūnda to secure the succession for his brother-in-law? Who were the wicked people of Kānci and the hostile forces of Gangākūnda whom Vikramāditya had to suppress before Adhirājendra could feel secure on the throne and Vikramāditya himself retire to the Tungabhadrā? And what was the nature of the rebellion in which Adhirājendra lost his life within a few days after Vikramāditya’s retirement? There is no direct statement in the Vikramānkaḍēva Carita of Kulottunga’s complicity in these conspiracies and rebellions; but the facts that they paved the way for Kulottunga’s accession to the Cōla throne, that Vikramāditya VI marched against him and made an attempt to oust him after he occupied it, and the silence of the Kalingattupparāṇi on Adhirājendra’s reign seem to furnish some ground for the inference that Kulottunga’s ambition and intrigue brought about these occurrences. But a strict regard to the actual statements of Bilhana may not support any conclusion more precise than that of Fleet, † that Kulottunga Cōḷadēva I was enabled to seize the Cōla crown through internal disturbances in the Cōla kingdom, which culminated in the death of the last Cōla king.'

† JA. xx. p. 282.
An attempt has been made* to connect these internal disturbances in the Cōla kingdom that led to the extinction of the direct line of the Cōlas with the story of the persecution suffered by Rāmānuja and his disciples as it is narrated in Vaiṣṇava hagiology. Without minimising the difficulty of reconciling all the data proceeding from a mass of contradictory legends, but confining our attention to the professedly earliest biographies of Rāmānuja like the final chapters of the Divyasūricarita † and the Yatirāja-vaibhavam, ‡ it is just possible to identify the Cōla who died as Krimikanṭha in consequence of the persecution to which he subjected Rāmānuja and his followers with either Adhirājendra, or possibly with Vīrarājendra with whom the direct Cōla line practically comes to a close. The categorical statement in the Divyasūricarita that God Śiva of Tiruvārur proclaimed the end of the rule of the kings of the Cōla family, § and the chaos at the end of Vīrarājendra's rule which is attested by, but not accounted for, by the Kalingattupparaqi and the Vikramāndadeva Carita, and which might have been the concomitant of a religious upheaval, lend plausibility to the suggestion thus made. But it must be recognised that the details of the chronology of the life of Rāmānuja furnished by other works are not easy to explain on this assumption, and that it is perhaps impossible to reconcile all the data furnished by legend on any single hypothesis. ¶

* IA. xli pp. 217 ff.
‡ IA. xxxvii 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. Krimikanṭha-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 Hultzsch gave expression in his masterly introduction to Kulottunga's inscriptions of these years. It shows, on the contrary, that from A.D. 1070 onwards Kulottunga was practically master of the entire Cōla country, except, of course, for the hostile movement of Vikramāditya VI which remained to be dealt with, and the risings in the south, always ready to break out on every possible occasion and now favoured by the confusion following Virarājendra's death.

Inscriptions of Rājendra's second year * with the characteristic introduction or with a verifiable date are found in Kanḍamangalam (South Arcot) and Valuvūr (Tanjore); of the third year † at Ālangudi, Nallūr (Tanjore), Iḍaiyār and Tribhuvani, (South Arcot). And

Kulottunga I, on the strength of the name Kulottunga given to the Cōla persecutor of Rāmānuja in late works like the Kṛṣṇalīlagu. A. Govindacārya-śvāmin-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 Melukōṭe is against this identification of Krimikantha. (IA. vol. xli. p. 224). It is possible that 'Kulottunga' is used in late works as a generic name for Cōla. The name is not found even in the Cūrṇaparaṁparaprakhāva (Āṭiyirappadi; ed. Madras 1927). Krimikantha-Cōla is said to have uprooted and thrown into the sea the image of Gōvindarāja from the front of the Nāṭarāja shrine at Cidambaram, and this act of sacrilege is placed by the Dīvyaśāratīrīcarita at the very beginning of the Cōla persecution of Vīṣṇuism, (xvii 72). The same fact is recalled by the much later Prapannāṃtām (quoted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar op. cit. p. 320). The poet Oṭṭakkūṭtan seems to attribute this deed to Kulottunga II—Kulottungaśāhan-nilī II 76-8; Nāṭarājaśāhan-nilī II 64-6 which is most explicit, and Takkayagap-purāṇī 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 Nāṭarāja 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 Dīvyaśāratīrīcarita 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 Vikramānkaṭēva 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 Kalingattupparaṇī that Viṣṇuśarma made Kulottunga his crown prince, the evidence of Adhirājendra’s inscriptions, the Vikramānkaṭēva Carita and the Vikramaśōlanālā makes it clear that this could not have happened, and that, consequently, that the court-poet of Kulottunga introduced this story to give validity to Kulottunga’s title to the Cōla throne.

Summary.

* 156 of 1923, (2); 101 of 1928, 468 of 1913 (4). † SII. iii pp. 132, 140.
‡ The civil war between Adhirājendra and the ‘usurper’ postulated in ARE. 1904 paragraph 21 is pure myth. (See n. on 386 of 1903 Yr. 4, post Vol. ii. Appendix).
§ 145, 147, 151 of 1906; 142 of 1929; 55 of 1911; 586 of 1907; 267 of 1917; 126 of 1912.
ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNCA I

There is no direct statement even by Jayanarāṉ 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 Cāḷukyas, those of Vijayāditya VII, of Śaktivarman II and of the sons of Kulottunga himself, together with the early Tamil records of Kulottunga’s reign, lead us to reconstruct the period of Kulottunga’s youth and his career until he came to the Cōla throne somewhat as follows. At the time of his father’s death, his uncle Vijayāditya made himself master of the Vengl 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 Vengl frontier in the land of Cakrakūṭa and Pūrvadēśa. Possibly he carved a small principality for himself and after making his peace with his uncle Vijayāditya, especially as, after the death of Śaktivarman II, this must have been easy, he bided his time hoping that in some manner he might gain the 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 Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI to prevent the union of the Vengl 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 Vaiṣṇavism 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

* EJ. 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. iii 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 Kēvēri 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
CÔLÂS 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 Côlas 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 Depart-
ment, 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 Râjakêsari and
Parakêsari 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 con-
temporary rulers have also been listed wherever, as in
the case of Kṛṣṇa III, such a list is calculated to
elucidate the course of Côla 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>
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<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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<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>
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<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.'
RAJAKESARIVARMAN

Year 2—Lalgudi (Tri.)—Five kalañju for some lamps in the temple by Arangan Paṭṭulagan of the Madhurāntaka-teriñja-kaikkōla-paadai, a Kaikkōla of Īḻamādeviyār Veṇam (in Tanjore). 89 of 1892; SII. iv 536.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp deposited with the sabhā, 61 of 1897; SII. iv 10.

Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Thirty sheep and thirty goats for a lamp in the temple of Tiru-kurakkut-tuṟai-perumāṇaḍigal at Mahēndra-mangalam. 586 of 1904.

Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Registers the tax-free lands of the temple and allots the revenues therefrom for its various requirements. A special vāriyam and the kaṇakku did the work. 596 of 1904.

Tirumaynaṅjeri (Tj.)—An arrangement by Udaiya-pirāṭ-ṭiyār Śembiyan Mādeviyār, mother of Uttama Cōla, regarding expenses for the temple from the proceeds of 14 vēli of land in Mūlaṅguḍi. 21 of 1914.

Tirumeyṇānam (Tj.)—The assembly of Nālūr, a brahma-ḍīya transferred the right of collecting angañik-kāli in the bazaar of their town (engalur) to the temple of Mūlaṅthūmmattu Māhādeva of Tirumayṇānam—the rate being kāsinvaiy nāḷi of each measurable stuff like paddy and rice brought up for sale from outside Nālūr; kīṇdu vīrapana kuvāḷal (heap) nāḷi; one palam of articles sold by weight; one parru on each basket of betel-leaves; two nuts for each basket of areca-nuts. This transfer was apparently in consideration of 25 kāsadu received by the assembly from the temple. 321 of 1910; SII. iii 90 *

Tirunāgīśvaram (Tj.)—Gift with the consent of the guild (Nagara-anuvaḍiyāl) of vāraṇaigal collected annually till then by the Nagaram (i.e., the Perunagaram of Kumāra-mūrtanḍa-puram) on account of two flower gardens of the Mūlaṃṭāiyūr-paḷḷi of that

* Palaeographically of the time of Aditya I. H. K. Sastri.
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village; the gift was made for the renovation (puduk-kuppuram) of the gopura and the tiruccurralai (called Mouna-kumāra-mattāṇḍāṇ) in the pāḷi.

222 of 1911; SII. iii. 91 *

Year 2—Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṅju of gold by Śēḻapp-perumāṇaḷīgaḷ Perunārkkilḷi-sōḷan for lamp.

143 of 1928.

" Tiruppuṅgalūr (Tj.)—Silver vessels to god Pugalūr-dēva. Another damaged record in year 3 of ...varman records gift of a silver vessel by Pattan Dānatongiyār queen of Uttama Cōḷa-dēva.

70 of 1928.

" Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings to the temple of Tiruvenkāḍu-dēva by one of the Pārthiva-śekharat-teriṅja-kaikkōḷar. † 491 of 1918.

" Tiruvidaimarudūr (Tj.)—Eight Ilakkasu to the shrine of Purāṇa-gaṇapati on the south side of the Mōḻsthāna at Tiruvidaimarudil by a native of Āmanallūr, a brahmadēya in Vādaagarai-maṇḍi-nāḍu. 239 of 1907.

" Uḍaiyāṅgudī (SA.)—Land and house-sites by purchase for feeding 15 Brahmans and 5 Śivayōgis and for paddy for a Brahman who supplied water for the sacred bath of god. 577 of 1920. ‡

Year 3—Allūr (Tri.)—Gift of waste land with the permission of Vīraśōja-Ilangōvēḷ alias Parāntakan Kuṇjaramallan.

380 of 1903.

" Kāṇći puram (Ch.)—Loan raised from the temple by the Īrār of Tirukkaraiḷipurattu-Menāḷūr. The interest on the loan of 18 kalaṅju, 3 maṅjūdi and 1 kunṛi was one uḷakkku of oil every day. SII. i. 84.

* cf. 199 of 1907; ARE. 1912 II. 12. Kumāra-mattāṇḍāṇ was a surname of Nandivarman II.

† Wrongly explained as 'a body of weavers' so named after Rājarāja 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 Rājarāja, and these lands, after purchase by another, came to be used for feeding Brahmans in the Śiva temple at Kṛṣumamāṅk-kōḷil of which Uḍaiyāṅgudī was a hamlet. ARE. 1921 II. 31.

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RAJAKESARI

Year 3—Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Two silver vessels to the temple by queen of Vikramaśaţa Ilangōveţar and daughter of Paḻvēṭaraiyar. 110 of 1895 ; SII. v. 671.

Kumbakonam (Tj.)—Sale of land by the assembly (mūlaparusaţi) of Tirukkuḍamukkil to a Veḷḷi, Araiyan Kalangāmalai, for feeding (uttamāgram) a Śiva-yōgin in a temple. 227 of 1911.

Kumbakonam (Tj.)—Mentions one of the Vira-sōla-* teriṇja-kaikkōlar of Tanjore. 228 of 1911.

Kumbakonam (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple for 500 kalaṇju of gold by the assembly of Tirukkuḍamukkil, in order to pay a part of 3,000 kalaṇju, a dayam levied upon them by Madiraikoṇda-udaiyar in his 38th year. Mentions Pāṇṭippalai as those to whom the amount was to be paid and the temple of Jalasayana. 255 of 1911. t

Oлагapuram (SA.)—Sheep for lamp by Ambalavan Gaṇḍaradittanar, a perundaram of the king, who built the temple of Śri-Kailāyatru-Paramasvāmagal ; Ulōgāmādevi-puram a taniyūr in Ōymā-nāḍu. 129 of 1919.

Pāṇḍārarāvaḷai (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, by a Veḷḷi of Ilamangalam a suburb (piḻagai) of Rājakesari-catm., to a resident of Manōramac-cēri † for bringing water from the river for the sacred bath of the deity. Coin karaṇūs mentioned. The purchase was bināmi, (anyanāma-karaṇam) 238 of 1923.

Pāṇḍārarāvaḷai (Tj.)—Land by a native of Pulamangalam residing at Naratongac-cēri, as a jīvita to a person for bringing water daily from the river for sacred bath. 276 of 1923.

Salem (Sm.)—Five kalaṇju of gold for feeding Brahmans in the temple by a merchant belonging to the manigrānam of Koḻumbāḷur. 47 of 1888 ; SII. iv. 147.

* Title of Parantaka I. cf. Samarakēsari and Vikramasīnga in other names of similar groups of Kaikkōlar. 278, 279 of 1911, ARE. 1912 II. 16.

† Perhaps Gaṇḍarāditya, Rājāditya having died. ARE. 1912 II. 15.

‡ Parakēsāric-cēri in the same village mentioned in 268 of 1923. See also next entry.
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Year 3—Sendalai (Tj.)—Gold (for lamp) deposited with the sabhā. 62 of 1897; SII. vii. 11.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Mentions two persons among the Samarakēsari-teriṇja-kaikkōḷar. 24 of 1895; SII. v. 580.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Mentions Samarakēsari - * and Vikramaśinga-teriṇja-kaikkōḷar. 278 of 1911.

Tirukkoḻambiyūr (Tj.)—Assembly of Duvēdimangalam makes tax-free some temple land in return for 14 kāśu. 53 of 1925.

Tirumalaiṇḍi (Tri.)—Gold by a native of Tondai-nāḍu for aval (crushed rice) offering on the Ārdrā day in the month of Mārgaḷi to Gaṇapati. The temple, which is picturesquely situated on the bend of the Kollīḍam river, is called Punal-vāyil-Śrī-kōyil. 98 of 1920.

Tiruneḻungalālam (Tri.)—Year six in words. Image Lōkasundari set up by a private individual in the temple of Tiruneḻungalattu Āḻvār. Also land for offerings. 682 of 1909.

Tiruvāmattur (SA.)—96 sheep by Rāmaṇa Siddhavaļa-van alias Vikkarama-sōja-Milāduḷaiyān of the Bhārgava gōtra, for lamp in the temple at Tiruvāmattur, a dēvadāna in Vāvalūr-nāḍu, a division of Aruvī-nāḍu. 29 of 1922.

Tiruvellai (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Vēdas. 519 of 1905.

Tiruvĕṟumbūr (Tri.)—Sale of land by residents of Erumbiyūr and the assembly of Śrikaṇṭha-catm., to Šembiyan Vēdivēḷān. 123 of 1914.

Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Land by assembly for singing Tiruppiṇiyam in temple with uḍukkaḷ and tāḷam. The donor was Šembiyan Vēdivēḷān. Refers to a simāvivāda between sabhā and ār. 129 of 1914.

* Also in 279 of 1911 same year and place.
RAJAKESARI

Year 3—Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Paddy by Tiraimūr sabhā and Tiruviḍaimarudūrīl nagaratārūr, Tirukkōyil-udaiyārūr and Śrīkāryam-ārāy-ginrū Irumudi-sōla-pallava-Araiyār.

152 of 1895; SIT. v. 716.

Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Provision for supply of two tender cocoanuts daily to the deity. Six kurungāin with Tiruviḍaimarudūril Sēnaiyār.

242 of 1907.

Tiruviḷakkudūl (Tj.)—Land by assembly of Murugavēl-mangalam for maintaining three musicians (kālam and gong) during śrībalī to Mangala Nakkar in the temple of Mahādēva.

116 of 1926.

Tiruviśalūr (Tj.)—Land by queen of Uttama Cōla-dēva, who seems to have been the daughter of Milāduṇaiyār.

325 of 1907.

Tiruviśalūr (Tj.)—Mentions mother of Śrī Uttama Cōla-dēva.

327 of 1907.

Udaiyārgudūl * (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Paṇḍitavatsalac-cēri.

543 of 1920.

Udaiyārgudūl (SA.)—Gold by a Brahman lady of Vādavūr in Paṇḍi-nāḍu for lamp.

599 of 1920.

Udaiyārgudūl (SA.)—19 vēli of land by three persons for feeding 56 Brahmans; king Uttama Cōla mentioned.

614 of 1920.

Urtaiyūr (Tri.)—Mentions Kirtti-mārtāṇḍa-Brahmādhirājan.

182 of 1907.

Vṛddhācalām (SA.)—Assignment by residents (ūrōm) of Neṟkuppai of some dēvadāna lands got from the king to an individual for supply of sandal paste etc.

57 of 1918. †

* A number of Rājak. 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 Rājak. must be either Gaṇḍārādītya or Sundara Cōla. But the name of G. is omitted in the Kanyakumāri inscription, and he perhaps had a short reign, or was only coregent with his father. ARE. 1921 II. 27.

† Mentions a grant by Uttama Cōla and hence may be of Rājarāja I. ARE. 1918 II. 23.
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Year 3 + 1 Nangavaram (Tri.)—Land for maintaining the boat plying in the tank at Ariñjigai-catur. 342 of 1903.

Year 4.—Gudimallam (NA.)—Land, two paṭṭis of 1000 kuṭi each, for offerings etc., to an image of Kuttaperumāl set up in the Paraśurāmāvara temple by Madhurāntaka Gaṇḍaṅdittar. 222 of 1903.

Innambar (Tj.)—Temple called Ariñjigai Vinñagar was built in the name of Šatti-Ariñjigai alias Tennavan Vilupparaiyan of Innambar, and provision made for feeding five Brahmans in the temple. 321 of 1927.

Tirukkurugavūr (Tj.)—Remission by the assembly (sabhā) of Poygaikkudi of the taxes due on the lands granted to temple. 430 of 1918.

Tirumūlam (Tj.)—Crown set with gems to the temple of Mahākāḷattu Mahādeva by Kāripuliyān alias Śolamārayaṇ of Paluvūr 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 Tiruttaniyāl. (Samvat sarā-vāriyam of the sabhā). 432 of 1905.

Tiruvandai (Ch.)—Twenty kalanju of gold by a merchant of Puruśottama-mangalam in Valluva-nālu, a district of Malai-nālu, for a perpetual lamp in the Varahadēva temple of this village for ghee (neyyenrai) supplied as interest by the residents of Paluvūr. 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 Cōla, son of Gaṇḍaṅdittan. cf. SII ii. 49 (ARE. 1904 i 20). This Gaṇḍaṅditya II must have been the religious devotee, author of Tiruvaipañḍippā, rather than the son of Parāntaka. (Venkayya) ASF. 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. Ariñjaya of Āditya II. ARE. 1910 II. 17.
Year 4.—Tiruvérumbūr (Tri.)—15 kaḷāṇjū of gold by Tiruvéranga-dēvaraṭiyāḷ Śēndan-śeyyavāy-māṇi for a lamp and a pot of water every day to the temple of Tenkailāyattu Mahādeva at Śrīkāṭha-catm.

114 of 1914. *

Uḍaiyāṟṟuṭḷi (SA.)—Land by purchase for the mid-day meal of three persons every day. 560 of 1920.

Uḍaiyāṟṟuṭḷi (SA.)—Land (iraiyili) by the great assembly of Viranāṟṟaya-catm., assembled at Viranāṟṟyaṉavīṉāgar, for food offerings thrice a day to the deity. 562 of 1920.

Venppākkam (Ch.)—Construction of a sluice (ṭūmbu) by a certain Kēṟāḷ Rājādittan aliņi viccūdara-māṟaṇyān who had the jīvīḷa in Vēlikkōn-maṅgalām in Kunrā-naḷu, a sub-division of Usṛukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam. 419 of 1923.

Year 4,—, day 89—Śrīrangam (Tri.)—A settlement re : the temple dēvadānas and other matters by the Perungruṭy-sabha of Śrīrangam. 69 of 1892; SIT. iv. 516.

, day 204—Mēḷappalavūr (Tri.)—Grant of certain rights in the temple of Tiruttōṭṭam-uḍaiyūr built by Pāḷuvēṭṭ-araiyan Kāḷaṉ Maṟaṇa who seems to have been staying at Śēnāpuram in Maḷali. † 394 of 1924.

Year 4 + 1—Tiruvāṁttūr (SA.)—Lamp by Śiriyā-māṟuṭan of Ikkūḷi and his brothers, on behalf of Candiraccai, son of Kāḷi aliņi Minavān Māṟaṇa of Tennavān-māḏēvi in Vēn-naḷu. 27 of 1922.

Year 5.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Land (made tax-free by sabhā) for śīdāṟi by a Brahman of Ādanūr. 74 of 1914. ‡

Kīḻūr (SA.)—Sheep for lamp. Mentions queen of Vikrama Cōḷa Maḷāḷuḷaiyūr, who was the daughter of Pūndiyanūr. 7 of 1905. §

* Later than Parāṅtaka I. ARE. 1915 ii. 20.

† Māḷaṭṭuḷi-Ānāṭṭuraṭṭu irukka (Text).

‡ 4th Jan. 964 A. D. (Sundara) or 2nd Jan. 991 A. D. (Rājāḷa)—K. V. S. Aliyar, KIT. xix. p. 86.

§ cf. 10 of 1905.
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Year 5.—Kumbakonam (Tj.)—70 Ilakkasu for offerings.

Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvāyap-pāḍi Śrīkṛṣṇa Perumāḷ. Name Lōkamahādēvi-catm., and the Gaṇapperumakkal doing śrīkārīyam to this god (inda dēvarkku) mentioned.

Pulāṭur (Tj.)—236 of 1911.

Pulallūr (Ch.)—One vēli of land for offerings to Paramēśvara at Tiruppaluvūr in Vilattūr-nāḍu by the chieftain Mahimālaya Irukkuvēl alias Pirāntakan Vira-vōlan.

Pulallūr (Ch.)—292 of 1897; SII. vi. 270.

Pulallūr (Ch.)—346 of 1918.

Tīṇḍivanam (SA.)—Lamps to Tiruttīṇḍiśēvara at Kiṭalangil.

Tiruvaiyarū (Tj.)—25 kalāṇju of gold for half a lamp deposited with the Nagarattār of Śivapuri.

Tiruvarumbūr (Tri.)—Land for feeding 15 Brahmans by Śembiyan Vēdi-vēḻār.

Tiruvarumbūr (Tri.)—Decision of the assembly of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. that no taxes shall be levied on the temple belongings; the persons who violate this decision will be shunned and treated as grāmakaṇṭakas, and fined by the Māhēsvaras. The settlement was engraved on the Śrīvimānā by the committee supervising the affairs of the temple for the year.

Year 6.—Allūr (Tri.)—Gold for supply of bathing water to temple.

* Indicates original employment under Parantuka I. Hence, this record is one of Gaṇḍarāḍitīya or Parantaka 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, EL. xix p. 86.
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Year 6.—Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—900 sheep by the king for ten lamps in his name in the temple of Aiñjaṇḍā Durgaiyār; an adhikārīn distributed these among certain persons who in turn had to supply ṣalī. These sheep were got when Śippuli-nāḍu and Pākki-nāḍu were conquered* by Paraman Malapādiyār alias Mummaḍi-Cōḷān, chief of Kārukuḍi in Taṅjavur-kūṟram. 79 of 1921.

Kāvērippākkam (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp to the Kṛttimārttāṇḍan-kālapriya temple. † 382 of 1905.

Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—Land, 4,000 kuṭi, tax-free, to Viṣṇu temple at Ratnāgrahāra, also called Maṇimaṇigalam alias Ulōkamahādēvi † - catm. in the Tamil part. The deity is called Dvārapuridēva. The Mahāsahā agree not to collect ḍrāi, ṭēccōru, veṭṭi, veṭṭādikāṇam or anything else, and to condemn every one who does so to pay a fine of 25 kaḷāṇjū. 7 of 1892; SII. iii. 27.

Pulangōyil (NA.)—Lamp by Pāpayan, son of Nuḷambar-Vīra-sōḷān. § 362 of 1925.

Pulīr (Tri.)—Land by a native of Kāraikkūḷi for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple. 349 of 1918.

Paṇḍravāṭai (Tj.)—Village Kundamangalam, given tax-free (mīlā-veṇaṭiyilli) to the temple of Bhūmīsundara-veṇṇagar Paramasvāmī at Simhaviṣṇu-catm. in Mudicco-nāḍu, built by the donor Kannandai Arivanand Bhūmisundaran alias Sundara-gōḷa-Mūvenda-vēḷōn. For securing the exemption from taxes, the donor deposited 200 kaḷāṇjū of pon with the assembly of Simhaviṣṇu-...

* Pākki-nāḍu is the northern part of the Nellore District. Śippuli-nāḍu must also have been there cf. ARE. 1913 II 18; also 160 of 1912 of year 34 of Paṇṭakai I for the earliest conquest. ARE. 1921, II 31.

† Built possibly by Kṛṣṇa III who, in his Karṇā inscription, says that he was encamped at Mēḻpaṭī for establishing his followers in the southern provinces', and for 'constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamārtadī, Kṛṣṇēvāra and others' (EL. iv p. 281). If this view is correct, this inscription may be one of Aiñjāya, probably a Rājaśiṣa. ARE. 1906 II 21.

‡ After queen of Rājarāja I?

§ These names imply a time soon after Paṇṭakai I. Nuḷamba and Vīra may be the same as Nuḷamba Tribhuvana-dhīra or his son Nuḷamba and the Gaṅga Pṛthivipati II (EL. iv pp. 88, 223). ARE. 1925 II 10.
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Paddy was being sold at 15 kalam per kalaju. Interest rate was 75 per cent per annum. 232 of 1923.

Year 6.—*Pulallur* (Ch.)—Lamp to Taṇḍaladēva by the great assembly of Paramēśvara-catm. 49 of 1923.

*Salem* (Sm.)—40 pon by Śelvan-ādiga to feed Brahmans every year on stated occasions, at the rate of 25 Brahmans per kalaju, with three curries, half pidi of ghī, curd and betel. The occasions for feeding were the festival in the temple of Kīḻivanṭamudaiyēr in Salem and Māśi Makhām. 49 of 1888; SII. iv 149.

*Tirucceṟṟambalam* (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by assembly of Kulakkuṭi for lump amount received by them from a person, the amount being utilised for offerings to the deity at Tiruccirēmam, a dēvaṭāna-brahmadēya in Rājarāja-valanāḍu. 187 of 1926.

*Tirumāḷpuram* (NA.)—A gift by Madurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditṭan. 268 of 1906.

*Tiruverumbūr* (Tri.)—Land sold tax-free by the Perunguri-sabha of Śrikanṭha-catm. met in the Tiruccitakūṭam 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.

*Tiruverumbūr* (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-sabha of Śrikanṭha-catm. met in the Tiruccitakūṭam of the village for making the land iraiyili. 127 of 1914. *

*Tiruverumbūr* (Tri.)—Land set apart for feeding Brahmans versed in the Veda. Made tax-free by sabha of Śrikanṭha-catm. Wide discretion to Panmāḥēśvarar in enforcing sabha’s decision. 130 of 1914. †

*Tiruverumbūr* (Tri.)—Land as iraiyili by assembly of Śrikanṭha-catm. for the Maḷavilāgam of the temple. 131 of 1914.


† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.); 27th December 964 (Sundara-çon., preceding entry) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rējarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar, E.I. xix p. 86.
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Year 6.—*_Tiruviṭai marudūr* (Tj.)—The Cōla queen (Vāna ?)* van Mahādevī came to worship the god. Meeting of sābhā and nagaram of the place. 215 of 1907.

"_Tiruvirāmiṣvaram* † (Tj.)—Gift of land by purchase. 117 of 1911.

" _Udaiyāruguṭi* ‡ (SA.)—Land by purchase to the assembly called _Śāsananuddha-caturvēdibhaṭṭa-perumāḍi-sahasradāna-perumakkaṭ_ of Viranāraṇa-catm. by Śokkilān Araiyan Śaṅkaranāraṇaṇa _alias_ Śōla-mutta-rāiyar of Mūrpaluvūr (of Maṇayīrkōṭtam in Toṇḍai-nāḍ) as charity to the temple. 585 of 1920.

Year 6.—_Sambandikōṭil* (Tj.)—Fragment of an introduction (Rājadhīrāja II ?). Land, for welfare of the king, for worship and repairs in temple by the assembly of Talaiccangāṭu. Mentions Rājasundararavadi. 174 of 1925.

Year 7.—*_Kilappaluvūr* (Tri.)—Land by wife of Adigal Paḷuvēṭṭa-rāiyar Kaṇḍan Māyaṇ for daily offerings. 226 of 1926. §

" _Kuttālam* (Tj.)—Temple constructed by Śembiyan Mahādevīyār, 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 Sāma, Taittirīya and Chandōga Sāma in the temple. 103 of 1926. ¶


* Text has (Pañca).
† Perhaps Rāmanadīcaram of the _Dvēram-ARE_ 1911 II 17.
‡ KR̥ṭumannārkōṭil (Cdm).
§ Palaeographically Rājaṛaṇa 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 Rājaṛaṇa-kēsari is mentioned later; perhaps a record of Rājaṛaṇa’s time.
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Year 7.—Takkön (NA.)—Eighty kalanju of gold by Dharmak-
kaṭṭalai-kal borrowed from the temple by the assembly
of Aparājita-catm., a hamlet of Tiru-vūgal-puram, on
interest at 10 kalanju per annum, the rate being 1/8
kalanju per kalanju per annum, and a fine of 1/8 pon
for each day of default. 255 of 1921.

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Land for feeding three Śivayōgins
and two Brahmans in the choultry on the sacred hill
of the Ālvār at Tiruverumbiyūr. 101 of 1914. †

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Land for a channel by the sabhā
of Śrīkaṭṭha-catm. 102 of 1914.

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Sale of land by assembly of Peru-
veṅgūr to Vēḷān Vīrānrayaṇa alias Śembiyān
Vēḷivēḷān, who is said to have constructed the Śrī-
vimāna of Tiruverumbiyūr Ālvār. Land also made
igaiyili by sabhā after taking igai-hāval-dravyam.
104 of 1914. †

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Sale for 45 kalanju of the right
to levy some paddy on lands by the assembly of
Śrīkaṭṭha-catm. to Śembiyān Vēḷivēḷān for digging
the village tank. 105 of 1914. ‡

" Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Land as jīvitu for maintaining a
watchman, bought from the ur for money provided by
Śembiyān Vēḷivēḷān, who built the central shrine.
112 of 1914.

Year 8.—Sendalai (Tj.)—Assembly of Candralōkai-catm. sold
one vēli of land, tax-free, to a person for upkeep of an
ambalam which he had erected in the village.
202 of 1926.

* 27th December 964 A.D. (Sundara) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rājarāja)
K. V. S. Aiyar EL, xix p. 86.

† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.). But the names Vīrānrayaṇa and Uttama-
śili-catm. make this impossible. Either 14th January, 964 A. D. (Sundara), or

‡ 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.

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Year 8.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Twenty kaḷaṇju gold for lamp by Adittan Kannaradevan, * son of the Cōla king. Sabha and ār in charge of the endowment.

38 of 1895, SII. v. 595.

Tirungungalām (Tri.)—Land to a native of Śūralūr by the Māhēśvaras, temple servants and residents of the village.

683 of 1909.

Tiruppālātturai (Tri.)—Land to Paramēśvara temple at Tiruppanaṃbūdūr in Uttamaśili-catm., a brahmaṇadēva in Ten-karai, by an officer of Pillaiyār Arikulakēsari-dēvar. ↑ Sabha makes the land tax-free. 176 of 1907.

Tiruppālātturai (Tri.)—Land to Tiruppanaṃbūdūr Paramēśvara by one of the perundaram of Pillaiyār Arikulakēsari-dēva. ↑ The land was made īṟaiyili by the Perungūri-sabhā. 570 of 1908; SII. iii. 111.

Tiruppālātturai (Tri.)—Land, tax-free, by the Perungūri-sabhā of Uttamaśili-catm. Mentions the servant of Āyār Arikulakēsari-dēva who figures as donor in the preceding record (570 of 1908).

574 of 1908 §; SII. iii. 112.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land sold tax-free by the Mahāsabhā for feeding daily twenty Brahmans in the Kurukṣetra temple of the village. The charity was to be administered by the authorities of the temple (ikkāyil śrī-kāryam ēsvārē) 40 of 1898, SII. vi. 323.

* i.e., Kṛṣṇa, son of Āditya. Archaic palaeography. Āditya I perhaps had a son, an unknown brother of Parāntaka. Thus, archaic Rājakēsari inscriptions may be those of Āditya I, and likewise, Parakēsari records, those of Vijayēlaya. (Hultsch in AKE. 1895 paragraph 12). cf. 251 of 1894 of Rājak 20; 356 of 1903 of Parak. 15; 218 of 1904 of Rājāk. 37. Also T. A. G. Rao in MCC. Magazine Vol. 24. pp. 123-9, agrees with Hultsch.

† Son of Parāntaka I (EI. vii pp. 141-2)-ARE. 1908 II 51.

‡ If Arikulakēsari is identical with Arīḷājaya, the Rājākēsari of this record may be Gaṇḍāraditya AŚ. 1908-9, p. 122 (H. K. Sastri).

§ King identified with Gaṇḍāraditya by H. K. Sastri. Tiruppātṛurūr and Tiruppaṃbūdūr 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 Gaṇḍāraditya.
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Year 8.—*Uttaramérrär* (Ch.)—A resolution of a full meeting (ābāla-vydhāvar-amaiya) of the Mahásabhā, met in the big maṇḍapa, by which paṭṭi-kāḍi was not to be collected after a certain day and the Śraddhāmántara 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 Taṅjāvūr for mid-day offerings every day to Rāgbava Perumāl at Irumbūḷai in Simhaviṣṇu-catm. a brahmādeva on the S. bank.

63 of 1897; *SII. vi. 12.*

Year 10—*Melappāḻuvūr* (Tri.)—The residents (Nagarattār) of Avani-Kandarpapura had the inscription engraved to

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† The date is doubtful in the original; the regnal year may be 2 or 3. *ARE*. 1912, II 16.
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the effect that the manṟupăḷu prevailing at Nandipuram from olden times should also be in force in this village. Order issued by Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Maṟavān Kāṇḍañār. 365 of 1924.

Year 10—Tirucculi (Rd.)—(Vaṭṭelutru)—Frag. Lamp.

417 of 1914.

" Tiruviṉarunudur (Tj.)—Twenty ayaran equal to 10 kalanju pon for a lamp by Poduvan Śīrṇaḷi, a woman (peṇḍāṭṭi) of the retinue of Uḍaiya-piraṭṭiyār, the ācchitdr of Ānaimēṟṟuḷiṇa Uḍaiyor. Twenty-four kalanju more for taṇṇir-amudu-vattil.

156 of 1895; SII. v 720.

Year 11.—Tillaištānum (Tj.)—Two paṭṭams of gold made by the auditor of temple accounts (śrikrāyam ādrāyappēḷḷa) out of 13½ kalanju and 2 maṇjiḍi collected as kuṭṟaṅgāḷam from three persons including the Nagarakkaraṇattān of the place (iąvūr).

35 of 1895; SII. v 592, same as 283 of 1911.

Year 11, day 300—Tiruppūṇdurulū (Tj.)—30 pon for lamp by Nangai Śattaperumāṇār, the mistress (bogiyār) of the Cōḷa king. 105 of 1931.

Year 12—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Ninety sheep for lamp by Adigal Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavān Kāṇḍañār. 229 of 1926.

" Talaiccaṇḍū (Tj.)—Lamp by a merchant of Kollam in Maḷai-nāḍu. 202 of 1925.

" Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Lamp by a queen, Śembiya . . . . dēviyar alias Kulamāṉikkā Nambirāṭṭiyār.

250 of 1894; SII. v 549.

" Tiruvishār (Tj.)—Ninety-six sheep for a lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍya country.

37 of 1907.

Year 12 + 1.—Melappaluvūr (Tri.)—Assignment of a temple land to an individual by the temple authorities at the instance of Adigal Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavān Kāṇḍañār.

370 of 1924.

* Aditya L. ARE. 1931, II. 4.
† Sundara Cūḷa—ARE. 1926 II. 7.
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Melappaluvūr (Tri.)—Eight mā of land reclaimed for one lamp in each of the two shrines in Avanikandarpa-Īśvara temple in Kunṇak-kūṟram, under orders of Nakkan Pūdi Paḷuveṭṭaraṇa Kumāra Kaṇṭalan. 357 of 1924.

Thillaiṭḥānam (Tj.)—50 kāḷaṇju gold to Tiruneytānattu-Mahādēva by Tennavan Pirudi Mārūśān alias Kaṭṭi Orriyūrān, and Varaguṇa-perumānār queen of Parāntaka Iļaṅgōvēḷār. * 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.—Pūṇḍāravāḍai (Tj.)—Twenty karunāsū by Śenda Nakkāpirān Bhaṭṭa Sarvakṛatu-yaṭiyār (cf. 234 of year 7.) The interest on the amount, 3 kāṭu was to be given to the best reciter of certain prescribed portions of the Jaiminiya Sama 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.

Thillaiṭḥānam (Tj.)—Thirty kāḷaṇju of gold for lamp by Naṅgai Śāttapperumānār, the concubine (bogiyār) of the Cōḷa 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 Naṅna-manṭapa to the deity. 36 of 1895; SII. v. 593; 284 of 1911 is copy of the same.

* Another name of Vikramakīśari, contemporary of Āditya II. But this Iļaṅgōvēḷ is mentioned in 27th and 21st year of Rājēk, and Parak. inscriptions, and it is difficult to fit such high figures into the 35 years before the accession of Rājēkṣa. (ARE. 1912 II. 18). Venkayya suggested Āditya’s time for Vikramakīṣari; but palaeographically it seems to be earlier,—H. K. Sastrī, who makes this a Gaṇḍarāditya record. SII. iii iīd.
Year 14.—*Vēḻal* (NA.)—Viḍāl is called also Mādevi-ārāndimangalam. * Mentions Kanakavirakurati, a female disciple of Gunakirtibhātār, and her disciples (*vaḷimāṇāk-kiyār.*) The *vaḷiṣṭār*, lay disciples, undertake the protection and feeding of those 400 *tāpasi*, as there was no agreement (*koḷḷādaiyil*) between them and the 500 male members of the monastery (*ikkōyigillaiyil*). 84 of 1908; *SII.* iii. 92. †

Year 15.—*Tilluṅhānam* (Tj.)—Lamp by an inhabitant of Taṅjāvūr. Ends: *Ippatipāda múlatṭōmum piranadēyak-kiḻavarum ūrōnum.* 39 of 1895; *SII.* v. 596.

Year 16.—*Kāvanūr* (NA.)—400 *kuḻi* of land by a member of the assembly (*āḻunganam*) for lamp to Puli-pagava-ḍēva.

158 of 1921.

" *Melappaluvūr* (Tri.)—An order communicated to Vēḷān Cintāmanī, the headman of Tattanūr, permitting the adoption of the old scale of taxes prevailing at Nandipuram † for the village Paḷavūr by the chief Aḻīgal Paḷuvēṭṭarayar Maṟavān Kaṇṭanār § to whom Karumbiyān Pirūntakan *alias* Karuviḻaip-pērārāiyān had petitioned. 367 of 1924.

" *Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans.

625 of 1905.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Muvaraiyān Pāḷi Nakkan bought from Andanūr-ūrār for thirty *kāḻaṉju.*

219 of 1894; *SII.* v. 548.

Year 17.—*Brahmadeśam* (NA.)—Land by one of the members of the temple of Tiruvēṅgāmbam at Kaccippēḍu for sandal paste to god at Rājamaḷācatm. The charity was under protection of *Śri-koṉyig-kaṇavaṉiyap-perumak-kaḷ.*

206 of 1915.

† Palaeographically Ṛditya I.
‡ cf. year 10—365 of 1924.
§ This person is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Parāntaka. Must be later, perhaps of the time of Sundara Cōḷa. cf. 381 of 1924, Parakāsaīrī (Yr. 13). *ARE.* 1924 II 10. Text has date, 1(0).

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Year 17.—Pāṇḍāravādai (Tj.)—Undertaking by two persons to supply ghee and paddy to temple in return for cows and money received by them at various times in the reign of Madiraikonḍa Mārāyar. 230 of 1923.

" Pāṇḍāravādai (Tj.)—Agreement by certain persons to burn lamps in the temple for the money they had received from the temple in the years 1(2), 14 and 19 of Madiraikonḍa Mārāyar. 237 of 1923.

" Śendalai (Tj.)—Ten kaḷaṇju gold by a lady for offerings (tiruvamidu). Deposited with the Vaḍavaccālaip-perumakkal, the interest being "niṣadi kuṟunī nel." 58 of 1897 * ; SII. vi. 7.

" Tillaiśthānam (Tj.)—100 sheep with the sabhā for lamp by the Cōla queen Kīḷāraḍīgal. 41 of 1895 ; SII. v. 598.

" Tillaiśthānam (Tj.)—Twenty pon for lamp by another Cōla queen Tennavan Māḥādevīyar. 42 of 1895 ; SII. v. 599.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷaṇju gold for a nandāvilakkku by ‘Niyamattu Irāsa-māṭṭāṇḍapurattu Nakkan Aiyāraḍīgal,’ the concubine (būgiyar) of the Cōla king. 244 of 1894 ; SII. v. 543.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷaṇju for lamp by Dēviyar . . . kolāiyār for which the sabhā of Šādambuli(n)-guḍi gave tax-free land. 245 of 1894 ; SII. v. 544.

" Tiruvīḷaiāmarudūr (Tj.)—Land for jasmine garden by sabhā and ūr of Tiraimūr and nagaram of Tiruvīḷaiāmarudīl. 216 of 1907.

" Tiruvirāṁiśvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the gaṇattār of Madanamaṇjarī-catm. 138 of 1911.

Year 17, day 122.—Ukkal (NA.)—Mentions a meeting, in the local Viṣṇu temple, of the Mahāśabha of Śrī-Vikramaḥāraṇa - catm. including the samvatsara-vāriyappurumakkal and the ērī-vāriyapp-perumbhaṭṭar for the year, and others. 31 of 1893 ; SII. iii. 13.

* 6-A of 1899 i.e., SII. vi 442 is another similar record of same date.
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Year 18.—Kiliyanur (SA.)—75 kalāṇju of gold to the sābha by an individual for feeding five Brahmanas every day. 155 of 1919.

“Sendalai (Tj.)—Twelve kalāṇju of gold by Mārambāvai, for lamp to the Piḷāri temple of Māgāḷam at Niyamam. 13 of 1899 *; SIL vi. 449.

“Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Land for lamp to Ten-Kailayattu-Mahādeva at Śrikāṇṭha-catm. 119 of 1914. †

Year 19.—Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Śaṅgu irāṇḍu ivai ṣudvārku bhūgam (incomplete). 5 8 of 1895; SIL v. 615.


“Tiruvvaiyar (Tj.)—Sheep (18.) for lamp by Śōlaperumāṇaḍigaḷ Dēv ...... Ṭṭu Ṭḷundūr Tirunāṟaṇa Mahādevī. 239 of 1894; SIL v. 538.

“Tiruvēdkkuṭi (Tj.)—Ten kalāṇju gold for lamp; undertaking to burn a lamp with ⅓ measure of oil every day, as interest on the sum, by ‘Tiruvēdkkuṭi Tiru (kko). ...... munbu ninţu dēvar paṇi šeydōm’ and others, 67 of 1895; SIL v. 624.

“Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Land for lamp and offerings by a Brahman lady who built the shrine of Ādittabhaṭṭāraka on the hill. 118 of 1914.

Year 20.—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Land for feeding a Brahman in the temple of Pondai Perumāṇaḍigaḷ by one of the āḷungavattar of Rājamalla-catm. in Tiruvēṉgaḷpuram. 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.—**Tiruceendurai** (Tri.)—A certain merchant of Tanjāvūr named Karṇaṭaka Puḷalāya Śeṭṭi built the temple called Puḷalāya Viṇṇagār and set up the deity. He purchased and gave to the temple the land adjoining it. 325 of 1903.

" **Tiruppalanam** (Tj.)—One hundred sheep left with the pādamūḷattār for one lamp and occasional service. 124 of 1895; *SII. v. 686.*

Year 20, day 333—**Tiruvaiyālū** (Tj.)—Land for lamp by the nurse (tāṭī) of Kannaradēva. 251 of 1894; *SII. v 550; MCC. Mag. xxiv. p. 128.*

Year 22.—**Mēlapalavūr** *(Tri.)*—Land, 8 mā, to temple by Vaḍūgan Maḍava Paḻuvēṭṭaraṇiy Kumaran Maṟavān, after reclaiming some waste land in the dēvaṭāṇa villages, to provide for one perpetual lamp in each of the shrines in the Amanikandarpa-Īśvara-grha. 360 of 1924.*

" **Tirakkōḷ** (NA.)—Gift to Gangāsūrā perumballi at Rājendrapuram. 277 of 1916.

" **Tiruppalanam** (Tj.)—397½ palam of (?) to temple by Māṟpiḷḷu Kaḻvan Amaṟkāḷan † of Tirukkōṭṭiyur. 169 of 1928.

Year 23.—**Puduppākkam** (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, to temple of Bhāṭaṟi by assembly of Nallaḷimangalam, in Mēṟpaḷu-gūr-nāḷu, a sub-division of Maṇaṟṟy-kōṭṭam. Mentions Iḷanakkāḷ Kūṟtigaik-kaṇattār. 61 of 1923.

" **Tiruceendurai** (Tri.)—Sale of land to Pūḍi Ādicca Piḷḷiriyār by Parudai of Isānangalam for 5 kaḷaṇju by Viṭṭṉvēṭṭu. 320 of 1903. ‡

" **Tirumulavāḍi** (Tri.)—Land by Āyiravaṇ Ėnādi, headman (kiḻan) of Ārkkāḷu. 18 of 1920.

* cf. 357 of Year 13.
† Perhaps a Muttaraya chief of the locality. *ARE. 1928 II 2.*
‡ cf. 216 of 3 Parak.
RAJAKESARI

Year 23.—Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Twenty kalañju by Kâjupatigal-Tamarmattiyâr, * mother of Vayiri Aka .... alias Tribhuvana-mâdâvîyâr, queen of Sâlap-perumânadâgâl.

161 of 1928.

Ukkal (NA.)—A record by the sâhbâ of Aparâjitacatm., of the receipt of 200 pon from Sêdiyur-Trivikkarama-bhaṭṭa alias Brahmâdhirijâr of the mîyâṭungaṇam of Uttaramû-rcatm., for feeding 12 Brahmans. Interesting details.

19 of 1893 ; SII. iii. 1. †

Year 24.—Nerkunam (NA.)—Gift of three fields as erippatti by Nambiyamallânar, son of Nîpatunga-maṅgalap-peraraiyar, for the benefit of the tank at Nerkunam (Singapuranâṭuk-kîlva-Nerkunam). Ânâvây daṇḍamûlîṭṭu eppârpatâ mangupâṭîm erikkuk-kuṭhuttîm Nambiyamallânen.

86 of 1908 ; SII. iii. 93. ‡

Niyamam (Tj.)—Five kalañju gold by Adigal Kâṇjan Mârâmbâvai, § queen of Nandîpottaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, for offerings to god and feeding twenty Brahmans and the ‘taliṣṭaṇi-śeṣyam maṅigaṇa.’ The interest is stated to be 1/8 kalañju per kalañju per pû (harvest). The money was on deposit with the temple priest, Ittalippattudaiyan Isvârâkkanâ Vâma-devan Tiruvânâkâlan.

16 of 1899 ; SII. iii. 94. ¶

Sendalai (Tj.)—Five kalañju for lamp by the wife of a learned Brahman.

208 of 1926 ||

Takkâlâm (NA.)—Piritipatiyar son of Mâramaraiyar gave a silver vessel (keṇḍi) weighing 317 kalañju to

* Perhaps Âditya I, who ruled for at least 28 years, espoused the daughter of a Pallava chieftain. Râjak. records from Tiruppalanam with years 21 to 26 may, hence, be his. Palaeography supports this—ARE. 1928 II. 2.

† Perhaps Âditya I.—Hultzsch.

‡ Palaeographically, Âditya I. ARE. 1909 II. 36. Ânâvây-daṇḍam is taken to be the name of a tax by H. K. Sastri; but Ânâvây may have the meaning ‘as occasion arises.’

§ 13 of 1899 (Yr. 18) ; 301-A of 1901 from Tiruccennambûndî.

¶ Palaeographically Âditya I.

|| Âditya I ; 210 of 1926. ARE. 1926 II. 17.

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THE COLAS

Tiruvūrāl-Mahādeva on the occasion of a solar eclipse.
5 of 1897; SII. v. 1368; EI. xix. 12 *.

Year 25.—Ālamākam (Tri.)—Land to temple of Saptamātrikas by the assembly of Dantivarma-maṅgalam. 705 of 1909.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kāḷaṇju gold for lamp, deposited with the Śivapuri-nagarattār. 243 of 1894; SII. v. 542

" Tiruvellāṟṟai (Tri.)—Thirty cows for a lamp by Śembiyan Maḷanāṭtu Veḻān alias Koṟṟan Māṟan. 522 of 1905.

Year 26.—Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Gift of a rudrākṣa necklace, set with gems to the deity by Gangamattāṉḍar alias Śembiyan Pṛthivi-gaṅgaraiyar, son of Mahādeva of Pāngala-nāḍu. † 177 of 1928.

Year 26, day 181—Śrivangam (Tri.)—90 kāḷaṇju of puttaṭikaka-ṇanda ṣemmai-pon. Interest rate was one kalam and one tūṇi of old paddy, yielding 120 kalam per annum, for feeding four Brahmans (daily.) ? 70 of 1892; SII. iv. 517.

Day 280-Uttaramēṟū (Ch.)—Twenty kāḷaṇju gold for maintaining a place for supply of drinking water during part of the year, before the pramāṇi-maṇḍapa of the village. The total interest yield per annum was 3 kāḷaṇju, at 3 maṇḍāli per kāḷaṇju 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, Āditiya killed Aparājita, whose friend at Śrī-Puṟambiyam (870 A.D.), was Gaṅga Pṛthivi-pati I, grandfather of the present donor. 'The Cojas apparently did not count for much' at the time of the battle of Śrī-Puṟambiyam, K.V.S. Aiyar, EL. ibid.

† cf. 139 of 1928, Parak. Yr. 11. Aḻivin-kaḷḷarṣiyār an alias of Pṛthivi-gaṅgaraiyar, 428 of 1902 (Ś. 871 or A.D. 949) mentions a Kaḷḷanangai, daughter of Pṛthivi-gaṅgaraiyar who died at Arungangam, Pāngala-nāḍu, part of Palkungai-kottam, was in the N. Arcot dt. A Pṛthivi-gaṅgaraiyar was a feudatory of Parāntaka I, and later of Kṛṣṇa III, ARE. 1928 II 3.
RAJAKESARI

Year 27.—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Gold for lamp and for feeding a Brahman by Nallulān Īrālimagan Āṭṭamūṭti.

230 of 1915.

"Tirukkaḷūkkunṟam (Ch.)—(Vaṭṭelūṭṭu) On being petitioned by Puttan, son of Kuṇavān, the king renewed a gift of land to Tirukkaḷūkkunṟattu Śri Mūlasthānattuparamāṇāḻiḻgal, originally made by Skandasīṣya and continued by Pādāvikonṭa Nāraṅgaṉa-pōṭtaraiyār.

167 of 1894; E.I. iii. 279.†

"Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Land for lamp by purchase from the assembly of Mārpiḍugu-catm.

15 of 1920.

Year 30.—Tiruvellarai (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Veda.

518 of 1905.

Year (3)7. †—Mēḻēvūr (SA.)—Mentions Kannara-dēvar.

218 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Alumbākkam.—Gift of Land, purchased from the sabhā of Dantivarma-mangalam, which had a tank called Mārpiḍugu-erī.

712 of 1909.

Kōṅiḷaiḷi (Tj.)—Temple of Tiruppūṟatturai Emberumāṉ built of stone by Śembiyan Vēdi Vēḻān, who also bought some land from the sabhā of Tiruppūṟūr, for uṇavacak-kāṇi.

279 of 1901; SII. vii. 499.

Perungalūr (Pd.)—Fragment in early characters recording a gift of gold. Mentions a temple of Mahādēva at Śoḻacūḻamaṇi-catm., and the village of Perungōḻūr.

203 of 1914.

* Āditya I. The high regnal year will not suit any other Rājak. before Rājārāja I. Same donor in 224 of 1915-Parantaka I, Yr. 17. ARE. 1916 II 9.

† Āditya I. Palaeographically pre-Parantaka. Kuṅavan Puttār is also mentioned in 103 of 1931. Rājak. u.-d.

‡ Text has 2/7.
THE COLAS

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp by Tribhuvanamadēviyar Vayiri-akkanār, queen of the Cōla king and mother-in-law of Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ. 180 of 1931. *

Tirunedungalam (Tri.)—Money for lamp. Refers to Pāṇḍya Varaṁiṇa Mahā(rāja.) Near this is another fragment of Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēṣari. 696 of 1909.

Timivilakkudi (Tj.)—Money by a merchant for sounding gong ↑ in the temple. 133 of 1926.

* cf. 100 of 1931.

↑ This purpose is not clear from the very damaged text though we have: itta iyakō . . . . . . aēju isīja.
PARAKESARIVARMAN

Year 2.—Karuttaṭṭānguṭṭi (Tj.)—Mentions Viraśōlapperundern 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 Milāḻดาiyr. 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 Üdaiyr Vira-sōḷa-teriṅja-kaikkōlar. 251 of 1911.

Panḍāravaṇḍai (Tj.)—Gift of thirty kāsu for a lamp by the wife of a merchant of Tribhuvana-mādevip-pēraṅgādi at Taṇjāvūr. 274 of 1923.

Śrīrangam (Tri.)—Gift of 410 pon for feeding a Brahman (vēdam-vallān) at mid-day (uccippōdu) service to god Ranganātha. The number of dishes and other details prescribed. 73 of 1892; SII. iv. 520.

Tiruccenduḷḷai (Tri.)—Twenty kalaṅju gold for lamp with parudai of Isāna-mangalam. Weight vidēl-vidugu. The donor was Koḻumbāḷur Nakkan Vikramakesariyūr, the deviyār of Tennavan Iļangōvēl alias Mařaṅvan Pūdiyār. 306 of 1903.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Gift of land, after its purchase from the temple for feeding four Brahmans, by Karralipattalakan of the Arumoli-dēva-teriṅja-kaikkōlar. 144 of 1928.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Land given for five drummers for the temple by Araiyan Ādittan Vīman.* 162 of 1928.

* Perhaps father of Vīman Kundavai, mother of Parīntaka II. If so, the king was Ariṇjaya who had a short reign of not less than three years, ARE. 1928 II 8, contra ARE. 1921 II 26 where Vīman Kundavai is connected with Chāukya Bhima.
THE COLAS

Year 2.—TiruppaLaanam (Tj.)—Land given by Araiyan Adittan Vimman for offerings during the ardhayama and for lamp. 172 of 1928.

Tiruvdaqutupai (Tj.)—Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly (sabhā) of Śāttanūr* to a member of the Adittapanmat-terinda-kaikkōlar for the maintenance of a coconaut and flower garden to the temple. 135 of 1925.

Tiruvviļaimarudǔr (Tj.)—Mentions the Śingalāntaka-terinda-kaikkōlar. † 244 of 1907.

Tiruvviļaimarudǔr (Tj.)—Records the erection, by the Kaikkōla-Perumbadai, of window, door, door-post and steps in front of the big maṇḍapa called Tigaip-Ayirattanūruruvar. 253 of 1907.

Udaiyārgudi ‡ (SA.)—Gift of 96 sheep and a ram for lamp to Tiruvanantesvarattalvar of Yiranarayana-_catm., by Parantakan Mādevligal alias Śembiyar Mādeviyār, the daughter of Malavaraiyar and queen of Gaṇḍarādittan called here also Merkelnūndarulina-dēvar. 540 of 1920.

Udaiyārgudi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a member of the Kōdāndaramat-terinjja-kaikkōlar. 545 of 1920.

Udaiyārgudi (SA.)—Aryan Gōyaviṭankan, one of the Ťayatongat-terinjja-kaikkōlar, gave ten kāsu for cloths to Kūttar, to the south of the stone temple of Tiruvanantēvarattalvar. He also built in the temple shrines to Kūttar, Gaṇapati and Piccar. 555 of 1920.

Udaiyārgudi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by the Parantakat-terinjja-kaikkōlar on behalf of one of themselves. 574 of 1920.

Udaiyārgudi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by one of the Miitta-val-pen'a-kaikkōlar. § 581 of 1920.

* 136 of 1925 is similar. † Also in 590 of 1920. (Udaiyārgudi.) ‡ Near Kēṭṭumānnārkeriil (Cidambaram Tq.). § 584 of 1920 is similar.
Year 2.—Uṭṭaiyārvari (SA.)—Gold by Kōyil-pēṟṟāl alias Vāna-van-mādeviyār, daughter of Pupūla-sākariyār, 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.


Year 2 + 1.—Pullamangai * (Tj.)—The village assembly (sabhā) met in the mayḍapa opposite to the Tiruvālandurai temple and sold 1½ mā of land to the temple of Kāḷāpiḍāri of Naḻuvirēcēri for 25 kāṣu and allowed it to be tax-free as before. 549 of 1921.

Tiruvilimilalai (Tj.)—Silver dish for śribali to temple by a certain Tānṟōṇri-tanicevāgān, (tānṟōṇri being the god’s name.) 439 of 1908.

Year 3.—Āḷambākkham (Tri.)—Land to Amāresvara-Perumāl at Dantivarma-mangalam by the sabhā of that village. 720 of 1909.

Allūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Ganga-mādeviyār, wife of Viraśōla-Itangōvēḻār, on the occasion of her sati. † 376 of 1903.

Kīḷaiyūr (Tj.)—Gold for supply of gīḍi on new moon days by a certain Tūppil Śattikumārabhaṭṭān residing at Viranārāyaṇa-cēri of Viranārāyaṇa-cēram, § on the northern bank. 92 of 1925.

Kumbakoṇum (Tj.)—25 kalāṇju of gold for lamp by a native of Neḻum-pūraiyyūr in Malai-nāḍu. 248 of 1911.

Paṇḷāraṇūḷai (Tj.)—Four mā of land to a learned Brahman who was doing pūja to Tirucccheyalūr-perumāl at Rājakēsari-cēram. 252 of 1923.

* Text gives Pasupati-kōyil.
† The king is said to be Vijayālaya in ARE. 1909 II 35.
‡ The text is: "Hangōvēḻār-dēvīyār Gāngamādeviyār–tēṟṟāyakīnāṟ-kuduttadu."
THE COLAS

Year 3.—Śīyamangalam (NA.)—Land. Mentions Gangarāja with surnames Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi* and Mummaḍi-sōḷac-cembiyan-śrigangaraiyar, who was governing Palkunra-kōṭṭam, Venkunra-kōṭṭam and Śīngapura-nāḍu, (portions of modern N. and S. Arcot.)

69 of 1900 ; SII. vii. 73.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Thirty kalanju of gold for a lamp by Mullūr-nangai, mother-in-law of the king. The gold was left with the sābbā and the Pūdamūlattār. 

45 of 1895 ; SII. v. 602.

Tirakkōṭi (NA.)—Sheep for gūḍi to the Jaina temple (paḷi) at Tāndapuram by Eranandi alias Naratonga Pallavaraiyan, a native of Nelvēli in Nelvēli-nāḍu of Tenkarai-Panaiyūr-nāḍu in the Śōla-maṇḍalam.

276 of 1916.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Thirty kalanju of gold for a lamp by Mullūr-nangai, mother of queen Śōla-mādeviyūr. †

169 of 1931.

Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Land by purchase for lamp by Ariṉiṭigai-kōṇi daughter of Mūṭṭa Uḍaiyār.

8 of 1920.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Land reclaimed for temple of Tiruthoṇḍiśvaram by Viṅkramābharaṇa Pallavaraiyan under orders of Munaiyadaraiyar Aparāyitan Kulamāṇikkerumānār. 

369 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 999.

Tiruppaḷānām (Tj.)—Thirty kalanju of gold for lamp by Mullūr-nangai.

125 of 1895 ; SII. v 689.

Tiruppaḷānām (Tj.)—Thirty kalanju of gold by Nakkan Ariṉiṭigai 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 Mārasimba II (EI. 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 Śāmanāthadēva of the Tiruvallam records of Kējarājā I and Kējendra I-AKE. 1900, paragraph 18.

† See also under Tiruccatturai and Tiruppaḷānām.

‡ 107 of 1931 (Tiruppūṇḍuruttī) is similar.

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Parakesari

Year 3.—Tiruvaduturai (Tj.)—The boundary (of the land?) purchased from the assembly of Sirupuliyur by the ur of Karai-nalur in Péravur-nādu. 107 of 1925.

"Tiruvaiyār (Tj.)—Land for three lamps. Nandāvilakku iravum pagalum-erivadarku. 234 of 1894; SII. v. 533.

"Tiruvāmattur (SA.)—Twenty kalaṇju gold for two lamps by Śembiyan Kaṭṭimānaḷigal who built the Tiruccurru-mandapam, the gold being left in charge of the sabhā, and ur of the place. 403 of 1903.

"Tiruvāmattur (SA.)—Ten pon for lamp by Muṭṭanāṭṭuk-karpūṇḍi-nāḍuḷaiya Parabhūmikan Mallan alias Gaṇḍrarādita Pallavaraiyan. * Sabhaiyum uṟum dēvakunnelmigaiyum to protect the gift. 425 of 1903 †; SII. iii. 95.

"Tiruvanṇāmalai (NA.)—Gold for lamp by the Cēra queen Kiliṇāḷigal. 470 of 1902; SII. viii. 58.

"Tiruvēdikkudi (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇju gold for lamp in the temple of Parakesari-purattu-mahādēva, left with the Parakesari-purattu-nagarattār. 66 of 1895; SII. v. 623.

"Tiruvidaimarudur (Tj.)—A silver kalaṣam by a native of Pāṇḍi-nāṭu. 247 of 1907.

"Uḍaiyārugu (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a Brahman of Pāṇḍitavatsalac-cēri. ‡ 556 of 1920.

"Uḍaiyārugu (SA.)—Land for akkāra-ādiyai to god. 582 of 1920.

"Uḍaiyārugu (SA.)—Gold by Paṅcavan-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 Takkkolam, this falls in Gaṇḍarāditya’s reign, who must have been a Parakesari according to the large Leyden grant. ARE. 1904 paragraph, 20.

‡ Evidently so called after Parāntaka I. Same ūri in 559 of 1920.
for a lamp to Candraśekhara-perumāḷ in the Anantaśvara temple. 602 of 1920.

Year 3.—Uḍaiyār GUḍI (SA.)—The supervisor of temple affairs for the year distributed the temple lands among the temple servants in proportion to the services rendered by them. 605 of 1920.

Year 4.—Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—The sabhā of Kallaḍuppūr raised a loan from the temple of 20 kaḷaṇju by Kaccipēṭṭu-āṇikkal; the interest on the loan was 90 kudi of paddy per annum which was to be taken and measured out in the premises of the temple by the āramai-seyyum vāriyap-perumakkaḷ. SII. i. 85. *

" Kīḻappāḻuvūr (Tri.)—Lamp to temple by the dēviyār of a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, who was the daughter of . . . . . varaiyar. 222 of 1926.

" Mēḻappāḻuvūr (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The sixteenth year of Parakāsari Uttama Cōla is quoted and Adigaḷ Paluvēṭṭaraiyar mentioned. 373 of 1924.

" Nangavaram (Tri.)—Land to two trumpet-blowers of the Sundarēśvara temple in the village called here Ariṇjigai-catm. † 303 of 1903.

" Tīrthamalai (Sm.)—Gold for lamp. Mentions queen of Munmuḍi-sōḷa-perumāḷ. The temple is called Kūḍa-lāḻvār. 673 of 1905.

" Tīruccenduṟṟai (Tri.)—Gold by Pūḍi Āditta Piṭāri. 312 of 1903.

" Tīrumalai (NA.)—Four kaḷaṇju gold for feeding one aṭiḷa in the paḷi on the Tīrumalai. 66 of 1907 ‡; SII. iii. 97.

" Tīrumaṇaṇjēri (Tj.)—Gift of 96 sheep for a lamp, of a lamp-stand, and of the stone on which the inscription is

* Perhaps of Vijayālaya—SII. iii p. 17 n. 4.
† Called also Nangai-Brahmadeya in Rajagambhirā Vaiḷa-nāṉ (334 of 1903 of year 34 of Kōṇēṟiṇmaikoṉān.)
‡ The earliest Cōla inscription in this locality; it shows that the Jaina settlement on the hill is older than the time of Rējāraja I, ARE. 1908 II, 51.
engraved by a penñātti attached to the (royal ?) kitchen at Tañjāvūr. 11 of 1914.  

Year 4.—Tiruvānāttār (SA.)—Lamp by Kaññarādittan alias . . . Mahārājan of Vāṇagappāḍi. 404 of 1903.  

"Tiruveṅkāḍu (Tj.)—Gold ornaments by a Kaikkōjān. Below this is another record, of resumption and reassignment at a higher rate of rent of some temple lands. 495 of 1918.  

"Tiruiḍaimarudār (Tj.)—A gold hand (hastaka) set with precious stones. Gift by a merchant. 198 of 1907.  

"Tiruṅilakkudi (Tj.)—36 sheep for a lamp by the headman (kiḻān) of Ārkkāḍu. 124 of 1926.  

"Tiruvīsalār (Tj.)—100 sheep for lamp by Nakkan Ariṇjīgai alias Pirāntaka PallaVARAIyan. 18 of 1907.  

"Vēḷacēri (Ch.)—Land for lamp and offerings to Kāḷi-bhaṭārī given by the sabhā of the village. 317 of 1911.  

Year 5.—Alambākkam (Tri.)—Land to Amarēsvara-perumāḷ. Mārpiḍugārī and sale by sabhā of Dantivarman- gālam mentioned. 715 of 1909. *  

"Kiḻūr (SA.)—Gold, 15 kāḷāṇjū, for lamp by queen of Vāṇakōvāraiya, called Ilālığa magajār Nangai Kula- māṇikkattār. Interest rate was kāḷāṇjūn-vāyit-tingāl urip-puṭi. 299 of 1902; EL. vii. 141.  

"Pāvīḷakkudi (Pd.)—Construction of the maṇḍapa. 147 of 1907. Pd. 42.  

"Salem. (Sm.)—Year described as ‘Tiruvellitittuc-cellā-ninrayāṇḍu aĩiṅjavadu.’ The sabhā of Rājarājāsraya- catm. accepted an endowment of five kāḷāṇjū gold for a lamp. 43 of 1888; SII. iv. 141.  

"Śiyāmangalam (NA.)—Land by purchase from úr by an inhabitant of the Pāṇḍya country to Tirukkarraḷi-  

* ARE. 1910 II 14.
THE COLAS

mahādēvar at Śiyamangalam in Tēnnāṟṟūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Palkuṟa-kōṭṭam in Jayangonoḍaśōla-maṇḍalam. 60 of 1900; SII. vii. 64.

Year 5.—Takkōḷam (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp. “Iecirikōyil-ārāyvōmum padi(yum) (p)ādamulattōmum Takkōḷattil nagarattōmum” take charge of them.

60 of 1897; SII. v. 1369.

"Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp (by the queen of) the Pāṇḍya king Pīrantakan. 133 of 1931.

"Tiruccengāṭṭangudi (Tj.)—Land for two lamps by the assembly of Marugal in lieu of money (pon) taken from a certain Viraśōjan alias Uttamaśōja-nemalnināṭṭu-mūvenda-vēļān. 60 of 1913.

"Tirukkalāvūr (Tj.)—Land. Ĳakkāśu mentioned. The donor was Sīngan Kaliyan alias Uttamaśōja-mūvenda-vēļān of Kommaipākkam. 46 of 1910.

"Tiruvēngavāsal (Pd.)—(Verse). Lamp by a native of Maḷanāḍu. 239 of 1914.

Year 6.—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Gold, 1½ kāḷuṅju and paddy, three kalam, as kōṟṟu to Alayūrc-cakkai for enacting three scenes of the Śākkaik-kūṭtu on the Āsvati day of the festival in Arpaśi at Tiruvālandūṟai-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 Varagūpanṭṭi, daughter of Muttaraiyar * and queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvelār. 337 of 1904; Pd. 45.

"Pullamangai (Tj.)—Land to temple for morning service by Śembiyan Maḥāvali Vāṇarāyar. 559 of 1921.

* Viḷēviḷu-muttaraiyar. Irukkuvelār was the same as Vikramaṅkārari (ARE, 1908 p. 88) the contemporary of K. V. S. Aiyar EJ. xiii. p. 138.
PARAKESARI

Year 6.—Śomūr (Tri.)—Gold, 2½ kaḷaṇjū, for lamp by Pirāntakan Purusōttaman of the Dānatongan * - teriṇja kaikkōla.

208 of 1917.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gold, 83 pōn (kaḷaṇjū), for two lamps by an uvaṭṭam of the temple (śittāṭi).

27 of 1895; SII. v. 584.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gold, 25 kaḷaṇjū, for lamp deposited with the sabhā and ār.

47 of 1895; SII. v. 604.

Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Sheep for lamp by Kāman Tāyan, a teacher (vāṭṭi) of Iḍaiyārū.

17 of 1920.

Tirupponānam (Tj.)—Gold, 30 kaḷaṇjū, for lamp by Tippāṇja-ālagiyān Māravan. The sabhā of Aniyamangalam invested it in buying 6 mā of land.

148 of 1928.

Tirupponānam (Tj.)—Lamp, and 25 kaḷaṇjū for its maintenance, by a servant of the headman of Kārugāvūr.

153 of 1928.

Tiruppāppkaḍal (NA.)—Gold for lamp. The supervision of the charity was vested in the annual tank supervision committee.

685 of 1904.

Tiruvāṃṭṭūr (SA.)—Refers to the mason Arugūrtḍaccan Nārāyaṇa Vaṅkūndan who built the temple (Abhirāmēvāra).

413 of 1903.

Tiruvīḍai-marudūr (Tj.)—Record of an iṟaiyil-iṇai given by sabhā of Tiraimūr, nagaram of Tiruvīḍai-marudil and others.

219 of 1907.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Land, after being purchased tax-free from the assembly of Viṭṭelviḍugu-catm., given for lamp to Kūṭṭapperumāl in Tiruvilakkudi in the same place.

121 of 1926.

* Was this a surname of Parāntaka I? Śomūr has Parāntaka's records. The Kongudharṣākka attributes the conquest of Kongu to Aditya I and Parāntaka does not claim to have conquered it. ARE. 1913 II 22.
THE COLAS

Year 6.—Tiruvilimilalai (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 Māranāraṇaṇ. 551 of 1921.

Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Money for two lamps by a female servant of Varagūr-kōṭṭamudaiyān. 422 of 1909.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp left with the sabhā and ār of Tiruneyttānam. 28 of 1895 ; SII. v. 585.

Tiruppūríaḍal (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.

Tiruvāḷuturai (Tj.)—Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Śāṭānūr for 15 kāśu endowed to the temple for the sacred bath of the deity at Uttarāyaṇa Sāṅkrānti by Ōmāli Oṛṛiyūran Kattan of Tiruvānaikkā, a dēvadāna-brahmadēya in Kiḷiyūr-nāḍu. 127 of 1925.

Tiruviḍaimarudaṁ (Tj.)—Building of the temple mentioned. Land for a person singing dēśi. 233, 234 of 1907.

Tiruvilakkuḍi (Tj.)—Sale of land to revenue officers (puravu-vāri tiṇaik-kaḷattār) by the assembly of Viḍēṉudugu-catm. 135 of 1926.

Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—30 kalaṇju of ārkkar-commai pon for lamp deposited with the sabhā of Maṇalī near Tiruvorriyur (Tiruvorriyur-purattu Maṇalī-sabhai-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 Cōḷa records. The pillars were evidently secured from an older structure. Vijayāyā? ARE. 1909 II 35.
PARAKESARI

Year 8.—Kiḻappalūvūr (Tri.)—Twelve sheep by Kāman Köviyār, wife of Pāluveṭṭaraiyar Vikramādiyār, for one piṭi of ghī daily to the temple. 237 of 1926.*

Paṇḍārawāḷai (Tj.)—Tax-free land by madhyastha for music by five persons during śrībali every day. 272 of 1923.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Details of the expenditure of paddy got annually from the dēvadāna village Punragai. 204 of 1926.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷaṇju of gold for lamp by Pāndiyānār Mānābharaṇā-dēvi . . . . kilavan. 26 of 1895; SII. v. 583.

Tiruppāḷanam (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a native of Nandipuram alias Āyirattāli. 145 of 1928.

Tiruppalāṭṭurai (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The village is called Tiruppāṟṟurai in Uttamaśili-catm. a brahmadēya in Tenkarai. 173 of 1907.

Tiruppalāṭṭurai (Tri.)—A copy of an inscription of the 18th year of Madiraikonda Parakesari and of another of the same king, twentieth year. Among the boundaries occur names: Viraśrikāmuka-vadi; Ādicca Vāykkāl; Kōlandārāma-vadi; Uttamaśili-Vāykkāl. The Perunguṟi sābba of Uttamaśili-catm., ordered the re-engraving of the records found on the older śrīvimāna. 174 of 1907; SII. iii. 133. †

Tiruvelḷaṟai (Tri.)—Twenty kaḷaṇju of gold by the queen of Uḷaiyār-Ānaimēṟṟuṉinār (Rājāditya) called Īṟyirandēvi-ammanār, to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and Rukmini ‡ of the big temple at Tiruvelḷaṟai. 534 of 1905; SII. iii. 132.

* Was the king Uttama Cēḷa? ARE. 1926 II 20.
† The king may be Ariṛjaya, or Āditya II or Uttama Cēḷa; probably the last. H. K. Sastri.
‡ Record of Uttama Cēḷa or Āditya II—H. K. Sastri. Earliest epigraphical reference to Kṛṣṇa worship in the Tamil country. ARE. 1906 II 21.
THE COLAS

Year 9.—Erumūr (SA.)—Ten kalāṇju of tulai pon paid to the village assembly for remission of dues on seven mā of land presented to the temple. 393 of 1913.

Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Land for śrībali and tirupālī-ējccī. Mentions Kōdanaḍarama-Vāykkāl. 78 of 1914.

Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Majavar Konkaṇi Śenni Nambiyār, uncle (māmaḍi) of Aḍīgāl Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṉavan-Kaṇḍanār, made a gift of land by purchase for a lamp in the temple of Maṉavaniśvara-grhattu Mahādēva. * 219 of 1926.

Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṉavan-Kaṇḍanār purchased land and assigned portions to several persons for service and for lamp before Maṉavanāvarattumahādēva. 249 of 1926. †

Kuhūr (Tj.)—25 kābu for lamp to Ādittēśvaram-uḷaiya Bhāṭṭārkāra by a certain Astraśiva with the tiruvum-ṇāḷi-gaip-perumakkal of the temple. 292 of 1917 ‡

Paṇḍāravaḍai (Tj.)—Land for expenses on Sankrānti days and 108 copper water pots for bath by the queen-mother (Uḷaiya-pirattiyār) on behalf of prince Gaṇḍarāddittan Madhurān̄ṭakaṇuttuttumahādēva. § 250 of 1923.

Tiruccengūḍu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans by a native of Irōḷu. 636 of 1905.

Tiruppallāṭṭuṭṭai (Tri.)—An exchange of land, by the sahbā of Uṭtamaśili-catm. Mentions an image of Sūryādēva in the temple at Tiruppārrur. 177 of 1907.

† Parak. identified with Uṭtama Cōja ARE. 1926 II 19.
‡ Record of Parāntaka I whose father was Āditya. ARE 1918 II 22.
§ This makes it a record of Uṭtama Cōja ARE. 1924 II 13 (where Śembiyān Mahādēva’s charities for Uṭtama in the reign of Kājāraṇa are referred to in support of the identity.)
Year 9.—**Tiruvadi** (SA.)—Gold for *ghī* to seven temples: Tiruvirattanam, Tiruvāraṇavāsi, Tirunāglāvaram, Tiruvagattisvaram, Tiruvāgāvaram, Tiruṣidaiṇājāl, Tiruppalanjiṇḍu. 368 of 1921.

**Tiruvelḷāṟai** (Tri.)—Gold, 25 *kalāṇju*, for lamp by a native of Iḍaiṅkūḷu who was a royal officer called Kumaran-kōn. 524 of 1905.

Year 10.—**Aṉḍanallūr** (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by Puliyūr-nāṭṭu-adīgal, queen of Śembiyān Irukkuvēḷ alias Pūḍi Parantakan. 524 of 1905.

**Karuttaṭṭāṅguḍi** (Tj.)—Images of two door-keepers set up by Śembāṛkkōṭṭattu Paṭṭina-nāṭṭup-palam-paṭṭinattu irukkm veḻḷāṭṭi Arupillimalai-piṟāṭṭi. 51 of 1897; *SII.* v. 1414.

**Kiloppaluvūr** (Tri.)—90 sheep by nāṭṭār of Kunnakūṟṟam for lamp to Māravanisvaram-uḍaiyār. 217 of 1926.

**Kiliyannūr** (SA.)—Provision for offerings on new moon days by one of the *Āḷunāṭṭam* of the village. 148 of 1919.

**Kuṭṭumiyāmalai** (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by the queen of Śembiyān Irukkuvēḷ. 321 of 1904.

**Tillaisthānām** (Tj.)—When a person described as Vilattūr-nāṭṭuk-kōn enquired into the affairs of the temple (*ivvūr śrīkārayam-ārāyāṇika*), those who were doing *nagaravāriyam* in this place (*ivvūr*) agreed to maintain a perpetual lamp from the proceeds of *angūṭṭikūḷi* collected by the ūr-āḻvāṟgaḷ. 40 of 1895; *SII.* v. 597.

**Tiruccatturai** (Tj.)—Gold by Śembiyān Buvaniganga-raiyān alias Aḻivin Kaḷḷaraḷi for a lamp Kumaramāṟṭāṇḍan. 177 of 1931 *

**Tiruccendurai** (Tri.)—Sale of land to Nangai Pūḍi Āditta-paṭṭārī by paruḍai for 7½ *kalāṇju* by viṭṭēl-viṭṭugu-kāḷ. 309 of 1903.

* *ARE.* 1931 II. 8.
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Year 10.—Tiruccenduviar (Tri.)—Gold by Padi Adicca Piñāri.

311, 314 of 1903.

" Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Silver salver (pingālam) for betel offerings to Tirumalavādi Udaiyār by Nakkan Tillaiyalagiyār alias Sōla-mādēviyār. Weight called vaiyagattār-kal mentioned. 1 of 1920.

" Tiruppālanam (Tj.)—Lamp by Tennavan Mādēviyār, queen of Rājakēsari. 166 of 1928.

" Tiruppuṇḍumbiyam (Tj.)—45 sheep for half a lamp. 76 of 1897; SII. vi. 25.

" Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—25 kalānju of gold for lamp by Sadirayan Uttamaśiliyār wife of Vannaṇḍālaṇiyār. 482 of 1918.

" Tiruvenṇainallūr (SA.)—Lands to temple by purchase from the sabhā of Tiruvenṇainallūr by Aparāyitan Uttaṇśāla Mārāyan. 429 of 1921.

" Udaiyāruguḍi (SA.)—Twenty Ilakkāśu by Śembiyan Mūvendavelān for lamp. 554 of 1920.

" Udaiyāruguḍi (SA.)—Gold for land for feeding five Brahmans in the temple at mid-day; the donor was Nandi-pūtān alias Śembiyan Mūvendavelān. Mentions tālam and vattil, five of each. 593 of 1920.

" Uyyakkonḍān Tirumalai (Tri.)—140 sheep for two lamps (90 and 50) by Viranārāyanan alias Śembiyan-mārāyan, a perundanam of Vira-sōla-Iļangōvēḷūr of Koḍumbāḷūr, to the temple of Kārkudi† in Nandivanma-mangalam. ‡ 470 of 1908; SII. iii. 98.

Year 11.—Alambakkam (Tri.)—Land for lamp by a member of the dlunganam of Dantivarma-mangalam. Mentions Māṟpiṇṭugēri in Dantivarma-mangalam. 711 of 1909.

* 315 of 1903 n.d. records lamps by Śembiyan Iļangōvēḷ alias Pudi Ṭiditta Piñāran.

† Ancient Devarām name for Uyyakkonḍān Tirumalai—H. K. Sastri.

‡ In the 10th year of Rējarāja I this name was changed into Rējarāraya-catm. For Virasōḷa Iļangōvēḷ, see 323 of 1903-ARE. 1909 II 37.
Year 11.—*Andanallur* (Tr.)—Śembiyan Irukkuvēl *alias* Pūdi Parāntaka built the stone temple (Vaṭātīrthanātha) and granted land to it with the permission of Parakesari. This land was made the *kāṇi* of Araiyan Viraśajja by order of king in year 18. 359 of 1903. *

*Paṇḍāravāla* (Tj.)—Lamp by one of the Madhurāntakat-terińja-kaikkōlar. 240 of 1923. †

*Tiruccattugai* (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Cēdi-mahā-dōviyūr, queen of the Malāju chief ‡ Siddhavaṭṭat-adīgal. 193 of 1931.

*Tiruccengāṭhunugai* (Tj.)—Land sold by the assembly of Marugal for the endowment of a lamp. 62 of 1913.

*Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻaṅju* gold for a lamp by Prithivi-gangaraiyar, † son of Mahādēva of Pangāla-nādu. 139 of 1928.

*Tiruvirainarudūr* (Tj.)—Gift of 18 eating vessels (śālam) weighing altogether 26½ *pudam* and a large spoon (śālīravan) weighing 5 *pudam* for feeding Brahmans in the local śāhī—*Tiruvirainarudūr-Udaiyar-sālai-ṇṇum-pivānāyarkkam.*

150 of 1895. SII. v. 714.

*Udaiyāṟṟuṇī* (SA.)—Land for lamp by a lady, Nakkan Piratamū-lōvi *alias* Mummuji-sōḻat-taik-kōli, daughter of Āṟṟūrduvanār. 563 of 1920.

Year 12—*Kilaiyīr* (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by the big assembly of Tiruvallundūr on land given for a flower-garden by Kaṇṇan Mallan *alias* Udayamāttāṇḍa Mūvāndavēḷar, headman of Nāgar-kūḷi in Ambār-nādu. 94 of 1925.

* cf. 360 of year 25.
† Must be a record of Uttama Čēla *AKE*. 1924 II 13.
‡ *EL*. vii, p. 135, for a Narasimihavarman (of the time of Kaṇṇarādēva) who had the title Siddhavaṭṭat-adīgal.
§ cf. 177 of Rājak. 290.
¶ 485 of 1918 (n-d) from Tiruvēṇkāṟu mentions a lady Āṟṟūn Ambalattā-ḍigal.
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Year 12.—Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—180 sheep for two lamps by Adigal Palunettarayar Kanjan Sundara Solaunar. 120 of 1895; SIL. v. 681.

" Nangavaram (Tri.)—Lokavidyadhara Brahmadhirajan reclaimed some land and presented it to the goddess Uma-bhatitaraki with the previous permission of the sabha. 332 of 1903.

" Pallikonda (NA.)—Agreement by the assembly of Nandikampa-catm. to remove silt from the tank every year to the extent of 20 kulji with the interest on an endowment by a resident of Iraiyaneri in Kaceippada. 474 of 1925.

" Sendalai (Tj.)—Mentions Palliyudaiya Kanakasena-bhatara, probably a Jaina. 7 of 1899; SIL. vi. 443.


" Tiruccengodu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 628 of 1905.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Gift to temple by Pudi Kuttan of Maramangalam. 147 of 1928.

" Udanaigudi (SA.)—500 kalanj gold. Image of Suryadiva set up by Kundavaiyar * who made a gift of gold, 25 kalanj, for a lamp in front of it. 606 of 1920.

" Vyddhalalam (SA.)—Srikoil, snapana-mandapa, gopura, suryalai and minor shrines constructed by Sembiyan Madhaviyar, mother of Sri Uttama Cola, daughter of Malapperumanaligal, and queen of Gaunlaradita-dowar, son of Parantaka-diva alias Periyasolunar; gift of gold ornaments and silver vessels to the temple by Udaiya Piratiyar. 47 of 1918.

" Vyddhalalam (SA.)—45 sheep for half a lamp to Suryadiva of Tirumudukunram. 56 of 1918.

* This name makes the inscription a record of the reign of Rejaraja I.
† A record of Uttama Cola.
Year 13—Anganallur (Tri.)—Gold 30 pon for lamp by Tingal-
nimmañallagai, queen of Śembiyan Irakkuvēḷār, invested
with the ur. 357 of 1903.

Mēlappaluvur (Tri.)—Gift of an image of Gaṇapati, a
pedestal, and a golden flower by the temple manager
Nāvalūruṇaiyān Kanjan Tēvaḷi to the temple with
the permission of Āḻigal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kanjan
Sundara Sōḷan. 381 of 1924.

Nāngupatṭi (Pd.)—Refers to Viraśōḷan Uttamaśīlan.
341 of 1914.

Tirukkurugavūr (Tj.)—Land by Śemban Aruḷān
Uttamanidi alias Uttamaśōḷa Māvēndavōḷān * to nine
persons for beating drums in the temple of Tiruvel-
laṭai-Mahādeva at Tirukkurugāvūr. 434 of 1918.

Tirupplānām (Tj.)—Land to temple by Pādi Kūttan of
Mangalam in Nallūr-nāḷu. The king † was staying
at Paḷuṣiyāru. 141 of 1928,

Uyyakkaṭi Tirumalai (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp
by a Brahman woman. 471 of 1908. ‡

Vēdadhācalam (SA.)—Dry land to Sūryadēva by
residents of Nērkuppai; converted into wet land later.
59 of 1918.

Year 14—Āṭṭār (Sm.)—Paddy to Tirumēṟṟai Nakkar at Malaiya-
māṇāṟu, a brahmaṇīya in Āṟyūr-kūṟṟam in Milaḷu, by
three servants of that temple. 407 of 1913.

Kuṭṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for feeding 15 Śaivas for
seven days during the Māsi Makham festival of
Tirumēṟṟai-nil-perumāñallagai at Tirunilakkkuṟṟam, a
dēvadāna in Kuṇgiyur-nāḷu. 334 of 1904.

Parandūr (Ch.)—A transaction of the sabhā of
Aparājita-caṭam. in Puriśai-nil-nil-perundarappuram.
Mentions sabhā-vāriyam and ēri-vāriyam.
74 of 1923.

* cf. 433 of 1918 (Year 15)
† Identified with Uttama Cōḷa-AKE. 1928 II Ⅲ.
‡ Earlier than 472 of 1908 of year 2 of Parakēśari who took Vira Paṇḍya's
head which is below this. cf. 470 of 1908 of Parak. 10-AKE. 1909 II 37.
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Year 14.—Tirumālāpuram (NA.)—Provision by Madhurāntakaṅa Gaṅḍarāddan for bathing the image of the deity every month with 108 pots of honey, ghī, curd etc. 280 of 1906.

" Tiruneṅungaḷam (Tri.)—Ghī for aṅṅīkārya * thrice a day. Gift made by one Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa who was enquiring into temple affairs on behalf of Uttama Cōḷa Brahmadhirāja-kanmi Śembian Vaḍapuraiyūr-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷan. 684 of 1909; SII. iii. 140.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Paḻuvēṭ-ṭaraiyan Kaṅḍan Amudan. 252 of 1894; SII. v. 551.

" Tiruvōṭṭūr (NA.)—A defaulter tracked by the tiruvunṇāṭṟigai of the temple and made to pay for a lamp to be maintained by him. 102 of 1900; SII. vii. 112.

" Tiruvōṭṭūr (NA.)—Sheep lost in a raid (śūkrai) and 200 fresh ones given by Uḍaiyār Śembian Mahādevi for two lamps. 104 of 1900; SII. vii. 114.

" Uḍaiyārūṟu (SA.)—Gift of some tank-irrigated land, by purchase, by Kāli-karṛāḷi, one of the Uḍaiyār-Karikāḷa t-sōḷatteriṅja-kaikkōḷar to seven musicians (uvaccar) for conducting the śribali to Tirumullūṟ-udaiya Paramēvara of Tirumullūṟ alias Simhaviṣṇu-catm., a brahmādeva of the Kā-ṇāḷu. 617 of 1920.

Year 15.—Aṉḍanallūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Pūḍi-Māḍēvaḻigaḷ, queen of Kannaradēva. 356 of 1903.

" Kāṇćeḻupuram (Ch.)—Sale of land by Māṅagarattār; temple called Ṭeṅkirunda-nakkar. Mentions Karikāḷaśolap-pillai(yār) in the above temple at Kaḻumbi-ḍugun-mēṟkāppu in the city. 1 of 1906.

* Aṅṅīkārya—not aupāsana; hence there was no goddess in the temple ARE. 1910 II. 18.

† This must be Āditya II; hence the king of this record may be Uttama Cōḷa. ARE. 1921 II 29.

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PARAKESARI

Year 15.—Kānciāpuram (Ch.)—Land by purchase from the merchants of Kānciāpuram by Āccan Śrīnāccan of the Mūttavāḷperā-kaikkōlar for offerings to Karikālapillaiyār in the temple of Ṭeṅkirunda-nakkar in the western block of Kāḻumbidugu in Kāṇci; and gift of three kāsū for lamp in that temple. 84 of 1921.

Kilappalnvūr (Tri.)—Sheep for gḥī. Mentions Pāḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavaṇ Kaṭlan as having built the temple (Vaṭamūḷēśvara). * 245 of 1926.

Kuḻumiyāmalai (Pū.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Māḷai-nāḷu. 328 of 1904.

Māmanḍūr (Ch.)—45+ sāvā-māvāp-pēṟūḷu (sheep) for 1 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.

Melappaluvur (Tri.)—Land in Urattur as janmabhūmi to Vēṅgaḷavan Aranagān āḷḷas Śēmbiyani Viraināṭṭuk-kōṅār by the assembly of Kuniṟkūṟram, under orders of Pāḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṭlan Maṟavan, with the condition that the donee should pay 25 tāḷacchēmmapon annually as fixed assessment (nīlaiyirai) on the land. 356 of 1924.

Vṛddhācalam (Sā.)—Money for gḥī for lamp, deposited with the assembly of Arikulākōsari-catm. 46 of 1918. †

Year 15, day 143.—Uttaramōrūr (Ch.)—Land to Tiruvayōdhya Perumāṇḍigal. The Mahāśabhā took pūrvācaram and assigned to the god as iṟaiyīli all the iṟai land in Pūṅgōdai-pṁḍi saying: "kuḻigalai veṭṭiyum amaṉiyi-yum iṟaiyum eppōṟppaṭṭidum kōḷappeyōdōmāgavum." 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.—Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Land as dēvadāna (for offerings) by a private person. 244 of 1926.

"Kiliyanur (SA.)—Mahāśabha of Kiliinalur 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.

"Kuṭumiyamalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nāḍu. 350 of 1904.

"Lālgudi (Tri.)—Gold by Kōkkiḷāḷiga, daughter of Śēramānur, * for lamps. 111 of 1929.

"Tirukkalāvur (Tj.)—Land as igrigendi to Mahādeva by the Mūlaparaduḷai-perumakkal of Tirukkarugavūr. 35 of 1910; SII. iii. 123 †

"Tiruttanī (NA.)—Sale of land by assembly of Tiruttanīyai. 438 of 1905.

"Tiruvengambur (Tri.)—Land for ardhayāma offerings by the uth of the village. 128 of 1914.

"Ukkal (NA.)—Land to temple. Nilam figures as unit of land-measurement. The gift was made to Bhuvanamāṇikka-villeśa ra by the Mahāśabha, including the samvatśvara-vaṇīya and the śrī-vaṇīya-perumakkal at the request (vignappam) of Cakrapāṇi-nambi who was doing śrīkāryam for Perumāṇ-āḷigaḷ. 28 of 1893; SII. iii. 11. ‡

"Uraiya (Tri.)—Provision for daily requirements of Tiruvaiyalai-perumāḷ at Uraiya. 183 of 1907.

"Uraiyaṟṟu (SA.)—Land by two vrīyai, and gold for its reclamation; two batches of 80 and 20 Brahmans were to be fed for merit of the donors’ uncle in the choultry erected by them. 621 of 1920.

* Queen of Parāntaka I ARE: 1929 II 27.
† Uttama Cōḷa or Parāntaka I—H.K. Sastri.
‡ Holtzsch identifies the king with Vijayāḷaya on account of the absence of distinguishing surnames. SII. i. 85, 148; and iii 12 (Introdl).
Year 16.—*Valappuraṇaṇḍu* (Sm.)—Pirāntakaṇa Mādevaḷiṭaḷ alias Śemiḷyaṇa Mādeviḷiṭaḷ, mother of Gaṅgaṇa Madurāntakaṇa alias Uttama Cōḷa, deposited 100 kāḷaṇḍu of gold with the ārār of some villages in Kollimalai-nāḍu, the ārār agreeing to pay monthly interest to the sabhā who were to dispose of it in the manner laid down. 503 of 1930.

" *Vyḍḍhācalam* (SA.)—Land and cooking utensils to Tīrumuḍukunṟum-araiḷiṭaḷ for offerings in the evening by Irungōnīr Nārāṉaṇa Pīrīṭipatiḷiṭaḷ. 51 of 1918.

Year 16, day 33—*Uṭṭaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land as igaiyiḷi to Śrīkurukṣṭratṭup-perumāṇaḷiṭaḷ for tiruvuṇṇaḷi after taking pūrvaśeśaṟum. 34 of 1898; *SH*. vi. 317.

" day 257—*Uṭṭaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land to the temple of Mahādeva in the neighbouring village of Tiṭṭuttū for tiruvuṇṇaḷi by the Mahāsabha of Uṭṭaramērūr: ‘Pūrvaśeṣaṟaṇ-gouḍu igaiyiḷiyag valṭta blīmiyyaṉaḷu’. 4 of 1898; *SH*. vi. 286.

Year 20—*Kuttāḷam* (Tin.)—*(Vaiṭṭhuttu)*—Cows and sheep for lamps. 444 of 1917.

" *Tiruttangal* (Rāl.)—*(Vaiṭṭhuttu)*—31 cows for lamp to Tiruvangadaṇiḷiṭaḷ-perumāṇaḷiṭaḷ at Tiruttangal by a resident of Kāḍanāṟūr in Malla-nāḍu. 557 of 1922.

Year 21.—*Kutṭumiyāmalai* (Pdl.)—Mentions Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷiḷar aliḷaś Āccan Vikramēkaśariḷiḷa. 335 of 1904; Pd. 65.

" *Kutṭumiyāmalai* (Pdl.)—Gift of a village by Madurāntaka-Irukkuvēḷ aliḷaś Ādittan Vikramēkaśariḷa. 336 of 1904; Pd. 63.

" *Kuttāḷam* (Tin.)—*(Vaiṭṭhuttu)* 26 sheep for lamp to Kuttāḷattuṇṇa-perumāṇaḷiṭaḷ by Dharmasetṭi aliḷaś Śaḷaiyavaiyaḷiḷu of the Maṇikkirūmam of Tenvāra-nāḍu. 439 of 1917.

" *Tiruvradi* (SA.)—90 sheep and lamp-stand by a native of Adhirāja-mangalayapuram. 363 of 1921.
THE COLAS

Year 22.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu)—Land for lamp by Kandan Iravi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Kuttālam is said to be in Tenvāra-nāḍu. 441 of 1917.

" Tiruccendupai (Tri.)—Land as dēnādana by Madurāntaka Irulkkuveḷ alias Āditan-pūdi to Tiruccendraik-kaḷalip-paramēśvara. 318 of 1903.

" Tirukkarattai (Tj.)—Land for offerings by a member of the āḷumāyattar of Amanināṟiyana-catm. in Vaḷgarai. 295 of 1908.

Year 23.—Tiruvendrul (Tri.)—Land by Viraśīla-Ilangōvēl alias Āditan† Tiruvorriyur-udīḷa on the occasion of his marriage, (riverūdakṣipai). 323 of 1903.

" Tillaiṭṭānam (Tj.)—Gift of 25 kalāṉju of gold for which the sabhā sells land for a lamp in the temple of Tirumeyṭṭānam. Among the boundaries occurs the phrase: "Varṇaguparumāṇā ‡ vilakkukku-vaiṭṭā kāṅṟē." 277 of 1911; SII. iii. 127.

Year 24.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu)—Cows for lamp by Ariyam-poḍuvēyār, wife of a ...raṇa Pallavaraiyān. 442 of 1917.

" Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Gold for lamp by Śembiyan Mūvēndavēḷan alias Śittance Ulagaṉ, chief of Vandāḷuñ-ḷēri in Tirunayiyur-nāḍu (of the Śīḷa-nāḍu). The money was deposited on interest with Kuḷumaniṉ-pākkkan near Māṅgāḷu, Rate of interest 15 per cent. 176 of 1912.

Year 25.—Aṟarullūr (Tri.)—Land by a certain Araiyan Viraśīḷan. 360 of 1903.

† Regnal year (23)—first figure being doubtful.
‡ Wife of Parāntaka Ilangōvēr who gave some land in year 13 of Rājakesari (Ganjarāditya). After Ganjarāditya who ruled 18 years, there must have been at least four kings before A.D. 985—Ariḻajaya, Sundara-Cōḷa—Parāntaka II, Āditya II and Uttama, of whom the first probably and the third and fourth were Parakesaris. This record may be one of Ariḻajaya whose records are otherwise unknown, or better Uttama Cōḷa—II.K. Sastri.
§ cf. 359 of year 11.
PARAKESARI

Year 25.—Kuttalum (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu) — Nine Hakkātu for lamp by the ūr of Tirukkāmaṇījūr in Kajakkudi-nādu. 443 of 1917.

Year 26.—Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 639 of 1905.

Year 27.—Kuttalum (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu) Lamp to Tirukkurrālattu Mahādēva. 438 of 1917.

Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 631 of 1905.

Year 28.—Kumbakōnam (Tj.)—Gold for lamp. 246 of 1911.

Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding. 638 of 1905.

Year 29.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—(Vatteluttu) Fragment. TAS. i. p. 237.

Year 30.—Kuṭṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by Mayilai Tīrījan alias Avandiyakōpa-Pallavaraiyar of Pudukkujadi. 322 of 1904.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Gold, 25 kaḷaṇjū, for lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍya country. 57 of 1895; SII. v. 614.

Year 31. —Tiruppallatturai (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp. 252 of 1903.

Year 32.—Śomūr (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Śīrrūr in Mīy-māḷa-nāḍu. 205 of 1917.

Sucindram (Tv.)—(Vatteluttu) -50 sheep with Parāḷai-sabhaiyar for lamp, to Nānjināṭṭu Tiruc-civindiarattummāḍēva. 81 of 1896; † EI. v. p. 42; TAS. i. p. 237.

Year 33. † —Tiruppallatturai (Tri.)—gold for lamp by a native of Vallapuram in Māḷa-nāḍu. 447 of 1917.

Year 34.—Śinnamaṇīr (Md.)—(Vatteluttu) Lamp. The village is called Aḷaṇāṭṭup-piramadēyam Arukōsarinaliūr. 443 of 1907; § SII. iii. 109.

* May be Parāntaka I, T. A. G. Rao.
† Text has 23.
‡ Vijayālaya (Ilultsch) - Parāntaka I (T. A. G. Rao).
§ Parāntaka I ARE. 1908 II 51.
THE COLAS

Year 37.—Tirugōkarnam (Pd.)—Gold. 308 of 1904.

Year 40.—Tiruvanḍarkoyil (Pondicherry.)—90 sheep for lamp; mentions Tribhuvanamādēvi-catm., a brahmadeva on the northern bank of the Peṇnār. 376 of 1917.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Marandai (Tin.)—(Vallēluttu)-Land for offerings to the Viṣṇu temple at Mārandayanallūr, a brahmadeva in Kaḷakkudi-nāḷu. 313 of 1918.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—158 pon (kalaṇju) for feeding, with the interest thereon, some persons on the day of Keṭṭai in the month of Cittirai, the natal star of Śembiyan-Mahādēviyār, the mother of Uttama Cōla. 489 of 1925.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—120 sheep for a lamp by the Cōla queen Paṅcavan-mahādēvi. 338 of 1906.

Tiruvirāmśvavam (Tj.)—Money for lamp by a merchant of Viṟasōlap-perunderu of Taṉjavūr. 128 of 1911.

Uttaramēḻur (Ch.)—Gold for lamp to Jogtaikōyilin kilāṭṭalai-mahādēva on the bank of the tank at Kumana-pāḍi in the town (tivvūr). The sammutsuru-vāriyap-perumakkal were made responsible for maintaining the lamp. 10 of 1898; SHI. vi. 293.

* Parantaka I ARE. 1918 II 22.
PARAKESARI VIJAYALAYA.

Tirunečungalam (Tri)—Tribhuvana-cakravartin Kōnērin-maikopdān. A gift of land according to an earlier charter of Parakēsari alias Śri Vijayālaya Cōla-dēva. 675 of 1909.

See under Parakēsari:

Year 2.+1.—Tiruvilimilalai 439 of 1908.
Year 4.—Kāncipuram. SII. 1. 85.
Year 6.—Tiruvilimilalai. 436 of 1908.
Year 16.—Ukkal. 28 of 1893.
Year 34.—Sueindram. 81 of 1896.

under Vikrama Cōla:

Year 5—Kilputtār 164 of 1915,

mentioning a gift in year 4 of Vijayālaya.
RAJAKESARI ADITYA I.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Tondainādu-pāvina (paravina?)
Śolam-palyānaikkok-kandanaṅyena Rājakēsarivarma.
Gift of 100 sheep by Kaḻamba-mādévi, wife of Vīkkit-
Aṇṇan on whom was bestowed the hereditary title
Śembiyan Tamilavel with other marks of dignity by
the Čola king and by the Śrāmān Sthauṉ Ravi.

286 of 1911; SII. iii. 89.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 2.—Tirumeyṇānam.
  " Tirunāgēsvaram.

Year 8.—Tillaisthānam.

Year 9.—Sendalai.

Year 14.—Vējil.

Year 18.—Sendalai.

Year 23.—Tiruppaḷanam.
  " Ukkal.

Year 24.—Nerkumam.
  " Niyamam.
  " Sendalai.
  " Takkilam.

Year 27.—Brahmadēśam.
  " Tirukkaḷukkuṅgam.

under Parāntaka I:

Year 34.—Tondamāṇāḷ.

under Uttama Čola:

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumāḷpuram

286 of 1906.
PARAKŚARI PARĀNTAKA I.

See under Rājakśari:

Year 3—Kumbakōṇam.—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—Tiruccenduryai (Tri.)—(Parakśari). Land by Pūdi Āditta Piṭāri * on the day of a solar eclipse. 310 of 1903.

Tiruccenduryai (Tri.)—(Parakśari). Two gardens by Pūdi Adicca Piṭāri, queen of Arikula-kśari, as vilāppum to the deity of the stone temple built by her. 319 of 1903 ; SIH. iii. 126.

Ś. 832 †—Cendattūr (NA.)—Death of Māvali-Vānarāyār alias Kudi-pari-tandīk-kāmanūr, residing in Igalmārai-mangalam, in a cattle raid at Cendattūr. 168 of 1921.

Year 3—Tiruccenduryai (Tri.)—(Parakśari). Gold, 60 kalāţij, by Pūdi Ādīcca Piṭāriyār, daughter of Tennavan Īļāngōvēlār ‡ and queen of Arikulakśariyār, son of Śōla-Perumānaḍīgal, to the god of the stone temple of Candrasēkhara which she had built at Tiruccenduryai, near Īśānāmangalam (Brahmadēyam Īśānāmangalattu Tiruccenduryai). The gold was weighed by vidēlvidēlukal and left in charge of Īśānāmangalattu Parudāi; interest at the rate of tīṇi and padakku per pa yielding a total of 60 kalām per annum. 316 of 1903 ; § SIH. iii. 96.

* May have been the daughter of Pūdi or Mājavān Pūdiyār. Hence, Parakśari of this record must be Uttama or Āditya II. The eclipse points to A. D. 972 in Uttama Cōla’s reign. II. K. Sastri.

† This shows that in A. D. 910 Parāntaka had not yet conquered the Bānas.

‡ Another name of Mājavān Pūdiyār. II. K. Sastri.

§ The king of this record was Gaṇḍarādītya. A. D. 956-7 ARE. 1909 II 38, But see p. 150 n. ante.
THE COLAS:

Year 3.—Tirukkōḍikāval (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. Copy of an old Pāṇḍya inscription. 11 of 1931.


" Tiruvadūṭurai (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Purchase of land in Śirrānāiceir by Karrālī-piṭcne of Tiruvadūṭurai,* 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.—Tiruvadūṭairudr (Tj.)—Mentions the using up in building the central shrine of stones with inscriptions registering endowments for lamps in the temple. Copies of these records were accordingly made; and one of them was in the reign of the Kāḍu-paṭṭigal Nandipōttaraiyar who had endowed a lamp called Kumāramārtāṇḍa. The order to copy and re-engrave the records was issued by a meeting in the Nāṭakāsālā of the temple in which were present: ittevar śrīkārṇam tiruttakkāḷava Tiraimūr-sabhaiveyārum Tiruvadūṭairudil Nagaratṭarum Tirukkōḍiy-ilveyārğalu and two others, the accountant and manager of the temple.† 199 of 1907; SII. iii. 124.

Year 7.—Madhūrantakam (Ch.)—Parantakadēva. Land by the Perunguri-Mahasabhai of Śri-Madhūrantaka-catm., as tiruvadūṭairgtam to Ayōdhya Perumāl. 126 of 1896; ‡ SII. v. 991.

" Takkōlām (NA.)—Gold, 10 kaḷaṇju, by a lady for a boat to be launched in the big tank. The sabhā of Parundūr undertake to supply as interest 150 kāḍi 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 Parantaka or Vijayālaya. 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 Vamşavāri (Vamşavārimonjan-npādīya) for the maintenance of a tank called Cōla-vārīdhi 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 Bānādhīrīja. Mentions battle of Vāḷīja in which Prthivipati distinguished himself.

9 of 1896; E.I. iv. p. 221.

Year 10.—Karuttaṭāṅgudi (Tj.)—(Parakesari). 90 sheep by Maduraiyikona-Gaṇṭjarādittan to Karundittai-guḍi Mahādeva. 42 of 1897; SII. v. 1405.

* Tiruvāmattūr (S.A.)—Maduraiyikona Parakesari. Land. Mentions the king’s other name, Śrī Parantaka-dēva, and an officer of his named Śoḷaśikha-mañi Pallava-rāiyāyān. 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 śrībali was now employed to sound a gong (śenḍai koṭṭuvaradāgu) as the old service had stopped. 423 of 1903.

Tiruvidaimarudūr (Tj.)—Maduraiyikona Parakesari. An endowment for the uvaḷcar. Mentions the agent of the Cōla king in Königū. 258 of 1907.

Year 11—Pullamangai (Tj.)—Maduraiyikona. Land to temple by assembly. 558 of 1921.


Tirueṭṭṭyagai (Tj.)—Maduraiyikona. 30 pōṇ by Cōla queen Tribhuvana-mahādeviyār on behalf of her mother Nanguṭṭiyār. 130 of 1931.

* Text reads: paḍī(māḷ) będą.

† ARE. gives the date (30); but the text gives 10.
THE COLAS

Year 12—KɁlappaɁuwɁ (Tri.)—MadiraikoɁda. Commander Nak-kan Šātan of Paradūr gave 90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvālandura Mahādēva, to commemorate the victory of Paluvēṭtaraiyar Kaṇđan Amudāndanār when the Pāṇḍya king helped by the Ceylonese army attacked the Cōla king at the battle of Vellūr and died.

231 of 1926. *

Takkōlam (NA.)—Madurakọnda. Agreement of the assembly of Tiruvūr to measure out 1125 marakkāl of paṅcāvāra paddy due from the dēvadāna village Parundūr by the marakkāl which would hold 7 nāḷi and 1 urī by the Rājakēsari-nāḷi.

261 of 1921.

Tiruppārkkadal (NA.)—The Mahāsabha including the members of the year of the kuṭumbu, tōṭa, kaḷani,- and vaḍa-kaḷani-vāriyams, the Bhaṭṭar and others order the acceptance by the ēri-vāriyam of an endowment of 120 kaḷaṇju of 9½ māri gold as the corpus from the interest on which were to be fed every day four Brahman apūrvins versed in the Veda in the Śalai-maṇḍapa built by the donor. This was instituted for the merit of four warriors (ṣevakar) who died in a frontal attack (neṛṛi ṣeṇa) led by the donor, Sennippēraraïyar, at Vēḷūr on the occasion when the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle (asti-kaḍai ṣeyda nāṇu) with the Cōla king (perumāṇaṇīgal).

693 of 1904; SII. iii. 99.

Tiruvīṭhaimarudūr (Tj.)—MadiraikoɁda. Lamp. Mentions Taipūsam.

248 of 1907.

Uttaramērur (Ch.)—MadiraikoɁda. Rules for elections to the vāriyam. Title Parāntaka at end.

2 of 1898; Studies vi.

Year 13.—Tirukkalukkunram (Ch.)—(Vatīḷuttu) MadiraikoɁda.

A private gift of a lamp by Amūrkkōṭṭatuu Kāraik-kāṭṭūr Neḍumārcccāttan Śennip-pēraraïyan and his

* This was the second war. Rājasimha was the name of the Pāṇḍya king and Vellūr was apparently in the Pāṇḍya country. cf. Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthivipati II, vv. 10-11 ARE. 1926 II 16.
PARANTAKA I

mother Köyinangai. The sabhaiyär to protect the charity. 168 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 281.

Year 14.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Sheep for lamp. Mentions village Parāntaka-puram in Kongu-nāḍu.*

290 of 1911.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Gold for lamp by queen Tribhuvana-mahādeviyār.

242 of 1894; SII. v. 541.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. Revision of rules regarding elections to the vāriyam. Titles of the king: Viranārāyaṇa, Dēvendra, Cakravartin, Paṇḍita-vatsalan, Kuṇjara-mallan and Śūrasūlāmaṇi.

1 of 1898; Studies vi.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. Gold, 12½ kalaṇḍu, for lamp to Tiruppulivanattu Mahādeva given to the sabhā by a member of the yālunganam of the village (īnvār).

87 of 1898; SII. vi. 372.

Year 15.—Erode (Coi.)—Madiraikondā. Agreement of the people of Elukarait-tiruvāyppūḷi-nāḍu to pay certain taxes for the worship of Vennaiakkūta-nāyanār in the temple of Paḷḷikonaḷvār at Iruṅāru:—½ panam on each kudi; ½ each from bridegroom and bride in marriages; 1 kunji and 1 maṇjādi of gold as śudukāṭuppatṭam.

167 of 1910. †

" Kāṇčipuram (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. 270 sheep for three lamps for which three uṇḍakku of ghi had to be supplied every day by Caṇḍaperākrama Maṇḍali and his descendants, on pain of a daily fine for default of 4½ (?) at the dhanamāsana. There is also an undertaking to pay one maṇjādi of gold every day to the ruling king (anṭālu kōvukku) if the charity fails (muṭṭīl).

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 Paṇṭāntaka records from Tiruccengōḍu. ARE. 1911 II 20.

‡ SII. i. 83 is similar—180 sheep.

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Year 15.—Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for lamp at each of two temples. Mentions a person with the surname Arikuḷanṭa-vaṇa-Pēranaipain. 345 of 1904.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gifts of gold for lamps, one each, in the temples of Tirumūlatānattu-perumāṇadigal and Tirumēṟṟaḷi-perumāṇadigal by two persons, viz., one of the Pillaiyar Kōḍaḷḷar * maḻaiippallip-pennīril (7½ kālāṇju for nandārīlakkku), and one woman engaged for making sandal (śāndi) to the same prince (3 kālāṇju for pāgārīlakkku).

347 of 1904; SII. iii. 101.

Uttaramēṟū (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land to temples of Tiruppulivanam and Tulāvārattali. The ēr 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.—Uttaramēṟū (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Rules for testing gold (ṇoṇ samāṇjasan-gāybadarkku) by a committee specially constituted by election for the purpose by order of the sabhā.

12 of 1898; SII. vi. 295.

Year 16.—Brahmadesam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. The assembly Anjāṭaśaṃ fixes the remuneration to the tank accountant. The korru was four nāḷi of paddy every day, and seven kālāṇju of pure gold every year, and a pair of cloths (ṭāṇaik-kūṟai). Each accountant had, while presenting the accounts every year, to undergo the ordeal of red-hot iron (maḻi); if he passed the ordeal successfully, he got pādaśēṇa (¼ quarter of the surplus) as bonus; else he was fined 10 kālāṇju; no corporal punishment was to be inflicted.

226 of 1915.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for lamp by a native of Koḻungōḷūr in Malai-nūḷu. 351 of 1904.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—400 sheep for 4 lamps by the king’s son Kōḍaṇṭḷarāma. 379 of 1902; SII. vii. 1009.

* Same as Kōḍaṇṭḷaṟa of 318 of 1904, n.d. ARE. 1905. II. 9.
Kōḍaṇṭḷaṟa Rājāḍitya, the eldest son of Parāntaka. H. K. Sastri.
Year 16.—Tiruppugambiyam (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamukonla.
Seven cows for glī by two persons. 331 of 1927.

Year 16, day 222—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonja. Land bought from ryots by order of assembly for renewing and widening a road which, owing to a flood, had become unfit for use even by cattle. The garden committee executed the order of the assembly.
9 of 1898; SII, vi. 292.

Year 17.—Brahmakīśāsam (N.A.)—Madiraikonja. 325 luṭi of land for offerings by Nalluḷān-Ūraḷimagan Aṭṭamūtī. 224 of 1915.


Śrīrapampāl (Tri.)—Madiraikonja. Thirty mu by śem-māt-pañcīrāk-kal for lamp, forty for camphor, and one for cotton wick (pēś ḫuī); and a silver lamp-stand (nihāi-riṭakku). Tiruvanāna-sabhā took charge of the endowments. 72 of 1892; SII, iv. 519.

Tiruvoramālāmpūṭhi (Tj.)—Madiraikonja. 16 kalāni gold for lamp by Gunūvan Sāratongi, one of the retinue (parivāram) of Nambirāṭiyār Arumolī-nangai, the daughter of Paluvēṭṭanaiyar. 299 of 1901; SII, vii. 520.

Tiruppapānam (Tj.)—Madiraikonja. Gold by Kallān Ācāpili of Koḷḷumāḷur. 140 of 1924.

Tiruvilairamudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonja. Paddy by inhabitants of Tiruvilai-uḷī. 245 of 1907.

Year 18.—Pallamangai (Tj.)—Madiraikonja. Royal gift as kuṭi-nikkiya-dēvadānam of five and odd rōli of unalienated land yielding 500 kalām of paddy and 5 kalāni of gold to Tiruvālandurai-Mahādēva. 555 of 1921.

Earliest mention of conquest of Ceylon so far known occurs only in year 37. Perhaps this title was assumed after Veḷḷēr and fully justified only later.
AKE. 1927 II 10.
THE COLAS

Year 18.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for lamp. Mentions Kongap-peruvali. *

Tiruvιdιaimarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for a lamp by a merchant of Kumāra-māttuṇḍapuram in Tenkari-Tiraimūr-nādu. 262 of 1907.

Year 19.—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep with sabhā of Śirupaḷuvūr. Lamp by Daṇṭi Adiṭār of Umbāḷappāḍi. 236 of 1926.


Pillaiupakkam (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Regulations for election of members to the assembly by the wards of Nināvūr in Palkunraithūtam. 176 of 1930.

Takkūḷam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. 800 kūṭi of paddy left with Manayil-kōṭṭattu Tiruvūral-purattup-pondaippakkattu sabhā. Interest rate of 4 nāṭi 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 (niṣadām ivāṇḍu śōṇu). 8 of 1897; SIL v. 1371.


Vēḷal (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Mentions Viṇṇagar Vayiramgān and a Kālāmukha Daśapuriya of the Hūrīta gōṭra and Āpastamba sūtra. 85 of 1908.

Year 20.—Tiruppaldtiyai (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. 20 kalajju gold for lamp by vaḷavaṇ tamakkai-yuṇmhāyājāna Arijīgai Āḍittān. 255 of 1903; SIL viii. 648.

Tiruvιdιaimarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for green-gram offering. Forty kalajju deposited in parts with the sabhā and ār of Tiraimūr. 201 of 1907.

* cf. 290 of 1911 (Year 14)

† cf. 129 of 1907 from Koṭumbāḷur (Vikramakṛṣṣari). Mēḷpāḍi had a maṭha of Lakulīsa Pāṇḍapatas, perhaps a branch of the Kālāmukhas, at the beginning of the 11th century A. D. AE. 1909 II 37.
PARANTAKA I

Year 20.—Tiruvogiyur (Ch.)—Madiraikonḍa. Mentions wife of Kerala Ku(r)umban alias Parakṣari Muvendavelar of Valudi-vāl-mangalam. 173 of 1912. *

Year 21.—Kanḍiyur (Tj.)—Madiraikonḍa. Thirty kaṭañju gold by an inhabitant of Taṇjāvūr, and fifteen kaṭañju by another for mid-day offerings, converted into land. The Tirukanḍiyur sabhai was in charge of the endowment. 14 of 1895; SII. v. 569.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikonḍa. Paddy and gold with Kayattur Ĳrūr of Tiruvūralpuram in Panmā-nāḷu of Maṇayil-kōṭṭam. 12 of 1897; SII. v. 1375.

Year 22.—Kilappaluruv (Tri.)—Madiraikonḍa. 90 sheep with sabhā for lamp by Nandin-kaṭāṭti, a peṇḍattī of the vēḷam of Gaṇḍarāḍattar t of Taṇjāvūr. 241 of 1920.

Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Madiraikonḍa. Sale by the villagers (Cr) of Marudūr, to Iraiyāṅkudil-kilavan, oj the right of taking water for irrigation to hattuṇṭi through the sluice of the tank in their village, for a specified sum of money. 376 of 1909.

Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Madiraikonḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a queen's mother (Cōḷa-mādēviyār-tangal-ācci) Perumāḷ Tiruvarangi. 225 of 1894; SII. v. 524.

Year 23.—Grānum § (SA.)—Madiraikonḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by (people of) Tirumunaippāḷi. 744 of 1905.

Oddantangal (NA.)—Madiraikonḍa. Land as ēriṇṭiṭṭi for repairing breaches in the tank in Taṇāḷu. 206 of 1921.

* The records of this king at Tiruvogiyur range from years 20 to 38 and are perhaps the earliest Cōḷa records in the Northern corner of the Taṇḍai-mangalam, apparently not conquered by Aditya 1 (Rājak.) as no records of his are found there. ARE. 1913 II 18.

† Second son of Parāntaka 1 and author of a Tiruvaiyāṟṟū; already a grown up prince. ARE. 1926 II 16.

‡ Text does not give the name of the person and the sale; says simply "uṇḍaiṭakam-ṭhūṭaiṭṭiṭīm".

§ Called Parāntaka-catm, in 193 of 1906.
THE COLAS

Year 23 +1.—Takalkam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. 455 kalâŋju of gold for a kalgai to the Tiruvângal-Mahâdeva temple. 251 of 1921.

Year 24.—Jaumâi (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Mentions the building of a mandapa at the town of Vâlaiyûr by Viranâraîiyûr, queen of prince Gândarâddittar and daughter of Sûkamâdëvûr; also endowment by Nagarattar in whose name the mantapa was built. 108 of 1906.

Kuttâlam (Tin.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for lamp by Pirântakan Uttamañili. 446 of 1917.

Mâlappalâvûr (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Three forehead plates made of gold collected from several sources (palêîrapun and tankâppron) by Kâmakkâdanar. An undertaking by the temple servants to burn two perpetual lamps in the temple with 180 sheep purchased out of 20 kalâŋju realised from various sources in the 26th year of the king. 378 of 1924.

Tillaisthûnam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Forty Ceylon kalâŋju of gold equal to twenty pon for a lamp given by Pirântakan Arikulakasari, the king's son. 25 of 1895; SII. v. 582.

Tirâkkalâvûr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Land for lamp by Nâkkan Shândrûvi of the Jayabhûmatali at Taîjâvûr. 38 of 1910; SII. iii. 102.

Tiruvâdhamudûr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Anaimangalarn in Pattinakûram. 250 of 1907.

* This and 448 of year (36) are the only two records of this king so far found in the Pandya 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 Pandya country is mentioned in the Udayândiram and Tiruvâlangûru plates. Eight Vettêcutta records from Kuttâlam (Tin.) are also naturally to be assigned to this king. ARE. 1910 B 22.

† Text has: Jâkkâlânûju. Ceylonese kalâŋju was 10 mafiâdi, while the Tanjore one was 20. See also 156 of 1895, ARE. 1895, paragraph 12.

‡ cf. SII. ii. 66 p. 292; ARE. 1910 B 16.
PARANTAKA I

Year 24.—Uttraramërrür (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. 12½ kalæñju of gold for lamp by the son of one of the yâhungaţattâr. The ēri-vâriyam of each year was to supervise the charity. 58 of 1898; SII. vi. 341.

Vëppanëganëri (NA.)—Madiraikonda. A grant of 1,000 kulî of land by the assembly of Kâvanûr as ēri-pâttî. 166 of 1921.


Mâlâppaluvûr (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Undertaking by the assembly of Uttamadâni-catm. for the daily supply of ghî for one lamp as interest on gold (9 kalæñju-tîp-pûkkû šembon) received by them from the temple. 359 of 1924.

Siddharîngamâlam (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Land for music thrice a day during worship. 387 of 1909.

Tilâiśthiînam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. An enquiry into temple affairs by royal writ; the Nagara-vâriyakkûtâm has part in the enquiry; fine of 12 kalæñju is levied on some defaulters, and is used for making a puttâm and for festival. 31 of 1895; SII. v. 588.

Tiruppurambîyam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep by the Nâţhu-mangâdîgal for lamp. 315 of 1927.

Tiruvâḻûrûçai (Tj.)—Maduraikonda. 11 mâ of land for maintenance of pipers in the temple by Tirukkarâlîpîcean * who is stated to have built the Gomuktiâvara

• 182 of 1925 (n.d.) is the name label of this person figured as worshipping a linga on the S. wall of the temple.

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temple at Tiruvāṭuturai. On receiving 16½ kalāṇju of gold, the assembly of Śīrrānaiccūr made the land tax-free. 126 of 1925.

Year 26.—Erumār (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by a lady. The sabhā agree to see that the lamp is regularly maintained. 381 of 1913.

Kaṇṭiṭiyūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Land given in exchange for 10½ kalāṇju of gold endowed by Pillaiyar Parāntakar Uttamaśili for a lamp (pagalvilakkāru). The sabhā of Tirukkaṇṭiṭiyūr made the exchange. 19 of 1895; SII. v. 575.

Mīḻappaluvur (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Gift of reclaimed land for lamp by Kāḷi Pūḍi, a native of Nelvāyil (Nelvāyil-nilaiyān) in Mīḻoḷai Vilā-nāḷū. 380 of 1924.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Nangūrinnangai of Mayilāppil on behalf of her daughter Sōlā-sīkhāmaniyār, the queen of the Cōla king. 158 of 1931.

Tiruvorriyār (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp and one Ceylonese (Ila) lamp-stand by a native of Śōḷa-nāḷū. 184 of 1912.

Tiruvoggiyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. A part (of Tiruvoṛgiyūr ?) called Śūra-sūḷāmaṇiṇip-perunderu. 187 of 1912.

Udayeṇdiram (N.A.)—Madiraikonda. Resolution of sabhās of Kāṇjivāyil alias Igal-māraṇi-mangalam and Udayacandra-mangalam to live together as one village thereafter. SII. ii. p. 370; Bl. iii. p. 147.

Year 27.—Adigudi (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Land for lamp by a native of Anbil, a brahmaṇīya in Kīḷ-kūṟru, a sub-division of Kīḷ-kūṟru, to the temple of Tiruvāḍigudi. 106 of 1920.

* Surname of Parāntaka I ARH. 1913 ii 18.
PARANTAKA I

Year 27.—Tillaisthanam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp by a merchant of the Manigrāmam of Adittapura in Tiruneyttanam. The gold given for the purpose was taken charge of by Parādāya-nakkan Śīrkanād. * 33 of 1895; SII. v. 590.

" Tiruccengū [Sn.]—Madiraikonda. Money for a lamp entrusted to the sabhā of Tiruccengū, while the people of the eighteen districts (nāḷḷār) were to protect the grant. 640 of 1905.

" Tiruvilaimarudū [Tj.]—Madiraikonda. Land to maintain a drummer (udukkai-rāśippūn) who had to play on the udukkai thrice a day (mōṇgi sandiyum). The land was given by an officer auditing temple affairs (śrīkāryum arāṅkinā), the sabhā of Titaimūr, the nagarattār of Tiruvilaimarudū, the tirukkōyil-ūḷaiyār and the pati-pādāmulaṭṭār, assembled in the theatre (nāṭaka-kāḷai). * 157 of 1895; SII. v. 721.

" Tiruvṛśalū [Tj.]—Madiraikonda. Provision for the supply of bathing water from the Kāverī to the deity. The village is called Avani-nāraya-catm. alīs Vēmbāṟṟūr, a dēvadāna and brahmadeya on the northern bank. 35 of 1907.

" Tiruvōoryū [Ch.]—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by Dēvan Kesari alīs Kūnjaramallā † Pallavaraiyān. 167 of 1912.

Year 28.—Erumū [SA.]—Madiraikonda. The śrivimāṇa was built of stone and the gūpura with aṭāparivāra erected by Irungal Kuṇavān Aparājīta; 3 ½ vēḷi of land given by the same person with the permission of the king, Śōḷapperumāḷ Parāntaka-dēva, to the temple of Śīṟurukkōyil-bhāṭārā at Urumūr, for tiruccennal, arcanābhāṣyā and the maintenance of the drummers for śrībāli. 384 of 1913. †

* cf. 31 of 1895 of year 25.
† A surname of the king, ARE. 1913 II 18.
‡ 379, 381 and 382 with earlier regnal years in the same temple. Either the construction was finished earlier than year 28 or the earlier grants got engraved in that year after the completion of the work. ARE. 1914 II 15.

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Year 28.—Kilãr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for lamp to Tirukkõovalur Tiruviraṭṭānattup-perumāḻ by the queen Rājadēviyār Tēsāḷakkī-perumāṇār, dāughter of Milā-juḍāiyyār Kayirur Perumāṇār.

279 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 141.

Periya Varikkam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. 500 kuṭi of land by assembly to the wife and children of Sāmilāyakkan, a āchār who fell in a cattle raid in Varikkīyam alias Candirāditya-mangalam.

180 of 1921.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep and an Iḷavīḷakkā by Citrākōmālam, a female servant (pāvīravallā) of the queen Kōkkilānaḷīgāl, mother of Rājadēttādeva, who * ordered the construction of the stone temple of Tiruṭṭonṭiśvarā (Bhaṅgaṭjanēśvarā) at Tirunāvalur in Tirunumanppāḍi.

335 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 133.

Tiruppattūn (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp. Mentions the queen of Śōḷappurumāṇāḷīgāl, Śeyābhūvānā Cintāmaṇīyār of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭīnām. †

137 of 1928.

Vēdārayam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by Arūṇidī-Kālyān of Maṇuṭūr, an officer of Śrī-Parākōśāri.

445 of 1904.

Year 29.—Bairakār (Mys.)—(Kanarese) Madiregonda. A memorial stone for a person who recovered the cows, slew and died. 457 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 203. †


* It is not clear if the mother or the son built the temple. See Venkayya ASI. 1905-6 p. 180 nn. 7 and 8.

† cf. 46 of 1923 (Yr. 34.)

‡ Rice (p. xxiv) says that this is an isolated instance of such an early Kan. Čōja inscription and suspects a later date. But 290 and 281 of 1911 (years 14 and 18) furnish evidence of Varṇāṭaka's sway in Kōnku-KARE. 1912 II 13. And there is nothing against the genuineness of this record. II. K. Sastri. EI. x. Additions etc.

" **Grāmam** (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp by some servants (kōṇiyippillaigal) of prince Rājāditya to the temple of Śri-Āgruttaḷi Mahādeva. 745 of 1905.

" **Grāmam** (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 182 of 1906.

" **Kil-muttogūr** (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Records death of Vadu-navaṟṟan Varadān Tāṇḍān in a cattle raid—(perumāṇaṭikaiḷan Mukkuttur toṇ kollā millup-pattān). †

† of 1896; *EI* iv. pp. 178-9.

" **Tiruccānūr** (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp apparently by a native of Kodungōḷūr in Mālai-nāḷū (Oranganore in Cochin?). Tiruccānūr is called Tiruccōkunūr twice, and its sābhā mentioned. 260 of 1904.

" **Tirunāṉamallūr** (SA.)—Maduraikonda. 100 sheep for a lamp to the shrine of Agastyeśvara by a physician of Pillaiyār Rājāditya. 325 of 1902; *SIL* vii. 954.

" **Tirunāṉamallūr** (SA.)—Maduraikonda. Two lamps to Rājāditya Īśvara and Agastyeśvara by a servant of Rājādityaḷēva. Also twenty sheep for offerings at ardha-yāna. 347 of 1902; *SIL* vii. 977.

" **Tiruvaṅkiyūr** (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Thirty kuṭṭi of urkaçeemai-pon for lamp to Mahādeva by Iravi Nilī, daughter of Vijayarāgāḷēva, † the Kēraḷārāja. The amount was apparently invested on a field in Tiru-

* cf. 735 of year 36.

† Portrait of warrior. Palaeogr. same as Tirukkalukkunram 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 Cēra country. H. K. Sastri.
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vestlyūr which yielded an annual interest of 4½ kalaṇju at the rate of 3 manjūśi per kalaṇju.

169 of 1912; SII. iii. 103.

Year 29—Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonḍa. Gold, ārkāvccem-mai 40 kalaṇju, for feeding a learned Brahman by a native of Eṭṭiyākurecic in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu who had accepted service in the temple (karmiyāy-vandu).

182 of 1912.

Year 30—Kumaramangalam (NA.)—Madiraikonḍa. Death of Manukulan Śingaperumān in a cattle raid (erumait-toru) after recovery of the cattle.

186 of 1921.

Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Madiraikonḍa. Gold by Kāri-Accan of Āyirattal in Kīlār-kūram and the merchants of the village for burning lamps in the temple.

164 of 1928.

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonḍa. Sixty kalaṇju gold for two lamps by Kōlanṭarāman, eldest son* of the Cōla king Parakēsari. Part of it, thirty kalaṇju, was perhaps borrowed on interest in the 35th year of the king by the ār of Veḷḷivāyil at the rate of 3 manjūśi 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.

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonḍa. Gold for lamp by Arindigai Perumānār, son of Cōla-perumāṇaḍigaḷ, to god Siva at Ādhigrāma. Thirty kalaṇju, † called niṣkā in the Sanskrit part, formed the amount of the endowment.

170 of 1912; SII. iii. 104.

Year 31—Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikonḍa. Gift of vessels by men who belonged to the (army) of prince Rājāditya-dēva.

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.) ARE. 1913 II 18.

† Invariably about 80 grains—H. K. Sastri.

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Year 31.—Takkolam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Gold by queen of Govinda Vallavaraiyar and the daughter of the Cola king Parantaka-dēvar for lamp in the Tiruvūral-Mahādeva temple at Takkolam, which the residents of Sembulalai undertook to maintain.

245 of 1921.

Takkolam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Similar gift by queen Viramādevi, * the residents of Urālagam agreeing to maintain the lamp.

246 of 1921.

Takkolam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Tēnūr on the banks of the Vaigai in the Pāṇḍi-nādu.

248 of 1921.

Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Duvēdimangalam, a brahmādēya in the same nādu as the temple, viz., Pērāvūr. The standard for the gold was ārkaṇccema-mai. †

50 of 1925.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp by the Cola queen Amudan Pērāl alias Pallavan Mādeviyār of Kānattūr in Umbala-nādu.

303 of 1906.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp by the queen Amani-mādeviyār who came from Pāṇḍi-nādu.

314 of 1906.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant (ūnai-āl) of Rājāditya-dēva.

330 of 1902; SII. vii. 959.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Land by the nurse (tūdi) of the Cola king Parantaka. Mentions Karikālakaraī among the boundaries.

129 of 1895; SII. v. 693.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 96 sheep for lamp by Porīyalumān, brother-in-law of Irumukkaraiyar.

134 of 1928.

* Same as the queen mentioned in 245 of 1921.

† We have also: palangāsimodum oppadu. cf. SII. iii p. 229, ARE. 1925 ii 10.
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Year 31.—Tiruvaiyaru (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Five vēli of land for feeding Śivayogins, given to Niyāmadhanasvāmīgaḷ śīṣya-prāśīṣya-vargattār by Irumādhisōlap-pallavasvāmīgaḷ alias Namban Aiyāṟaḷīgaḷ. 241 of 1894; SII. v. 540.

" Tiruvaiyaru (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Silver lamp and land by the Queen of the Cōḷa king, Vaḷava-Mādēvi-yār, the daughter of Nīranāy-ṕādiyār. 248 of 1894; SII. v. 547.

Year 32.—Kil-muttugūr (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Marks the spot where a tiger was killed by Kumāranandī Pujāḷappan of Vaḷagarai-Mukkuṭūr. 2 of 1896; EI. iv. p. 179. *

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tiruttōṇrisvara alias Rājāditya Īśvara by a servant of prince Rājāditya-ādeva. 326 of 1902; † SII. vii. 955.

" Tiruttanyi (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Land to Subrahmanyasvāmīgaḷ temple apparently by one Parakēsari Muttaraiyan. 439 of 1905. ‡

" Tiruvēlimiḻai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Sheep for lamp. 440 of 1908. §

" Uṭtukkāḻu (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Construction of a tank. 347 of 1906.

Year 33—Ānaimalai (Md.)—(Vṭṭēḻuttu). Madiraikonda. Records the digging of a tank called Kaliyanēri after the donor Marudūrṇedaiyān Arūṇidhi-Kaliyan, an udiṟṟi of the Cōḷa king. Mentions the temple of Narasīṅgaperumāndīgaḷ on the Tiruvēnaimalai. 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.

Year 33.—Brahmadesam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Twelve kalāṇju of gold for a lamp by Alagasarma-kramavittan, son of Kūḍal Kilār Māṇisivāhoṭṭa Sarvakratukkal, one of the āṭunganam of Rājamalla-catn. 218 of 1915.

Kāvanūr (NA.)—Madiraikonda. 400 Kuli of land for lamp to Śri Karapurattu Perumāl by a member of the āṭunganam. 161 of 1921.

Kīlār (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkalārūr Tiruviraṭṭānattu Mahādēva, by a Malaiyāna-oppaiccēvāgan of the army of Pillaiyar Arikula-kēsari. 280 of 1902; 677. vii. p. 141.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of Rājāditya's Malaiyānaparivāra. 343 of 1902; 677. vii. 973.

Uṭṭaiyārūndi (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Three rīl of land by Nandisiruppirān alias Ananta-Vikramapparaiyan, a mahānētra, for feeding twenty-five Brahmans; also gold for two perpetual lamps in the temple at Tirunāntriśvaram. 539 of 1920.

Year 34.—Kuriladi—(Tj.) Gold, 10 kalāṇju, for lamp to Tirucca-ṉaiṇuḷi Mahādēva, by wife of Vimalānkuṇi Edarnikkī, an inhabitant of Śālakkarimam in the Pāṇḍya country. 287 of 1301; 677. vii. 507.

Pulahlūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Ten kalāṇju of gold by the queen Śeyyabhuvana-cintāmaṇiyār for lamp at the shrine of Śri-Ṛaghava in the temple of Tiruvaiyāl in Eyikōṭṭam 16 of 1923.

Sūnūr (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Kīrathi pulli (num)na(gi)-kkirani(rā)mī dēvittā pōlai.

68 of 1890; 677. iv. 392.

Tillaisthānām (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by queen Mallisvarattu Nambirāṭṭiyār Tenmavan-mahādēvīyār alias Nārāyaṇa Nangūri Nangaiyār,

* Pillar bearing the inscription apparently brought from the neighbouring Perumāl temple.
† Engraved in continuation of 279 of Year 28.
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called here Śōla-perumāṇaḷiṃgal Mahādevīyar.

44 of 1895 ; SII. v. 601.

Year 34.—Tiruttaiy (NA.) — Madiraikopla. Land by the assembly.

449 of 1905.

" Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Madiraikopla. Lamp by queen Cōlaśikhāmaṇi, who was Mayilappi. . . . . . . . Nanguri Nangaiyār magalār. * 226 of 1894 ; SII. v. 525.

" Tiruvorriyār (Ch.)—Madiraikopla. 96 sheep (navati in Sans, part) for lamp by Māraṇa Paramēśvaran alius Śembiyan Śoliya-varaiyan of Śirukṇāṭīṭūr, ‘who captured Śītpuḷi, † destroyed Nellūr, and on returning from there, made a grant to the temple of Mahādeva at Tiruvorriyār.’ (Śītpuḷiyaiyejindu Nellūralittu mīndu pūdyingīyān). The donor is called Virakirti in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning.

160 of 1912 ; SII. iii. 108.

" Tondrarndndd (C.)—Madiraikopla. Gold for feeding 1,000 Brahmans on certain festival days. Mentions temple of Kōdan-ilāmēśvara alius Nālīyēśvara ‡ and a certain Pallippālaivyālaiya Vāgēśvara-puplitābhaṭṭāra. 230 of 1903.

" Uyyakkōṇḍān Tirumalai (Tri.)—Madiraikopla. 90 sheep for lamp to Tirukkaṇkūḷi-Paramēśvara of Nandippammanamangalam, a brāhmaṇēya on the southern bank, by Pirantakan Mādevadigalar, the wife of Pirantakan Gaṇḍarāddattadēvar § and the daughter of Mahaperumāl. 96 of 1892 ; SII. ii. 75 ; iv. 543.

* cf. 44 of 1895 above (same year).

† He must have been the E. Cējukya Bhūma II or one of his subordinates. AKE. 1913, II 18. Perhaps a later member of the Naḍā dynasty to which Ptthivi Vyagbra, the enemy of Udavacandra, belonged. H. K. Sastri. cf. 236 of 1912 n.d.

‡ Venkayya thought that this name was connected with Kajaditya (or Gaṇḍarādditya). 164 of 1912 (Yr. 30) makes it clear that Kajaditya had the title Kōdan-ilāmēśa. But Kāḍitāya died at Tondmarndndūr and the temple may have taken its name from him. He might have had the surname Kōdan-ilāmēśa. H. K. Sastri SII. iii. 105 i.e. 164 of 1912.

§ The author of the Tiruvisiipp-Hultsch, SII. ii. p. 374, contra Venkayya on 222 of 1903 of Rājak. Yr. 4.
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Year 35.—Emappuṟ'u (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Land by a Brahman for a flower-garden to supply daily a garland six spans long to the deity. 527 of 1921.

Takkolam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Sale of land, house sites and certain privileges by the headman of Pasali in Pasali-nādu to residents of Anāikaraipudur in consideration of their maintaining a sacred lamp in the temple of Tiruvūral Mahādēva. 254 of 1921.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 329 of 1902; SII. vii. 958.

Tiruvaṭutugai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Remission of taxes on land purchased for the temple by Kandan Sattan of Nerkkuppay in Tanjāvūr-kūṟram, by the assembly of Sirrānaiiecūr for money received from the donor at the rate of 1½ kaḷāṉju per mā. This and another piece of land got from the same assembly by Tirukkāṟṟaḷipiccan (122 of Year 38) were for the maintenance of servants who blew the conch and horn, held the parasol (vīṭānām) and looked after the flower-garden. 125 of 1925.

Tiruvaṭutugai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Fourteen vēḷi of land bought from the Tiraimūr sābha and the Tiruvidāmarudil nagaraṭṭār. Mentions Paḷangāviri among boundaries. 149 of 1895; SII. v. 713.

Tiruvōrvirūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Fifty kaḷāṉju of gold for feeding two Mahāvratīs every day, by Ilājiappēraṟaiyan alias Sōḷasikāmāṇī †-Pallavaraiyan. 168 of 1912.

Year 35 + 1.—Tillaiśṭhānām (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 25 kaḷāṉju gold for lamp deposited with the Paṭi-pāḷamāḷāṭṭār. Another gift of 15 pon for tiruvamidu to Kalangāceḷurar-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 Veḷḷan-gumaran, the Kāraḷa general of prince Rājāditya, son of Madhurāntaka, built of stone a Śiva temple (Āruttali-Mahādēva) at Mauligrāma, i.e., Muḍiyūr on the Peṇṇai river. The record is dated Kali 4044 and Kali day 1,47 (70)37 corresponding to 14th January, Saturday, 9411 A. D.

735 of 1905; ASI. 1905-6 pp. 182-3.

Kilappaḻuvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Agreement by three servants of the temple to put up two picotahs (ēttam) for water for bathing the god and for the flower-garden for money received. 218 of 1926.

Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vallēḻuttu). Madiraikōṇḍa. Two lamps by the headman of Kilinallūr. 448 of 1917.

Tiruvāḻuvūrai (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land, after purchase (tax-free) from the assemblies of Šīru-puliyūr and Śīṟṟānaiccūr, for the maintenance of two hymners, two gardeners, and two maid-servants for gathering flowers for garlands, for offerings in the temple, and for feeding, under the supervision of the donor's descendants, the Śivayōgins and the Māhēśvaras on the seven festival days beginning with the asterism Mūla. Mentions Maḻapati often. 111 of 1925.

Tiruvengūmbūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land by the Perungnn-mahasabha of the brahmāṇḍa Śrīkanṭha-catm., for “tippōkkwe-cembe nan kalañjil pērttu uraiyum tulaiyum valuvādādu innēr-āḥu kallāy-koptha pon podinaingaḷanju” and another 15 kalañju for īraikēval-dravayam on the same land.

100 of 1892; SII. iv. 547.

Year 37.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 14½ kalañju gold for lamp by one of the āhunagavattar of Rājamallacatm. in Tiruvēḻambapuram. 217 of 1915.

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Year 37.—Lālguṭi (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land for two Brahmans* chanting the Tiruppadiyam thrice every day in the temple of Tiruttavatturai Mahādeva. 99 of 1929.

" Kaṅcipuram (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of lands in Kaṅcipuram to the temple of Anantaśrayana-Paramasvāmin of Kaccippōḍu who was pleased to lie on his serpent couch in the Tiruvēkā (the Vēgavati river) (Tiruvēkā-āṇai-kiṇḍandaraṇīna) by some private persons of the same village for 367 laṇāṇu gold. 21 of 1921.†

" Kīlappāḻuvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by Manarkṇḍi, a gaṇatādu of Mūnpiḷai in the Mīlākaik-kūṟuṁ in Pāyli-nūḷu. 230 of 1926.

" Śrīnīvāsanallūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for a lamp, a copper water pot, a lamp stand and a silver tray. 589 of 1904.

" Tirucengōṇḍu (Sm.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp. 632 of 1905.‡

" Tiruvellagai (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for feeding a Brahman versed in the Vēda. 86 of 1910.

" Tiruvilaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land for lamp by a merchant of Mayilāppil in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. 147 of 1895; SII. v. 711.

" Tiruvilaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Mentions a certain Kavaṟāmalī-Ṇādey yan aliya Tondaradippōḍi. 207 of 1907.

" Udaiyāṟgaṇṭu (SA.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Money (90 kāśu) by a woman-servant of the temple kitchen for feeding three persons every day. 553 of 1920.

* contra Sudra Śudvārs doing this now. ARE. 1929 II 25. 104 of 1929 (Rājak. Yr. 3) is a gift supplementing this endowment.

† Palaeography two centuries later. Perhaps copy of an old record. Recalls story of Viṣṇu saving a sacrifice by stopping Sarasvatī who took the shape of a stream. ARE. 1921 II 25. Tirunandarupattu II 63, 64.

‡ Proof of Kongu conquest ARE. 1906 II 21.
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Year 37.—Uḍaiyārṇga (SA.)—Maduraikonda. 96 sheep for lamp. Mentions Karpagaśadirac-cēri and vāriganuṭṭīṭu manjāṭikkaṭalaiyūm. 597 of 1920.

" Ukkal (NA.)—Maduraikonda. Gift of village of Śodiyambākkam, to the north of Ukkal, as a devabhūga by the assembly of Ukkal for various items of expenses detailed, with the remission of vetṭi, vedilai and vālakkāṇam, the right to punish the crimes and sins of the villagers being also vested in the temple: ‘innārk-kuṇīgalai-kurandōga-mungūpūṭu dhēvarī dāṇḍit-tukkolvarāgavum.*’

30 of 1893; SII. iii. 12.

Year 38.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Maduraikonda. † Land. Danti- varma-mangalam a brahmadēya on the north bank (of the Kāvēri). 714 of 1909.

" Ānandamangalam (Ch.)—Maduraikonda. Five kālājī of gold for feeding one devotee (aṭṭiyār) in the Jina-girippalī by Vardhamānap-periyālīgal, a disciple of Vinaiyābha-śūra-Kuravaḷīgal. 430 of 1922. ‡

Year 38. §—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Maduraikonda. 250 of 1911.

" Puriṇāraṇṭai (Tj.)—Maduraikonda. 270 of 1923.

" Pillaiṟṟukkam (Ch.)—Maduraiyum Īłamum-kōṇa. Lamp. 170 of 1930.

" Śrīnīvāsanallūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īłamum-kōṇa. † Sale of land for lamp by Mūlapuruḷai. 605 of 1904.

* In add. and corr. to SII. iii, kuṇīgalaiam is explained as ‘fine imposed on persons for defaults’, and manjāṭikkaṭam 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 Parakēṣari.
Sri Ranga (Tri.) — Maduraikonda. One hundred kalañjilu gold for Sahasradhárä to Ranganätha. 71 of 1892; SII. iv. 518.

" Tirukköñikával (Tj.) — Maduraikonda. Land and gold for offerings in the temple. 15 of 1931.

" Tirunämanallur (SA.) — Maduraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by a merchant. 342 of 1902; SII. vii. 972.


" Tiruväñguñai (Tj.) — Maduraikonda. Sale of land to temple by assembly of Šiñgënaiccur for money paid on account of the temple by Tirukkarraji-piccan. 122 of 1925.

" Tiruväñguñai (Tj.) — Maduraikonda. Remission of taxes on the lands of the temple by the assembly of Šiñgënaiccur for money received by them from Tirukkarraji-piccan. 142 of 1925.

" Tiruväñguñai (Tj.) — Maduraikonda. Five hundred kalañju of gold by Paranäka-devar for constructing the temple with stone from kuñappavai upwards. 143 of 1925.


" Tiruväñjaimarudur (Tj.) — Maduraikonda. Lamp for merit of Ariñjiyaippirättryär. 252 of 1907.

" Tiruväñjimildai (Tj.) — Maduraikonda. 441 of 1908.


Year 38.—Uḍaiyārṛṇdi (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Three vēli of land for feeding 25 Brahmans in temple. The king remitted the taxes on this land. Tennavan Viḷūppēraraiyan, called 'nammangar' by the king, had built a hall in which the assembly met.

604 of 1920.

Vilāppākkam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. The sinking of a well, by a female disciple of Arīṭauēmi-piḷārān of Tiruppāṇmalai. * The 'twenty-four' of the ēr to protect the charity. a pēppāḷī.

53 of 1900; \textit{SHI.} vii. 56.

Year 39.—Grānam (SA.)—Madiraikonda.

192 of 1906.

Tirukkαlāvūr (Tj.)—Maduraikonda Parakēsari who also took Īlam. Land by a servant (pēppāḷī) of queen Vilavan Mādeviyūr. The pirajai of Karugāvūr near Tirukkuḍamūkkil, a dēvālāna 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 kālāṇjū for default as a body and 50 as individuals. Cultivation rights mentioned.

37 of 1910; \textit{SHI.} iii. 110.

Tirunudāpuram (NA.)—Madiraikonda. 96 sheep for a lamp.

302 of 1906.

Tirunudāpuram (NA.)—Maduraiyum Īḷamnum-kōṇṭa. Sale of land.

341 of 1906.

Tirunūmaṇalur (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājaḍītya.

351 of 1902; \textit{SHI.} vii. 981.

Tirunūmaṇalur (SA.)—Maduraiyum Īḷamnum-kōṇṭa. One hundred sheep for lamp by Mahādevavēḷigāl, a queen of prince Rājaḍītya-dēva and •daughter of Iḷādrāiyar, for the merit of her elder brother Araiyar Rājaḍīttan Pugalippar-ganḍan.

363 of 1902; \textit{EL.} vii. p. 134. †

* Another name for Paṇcapāṇḍavamalai, a Jaina centre from the Pallava period to that of Rījarāja I. \textit{AKE.} 1900, paragraph 16.

† Hultzsch says that Iḷādrāiyar was a title borne by a line of local chiefs which included Viṭra Cōḍa, son of Pugalippavarganta, perhaps the same as the elder brother Rājaḍīttan of this record. See also \textit{EL.} iv. p. 139.
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Year 39.—Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Maduraiyum Ḳamum-konda.
Lamp. 367 of 1902; SII. vii 997.

"Tiruvāiṟutrayi (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ḳamum-kondā. Provision by Karrajı Piccan and the Ḳēvakammis of the temple for expenses on sankrānti days and special bath on the two ayanasankrāntis, by purchase of 3 mā of land for 8 kalinju received from Kannipuliyūr Nakkan of Talikkakalambūr in Kār-nāḍū, on the north bank. 140 of 1925.

"Tiruvaiyulayi (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ḳamum-konda. Lamp. 233 of 1894; SII. v. 532.

"Tiruvaiyulayi (Tj.)—Maduraikonda. 143 of 1918.

"Tiruvellaiayai (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for feeding two Brahmanas versed in the Veda. 513 of 1905.

Year 40.—Allūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ḳamum-konda. Land. 384 of 1903.

"Brahanadēśam (NA.)—Maduraiyum Ḳamum-konda. 225 of 1915.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj) — Maduraiyum (Ḳamum)kondā. Sheep for lamp. 235 of 1911.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Maduraiyum (Ḳamum)kondā. Two lamps to Sūryadēvar and other gifts. 253 of 1911.

"Kūram (Ch.)—Madiraikond-Ḳam-wundā. Astronomical data corresponding to Saturday, 25th July 946 A.D. (Kielhorn). Sabha of Kūram met at night and made a vṛyavāsthā. 34 of 1900; SII. vii. 35; EI. vii. p. 1.

"Mōḷappalavūr (Tri)—Madiraikonda. Reclaimed land, by purchase, for lamps. 386 of 1924.

"Pāḻuvūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ḳamum-kondā. Gold, 30 kalinju, for lamp to Paramēśvara by queen Ādittan Karrajı Pirāṭṭi *. Mentions viḷḷiṟiṇūṇikal. 353 of 1918.

* Till now unknown. ARE. 1919 ii 9.

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Year 40.—Srirangam (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda.

345 of 1918.

Sucindram (Tv.)—(Vattelutti)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. 100 sheep to Paraiallacakavayar for two lamps in two shrines in the Tiruccivindiram temple by a merchant of Karavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nadu.

82 of 1896; EI. v. p. 43.

Tirumalpuram (NA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Land, for lamp.

310 of 1906.

Tiruvaiyaru (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda.

232 of 1894; SII. v. 531.

Tiruvaiyaru (Tj.)—Maduraikontha. Land for feeding a Brahman sumptuously every day in the Tiruvaiyar-uvalaiyar temple by queen Arijigai, daughter of Iladarayar.

144 of 1918.

Tiruvellai (Tri.)—Maduraikontha.

520 of 1905.

Year 41.—Allur (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Provision for singing Tiruppadiyam hymns every day.

373 of 1903.

Gränam (SA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Lamp.

184 of 1906.

Kilvudi (NA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Land by purchase for upkeep of tank at Kilai-vali in Vallonadu, a sub-division of Damar-kottam.

149 of 1916.

Lalgudi (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Land for offerings.

88 of 1892; SII. iv. 535.

Lalgudi (Tri.)—Maduraikontha. Land for lamp.

108 of 1929.

Tirumalipuram (NA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Sheep for lamp by Püvan Märan of Nediyataji in Kolungölür in Malai-nadu.

313 of 1906.

Tiruvamallur (SA.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-konda. Gold for lamp.

419 of 1903.
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Year 41.—Tiruvissalur (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kondu. Gold for lamp. 23 of 1907.

" Tiruvissalur (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kondu. 328 of 1907.

Year 8 + 37—Tiruveénkádu (Tj.)—Madiraikondu. Land for offerings to Tiruveénkattu-perumál by a native of Kožun-gožür in Malai-náju. Mentions gośátai. 465 of 1918.

Year 4(6) *—Kanyýiyur (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kondu. Land. 15 of 1895; SII. v. 570.

" Tiruccatlurai (Tj.)—Lamp. Mentions Trailókiya Mahá-dóviyur. 135 of 1931.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following:—

Allúr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Ilamum-kondu. Waste land, never known to have been under the plough, reclaimed and given to āṟádhikkum yógiyur. 385 of 1903.

Brahumádáman (N.A.)—Madiraikondu. Twenty kaláñju of gold for lamp by Šoḻaśikhamání Pallavaraiyan of Nelvélí in Inga-náju. The śri-váriyap-perumakkal were in charge of this gift. 213 of 1915.

Giránam (S.A.)—Madiraikondu. Gold, 10 kaláñju, for lamp, by a native of Kóṭṭáru. Sabhá of Tirumudiyúr in charge. 740 of 1905.

Kalaiýjúr (N.A.)—Year 4. Maduraiyum Ilamum-kondu. Land for daily offerings by the assembly of Kalañjúr. 189 of 1921.

Káncipuram (Ch.)—(Floor of the Rájasimhéśvara temple). Madiraikondu. Mentions Tirukkαyali-unpāligai. SII. i. 145.

Kuṭhumiyámalai (Pd.)—Madiraikondu. The king is also called Śoḻa-perumánadigal and Śrí Pirántakar. Gold for a lamp by his son Śrī (Kó)dayālaráman. 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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Kumbakōnām (Tj.)—Madiraikonḍa. Sale of land by assembly, Mūlaparudai-perumakkal, for feeding two persons in a temple. Mentions Aiyirattalā in Kīlārkūrām, a sub-division of Ten(karai)-nāḍu and abhīṣekadakṣīṇai. 249 of 1911.

Nanganvaram (Tri.)—Madiraikonḍa. Mentions Ariṅjigai-caṭam. and a Piḷāri temple called Kālabhatāri alias Sāttanūr-nangai. 345 of 1903.

Sendalai (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īḷamum-konḍa. Land for offerings under protection of the sabhā and the panmāheśvarar. 14 of 1899 ; SII. vi. 450.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikonḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp by a servant of Madhurāntaka Pallavaraiyar. 253 of 1921.


Tiruvidiṃarudūr (Tj.)—Parākṣari. Purchase of land with gold granted for a lamp by Piḷāiyār Uttamaśiliyār. Mentions Mahēndra-mangalam and nāṭṭu-vāykkāl. 196 of 1907.

Tiruvitkalur (Tj.)—Madiraikonḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by . . . nāṭṭuk-kāman-Iyakkanār †-parivārattu Isakkanayya Nangai. 29 of 1907 † ; SII. iii. 107.

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* Was Uttamaśili-caṭam. in Pāṇḍyakulāṇi-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 Kogalī 500 and the Māśiyavādi 140.

S. 871—Śivapuram (NA.)—Year two, perhaps of Rājaditya, acc. A. D. 948 (Hultzsch), in which Cakravarti-Kannaradeva overthrew Rājaditya and entered the Tondai-maṇḍalam. * Construction of a pond called Kaṭtinangai-kuḷam, so called after a woman who died at Arungunram. She was the daughter of Attimallan alias Kannaradeva-pirittiyi-gangaraiyar.

428 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 194.

The following inscriptions contain the description Kacciyum-Taṇṭaiyum-kōṇḍa Kannaradeva:—

Year 5.—Siddhilinganāḍam (SA.)—Land for offerings by sābbha of brahmāṇḍaṁ Śirīṃgūr. 375 of 1909. †

Year 15.—Kūram (Ch.)—Gift by a Kūrattu Aśiriyar. 36 of 1900; STL vii. 37.

Year 16.—Ukkal (NA.)—The sābbha met in the mukha-maṇḍapa Bhuvanamāṭikka-Viṣṇugṛha, 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.—Tirukkalukkunram (Ch.)—Lamp by Karaiyudaiyam alias Paraṇtakappēraiyar. 169 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 284.

Year 18.—Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Opens with a Sanskrit verse mentioning Caturāṇana’s place in the maṭha getting the

* The Kāṭakur inscription dates this event in S. 872 current, A. D. 949-50. EI. vi. p. 51.

† Spurious - p. 158, ante.
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gift. Thirty kalāṇju of urkaṛc-cemmai-pon for lamp by the son of a merchant of Mānıyakheṭa, in the camp (kalaka) of the Vallabha king, deposited with the residents of Āṭṛuppeṭṭu (Chēṭṭup). 177 of 1912. *

Year 18.—Uttaramēru (Ch.)—12½ kalāṇju gold for lamp with the ur, the samuṭsara-vāriyam being responsible for its proper maintenance. 89 of 1898; SII. vi. 374.

Year 19.—Tirukkaḷukkuṇṭam (Ch.)—A person constructs an ambalam, buys some land from one Īṣāna Śiva alias Nakkaḍi-bhaṭṭan which he endowed as ambalappuṇgam for supply of water and fire (taṇṇি-attuvaḍakum akkini-yiṭuvaḍakum). The sabha made this land tax-free after collecting a lump sum (iḷai-dravyam) from him. 170 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 285.

" Tirūnalā (NA.)—Lamp to the yakṣa on the Tirunmalai at Vaigāvuṛ by a servant of Gauṃādevī, queen of Kannarādeva-pritigangaraiyar. 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.—Tiruvōrōṭiyūr (Ch.)—One hundred nīkas of pure gold by Caturāṇama Paṇḍita, pupil of Nīrāṇja-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.—Tiruvōrōṭiyūr (Ch.)—Gold, urkaṛc-cemmai 30 kalāṇju, for lamp by the mother of the Vallabha king Kannara-deva. Perpetual interest 15%. 179 of 1912.

Year 23, day 296.—Uttaramēru (Ch.)—Mahāsabha records that all the revenues which were due from Uḷḷiyūr to the ur were made over to Īśvara-bhaṭṭara of Tiruvōrōṭiyūr for providing music thrice a day for śrībali. The Uḷḷiyūr people were granted sole right of managing

* cf. EI. iv. p. 281.

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the temple without interference from any external authority (eppēṟṟappatt-ka-kōrum puṟappēṟ-rādāgavum).

41 of 1898; SII. vi. 324.

Year 25.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—A resolution of the village assembly relating to the levy and proper collection of fines.

77 of 1898; SII. vi. 362.

Year 27.—Takkōlam (N.A.)—Sheep for lamp.

2 of 1897; SII. v. 1365.

Tiruvōttūr (N.A.)—50 Sheep by Kōlanda-mangāḍi for a puṟagal-viḷakkku.

101 of 1900; SII. vii. 111.

Year 28.—Kāvanūr (N.A.)—A nyavasthai by assembly of Kāvanūr that seller and purchaser, and mortgagor and mortgagor of lands must be of the same community in case of lands being gifts to gods, physicians and ājivakas.

159 of 1921.

(n-d.)—Doddāsvira (Mys.) (Kan.). King’s encampment at Mēḻnpāḍi after defeating and killing the Cōla king.

112 of 1899.

Kilūr (S.A.)—Gift of Vaiḍūmba Mahārāja Śrī Vikramādiya ruling Malāḍu, Vānakaṭṭāḍi, Śiṅgapura-nāḍu and Venkunja-kōṭṭam.

16 of 1905.

The following inscriptions mention only Kannaradeva without any title:

Year 16.—Tiruvadi (N.A.)—96 sheep for lamp to Gōvindaviṇṇagar in Adhirāja-mangalyapura, by Kaliyan Māṇḍi Aiyān alius Rājāditta Pallavaraiyar who had the kāṇi of Śembūṅk-kōṭṭam.

28 of 1903; SII. viii. 300.

Year 17.—Tirunāmanallūr (S.A.)—10 kaḻaṉju of gold for a lamp by Narasimhavarman of the Malayakula. The sabhā and ēr of Śevalai in Veṉṉainallūr-nāḍu undertake to supply every year 100 nāḷi of ghi by mahādevi measure. The expression Śevalai-sabhai-ūṟōm is also used.

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Year 18—Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Land in Koḍiyūr by assembly of Ĝīrnīgur to a dancing woman (Tiruppulippagavar nirutta-viṣṭanki) and her descendants for dancing before god during procession. 370 of 1909.

Year 19—Kīḻur (SA.)—Fragment. Mentions sabhā of Nittavinōdacatam on the north bank of the Penṇai in Vāṇakōppāḍi. 269 of 1902; SII. vii. 898.

Year 20—Kīḻur (SA.)—Gold, 15 kaḷanju, with nagaram of Tirukkōvalur for a lamp. 232 of 1902; SII. vii. 859.

Year 21—Kīḻur (SA.)—Land purchased from sabhā of Tirukkōvalur and given to Tiruvirattanattalvar by Vaidumbā Mahārāja Sandayan Tiruvaiyan. 268 of 1902; EI. vii. pp. 142-3.

Year 22—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sale of land by sabhā for bhajanaṛtī. 175 of 1902; SII. vii. 802.

" Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Lamp. 176 of 1902; SII. vii. 803.

" Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sheep by manṛṭdis of Vākurnāṇu at the rate of one sheep while 'ascending the kaṭṭil.' 177 of 1902; SII. vii. 804.

Year 23—Kīḻur (SA.)—90 sheep. 266 of 1902; SII. vii. 894.

Year 24—Kīḻur (SA.)—2,304 sheep for 24 lamps by Vaidumbā Mahārāja Tiruvayanūr to Tiruvirattanattalvar. 267 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 144.

" Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Gold for a gong and three trumpets to temple. 385 of 1909.

Year 25—Grāṇam (SA.)—Gift by Vaidumbā Mahārāja Tiruvaiyan Sri Kanṭha. 743 of 1905.

Year 26—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Placing of four stones in the wall. 172 of 1902; SII. vii. 799.

" Jambai (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp and gold for offerings to Sūryadeva in temple of Tiruttāntōṇṛ-āḻvār at Vāḷaiyūr. 112 of 1906.

* cf. 236-A of 1902 (SII. vii. 864) of Rājarāja 27, which quotes this gift.
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Year 26.—Kilur (SA.) — 100 sheep for lamp by Komalam, daughter of Vanaan Muvendavelan.

270 of 1902; SII. vii. 899.

Vilur (NA.)—Land to Pannappévara built by Pannappai on the Sudālu-parái-malai ('the hill of the gambling rock,' now called Bāvāji hill) by Nulumba Tribhuvanadhira.

10 of 1897; SII. i. 51; EI. iv. pp. 81 ff.

Year 27—Bāhur (Pondicherry.)—Land for feeding two persons (183); and maintaining in the temple a Brahman versed in Veda for worship and a man to supply water for the sacred bath (184).

183, 184 of 1902; SII. vii. 810, 811.

Year 28—Tirumānanallur (SA.)—Half-lamp.

364 of 1902; SII. vii. 994.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :

Kilur (SA.)—Gold, twenty kalānju, for snapana (bathing) to the god on every sankranti, by Viraṭṭan Viranārāṇiyār, the senior queen (mūtta-dēviyār) of Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyanār. One kalam of cleaned paddy was the interest which the sabhā of Nenmali alias Milada-mānakkam agreed to measure out in the temple (ṭūyavākki kūlipparambāṭṭu tirumurugattuk-koṇu kēṇaiānanu kūlip演讲āmōṇom); they were also to feed each of the persons who came to collect this paddy (innel tāṇu mákkku meykanṭhū). Mentions that 60 kalam by pēriṭamai was equal to 75 kalam by emṭālik-kāl. 235 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 143.

Tiruvanūmalai (NA.)—20 cows.

475 of 1902; SII. viii. 63.

* Palaeographically same as that of Kaceiyum Taṭṭaṭiyum-kouḍa Kannaradeva. Hultsch EI. iv. p. 82.
RÄJAKESARI GAṆḌARĀDITYA.

See under Räjakèsari:

Year 8—Tiruppalāṭṭugai. 570 of 1908.

" Tiruppalāṭṭugai. 574 of 1908.

Year 9—Tirunāgēśvaram. 215 of 1911.

PARAKESARI ARĪṆJAYA.

See under Parakèsari:

Year 2—Tiruppaḷanam. 162, 172 of 1928.

under Sundara Cōla:

Year 12—Uḍaiyāṛgupī. 572, 587 of 1920.

under Räjakèsari:

Year 9—Tirunāgēśvaram. 215 of 1911.

under Rājarāja I:

Year 29—Mēḻpāṭi—TiruvāriṆjiśvaram built by Rājarāja as Āṟṟuṟu-
tūṆjiṆa-ṆēṟṟkkṆu-Ṇallippaḷai. 86 of 1889; SII. iii. 17.
MADIRAISKONDĀ RĀJAKĪŚARI.

Year 5.—Karikkal (NA.)—A piṭṭārī-kōyil erected by the wife of a Viravaḷalāṅjiyaṇ of Maṅiyāḷḷi in Pulivala-nāṭu.

12 of 1896; EI. iv. p. 331. *

" Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Gift of sheep by one of the Kalesī-Perundaram who had accompanied Uḍaiyūr Uttamaśāla-đēva† to the temple of Tiruvorriyūr-mahā-đēva.

246 of 1912; SII. iii. 115.

" Vēḷacceri (Ch.)—Sheep by one of the yāḷungayattar of the village.

315 of 1911; SII. iii. 114. †

Year 7.—Vēḷacceri (Ch.)—Sale of land for the maintenance of a lamp in a Gaṅapati temple, newly built. "Vēḷacceri Mahāśaṅkaraśramuṇ mūr brahmaśāhantā kūṭṭak-kuravaśāk-kūṭṭi-girundu virkina nilaṃ."

306 of 1911; SII. iii. 116.

Year 12, day 130.—Madhurāntakam (Ch.)—Gift of land, purchased from the unappropriated common land of the village and made tax-free, to the temple of Tiruvēp-kūṭṭil-Paramēśvara for the long life and victory of the king.

396 of 1922.

Year 14.—Tiruppuvambiyum (Tj.)—Lamp.

75 of 1897; SII. vi. 24.

Year 17.—Allūr (Tri.)—Gold.

377 of 1903.

" Tirumālarāḍi (Tri.)—Lamp.

2 of 1920.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Lamp.

307 of 1906; SII. iii. 118.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Lamp.

308 of 1906; SII. iii. 117.

* Palaeographically resembles the Tamil inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Hultsch.

† Son of Gaṅḍārāṇāditya Madirai. Rājā, † Royal titles due to an early choice for succession. ARE. 1913 ii 19.

‡ King identified with Gaṅḍārāṇāditya. Got title from Parṇāntaka I, father; succeeded him immediately as Rājāditya had died.—H. K. Sastri.

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RĀJAKESARI SUNDARA CōLA.

See under Rājakēsari :—

Year 6.—Kāvērippākkam. 382 of 1905.

under Uttama Cōla :—

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumālipuram. 286 of 1906.

for Ponmāligai.

under Rājarāja I :—

Year 16.—Tirumalai. A Cōra queen of Parāntaka II. 61 of 1899.

" Tiruvigaimarudur " 159 of 1895.

Year 21.—Dādāpuram.—(daughter Kundavai). 8 of 1919.

Year 2.—Tiruvisiālūr (Tj.)—Rājakēsari. Land for feeding a Vēdabrāhmana by Pirāntakan Irungōḷar alias Śiриyavēḷār of Koḻumbāḷūr. * Gift in charge of Mahāsabhā of Avani-nārāyaṇa-catm. 317 of 1907; SII. iii. 119.

Year 4.—Tiruvisiālūr (Tj.)—Rājak. Land purchased for (1)30 ḫākkāsū from the Perungurip-perumakkāl of Amani-nārāyaṇa-catm. by Pirāntakan Irungōḷar alias Śiриyavēḷār. 320 of 1907; SII. iii. 120.

Year 5.—Tiruvisiālūr (Tj.)—Sundara Cōla. Gift of some taxes (gatānaka ?) for whitewashing (?) the temple, and of a lamp by Śi fieldValuea described as Irungūjakula-pradīpa and Pirāntakasyātmaja-vargavarya. 40 of 1907; SII. iii. 121.

Year 7.—Tirukkalitttīṟai (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyanaic-curam-Irakkina Perumāḷ Śrī Sundara Cōḷa-dēva. Land purchased and made ḫrāiyitī for 156 kaḻaṅju of red gold (sembūn) given to God Śrīkuḍittīṟai-nilaiyūr of Vaḷlagarai-Vēmbāṟṟūr by Pirāntakan-Śiɾiyavēḷān alias Tirukkaṟṟai-piccan, who was serving as general of the king’s forces. 291 of 1908; El. xii. pp. 121—6.

* See Rājarāja I. Year 27—116 of 1896; M.V. Ch. 54 vv. 12 ff.
RAJAKESARI SUNDARA COLA

Year 12.—Udaiyargudi (SA.)—Rajakesari. Land by purchase by Udaiyapirattiyar Viman Kundavaiyar, the Acciyar (mother?) of Arinjiya-Pirantaka-devar, for bathing god with 1,000 pots of water on the sankranti day of every month. 572 of 1920.

Udaiyargudi (SA.)—Rajakesari. Land by purchase by Adittan Kodaipirattiyar, queen of Arinjigaivarman who died at Argrur, for bathing god during Citrai-Visu with 108 potfuls of water; another gift by Udaiyapirattiyar Viman Kundavaiyar for 1000 potfuls of water for same purpose. 587 of 1920. †

Year 14.—Tirukkalittaati (Tj.)—Rajakesari. Two lamps, twenty-five Ilakasun for each, by Rajadici and Kuniaramalli the wife and daughter of Siriyavelar. 299 of 1908 ‡; SLT iii. 122.


The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Ko(kum)balur (Pd.)—Madhurantaka Sundara Cola. Mentions Pudi Pattulagan. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

Tirukkalittaati (Tj.)—(Perumal) Sundara Cola who drove the Puyilaya into the forest. Mentions Pirantakan Siriyavelar, a general, and Ponnaligai. 302 of 1908.


† cf. SLT, iii. 17 (86 of 1889) of year 29 of Rajaraja I. Pudi Adittan Pidtri was another queen of Arihjiga. Sundara does not seem to have been the son of this dowager queen as he refers to her by name. Identity of Udur doubtful. ARE. 1921 II 26,

† Wrongly assigned to Aditya II Karika, son and successor of Parantaka II Sundara, in ARE. 1909 II 40.
Year 2.—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Parakesari. Sale of land by assembly for a private endowment of a lamp in the temple. 224 of 1911.


Uḍaiyārughuḍi (Ś.A.)—VIRA Pāṇḍiyalan-talai-koṇḍa. Three kāsu by Araiyan Gēyavītankan of the Śingalāntakat-teriṇja Kaikkōḷar for cloths to the Kūṭtar of the stone temple of Tiru-anantīśvaram. 557 of 1920.

Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai (Tri.)—VIRA Pāṇḍiyalan-talai-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkaṟkuṭi Paramēśvara by Irungōḷakkōn alias Pugalvip-piragāndan Avanivallān. The dēvakanmis had to supply every day ½ measure of ghī by the śilavulakku. 472 of 1908; SII. iii. 199.

Year 3.—Kāvanūr (N.A.)—VIRA Pāṇḍiyalan-talai-koṇḍa. Four hundred kuḷi of waste land by the assembly of Kāvanūr for daily night offerings to Puli-pagava-dēva. Measuring rod called kaṭigat-kapattuk-kōl. A further gift of 800 kuḷi, 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.)—Pāṇḍiyalan-talai-koṇḍa. Sale of land by the assembly of Śrī Kuḷandai to Kōyil-mayilai alias Parāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān of Sirringan in Īngā-nāḍu, for feeding twenty apūrvīs 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 Deśārām.
five śivayāgünas in the Śrī-kōyil of Tirukkil-kōṭṭattupurumālav. Land called sālābhōga. 230 of 1911.

Year 3.—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa. Sale of land to Śiriyanganalaiyān Kōyil-mayilai alias Parāntaka Mīvēnda-vēḷān by the mūla-paruṭṭaip-perumakkaḷ of Tirukkuḍamōkki, which he presented as a bhaṭṭavṛtti to those who expounded the Prabhākaram. 233 of 1911; SII, iii, 200.

"Tāyanūr (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp. 359 of 1909.*

"Tiruvanāṉalai (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp. 471 of 1902; SII, viii, 59.

"Uḻaiyāṅṟugūṭṭi (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa. Gold for two lamps by headman (kīḷān) of VaḷaṁārṈu. 588 of 1920.


Year 3 + 1.—Tiruviniṟmaiṟudūr (Tj.)—‘Virapāṇḍiyanai erindu talai-kōṇḍa ’. 256 of 1907.

Year 4.—Kunṭiyūr (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa. Mentions brahmadēyam Periya-vānava-mahādevi - caturvēdi-mangalattu yāḻungayuttār. 18 of 1895; SII, v, 574.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kōṇḍa. Gift of 90 sheep, distributed equally between two māṇḍādis, for a lamp by pēndāṭṭī Dēvayan Pulalakkan alias Avaniśīkhāmapi of Kīḷai-Vēḷān at Taṉjavūr, called after Uḷaiyapiṟṟiṭṭiyār Kīḷaṇālīgēḻ, the mother (ārī) of ĀnaimēṟṟūṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiṈiventus of the village Kājakēsari-catu. 236 of 1923.

* Three records of Pṛthivēndravarman also come from this place. There is no clue as to the contemporaneity of the two kings or their relation to each other. ARE, 1910 II 17.
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Year 4.—Paṇḍīyan-talai-koṇḍa. Twenty kāśu, equal to ten kalanju, for a lamp in the temple of Tiruccēḷur-mahādeva by Nilan Tyāgi, wife of a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mādēvi Pērangūḍi at Taṉjāvūr. 241 of 1923. *

Śiyamangalam (N.A.) — Vira Paṇḍīyan-talai-koṇḍa. Mentions Śri Gangaraiyan . . . Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi etc.† 70 of 1900; SII. vii. 74.

Tāyanūr (S.A.)—Vira Paṇḍīyan-talai-koṇḍa. 80 sheep for lamp by a native of Maṇḍāikulāṭṭūr. 360 of 1909.


Tiruppunambiyam (Tj.)—Paṇḍīyan-talai-koṇḍa. Land as Nandavanappiyam to Ivvūr-tiru-nandivanam-manḍalan-gāppūn. 69 of 1897; SII. vi. 18.

Tiruvilāiṭaṭṭūr (Tj.)—Paṇḍīyan-talai-koṇḍa. Sririn-gan-udaiyān Köyil-mayilai, the adiyārīgal in charge of (ārāykinā) śrīkāryam, the sabhā of Tiraimūr, the Nagarattūr of Tiruvilāiṭaṭṭūr and the divakamis met in the theatre (nāificaśabā) and arranged for āriyakkūṭṭu ‡ before the god of Tiruvilāiṭaṭṭūr by setting apart one vēli of land for Kittimāraikkāḷan alias Tiruvel-ariccākkai, who had to dance on 7 occasions (specified) in a year and receive as korru fourteen kalam of paddy from the treasury of the temple. 154 of 1895; SII. iii. 202.

Uḷaiyāṟṟugūṭi (S.A.) — Paṇḍīyan-talai-koṇḍa. Dining utensils and money (gold) for feeding one person sumptuously every day. Śrīkāryam-āṟṟayam-gamp-perumakkul in charge. 610 of 1920.


* 246 of 1923 quite similar gift by wife of another merchant.
† cf. 69 of Parak. Yr. 3.
‡ Silappadiṭhāram iii. 12-25 and notes thereon.
PARAKESARI ADITYA II

Year 4.—Ukkal (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍīyan-talai-kōnda. An endowment by a Veṭala Śenai for the supply of water for six months and agnīśṭai (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-samvatsarangai āḷ grāma-kāryam tiruttum perumakkal).

32 of 1893; SII. iii. 14.

Year 4, day 170.—Tiruvijaimarudūr (Tj.)—Pāṇḍīyan-talai-kōnda. Mentions Tiruvijaimarudil Āḻvār tītkāryam-āṟṇy-kiṇga adigāṟigal Sirrīṅgan-uṭaiyai Koḻyil-mayilai Parāntaka Mūvenda-veḷān. Tiraimūr was by the kādanam a kuṭiṇikkidēvadāṇa which had to give as paṇcavārum 256 kalam of paddy. But the paṇīmāṟṟu (scale of expenses in the temple) showed only 160 kalam. It was denied that the dēvadāṇa was kuṭiṇiṇki. Then the adigāṟigal called for the original document making Tiraimūr a dēvadāṇa and found that it was kuṭiṇiṇki and accordingly raised the scale of expenses.

214 of 1907; SII. iii. 203.

Year 5.—Bāhūr (Pondicherry)—Pāṇḍīyan-talai-kōnda. Lamp.

173 of 1902; SII. vii. 800.

" Kumbakonam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍīyan-talai-kōnda. Sale of land by the Mūlaparudai-perumakkai of Tirukkudamukkai, a dēvadāṇa in Vaḻagarai-Pāṁbuṟ-nāḍu, to the peyṭṭi Perayan Tribhuvanasundari of the Palaiya-veḷān at Taṇjavūr for 85 kāḷaiṇju 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.

" Pāṇḍāravāṇai (Tj.)—Pāṇḍīyan-talai-kōnda. Money by a resident of Mōṇūramac-cēri for offerings to the image of Gaṅapati Bhāṭṭāraka in the temple on the day of Āḍrā in Mārgalai. Mentions the coin akkaṃ.

275 of 1923.

" Tōṇḍūr (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍīyan-talai-kōnda. Ten sheep for lamp to Kiḻanda Perumāḷ by Śūramittirap-peru-
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manṛadi, son of Iruganṭan residing at Kilvali-Tondūr in Singapura-nāḍu. 282 of 1916.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Tiruvaiyāṇu (Tj) — Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp by a man of the Tribhuvana-mādēvi-yār-velam; also a lamp-stand, tarā-nilai-vilakkku. 240 of 1894; SII. v. 539.

Tiruvanmēmalai (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. 96 sheep for lamp. 469 of 1902*; SII. viii. 57.

Tiruvidaimarudūr (Tj)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Land for maintaining the campaka flower-garden laid out by Tiruvēngadattu-piccan. 249 of 1907.

See under Rājakēsari:—

Year 2—Uḍaiyarguṭī.— 577 of 1920.

* Text gives year 4.
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Ś. 892—Kalambūr (NA.)—No name of king. Lamps to Kalikēsari * Viṇṇagar-dēvar by the assembly of Kalamūr. 246 of 1909.

Year 2.—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. All temple lands owned to date made tax-free by the assembly of Ainiṣṭaśam in lieu of the amount of gold, 861/8 kālaṇju, which it owed to the temple. Also sabhā to manage temple affairs by its vāriyam, a gaṇam being forbidden. 195 of 1915.

" Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa-Kō-Mahārāja. † Fifteen kālaṇju gold with gaṇapperumakkal for a lamp by a merchant of Tiruvēkambacēri. 223 of 1915.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa-partma-
mahārājar. Land made tax-free by the sabhā; the ur were not to collect any dues. 88 of 1898; SII. iii. 152.

Year 3.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Mentions a couch (tirippalli-kaṭṭil) given to the Tiruvēral-ālvar by Arumōli-nangai, the queen of the king (Uḍaiyār).

7 of 1897; SII. iii. 166.

" Tirumēḻpūram (NA.)—Records the building of the temple and the enclosing verandah by the Virāṭa king Anayaman alias Paramanḍalāditya. 267 of 1906.

" Tirumēḻpūram (NA.)—Gold for lamp by Nāṟṟyāṇa Kramavittan alias Vaidumar-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 Rājamālīyar. ARE. 1916, II. 78.
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Year 3—Tiruppārkkadal (NA.)—Mentions a meeting in the abhi-
ṣekamaṇḍapa of the big temple of the locality (īnvūr-
periya-taḷi) at which were present the Mahāsabha of
Kāvīripakkam alias Amanirāyaṇa-catm., including
the members for the year of the samvatsara, tōṭṭa,
ēri, kaḷani, paṇcavāra, kaṇakku, kalingu, and τα onViewCreated
vāryiams, the śrī-vaṇavi-nāraṇap-perumakkul,
Pallavan Pirammādārayan who was ruling the tow
(uṛ-āḷkina), and the superintendent (kaṇkāni)
Arumbākkilān. The trustees of the temple made a
submission to the meeting that a garden and field of
the arcanābhōga of Tirukkarapurattu Perumān were
silted owing to breaches in the river and lying waste;
the kaḷani-vāriyam were then directed by the
assembly to give 1400 kuli of land from the village
maṇījikkam.* 692 of 1904; SII. iii. 156.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa Pārthivēn-
drāḍhipati-varman. The Perungurī-sabha gave land
to Śrī-bṇdrāvanattu-perumānaligā for tiruccennāḷai,
nandāvilakkul and arcanābhōgam.
73 of 1898; SII. iii. 153.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa-Pārthi-
vēndra Ādittaparumarkku. † Land by sabhā after
taking pūrvacāram to Tiruvāyppūlip-perumānaligā
for tiruccennāḷai, lamp, śriṇbali and arcanābhōga.
38 of 1898; SII. iii. 158.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konḍa. Ḫaṇḍivili
land by Perungurī-sabha after taking pūrvacāram to
Aiyān-mahāāṣāsta, in the south of the city.
15 of 1898; SII. iii. 167.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-konḍa. Ḫaṇḍivili
land by Perungurī-sabha after taking pūrvacāram to
Kurukṣetra-lēva.
16 of 1898; SII. iii. 160.

* This corresponds to modern 'porombike' 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-kōnda. Land by Perunguri-sabhā to temple after taking pūrvācāram. This land was part of the land escheated to the village owing to default in payment of dues, (igaiyigādu ūrnōkki vilunda pūmi).

17 of 1898 ; SII. iii. 162.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōnda. Land by Perunguri-sabhā as vyākhyāvṛtti to a person teaching the Vyākaraṇa-āśtra in the town.

18 of 1898 ; SII. iii. 161.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōnda. Land by sabhā to Tiruppulivanam-udaiyār.

19 of 1898 ; SII. iii. 154.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōnda. The Perunguri-sabhā make a list of lands belonging to Tirumāliruṇjokai-perumaṇaṭalai of the town, (nam-mūr).

21 of 1898 ; SII. iii. 163.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōnda. The sabhā declare tax-free some lands of Durgā-bhaṭṭāraki, after accepting as pūrvācāram the gold due as interest (poli-ponnēy) on account of the documents (kaiyēluttu) of this Bhaṭṭāraki and of the sabhā of Dāmūlakarac-cēri.

22 of 1898 ; SII. iii. 159.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōnda. The Perunguri-sabhā gave land as iraiyili after taking pūrvācāram to Jyēṣṭhā at Kumanpādi.

23 of 1898 ; SII. iii. 169.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōnda. Land by sabhā likewise to Kumanpādi Kilai-āri-kōyil.

25 of 1898 ; SII. iii. 168.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōnda. The Perunguri-sabhā gave iraiyili land for amudu, lamp and arcanā to Māhāvisṣumukka.

26 of 1898 ; SII. iii. 164.

Year 3, day 119.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kōnda Pārthivendrādhhipati-varman. The Perunguri-sabhā
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made *iṟaiyili* some land of Śri-Gōvardhanattupurumāṇaḍigal. 13 of 1898; SII. iii. 157.

Year 3, day 173—*Uttaramērū* (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa. Land made *iṟaiyili* by the Perunguri-sabhā which got pūrvācāram from some person.

60 of 1898; SII. iii. 155.

Year 4.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to image of Durgā in the temple of Tiruvūral-āḻvār by a native of Mahārajapāṭi (E. of Kōlār, including parts of Cuddapah and Chittoor).

14 of 1897; SII. iii. 173.

" *Uttaramērū* (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivendrādhipati-varman. Tax-free land purchased from the Perunguri-sabhā and given as *śri-bali-bhōga* to Subrahmanya-bhaṭāra of the town.

55 of 1898; SII. iii. 171.

" *Uttaramērū* (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivendrādhipati-varman. Land given by Perunguri-sabhā as *iṟaiyili arcanabhoga* to a certain bhaṭṭa after taking pūrvācāram from a merchant of Kāncipuram.

24 of 1898; SII. iii. 170.

" *Uttaramērū* (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyansit-talai-koṇḍa. 180 kuli of land given to Gaṇapati in the temple of Kōneri-nangai at Kumanpāṭi and recorded by Mahāsabhā.

27 of 1898; SII. iii. 172.

Year 5.—*Tāyanūr* (SA.)—Land at solar eclipse for five persons providing music for *śribūli* in the temple of Taṇak-kamalai Mahādeva at the request of the residents of Tāyanūr made to Nilagangaraīyan Aṇḍāvan Nāṭṭadigal.

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 *kaḷaṇţu* 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.
PARTHIVENDRAVARMAN

Year 5.—Tirumullaivāyil (Ch.)—Mentions sabhā of Kalikēsari-catm. (name of Tirumullaivāyil?) a tan-kūrru-dēvadānam in Pūlar-kōṭtam.

676 of 1904; SII, iii, 174.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanait-talai-kōṇḍa. Record by Perunguri-sabhā, Igaīyili 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.)—Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Igaīyili land to temple by sabhā after taking pūrvācāram.

28 of 1898; SII, iii. 179.

Year 6.—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Land for feeding one Brahman versed in the Veda. The great men of the assembly of Aiūjaśatāsam of Tiruvēkambapuram in Rājamallacatm. made the land tax-free and placed the charity in the charge of the members of the gaṇavaṇiyam.

208 of 1915.

"Pūṭi (Ch.)—Sale of land from the sabhā-mañjikkam to temple by sabhā of Kuraṭṭur alias Parāntaka-catm. in Ambattūr-ērik-kil-nāḍu of the Pūṭal-kōṭtam.

225 of 1910; SII, iii. 181.

"Podavūr (Ch.)—Land for lamp by Tennavan Māḍēviyār.

69 of 1923.

"Tiruvvaṇandai (Ch.)—Parakēsari Vēndrādivarman. Twelve kalaiju for lamp by a native of Taivūr or Talaśayapapuram.

269 of 1910; SII, iii. 180.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa Pārthivēndrādivipati-varman. Land set apart, after purchase as śṛi-bati-bhōga to Tiruvunnaurp-perumāṇaṭigal.

20 of 1898; SII, iii. 182.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land as Igaīyili for tiruccennaṭai to Kurukṣētra-dēva of the town, by the Perunguri-sabhā.

37 of 1898; SII, vi. 320.

* Perhaps the king of this record is different and earlier in time, as the record is very archaic—H. K. Sastri.
Year 7.—Takkōlam (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to Tīru-vṛgal-ālvār. The phrase 'neyyennai' occurs in this record (as in some others). 4 of 1897; SII. iii. 184.

Uttaramēṟṟ (Ch.)—Pāndiyansait-talai-ṟondja. The Perunguri-sabha declare some land of the Kurukṣētrattu-perumāṇādgal to be tax-free, after getting pūrvācāram from a person. 79 of 1898; SII. iii. 183.

Year 8.—Tiruvaṇḍandai (Ch.)—Vira Pāndiyan-talai-ṟondja Kō-vi-Rājamārāyaṇ. A record of the sabha and ur of Tiruvadavandai. Gift of an image of Maṇavāḷappurumāl to temple of Varāhasvāmin by two Brahman residents of Talasāyānappuram alias Taiyūr; and also of gold for offerings. 264 of 1910; SII. iii. 186.

Year 9.—Aṇaikkattāṭṭūr (NA.)—The ur of Anai Aṅkaraippūḷur give to Ādittā-ṛāva, belonging to emmūr vaikhanasan Kalinikkī-bhaṭṭan, some land and a house to the south of the temple as arcanabhōga. The land given is described thus: "emmūr vilāinu-pattiyil ṛāva kuttai-yum ῳaṅgay-ppiylum." 288 of 1895; SII. iii. 187.

Kottur (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhi-Adhipati-varman. Sale of land as taṇṇirppatti by ur to Paṭṭaiyanār, the mēṇāyakam (superintendent) of the Perundaram, who built the amhālam of this village. 252 of 1912; SII. iii. 188.

Madurumangalum (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by Olōkamahārāyaṇar to temple of Olōkamahārāyaṇar-Tiruccirram-balattālvār at Maḷalai-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-mādéviyār, who had the proprietary right over the village (iuvūr jivitam) of Mēρpīḍavūr in Purisai-nāḍī. 68 of 1923.

Year 10.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Kō- Pārthivēndrādhipati - varman. The sabha of Rājamāttāṇḍja-catm. Maṇayir-kōṭṭattu
PARTHIVENDRAVARMAN

*Tiruvūralpurattu* *lau-kāṟṟṟu*) accepted from Kumāraṇāṅgai, the daughter of Nandāṅgai, herself the daughter of Tiruvūral-dēvanār, gold weighing 92 *kāḷaiṉu* (by dharmakāṭṭallai-ėdai?) to be used for offerings to Kaligai-vītanka, set up by Kumāraṇāṅgai in the Iraṇa-ēṅga-virār-pallik-kaṭṭil-manḍapam in the temple of Tiruvūral-dēvar. Mentions 92 *kāţi* of paddy by marakkāḷ Kavāramāṭi.

13 of 1897; *SII* iii. 190.

Year 10.—*Tirumāḻpuram* (N.A.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyān-talai-kōṇḍa Pārthivēndrādī-varman. 96 sheep for a lamp to Gōvinda-pāṭi-dēva by Vāṇarāja Alagamaiyan.

327 of 1906; *SII* iii. 192.

„ Velacceri (Ch.)—Land for offerings to the temple of the Seven Mothers by a native of Māla-nāḍu, a sub-division of Sōḷa-nāḍu.

316 of 1911; *SII* iii. 191.

Year 11.—*Kaṭalār* (S.A.)—Lamp by Nagarattār. 281 of 1915.

„ Kāṟum (Ch.)—Sale of land tax-free by the āḷum-subhai to a person for building a rest-house (amabham) and for the supply of water in it during summer.

105 of 1923.

Year 11, day 324.—*Uttarāmēṟu* (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Land given by the queen (Uḍaiyār-dēviyār) Villavan-mahādēviyār to the image set up by her and to the temple for śribali and arcanābhōga, 2920 *kuḷi*; the mahāsabhā take pūrvācāram and make the land tax-free; the śraddhāmāntas were to enforce the proper maintenance of the charities; they had power to levy a fine up to 25 *kāḷaiṉu* for default.

32 of 1898; *SII* iii. 193.

Year 12.—*Kāṇōḻpuram* (Ch.)—Fifty *kāḷaiṉu* of gold by Danmaponnār alias Trailōkya Mādēviyār, the queen of Perumāṇḍaligal; and 200 *kāţi* of paddy to be supplied as interest on this amount at 4 per *kāḷaiṉu*. Money deposited with the ūr of Tiraiya-mangalam.

17 of 1921.
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Year 12.—Tirumālipuram (NA.)—Anaiyaman Paramanāḍalādittan, called Virāṭarāja, built a maṇḍapa in the temple. 323 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II. 65.

Tirumālipuram (NA.)—Gift by Virāṭa king (Anaiyaman’s son?) for feeding fifteen Brahmans daily. 324 of 1906.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Land. 69 of 1898.

Year 12, day 184—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Land by Viśuddhamatipanditar for abhiseka to god. The gaṇappperumakkal of the kōyil-vāriyam had to supervise this. 241 of 1915.

day 326—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Land, after purchase from the farmers of the town, given to god of the Śrī-Velī-viṇugrha built at Uttaramērūr by Kongaraiyar, for music at śrībali (śrībali-kōṭtuvadarkku) by queen (Tambirattiyār) Tribhuwanamaḥādeviyār. The sabhā took pūrṇēcāram from the same queen and made the land iyaiyilī. The śraddhāmantaś had power to fine defaulting persons 25 kaḷaṇjū each. 49 of 1898; SIT. iii. 194.

Year 13.—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Thirty kaḷaṇjū gold for maintaining the abhiseka-brahmana by a daily wage and two cloths in every six months; endowment by Mūvāyiravan Trairāja Ghaṭikā Madhyasthan. Kaḷaṇjū is equated with niṣkā. The gaṇappperumakkal for each year in charge. 197 of 1915.

Kāṇciipuram (Ch.)—Fifty kaḷaṇjū of gold by queen Danmaponnār alias Trailōkya-mādeviyār. Residents, ūr, of Pannaippuram, were required to supply 100 kāḍi of paddy as interest to the temple, 18 of 1921.

Kāṇciipuram (Ch.)—Thirty kaḷaṇjū by same queen to residents (ūr) of Pondūr for one lamp. Measure: uragattu-nilgār-kāḍak-kīl-nāḷī. 19 of 1921.

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PARTHIVENDRAVARMAN


Kiliyanfir (SA.)—Twenty-five sheep for lamp by a certain daṇḍānāyaka. 157 of 1919.

Tirumālpuṟam (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyantalai-konḍa Pārthivendrādhipati-varman. Twenty-five kaḷaṇju of gold for two lamps left with sabhā of Pattālam aliaś Elūṇuṟṟavacatm. by Vajjavai-mahādēviyār, daughter of Nandivarma Kaḻupatṭiga; (perhaps the queen of P.) 266 of 1906; SIL iii. 197.

Tirumālpuṟam (NA.)—Land, 2000 kuli, by purchase, for feeding a Brahman in a maṭha at Śīṛriyāṟṟūr. The donor was Perumāḷ-pirakērum-ānaiyāḷ Mannan Kannan alias Vāraṇappēraiyān. 328 of 1906; SIL iii. 198.

Tirumullaiyāyil (Ch.)—Pārthivendrādhipati-varman. Vilāṭṭur-kilavan Śingaḷa Vīra-nāraṇān, a native of the Cōla country, gave ninety sheep for a perpetual lamp to the Mahādēva of the village, a dēvadāna in Pūlar-kōṭṭattu Veḷḷaiyūr-nāḷu. 683 of 1904; SIL iii. 196.

Uttaramēṛur (Ch.)—Pārthivendrādhipati-varman. Queen (Perumāṇaḷiḷa) nambirāṭṭiyār) Tribhuvana Mahādēvi gave 192 sheep, for two lamps, to the Perumāṇaḷiḷa of the Kongaraiyār Śrīkōyil, distributed equally between the Veḷḷāḷar of Panmaic-cēri and the merchants (viyāḍārīgal) of Naṉuvilangāḷi. Stops rather abruptly with the clause: "Ivvitta āṭu kadaik-kāṇā-vidil anṟṟ-kōvukku dēvareṇiyūṟe nisada-māṉ-jāḍi-pon da......" 52 of 1898; SIL iii. 195.

Vengalattūr (NA.)—Land to temple. 94 of 1921.

Year 13, day 120.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Thirty kaḷaṇju of gold by Caturan Mūyāviravan Trairājya Ghaṭikā-Madhyas.
than. It was placed under the charge of Gaṇavāri-yap-perumakkaḷ of Rājamalla-catm. subject in case of default, to a fine to be levied by the Śraddhāmantar. Mentions dhanmakkaṭṭai-tulai-nirai.

194 of 1915.

Year 15.—Parandür (Ch.)—Tax-free gift of land for maintenance of seven musicians for service during śribali.

75 of 1923.

Year 2.—**Kuhur** (Tj.)—Land by purchase for offerings and worship to Aditta Isvaram Udaiyar. 287 of 1917.

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Remission of taxes on temple land by the assembly of Vi’delvi’dengu-catm. for 50 kāsū received from some Karikāla-sōlat-teriūja-kaikkōlar. 136 of 1926.

Year 3.—**Minjūr** (Ch.)—(Verse) Madhurāntaka. Temple of Śōjakulasonsundara-Vinṇagar constructed in this year by one Kēśavan Karukkaikkōn for god Ālijvalak-kēśava. 134 of 1916.

Year 4.—**Kumbakōnam** (Tj.)—Parakeśarivarman. Sale of land by the Mūlaparanālai of Tirukkudamukkil for a lamp in a temple in the name of Kāri Kōlamān, a Kāikkōlan. 245 of 1911; SII. iii. 129.

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakeśarivarman. A silver vessel of 400 kālaṇju for holding offerings to god, presented by Ayyan Mārasingan alias Viraśekhara Vinṇendavelān. 114 of 1926.

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakeśarivarman. Two kāsū to the temple by Panaiyan Kōdaḷān, one of the Iḷaiyavāḷ-perḷa-kaikkōlar. 125 of 1926.

Year 5.—**Vilānagar** (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings at ardhayāna service to Tirunālarkōyil Mahādēva at Vilānagar, a brahmadēya on the south bank, by Oraṭṭaṇān Šōrabbaiyār, the chief queen (agranahādēviyār) of king Uttama Cōḷa. Mentions the stream Neriyūnaicōḷap-pērāru. 165 of 1925.

Year 6.—**Kūmenīrājapuram** (Tj.)—Land for lamp to Ādit-yēśvaram ś -udaiya Mahādēva 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. 976. ARE. 1912 II 20.
†† Perhaps so called after Ganga Mārasimha ARE. 1926 II 18.
§ After Gaṅḍarāditya I ?

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Year 6.—Paḷāṅkōyil (NA.)—Parākēśarivarman. Village Ōdiyam-balālam given as a tax-free dēvadāna to Mahādēva at Tiruppalan-gūḻur by Kampanān Irāman alias Uttama-sōḷa Piridi-gangaraiyan, chief of Pandalā-nāḍu in Palkuṇra-kōṭṭam, with the consent of the king got while he was at Kāṅćiipuram. Mentions Mīnavanōm Mūvēndavēḷān as the vāsal-kēḻvi. 352 of 1925.

Tiruvaḍandai (Ch.) — Parākēśarivarman. Lamp to Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ to be maintained with ½ measure of oil every day as interest on 30 kaḷāṉju of gold accepted by the ār of Tiruvaḍandai; who undertook never to remit the interest in cash (pon) on pain of a daṇḍam at the dhanmāsana of 4½ kāṉam and a man_thumbnail Print of 1 maṇḍi pon to the ruling king (anṟālkōvukku) for every day of default. The oil was to be given regularly to the Tiruvūnṉāljai-vāriyar. 268 of 1910; SII. iii. 125.

Year 8. †—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Parākēśarivarman. Sheep for lamp by one perhaps of Udaiyār-Ganḍaradittat-terinja-kaikkōḷar. 229 of 1911; SII. iii. 131.


,, Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Parākēśarivarman. Land for lamp by a queen of Uttama Cōḷa. 486 of 1918.

Year 9.—Kañṭiyūr.—(Tj.)—Lamp and offerings on the birthdays of the donor, Puḍuvuṇḍaiyān Māyān Kāṉjiyān alias Villavan Mūvēndavēḷān, to Tirukkantaiyūr Viraṭṭaṉattu Mahādēva. 13 of 1895; SII. iii. 134.

Year 10.—Nallūr (Tj.)—An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Mahādēva at Nallūr by Mānakkurai-Viranāṟyana-

* In the Bēga country. The chief was perhaps the son and successor of Prthivipati II. ARE. 1925 II 11.
† This image was presented to the temple of Varāhadēva by Rūjamēṟyār. 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 uḍāiyār tirumugam koḻuvandu.

41 of 1911; SII. iii. 136.

Year 10.—Uḍāiyāرغudi (SA.)—(Grantha). Building of the sabhā by Nambiyenbān and land for feeding 100 Brahmans in that hall. 578 of 1920.

Year 11.—Tirukkoḍikāval (Tj.) — Parakesarivarman. Construction by Sembiyam-mahādeviyār, 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 Mārājī-daiyan record (4 + 9 yr.) containing a gift of Vara-guṇa-mahārāja. 36 of 1931.

Year 12.—Guvindaputtūr (Tri.)—Land, made tax-free, by Śekkijān Araiyan Sankaranārāyanān alias Śōja-muttaraiyan of Kāvannūr to the temple of Śrī Kailāyattu Paramasvāmi at Periya-vānavan-mahādēvi-catm. 158 of 1929.


" Guvindaputtūr (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Sheep for lamp by Aparāyitān Seyyāvāymanī, wife of Ambalavan Paluvur-nakkān alias Vikramaśōla-mārāyan of Kuvajāḷam, who erected the stone temple. 166 of 1929.

" Guvindaputtūr (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Sheep for lamp by Kānici-Akkan, wife of Vikramaśōla Mārāyar (See 166). 167 of 1929.

" Melappaluvūr (Tri.)—96 sheep for lamp in the northern shrine of the Mahādēva temple at Avani-Kandarpatāvarā-ghanam, a dēvadāna in Mannup-peruḻaluvūr in Kunṣa-kūṟam. 379 of 1924.

* Figures also in 168, 163 and 160 of years 3, 7 and 7 respectively of Rājarāja I. See also 164 of year 14 Uttama Cōla.
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Year 12.—Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Money to be deposited with the caturvēdi-bhaṭṭātānap-perumakkaḷ, for offerings on birthday of Śembiyan-mahādeviyyar, by five queens of Uttama Cōla, Paṭṭan Dānataṁgi, Maḷapāḷi Tennavaṇam-aṭṭādeviyyar, and Vānavaṇam-mahādeviyyar, daughter of a certain Irungōḷar, and the daughters of Viḷupparaiyar and Paluvēṭṭaraiyar. 494 of 1925.

Year 12. *—Tiruvilakkutti (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Remission of taxes by assembly of Viḍēḷviḷḷugu-catm. on lands purchased by Ayyan Mārasingan alias Viṛaśekhara Mūvṉondavēḷan for lamp and for water from the Kāvērī. 112 of 1926.

" Uṭṭaiyāṟguṭṭi (SA.)—Parakēsari. Land for feeding five Brahmanas every day and a perpetual lamp in the temple by Adigal Paluvēṭṭaraiyar Ganḏan Sundara-sōḷan for the merit of his younger brother Gaṅḍan Śatrubhayan-κaraṇār. 592 of 1920.†

Year 13. †—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gift of land by Viṟanarāyaniyyar, daughter of....... and Nambirattiyar of Śrī Uttamaśōḷar, for providing garlands of flowers to the Tirukkil-kōṭṭattup-perumāl temple. The land was sold to the donor by the mālaparuṇai of ......... 240 of 1911; SII. iii. 137.


* February 16, A. D. 980 (?) ARE. 1926 App. E. and II 17.

† Uttama Cōla was the only Parak. in this period who ruled over ten years; hence all Parak. records from this place with years 10 to 16 may be his. The name of the feudatory given here, perhaps taken from Parāntaka II, also leads us to give this Parak. a place among his successors. ARE. 1921 II 29. See also Viṛḍhikalama 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.—*Anḍanallūr (Tri.*)—Parakesari. Gift of land by Śembiyan Irulkkuvel alias Pūdi Parantakan, * who built the stone temple (Vaṭatirthanātha) at Anduvannallūr Tiruvalandurai. Gift of dēvadāna on the day of Jalasamprākṣaṇa. Contains the phrase: Tiruppa- diyam pā. 358 of 1903; SII. iii. 139.

" Gövindaḍapūr (Tri.)—Parakesari. Ambalavan Paḷuvūr-nakkan alias Vikramaśīla-mārāya, the perunduram of Uttamaśīla, built of stone the Śrī-vimala of the temple of Vijayamangalattu-mahādeva, and made a gift to it of the village of Neḻuvāyil. 164 of 1929."


" Tiruvadi (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp in the nāṭakaśālai- manjalapā in the temple erected by Attāmā Ayyāran alias Kaṇḍatēl Gaṇḍappayyan of Pūngunram. 398 of 1921.

" Tiruvilakkwjli (TJ.)—Parakesari. Silver vessel, weighing thirty Itakkaśu, for water offering (tān̄ir- amuḍu) to deity during the worship. Gift by Ayyan Māraisingan. (See 112 of year 12). 113 of 1926.

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumāḷpuram (NA.).—Kō-nōn-inmaikōndān. Gift of a village. Śīrīryāṟṟūr in Maṇaiyil-nāṉu, a subdivision of Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭam had been granted as a dēvadāna and brahmādēya in the 21st year of Toṇḍamānāṟṟūr-tnūjina Uḍaiyār, to the sabhā of Puddūppāk-kam, a brahmādēya of Purīśai-nāṉu in the same kōṭṭam. Though a sāsana was drawn up in the next

* Son of Vikramaśēari of Koṭumbeḷḷūr (Venkayya) ARE. 1908 II 88, 91, quoted also by H. K. Sastrī.

† The Sanskrit part of the record says that he got the title Vikramaśēja-mahārāja from the king, proof that Vikrama Cūja was a title of Uttama Cūja. ARE, 1929 II 29.
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year, the village was not entered in the accounts as a devadāna 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 Mahādeva temple at Tirumālpūru. In the 36th year of the king last mentioned, the dues from Puduppākkam were increased as the result of a fresh grant; the village assembly did not remit the new items properly, and the temple authorities lodged a complaint to the king when he was in the ground-floor (ādi-bhūmi) of the pon-māligai within his palace (nam-viṭṭīn-uṭṭīlī) at Kāñcipuram. 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.—Kāñcipuram (Ch.)—Mentions Tirumāyāna-purattuk-kaḍavul-sabhai who accept an endowment of gold for a lamp. 2 of 1906.

Śemiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gift of lands for offerings and worship in the temple of Kailāsa-mālaiya-mahadeva built by Udaiyapirāṭṭiyār Madhuran-taka Mādevaḷigāḷiar aliya Śemiyan-mādēviyār, mother of Gaṇḍaṇ Madhuran-taka-duṭṭār aliya Utama Cōla-dēva, by Uṛatṭayan Śorabbaḷiyār aliya Trībhuvana-mādēviyār, queen of Utama Cōla, who purchased, for the purpose, some land to supplement her own. 485 of 1925.

Śemiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. List of articles required for worship etc., on sankrānti days for which provision was made by Uṛatṭayan Śorabbaḷiyār, the mūttala-nambirāṭṭiyār of Utama Cōla. 488 of 1925.

Śemiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gold forehead plate for the image of the deity by Paṭṭan Dānaton-giyār, queen of Utama Cōla. The village with the

* See Introduction to this record by H. K. Sastri for the reasons for assigning it to Utama Cōla.
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temple of Kailásamudāiyar was founded by Śembiyan Mahādēvi, as a brahmadēya in Āla-nāḍu on the south bank.  
490 of 1925.

Year 15.—Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Fly-whisk with a gold handle by Pānīcavan Mahādēviyar, queen of Parak. Uttama Cōḷa.  
491 of 1925.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. 507½ kaḷaṇju by a lady (queen?), Kaṃṇapparaśiyār alias Sonnamahādēviyar, for offerings on the day of Kōṭṭai in Cittirai, the birthday of Śembiyan Mahādēviyar, the founder of the temple and the village. The money was to be in the charge of Caturvēdi-bḥaṭṭatāṇap-perumakkāl.  
492 of 1925.

Tiruvorriyar (Ch.)—An image of Śrībali-dēva, eight bugles (kāḷam) and 24 fly whisks with gold handles made by order of Uttama Cōḷa, (dēvarāyamey-kōṇḍu pumāl sēyuttuk-kōḷukka). Mentions an officer Śenniyeppaḷai-cōḷan-Uttamaśōḷan.  
166 of 1912; SII. iii. 143.

Year 16.—Āṭuturai (Tj.)—Temple of Āpatsahāyēvara built by the mother of Śrī-Madhurantaka-dēva alias Śrī Uttama Cōḷa. 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 Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar Kapḷan Maṟavānār.  
395 of 1924.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. 590 kaḷaṇju of gold by Ārūraṇ Ambalattāḍigal, a queen of Uttama Cōḷa, and another gift of 145 kaḷaṇju (in both cases weight by ārkkal) by Uraṭṭayan Šorabbai alias Tribhuvaṇa-mahādēviyar, for offerings on birthdays of Śembiyan Mahādēvi. The committee called Śūṣana-buddha-caturvēdi-bḥaṭṭatāṇap-perumakkāl, to whom the gifts were entrusted, is said to have been the creation of Śembiyan-mādēvi herself.  
496 of 1925.

* This statement is repeated verbatim in 491 and 492.
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Year 16.—Tirukkolambiyyur (Tj.)—Parakésari. Land as tiruc-cennadaji-puram to Madhurántakan Umá-bhaṭṭārakiyyur in the Tirukkolamba-devar temple by Ārūran Ponnamba-balattālā, the queen of Uttama Cōla, after purchasing it from a lady Kāḷan Śingam, through her son Mahā-mātrtra Goutama Kēśavan Śrikanṭhan of Śāttanūr. Taxes remitted by assembly of Pōravūr in return for a lump payment. Ḥakkarungūsu mentioned.

47 of 1925.

"Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Parakésari. Land as īraiyili by Uttamaśoḷa-mādheviyyur alias Gōpan-śakappu......, after purchase from the sabhā and tanippurūr, to Kailāsamudaiya Mahādeva at Tripura ...... mangalam a brahmadēya in Kūrumba-nūḍ. 66 of 1928.

"Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—888 kalāṇju of tulai-nigiţ-pon from the revenues of the temple (devarāyamey-kūṭti) for a salver (kulīttaţtu), and 40 kalāṇju for offerings by Nandiśaran alias Parakēsari Vilupparaiyan of Elīnūr, (Elīnūr-kīţavān), who was the officer managing the temple affairs (śri-kāryam-arāyginṛa) at the time.

245 of 1912 ; SII. iii. 145.

Ś. 901 and Kali 40(8)0—Uyyakkonīân - Tirumalai (Tri.)—Uttama Cōla Parakēsari. Land, for offerings.

456 of 1908 * ; SII. iii. 135.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following :

Kānčipuram (Ch.)—Mentions queen Viranārūyaṇīyur.

3 of 1906.

Kōnerirājapuram (Tj.)—Temple of Tir unnallamūṭaiyyur † was built of stone by Mādevaḷīgāḷār, queen of Gāṇḍarādutta-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 Adityēśvara from Gāṇḍarāditiya who is figured in stone in this temple. SII. iii. pl. xi.

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PARAKESARI UTTAMA COLA

Talaiccangāju (Tj.)—Silver vessel (śambaram), weighing 151 kālāṇju, to the big temple of Mahādeva by Pirāntakan Mādevigaḥ alias Śembiyan Mahādevi, mother of Uttama Cōla. 204 of 1925.

Tirunaraikūr (Tj.)—Land for offerings to the temple of Siddhēvaram-udaiya-mahādeva by queen Pirāntakan Mādevigāljar alias Śembiyan Mādeviḷḷor who gave birth to Uttama Cōla. 159 of 1908; SII. iii. 149.

Tiruppāḷatturai (Tri.)—Mentions construction by some one (king?) of Dayāparap-pērambalam and the grant of some land as ambalappuram, made Ḭaiiyili by the assembly which received a lump payment. Ḭaiiyili-yūgapaṇiccu.....nilamudalum pottagattum Ḭaiiyili Tiruppāḷturai sṛi vimānati śālēkhai ṣeydu....... Ḭaiikūttuk-kovippūmānōṃ perunguri-sabhaiyōṃ.*

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 RÂJARÂJA I

(Acc. 25th June—25th July A.D. 985)

Year 2.—Tirunayiyur (Tj.)—Rajak. Silver vessels and a chauri of gold to the temple by Udaiya-pirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar alias Piruntakan Madavaigal. *

156 of 1908.


570 of 1904.

Year 3.—Gopindaputtur (Tri.)—Rajak. Sabha of Periya Vana-van Mahadevi-catm. got 200 kafanju from a perundaram of Mummu-Cola-deva, Ambalavan Paluvur-nakkan alias Vikrama-sola-Maharayar, for the igaikavul on 13/2 veli of land.

168 of 1929.

" Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Rajak. Two silver vessels by the wife (deviyar nambirattigal) of Vikrama-sola-Ilangova-velar, daughter of Paluvettaiyar, when Kausikan Nakkan Maryan was looking after temple affairs (sri-karyam-arayangi) under orders from Adigal Paluvettaiyar Kandian Maravan.

110 of 1895; SII. v. 671.

" Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Rajak. Two gold ornaments by Adigal Paluvettaiyar Kandian Maravan.

111 of 1895; SII. v. 672.

" Sembiyanmahadevi (Tj.)—Rajak. List of articles such as golden pot, pattam, gold flowers, with their weights noted, as presented to the temple of Sri Kailasanujayyar by the mother of Uttama Cola 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).
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 3.—Tiruccengattangudi (Tj.)—Rajak. Rajaraja-deva. Land for two lamps to shrine of Sirila-deva by Vejjilan Ulagan Sirriyan alias Tappillu Muvendavijan.

56 of 1913.

" Tirukkattai (Tj.)—Rajarajak. Land for offerings and for supply of 108 pots of bathing water at monthly Sankranti to the temple of Mahadeva at Aminnariyana-cadam by Kilhanaigal, the daughter of Vilupparaiyar and queen of Uttama Cole-deva, son of Gandjaraditta-deva.

298 of 1908.


453 of 1908.


238 of 1906; 292-A of 1906.

" Tirumalpuram (NA.)—Sale of land for upkeep of a lamp. Mentions Madhurantakan Gandaraditan and Sola-maddiviyar alias Paecavan-maddiviyar, (queen of Mummudi Cole), the latter being donor.

294 of 1906.

" Tirumalpuram (NA.)—Gold by Madhurantakan Gandaraditan.

295 of 1906.

" Tirumalpuram (NA.)—(Gr. and Tam.) Gold for feeding Brahmins by Madhurantakan Accapijaran (Aditya in the grantha portion), son of Vira-sola-Ilangovelur of Kollambailur in Kollu.

306 of 1906.

" Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Rajarajak. Silver pot by Udaiya Pirattiyar, mother of Ari-kandan Madhuran- 

takan alias Uttama Cole, on behalf of her son to god at Tiruppurambiyam. A weighing scale called ingutuviyak-kali.

338 of 1927.

" Tiruvaiyaru (Tj.)—A chauvi to temple by Paecavan Maddiviyar, queen of Mummudi Cole.

147 of 1918.

* Title assumed in this year? - ARE. 1909 II 42.

† i.e., Rajaraja I.

‡ Rajaraja I. Sanskrit part gives name Rajaraja.
THE COLAS

Year 3.—**Tiruvorritiyur** (Ch.)—Rājak. Mummiuḍi Cōḷa-dēva. Gold necklace (pallittongal) called Rājārajan, an ottuvaṭṭil of gold called Mummuḍi-śōlan, and a gold door for the Mēvāsi called Rājārajan, by a certain Vaijikkēyūṭai Gūnaśilān of Muḷḷak-kurumbu in the Cōḷa country, for the merit of Aḍigal Nīrādi, chief of Úṟṟukkādu, a village in Āvūr-kōṭtam of Sō-ṇāḍu, who was in charge of śṛi-kāryam of Tiruvorritiyur-āḻvār. The jewels were made from accumulated savings of 810 kaḷaṇju from the temple income.  235 of 1912.

Year 4.—**Kilappaluvur** (Tri.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi. Gold for lamp by Aḍigal Pāḻuveṭṭaraiyar Kāṇḍan Maṟavaṇār-perundir-attu Araiyan Sundara-śōlan who gave 12 kaḷaṇju to the Tiruvāḷandurai-śrīkōyil-udaiyār. 115 of 1895; *SII* v. 676.

**Sembiyanmahādēvi** (Tj.)—Remission by assembly of taxes on some temple lands. 493 of 1925.

**Tirumāḷpuram** (NA.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi Cōḷa. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Āgniśvara at Tirumāḷpēṟu by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarudittar 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 Tambirāṇaḷīḷa Vaṇavaṇ-маడēviyār alias Tribhuvana-maḍēviyār, the mother (ācci) of Śṛi-Rājen-dra Cōḷa-dēvar and the queen of Śṛi Rājāraja-dēva. 117-A of 1896; *SII* v. 982.

Year 4, day 24.—**Madhurāntakam** (Ch.)—Kāṇḍalūr-sālaik-kalam-ayutta Rājak. The mahāṣabhā of the place agreed to conduct a festival to god Tiruvenkāṭṭu-Paramēśvara with the twenty-five pon, collected from a merchant of Vīra-śōjappāṟuṅgādi; and the tax kāḷaṇuv-kōṭ-kūlī. The mahāyāstha was also a signatory. 395 of 1922.

* 283 of Year 12.  † 448 of 1918 is same but fuller.
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Year 4, day 154.—Madhurāntakam (Ch.)—Kāndāpur-sālaik-kalam-ārūtta. An assignment of land by the mahāsabhā of Madhurāntaka-catu, for opening round the temple a street which was named Tiruveṅkaṭup-perun-deruvu; restrictions placed, and privileges granted to the Śivabhārmanas, uvacchār, tapasvins and the dēvaraṭiyār who were allowed to settle in it. 397 of 1922.

Year 5.—Dārāsuram (Tj.)—Land for sacred bath and śrībali to āḻvār of Tiruvēmśivaram at Tirukkuḷamūkku. 3 of 1915.

Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Rājak. Land sold by sabhā of Śīrūpaḷuvūr to Aḍigal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maravaṇ Kaṇṭan. 118 of 1895; SII. v. 679.

Śembiyanmalādēvi (Tj.)—An order of the assembly to the ur-vāriyam (Frag.) 495 of 1925.

Tiruccengāṭhu (Coi.)—(Copper-plate) Rājak. Lands to Paramāśvaram of sacred Mūlsthāna at Tūśiyūr by Kollimalavan Oṭṭiyūran Piridigāḷavarman. SII. iii. 213. *

Tiruvanḍarkūṭil (Pondicherry)—Rājak. The silver vessels and gold of Tiruvāra-nilkan-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 Madirakonḍa Parakāsari. 359 of 1917.

Tiruvēṭkkuṭil (Tj.)—Rājak. Thirty iron torch-lights (iruppup - pidi - vilakkō) by Rājarāja-dēva, fifteen servants being retailed for holding the lights. ‡ 68 of 1895; SII. v. 625.

* In this record the word ‘kampāṭu’ 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 ‘kampāṭum.’ 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.
Year 5 — *Tiruvișaliūr* (Tj.) — Gold by a queen of Rājarāja-ḍeva by name Vaṭṭan Kājan Tongiyār for feeding five Brahmins. One hundred ḍakkāsū yielding 15 kāsu as dharmappaliśai. 19 of 1907.


"Takkōlam (NA.) — Undertaking by the residents of Purisai to pay interest in the form of paddy on 20 kaḷanju of gold received from the temple of Tiruviṟal. 244 of 1921.

"*Tiruccattuṟai* (Tj.) — Rājak. Fifty iron lights (iruppāvilākkutku) by Rājarāja-ḍeva for the ērihali at night; oil 2 measures; the following were to hold these torches: eight sweepers (tirumēlukkīṟuvār), four buglers (kāḷamūdīgāl), one cook of the sālai (aḍuvān), three tenants (kuṇīgāl) of the flower-garden (nandavanam), and eight others, resident in houses belonging to the temple, who are not dēvar-nivandalākārār and are used to hold the lights every day. 53 of 1895; SII. v. 610.


"Tirumāṇaṉjēri (Tj.) — At the command of Udaiya-pirūṭṭiyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa, Āṟūraṉ Kamban alias Tirukkāṟraḷi-picean of the village gave 16 kaḷanju of gold for sandal paste etc., to Mahādēva at Tirumāṇaṉjēri, which is stated to be near Kaḷāluṇḍu. Mentions pūjitigaiwāri. 9 of 1914.

"*Tiruveŋkāṭu* (Tj.) — Rājak. Mentions images made and jewels and vessels presented by Parāntakān Māḍēviyār alias Śembiyan Māḍēviyār, daughter of Majāvāriyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa and queen of Gaṅḍarāditya, in the fourth and sixth years of Uttama Cōḷa, in the fourth

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* Sunday 1st December A.D. 989. *EJ.* ix p. 207 (Kielhorn).
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Year of Rajakesari, in the 3rd and 10th years of Parakèsari and in the second year of Gaṅgarāditya-Devā alias Mummuḍi-cōla-dēva. * 444 of 1918.

Year 6.—Tiruvisalūr (Tj.)—Mentions a person belonging to the Uțlayār Kōḍan̄ṭarāma-taniceēvagam. 342 of 1907.

Year 7.—Aḷagāḍripattūr (Tj.)—Land by sabhā of Pāradāyakudi, a brahmunāṭya, to temple for offerings. Mentions the construction of the central shrine with stone by Pulali Sāttan Kārīvēḷar Kanḍarādittan alias Mummuḍi-Sōliyavaraiyar. 283 of 1908.

Elavānāsūr (SA.)—Mentions the 15th year of Śrī-Uttama Cōla-dēva, the son of Sembīyan Māḍēviyār and two Milāḍu chiefs. 176 of 1906.

Gūcindapattūr (Tri.)—Ambalavān Pāḷuvār-nakkan alias Rājarāja Pallavāraiyān of Kuvalālam, a perundaram of the king, appointed Śeṭṭapōṣan Vēṇuṇayakramavittan as manager of the temple of Viśaiyamangala-dēvar; and the sabhā entrusted the manager with certain powers. 160 of 1929.

Kulūr (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Rājarāja Pallavaraiyan of Kuvalālam, one of the perundaram of the king. 291 of 1917.

Śembiyammadādevī (Tj.)—Gift by Uṛaṭṭayan Śorabbaiyār alias Tribhuvana-māḍēvajigal, the senior queen of Utama Cōla, of 100 kāṣa, deposited with the Śāsuna-baduṭha-caturvedī-bhāṭṭattāna-perumakkaṭ 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, Śembīyan Mahādēviyār, who founded the village. 480 of 1925.

Tiruccattayai (Tj.)—Land by royal order to śrīkārīyam šeykyinga Mināvan Vīḻattūr-nāṭṭuk-kōn for an endowment for offerings (as detailed) in temple. 55 of 1895; SII. v. 612.

* This surname of Gaṅgarāditya and the fact of his rule are new. Rājarāja is the first Rājak after Utama Cōla. Palaeography is in support of this. The order of reigns mentioned in the inscription is not chronological. ARI 3919 I 14.
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Year 7.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—A Brahman set up an image of Umā-bhāṭaraki and granted a lamp. He also purchased 1700 kula of land tax-free, after paying "vilādṛāyaṃmum iṣṇuḍṛāyaṃmum" to the sabhā of Mandiram alias Jayamēru *-śālkaraṇa-mangalam, and made it over to the Śivabrahmanas who had to feed the lamp and supply the offerings.

8 of 1890; SII. iii. 50.

† Tiruvallam (NA.)—A visit to Tikkāli Ṭīvār temple by Madhurāntakan Gāṇḍarādatanār ‡ who caused 1000 jars of water to be poured over the god. He also held the Śivabrahmanas of the temple and the sabhā of Tirukkālīvallam to account for the income and expenditure of the temple scheduled in the tiruvāṇai and the tiruvōlai; (rest of the inscription is built in).

10 of 1890; SII. iii. 49.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Details of expenditure for 74 kālāṇju of gold, realised as fine from the Śivabrahmanas for misappropriation of temple lands, and 7 kālāṇju and 4 maṇjādi which Madhurāntakan Gāṇḍarādattanār who scrutinised the temple accounts had added to make up the deficit. The four vāriyar of Tikkālīvallam, the two vāriyar of Mandiram, and two kāṇḍāmis were to look after the expenditure in future. Paddy quoted at forty kādi per kālāṇju. Rate of interest 12%. 218 of 1921. §

Tiruvārār (Tj.)—Mentions the building of a stone shrine in the temple of Tiruvarameri-ṭīvār by Śembiyān Mahālōvīyār, and the setting up of two images in it by the same lady, and records that she presented 234 kāśnu, invested with the sabhā of Adiyappi-catam., for daily requirements; additions to the temple and repairs.

571 of 1904.

* A title of Bīṇa Vikramaṇḍitya I.
† 26th September 991 A.D. E.I. iv p. 66, Kielhorn.
‡ Perhaps an otherwise unknown son of Madhurāntaka the immediate predecessor of Rājarṣja 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.—*Tiruverumbur* (Tri.)—Money for feeding six Brahmans versed in the Veda by Ilâjarâji Pugalvippavar-gandan Vira sôjan. * 116 of 1914.

"Uyyakkojdkân Tirunalai (Tri.)—2,432 kalaâju of gold to Uyyakkojdkân-nâyanât temple for festivals by sabhâ of Râjâsrâya-catm. 457 of 1908.

"Vrddhâvalam (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp, and a lamp-stand, by Malaiyavvai-dëviyâr, daughter of Pottappie-sôlar Sattiyarayar and queen of Irungola Prithipati Amani-mallar. Also 2 mî of land for flower-garden. 49 of 1918.

Year 8.—*Hambâkkam* (Tri.)—Lamp to Srî Kâša Perumâl at Tiruvâyppaâdi by a resident of Dantivarma-mangalam. 708 of 1909.

"Darânakôppu (Tv.)—(Vâttâlutu). Kândâlar-sâlaik-kalam-ayutta. Mentions a meeting in the divadâna Tiruvaramkôppu of the Karanattâr for looking into the Talâkkâyakku and Sâvâikkaâyakku. (Frag.) TÂS. i. p. 238.

"Kîñpanârâvâr (Tri.)—Pañjai Ilaiya Irumanukha-râman killed Kaikkola Balaâven Vayiri in a duel (uruvik-kutti); Adiga! Paluvêgaraiyar Kâpân Mâravanâr adjudged the case and as a result 90 sheep were given by the culprit for a lamp. 109 of 1895; SII. v. 670.

"Marudâlu (NA.)—Land for a lamp by residents (nâtâm) of Marudâlu to the Perundirukkoîyil-âyâr temple for the merit of Kalipperumân of Mâkapûr Pâtutârai who fell that Marudâlu may not be destroyed. † 411 of 1912.

"Paîcaâpândavanâlai (NA.)—Remission by Udaîyâr Virasaôlar, son of Udaîyâr Ilâjarâji Pugalvippavar-gandan,

* E.I. iv pp. 136 ff.
† Called Tirukkñagkuû-Vâlumaya-dëvar in other 10th century records. ARE. 1909 II 42.
‡ Rice, Mysore and Coorg. pp. 180 ff.
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of karpura-vilai and anniyavava-dayalavigai in the village of Kūragaṇaṇḍī, an iraiyilip-palliccadam, on a representation from his wife Ila la-inadeviyar that the collection of these dues by previous kidāpparaṇḍa led to this charity (Tiruppūnamathai) adversely. 19 of 1890; EI. iv. p. 139.

Year 8.—Reddiyālem (Nel.)—Lamp by Mummuṇḍi Vaitumba Mahārājan alias Vijīnu-dēvan alias Durai Arasān.

NI. G. 88.

" Tiruvadandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pēku. Ilam, but not Raṭapūli. Sabhā and ēr agree to maintain a lamp to Śrī Bhāṭṭāraki of Śrī Varāha-dēva, the goddess set up by a merchant of Mylapore, who gave also 15 kaṇjū of gold towards the lamp. 261 of 1910.

" Tiruvirūnīśvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp and offerings by Kudiraikkāra Sōbhamayyan. 146 of 1911.

Year 9.—Āduturāi (Tj.)—Some temple land reclaimed by Śembiyān Mādōviyār, mother of Uttama Gōja-dēva, and called Śembiyān Mahādēvi. 362 of 1907.

" Kūlūr (SA)—Gold for lamp by Kundāṇān Amirtavalli, the mother of queen Uloka-mahādēviyār; it was deposited with the Tiruvūṇaṇājigai sabhai. Also Īla-ṭakku worth two kāsi. 239 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 144.

" Kūlūr (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple by some persons called Kōliyakkūlaiyār, 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 Gōja. Hence this Rējakē is Kējāri 1 who has no attributes up to year 9, becomes Kandāḷuṟṟi-laik-kalam-kutta in years 10-12, and has later on the Tirumagal introduction. ARE, 1924 II 10. Kandāḷuṟṟi 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.—Mēḷḷūḍī (C.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Īlam and Raṭṭapāṭi included. 96 sheep for lamp; liquid measure Rajakēsari.

97 of 1921.

" Panṭḷāruvāḷai (Tj.)—Silver plate and bronze stand to temple by Sēmbiyān Mahādevi.

262 of 1923.

" TiruṇaṉaṆţalam (Pd.)—Land for up-keep of a tank by a Brahman from the Cōla country.

307 of 1904.

" TiruṇaṉaṆţalam (Tri.)—Land for (feeding) Śivayōgins.

687 of 1909.

" TiruṇaṉaṆţalam (Tj.)—Some gold ornaments and a silver vessel were made out of the savings of the temple treasury between the second and ninth years of the reign.

78 of 1897; SII. vi. 28.

" TiruṇaṉaṆţalam (Tj.)—Land as nyīya-bhōga, on behalf of the temple, by the assembly of Śaṭṭanūr met in the hall (cāḷuṇśāḷai) to Kumaraṇ Śrī-kaṇṭāḷai who had the śākka-liṅgā of the village, for acting the seven aṅkas of the Āriyakkāḷṭu on festival days in Purattāśi in the temple of TiruṇaṉaṆţalam-āḻvār. Provision is made for the supply of rice flour, betel leaves and areca nuts, ghi for mixing collyrium and turmeric.

120 of 1925.

" TiruṇaṉaṆţalam (Tj.)—Gift of ornaments to Umābhaṭṭārakai by a servant of Nambirāṭṭiyār Śrī Paṇcavan-Mahādeviyār of Kōdaṇḍarāṇa-veḷḷam of Taṇjāvūr.

278 of 1907.

Year 9, day 158.—Uttaramērūr (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-maṇḍapam of the Tulābhāra Śrī-kōyil ‡ where the assembly held its sittings.

197 of 1923.

* Year doubtful (9).

† contra ARF. 1923 II 28.

‡ Probably the Sundara Varada temple whence the inscription comes. Perhaps the king performed a Tulābhāra here. ibid.
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Year 10.—*Darśanakkōppu (Tv.)—(Vaffeluttu). Kāndaḻūrc-cālaik-kalam-arutta. One lamp by the sabhā for the merit of Pullanārayanan.

**Kanalanganal (SA.)—Kāndaḻūr-sālai. Land to temple Ścāngi-viṇāgar Paramasvāmin by the assembly met in Tirukkāvaṇam in front of Viṇārayana Viṇāgar at Tribhuvanamādāvi-catn. Another fragment related to a gift of land by Gaṇḍarādittan Madhurāntakan.

356 of 1917.

**Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Kāndaḻūr-sālai. Land by Araiyan Sundarāsōjan of the perundīram of Paḻuvāṭṭaraiyar Kandāl Māranār for the supply every day of a garland made of two nāl of tumbai flowers: ‘irunāįit-tumbai-pallittāmam.’ 106 of 1895; *SII. v. 667.

**Kūhūr (Tj.)—Kāndaḻūr-sālai. Land and house-site to Aḍiṭyā Īsvara temple for the śittirait-tiruvilā in the shrine of Naubī Arūrān, by the īr and kāpiyudaiya Kōliyakkālaiyargal. 299 of 1917.

**Kūram (Ch.)—Tirunagal-pūḷa. A sabbā-śrīmukham of the sabbā of Kūram providing for repairs etc., of a matha. 33-A of 1900; *SII. vii. 34.

**Sūcindran (Tv.)—(Vaffeluttu). Fifty sheep with the Mūlaparalai-sālhai for lamp to Tiruc-civindirattumahādeva by Īlanāṭṭu Maḻavaraiyan Śenni Kandāl. 71 of 1896; *EI. v. p. 44; *TAS. i. p. 238-9.

**Tinḍiṇiṇam (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Land, 2910 kulī, reclaimed for a musician who was to play on the lute (viṇai) and a vocalist to accompany the lute in the Tinḍiṇiśvara temple at Kiḷrangil.

141 of 1900; *SII. vii. 154.

**Tiruccengdu (Coi.)—(Copper-plate). Rājakēsari. (A) An order of Maḻavaraiyan Sundarāsōla that the irai collected by him from the Nagarattār 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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muḷumanaikālam arai-manai araiṅkālam, shall be in the form of nirgā-iyai; and that in the case of dues under duṇḍanguttam, the practice of Nandipura shall be followed. (B) Kollimalavan Piradigandan * makes an endowment for the merit of his father who died in Ceylon (engal-āccar-īḷattunnaṭa avar śrimadāhattukku-virupāṭu.) SII. iii. 212.

Year 10.—Tirumāḻipuram (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-sūlai etc. Gold by Kuḷakkudaiyan Arunīlai Śrīkṛṣṇan alias Mūvenda Piḷavūr Veḻur. A tiruppadiyam beginning Kōḷanūr-kuḻai composed by the father of the donor in praise of Gōvindaṕāṇi-āḻvār was to be sung at a festival. 333 of 1906.

"Tiruviṅḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—Kāndaḷūr-sūlai. Gift of a gold flower by one Īḻdayaśiva of Tirupputṭūr. 197 of 1907.

"Tiruviṅḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—Kāndaḷūr-sūlai. Gold image of Umāśāhitar by queen Paṇcavaṇ Mahādevi. 254 of 1907.

"Tiruviśalūr (Tj.)—Kāndaḷūr-sūlai. Money for lamp to Tiruviśalūr-perumāl at Avaninūrāyaṇa-catam., a dēvadāna and brahmudēyā. 3 of 1907.

"Trībhuvani (Pondicherry)—Kāndaḷūr-sūlai. Land, by purchase, for water supply and a lamp. The tank, Kōkkiḷanadippēṟēri, is mentioned among the boundaries. 196 of 1919.

"Uyyakkonḍān—Tirumalai (Tri.)—Kāndaḷūr-sūlai. Gift, by Sembiyānn Mādeviyār, mother of Kāṇḍan Madhu-rāntaka-dēvan alias Śrī Uttaṇa Cōla-dēva, to Śrī Karkudi Viḷūmiyār at Nandipanma-mangalam, of a jewelled crown comprising: gold 149 kaḷāṅju; silver 190 odd kaḷāṅju; muttu (pearl) 700 in number; māṇikkam 3; and diamond (vaṭirām) 27. 95 of 1892; SII. iv. 542.

* cf. SII. iii. 213 of year 5.
† 459 of 1908 seems to be same record.
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Year 10. — Vijayanārāyaṇam. (Tin.) — (Valṭeluttu)-Kāndalūr-sālai. Land as sālābhūga purchased from sabhā as īg̣iṣvīli, and fifty sheep for lamp to Manōmaya Isvarattu Perumāṇaḷigal; charities under supervision of sabhā.

7 of 1927.

Year 11.*—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Provision by sabhā of Vākūr for annual repairs to the tank at Bāhūr, at the rate of padakku-nil per pār per mā of land in the village. 178 of 1902; SII. vii. 805.

Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Śālaik - kalam - arutta. Village called Rājamalla  t catm. of Tiruvēgamalapuram in (Dāmar)-kōṭīm. 190 of 1915.

Kōnērivājapuram (Tj.)—Kāndalūr-sālai. Gift by Uḷaiyapirāṭṭiyar for singing the Tiruppadiyam. (?) ‡ 631 of 1909.


Takkōlam (NA.) — Śālaik-kalam-arutta Rājarājakēsari. Twenty-five kaḷvāṭju of gold deposited with Maṇaiyik-kōṭṭattum-tiruvēmar-purattac-eḻūr-ūrom who undertook to supply paddy to the temple. 3 of 1897; SII. v. 1366.

Tenmövi (Ch.)—Gift of vessels to temple by Śēmbiyān Mahādeviyār. Engraved on stone by sabhā by royal order. 199 of 1901; SII. vii. 411.

Tirukkoḻḷiṉūr(Rd.)—(Valṭeluttu)-Rājarājakēsari. Land, by purchase, for a lamp and for a Brahman for explaining the Prābhākaram, by a native of Sattamangalam in Tiraimūr-nādu. 333 of 1923.

† Possibly after a Ganga king - ARE, 1916 II 8.
‡ Purpose of grant not in the text, contra ARE 1910 II 18.
Year 11.—Tirunālpuṟam (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-sāḷai. Sheep for lamp by a native of the Cōla country to the shrine of Anuma-deva in the Viṣṇu temple. 335 of 1906.


Tiruvērumūr (Tin.)—Kāndaḷūr-sāḷai. 34 sheep for lamp to Gaṇapati in the local temple. The donor was one of the āḻungayattār of the village (iṉvūr-āḻungayattār) 98 of 1914.

Tiruvirāmīśvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the āḻungayattār of the brahmadeya village, Madanamaṉjari-catm. 136 of 1911.

Valappuranadu (Sm.)—Kāndaḷūr-sāḷai-kalam-arutta. The saṭṭapparamakkal of Tiruvappappalḷi received gold for a lamp from a merchant, Malaiyaman Setti. Mentions the weight malaikkal. 498 of 1930.

Year 11, day 164.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Sāḷai-kalam-arutta. The great assembly met in the brahmasthāna of the village and made the rule that only Brahmans well-versed in the mantras were eligible for appointment as vāriyam-seyṉār and for taking part in the deliberations of the assembly. Tennēri called Uttama Śūja-catm. Nammūrīl mantra-brāhmaṇam vallāvē vāriyanjeyvārāgavum sabhā-māṟgaijoluvārāgavum...mantrambrāhmaṇam-aṛgyādēy vāriyanjeydārāiyum sabhā-māṟgaṉjonnārāiyum tiruvāṉai-maṟuttār paḻum-daṇḍappaḻuvārāga. 241 of 1922.

Year 11, day 220. Tennēri (Ch.)—Sāḷai-kalam-arutta. Vyuvaṭvāhā of sabhā: Nammūrīl brahmavangonduṟārum mēḻpauḻukkayam-muḻaiyārum nammūr-vāriyanjeyavum sabhā-māṟgaṉjollavum perādaṟāgavum. Ikkurram-gaḻulaiyār vāriyanjeydūṟārum sabhā-māṟgaṉjonnāṟārum kaṇakkatur iruḻai-kăḻināṟum tiruvāṉai-maṟuttār paḻum daṇḍa(m) paḻuvārāga. 240 of 1922.

* Why is Rājarāja's conquest of the Pāṭḍyas not mentioned earlier than his year 147 - A.R.E. 1905 II 13.
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Year 12—Kāncipuram (Ch.) — Kāndalūr-sālai. Rājarājakēsari.

Loan from temple to sabhā who agree to remit paddy as interest. SII. i. 146.

Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Lamp by Aiyāran Kānān, a Kaikkōlan of Adigal Pāluvōṭṭaraiyar, for merit of a person killed by him (paṭakkutta). 122 of 1895; SII. v. 683.

Kōnērirājapuram (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Silver image (of God ?) and copper image of Čaṇḍōśvara by Nakkan Nallattadigal, one of the Rājarājutteriṇja Kaikkōlar, and the son of Anukkan Mahāmalli, a pendaṭṭi in the velām of Rajākēsari. 627 of 1909.

Kūhūr (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Land by residents of Kūhūr to Pillai Nambi Ārūranār who sang the Tiruppa-diyan hymns. 275 of 1917.

Pāṇḍārāvāḍai (Tj.)—A gold pot, 20 kalānju, by Śembiyan Mahādēvi for the merit of her son Uttama Cōla. 263 of 1923.

* Pullamangai (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Assembly of Pullamangalum met in the temple to the beat of the drum and made gifts of land, one veli wet land and 440 pārtti of garden land to some Brahmas versed in the Śāma and Rgveda. 553 of 1921.

Tinnevelly (Tin.)—(Vaiṭṭeluttu)-Kāndalūr-sālai. Land for offerings to Brahmaṇpurī-ḍēvar at Tirunelvēli. 84 of 1927.

Tirumālapuram (NA.)—Kāndalūr-sālai. An agreement of the villagers of Pālugūr regarding terms of an endowment in their charge. Mentions the fact that Madhumāntaka Gaṇḍarādīttar 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. 18 A. D. 996. - ARE. 1922 App. E.
† cf. 283 of yr. 4.

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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 12.—Tiruvadi (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-aruttā. Tax-free gift of eighteen plots of land (seru) by the sabhā of Avaiyanūr to the temple of Jalaśayana-mahādeva of that village.

418 of 1921.

" " Tiruvadi (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-aruttā. The assembly of Rāpadhārā-mangalam in Avaiyanūr-nāḻu, a division of Tirumunaiippāḷi, agreed to furnish the dēvādana lands of the temple of Jalaśayana-dēva, 18½ seru of land, with water for irrigation from the irrigation tank of the village.

419 of 1921.

" " Tiruvanāḷarkkāṇīt (Pondicherry).—The assembly of Tribhuvana-mahādevi-catm., met in the mahāpāḷa built by Mūmudisōla-umbāḷa-nāṭṭu-vēḷān, remitted taxes on Mūṇṭiyan Vāḷaiippākkam, purchased and given to the temple by Immaisōla Muvendavelan, and fixed the fines to be paid by those who imposed or realised any taxes on it in future.

362 of 1917.


119 of 1911.

Year 12, day 231.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Śālaik-kalam-aruttā. Sabha orders dasakkāṇām to be collected from Vikkiyannan alias Vikrama-cōḷa-brahmādāryāṇ.

202 of 1901; SH. vii 414.

Year 13—Kāmarasavallī (Tri.)—Śālai. Fifteen kaḷaṇju of goll, interest (2½ kaḷaṇju) being payable to those who recited the Talavakāṟa Śaṁavēḍa on the day of Mārgalī Tiruvādirai, each reciter being fed and paid 1½ kaḷaṇju in gold.

76 of 1914.

" " Kammarasandra (Mys.)—Ś. 920. † Kanareṣe. Nōlamba Ayyapa-dēva's son Gannarasa was governing part of Daligavāḷī.

169 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 111.

* December 1st, A.D. 996-L.D.S. in ARE. 1918 App. E

† Date Ś. 92(3) in ARE, where 'Hēmaḻambi', the corresponding cyclic year, is noted to be wrong. This is the earliest Cōḷa record in Mysore (Rice, Intr. p. 14). But see MAR. 1917 p. 42.
THE COLAS

Year 13.—Tirugôkârâyam (Pd.)—Kândaļûr-sâlai. Money for payment of taxes. 310 of 1904.

" Tirukkaḍâiûr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pûla. Purchase of some lands with money from the treasury of Tiru-virâṭtînamudaiya Paramasvâminâ, at the instance of the sabhâ of Pañâ-ôviya Kâḻavûr, for Udayâsândiran Amudâkan alias Kâḻakûla Mâyilaṭṭi, 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.

" Tirumakkûṭṭai (Tj.) — Kândaļûr-sâlai. The assembly of Pañâiya Šembiyan-mâdîvi-catm. issued a new sale deed, in place of an old document lost, to a certain Parâkâsari Viḻapparaiyân, the headman of Puravar-ejilûr, for certain lands which they had sold to him. Refers to about the fourth year of Madilôrî-elundarûlina Râjakâsari-varman. "Igûkûvâl" explained. 266 of 1917.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kândaļûr-sâlai. The supervisor of the temple of Tirutikâlî-ôlvûr, Mummuḍî-sôla Pôsan, finding that one of the directors (guṇatâr) of the village had received 25 pûn, dharmakâṭṭalai-tulai-nîrî, for a lamp founded by Singaπirâṭṭiyûr, and that his marumagan had neglected to maintain it, now made a gift of 600 kulî of his land for continuing the charity. 208 of 1921.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kândaļûr-sâlai. Some ornaments made and handed to the sabhâ from 40 kaḻaṇî and 7 maṇîḏi of gold accumulated from various sources in the treasury of the temple. Also a lamp and jewelled ornament by Mummaḍî-sôla Pôsâr, the supervisor of the temple. (See 208 of 1921.) 210 of 1921.

" Tiruvallam (NA.) — Kândaļûr-sâlai. 10 kaḻaṇî of gold with the sabhâ to Tikkâlî-ôlvûr by Îرابàra

* Probably the king’s father Sundara Cōḷa-ARE, 1918 II 25:

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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍi-śoḷa Pōsar of Arasūr for the Pavitrohaṇa festival. Rate of interest 3 maṉjāḍi per kalāṉju per annum yielding 1½ kalāṉju.

216 of 1921.

Year 13.—Ukkal (NA.)—Śalaś. Record by the Mahāsabha of Vikramābharaṇa-catm. of a private endowment of 500 kuḷi of land for 4 nāḷi of tiruvamudū every day at noon for Tiruvaṃśi-duva of the place. The land was made tax-free after receipt of a lump payment by the sabha.

20 of 1893 ; SII. in. 2.


376 of 1922.

Araśiṇiṇiṅgalaṃ (Ch.)—Kandaṅsūr-śālaś. Gift by a certain lady of a foot-rest, a seat (meṭtāngi), 90 sheep for a lamp, and utensils to god Tiruvaṭi-bhaṭṭārakaṭ at Araśiṇiṇiṅgalaṃ in Venkunṭa-koṭṭam.

343 of 1923.

Kalaṅkattuṛ (Ch.)—New introduction. Taṇḍevi etc. Mummuḍi-śoḷa Rājarājaṅkēsari. Provision by Kājan Mayindan for two lamps in the temple of Urṇi-āḷvār at Kāḷakkaṭṭuṛ, a sālābhāga 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 ninḍaṇāli. Land for one lamp and sheep for another.

121 of 1923.

Kūḥūr (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for lamp to Ādityēvara at Kūḥūr by a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mahādevip-pērangāli outside Taṇḍāvār. Mentions Viṭelvēḷiṅgu-tukkāći-catm.

279 of 1917.

Mēḷpāḍi (C.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The assembly of Tiruvallam get gold, tuḷai-nilai 15 kalāṉju, and assign 1000 kuḷi of land by Sirrambalattuk-kōḷ to a person residing in Śankarappāḍi in Arumōḷi-duvat-perunderu of this Rājāraṇyapuram, who had to supply ¼ measure of ṣṭī every day for a lamp. The gold was given by a well-known officer of Rājarāja and his son, Śoṇaṭṭut-
Year 14.—Melpudi (C.)—Tirumagal-pola. Boundary of dēvadāna lands given tax-free to Cōlendra-simhēśvara 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 Tiruvālan-gāḍu plates.

Pēkurī (Ch.)—New introduction †. 90 sheep for lamp.

Sweīndram (Tv.)—(Valletuttu). Kāndalūr-sālaik-kalam-aruttu Gangapāliyum Nuḷūmapi-liyum Tāliy-gavaliyum Vēngai-māḷīm-kọḷa Kō. ‡ Fixes dues from the tenants (mun kīk-lārūnmaiunlaiyu kudi-gal) of Tenu-Valanallūr who held from Nṛpācēkhara Valanallūr, a dēvadāna of Rājarāja Valanūṭtu-Nāṇji-nāṭtu-brahmadēya Sujindirattu-emberumān.


Tirunāgēsvaram (Tj.)—Sāhali, Gangapāli etc. The sabhā of Nallūre-cēri sell land tax-free to Tirunāgēsvaram-uḷaiy-mahādēva for 40 kaḷāṇīu endowed by Arinjiyappiraiti alias Bāmup-perundēvi, the daughter of Pillaiyar Arikulakēsariyār.

81 of 1897.

SIL vi. 31; 82 of 1897, SIL vi. 32 is similar.

Tirunāgēsvaram (Tj.)—Rājarāja Rājakēsari. Sale of 1½ vīli of land to temple by the assembly of Mādānāmangalam, a brahmādēya. Tirunāgēsvaram is called a dēvadāna. The cost of the land, 101 kaḷāṇīu, 6. mā

* Later on, under Rājendra, Uttamaśīkha Pallavaraiyan. SII. ii. p. 222 n. 4.

† cf. 376 of 1922.

‡ Same form in 21 of 1906-Tirukkaṭayir year 14: 81 of 1897-Tirunāgēsvaram year 14; 23 of 1905-Tirukkaṭayir year 15 which adds Kuṭamalai-māḷi, and others.

§ Here T.A.G. Rao accepts the naval victory of Kāndalūr (p. 128).
and 1 kāṇi, was the fund formerly deposited for offerings by princess Arinnjigaip-pirittiyār. Mentions the processes involved in making tulai-pou. *

218 of 1911.

Year 14.—Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. (No mention of Kalinga and Ilam.) Kamban Maṇiyan alias Vikkirama-sīnga-mūvēnda-vēḷān got a marakuta-dēvar from the king, from the booty obtained in Mahād, and consecrated it in the temple at Tiruppaḷanam.

135 of 1928.

Tiruvēṇayainallūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Provision for feeding a man who had to bale out water for the sacred bath and blow the conch at Tiruvanattūnai-āḷyār temple. 420 of 1921.

Year 14, day 258.—Mēḻpāḷi (C.) Kōnēr-yinmai-kōṇḍān. Land in several villages to Mahādēva of the Coḻundrasimhēśvara temple constructed by the king in the city of Rājā-sraya-puram, after cancelling the old name Mēṟpāḷi alias Viraṉārayaṇapuram. † 101 of 1921.

Year 15.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Sale of land to Māhāśaṅkū temple by a Kramavittan, one of the managing members (yāḻunganam) of Nrpatonga-cayantāngi-cathm. ‡ 369 of 1922.

Kāyār (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Sale of land by the assembly of Kāyār to a person for a lamp to god Āḷḷēri-dēva. 440 of 1922.

Kīḻaiyūr (Tj.)—Sale of 7 mā of land tax-free to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa temple by the big assembly of Tiruvaḷundūr for 15 kāśu got from Vaiḷikkātūnai-guṇa-silān (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 Kayirūr Perūmmār of a Parantaka inscription (EI, vii p. 141) ARE, 23 II 28. The śaṅkū is called Kayirūr Ayyanār in 370 of 1922 of year 15 from same place.
THE COLAS

Year 15.— *Manimangalam* (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land to Tiruvāyappādī Śri-Kṛṣṇa Perumāl. The Mahāsabha of Ulōka-mahādēvi-catm. (Manimangalam) met ṭanṉirppandalile dharmi-seydu (?).

289 of 1897; *SII. vii. 267.*

Madnapālūvūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land, one mā, reclaimed by Nakkan Kumarakkan, daughter of Dēvarmagaḷ Nakkan Periya Arangapirān, for offerings and worship on special days to the two gods in the temple of Avanikandarpa Īsvaram. Mentions Ādigaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaṟaiyar Kaṭṭan Maravan.

363 of 1924.

Śermedēvi (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu)—Tirumagal-pōla. Only the introduction is preserved.

182 of 1895; *EI. v. p. 46.*

Sucindram (Tv.)—(Vatteluttu)—Tirumagal-pōla. The Mahāsabha of Tiruccivindiram met in the agrasālā, being summoned by kāḷam and kūri (kāḻmūdīvīcuk-kūri-sāṭṭi). The Mūlaparṇa-sabha managing the affairs of the temple under the Mahāsabha said that they could no longer remit the iṟai on the deśadānas of the temple or manage its affairs, and in this they were joined by their tenants (paraṇaik-kudiyilār), and having thus resigned everything into the hands of the Mahāsabha, they undertook to pay a fine of 15 kaḷaṇju if they revived their claims individually (tanippundaril) at any time, and 50 kaḷaṇju of sēyārapōn if the tenants (kudigaḷ) did so, and not to set up any claims even after paying these fines. Thereupon, the Mahāsabha ordered that two vārīyar of their choice and the Karṇattāṁ must together manage the affairs of the temple thereafter, and provided for the remuneration in paddy of each of them every day.

85 of 1896; *EI. v. p. 45; TAS. ii. pp. 1-8.*

Tiruvenkāṭṭu (Ṭi.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold. Mentions treasures taken by Rājarāja from the Cērā king.

443 of 1918.

* Thursday 27th April, A. D. 999 Kielhorn, *EI. v. p. 198.*
† Tuesday 29th August A. D. 999, Kielhorn, *EI. v. p. 48.*
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 15. — *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—Gift of āri-muḍi, weight 9 kalaṇju, 9 maṇji-li and 7 mā; inner silver cover 206½ kalaṇju, and 4 maṇji-li; 3 muniikkam, 36 vayiram and 1998 pearls assorted, by Ģemiyan Mahādēvi. *

48 of 1918.

Year 16.—*Brahmadēsam* (NA.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Land for recitation of the Tiruppadiyam in the temple.

199 of 1915.

" *Hebbani* (Mys.) — Kan. Navakhaṇḍa-mañḍalum ↑ daṇḍattigondā. The king's general was Noḷambādhi-

rāja who gave Perbaṇa (Hebbani) to the plunderer of Kaḷiyanāna (Kaḷuveṭṭi ?); and a farmer of the place repaired the big tank which had breached its bank.

*EC. x. Mb. 208; 100 of 1899.*

" *Kilīyanūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Gift of a kāḷam by a native of Soḷa-nāṣu for convoking the assembly of Kilīyanūr, a brahmaṇḍeyā. Mentions also that the herald was entitled to get two meals (sōṛu) every day from the village.

156 of 1919.

" *Kiḷūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Provides for the supply of temple servants, two persons as puṇḍāris by saha of Tiṟukkōvalūr, and other servants by four other villages named.

231 of 1902; *SII. vii. 858.*

" *Kuttālam* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* 360 kalaṇju of gold by Viṟa-nāraṇan-kuṭṭattūḷi, a viḻaṅgai-vēṭaikkārun, residing at Kavirinallūr, for midnight worship to Śonnavāraṉīr. The amount was invested with Köyil-

maḷaṇṇaiyūn Eḻuttapāḷam-Śeyya-pūḷam alias Tiruttuṇṭi-pīccan, the rate of interest being one kalam per annum (on each kalaṇju). 106 of 1925.

" *Māmandūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* 46 sheep for half a lamp by Nambar Rāman to Rudrāvāḷēvaram Udaiya Mahādēva of Narasimha-mangala in Utta(ma ?) Cōḷēvārāpurā within Tiruvēṅgambam 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.*
THE COLAS

Year 16.—Sīruvakkam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pālā. Land for festival in the Mūlasthāna temple of Sīrupakkam. Mentions the eight members of the Manrāli-vāriyam to which was assigned the work of inspecting the produce of temple lands and conducting the festivals with the mēlvāram received from the tenants. 66 of 1923.

Srūtriyam Tāṇḍalam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pālā. Land as śrībali-paṭṭī for the festival of Vellorū-vāyār by the villagers (ūr) of Sander-Tāṇḍalam. 71 of 1923.

Tirumalai (NA.)—Tirumagal-pālā. (Copy in year 40 of Vīra Narasinga Yādavarāya by Dēsantāri Tiruppulilāndāsa who rebuilt the temple). A paṭṭam,—50 kalāṇju, 6 māṇikkam, 4 vayiram and 28 muttu,—by Parāntadēvi Ammanār, the daughter of Śūrāmānār, and queen of (Ponmālīgait-tuṇjinān), viz., Dēvi Ammanār.* 61 of 1889; SII. iv. 293.

Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pālā. Tax-free grant of land by Nakkan Tillaivālagiyār alias Paṅcavan Mahādēviyār, queen of Rājarāja, for festival and offerings on the day of Śadaiyam (king’s nativity and her own) every mouth. 47 of 1928.

Tiruppurambiym (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pālā. Land for two perpetual lamps (nandavilakkku) for the Paḷḷikkaṭṭil of the goddess by ivvūr-valāṇjiyār. 71 of 1897; SII. vi. 20.

Tiruvāṇuturai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pālā. Some money which the sabhā of Śīṟrānaicur owed to their Kaikkōlan Karrāli-paṭṭālagan had become rājasvam and the king demanded its payment; unable to find the money, and unwilling to collect it from the people owing to fear of migration, the sabhā raised a loan from the temple to pay it off and agreed to make some temple lands iṟaiyili. Kāśu equal to three-fourths kalāṇju and three māṇjāḍi. 105 of 1925.

* 159 of 1896 under Tiruvīḷaiamudār.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 16.—Tiruvakkaraï (SA.)—Tirumagal-pôla. Gift of a dëvadûna village to stone temple of Śivalôka-udaiya-Paramasvâmin * built by Śembiyan Mahâdëviyâr. Allotments for various requirements of the temple.

Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pôla. The citizens of Vanapuram, i.e., Tiruvallam, sold, tax-free, 700 kuñi of land to Tiruvaiyan Śankara-deva who granted it to Tiruvaiya Íśvara, so called after his father. Tiruvaiyan seems to have claimed descent from the W. Ganga kings : Gûnâuddhamma-Parama-Dhamma-mahârâja-Nirunilapura paramâśvara Śrinâtha Śrîmât-Śiva-Mahârâja Tiruvaiyan-Śankurâdeva.

11 of 1890 ; SII. iii. 51.

Tiruvâ(141,363),(884,902)

Tiruvâ(141,363),(884,902)

Trichinopoly (Tri.)—Land to the shrine of Tiruccirâppalli at Srirambar in Uraiûr-kûrang. 412 of 1904.

Vijuyandrdyanam (Tin.) — (Vaṭṭeḻuttu). Tirumagal-pôla. The sabhâ of Vijayanârâyanâ-catm., a brahma-dëya in Nâṭṭâṟṟuppôkku, having assembled in the temple of Śâtakaōpa- Viñana-ârumanâdi in the village, exempted from taxes two pieces of land given to the temple by a Brahman.

2 of 1927.

Year 17.—Karuttattângui (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pôla. Sale of land by the Mahâsabhâ of Râjakèsari-catm. to Kundavai, the daughter of emperor Pirântaka and elder sister of the king; she presented it for a lamp to Karundîṭta-gudi-mahâdëva. Mentions a general edict of the king ordering the sale of all lands in Brahman villages held

* Candramâlîvâra. cf. 95 of 1892 year 10 ; 276 of 1903 year 2(4) ARE. 1904 paragraph 20.

† 61 of 1889 under Tirumalai.
by lower castes except the kāṇi lands of workmen (paniṣeyakāṇi paiseykāṇiṇiyoliya); and an order based on this from Adigārikal Vānaṇa Mūvendavēḷan regulating the manner in which the lands in this place were to be sold for cash and deputing an officer (Udaiyār pāyinnakai) Sattambiyār. Icāttambiyār tāṇḍa Mahāśabhaiyām vīka-nilavilaiyāvayam. Attested by several people of the locality (īvuṟ).

46 of 1897; SI. v 1094.

Year 17.—Kilaiyūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa (in part). 180 sheep for lamp and ghee in the month of Śittirai to the standing Kṛṣṇa in the Citiramaṇṭapa of the Tirukkaḍa-vuṇḍaiya-emberumān temple at Tiruvāḻundūr by a royal servant named Valikkēṭṭaṟ-Gūnasilai (cf. 93 of year 15) and his wife Aiyāṭṭi-puttaki. 91 of 1925.

Maṅkānam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Āṟūṟan Udayadivā-
karan Arumolī-mūvendavēḷai of Araiūr, while he was stationed at Paṭṭanam in Paṭṭana-nādu, enquired into some complaints relating to expenses in the Bhūmis-
vara temple and fixed a fresh scale. States that the tiru-nāḷ of Rājarāja was Śadaiyam. 28 of 1919.

Sōṁūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Gold diadem, to Tiru-
nōmbalūr Paramēṣvara at Dēvanapalī, made out of fines collected from defaulting temple servants, by the survey officer (ulagalvitta) Tiruvāḻigal Sāttan who enquired into the expenses of the temple. 199 of 1917.


Tenkarai (Md.)—(Gr.) Tirumagal-pōḷa. Land situated in Perundēṇur by Janaṇātha Pallavaraiyān alias Kōḍanḍan-sēlai to god Śrī Vira Kērala Viṣṇugara-dēvar of Naṉuvil-śrī-kōyil of Perundēṇur alias Janaṇātha-
catm. in Pāṉuṟ-kūṟram. 134 of 1910.*

* No regnal year given in the text.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 17.—Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Twenty kalanju gold, converted into land, for lamp, by queen Tennavan Mahādevi.

123 of 1895; SIL v. 684.

Tiruvadandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. (Itam but not Raṭṭapāli among conquests). Dedication of twelve families (patṭinavavan-kari) for conducting a festival of seven days, called Kājarāja-dēvar-tirunāl (satabhiṣaj) in the month of Āvaṇi. The families had to pay 1/2 kalanju per head out of their earnings from weaving or venturing on the sea, and to render assistance in celebrating the festival. Other duties and privileges are also mentioned. This was engraved under orders of: (i) Rāman Kumaran aluṛ Sōla-Mūvenda-vōla-Mārāyan who was nāṭu-kaṅkālei; and (ii) Karān Adīṭtau aluṛ Dāna-Mūvenda-vēļan Mārāyan who was nāṭu-vagai.

274 of 1910.

Ukkal (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The Mahāsabhā including the (Dhanma)vāriyap-perumakkaḷ for the year, the Śṛttakaṇṭṭār of the locality (emmūr) and some others met in the temple of Mahāsastā to the north of the ambalam. Some gifts were made to the temple and these were left in the charge of the Śṛttakaṇṭṭār. A fine of one kalanju was to be laid on those who sold betel-leaves outside the Pīḷārī temple and the fine to be collected by the ēri-vāriyap-perumakkaḷ. The madhyastha made the record. SIL iii. 6.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sheep for lamp, some being bought from the treasury of Subrahmanyadēvar of Uttaramērūr. Others were endowed by different people, one giving 11½ sheep for 1/8 lamp.

54 of 1898; SIL vi. 337.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 96 sheep for lamp to the Paranāvāṇi who was pleased to stand at the Kongarañyay-śri-koyil of Uttaramērūr. The sheep were left with the sabhaiyār of Arasāṇi-mangalam.

173 of 1923.
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Year 18.—Ambasamudram (Tin.)—(Vatelluttu) Rājarājak. 25 sheep for a lamp to the temple of Tiruppottuṇaiya-dēvar. 98 of 1905.

Ärpākkam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Gift by purchase of tank and land made tax-free (kāḻungulamum vilai konfu tirutti igationiiccii) for offerings to Tiruvirā-Vinṇagar-āḻvār, in the name of Nambirāṭṭiyār Śembiyan Mūkkōk-kīḷān-aḻigal alīas Kannara-Nāccī-Piḷāra-nangai, by a certain Arangan Kōṇḍāḻarāman of Paṇivaga-mangalam in the Cōḷa country. Liquid measure: sōḻiyam. 139 of 1923.

Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Gold for a lamp. The samvatsaravrāṇīya of Rājamalla-catm. looking after grāmakārīya had to see to its proper maintenance on pain of being fined for default by the Śraddhā-mantar. 192 of 1915.

Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūḷu. 60 kalniḻu of gold by residents of Śīru-naṇṟaṟiyur for four lamps in the name of the king to Anjaiṉanṟi Durgaiyār of Kāṇcl. 78 of 1921.

Kilaiyur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Provision made by assembly of Tiruvalun đuḍur for supply of one kuruṇi of ghi for offerings to Tirukkaḷavulaiya-emberumānneymudusėyān on the day of Punarpusam every month with the interest on the sum of money received from Valikketunai-Guṇaśilam. (91 of year 17). 95 of 1925.


Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Sale of land by pati-pādu-mūlattar, paṇcāṭṭiyāṟgal, srīkoyiluṭṭaiyār * 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-mūla-pañcācārya-śrīkṣyūlūḍāi-yār* and the *dēvākarmaṁ* *declare this land free from the obligation to pay īrai, eccoru, vetli, āṟṟukkuḷai or anything else.* 46 of 1895; *SII. v. 603.

Year 18.—Tirunandikkurarai (Tv.)—(Vattēḻuttu.) Tirumagal-pōḷa. Gift of Muṭṭam in Valḷuva-nāḷ to Tirunandikkurarai Mahādēva after changing its name to Mummudi-sāḷañallūr, for a festival and river bath to the god on Śadai-yam day, the king’s birthday. *TAS. i. 291-2.

* Tiruppurambigiyam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. (Mentions conquest of Īḷam.) Land for lamp. 333 of 1927.

* Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Land by residents of Neįkuppai for the recitation of Tiruppadiyam in the local temple. 40 of 1918.

Year 19.—Kōṭṭaiakarungulam (Tin.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. 25 sheep for lamp to Rūśinga Īśvaraṭṭu Bhaṭṭāra with an army officer *paḻatṭulaivān* (of the local garrison?) living in the place. 272 of 1928.†

* Madras Museum—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Lamp. Mentions Taṇṭiyāḷattūr in Śimattūr-nāḷu, a sub-division of Puliyūr-kōṭṭam, from Puliyūr near Kōḷambakam to the west of the Mailāṇūr tank. 290 of 1895; also 291.

* Maṅkānam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Salt-pan for lamp to Śri-Bhūmīśvarattāḷvār at Rājarājappinḍam in Maṅkānam, a dēvadāna in Paṭṭimānuḷu, a sub-division of Ōymā-nāḷu, by the officer and workers (kuḷigal) in the salt-pans. 23 of 1919.

* Tiruccengattangudi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Land for feeding in the maṇḍapa of Śīṟtuṭṭoṇḍa Nāmbi devotees attending the festival of Śittirait-tiruvvādirai of Śīṟāja-dēva. 57 of 1913.

* Had there any taxing or assigning powers?

† The *Vattēḻuttu* record of Śaḍaiya-Ṭaṛan in this stone temple (270.) makes it more likely that a Pāṇḍya Rājasimha was its builder than the Čēra feudatory of Rājāndra and possibly also of Rājāja. *ARE, 1928 ii. 5.*
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Year 19.—**Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-ṭhala.** Land for tiruvilā to Śrīntapōḍa-nambi, a devotee of Śrīśāla-dēva of Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi, by two residents of Marugal. Mentions the revenue survey of the seventeenth year; also the phrase: *mikudik-kurāi-ullāṭaṅga* re: land measurement. 59 of 1913.

**Tiruvadandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-ṭhala.** Thirty *kañjju* of gold by a merchant of Tiruppiriyur in Pulār-kōṭṭam to Varāhasvāmī temple. The residents of Taiyur agreed to pay interest in oil and paddy to the assembly of Tiruvadandai for a lamp and for feeding thirty-five Brahmans. 267 of 1910.

**Tiruvadandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-ṭhala.** (Iam but not Raṭṭapāḍi among conquests). 16½ *kañjju* of gold by a merchant of Kaḷarpāḷḷi in Malai-nāḍu for feeding twelve Brahmans in the Varāha-dēva temple during the thirty days of the month of Kumbha. An instance of ṛddakkaṇṭān. 273 of 1910.

**Uttānṭir (Mys.)—Tirumagal-ṭhala.** After 'Kalingamum' in the introduction, we have: "Kuḷamalai-nāḍum āṅkaḷu kaḷandāṅgaru Ni . . . ṛṇramungoṇḍa tiṅ-dār al venyiṭ-taṅñāṅkouṇḍa taṇneṭṭi" etc. Mentions Arumolīdeva-catuṃ. 459 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 123.

Year 19, day 126.—**Tiruvenkāṭṭi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-ṭhala.** String of rubies (*māṇikka-nāṇu*) by queen Kūttan Vira-nārayanīyār alias Cōḷa-Mahāḷēvīyār. 112 of 1896; SII. v. 975.

Year 20.—**Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tirumagal-ṭhala.** Mentions an executive assembly (kūṭṭam) of 80 persons. 62 of 1914.

**Śenur (NA.)—**A new introduction (beg. lost). Gift of land by ūr of Šeyanallār to the temples of Tiruvagattisvāra and Tirumēṟṟalḷi-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
kaḷaiṇju of gold collected as danṭam from the temple
authorities. Mentions Rājādēvar Kaikkōlap-paṭai,
Pirāntakat - teriṇja - kaikkōlar, Sundarāsōlāt - teriṇja-
kaikkōlar, and Pāṇḍikulāsāri-teriṇja-kaikkōlar, and
Iīṇāṭu - vagai - bēyyīga Kulattūr - udaiyār. 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; SIL iv. 391.

Tāqīnālingi (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to
temple for offerings for 100 kāśu by tulai-nigai-
kempūnāyarasa-nigai-kul. Mentions Periya-Kund-
davai-āḻvār-bhanḍāra and Ponnila-ōvār-bhanḍāra.

491 of 1911*; EC. iii. Tn. 35.

Year 20.—Tirukkōṭhīyīr (Rd.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sheep for
lamp by a cavalier of the king commanding the.....
vattāṇa terinda-valangai-vēlaikkārar. Tirukkōṭhī-
yīr is called a dēvadāna in Kēraḷāsinga-vala-nāḍu, a
sub-division of Rājarāja-vala-nāḍu. 320 of 1923.

Tiruvāḷuturai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Agreement
between Sādēśiva-bhāṭārār of the matha at Tiruvaiyārū,
as manager of the temple of Tiruvāḷuturai on the one
part, and the assemblies of Śattānūr (Tiraimūr-nāḍu)
and Śīrānaiccūr (Tiruvāḷundūr-nāḍu) on the other,
that the latter shall pay the taxes on the temple
lands in their villages in lieu of the interest on loans
due from them to the temple which they were unable
to pay. 121 of 1925.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla.—Lamp by Naṉna-
maramiayar or Naṉnāman, son of Tukkarai of the Vai-
dumba family ruling over Ingalūr-nāḍu, a district of
Mahārājapāli. ♠ 14 of 1890; SIL iii. 52.

* MAR. 1912 p. 38.
† Mahārajanēdi 7000 with Vallīra for its capital must have been in the
Cuddapah district, SIL. iii. p. 106.
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Year 20.—Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Golden bowl (ponnin kapālam) by Nambirattiyār Tiṭṭaipirāṇderumānār alias Sōla-mahādēviyār.

111 of 1896; SHI. v. 974.

Year 21.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. An officer Paran-taka-sōla Mūvendavelān sent an order to the assembly of Nāpatunga-śayantāngi-catm. that the property of those who ran away without paying the fines imposed on them was to be sold for any price it could fetch and the money credited to the tālam (treasury) at Kaccipēdu and a receipt obtained. This was in turn communicated to the sabhā of Tirunārāyaṇac-cēri, a hamlet of the village, whereupon a certain Kilakkil Avanipabhaṭṭa was deprived of his bhatfasvam land which was sold to the temple of Mahāśāsta Kayirūr Ayyyan in an ājñākrayam. 379 of 1922.*


8 of 1919.

Dādāpuram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Mentions the construction of the three temples at Rājarājapuram (See No. 8 of 1919) by Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār, and records that, on receipt of the royal writ, the officer Ārūran Aravanaiyān alias Parākramaśāja Mūvendavelān of Panaiyūr ordered the temple treasury to be examined and the presents to be engraved on stone in the respective temples. 17 of 1919.

Ēmappērūr (SA.)—Tirumagal - pūla. Rājarājavarman 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 Cōḷai. The Jaina shrine exists no longer, though the others do. ARE, 1919 II 11.
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Year 21.—Tirumalai (near Pūlār NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A verse recording construction of a sluice by Gunavira-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 Venkilān Kanicēkara-maru-poreūriyan. SII. i. 66.

"Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Remission of taxes, after getting 15 kāśu, by the assembly of Kār-ōjuc-cēri, a brahmādēya, on lands granted to the temple by the king and queen Pañcavan-mahādēviyār for special worship every month on the Śadāyam day.

54 of 1928.

"Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Money, 12 kāśu equal to 96 kalam of paddy, yielding interest of 32 kalam at one tāṇi per kalam, for offerings to Tirunāvukkaraśa-dēva, installed by Agnikumāra-krama-vittan alias Porkāyil Cauḍēvarayōgi of Kūndūr, a hamlet of Vīra-sīkāmukac-cēri in Viṟāraśa-yaśa-catm., an independent village (taniyūr) on the north bank in the Rājendrasimha-vaḷa-nāṭu. 68 of 1928.


"Tiruvaiyāiyū (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Temple of Lōka-mahādēvari built by the queen of Rājarāja, Dautisaktu-Viṭānki alias Lōka-mahādēvi. Sale of land by the authorities of the temple of Tiruvaiyāryūlaiyār to the Mahā-dēvakunmis of the temple mentioned above, at 100 kaḷaiṉu per veli. Mentions vilaiyāva-yaṃ and porulmāvaṇḍip-poruṭcilavōlai. Formula of sale interesting. 219 of 1894; SII. v. 518.

"Tiruvaiyāiyū (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla (in middle of record). While staying at Tiruvallam the king, who bore the surname Sivapāda-śekhara-dēva, confirmed a

* Rangachari-i p. 80 notices three persons of this name.
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grant of land made in the twelfth year of Parakésari and made a new grant also.

624 of 1902; SII. viii. 222.

Year 21.—Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to Rājarājēśvaram within the temple of Tikkāli-mahādeva for feeding Brahmans. Mentions the royal officer Araisirulaiyān Irāyiravan Pallavan. 238 of 1921.

Uttaramērār (Ch.) — Tirumagal-pōla, (but no Raṭṭapāḍi). A lamp, by a resident of Nārīyānac-cōri, to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḷvār of Śri Veḷi-Viśnu-grḥa to be maintained by the Pēriṣṭamaiyār. The Śraddhāmānatas and the Śri-Vaiśṇavas were themselves to punish defaults. 165 of 1923.

Year 22.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to Paramasvāngal Kayirūr Ayyan by a managing member of the assembly. 381 of 1922.

Agaram (SA.) — Tirumagal-pōla. (No mention of Raṭṭapāḍi). * Resolution passed by the big assembly of Nāpatunga-sēndāngi-catm. met in the courtyard of Acčutapriya-dēvar, setting apart a portion of land belonging to the Mahaśastā for one perpetual lamp in the temple. 387 of 1922.

Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tirumagāl-pōla. Tanks and ponds in the village and its vicinity for red lotuses in the month of Dhanus. By order of the sabhā. 69 of 1914.

Kōḷār (Mys.)—A devadāna to Paḷāriyār (Kōḷāramma) :
"paṭṭan kaiṭi laurai-ṭṭik-kuḷuttarulina devadānam :
Kuvalāla-nāṭṭu Agaiyārai sarvabādhaparāhāra-
māgak-kuḷuttarulīnār."
481 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 106 (b).

Mēlēvēr (SA.)—A member of the Jananātha-teriṅja-
valangai-vēḷaiakkārār set up the image of the goddess Umā-bhaṭṭāraki. 216 of 1904.

* Perhaps conquered at end of year 21 and beginning of year 22. 217 of 1894 mentions it. ARE. 1923 II 27.
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Year 22.—Puñjai (Tj.)—Tirunagal-pōlā. Ten vēli of land by the king for a feeding house Arunōljīdevan 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 Talaccengādu. 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-ārcaṇā. 186 of 1925.

"Tiruvaiyāḷu (Tj.)—Tirunagal-pōlā. (Includes Raṭṭapāḍi). 96 Sheep for lamp Vimayan Vambavai, the dēvi (queen) of Śāḷukki Vimayan, and daughter of Vaṇjayan-Peṟṟappai. 217 of 1894; SII. v. 516.

"Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tirunagal-pōlā. An increase of pāṇcavāra paddy that the assembly of Mandaram alias Jayamēru-ārlikarana-mangalam agreed to pay to the devakanniis of the temple. Mentions Irāyiravan Pallavan alias Muṇnumuḷiśējā-ṉōsān, lord of Araišūr, and an officer of the Perundanam of Rājarāja-dēva, who raised the contribution from the village. 219 of 1921.

"Tiruviḻimilāḷai (Tj.)—Tirunagal-pōlā (full). The assembly (mahāsabhā) of Tirumāḷalai, a devadāna village of the god in Ven-ṉāḷu, made provision for the singing of Tiruppadiyam hymns twice a day in the temple. The assembly met in the tirumurram of the temple (nammāḻvār koḻiḻ.) 423 of 1908.

"Tiruviḻimilāḷai (Tj.)—26 kāśu for lamp by Kaviṇiyan Ēran Śēndan of the locality. 449 of 1908. *

"Uttaramēṟū (Ch.)—Tirunagal-pōlā. Gift of 96 sheep by a Brahman lady of Vāmanac-cēri for lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-ḻṟēṟ, the Vēṟṟāmūḻiyār being responsible to the sabhā for its maintenance, and the samvatsara-vāriyam and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish default. 163 of 1923.

* Sen Tamil iii. pp. 359-60, where T. A. Gopinatha Rao reaches the conclusion that Śēndan is identical with Tirumāḻiṟu-daṉav of the Tiruviḻisippā.
YEAR 23.—ATTUR (Tin.) TIRUMAGAL-POLA. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of KIRANUR, to the following deities: Rājarāja Viṇṇagar Paḷḷi – koṇḍarūḷina – dēva, Durgā-bhagavatī, Saṃmatrākṣas, Kṣētrapāla and Gaṇapatī set up in the temple of Sōmanātha-dēva alias Ten-тируppuvaṇam-udaiyār at Āṭṭur-Sėndamangalam.

415 of 1930.

DADĀPURĀM (SA.) — TIRUMAGAL-POLA. The dancing girls attached to the temples of Iravi-kulamānīkka Īśvara and Kundavai Viṇṇagar should accompany the god in procession, and sing and dance during the hunting festival.

14 of 1919.

ERUMŪR (SA.) — TIRUMAGAL-POLA. Five kalāṇju of gold by Arāyian Viccadēran of Urumūr, a dēvadāna and brahmādeva, on receiving which the sabhā agreed themselves to pay the annual fee collected from the uvacceur and to have the śribali conducted properly.

385 of 1913.

ERUMŪR (SA.) — TIRUMAGAL-POLA. Sale of land to temple by the sabhā of Uruimir, a devadēna and brahmādeva. Mentions taxes: ecctāru, vāsāil-pōnda-kuḍima, and ōriḍu-vari.

388 of 1913.

MAṬURPAṬHA (Mys.) — TIRUMAGAL-POLA. The assembly of Periya-mālāvūr alias Rājendrasinga-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.

ŚERMAḌÉVI (Tin.) — (Valḷeluttu). TIRUMAGAL-POLA. 25 cows for lamp. Śoravanmahādēvi-catm. was in Muḷḷi-nādu of Rājarāja-vaḷa-nādu.

713 of 1916.

TIRUMĀLPURAM (NA.) — Gold by a native of the Pāṇḍya country.

342 of 1906.

TIRUMEYYĀNAM (Tj.) — TIRUMAGAL-POLA. Meeting of Nālūr-nambimārulīṭṭa perungurī-mahāsabhai at the big hall called Gaṇḍarāditēn. Mentions the Viṇṇu temple Tirunārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar of Nālūr.

326 of 1910.
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Year 23.—Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Nine gold flowers to Köppapperumāl by Selvan-āccan, one of the Šatrubhayankaraterinda Vēlam of queen Paṇcavaṇ-mahādeviyār.

62 of 1928.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 96 sheep for lamp by Udayan Ādittan of Taṇḍirmuttām in Malai-nādu to Śrī-Veḷi-Viṣṇughātu Veḷḷaimūrti-āḷvār; the Pēṟilamaiyār of the place (iṟvār) to conduct the charity, subject to punishment for default at the hands of the Šraddhāmānantus and the Śrī-Vaiśṇavas.

182 of 1923.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 96 sheep for lamp by a merchant of Naṉuvilangādī, and 15 kalaiyū of gold for a lamp to Tiruvāykkulam-udaiyār (Krṣṇa), by a resident of Gōvindac-cēri. The viragaṇattar of the place were trustees (puṇai) of the first gift. The gold was with the vaikhdānasus of the temple. The Šraddhāmānantus had the power to punish default. All these arrangements were made by the sabhā.

187 of 1923.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 48 sheep for lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḷvār by a resident of Terkilangādī with the Kāḷi-gaṇattar of the place (iṟvār) as trustees (puṇai). The Šraddhāmānantus and Śrī Vaiśṇavas to punish default. The donor gave also a padikkam.

189 of 1923.

Year 23, day 385—Tiruvāmāttūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple by Tāmulān Kōrtrimangi of Śirudhāmanallūr, * the king’s agent, and trustee of the temple, who ordered the distribution of certain offerings among 21 temple servants; in year 27, Veḷḷān Ārūran of Pudukkūḍi, 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-pōla. The sabhā of Ner-kunṟum alias Vairamōgha-catm. gave land in exchange

* 21 of 1922; year 26, day 206.
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for fields taken up by the bed of their new tank, made by Bāṇa Maṇava Narasimhavarman. 84 of 1906. *

Year 24.—Kālahasti (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pona. Gold for lamp to the shrine of Maṇikkengai-maddavar. † 298 of 1904.

Karuttatāngudi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pona. Arangan Kāri alias Sōjaviccādira Muttaraiyan of the Sīrūdanan of Rājarāja and of the Singalāntakat-terinā-Judiraic-cēvagar caused the death of Kāri-kulir-vāgai of the Iļaiya-pāḷai-irumulli-sōjavīr in a contest (Śrī-rāja-rājadēvar-kuruvellekata-tōla mēnu?), and compounded with his relatives (ivanukkaravan mūrai kājavār * * * ofum tirundī) and endowed a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādeva. 48 of 1897; SII. v. 1411.

Melpādi (C.)—Tirumagal-pona. Sale of land, tax-free, for pavitrārāhaṇa festival to Mahādeva of the Candramaunklavara temple, by residents of Mēṟpādi alias Rājāśrayapuram in Tūy-nāḷu of Perumbāṇappādi, for thirty kaḷaṇḍu of gold received from Arāisūrdaiyān Irūyiravan Pulvavaṇiyān alias Mūmmuḷḷi-sojapōsan of Sō-nāḷu. 96 of 1921.

Melpādi (C.)—Tirumagal-pona. Land, tax-free, by residents of Mēṟpādi alias Rājāśrayapuram to god-Rājāśrayapuram Viṭankar. 99 of 1921.

Olagapuram (S.A.)—Land by the nagarattar of Ulaga-māṭēvi杜兰puram for feeding 25 Brahmas in a salai attached to the temple. 134 of 1916.


* 86 of 1906 of year 26.

† In ARE. 1904 II 21 this temple, Maṇiṅkaṭhēvaram, is taken to be of the time of Kulōṭtunga III. This inscription shows that the shrine itself is older than the present structure of the temple. ARE. 1905 II 11.

‡ Larger Leyden Grant; also 100 of Yr. 6 of Parak. Rājēndra; ARE. 1921 II 32.
RAJAKEŚARI RAJARAJA I

Year 24.—Śevilippēri (Tin.) — (Vaṭṭeḻuttu). Tirumagal-pōḷa. 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.


Tirunāmānallai (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Gifts of gold ornaments made in the thirteenth and nineteenth years engraved now by order. 358 of 1902; SII. vii. 988.

Tiruppōṇḍurutti (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Assembly of Tirutturutti received 20 kāsu from Kūṭṭaṇ Madhurantakan, a member of the Tailakula-kūla-teriṁja-parivāram, and agreed to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple. 78 of 1931.

Tiruppūṟumambiyam (Tj.)—Agreement by residents of Śankarappāḷi to burn a lamp in the temple on behalf of Rāman, a servant maid of Mūḷai-velam called Madliurantakatderindava Velum of the king. 340 of 1927.

Tiruvāṭutugai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷu. Agreement by the assembly of Ilaicikudi alias Vikramaśinga-catam., a brahmadeya in Maṇḍi-nāḷu in Rājendrasimha Vaḷaṇiṇaḷu, to pay taxes levied in the land-survey made by order of the king on the lands at Śattanūr, (a brahmadeya in Tiraimūr-nāḷu), belonging to the temple of Tiruvāḷu-ṭūṟaiyundaiya 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 Iḷangari-kuḷi in Pērāvūr-nāḷu give land for a lamp. 101 of 1925.


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Year 24.—Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold ornaments and vessels presented to the temple—a long and detailed list. The Uttarakailāsa * shrine (stone) in the temple was founded by Dantisakti Viṭanki and was called Lōkamahādēśivāra. 222 of 1894; SII. v. 521.

Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Ornaments and land to the same shrine founded by Dantisakti Viṭanki. 155, 156 of 1918.

Tiruvāmāttūr (SA.)—Gift by Tāmunākōngangi of a silver vessel and plate for keeping sacred offerings. 24 of 1922.

Tiruvēṅkāḷu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold for Śengā-junīliru-vāśigai and gold flowers to Tiruvēṅkāḷu-dēva by one of the Mūlaparivāra and one of the Mūlaparivāra-viṭīṛṇ (servants) of the king. 454 of 1918. †

Tiruvēṅsalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land for offerings. Refers to a revenue survey made at an earlier date. 44 of 1907.

Vṛddahcalam (SA.)—Tirumagāl-pōla. Residents (ārūm) of Manalur agree to supply annually four cloths in lieu of interest due from them to the temple—amudu paṭaiippārkku vāy-kulikkku nālu puṭavai. 45 of 1918.

Year 24, day 124.—Parandūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions Citrakūṭam (king’s palace?) at Taṅjāvūr. General order relating to revenue; damaged, but same as the next. 73 of 1923.

Year 24, day 124.—Ukkal (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Oral order of the king seated in the college (kallūri) to the south of the Citrakūṭa at the Taṅjāvūr Periya-śenḍū-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 Pañcanadēśivāra temple.

† No regnal year appears in the text.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 25.—Dādāpuram (SA.)—Sheep for lamps to the temple of Kundavai Vinīgarāḻvār by princess Parantakan Kundavaip - pirāṭṭiyār. Senāpati Mummunḍi Śōla Brahma-mahārāyir in charge of the management of the temple. 10 of 1918.

,, Dādāpuram (SA.) — Tirumagal-pūla. Sheep left with thirty shepherds for ten lamps to the Iravikula-māṇikka temple, by Kundavai who built the temple. 18 of 1919.

,, Māṇallapuram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. A vyavasthā relating to division of land and some privileges among the Nagaram and the Pērīḻumāiyār while Padukkuṇḍaiyān Īkadhīrum Aiymbādinman who was settling (vagai-seyginna) the Āmūr-kōṭṭam was present in the nandavanam (flower - garden) to the south of the Jalaśayana-dēva temple of Nagaram Māṇallapuram. SII. i. 40.

,, Pattukkanāmpatthi (Tj.)—Land to Mahādēva temple at Nelvāy. Mentions Paṅcavan Brahādīrāyan ruling Tagalār-nāḷu granted to him as jīvīlam by the king. He was an officer of the Perundaram, and his father was a native of Ariyūr and called Erumaiya-nālgāmunṭan. 254 of 1909.


,, Tiruvulangal (Tj.)—Land to Kṣetrapāla-dēva set up by Nambirāṭṭiyār-ulōga - mālāvīyār and to Gaṇapati. Mentions land-survey commencing in the sixteenth year. 624-A of 1902 ; SII. viii. 223.

,, Tiruvulangal (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Ornament by Rājarāja's queen Dantisakti Viṭānki alias Lōkamahā-dēvi, his daughter Kundavai, the queen of Vimalāditya, and his middle daughter Māđēvādgāḷ, to the shrine of Kṣetrapāla-dēva which had been built by the king. 633 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 234.
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Year 25.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A paṭṭam of eleven kaḷaiṇi by Dharmakāṭṭai-tuḷai-nirai for Tikkāḷi-Anṭīr by judges (niyāyattār) of the village.

221 of 1921.

"Tiruvāmāṭṭīr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Tāmṉān Korīnanangi enquired into the temple affairs and arranged that the drummers engaged in the temple should, in return for some paddy, take out the god Candrasēkharaperumāḷ in procession thrice daily for śrībali. The drummers got the share of the paddy till then given to the Pāḷlis for measuring the paddy due to the temple from the villagers, (kāl-āḷavu-kūli).

16 of 1922.

"Tiruvēṅkāḷu (Tj.)—Thirty kāśu for lamp by queen Vānavan-Mahādēviyār alias Tribhuvana-mādēviyār.

442 of 1918.

"Vṛddhacalum (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōlu. Money for reading ... in the temple.

50 of 1918.

Year 25, day 154.—Uttaramāṭṭīr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Two thousand kuḷi of land by the Mahāsabhā for Tiruccennadai to the god in the Śrī-Puruṣottama.

177 of 1923.

Year 25, day 310.—Tanjore — Tirumagal-pōla. Gifts to Uma-Paramēśvari by the elder sister of Śrī-Rājarāja-dēva, the Mahādēvi of Vallavaraiyar Vandya-dēvar.

SII. ii. 2.

Year 26.—Gangaikoṇṭān (Tin.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Land, by purchase from the sabhu, for offerings to Śrī-Kailāyattu Keṭtrapāla in Śrī Vallabha-mangalam, a brahmāḍēya on the south bank of the Tan-porundam.

160 of 1895; SII. v. 724.

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Nanda-giri-nātha Paṅgavipāra-paramēśvara Vetālecīhīnālamkṛta vṛṣabhā-kūṭchana.

86 of 1906 *; El. xi. p. 239 n. 4.

Year 26.—Kāṇḍamangalam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Land made into an agrahāra called after Tribhuvana-mahādevi to the temples of Jayantāngi-Vināṣgar-Paramasvāmi and Śrī-Kailāsām. 354 of 1917.

† Kūnārājāpura (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Land by Udaiya-pirāṭṭiyār to two persons at Pūngudi for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple of Tirunallam-udaiyār.

624 of 1909.

Kūhūr (Tj.)—Money for lamp to Adityēśvarām-Udaiyār temple at Kūhūr.

276 of 1917.

Śevelippēri (Tin.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. Gift of land by the Mahāsabha of Śrīvallabha-mangalam, a brahmādēya in Kīkula-kūṭam, a sub-division of the Rājarāja-mandālam.

422 of 1906.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. 96 sheep for lamp. Takkōlam is called Kṣatriya-sīkhamāni-puram, a tanīyār in Maṇayir-kōṭtam in the Jayāṅgorāla-sālāmandālam.

259 of 1921.

Uttaramēvēr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. 48 sheep for half a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār by a lady of Panmaic-cēri; the residents of Panmaic-cēri were themselves the trustees (puṇāi) and the Śraddhāmāntas and the Śrī Vaiśņavas had the power to punish defaults.

186 of 1923.

Uttaramēvēr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūḷa. 96 sheep for a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār in charge (puṇāi) of the residents of Panmaic-cēri, the Śraddhāmāntas and the Śrī Vaiśņavas having the power to punish defaults. The donor is described as: Irvēr-yāḻungaṇattāṟṟul Śrī-gōvindēcēri Koṭṭice-cānna-Kumāra Kramavittan Brāhmaṇi Nangai-mādi-cāni. 190 of 1923.

* cf. 84 of 1906 of Year 24.

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Year 26, day 20.—Tanjore.—Begins: "Ēlād-viśva-ṇīya-śrēṇi- 
mouli - mālāpālālitum Śāsanum Rājarājasya Kāja- 
kēsari varmanah." Tirumagal-pōla. The king, seated 
for making dānas, in the Kīlaitiru-mānjaśālai of 
Irumādi-śōla within the Taṅjavūr Kōyil (palace), 
ordered that there be engraved on stone all the gifts 
from himself, his elder sister, and his wives (nam-pee- 
quagā)l and other gifts to Śrī-Rājarājēvaram-Uṭhaiyār of 
the sacred stone temple built by him (nuṁ cīppucca- 
tirukkaḷi) in the Taṅjavūr - kūram of the 
Pāṇḍya kulāsani Vuḷa-nāḷu. 105 numbered paragraphs 
follow. SII. ii. 1.

Year 26, day 206.—Tiruvāmāṭṭūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 
Tāmūḷḷan Kōrīnanagī of Śīvalīma-nallūr, the king’s 
agent and trustee of the temple, called together 
the sabhā and the ār of the village, and enquired 
into the affairs of the temple, and finding tho 
existence of a certain surplus of paddy due to measure- 
ment by the vidivītānkan-marakkāl instead of by the 
rājākēsari, he ordered this surplus to be utilised for 
the daily supply of akkāru-adisil by name Jaya-
gonḍa-śōjan to god. Mentions other gifts for lamps: 
also śālābhūga. 10 sheep for one kalāṇju. 21 of 1922.

Year 27.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Ten kalāṇju 
of gold for which were got 90 sheep (for a lamp) left in 
charge of the gaṇpāpparamakkal who looked after the 
śrikāṟyayam for the year. 204 of 1915.

" Ėmappērūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale by resdients 
(Ūrōm) of Nalavūr of lands made tax-free to the 
trustees of the temple of Tiruvalandūrai - uḷaiya 
Paramasvāmin of Ėmappērūr for offerings thrice 
a day. 513 of 1921.

" Kāḷahasti (NA.)—Verse Ėlād-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.—Sādhāraṇa.—Kallaḥṭi (Mys.)—Death in a fight of Jebayya, son of Rajakesāra Nolambaseṭṭī who received Kolatūr Kal-nāḍ from Nannaiyabhūpā, "Samadhiḥgatapañcamaḥsaṣadā Pālavānvaṇa Śri Pṛthīvīvallēbha Pālavakula-tihakaivaṇāṃ Kāṇe-puraṇavāpaṇa Śrīman Nolambādhirāja Cūrayam rājya-lē." EC. x. Ct. 118.


Mēppaluvūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pūla. At the request of his queen Nakkan Paćcavaṇ-māḍēvi, the daughter of Avani-kandarp-paṇ-śeṇar of Pałuvūr, the king provided for offerings and worship in the temple by granting an additional income of 900 kālām of paddy due on some lands which were surveyed and assessed, the dēvaṇān lands of Urangūṭi being excepted. 385 of 1924.

Śrīmādevī (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Lamp to Cōḷēndra-simhi-śevara. 192 of 1895; SII. v. 756.

Śrīmādevī (Tri.)—The Aga-nāḷigai Śivabṛhmanās of the Cōḷēndra-singa-śevara agreed, on receiving twelve old kāśu, to burn a perpetual lamp to Kailāsattalvār. 629 of 1916.

Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Money for lamp by Iḷangōn Pici, the senior queen (mūṭṭa-dēvīyār) of Śilappu-ramān and the daughter of Vallavaraiyar. 14 of 1920.

Tiruppuγalūr (Tj.)—Undertaking by the Śivabṛhmanās at Pugalūr to burn a lamp to Kōṇapperumāḷ for money received by them from a Brahman lady named Gaṇapati Ponnūḷvi alias Śolai. 69 of 1928.

Tiruvṇāṇandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land for offerings in the Varāha-dēva temple by the residents of Taiyūr alias Rājakēsari-nallūr. 272 of 1910.*

* Text does not give the details given here.
Year 27.—Tiruvenkaḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Provision for Śadaiyyattirunāl in Aippigai and for festival during the six days preceding. 115 of 1896; SII. v. 979.

Tiruvenkaḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Twenty-two pon for lamp to Nāṅgūr Tiruvenkaḍa-dēvar by Vēḷān Sundara-śojaṇ, the son of Koḻumbūḷār Vēḷān Śiśya Vēḷān who fell in Īlam in the 3rd year of Udaiyār Pon-māligaiyar-tūṅjina-dēvar. * 116 of 1896; SII. v. 980.

Tiruvenkaḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Setting up of a copper image of the goddess to Rśabha-vāhana-dēva by persons of the Rājarāja-jananātha-teriṇja-parivāra. 457 of 1918.

Tiruvenmbūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa, omitting mun-nirp-paḻandivu-pannirāyirunum. 100-A of 1892; SII. iv. 548.

Tiruvenmbūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-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.

Udaiyārgalī (ṢA.) — Tirumagal-pōḷa. Assembly of Vīranārayaṇa-catm. met in the hall Rājarājan, and under orders of the great assembly, decided that a ⅙th share of all lands and tanks in the hamlet should belong to the Tiruvanantīśvara temple. 615 of 1920.

Uyyakkondan-Tirunalai (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. 90 sheep for lamp to Karūṇja-viḷumiyār in Rājāraya- catm., in Pāṇḍi-kulasani-vaja-nādu. † The donor was queen Nakkan Arumōja alias Piridi-mādōvīyār. 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 Keralīptaka Vaja-nādu, ARE. 1909 II. 42.
Rajakesari Rajaraja I

Year 88.—S. 934.—Balmuri (Mys.)—(Canarese.) King called also Kali Rājarāja. Conquests mentioned: Gangavādi, Malēnād, Nolamba, Āndhra, Kongu, Kalinga and Pāṇḍya, all becoming Cōla-nāḍ. Lamp by general Paṇcāvān Mārāyā, the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of Bengi and Ganga Maṇḍalas. He is called Mummūdi-Cōḷana-gandhavāraṇam and is said to have seized the Tuluva 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 Tirunāmānallūr) 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 Tāṉrōṇri-āḻvār temple at Jambai."

77 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II. 42.


"Sēvilipperi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions Neccura-nāḍu in Rājarāja-maṇḍalām. The village Ten-tirumāḷiliruṅjōlai 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 kāḷaṇī of gold (by kom-pūṇagavāsa-nirvik-kai) taken out of the temple treasury by the gāṇūṇḍas of Māyilangai of Iḷai-nāḍ. 491 of 1911; E.C. iii. Tn. 35.

"Tirukkaṭṭalai (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Vēmban Śrūḍhāiyār aliṣ Mīnavaṇ Mahādeviyār, queen of Rājarāja-dēva. 301 of 1908.

"Tirumalavāṭi (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 (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land tax-free by the assembly of Jananātha-catm. to a private person for feeding pilgrims going to and returning from Śri Vēṇgādam. 430 of 1905.

" Tiruvēṅkādi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Lamp by the mother of queen Villavan Mahādeviyār, named Nākkăn Uḷōga-cintāmaniyyār.

117 of 1896; SIT. v. 981; also 447 of 1918 (same).

" Tiruvēṅkādi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold for offerings to Āḍa-vallār in the temple of Tiruvēṅkūṭaṭaiyār by Kūttan Virāṇiyār, a queen of the king. 449 of 1918.

Year 28, day 141.—Tirumukkūḍal (NA.) Tirumagal-pōla. The great assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. including the young and the old met together in the Śembīyan-mahādevi-perumāṉḍapam built by the king † and agreed to pay the urirai, and uṭavirai on certain temple lands from the interest on 100 kalāṉju of gold which they had received from the temple treasury. One of the signatories was the accountant of the samvatsara-vāriyam. 178 of 1915. ‡

Year 29.—Ādanīr (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu).—25 sheep for 2 lamps. 433 of 1909.

" Malurpatna (Mys.)—Etadvīva ... and Tirumagal-pōla. A ṣeṣadāna on the day of consecration of Jayangopāṭa-sōla-viṇṇagar-āḻvār.

507 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 130.

" Malurpatna (Mys.)—The mercantile community provide for offerings in the temple by voluntary contributions. 508 of 1911.

* cf. 91 of year 14 of Rējēndra.

† Evidently for the meetings of the assembly ARE. 1916 II. 10.

‡ 171, same day, lays down the details of expenses to be met from this land.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 29.—Malurpatna (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pola. Meeting of the assembly of Periya-maluvur alias Râjendra-singa-catm. in the temple and gift of a dêvadâna on the day of consecration. 510 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 128.


" Mêlpâdi (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pola. Construction of the Colêvâra alias Ariûjigai-Isvâra temple by Râjarâja and gifts to it. 83 of 1899; SII. iii. 15.

" Mêlpâdi (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pola. Gift of a dêvadâna to Ariûjigai Isvâra Mahâdêva by the Nagarattar of Pulikkunram: "Nir-nilamum kollaiyum kâľum uppaña-(vuônî-lamò)qûvinî îppulikkunrattu nilam) opperpaâtadum ittêvâkku vêndu nivandanangalukkutîtavâdâna iqrâîlî-yâga," etc. 84 of 1889; SII iii. 16

" Mêlpâdi (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pola. Gift by a cultivator of 96 sheep for the supply of 1 Rajakèsari measure of ghi every day for lamp to: "Aûrût-tunjîna-dêvarkku pallippâdaiyâga Uçaiyûr Śrî Râjarâja-dêvar epûppittarûrînî tirù Varinjîsuvârattu Mahâdêvârkkâ." * 86 of 1889; † SII. iii. 17.

" Rajakkal (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pola. 600 kûlî of land by residents of Elâdâlêl for offerings in three services to god Agastîsvara. Measuring rod kaṭigaikaîattuk-kûl. 172 of 1921. ‡

" Šenkunûm (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pola.—Twenty pon by a Brahman to merchants of Jayangopàla-sôlapuram

* A temple on the burial place (pallippâdai) of Arûrttunûrinkâ (Venu-kayya) ARE. 1907 II 30.
† 'Written in beautiful florid characters'—Hultsch.
‡ No. 172 in continuation of this mention Šrîpânan-padinagam-kûl.
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(in Āṇḍa-nādu, Perumbāṇappū) for purchase of 180 sheep for a lamp at 9 sheep per kāśu. Liquid measure jayangōṇa-sōḷaraiyan. 149 of 1921.

Year 29.—Sēvilippēri (Tin.)—Lamp by a merchant of Karavandapura in Kāḷakkudi-nādu. 418 of 1906.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-ṇāla. List of villages that had to supply accountants, māṉis 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-ṇāla. List of villages in the Cōḷa country which had to supply watchmen in accordance with the king’s command. 58 of 1893; SII. ii. 70.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-ṇāla. List of persons to whom cattle had been assigned for the supply of ghi at the rate of ¾ measure by Aḻavallān 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 (stōpik-kudam) for the different shrines in the temple with names of donors and description including weight. A gift of year 3 of Rājēndra is mentioned. 24 of 1897; SII. ii. 90.

" Tanjore.—Catalogue of jewels. 25 of 1897; SII. ii. 32 (ll. 1-54); v. 1383-1401.

" Tanjore.—An image of Durgā by a native of Nallūr alias Paṅcavan-mahādevi-catm. and gifts of jewels to it described in detail. 26 of 1897; SII. ii. 79.

" Tanjore.—An image of Śrīkanṭha and jewels for it by queen Prthivī-mahādeviyār, detailed description. 27 of 1897; SII. ii. 80.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 29.—Tanjore.—An image of Kalapiduri given by the son of a Perundanam of the king, described. 28 of 1897; SII. ii. 81.

"Tanjore.—Seven copper images of Gaṇapati set up by the king, described. 30 of 1897; SII. ii. 84.

"Tanjore.—Ornaments to Parivārālayatattu Gaṇapati by king Rājarāja. 32 of 1897; SII. ii. 86.

"Tanjore.—Ornaments to Parivārālayatattu Gaṇapati by a pānimagan of the king. 33 of 1897; SII. ii. 87.

"Tanjore.—A vessel to same by Rājarāja-devar pānimagan puravu-varitnaikkulattu varippottaga nāyakan (master of rent-roll in the department, tinaiikkalam, of taxes from endowments-Hultsch) Pāṇḍyakulāsani-Vālamāṭtu Pūrkkijyūruuṭṭuk-kāṇadamangalam-udlaiyan Kāṇjan Koṇḍaiyan. 34 of 1897; SII. ii. 88.

"Tanjore.—Ornaments to Gaṇapati. 35 of 1897; SII. ii. 89.

"Tanjore.—Silver vessels by king Rājarāja from his own treasures, and the booty of silver vessels captured in the campaigns in Malai-nāḍu against the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya. 36 of 1897*; SII. ii. 91.

"Tanjore.—King's grants to the temple including five villages in Ceylon† (continuation of SII. ii. 4) 37 of 1897; SII. ii. 92.

"Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pōlā. Ornaments by the king out of the Cēra and Pāṇḍya treasures and his own. 38 of 1897; SII. ii. 93.

"Tiruvāṇandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. Fifteen kalaṇju of gold by a merchant of Koṇḍungōḷur in Malai-nāḍu

* It looks as if the king had more gold and precious stones at his disposal, than silver. Hultsch.

† Rājarāja's foreign conquests were not mere inroads. Note omission of details of measurement unlike in villages in the Cēla country, and removal of previous holders in some cases. Money revenue more common outside the Cēla country than in it. Hultsch.
for feeding 30 Brahmans in the Āḻvār temple at Tiruvāḻandai from interest (paddy) given by the residents (ūr) of Taiyūr in Kumili-nāḍu of the Āmūr-kōṭṭam to the sabbā of Tiruvāḻavandai. The loan is called vāṭāṭkkaṇṭam.

Year 29.—Tiruvaiyārū (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Silver vessels by Viṣṇu-Vardhana-Mahārāja alias Vimalāditya-dēva, the king’s son-in-law, to Lōkamahādēvi-Iśvaram-uṭaiya Mahādēva.

Tiruvīśalūr (Tj.)—Village called Vēmbāṟur alias Śoḷa-mātāṇḍa-catm. in Maṇḍi-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājendrasimha-vala-nāḍu. Mentions the performance of tutāḷhāra by the king, and of hiranya-yagārbha by his queen Dantisakti-vitaukiyar alias Lōkamahādēviyar in the temple of Tiruvīśalūr.

Ukkal (NA.) — Tirumagal-pūla. Endowment of a well called Rājarāja, and of a toṭṭi by a servant of the king.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 90 sheep by a lady of Trivikramac-cēri for a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti Āḻvār of Śrī Veḷi Viṣṇugṛha.

Uyyakkōṇḍan - Tirumalai (Tri.) — Gold ornament (paṭṭam) called Jayangoṇḍa-śōlān.

Year 31.—Kanyākumārī (Tri.)—Begins . . . . perumbugal Kōvi-rājakēsari. The dēvakāmmis of Rājarāja-Iśvaram-uṭaiyar of Kumariikkalikkuḍi sell some land to the Nāṟpatṭenāṟyiravar for the establishment of a tāḷūṟṟpondal named Jayangoṇḍa-śōlān, † the erection of a Kāṉavam and the plantation of useful trees in the area which may be enclosed (sūruṇaṭṭatthu) for the purpose.

* Inscription below a sculpture representing the king and queen in a worshipping attitude - K.V.S. Aiyar; *E.J. xii. p. 121, n. 2.

† T.A.G. Rao took this to be a surname of Rājadhirāja, and assigned the record to Rājarāja II who was a Parakēsari. 232 of 1915 (Brahmadēsam NA) is another record with year 31 which may be of this king.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

6.9(2)3.—Kāṇḍīpuram. (Ch.) — (Sanskrit) Records genealogy of E. Cāluṇkyaś up to Danāṛṇava; and several titles of Cōla Bhima whom Rājarāja conquered.


Ś. 929 (Prabhava). †—Kalēyūr (Mys.)—Tēyakulatilaka Malepakulakāla Koṭṭamaṇḍala-nātha Aprāmēya was a pillar of victory. He defeated the Hoysala minister Nāgaṇa; slew in battle at Kalavūr the Hoysala leaders Māṇiyā, Kāliga (or Kālī-ganga), Nāgarvārama 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 :

Banmūr (Mys.)—(Kanarese) Tirumagal-pōla. Grant to temple at Muttatti. Kuḍamalai-nāḍu is here clearly Koḷa-malē-nāḍu (Coorg hill country).

EC. iii. Tn. 122.

Brahmadēsam (Tin.)—(Vāṭṭēluttu.) Sale of land.

381 of 1916.

KĀvērippākkam (NA.)—Mentions the Cōla feudatory Parāntakap-pallavaraiyan of Umbāla-nāḍu; also Jananāṭha-dēva and Mūmmudī-Cōla 414 of 1905.

Kōvalūr (NA.)—Sale of land by the assembly of Kōvalūr.

438 of 1922.

Kukūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land by Vayirukṭēran alias Sōlaviccādira-Pallavaraiyan, headman of Kūrūr, for offerings to a shrine constructed by him.

304 of 1917.

Kuttālam (Tin.)—Tirumagal-pōla. States that when the temple had become dilapidated it was repaired and

* No. 238 records the presentation of ornaments to the temple, and the construction of a tank, Cōla samudram, and a temple. Mentions the Ganga family, a Pōlavāja, Cōla Bhima Vaidumba.

† Date irregular. Kiellhorn considers this of no 'value for historical purposes.' EI. iv. 67. ARE. gives Ś. 9(28).
the old inscription which was in *vattam* characters was re-engraved in Tamil on the new stone wall. Sadaiyan is prefixed to the name of the king. Records a gift of land by residents of the village of Vinţandai alias Vikrama-Pândya-nallûr in Köţtu-nâlû, a sub-division of Ilâ-maṇḍâlam, for a lamp to Tirukkuttâlattu-bhâṭ- târakar. 454 of 1917.

*Kuttâlam* (Tin.) — Tirumagaḻ-pôla. Mentions the re-engraving in Tamil of old *Vatâluttu* records. 455 of 1917.

*Mâjambi* (Cg.) — The king heard of Manija’s heroism in the battle of Paṇâsôge and sent word to Paṅcavan-Mârâya to bind on him a *paṭṭa* (inscribed with the title) Kṣatriya-śikhâmaṇi Kongâlva * and give him Mâlavvi. Witnesses: Govinda Râcamma’s family. 633 of 1912; *EC. i. 46.


*Nârâyaṇâvanam* (C.) — Tirumagaḻ-pôla. Râjarâja-kâsarivarman - Vikkiyânan Pugalvipavargaṇdân † of the (Ca)lukki family and two other chiefs of the Vâṭṭiya-nâlû gave certain privileges to the Vellâlas of that district in (Kunrâ)-vattanak-kôṭlam. 375 of 1911.

* Pallikândâ (NA.) — Provision by the assembly for a festival to Bhaṭâriyâr in the village by levying the water-tax due from certain specified residents of the village. Near by is another record of about the same time,—an undertaking by the assembly to maintain offerings to and worship of the Bhaṭâriyâr from an endowment by Govinda Kâṭaka Sarvakraṭuyâjiyâr of Kâlamûr, a member of the *gaṇa.* 477 of 1915.

*This occurred in 1004 A.D. and was the origin of the Kongâlva line—* 
*EC. i. pp. 16-7. See also year 28-No. 5 of 1895; and Rice - *Mysore and Coorg,* pp. 144 ff.*

† A title of the Ilâḍas, like whom, the Câjukki were perhaps a local family subject to the Cûjas. *ARE. 1912 II, 21.*
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Talaccangūdu (Tj.)—Gift, of 100 kāsu to be raised in the manner specified, by the assembly of the place for feeding, in the name of Rājarāja, ten Brahmans in the temple Tiruccitrakūḷattu-āḻvār and for haurébali to the deity. 198 of 1925.

Tanjore.—Mentions one of the paṅcudēhamārītis of copper placed in the temple of Rājarājēvaram Udaiyār by the king till his 29th year. 275 of 1911.

Tennēri (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Regulation of dues on areca gardens. 200 of 1901; SII. vii. 412.

Tiruccattugai (Tj.)—In praise of a Cōja feudatory. Mentions victories in Puna-nāḍu and Malai-nāḍu, defeat of Valuji, destruction of Vāliṣam and of Kaṟkaḷaṁ-māṅagar, as well as defeat of Telunga Bhīma. 204 of 1931. *

Tirukkalittattai (Tj.)—Rajakēsari. Silver pot to the temple of Śrī-kūṭtittai-mahādeva at Vēmāṟṟur by Šenbiyan-mahādevi-pirattiyēr who gave birth to Uttama Cōja-dēva. 297 of 1908.

Tirumaiyam (Pd.)—Mentions Perumbidugu Perundēvi, the mother of Viḻēḻviḻugu-Viḻuppūṟadi-Araisān Āṭiḷ Śāttan Māṟūn. 403 of 1906.

Tiruvallam (N.A.) — Tirumagal-pōla. 36 sheep by Śōḷa-mahādeviyēr, daughter of Tiṟṟaipirān and queen of Rājarāja-dēva, for a lamp in the Brahmaśvara shrine in the temple of Tiruttikkēḻi-āḻvār; also gold for a chauroi and offerings. 223 of 1921.

Tiruvāmāṭṭur (S.A.) — Tirumagal-pōla. A certain Gunāsikharan of Vēsālippāṭi 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 Kulōttunga I and Vikrama Cōja at ARE. 1931 II 30.
PARAKESARI RÄJENDRA I

(Acc. 27th March.—7th July A.D. 1012)

Ś. 943 *—Nandigunda (Mys.) — Tiru mannī valara. Malla-gāvuṇḍa gave land to Mallaśvāra.

2 of 1895; EC, iii. Nj. 134.

Ś. 945. — Jōdi-Dālaśigera (Mys.) — (Kanarese) Gold to temple. 57 gadgāṇa in gold, 359 golden grains of rice, and 42 poruț; for Brahmanas and ascetics 37 poruț.

171 of 1911; EC, ix. Ht. 10.

Ś. 9(48) †—Marasanahalli (Mys.) — (Kanarese) Pūrva-dēsamum Gangaiyum koṇḍa. Construction of a sluice.

179 of 1911; EC, x. Cb. 13.

Ś. 956. — Kurubahalli (Mys.) — (Kanarese). Death of Cangālva Bīṇjavunira-dēva, son of Baniki Bunkara- Gavada, in fight with Cangālva Nāyaka. Mentions former’s wife Pāṇḍikabbe of the Kaumjīga-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 purchase, for offerings by the assembly of Punganūr alias Trailōkya-mahādēvi-catm.

199 of 1911; EC, ix. Cp. 42-A.

Kuttālam (Tin.) — Rājendrasimha. Lamp by a certain Veḷḷān-dēvan Paṭṭalagan, a native of Pāgūr.

479 of 1917.

Year 3.—Karuttaṭāṅguḍi (Tj.) — Sale of land tax-free to the temple by the sabhā of Pērālattūr for 75 kāśu.

44 of 1897; SIT, v. 1407.

* Wednesday March 1st, A.D. 1081.—Earliest correct date in current Saka year. Kielhorn EJ, iv. 69.

† 949—EC.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—Karuttaṅṅuḍi (Tj.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple for 20 kāśu by an individual; attested by witnesses.

45 of 1897; SII. v. 1408.

Kūṭṟ (8A.)—100 sheep by Rāman Mummudisōla for the merit of his mother Rājaśekharan Umai-pañgaiyār, who was the daughter of Munaiyadaiyaraiyar and the dēvi of Paṭṭilagan Rāman alias Arumolijēva-nilaijēvāyar. 13 of 1905.

Malūṟpattrā (Mys.)—Gift of a tax-free devāḍāna by the sabhā of Trailōkya-mahādevi-catm. alias Punganūr with right of irrigation from a tank in the neighbourhood: "Maṇḍūr ēriyiningum nir-pācck-kolḷa can-divūkkatvaal nir-pāya udakapūrvaṇayēdu koṭṭūm Maṇḍūr ērykku śāmāna Kottavan Uṭtaman āna Śōḷairicādira gāmūṭṭanum ṭaṭava- gāmūṭṭanum u/līṟtu ṭūm." The fine for obstructing the irrigation was fifty kāḷāṇju. 506 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 127.

 Malūṟpattrā (Mys.) — Agreement between the dēva-kannis of a temple and the sabhā of Vanḍūr alias Sōḷa-mādevi-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. Cp. 129.

Nāṟṟtamalai (Pd.)—Tirumanni vaḻara. Fragment. 358 of 1904.

Nattam (Ch.)—Mentions Paramēvara-mangalam alias Nigarilī-śōḷa-catm., the meeting of the samvatsara-vāriyām who had met in the Rājendraśōḷan-catuśālai; and Kaṇijāra Aiyan Sūryan whe was the settlement officer (vagai ēryginga) of the district (kōṭṭum) 262 of 1912.

Panḍāravāḷai (Tj.)—Sale for 70 kāśu of 9 mā tax-free by the big assembly of Rājakēsari-catm., to Āḷvār Śī Sri Pirantakan Śī Kundavai-pirāṭṭiyār, for the maintenance of a free dispensary founded by her.

* Year said to be lost in ARE, 1913.
Year 3.—Śermādevi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). The vaikhanāsas of Nigarili-sōln-vinnagar in the Nigarili-sōla-catm., undertake to burn half a lamp for kāśu deposited with them. "Kriyādoligil anuṣu śrī-kōyil vāriyam śey-vārē muttina neyyirattī atṭuviccu erivippāgavvar... Ipparisu otti ikkāsu konḍa vaikhanāsarōmil munnināmē eriippūmānūm."

179 of 1895; EL v. p. 47.

Śermādevi (Tin.)—Assignment of a street with houses by Mahāsabhā of Nigarili-sōla-catm., for residence of Tigai-yāgirat-taunāgavar. 651 of 1916.

Śivankūral (Ch.)—The assembly (sabhā) of the village got money from a private person and declared some lands below the tank Brahmādhīrayap-puttēri rent-free in order to provide for offerings and lamp to the local temple of Mahādeva. 289 of 1912.

Tanjore.—Vessels in copper, zinc (tavā), and bell-metal (cepykalun) to śhayattup-piliyaiyar in the temple by Udaiyār Śri Kājarālīvaram Udaiyārkkur Śri-karyānjeiyginja Poygai-nādu Kīlavan Ādittan Šūryan alias Tennavan Mūvenda Vēlān. 31 of 1897; SII. ii. 85.

Tirukkāravāsal (Tj.)—Tiru mānni valara, † to Maņyaikkādakkum. Land by purchase for lamp to Tiruk-kārūyil-udaiyār. 451 of 1908.

Tirunukkuĕal (NA.)—Three kaḷaṇju of gold by niyaikkal, yielding interest of 9 maṇjādisi per year for offerings at Maśi-makham. Price of paddy taken to be 40 kādi per kaḷaṇju as an average ‡ (ērituṇ-jurungilum). 176 of 1915.

* ARE. 1925 II. 14, cf. 249 of year 7.
† Usually no introduction in records earlier than year 5—ARE. 1909 II. 43.
‡ Con. 245 of about 20 years later. Interest and prices tripled, ARE. 1916 II. 12
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—**Tirumukkuḍal (NA.)**—Twenty-five vēḷi of land by Rājarāja-deva, seated on Rājaśraya, given at the instance of Dāmodarabhaṭṭan of Kaḷalanguḍi, * who was made madhyastha (nāduvirukkam) in the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumukkuḍal. 196 of 1917.

**Tiruvāṭukurṭi (Tj.)**—Gift, by a native of Tiruvillimilalai, a brahmaśāya, of paddy from interest on which the Śiva-brahmaṇaṇas 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 Uttara-kailāsa 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-Īśvaram-ulaiya Mahādēva at Tiruvaiyāru by Dantiśakti Viṭānkiyār, queen of Rājarāja. 152 of 1918. ‡

**Tiruvallauḷi (Tj.)**—Two gold tiṭṭoraus to Kṣetrapaladeva (of the stone temple built by Dantiśakti alias Lōka-mādhavi) out of the gold used for her hiranyagarbha in the temple of Tiruvilalur in the 29th year of Rājarāja. 633-C. of 1902; SII. viii. 237.

**Tiruvallam (NA.)**—People of Vāṇapuram sold tax-free 1000 kuṭi of land to Vaidumban Śankara-dēva Sōmanātha to whose name are prefixed the same epithets as those of Tiruvaiyau Śankara-dēva (Rājarāja 1 Yr. 16-SII. iii. 51). Sōmanātha assigned the land to the Mahādēva temple of Tiruvaiyau-Īśvara which the members of his family had caused to be built on the southern side of Tiruvallam-Uḷaiyar; 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 Tiruvāṭukurṭai-ulaiyar in Śittanṭūr alias Abhayārāya-catm. (cf. 104. n.-d.)

‡ cf. 154 of year 21.
THE COLAS

Year 3. — Tiruvenkādu (Tj.) — Money, 46 kāsu, to temple for offerings and festivals and feeding by a cavalier of the king’s troops (taṭi-mārum-kudiraiccēvagār), a native of Aṯṭuppallinīyamam. 459 of 1918.

Tiruverumbūr (Tri.) — Eight kāsu to the Śrī Kōyilmālaiyār for lamp to Tiruverumbūr-ūlaiya-mahādēva by one of the ālunganattar of Śrīkāṭha-catm. 100 of 1914.

Tiruviṣaiamarudūr (Tj.) — 45 sheep for a lamp at night at the gate called Ėkānāyakan-tiruviśal. 200 of 1907.

Tiruviṣaialūr (Tj.) — Gold to provide śidāri for the incense. 15 of 1907.

Tiruviṣaialūr (Tj.) — Ornaments by the queen of the Pāṇḍya Śri-valluvar. 46 of 1907.

Tiruviṣaialūr (Tj.) — Silver kulaṣa by a queen. 340 of 1907.

Tiruviṣaialūr (Tj.) — Mentions the building of the Tiruccurralayam and the gōpuram to Tiruviṣaialūr Mahādēva temple at Vēmbāṟṟūr aśi Śrī Śōjamāt-tāṇḍa-catm. 341 of 1907.

Tiruviṣaialūr (Tj.) — Land for lamp by Nakkan Śebmiyanmādeviyār, queen of Rājēndra. 348 of 1907.

Udaiyargudi (SA.) — Gift, by Kamban Madhurāntakan, a member of the elephant corps (perundarattu änaiyāḷ); lamp-stand and gold for lamp and offerings on specified days. 598 of 1920.

Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.) — Land by the assembly for three daily offerings to Rāghava-dēva in the temple of Vēḷḷai-mūrti-āḻvār, 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 Vikramaśēja, a surname of Rājēndra. ARE, 1908 II. 55.
Year 3.—Uttaltur (Tri.)—Death (?) of a certain Ārstman Nakkan Candiran alias Rājamalla-muttaraiyan of the elephant-corps, when, in a fight with Satyārava, 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 Uttaltur. 515 of 1912.

Uyyakkon̄dën-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Survey of temple lands and change of tenants under orders of the king residing in his palace at Pālaiyāru. 463 of 1908.

Uyyakkon̄dën-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Records the survey mentioned in the last inscription. 473 of 1908.

Year 3, day (3)30.—Brahmadesam (NA.)—Gold for offerings by Indaladevi, wife of Vallavasarar Vandya-devar. Subhā of Parākramacēḷa-catm. take charge of the five kalanja given. Measure: Śrī Poḷandaiyan-makkuṇ. 191 of 1915.

Year 4.—Alagādripputur (Tj.)—Land for offerings at the shrine of Sūrya-dēva constructed in the temple by a native of Kallur in Mēl-vēm-baṇḍa in Pāṇḍi-nāḍa alias Rāja-raṇja-maṇḍalam. Mentions Kurngur Madam where the assembly of Parādīyakudi (a hamlet of Alagādripputur) met to make a gift to the temple. The maṭha was to the north of the village tank. 289 of 1908; ARE. 1909 II. 43.

Allūr (Tri.)—Provision for feeding five Brahmans on new-moon days. 385 of 1903.

Dādāpuram (SA.)—Sheep for ten lamps to temple of Kundavai-vaṇṇagar by Kundavaip-pirattiyar. 12 of 1919.


THE COLAS

Year 4.—Kâncipuram (Ch.)—Sale of land by merchants (mâ-nagaram) of Kâncipuram for offerings and worship to god Gaṇapatiyâr Kâncipura Ailagar on the northern side of the temple called Anjânjandhi-ambalam-Râjendra-śôlu. 76 of 1921.

Kâvantândalam (Ch.)—Land by sabhâ as īraiylî dêva-dâna to temple of Râjendra-côlêvâra built by a revenue officer (nâdu vagai-seyginra) Piccan. 210 of 1901; SII. vii. 423.

Kîlûr (SA.)—Gift by Pirântakan-yâdava-bhîman alias Uttama-côla-milândaiyâr of the Bhârgava-gôtra at the request of Araiyan Malaiyâdîlîtân alias Cêlînâlû-vêlîn of Ávijûr. The sabhâ of Tirukkôvâlûr sold land for the purpose. 20 of 1905.

Kuttâlam (Tj.)—Sale of 8 mā of land tax-free to temple by the assembly of Villavanmâdêvi-catm., on payment of 43 kâsû. 104 of 1926.

Maykâyum (SA.)—Taxes on a salt-pan for two lamps to Tirupûmicecuram-ûlaiyâr by the ûr. 24 of 1919.*

Miîjûr (Ch.)—Land for festivals etc. in the temple of Sôjakulaundara-vinnagar-îlvâr at Miîjûr by the ûrâr. Mentions Kallâdîsvaram-ûlaiyâr. 133 of 1916.

Šêrmâdêvi (Tin.)—(Vattêluttâ). Deposit by a Brahman lady of six kâsû in the hands of the Vaikhânasas for half a lamp before Nigarilisôlajâ-vinnagar-îlvâr. 708 of 1916.

Tiruvudäi (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp by one of the Jânanâthat-terînîja-valangai-vêlîakkârâr of Pangalânûdû. 393 of 1921.

Tiruvâdûtûrâi (Tj.)—Sale of land and house sites for one hundred and twenty kâsû, current and capable of passing for full value, by the assembly of

* cf. 23 of 1919 (Râjâraja I, Yr. 19.)
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Palaiya-Vānavan-mādevi-catm. (in Innambūr-nādu of Rājendra-alima-vāla-nādu) to Ālvār Śri-Pirāntaka
Śri-Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār who conferred it on Savāṇan
Araiyan Candraiekharan alias Uttama-Cōja-acalan and
his descendant 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
kāśu got from the donor.

Year 4.—Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Śakkaḍi Samudaiyan alias Śem-
bīyau-mādevip-perundaṭṭān appointed to the Tatṭarāk-
kanī of the Uḻka-māhādevi-Iśvaram by order of
Dēviyār Dantiśakti. 216 of 1894 ; SII. v. 515.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Araiśurudaiyān Īrāyiravan Pallava-
raiyan alias Uttamaśōja-Pallavaraiyan, of the Perun-
daram of the king, had built a shrine Rājarājēśvara;
his bought 2000 kulī of land tax-free for 50 anṟādu-
naṟkāśu from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam for two
lamps to the shrine. 299 of 1897 ; SII. iii. 54.

Tiruvenkāṭu (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a servant
(adigūririći) of the queen. 463 of 1918.

Tiruvenkāṭu (Tj.)—Money, 333 kāśu, yielding interest
41\frac{1}{2} kāśu per annum, for incense etc., by queen
Nakkan Karukkamandāḷ alias Paucavan-mādevi𝑦ār.

Tiruvīkalēr (Tj.)—Gift of land as ṣalakyāriyāḥōga by
Ālvār Śri Pirāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār while she
was in the palace (kōyil) at Palaiyāru.

350 of 1907 ; also 351.

Uḍaiyārgudi (SA.)—Umbrella with 19,908 pearls with
a gold ornamental handle (?) of 25\frac{1}{2} kalaṉju by the
Kaikkōḷas of Viranērāinya-catm., a brahmādēya in
Rājendrasimha-vāla-nādu. 613 of 1920.

* cf. 248 of 1923 of Year 3.
THE COLAS

Year 4.—Ukkal (NA.)—Sale of land, 3000 kuli, by Mahāsabha as bhōgam for two boats (ōdam) given to the tank of the place by a servant of the king. Also sale of five picottahs (ēttam) besides one already bought for the ōdam. 27 of 1893; SII. iii. 10.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land, 720 kuli, by sabhā of Uttaramērūr alias Rājendrasōla-catm., set apart as tax-free Bhaviṣyak-kiḷaippuram, to enable a person to reside permanently (nirantaram) in the village and teach, (ōduvippārāga). 29 of 1898; SII. vi. 312.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—480 kuli of land set apart as Tayit-tiriyak-kiḷaippuram by the Mahāsabha. 33 of 1898; STL vi. 316.

Vṛddhiacalam (SA.)—Tim manni valara to Maṇḍaik-kāṭakkam. Land by residents of Nerkuppai 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-śeyyak-kaṭava-nibandam) with the temple lands. 53 of 1898; SII. vi. 336.

Year 4, day 114.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—While Naḍuvirukkum Puvatta Bhāṭa Sōmayājiyār of Koṭṭaiyūr was seated in the hall Arumōli-dēvan on the north side of the temple of Śōjlondrasimha-Iśvaram-udaiyār at Mālpāḍi alias Rājāśrayapuram and audited the temple accounts, the scale of expenses of the Tikkālivallam-udaiya-mahā-dēva temple was fixed in conformity with the inscription engraved on stone by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāccan in the 7th year of Rājarāja * and with other relevant factors. 227 of 1921.

Year 4, day 352.—Tirumukkudal (NA.)—120 kāḍi of paddy for offerings on new moon days. Mentions Rājarāja-vāḍya-mahārājan an earlier donor and the officer Śembangudaiyār whose order the sabhā carries out in appropriating the paddy in a detailed manner for expenses. 175 of 1915.

* cf. 10 of 1890 of Year 7 Rājarāja I.
Year 5.—Ammangu$i (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (Frag). Land tax-free to Räjaräjésvaram - uḍaiya - mahädéva. Also provision for lamp. 236 of 1927.

"Embä$i (NA.)—Tiru manni valara up to šembo$rirutta-gummu$liyum. Order issued by the king in the year 5 from his palace at Pa$aiyärulu regarding the dues from the village Peruma$di. The village had not paid up even by year 25, day 32. 585 of 1906.

"Ka$attūr (NA.)—Tiru manni valara. Land for offerings etc. to Tirukkumbisvaram-uḍaiya Mahädéva at Pa$nijirinika$attūr alias Vikrama$signa-catm. Mentions Kättan Tiru$venga$da-dévan, an adigári of Uḍaiyapírá$t-tyär. 158 of 1916.

"Karutta$antiago (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara up to Ma$naik-ka$alakkam. Gold diadem made out of gold accumulated till year 4 in various ways including pi$diliguivári and gifts by different donors. The diadem was called Rä$jendrásän-pat$am. 50 of 1897; SII. v. 1413.

"Kílappu$wär (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to Ma$naik-ka$alakkam. Lamp by Arińji-mádëvadigal, * a pé$pá$ti of Namba$ratip$éer and Pändi-mádëviyr, on behalf of her daughter Arumo$i-dévan Bhógi Bha$tan Ga$nárdíti. 235 of 1926.

"Knérirájapuram (Tj.)—Damaged. Mentions year 3 and Áłvär † Parántakan Kundavaip-pírá$t-tyär and her palace at Pa$aiyärulu. 639 of 1909.

"Olagapuram (SA.)—Tiru manni valara to Ma$naik-ka$alakkam. Records previous gifts of land to the temple not recorded before and now caused to be engraved by the tan$ívann for the year. Mentions Kalikóndap-përëri and Ga$nárdíttalap-përëri. 140 of 1919.

* A striking instance of misguiding names having no reference to the status of the persons bearing them.
† Probably died between years 3 and 5 of Rä$jendra. ARE. 1910 II 20. Centre 249 of 1923 year 7 and ARE. 1924 II 14 where this mistake is corrected.
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Year 5.—Sinnamanur (Md.)—Tiru manni vañara up to Mañnaik-
kañakkam. Sale of land for a lamp to Durgaram-
manevariyar by the sabhás of three villages, Arikésa-
nalur, Arpagašekkara-mangalam and Mandragaurava-
mangalam met in the śrīvāsalgāpuram of Durgaram-
manevariyar. 439 of 1907.

"Tiruppalátugai (Tri.)—Tiru manni vañara. Last con-
quest mentioned is Īla-maṇḍalam. * Land.
257 of 1903 ; also 275 ; SIL viii. 650, 674.

" Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tiru manni vañara to Īla-maṇḍa-
lam. Lands of the temple exempted from taxes by
the assembly of Bhūlokamāṇikka-catm., and provision
made for worship to Śrī-kāmēsvaram-uḷaiyār and
recitation of the Vedas. Endowment was 50 kāśa
yielding 75 kalām interest per annum. 52 of 1928.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru manni vañara to Īla-maṇḍa-
lam. Sale of land by Vāṇapuratu-ūr, tax-free, with
well, ērī-nīrkkāl and ēttā-nīrkkāl and irrigation right.
Notable phrases: engaśīr mañjikkamāy vīyā nilām ;
nīr vilaiyum māṟṟu śiliyai sōgu-māḻtu vēṭṭi amāñji-
yum maṟṟumonṭum kāḻappoyādōmānūm.
4 of 1890 ; SIL iv. 327.

" Tiruvarumbūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vañara to Mañnaik-
kañakkam. Land for offerings to Tirupalai-āḻvār of
Tiruvarumbiyūr by ūr. Grant made in Rājarāja’s

" Tiruvilalur (Tj.)—Provision for feeding Brahmans.
Mentions Uruttiran Arumolī alias Pirutimahādēviyar,
queen of Rājarāja-diva. ‡ 349 of 1907.

" Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — Tiru manni vañara up to
Īla-maṇḍalam. * This temple of Nāḻuvil-ūrā-nārāyaṇa-
vinñagar at Tribhuvanammādēvi-catm., a brahmādēya
in Jayangōḍa-sōga-maṇḍalam, shall be under the

* Ceylon must have been conquered before 1015-6 A.D. ARE. 1908 1155.
‡ 275 is dated Tuesday 26th March, A.D. 1017-21. viii 262 (Kielhorn.)
‡ cf. 27 of 1897.
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protection of the regiments of Śri-Vādanūr Tillaẏāḷipperumbādai and ...... Pallāyiravan of our lord Rājarāja-dēvar."

174 of 1919.

Year 5.—Uttaramārūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Maṅgaikkaṭakkam. Land for various purposes to Śri Kṛṣṇa in the temple of Kongaraiyar called Rājendra-śōḷa-viṅṇagār by the sabhā of Uttaramārūr alias Rājendra-śōḷa-catm. The endowment was in charge of the Śri-Kṛṣṇa-gaṇap-perumakkāḷ. 174 of 1923.

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Ila-maṅgalaḷam. Gold, 10 kaḷainju, for lamp to Neṛkuppait-tiru-mudukunrām - uḍaiyār by Śembiyan - dēvaḷīgāḷār, daughter of Paluvēṭṭaraiyar and wife of Muṇnai Vallavaraiyar. 39 of 1918.


Year 5, day 281.—Paṇḍārarājai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Ila-maṅgalaḷam. An undertaking by two shepherds to supply ghē, † measure daily, for lamp to the central shrine of Tiruccēḻur-dēva for 90 sheep received by them from Āḷyār Śri Parāntakān Śri Kundavaip-piruṭṭiḷyār † 256 of 1923.

Year 6.—Kaṅṭhīyur (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpālandi-vum. A long record giving interesting details of the expenditure in the temple of Kaṅṭhīyur situated in Āyirattalai. 22 of 1895; SII. v. 578.


† In other Brahmadēsam records, the wife is called Indaja-dēviyar. The Tanjore records mention another wife - Parāntakān Kundavaī. The chieftain was perhaps a native of Kongu (157 of 1915) - A.R.E. 1916 II 13.

‡ See n. to 639 of 1909 Year 5.
THE COLAS

Year 6.—Kilapappaluvūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaṭara up to Palpalandivum. Undertaking by the priests of the temple of Tiruvandurai-ālvār to measure out a stipulated quantity of ghī daily for 15 kāśu received by them from the temple treasury. 227 of 1926.

Mēlpādi (C.)—Tiru manni vaṭara up to Palpalandivum. 72 kaḻaṅju gold at the instance of Irāyiravan Pallavan alias Uttamaśōla Pallavaraiyan, lord of Araiśūr, for 720 sheep, distributed among shepherds who had to supply two measures of ghī daily by the Rājakēśari measure. Adhikārin Udayamāttāṇḍa Mūvendavelāṉ executed the order. 100 of 1921.

Nattam (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaṭara. Land for offerings. Mentions assembly of Nigariliśōla-catm., which included 12 members of the samvatsara-vāriyam doing śrī-kāryam. Details of prices, wages and yield of land. 263 of 1912.

Panḍāravaṭài (Tj)—Tiru manni vaṭara to Palpalandivum. Two lamp-stands and 90 sheep for lamp to Tiruccēlūr-mahādeva at Rājakēśari-catm., * in Nallūrnādu byĀḻvar Śri-Parāntakan Śrī-Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār. 239 of 1923.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu). Tiru manni vaṭara up to Ḫa-maṇḍalamuḷudum. Gift of hereditary karāṇ-mai over a dēvadāna tank to the merchant Mannērk-kāḍan alias Tirunilakaṇḍa-śeṭṭi of Nagaram Rājendra-sōḷapuram, by the assembly of Nigarili-sōla-catm., a brahmadēya in Muḷi-nādu in Rājarāja-maṇḍalam, the merchant being required to pay two kāśu to Kāḷasam-udaiyār as uḷāvu-kāśu on each vēli of land. 614 of 1916.

Suldenahalli (Mys.)—The nāṭṭār of Kaivara-nādu in Gangappallapuram (of Nulumbapādi alias Nigarili-sōla-pādi) make an arrangement for the sacrifice by the

* Perhaps after Aditya I. Rājagiri, a small place a mile from Kēyil Tēvārāyampet, has ruins of temples, now forming private premises. ARE. 1924 II 8.

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Kurattiyar of the nāḍu of a goat (āḍu) on each Tuesday to Bhaṭṭāraki Muṇḍēśvari of Jayangonḍa-sōḷa-catm. 484 of 1911; EU. x. Kl. 26.

Year 6.—**Tirunāgēswaram (Tj.)** — Tiru manni vaḷara to Palpaḷandivum. A jewel to temple made from the accumulated income (antarāyattil kūḍina mudal) from the fief (kāṇi) of Adigal-āccan, one of the Īḷaiya-kūṇijira-mallar in the army of Rājendra-Cōla-dēva commanded by Adikārigal Śōḷa-Mūvēndavelār.

211 of 1911.

* Tiruppattīr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttāgumyū. Gift by Uttamaśīla * Milāḍuḷaiyār. Mentions Tiruppiṭāvūr-sabha.

587 of 1908.

* Tiruvāḍuturai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaḷandivum. Sale of naṉjai and puṉjai, 2 vēḷi, 8 mā each of common land, tax-free (cost 10 kāśu, iṟai-kāval 190), to the temple by the assembly of Abhayāśraya-catm. alias Śāṭtanūr met at the Ulagalandān to the north of the temple. Mentions the māḷigaik-kōl by which 100 kuḷi was a mā. Also land given to the temple in year 5 by the ūr of Kāṇanūr in Pērāvūr-nāḍu for a lamp.

102 of 1925.

* Tiruvāḍuturai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Palpaḷandivum. Sale of one vēḷi of land to the temple for forty kāśu by the assembly of Pērāvūr, a brahmaṇḍēya in Pērāvūr-nāḍu, with an undertaking to pay all its taxes for a further sum of 90 kāśu received by them.

109 of 1925.

* Tiruvāḷangāṭu (NA.)—Copper-plates. SII. iii. 205.

* Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaḷandivum. Sale of waste land by residents of Vāṉapuram.

220 of 1921.

* Tiruvilākkudi (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Tolperungadval Palperundivum. Detailed description of tax-free lands endowed for flower-gardens and śrībāli to

* After a surname of Rājendrā - ARE. 1909 II. 48.
THE COLAS

Tiruverudupadi-mahadeva in Kadalangudi also known as Viṣṇuvidugu-catm., in the 20, 24, and 27th years of Rajaraja by the residents of Kadalangudi, Iḍaiyāru and Pāṇḍūr. Also gift by his queen Arumoli-deviyar made in year 2 of Rājendra of 50 cows of which only 26 survived in year 5.

120 of 1926.

Year 6.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpalandivum. The great men of the village of Tribhvana-mādavi-catm., made an order that every 6 mā of land irrigated by the tank Madhurāntakapērēri must pay one kālam of paddy as ēri-āyam and that the tank-committee must collect this and maintain the tank in good repair.

192 of 1919. *

Uttaramēvār (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpalandivum. Apportionment by the village assembly of shares in arcanāvētti among the four Vaikhānasas of Kongaraɪya Śrī-kōyil in lieu of those held by them at Arāśīpimangalam, an arcanāūgha. 171 of 1923.

Vēlacēri (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by a Brahman lady, the wife of one of the āḷunagatār of the village. 302 of 1911.

Vēlacēri (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara to Palpalandivum. Sale of lands held by non-brahmans to the temple with the king’s permission. 311 of 1911. †

Year 6, day 185.—Tiruppanangili (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpalandivam. Under the supervision of the mālaparudaiyār, the prumakkaḷ of the Melaic-cēri-maṇiṭiyambalam administer an endowment of 150 kāśu for Śīru-hālaip-paruppu-pōṇagam. The schedule of expenses gives the information that 2 nāṭi paruppu (dholl) = kuguni īruśāli paddy; one pidi of ghi = 2 nāṭi paddy; sugar one palam = two nāṭi of paddy; and that one pōrīkkaparīyamudu = four nāṭi of paddy. 91 of 1892; SII. iv. 538.


† Though this number is not quoted, this record seems to be treated at ARE. 1912 II 23 as a sale by public auction for default in payment of taxes.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 7—Elaborig (Mys.)—Mukkaiyan, below a female figure: "represents wife of Mukkaiyan" who performed eati. Mukkaiyan was the gdmuta of Kulattur

MAR. 1917, p. 42.

Kerningapurum (Tj)—Tirumangai varara. Sale of land by the assembly of Tiruppurundurai, a bhakthamudra in Tirunagari-nadu. Mentions a revenue survey.

296 of 1917.

Pandaravdai (Tj.)—Tim manni varara. Sale of land by the assembly of Tiruppirundurai, a bhakthamudra in Tirunagari-nadu. Mentions a revenue survey.

296 of 1917.

Rudrantiyam Kalliyal (Tj.)—Tirumangai varara. Land for worship and offerings to god in the Pallppalam built as a pilipillai at Pallippalai. Mentions Tiruvaidi as inat star of Kalliyal.

249 of 1923.

Tirunagari-nadu. Mentions Tiruvadirai as natal star of Rijendra and Revati as that of his queen; also Lakshmi and Lakshminathinathinathinathinathinath.

271 of 1927.

This word is sought to be erased in the record. AKh. 1927 II 113.

This palace was the home of Rajendra, cf. 463 of 1908 (year 9).
THE COLAS

Year 7.—Sangendi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara * up to tiruttagu-mudiyum. Sale of land to Kallāsamužaiya-mahādeva by the assembly of Sangendi-mangalam for money given by a lady for a lamp. Another gift of land by the same assembly for offerings. 325 of 1928.

Senkunram (NA.)—Tiru manni valara to tiruttagu-mudiyum. Land, tax-free, to Jayangopala-śūljēvara, by merchants assembled in the hall (built by) the supervisor of Vikkur alias Jayangopala-śūlapuram. Details of temple expenditure given. 152 of 1921.

Tanjore.—Tiru manni valara to Šandima-tivu (Kēra). Money to image of Śri-Kaṇṭha deposited with the karayatēr by the Perundanattuk-karmigal of Rajendra Cōla and lent out to villages on interest at the rate of 3 kūpuni paddy per kāsu per annum. 29 of 1897; SII. ii. 82.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpalandivum. 90 sheep for lamp by a captain (nāyakan) of the Rājakulaijarattērīja-villīga of Enanallur-kalagam-āna-ujāiyār-paḷai. 394 of 1921.

Uyyakkolān-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to Palpalandivum. 90 sheep for lamp by Śūlai-irāja-singam, for merit of her mother Dēvan Perramai, the penulāṭṭi of Rājendra-śūlā Irakkuvelar of Koḻumbāḷur. 97 of 1892; SII. iv. 544.

Year 7, day 186. — Tiruvallam (NA.) — Tiru manni valara to (tiruttagu)muḍiyum. Deposit of gold in temple treasury for the daily supply of tumbai flower and an extra quantity of it on Sankrantī days to Tikkāli-vallam-udaiyar. Grain measure pāncavārakkāḷ. 226 of 1921.†

Year 7, day 229.—Tirumukkūdal (NA.)—Tiru manni valara to tiruttagumudiyum. Detailed regulation by the sabhā of Madhurāntaka-catm., a tanīyūr, of the cultivation of a Nandavana belonging to Mahā-viṣṇu of

*In later characters. † 228 of year 14, day 187, is similar.
Tirumukkuḻal by the Vaikhānasas of the temple, and provision for the expenses of cultivation. Wages, manure, irrigation, and lease and cultivation rights dealt with. 172 of 1915; ARE. 1916 II. 11.

Year 8.—Agaram (Ch.)—The king constructed the village of Vānāmangai and settled in it 4000 Brahmans. 232 of 1931.*

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to tiruttagu-muṭiyum. Lamp to temple of Tiru-sūlait-turai-aiyūr of Iḷaṅgōkkuḻi, a hamlet of Rājāraja-caṭm., by a native of the Cōla country. 74 of 1907.

Kānasaivallī (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to tiruttagu-muṭiyum. Land made tax-free by assembly met in the Kailāsaṉ-udaiyai temple after being summoned by double bugle (irattai-kāḷum). 72 of 1914.

Kīḻampaḻuvūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḻara up to tiruttagu-muṭiyum. Sabbhā of Śirupaḻuvūr took fifty kāśu from Innāṭṭa-mannu-perumpaluvūr Adigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaiyar-pendiṭṭi Viruṇan-ogiyūr. 104 of 1895; SH. v. 665.

Kōḷār (Mys.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to tiruttagu-muṭiyum. Five buffaloes for one lamp left with the Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple. EC. x. Kl. 106 (a)

Punjai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to tiruttagu-muṭiyum. Decision of the assembly (mūlaparai) of Talaiccan-gāḍu met at Mummuḷi-śoḷan-maṇḍapa to pay taxes, in return for fifty kāśu, on two vēli of land at Pūdanūr which had been purchased by the Periyatuḷi-mahādēva temple for expenses of the Vaigāsī festival and of feeding Brahmans on the occasion. It also agreed to pay taxes on two vēli of temple land at Kīḻppalam in lieu of interest on 100 kāśu which had been received by it on kaiyeṭuttōḷai from the same temple. Engraved by order of the assembly on the walls of Tirunanni-palli-udaiyai. 187 of 1925.

* No. 231, 235 refer to the king’s construction of the Kailāsanath Temple in the village.
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Year 8.—Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaṭara to tiruḷṭagumuliyum. Remission by village assembly of taxes due on land granted for a flower-garden to the temple. Another remission of taxes on other lands given to certain images including one of Śembiyan-mahādevīyar. Mentions Vikramaśūla-vaddi.

481 of 1925.

Śivapuram (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaṭara to tiruḷṭagumuliyum. Two lamps by the king to the Rājarājēśvara temple in Urūlagam in Purisai-nāḍu of the Maṇayik-kōṭam. Sheep 180. 18 of 1896; SHI. v. 861.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaṭara to tiruḷṭagumuliyum. 32 cows by a private individual for milk to god for the merit of the king’s mother Tiḥbhuvanamaḥdevīyar. 270 of 1921.


Uṇaiyārguḷi (SA.)—Tiru manni vaṭara up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. Fifty kāśu for sale of land by sabhā to Tribhuvana-mahādevīyar Vāṇavan Mahādevīyar, queen of Rājendra-sōla-dōvar, for offerings and worship to images of Candrasēkhara Perumāḷ and his consort set up by her. Tiruvanantēśvara of the temple is called nammāḷadevyum by the sabhā. 624 of 1920.*

Year 8, day 50.—Tinnevelly—Tiru manni vaṭara † up to tiruḷṭagumuliyum. Enquiry by Adigarigal Brahmasril-kilār into the Kōgil-karumam. Mentions the Tirunevellī Vaḷaṇjiyar who gave $\frac{5}{2}$ nilam in Kannanūr as dēvadāna izaiyili.

157 of 1894; SHI. v. 449.

* In App. F of ARE. 1921 this record is treated doubtfully as of Rājendra I or II.

† Later characters-copy ?

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PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 9.—Agaram (SA.)—Tiru mannī vaḷaṇa up to tiruttagu-maṇḍiyum. Deliberations of the great assembly of Nṟṟaṭungag-Sṟṟaṅg-ccaṁ, alias Janaṅha-ccaṁ, relating to the occupation of temple land (of Mahāsaṅga) 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 Sāttagāṇattar.

386 of 1922.

Ś. 943*—Behāṭūru (Mys.)—Rebuilding of an old temple and its consecration after Rudra-hūma and large scale feeding. Gift of land to it.

139 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 16.

Gūvincvāṭi (Ch.)—Tiru mannī vaḷaṇa up to Iṟṟāṭapāḍi conquest. 96 sheep for lamp in the temple of Tiruvīṟgūl-ṁḷār at Takkōlām alias Kṛṭriyāśikhamāṇipuram. Six kāṣa for supply of flowers given on the 345th day of the same year.

37 of 1923.

Ś. 943.—Māṟū (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Mentions the Nṟṟaṭaraya Hūḷimadda 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†

Mēḷpāḍi (C.)—Tiru mannī vaḷaṇa up to Iṟṟāṭapāḍi. Some shephords give an undertaking, before Maṇḍam uḷaiya Iḷakūḷiwara Paṇḍitīr Kauṅīgāl, to secure the supply of ghi for a lamp by a shepherd Eṟṟaṇ Sāṭṭam under all circumstances.

85 of 1889; SII. iii. 18.

Sōmūr (Tri.)—Tiru mannī vaḷaṇa up to Iṟṟāṭapāḍi conquest. Fifteen cows for one lamp by Veḷḷḷḷaṅ Śingan-sōḷai resident of Dēvānpalḷi. The temple authorities (iṟṟaṅ-srīkṛṣṇalaiyīṁ) undertake to protect the charity. "Nāṅgīna sāḷam poḷiṇa sāvāṃvāṉp- perumbaśuvāgak-kālu" etc.

69 of 1890; SII. iv. 393.

* July 7, 1020 A.D. Kielhorn EJ. iv p. 21.

† Obscure language difficult to interpret—Rice (n. to Eng. Trans.)
Tirukkalittattai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara up to navanidikkulappu-mlalaigałum. Remission of taxes on temple land in Vēmbāṟuṟu alias Śōḷamāṟtāṇḍa-catm., by the mahāsābhā of that village. Mentions a survey. The taxes included: siddhāya-kāśu; paṇcavāra-nellu; payāru, tuvarai and other āriṇuvar; ēri-ivu; śilvāri. The remission was made after taking 65 kāśu from the Śri-Kuṭittāṭṭai temple. The names of śēris in the place give surnames of Rūjaraja.

292 of 1908.

Tirukkalittattai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara to conquest of Irāṭṭapādi. Similar to the above (292). Mentions a kaligai (ghaṭikā) in Vēmbāṟuṟu which included this village and Tiruvisalur; as also many śēris of the town.

293 of 1908.

Tirumukkūṭal (NA.)—Tiru manni valara to navanidikkulappu-mlalaigałum. 90 sheep for lamp by the headman (kiḷavan) of Kāmavūr-Kiḷiṇālūr to the north of Vānavan-Mahādēvi-catm., a tuniyūr.

170 of 1915.

Tiruvādīluturai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara up to Irāṭṭapādi conquest. One hundred kāśu by Anukki Śattu Rāmadēvi, a pendāṭṭi of the Periya-vēlam of Itāṇḍraśōla, 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 Arumōṭi-dēvan marakkāl.

401 of 1921.

Tiruvādīlaiyil (Tj.)—A Śivabrāhmaṇa took from Kṛrsyammai 12 kalam of paddy at interest of 3 kūṟuni of paddy annually for offerings during the Śittirai festival. Another gift by same donor of 28 kalam (yielding annually 7 kalam at 3 kūṟuni per kalam) for feeding dancing girls during the festival.

28, 29 of 1918.

Wednesday, 8th February 1021, Jacobi., EI. xi. p. 121.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 9.—Tiruviśalūr (Tj.)—Twenty-five kāśu for a lamp to Umāsahitar by a native of Pāṇḍi-nāţi. 346 of 1907.

Year 9, day 38.—Tirumukkūḻal (NA.)—Tiru manni valara to tiruttatamudiyum. 90 sheep for lamp by Maṇḍai-nangai, the senior wife of Perundanam Rājarājan alias Vāṇavan Brahmadhirājan, in charge of kaḷani-and ārṇ of Kūḻalūr. 174 of 1915.

Year 10. — Kottaśivaram (An.) — (Kan. and Tamil). This Maṇḍapa erected by Arōyar Rājarājan alias Vikrama Cōla * Cōliya-varaiyan, chief of Śattamangalam in Tirēmūr-nāţi and commander of the forces (of the king), on the 40th day opposite the 160th (of this year). Below are titles : Nālamaṇi Bhima, Cōlana-cakra, and Sāmāntābharaṇāy in Kan.; Nānmaidibhiman and Sāmāntābhaṇāy in Tamil, perhaps titles of the chief who built the Maṇḍapa. Another record (24)—Edirattavarkālān and Ahitarottalivan in Kan.; and Vayirinnārāyanaṇ and Virabhiman in Tamil, of about the same period (as in No. 23). No. 30—is Tamil verse mentioning Nānmaidivima and Telungar. On same pillar in old Kanada : Jayasingakulakāla and Sāmāntalaprahāri. No. 31—Tamil verse mentions battle with Kalingas, Oḍiḷas and Telungas; also titles in Nāgari : Ahitarottaliva etc.

23, 24, 30 and 31 of 1917.

Tuḷi-malingi (Mys.) — Tiru manni valara. Muṣangi is here called Mayal. Apparently Gangapāḍi was called Muḍiṅḍa - cōḷa-maṇḍala; and Māyilangai (Malingi opposite Taḷakkūḷ on the other side of the river) was called Jananāṭapura : Gangapāḍiyāna Muḍiṅḍa-śōṇa-maṇḍalattu tenkurai - nāṭṭu - Māyilangai tan (yāna ?) Jananāṭapurattu.

490 of 1911 ; BC. iii. Tn. 34.

Tanjōr—Tiru manni valara up to naranidikkulappu-ralu-muthaḷatum (i.e., Iraṭṭapāḍi). Loans from endowments to Mahāmāru Vīṭanka and his consort (set up

* Surname of Rājendrā ? ARE. 1917 II. 2. cf. 752 of 1917.
THE COLAS

by Rājarāja), by the śīrūdanattup *-panimakkal, for interest at the rate of mukkuruni per kāṣu per annum (Continuation of SII. ii 82 of year 7).

SII. ii. 83.

Year 10.—Tirumālpuram (NA.) — Money for supply of four kalāṇiṣu of Śidārī by a native of the Cōla country, 292 of 1906.

" Tiruppugalār (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to kulappuṟu-malaigalum. Remission of taxes on the temple land by the assembly of Bhūlōka-Māṇikka-catm., in consideration of 150 kāṣu from the temple. 44 of 1928.


" Tiruvīṭiṇīḻalai (Tj.) — Tiru manni vaḷara (dam.) to Muyangi and a little more. Mentions copper image of Alagiyamāṇavāḷa caused to be made by the mother of Rājendraśōla-Anukkap-pallavaraiyar. 444 of 1908.

" Udaiyāṟuguḷi (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḷi. Sixty kāṣu by the headman (kiṟan) of Ārkkāḍu for the daily supply of 1000 lotuses for worship. The assembly met in the hall constructed by Tennavan Viḷūḷparaiyar, called nammaṇganār by the king. Assembly calls the Tiruvanantēsvara nammaṇladeyvam. 625 of 1920.

" Udaiyāṟuguḷi (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḷi. Agreement by some villagers to supply the flowers stipulated in No. 625 as interest on 60 kāṣu received by them from the treasury of the temple, 626 of 1920.

* * Servants of the minor treasure * (SII. ii. p. 405) servants or officers of the king when he was young (śīrū-danam) - ibid n. 2.
Year 10.—Uyyakkenḍan-Tirumalai (Tr.)—Tiru manni valaṟa up to conquest of Irattapādi. Paddy for abhiṣeκa to the god on the king's birthday (ārdra) to Tirukkarkudi-viḻumīya-dōva.

* 464 of 1908.*

Valacērī (Ch.)—Tiru manni valaṟa to conquest of Irattapādi. Assembly (mahāsabha) of Velacērī sold 1500 kuḷi 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.—Mēppāţi (C.)—Tiru manni valaṟa to Irattapādi 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.—Aguṟum (S.A.)—Tiru manni vaḻara up to teripunār-kenguṟyum. Land for offerings and lamp to Mahāṣastā Kayirār Aiyanār by the members of the big assembly of Nrpatunga-sēntāniga-catm. alias Jananātha-catm., a brahmādēya. The assembly met in the Ayyanār temple.

363 of 1922.

Kīḻaiyūr (Tr.)—Tiru manni vaḻara. Land for the maintenance of two persons singing the tiruppadiyam during the three services of Tirukkadavudaiya-dēvar, each getting three kugum of paddy per diem.

96 of 1925.*

Kōḷār (Mys.)—Pūrvadēsamum gaiṇḍiyum koṇḍa. A royal gift of dēvaḍāna from the camp at Kāṇeḍpuram. The record furnishes interesting details of procedure followed on such occasions.

476 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 112 (a).

Kuṇḍāmūru (Mys.)—Śrī Pūrvadēsamum gaiṇḍiyum Kaṭāramun-koṇḍa.

EC. x. Ct. 47.

* This, and 91 and 98 of years 17 and 18 of Rājarāja, are records on pillars, and part of the introduction is omitted; perhaps for lack of space.
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Year 11.—Tirumukkādaḷ (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to Gangai-yum. 113 sheep to temple of Vennaik-kūttrar at Tirumukkādaḷ in or near Nirkunram, the northern hamlet of Madhurāntaka-catm., a taniyur in Kālattūr-kōṭjam, by a native of Akkāramangalam. The sheep were in charge of Tirumukkādaḷ Kūṭalūrūm Üṟūm. 167 of 1915.

Year 12.—Kāḷuhusti (N.A.)—Gold for the Kṛttikā-dīpa and 90 sheep by Gangaikonda-cōḷa-milāḍuḷaḷiyan, a chief of Milāḍu. 291 of 1904.

" Tirumalai (Pōḻur N.A.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to teri-punay-kangaiyum. Lamp to Palliiccandam Vaigāvūr Tirumalai-ḍēva by Īlaiyamaṇi-ṇangai also called Pallavarasār-ṛēviyur Śīṉṇavaiyur. Sixty kāṣu, the amount of the endowment, was converted into land. S.II. i. 68.

" Uyyakkōṇḍān-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to terippunay-kengaiyum. Provision for feeding Śivayōgins in the Tiruviṅgēsvaram-Rājēndrasōḷan at the foot of the hill on which the temple of Tirukkāṟkuṭi Viḷumiya-ḍēva stands. 467 of 1908.

Year 13.—Māḷēr (Mys.)—Tiru manni vaḻara (full). Sale of land by sabhā of Rājēndrasinga-catm. E.I. ix. Cp. 84.

" Tirumalai (N.A.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to teri-punay-kangaiyum. Twenty kāṣu for lamp and ten kāṣu for tiruvanidu to Śri-Kundavai-jiṉālaya-ḍēva of Tirumalai by Cāmūḍiapptai, the wife (maṉavāṭi) of Nandappayyan, a merchant of Pōrumbāṇappāṭik-karaḷ-vali-Malliyū. 80 of 1887; S.II. i. 67; E.I. ix. pp. 229-33.

Year 13, day 207.—Emappērūr (SA.)—KūṆērinnaiṇṇūṭān. An order of Udaiyār Rājēndra-Cōḷa-ḍēva 'who was pleased to take Pārvadēsam and Gangai,' confiscating the lands of persons who did not settle down in Tirumunaippāṭi-nāḍū and had migrated elsewhere, and granting the

* The PIIṟu, Vehkk and Ceyyār rivers meet here. - ARE. 1916 II 11.
lands to others who undertook to cultivate them or rear areca-palms thereon. * 531 of 1921.

Year 14.—Puñjai (Tj.)—Tiru mānni vaḻara (full). Undertaking by the assembly (mūlaparavāḷi) of Talaccangālu 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 Rābhavāhuna-dēva in the big temple for the victory of the king’s arms (bhujam varādhāttarūḷa.) 182 of 1925.

† Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru mānni vaḻara up to tegi-pūmnā-kangūyum. Records the re-copying (from the books) on stone of the order of Rūjarāja at the instance of Narakkān Rāman (who built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). The dēvaṅkānnaś and the sabhā of Gaṅdarāditta-catm. executed the order. 91 of 1895; SII. v. 651.

† Tirunāgōśvaram (Tj.)—Tiru mānni vaḻara (full though damaged). List of jewels etc. owned by the temple, engraved by order of the king made at the instance of a servant Kāndan Kōval-nāthu. 213 of 1911.

Year 14, day 341.—Krumūr (S.A.)—Tiru mānni vaḻara (apparently full). Assembly of Vaḻavaṇ-mādēva-catm. met in the temple and in the presence of the ‘annual supervision committee’ † agreed to pay in paddy the silvari on certain temple lands, the income to be utilised for lamps and offerings. 398 of 1913.

Year 15.—Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Tiru mānni vaḻara (full). An undertaking by the managers of the temple of Paluvūr to burn a perpetual lamp before Pāgāvijāy-Īśvarat-tu-mahādēva and another before Amanikandarpa-Īśvarattu-mahādēva for lands and money received by them respectively from two persons as an atonement for homicide. 372 of 1924.

589 is similar.

Called samvataraṃ lāgyinga Ar-vāriyap-perumakkal.
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Year 15.—**Tirukkadaiyur** (Tj.)—**Tiru manni valara** (full). An agreement of the Mahāsabhā of Paḍa-śiviya Tirukkaḍaiyur in Uyyakkonḍār-valanāṭu to maintain an endowment for two meals to Māhēsvaras at midday.

20 of 1906.

Year 16.—**Kāndipuram** (Ch.)—**Tiru manni valara** (full). Gold by Nigarili-Lōkāmūdāvi, a servant of queen Mukkōkkīlān-āḍīgal, and by a dancing girl of the temple called Peṭṭi-ponnambalam, for two lamps before Aṉjaṉaṇḍīdurgaiyār.

73 of 1921.

**Kilār** (Mys.)—**Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kāḷārumuṇ-koṭṭa**. Gift of a dēvadāna to Pidāriyār of Kuvalāḷa by the king seated in the palace at Vikrama-cōḷa-pura in the Kavirināḍū. The grant was ordered on the 240th day and entered in the revenue register on the 281st day. 475 of 1911; EC x. KI. 111.


**Tirumalavāṭi** (Tri.)—**Tiru manni valara** (full). Pīḷḷaiyār Arumoli-mangaiyāna-pirān gave 180 sheep for two lamps, distributed among eight shepherds, one getting 45, three others getting 45 together, and the rest 22½ each; 45 sheep being counted as yielding one āḷākku of ghī daily, and 22½ sheep, 2½ seviḍū.

77 of 1895; SIL v. 635.

**Tirumalavāṭi** (Tri.)—**Tiru manni valara** (full.) Lamp by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kausalaiyār, wife of Narākkkan Śrī Kṛṣṇan Rāman alīa Rājendrasāḷa Brahmatamāryār, (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 nāṭis of ghī per annum.

78 of 1895; SIL v. 636.
Year 16.—Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full.)
Fifty kāsū for ten lamps to Ādittēvara temple at Tiruppurambiyam, deposited with viraiyākkalip-
perunderuviy-cangarappādiyōm.
80 of 1897; SII. vi. 30.

Tiruvāṇṭurai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full.)
Undertaking by Śiva-brāhmaṇas to provide offerings
to god for midday service and to feed an apūrvi daily
with the same, out of the interest on 45 kāsū received
by them from a person, the rate of interest being two
ūni of paddy per kāsū per annum.
134 of 1925.

Tiruviḻakkudi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full.)
Sale of land as sālābhōga to temple for feeding devotees by
the assembly of Kaḷaḷangudi 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.

Tribhuvanī (Pondicherry).—Tiru manni valara.
Assembly met at night, resolved that the village of
Varakkūr (dēvadānu) 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
Nāduvil-srī-kōyil and the tank Kōkkilānaṭi-pērēri.
The dues to the temple amounted to 5 kalam per mā
(by marakkāl equal to nālūyiṟavaṉ) from year 17.
189 of 1919.

Year 16, day 32.—Tirumukktial (N.A.)—Tiru manni valara.
An agreement by certain Vaikhāṇasas of the temple with
the officers Puravu - vari - tiyai - kalam and Varip-
pottagam to use the surplus paddy due by them (as
discovered by a scrutiny of the temple accounts) for
the recitation of the tiruppadiyam in the temple for
the first time. Mentions Śembiyan-māhādevi-peru-
maṇḍapam in the middle of Madhurāntaka-catm.
183 of 1915.
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Year 1(7).—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to pal-pañjandivum. King called Vira Rājendra Cōla. Land to temple of Tirumallūr-Mahādēva, by royal order issued from palace at Gaṅgaikonda-coḷapurm.

61 of 1914.

Year 17.—Kīlpākkam (NA.)—The great assembly of Nityavinōda catm., assembled in the temple of Śrī Kailāsa in the village, borrowed twenty kuṭānju of gold from the temple of Rājaḍitta-Iśvaram-uḍāiyār and placed it in the hands of the őr-vāriyam, who had to supply oil, as interest.

38 of 1911.

" Kūneruvajurum (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Setting up of image of Kuṭrapāla-dēva by queen Arindavan-mahādēvi who also bought some land for it in year 16. 632 of 1909.

" Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full). One hundred kāsu for lamp by Teccappan Sembiyan Mādēvi, the wife (mārśiśyār) of Arumoḻi alias Uttamaśeḻa-brahama-māriyār to Tirumalavādi-mahādēva. The money was distributed among shepherds in the same manner and proportion as in 78 (year 16). 78-B mentions a dantak-kāl-palliṭṭil given to the deity. 78-A and B of 1895; SII. v. 637-8.

" Uḍaiyārugu (SA.)—Tiru manni valara (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 Purvadēsamum Kaḍāramum āṇḍa. Erection and endowment of the Siddhāśvara temple on the demise (siddhi) of the daṇḍanāyaka of Śrī-yuddhamalla-dēva. Writer of the inscription was the son of Mahāmātra Ajavarmaya.

502 of 1911; EC. ix. Nl. 1.

Treated doubtfully as Rājendr in ARJ. 1921 App. F.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 18.—Tirukkalār (Tj.)—Copper-plates. Tiru manni valara. Registers extent of devadāna lands belonging to the temple. SII. iii 207; ARE. 1903 II 17.

Year 18, day 93.—Tiruvāmāttir (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.—Maḻir (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.—Tirumalavādī (Tri)—Tiru manni valara (full). Two vessels of gold (198 kal.) and silver (294 kal.) by queen Vānavana-mādevi. 79 of 1875.

Year 19, day 343.—Uttaramēṟir (Ch)—Tiru manni valara (full). 2240 kuli of land lying waste (maṇjikkam) without yielding any taxes was reclaimed by the assembly and presented tax-free for three daily offerings and special worship on the four ayanam and viṣu days and during eclipses to Ananta-nārāyaṇa on the third storey of the temple; some other lands for lamps and offerings to the three (auxiliary) images in the lower floor and 1470 kuli for recitation of Tiruvāyudhī by three persons during morning and evening services. 176 of 1923.

Year 20.—Kaḻattir (NA.) Gold to Kumblāvaram Udaya-mahā-dīva at Vikrāṅga-caitm. Mentions a number of persons of the āḻungayattār of the sabhā of the village. 155 of 1916.

" Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Pūrvadēsamum Gangaiyum Kiṭāramum koṭṭu. Sale by some merchants of Kāncipuram of one tūṇi of land as a tax-free devadāna for 127 kalāṇju of gold to Trirvelkā-ṅaṅkap-kīṭandurulina Paramasvāmī at Kāncipuram. 23 of 1921.

" Kūhār (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Land by purchase as iraiyili from ūr by Madhurāntakān-dēvi for feeding persons who attended the nine days festival in the Ādittā-lāvaram-udayār temple. 303 of 1917.
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Year 20.—Marudāḍu (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. 90 sheep for a lamp with ṛār of whom some are named. Also sale of land for digging a tank, by a servant of a daṇḍa-nāyaka. The village is also called Vikrama-śōja-nallūr. 407 of 1912.

" Nangavaram (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). The king dismissed two of the temple drummers and appointed another man instead. 335 of 1903.

" Śōlapuram (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (damaged). Sale of land 14000 kula (by 16 sān-kūl) to temple by the residents (nagavattūm) of the city as ikaiyilī dēva-dāna. 344 of 1912.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Paddy for offerings to images of Pillaiyar Tirunāna-samband-adigal, Tirunāvukkaraiya-dēva and Nambi Ārūrnār set up by Tirumālarungan alīas Tiruppallittāma-pīcēan and his lady. 37 of 1920.

Tiruvūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. List of gifts by Rājendra-cōla-dēva’s Aṉukkiyār Paravainangaiyār for plating and guilding certain portions of the temple; also gift of pearls and coral wreaths by Arumōli-Kūttan alīas Lōkamārāyan; other gifts. Rājarājan-kūtu-nīyaikal is mentioned as a standard of weight for gold. 680 of 1919.

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land for monthly festivals (tiruvādirai) paimagavya, hōma etc., in temple, for the prosperity of the king. 54 of 1918.

Year 21.—Ratnagiri (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Sale of land tax-free to temple for 380 kāsu by the assembly of Ārūnjigai-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.
Year 21.—* Tiruvaiyāyū (Tj.)—* Tiru manni vaḷaṇa (full). Gold ornaments, jewelled, to Ulōkamahādevi-Īśvaram-udaiyār by Dantiśakti. 154 of 1918.*

Year 22.—Ś. 955 †—* Belalārū (Mys.)—(Kanarese)—* Pārvadēśaṇam Gaṅgaiyām Kāḻarum-man-gōṇḍa. Fragment giving the titles assumed by the Vīra Bālaṇji Dharmma merchants in grants made by them. 140 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 17.

Year 22.—Kāṇci puram (Ch.)—* Pārvadēśaṇam etc. Tax-free gift of 1000 kūţi of land as dēva-bānu and of 3600 kūţi by sale—47 kūṭaiya by the mā-nagarattōm of Kāṇci- puram for worship in the temple Tiruvaṣṭa-bhuyāgrhatta-mahāviṣṇu. 6 of 1921.

" Kōḷār (Mys.)—* Tiru manni vaḷaṇa (full). Gift of buffaloes for lamp in the Piḷāri (Kōḷārama) temple built to the king's order by Mārāyaṃ Arumōli alīus Sēnāpaṭi Uṭtamaṣālā-Brahma mārāyan, son of Narākkan Śrī Kṛṣṇa Rāmaṇ alīus Rājendra-śoḷa Brahma mārāyan of Venjēṭṭu Amaṇkudī alīus Kēralāntaka-catam. 480 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 109 (a).

Kōḷāmarindal (N.A.)—* Tiru manni vaḷaṇa. Land and gold to 24 dancing girls of GaṅgaiKonḍa Śoḷa Īśvaram Udaiyār built by priest Īśāna Śiva Paṇḍita (cf. SII. ii. 9). 414 of 1902; SII. vii. 1047.

Year 23.—* Kuttālam (Tj.)—* Tiru manni vaḷaṇa (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.

" Mafūṛ (Mys.)—* Tiru manni vaḷaṇa (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. Op. 82, 83.

" Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Money by Dēvan-Purambiyāl Āḍal-viṣṭanka-māṇikkam, a maid-servant of the bathing

* cf. 152 of Year 3.

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establishment called Ilankēswara-kula-kāla-teriñja-
tirumanjanattāl velam for offerings, worship, etc., to
Umaparamēsvariyaḥ of the Tiruppallisākṣi, an image
set up by her. 323 of 1927.

Year 24.—Oidambaram (SA)—Tiru manni valara. After Tak-
kaṇṭālamunum, the introduction is not in the usual
form, but different. Gift of viravu-nilan elupattekkē-
kālē-araikkāṇi; deducting land taken up by nājai,
nāraikāḷ, kollai and nattam, making up muppattu-
nālē-kālē-araikkāṇi, the net arable land was forty vēli.
The total yield (varisayiliḷapadi) was 4500 kalam of
paddy; of this the mēlvāram was 2250 kalam which,
at eight kalam one tāni and one padakkai per kāśu,
yielded 2641/2 kāśu which with 40 kāśu from another
source formed the fund for the expenses in the
temple, to be administered by Kuṭumēnakaiyurattu
ērīna-ypāṟigal, Vellāṟar, Sankarappāḷiyar, Sāṇiyar,
Pūṭṭinavar and other kuṭigal and the kāḷ-kalanaigal
including carpenters (tacak), blacksmiths (kollai),
goldsmiths (tattār) and the koliyar. Another gift by
Nakkan Paravai, the anukki of the king, for feeding
Brahmans and maintaining the required establishment,
yielding mēlvāram of 1225 kalam, to be spent in the
manner detailed. 118 of 1888; SL iv. 223.

Kanyākumāri (Tr.)—Pārvatēśanum Gangaiyum
Kaḍāramum koṇḍaraulina. Fifty sheep for lamp by
Sājukulavalli, the cook of the king (Udiyaiyār Śri Rājēn-
дра-saḷaṭēvaṛkkuṭ-tiruvamudu aṭṭam pēvāṭṭi).

TAS. i. p. 161.

Mannārkoṭil (Tin.)—Pārvatēśanum Gangaiyum Kaḍā-
ramum koṇḍa. Reports that the Gōpālasvāmin temple
was formerly called Rājēndra-cōḷa-vinṭagar and built
by the Cēra king Rājasimha. The king made a
grant of land to the temple from his palace at Kāṇĉel-
puram to take effect from year 15 of Jaṭāvarman
Sundaraśēkumā-Pāṇḍyan, one of the king’s sons.

112 of 1905.

* 111 and 113 of 1905 give the name of Rājarāja-dēva, another Cēra king.
These were probably Cōḷa feudatories. ARE. 1905 ii 14.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṇa (full). Beginning lost. Twelve kalūṇju of gold (uluai-nirai-pon) received from Sarabandōṇḍalavai of Tonḍamān-Pēṟṟūr, the pendāṭṭi of Rājendra-sōla Brahmadirāyar, for a lamp to be maintained by the assembly of Urigaiyūr alias Rājamūrtāndra-catm., a dēvulāṇa of Tiruvūral-mahādēva. 256 of 1921.

Year 24, day 230.—Brahmadēsam (SA.)—Land for worship and offerings to Pāṭalīsvaram-uḍaiyār by Parāntakan Suttai-malāyār alias Makkōkilānadigal for the king's success (bhujam vārdhikā), the king being present in the temple of Rājarājēsvaram-uḍaiyār at the time. 188 of 1918.

Year 25.—Jumbai (SA.)—An agreement among citizens (nagarat-ṭār) of the city of Vāḷaiyār alias Nittavinōdapuran on the N. bank of the Pennar. An interesting commutation of old endowments. 82 of 1906.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṇa. Silver kavacaṁ to be used at the three sacred baths and 30 kāśu for one lamp by Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājendra-sōla-dēvar-anukki-sūrgiṭṭa-paṇcavani-mādēvi. 70 of 1920.

Year 25, day 112.—Ennayiram (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṇa (full). At the king's order, the assembly of brahmadēsam tāṇiyār Rājarāja-catm. met in the Mummuḍi-sōla with Nambi Uḍuttūr-udaiyān who governed the village, and made a nyavasthai regarding incomes from the lands of a number of shrines: Rājarāja Viṇṇagar-āḷvār, Kundavai-and Sundara-sōla-āḷvār, Dēvēndra, Sarasvatī, Śrī Bhaṣṭārakīṭṭa, Mahāmōḍiṭṭ, Sūryādēva, Saptamaṭṭa, Mahāsāśṭā, Durugaiyār, Subrahmaṇya, Jyeṣṭha-śair-yār and the village gods. 335 of 1917.

Year 26.—Ś. 959.—Ankanāṭhapuram (Mys.)—(Kau). Mentions the Cangāḷva of Kāḍalūr in Noḷĕnuḍ coming on an expedition. Grant of Nāgavangalām as a kai-nāḍ tree.
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of all imposts. Some Gavundas made chiefs of certain territories. 142 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 104.

Year 26.—Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara. Remission of certain taxes on lands granted for feeding in the Gangaikonṭān-sālai in the temple by the great assembly of Gaṇḍarādītta-catu, met at the hall Uttamaśoḷan-maṇḍapam. 33 of 1920.

" Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara. Fourteen kāsiu and vessels for early morning offerings by Tirumālarangan alias Tiruppallittāana-piecan. 61 of 1920.

" Tiruvorriyār (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara. Adigārīgal Rājaṛājendraśinga Mūvendavēḷar enquired into the affairs of the temple in the Vakkāṇikkum-maṇḍapam, and fixed details of service to be maintained from kurradwdaḍam and the excess paddy collected from the servants of the temple and the tenants of the dēvarāṅu villages. Interesting schedule of expenses. 146 of 1912.

" Tiruvorriyār (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara. Sale of land by people of Igaṇaiyūr (dēvarāṅu) to Śattan Rāma-dēviyār, the aunkkīyār of the king, for maintaining twelve dēvaruḷiyār in the temple for the goddess Gauri. 153 of 1912.

Year 26, day 180.—Uttaramūrūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Sale of 1,520 kuṭi, tax-free, by the assembly to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḷvār of Rājendra-sōḷa-viṇṇagar for providing seven kuṭi of paddy daily to three persons reciting the Tiruvālmāṇi in the temple; also two plots of land, one as Vājasanēyiak-kiḍaippuram and the other for a flower-garden and festival in Māsi Punarvasu. Names of taxes remitted: one set giving sittāyam paṇcavāram sīlligai ecōyyukkāḷari tāρukkāl-amaṇṭi; another ērīkkāḍi pāṭaganellu uḷavigai nīrvilai and other pīṭāgaiyai. 194 of 1923.

Year 27.—Alūr (Mys.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Land to Cāmuṇḍisvārī by the ār including Māṇikka-ṭetti of
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Vañapuram (in this nādu), and Rājendra-śōla-gāmūn-ḍan of Vinnamangalam, who was doing the nāṭṭu-gāmūnḍu.

EC. ix. Nl. 7 (a).

Year 27.—Ārpākkam (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟu. Land by residents (Ūr) of Ārpākkam for the maintenance of seven musicians for service in the temple Tiruvil-vinnagar-āḷyar. 145 of 1923.

" Bruhmadesām (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟu. Money for nāḷḷaṟṟu by a native of Mivanam for which some temple land was made tax-free. Also gold for lamp. Mentions Kundavaip-pereri and Sundaraśōja-pērēri. 264 of 1915.

Year 28.—Tiruvāḷiṭṭuvai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟu. Land, half-vēli, made tax-free for 200 kāśu received from the temple by assembly (sabhā) of Mērkīli-mangalam with the condition that the Māhēśvaras of Sarva-dēvan Tirumāḍam called after the king's guru should be fed daily. Mentions Tūtuvan Arumoli, a woman of the Periya Vēṭam, as owning some adjacent land in describing boundaries. 103 of 1925.

Year 29.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟu. Land by the assembly of Kāmarasavalli-catm. to Śaṅgāi-mārūyan Vikaramaśōḷan for performing the sāṅgāi-kūṭṭu thrice during either of the Tiruvādirai festivals in Mārgalī and Vaiyāśi. Āritis numbered one to four in the village mentioned. 65 of 1914.

" Tirthamalai (Sm.)—Pūrvadesām etc. Gift of three villages by Uttamaśōḷa-Pūrmalai-nāḍāḷvān, who seems to have been the chief of Rājendra-śōla-viriyūr-nāḍu. The donor repaired the temple and constructed the Mukhamaṇḍapa. Tagūḷūr-nāḍu was a sub-division of Nigarili-śōla-maṇḍalam. 670 of 1905.

" Tiruviṉāḷ (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷaṟu (full). Land for lamp by a queen. Mentions a revenue survey of the country. 347 of 1907.


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Year 29.—Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Money deposited, interest to be paid in paddy, with the inhabitants of Iganiryur, for offerings every year at the festival of pudiyidu (first crop?) by Nakkan Kōdai alias Kāṇčipura-nangai, a magal (maid-servant?) of Tiruvēkambam-udaiya-Mahādēva of Nagaram Kāṇčipuram. 139 of 1912.

" Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Tiru mānī vālara (full). Gift of tulai-nirai-pon and Madhurāntaka-dēvan-māḍai for Mārgalīt-tiruvādirai and for feeding three Brahman learned in the Vedas. Money loaned out on interest at 2 kalam of paddy per annum by the Rājakēsari-marakkil on each pon and māḍai, with the nagaratār of Tiruvorriyur and the residents of Manjiyan-Kārānai. 140 of 1912.

" Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Tiru mānī vālara (full). Rājarājan kāṇu* for feeding a Brahman by Kūttan Gaṇavadi, the military officer of Gangai-konjiān alias Uttama-śolamārāyān, also called Śirudanam Peṇūdanam mārāyān. Money loaned out to merchants of the place, interest being payable in paddy. Mentions Āriyammai and her money gift. 141 of 1912.

" Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — Tiru mānī vālara. Assembly agree regarding land for feeding the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the eighteen districts in the Rājendra-solam-māḍam not to change its class or levy on it ēri-āyam and seruvāri. 187 of 1919.

Year 30.—Kandiyur (Tj.)—Tiru mānī vālara. Appointment of new dancing-master, the late master’s brother-in-law (mailtunan), nan-gāndaruvan araiyan Rājarājan alia Mudikona - śol - vācciya - mārāyān; the place was to be hereditary (vargattār).

23 of 1895; SII. v. 579.

* Must have been a māḍai as interest was 1 kalam per annum. ARE. 1913 II 22.

† Treasuries small and big (Hultsch); minority and majority of the king? Perhaps purely honorary titles implying status in official life or society. ARE. 1913 II. 22.
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Year 30.—Tirunāgēvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Mentions innāḍu vagai-seyyinga Koṭandīṭṭai Udaiyān. Adigārigal Rājendraśōla-mūvēnda-vēḷān sent a niyōgam (order) that a tirukkolgai, tiruk-kōḍukku and tiruk-kōṭam were to be made from gold accumulated in the form of flowers and broken jewels. Another niyōgam from the mūlaparūḍaiyār of Tirukkuṭamūkkil. The niyōgam was addressed to Śrīkōṭīl-vāriyam-seyvār Dēvakānmi, Paṇḍāragaḷ and Kaṇṇattān. Mentions also Kṣatriya-malla-teriṇṭja-valangai-vēḷaikārar.

83 of 1897; SIT. vi. 33.

"Tiruvōtīyēr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). 90 sheep for lamp by Mārāyān Gangaiḳonṭa-śōḷa alias Utamāsōḷa-mūrīyaṇ, chief of Tiruvārūr, for the merit of one Gaṇavadi Iḷlumban alias Tannai-munivār-pēṇḍirganda Viśaiyariyaṇ, 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 Indalā-dōva of Taḷaiāgraṇā in Viṇṭadēśa.† 138 of 1912.

"Tiruvōtīyēr (Ch.)—Sale of land, for the maintenance of a flower-garden and the supply of four garlands every day, to Nāgalabbai Sāṇi alias Āriyavammāi, wife of Prabhukara-bhāṭṭa of Mēṟkaḷāpuram in the Āraṇēśa. "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 icai (the kuṭīni of other inscriptions) such as veṭṭi, amaiji and kēṭumel."

155 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 22.

"Tiruvōtīyēr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Sale of land by assembly of Māṇalī alias Simhaviṣṇu-catm. to a person who presented it to the temple. Mentions that eight Madhurāntaka-ḍēvan-māḍai was the price of 2000 kūḷi of land. 156 of 1912.

* Same as Kuttan Gaṇavadi of 141 cf. 411 of 1912 of Vr. 8 of Rājarāja, ARE. 1913 II. 22.

† Country round Hangal, itself called Viraṭānagaḷ or Viraṭanakōṭa in inscriptions. - ibid.
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Year 30.—Uttarambūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Sale of some waste land (iṅnīlangal inṇāvāraiyil iṟusahaaniyil kidandamaiyil), tax-free, by the sabhā to the Rājendra-sōla-vinnagar for a flower-garden, including 120 kuli as Nanda-vaṇappuṟgam for three gardeners (uṟappār), and to provide for a maṭhu called after Kundavaḷi-iyār for feeding Śri-vaiṣṇavas. The tenants had not to pay uṭarirai. 184 of 1923.

Year 31.—Ś. 9(54.) * Śuttāṭu (Mys.)—Pārvadēsam etc. Land to temples for services in them including "Paṇu-mahāśaḷavaḷanam trikāḷu hājisuvadakkē."

1 of 1895; EC. iii. Nj. 164.

Year 31.—Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. 90 sheep for lamp by Nittavūduṭṭ-ṭeruḷa-Valangai-vēḷai . . . . . . given to Tiruvūṇṟugai-vaḷiyār and Dēvakanmigaḷ.

17 of 1890; SII. iv. 340.

" Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full) — 150 kāśī by Caturānuma Paṇḍita of Tiruvorriyur and Tirumayānam for ghi to bathe god on the Mārgaḷi-tiruvēdirai day, the king’s birthday.

104 of 1912; 399 of 1896; SIL v. 1354.

Year 32.—Kāṭugūḷi (Mys.)—Pārvadēsam etc. Construction of a tank at Pattandur by Rājarāja Velān, son of the Nattukkāṇṭamigaḷ of Śenṇāi-nāḍu.

170 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 142.

" Tirunāgēśvarum (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Mentions years 24 and 31 of the king and Nāṟukkaṉ Kṛṣṇa Rāman who gave some land to temple for bath, flowers and offerings to god. Mentions vēṭṭān vēṭṭi among taxes (vaṇigal.) 217 of 1911.

Year 32, day 70.—Tiruvāmattūr (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Gold vessel called Rājendra-vaḷan for sacred bath to god. 28 of 1922.

Year 33.—Tiruvāmūr (Ch.)— 79 of 1909.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Agaram (Ch.)—Construction of stone temple of Tiruk-kailāyar at Vānavan-mahādevi, (Vanamangai.) 231 of 1931.

Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Provision for daily offerings and feeding of hundreds of Vaishnava pilgrims coming from the Tiruvēngāḍa-malai. 255 of 1915.

Evĕyiram (SA.)—Tirumanni vaḻava. By the king's order, 46 vēli of land was given to Rājarāja-viṇṇagar by the assembly of taniyūr Rājarāja-catu. for offerings, the recitation of Tiruvāyūli and the maintenance of an educational institution in which Vedas, vyākaraṇa and mīmāṃsā were taught. 333 of 1917.

Mahēndragiri (Gj.) (Sanskrit.)—Below the inscription is engraved a tiger with double fish in front. Having defeated Vimaladēitya, 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 dēvadānu to the temple of Rājaśekhara-Īśvaranuḍaiya-mahādeva built by Kongilāndar of Mudalināyappalḷi alias Jayangonḍa-sōḷapuram in Vallavaraiyar-nāṭu. Proclaims that the property of those who steal away the cattle from this dērudānu or otherwise cause any injury to the village shall become the property of the god. Mentions Munnūṟūvar of some nāṭu. 157 of 1915.

Namthallī (Mys.)—(Kan.)—Eryya Gāvupā, son of Arasigaya Gāvupā, who took Belagattūr in Cōrayadeva's war when cows were carried off and women's clothes were unloosed (tōra gelalu penjiṟun ule uch-chalu), fought and went to svarga. EC. x. Sp. 14.

* 397 (SII. v. 1389) is a Tamil version of same. Also 858 of 1917, a much damaged record, begins with names Madhurēntaka and Rējēndra.
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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 Pallikondar within the temple of Vānavanmādēvi-Iśvaram Udayīyār. 595 of 1912; SII. iv. 1389, 1390.

Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara to tiruttagumudiṣyum. Decision of the assembly, met in the Śembiyan-mahādevi-āl - periyu-manḍapam, to utilise the vellān-reṭṭi from the dēvadāna lands of Ādityēśvaram Udaya-mahādeva at Mōganūr, a western hamlet of the village, for a lamp in that temple. 483 of 1925.

Śivapuri (SA.)—Pūrva-dēkanum Gangaiyum Kaḷāra-num koṇḍa. Gold by Nāṭṭāmai . . . . . . , a maid-servant of the bathing establishment in the palace at Gangai-koṇḍa-sōlapuram. 510 of 1926.

Talaiccangādū (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full); damaged. Remission of taxes on some temple lands by assembly in lieu of the annual interest of 150 kaḷāṇju due on 800 kaḷāṇju of gold (by standard Rājendra-śōlān-māḷai) received from a merchant of the Vira-śōlā-maṇḍigai at Gangai-koṇḍa-sōlapuram on account of the temple of Tiruvāyppāli-āḷvār. 203 of 1925.

Tirumalāvāḍi (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 Nūlambapāṭi-ARE. 1917 II 2.
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Tirunayair (Tj.) — Mentions a devadāna village belonging to the temple of Arumoli-dēva Isvara at Palaiyārum. 157 of 1908.


Tiruvādūñzai (Tj.) — List of presents to temple by several persons including Rājendra's mother, the guru of Udaiyār Rājadhirāja-dēva and servants of the Periyavēlam. Mentions Rājarājanūlai as test of fineness of gold. 104 of 1925.

Tiruvayair (Tj.) — Verse:

\[ rājadājanumahatāvaśyi-ratnaviśvavāsana / \\
\text{rājadāja-cōlasya parakēsari-varunaśah} \]

214 of 1894; SIL iv. 513.

Tiruvemhādu (Tj.) — Tiru manu vaḷaṇa to tolperungāval (palpānandīvum). Gold by Udaiya-pirāṭiyār Tribhuvanamādēviyār, mother of the king. 460 of 1908.

Tiruvaixonair (Ch.) — Erection of the Śrī-vimānām to Dēvēśā in Ādhipūr in fine black stone (atibahulataravasamahih kṣaya-varṇaḥ) by Ravi, called Vara Vira-cōḷatākṣan, under orders of Rājendra, the son of Rājarāja. The vimāṇa was of three tiers (tritalam) and built at the instance of Caturānanaua (Paṇḍita).

105 of 1892; SIL iv. 553; also 126 of 1912.

For daughter see—Rājadhirāja I-Yr. 29, day 102-Tirumalavāḍi, 71 of 1920.
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[ acc.—* 15 Mar.—3rd Decr. A.D. 1018. ]

Year 2.—śendalai (Tj.)—Śri-bali in the temple of Perundurai-uñḍaiyār had to be stopped owing to absence of drummers and the land appertaining to this service was thereupon transferred to some others. 201 of 1926.

Year 3†.—koṭṭaiyūr (Tj.)—Rāj. alias Tribhuvana-cakravartin Rājādhirāja-dēva. 270 kāśu by Arumoli-nangai, wife of Araiyan Poyncōman of Ėr alias Kulōttunga-śēla-Savanamangalam for offerings to an image of Śri-lāyingampurāṇa-dēvar (Linga-purāṇa-dēva) set up by her. 241 of 1927.

Year 5.—kālahasti (C.) Sale of land for areca-nut garden in the name of Tirukkaṇṭappa-dēvar, for 250 kāśu from the temple treasury. 125 of 1922.

Year 5, day 87.—kālahasti (C.) — Cakravartin R. An order (ulvari) of gift of tax-free land in Pālaiyāru in Ambar-nāḍu of Uyyakkonṭār-vala-nāḍu. 124 of 1922.

Year 10.—śembiyannahādēvi (Tj.)—Tingalār-taru. Remission by royal order of taxes on some lands belonging to the temple of Tiruvōliirukkai-mahādēva for a lump payment of 100 kāśu (Rājārājan kāśu 75, paḻangāsu 25) made to the assembly of Śāṭiyakkuṭli 484 of 1925. ‡

Year 24.—peṇṇādam (SA.)—Vijayarājendra-dēva who was pleased to take the head of Vira Pāṇḍya, the Śraḷan-śālai, Ilangai and Raṭṭapāţi 7½ lakhs, and to perform the anointment of victors at Kalyāṇapura. Money for offerings. 245 of 1929.


† Saturday, April 30th 1020 A.D. ARE. 1927, App. E.

‡ The regnal year is really 36 in the impression, though it is given as 10 in ARE. 1926. This is followed by a long introduction of Vijayarājendra stopping with the regnal year.
Year 26.—Peyippam (SA.)—Who took the head of Vira Pāṇḍya and destroyed the ships at Kāndaḷuṟ-śilai. Records rates of taxes due to temple in merchandise.

244 of 1929.

Tirukkalukkunram (Ch.)—Tingalėr-taru. The naga-ralār (names of viyāpārigal given) of Tirukkalukkunram alias Ulagalaṇḍa-śojaṇapuram make a niilavitai-āvaṇak-kaiyeluttu, for tiruccennadai and arcanā-bhōga to the god on the hill top. Reason for this disposal of the land: innilam kākāḻāyuk-kiṟandamaṇiyin. 172 of 1894; SII. v. 465.

Tirumalavādī (Tri.)—Tingalėr-pegu. The Perunguri-mahāsabhai of Gaṇḍarāditta-catm. dispose of some taxes and institute a festival on: nammai uḍaiya rakravarti Śri-Rājendra-śoḻa-ḍevar tirunakṣattiram. 75 of 1895; SII. v. 633.

Tiruvovriyur (Ch.)—Tingalėr-taru. An enquiry into temple affairs by the adhkārigal Vaḷavaṇa Mūṉvēḷar and Viṅkiṅga-mūṉvēḷar held in the maṇḍapa of the temple called Manṇai-konḍa-śoḻan. They sold uncultivated waste lands of the temple to a military officer of the Cōḷa country, who brought them under cultivation and provided paddy for offerings on festive occasions. The temple share (irai) was 28 kalam of paddy on each vēḷi for one class of land, and 19 kalam for another. The donor was the chief of Sattimangalam, of the rank of perundanam-damjanāyakam and was named Śoḷan Kumaraṇ Madhurāntaka Mārāyana. 103 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 24.

Year 26, day 120.—Brahmanāsir (NA.)—Tingalėr-taru. The assembly which met under a tamarind tree sold land for a water-pandal for quenching the thirst of the king Śri-uḍaiyār Rājendra-cōḷa-dēva and queen Vira-mahā-dēviyār, who is said to have entered the supreme feet of Brahmā in the very same tomb in which the body

† cf. 102 of 1913 of Year 26, day 134.
of king Rājendra Cōla was interred; the gift was by śēnāpati Madhurāntakan alias Parakṣaṇa Vēḷār, who was the brother of the queen. 260 of 1915.

Year 27.—Kāṇci puram (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru up to Kollippāk-kaiyulleri-maṭuppi, and then Villavar Minavar etc. Kōṇcīrī úr took five kaṇaḻju for offerings to Tirumāyattu Brahmiśvaram Udaiya-mahādeva of Kāṇci puram. Details of expenditure given for the annual interest of 8 kalam and one tāni of paddy, at one kalam and two tāni per pon-kaṇaḻju. Ippon-mudagpon-kolgavenru-sollaperādōmāgavum. 54 of 1893; SII. iv. 867.

Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru to Kollippākkaiyul-leri-maṭuppi. Money by a Brahman lady for festival and offerings, including the service of eight men who helped in the Āṣṭa-mangalam during the abhiṣēka on the Sadaiyam day of every month. 49 of 1928; ARE. 1928 II 7.

Tiruvarūr (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Details of quantities of paddy due from temple lands bought over by Rājendra-sōla-dēva-anukkiyar Paravainangaiyār for expenses connected with offerings and worship to Tiruvaraneriyudaiyar. 679 of 1919.

Tiruvǎrur (Ch.)—Money for Māsi-makham by members of the assembly of Maṇali alias Śingaviśu catm. deposited with the revenue-accountant (puravuv- variṭ-tinaiṭ-kāḷattuk-kaṇaṭkan) of Śiyuvāyppēṭhu alias Mummudisōla-nallūr, who had to pay the interest in paddy. 142 of 1912.

Year 27, day 241.*—Tiruppangili (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru (omissions and abridgments). Sale of land as abhiṣēka-dakṣiṇā by the mūlaparudai of taniyār Tiruvelḷarai to Rājādhīraja-dēvar perundanam Uttama-oḷḷanallūr-udaiyāṇ Venkāṭan Śākaraṇ alias Daṇḍanāyaka Rājādhīraja Pallavaraiyan, for feeding Brahmans. 90 of 1892; SII. iv. 537.

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Year 27 + 1.—TirumanaṆaṆēri (Tj.)—Land for feeding annually 1000 devotees including Śivayōgins and tapasvins in the temple of Tirukkararali-mahādeva 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.)—Tingale-taru (part). Sale of land for 22 kāśu by assembly of Kēralāntaka-catm. to temple of Tiruvāḷasvāravar for the maintenance of a feeding-house called Maravadigal. The land was made īcaiyītī after payment of 78 more kāśu. 151 of 1919.*

" Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Tingale-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 kalum of paddy every year for offerings. Mentions images of the Bhaktas (63 nāyanār) † (patṭarkaḻ-tirumēni). Catalogue of temple servants. 137 of 1912.

" Uṭṭattur (Tri.)—Parakēsari ‡ alias Rājādhīrāja-dēva who destroyed the ships at Sālai and took the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya. Sale of land to temple. 513 of 1912.

" Veppangulam (Ch.) — Tingale-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 Śingavīṟucatm. a dēvadāna of the temple of Tiruvorriyūr-udaiyār, to Dāṉjanāyakam Śōḷan Kumaran Parāntaka Māṟāyan alias Rājādhīrāja Nilagangaraiyar. 102 of 1912.

* cf 152, Year 29.

† Their stories were compiled in an abbreviated form by Nambi Ṛṣṭhr Nambi in the time of Rājakā, under the name Tiruttonṭattogai (sic). ARE. 1913, II. 24.

‡ Apparently a mistake for Rājak.
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Year 29.—Gangavāra (Mys.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). A grant by persons named. 176 of 1911; EC. ix. Dv. 75.

Kiliyanār (SA.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple by assembly for feeding-house. Sale price 30 kāśu; igaidravyam 50 kāśu. 152 of 1919.

Maṇinangalam (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. The Mahāsabhā of Rājacūḷaṇa-catm. met in the Brahmasthānam and sold 2000 kūli of land to the temple of Tuvarāpati alias Kāmakkōli-viṇṭaṅgar-āḻvār for 100 kāśu. 6 of 1892; SII. iii. 28.

Tirumalavāṭi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. Land for lamp by Araiyan Jayangonda-sōliyar, also Paṇćavān-mādéviyar wife of Sōla-vallabha-dēva, called Pillaiyar. 85 of 1920.

Tiruvēnkaṇḍu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). Land, by the king, seated on the flight of steps to the north of the Gangai-kōṇḍa-śōḷan-mālīgai inside the palace in Gangai-kōṇḍa-śōḷapuram, for offerings to Ardhanāri-dēva in the temple of Tiruvēnkaṇḍalaiyār given as dēvadāna (dēvadānamāṅga vairiyilittu.) 114 of 1896; SII. v. 978.

Year 29, day 102.—Tirumalavāṭi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. A pearl umbrella by Madhurāntaka-dēvan Arumolī-nangaiyar alias Pirānūr, daughter of Rājendra-cōla-dēva. 71 of 1920.

Year 30.—Emidyiram (SA.)—Tingalēr-taru. † Assembly (Perungūri) of taniyār Rājarāja-catm. met in the maṇḍapa Mummuḍi-śōḷan with Arangan Virrirundān alias Nirupēndra-śōla-Mūvēndā-vēḷar who was governing the village, and ordered the lands of the temple of Tiruvēyppādi-dēvar to be taxed on the lowest

* cf. 151 of Year 28.
† 3rd December 1046 A.D. Kielhorn EII. iv. p. 217.
‡ As in 221 of 1894 Yr. 32.
§ 240 of 1929 (Pepṭḍam, Year 32, day 345) also mentions him.
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scale (kaṭaiṭaram), 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.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum Śēra-ajan śālaiyum Tāṅgaḻiyum-tenṭākapōṇḍa. Order to the officers of the salt department (uppalangal kēruṣey-vārum kaṅkāṇi ēyvārum) in Rājarāja-paṇḍi-nāṭu to remit to the Śrī Vallavapperūṇālai alias Rājarājappuṇālai of Kaḻikkudi, salt at the rate “uppu muḍa-lilum selavilum kalattuvāy nāṭigai-yuṟai” (one nāṭi of salt per kalam of salt added to stock or spent from it,—Gopinatha Rao). Mentions that Nāṭjanāṭṭu Manar-kudi alias Mahāpāḷakalakāḷap-pūṟaḷam had stopped remitting the kaiyurai salt for sometime before this order. T.A.S. i. pp. 162-4. Same as 93 of 1896.

Year 30.—Ś. 97(0)—Mindigal (Mys.)—(Kan) Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-taleiyum Śēra-ajan śālīyum. Land to temple. Construction of a tank and sluice. Repair of temple with plastering. Mentions Daṇḍanāyaka Appinayya, governor of Mahārāja-vaḻi 7000 with Vallūr (Cud.) as his seat. 279 of 1895; EC. x. Ct. 30; EJ. v. p. 205.

Year 30.—Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tingalēr-taru (with variant readings). The saṅhā of Mandaram undertake to supply three tambai garlands (tiruppatiittāmam) daily as interest on 10 kalam 6 nāṭi and 1 uṇālu of paddy (?). 6 of 1890; S.I. iv. 329.

Tiruvēḻkālu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Amalan Šeyyavāyār 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 kūṟuṇi of paddy. The same person obtained lands for the temple from the king’s father who was pleased to take the Pūrvadēsam, Gangai and Kidaṟam. 450 of 1918.
THE COLAS

Year 30.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tingalë-taru (full). Land for offerings in the name of Rājendra-sōla by Sānāpati Rājendra-sōla Māvalivānarājar, under the auspices of the great assembly of the village, a taniyūr, which met in the Maṇḍapa built by Śembiyan Umbaḷa-nāṭṭu-Mūvēṇḍa-vēḷān for the merit of Rājendra. 72 vēḷi yielding 12,000 kalam of paddy per annum, of which 2475 kalam went for festivals (specified), feeding Vaiṣṇavas and reciting the Tiruvāymoḷi, the balance going to the maintenance of an elaborately organised college of higher learning. Conditions laid down regarding the grading and taxation of this land. Exemptions for teachers and students. 176 of 1919.

Year 31.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Tingalë-taru. The servants of the temple residing at Madhurāntaka-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 Kailāsamūḍaiya-mahādūva.

721 of 1909.

Munagamakulapallī (C.)—(Kan). Rājarāja Brahamādhirāja was ruling Mahārājāvūḷi 7000. Mentions death of Mādabbe, wife of Sovayya aliṣa Rājendra-cōla-deśa-Raṭṭāgudi, son of Kommayya Raṭṭāgudi.

295 of 1922.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tingalë-taru. In compliance with the king’s order, Venkādan Tirunilakanṭhan aliṣa Adhikāri Irumudiśōla-mūvēṇḍa-vēḷān utilised certain gold and silver vessels in the temple treasury for the erection of a golden pavilion for Udaiyar Vidi-viṭanka-dēva of Tiruvārūr. Other gifts recorded in continuation (verses.) 670 of 1919.

Tiruvilimilalai (Tj.)—A detailed description of the boundaries of Jayangondā-sōla-nallūr, a dēvadāna village of the temple of Tiruvilimilalai. Mentions a survey of the temple lands. 393 of 1908.

* No. 723 recording the erection of a maṇḍapa in the temple says that the temple was founded by Daṇṭi.
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Year 31.—Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Tingalèr-taru (full). The mahā-sabhā of Sundarasōla-catm. and Vānavan-mahādevi-catm. sold land as maṇḍappūlam to Āriyavammāi alías Nāgalavaićcāi, the wife of Prabhākara-bhaṭṭān of Mēgaḷāpuram in the Āriyadēśa, who had done tirup-papi to the local god and founded the Rājendra-sōla-māṭha. 107 of 1892 *; SII. iv. 555 ; 132 of 1912.

Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Tingalèr-taru. 95 sheep for a lamp by Catural-caturi, the ayamudhāyil of Nāgan Perungēlan and a dēvarāliyil of the temple. 147 of 1912.

Year 32.—Basinikonda (C.) — Tingalér-pega. 1,500 merchants of all samayās, of the four quarters, including nāḍu, nagara and nāṇadēśi met at Siravalli in Mūgaiṇāḍul in Pūrṇi-mārayapūḍi of Jayangoṇḍa-sōla-maṇḍalālam, and resolved to convert the village into a nāṇadēśiya Daśamaṇi-Ērīvirapattāṇa and grant certain privileges to the residents of that village. 342 of 1912.


Tiruccengāttangulī (Tj.)—Tingalèr-taru. Land tax-free to temple in the village by the assembly of Tirukkaṇḍapuram met in the temple of Brahmiśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva of their village. 55 of 1913.

Tirumalava4i (Tri.)—Tingalèr-taru. The Perungurimahāsabhai of Gaṇṭarādittacatm. met in the Śrī Gaṇṭarādittac-cōri of the place (nammār) and gave land for ten lamps to the temple. 81 of 1895 ; SII. v. 641. ¶

* cf 127 of 1912 n.d.
† cf. 256 of 1912, ARE. 1913 II 25.
‡ Astronomical details given fit only year 22. (Kielhorn EI. iv. p. 218). But the praśākti records late transactions of the reign and must be of year 32.
THE COLAS

Year 32. *—Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Tingalēr - taru. Three hundred Rājarāja-mādhas by Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva†; also gifts in year 27 of Periya-dēvar who conquered Pūrvadēsam etc., and year 31 of Rājādhīrāja. 300 Rājarāja-mādhas equalled 337½ kulaṇju by kudinaikkal.

221 of 1894; SII. v. 520.

" Tiruvīḍaiyamudār (Tj.)—Tingalēr - pēga - valar. An endowment in favour of Araiyan Tiruvīḍaiyamudār-udaiyān alias Mūnumuḷi-śōḷa-nittappēraraiyān and his troupe. The grant proper begins with the word 'Kōnērinmaikōngān.' 264 of 1907.

" Vīḍūḥāvālam (SA.)—Tingalēr-valar. 32 cows for lamp. King called Jayangondā-śōḷa. 55 of 1918.

Year 32, day 28.—Temēri (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyantalēyam etc.—On a representation made to Adhikēri Vīranāraiyān-Mūvēndavēḷar who had convened an a-sembly in the hall called Rājarājēn in Uttama-śōḷa-catm., the lands in the village were properly classified and assessed. The new award was engraved in the temple of Uttama-śōḷa-varam-uṭaiyār. 239 of 1922.

Year 33.—Ś. 971—Cik-kūṭi (Mys.)-(Kan.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyantalēyam Cērulam śāleyum Lankaiyum duṇḍalukōṇḍa. Erection of temple and grant of land and cows.

EC. iv. Gu. 93. ‡

Year 33.—Gangavēru (Mys.)—Tingalēr-taru. Sēṇpay-nāḍu was the jirēṇa § conferred by the king on Sēṇpati Rājēndra-śōḷa-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 Rājēndrēraja and a Pallava; Ch. 50, the burning of the Cēḷukya palace at Kampili (on the Tungabhādrē, in the Bellary District). EC. iv. Introduction p. 14.
§ Rice takes this to be the authorisation of some collections during the officers' life-time. Eng. Tr. p. 85.
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Year 33.—Kūḷambandal (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. Provision for a lamp and for antik-kāppu by Udaiyār Rājādhīrājar Gurudēvar Adhikārigal Pārāśaryan Vāsudēva-nārāyaṇan alias Ulagalāndalā-sōla Brahmnārājan.

413 of 1902; SII. vii. 1046.

Maṇḍikere (Mys.)—Tingalēr-pegu-vaḷar. Śrīnāpathi Jayangoṇḍa-sōla Vānakaṅvaraiyar agrees to take as maṇḍam in Maṇḍai-māṇḍu: “nīrabam auṇjil iraiṭam kättiṟambaṁ nālil-onjumē,” two-fifths of wet crops and one-fourth of the dry.

503 of 1911; EC. ix. N. 25.

Tirukkolambiγur (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Agreement by the mahāsabhā of Abhayāśraya-catm. to pay all taxes on certain specified lands of the temple in lieu of interest on 250 kāsu received by them from the temple. Mentions grain measure: auṉavan-marakkāl and the Kuṇjaramallan-vēykkāl.

52 of 1925.

Tirumalavūṭi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. Vira-rājendra-varman. Land, for daily worship of some images, by the Perungūri mahāsabhā of Gaṇḍarāditya-catm. assembled in the temple Gaṇḍarāditya-viṇṇagar.

78 of 1920.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. (form including Pūṇḍūr). Remission of taxes on some temple lands for a lump sum by the assembly of Gaṇaṅkoṇḍa-sōla-catm.

119 of 1926.

Yeldūr (Mys.)—Vira-Pūṇḍiyān talaīyum Śṛṣṭiāṅ-śālaīyum Ilāṅciyum Iruḍaṅciyum kōṇḍa. Gifts to temple for tiruvamidu.

471 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 106 (a).

Year 34.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. Gold, 12 kāḷiṅjē, for offerings to Pāḻupatamūrti when taken out on procession for śrī-bali; the gift was by a woman of Niyaṁmat in Pūḷar-kōṭtam of Jayangoṇḍa-sōla-mandalam.

262 of 1915.
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Year 34.—Penuýlam (SA.)—Rājak. Vijayarājendra-deva who was pleased to take the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the šālai of Sērulān, Ilangāi, Iraṭṭapādi 7½ lakhs, and who performed the anointment of victors at Kalyāṇapuram. Money for offerings to god and goddess. 245 of 1929.

" Tiruvṣukāmu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru as in 32 of 1892 n.-d. Sheep for two lamps by Araiyan Nambanangai, mother of queen Trailōkyam-udaiyār. 446 of 1918.


Year 35.—Kōlār (Mys.)—Pāṇḍiya-talaiyum Śṟ...u śālaiyum Ilangaiyum Iraṭṭapādi - Īraiyilukkamum koṟṟu Kaliyāgē-purattu jayam...m vālī virusingāsanattu vīgārundu Vijayarājendra-viṣabhisnān pu ḍ ... ḍ... jina etc. (Fragment.) The king is called Parākēsari. 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; E'C. x. Kl. 112 (b).

" Kōṅērivājapuram (Tj.)—Same introduction as the preceding, with Sērulān-talaiyum for śālaiyum. Lamp to Vaiṣṇava temple. 656 of 1909 †.


" Pāṇḍāravādai (Tj.)—Tīngēr-taru. Agreement by assembly of Rājakēsari-catin. to pay all taxes on some temple lands in lieu of interest on amounts borrowed

† King taken to be different from and brother of Kējak. Kējādhina by Rice—E'C. 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 Periya-dēvar who took Pārvatēśam etc., for the purchase of house-sites, and in the 31st year of Rājādhirāja amounting with interest to 710 kāsu. One katanju was equal to two kāsu. 228 of 1923.

Year 35.—Tiruvadandai (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 Paññvīr-nādu, a sub-division of Kalliyānapuram-kōnda *śōlak-kōṭam (formerly Āmūrkōṭam) in Jayangondā-śōla-mаṇḍalam. The record is signed by 70 officers. 258 of 1910.

Year 35, day 90.—Tirukkolambiyir (Tj.)—Kōnērinmaikonāṇ. 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 95.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tingalēr-taru. Land, after alteration of its class by sabhā in accordance with royal order, to the temple. Mentions Adhikāri-Āhavamalla-Kulāntaka Mūvenda-vējān. 188 of 1919.

Year 35, day 281.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Royal grant of a tax-free village, Sarvatīrthanallūr, for worship and offerings to Sarvatīrtham-udajiyamahādiyva at the request of a number of royal officials, while the king was seated on the throne Pallavarāyan in the Veḷi-mēla maṇḍapam in his palace at Gangai-kōṇa-śōlapuram. 420 of 1925.

Year 36.—Karsanapalli (C.)—Gift of tax on oil-mills for a lamp in the temple of Angakkāra-Iṣvaram-udajiyar at Mattukura, an Erivirapattana, † by Sōjakula-kāraṇa-Mūvenda-vējān, 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 33.
THE COLAS

Year 36.—Kōṅerirājapuram (Tj.) — Tingalēr-taru. Land to temple at Tirunallam by the assembly of Pāvaikkudī met under a tamarind tree * called Rājendraśōja on the bank of the channel called suttamallī-vāykkal.

640 of 1909.

“Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.) See under year 10.

“Takkōḷam (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. † Vijayarājendra-ēva. Undertaking by some persons in charge of the central shrine in the temple of Tiruvūral-mahādēva in Takkōḷam alias Iraṭṭapūdī-kōṇḍa-śōlapuram, to supply 7 nāḷi and one urī of ghi by Arumolī-ēvan measure as interest on 12 kalanju of gold received by them.

262 of 1921. ‡

“Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tj.)—Tirunkoṭiyodū. Vijayarājendra-ēva. This introduction stresses the conquest of Āhavamalla and says that the Vijayarājendra title was assumed at the virābhīṣka that followed it. Gift of some land as sālābhūṣa, after reclamation, by Piccan Āditan alias Vijayarājendra-Mūvenda-vēḷān of Kōmak-kudī, for feeding 17 persons in Rājadhirajān-sālai and meeting the expenses of worship to Kālaṅkāla-ēva.

244 of 1925.


Year 38.—Tiruvoggiyūr (Ch.)—Sale of land by sabhā of Kuraṭṭur for the daily services in the temple of Tiruvoggiyūr-udaiyār-kāraṇai-viṭṅka-ēvar. 129 of 1912.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Dārāśuram (Tj.) — Records that the image of dvāra-pāḷaka 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 il 31.
† As in 172 of 1894.
‡ Text gives year (2)6.
§ The year is given as 18 in ARE. 1923, App. B.
brought by the king from Kalyāṇapuram after his
capture of the place. 24 of 1908.

Erāgaram (Tj.)—Part of the introduction of Rājādhirāja.
Seems to relate to the assignment of seven vēli of land
belonging to the temple on kuṇingā-ṭēvadānam
tenure to Sundara Čōjan Rājādhirāja-viccādāra Pallavaraiyan as the taxes on this land were not properly
paid up till then. 283 of 1927.

Puṇjai (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Remission of taxes by
the king of some temple lands with orders to the
assembly on Talaiaccangādu 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-ṭēlam
by name Sōman Śōjakulasundāri. 185 of 1925.

Tirukkolambiyyūr (Tj.)—Vāra Pāṇḍiyant-alaiyum etc.
Order of the king to the sthanatdr and the ḍēvakānmis
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.

Tiruvorriynr (Ch.) — Sale of land tax-free by the
inhabitants (ūr) of Vesasāru-padiyur to the Brahman
lady Āriyavammamai* for feeding the māhēśvaras in
the Rājendrasōjan, the mathā 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 (kāsii) to Arangan 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.
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_Vellore_ (NA).—Fragment of _prāṣasti._

41 of 1888; _SII._ iv. 139.

See under Rājendra II

Year 6.—_Punjai_—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.
Year 2.—Tirunāgēvaram (Tj.) — Iraṭṭapādi etc. Receipt by the Mūlaparulaiyār of Tirukkuṭamukkil 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 Śivadharma (75 kalam) in the assembly hall Tirucoilrumbalam-uḍaiyān built in the temple by the same person. Lands belonging to the temple and adjoining the channel were also damaged; the chieftain Vikkirama-śingap-pallavaraiyān lent to the trustees of the temple the amount required for restoring these to their original condition.

214 of 1911; Are. 1912 II 24.

Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirunagaṭ-maruviya. Remission of taxes on a flower-garden, called Ponmēnda-sōlan, by the ur of Kāraikkāl which met in the Durga temple in the Senamukham of the village. Also remission of taxes on lands for gardens by the assembly of Bhūlōka-māṇikka-catm. in year 3 of Rājak. Virarājendrādēva. 81 of 1928.

Year 3.—Jambai (SA.) — Tiru-maruviyu sengōlvēndan. 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 Tiruttāntōṇṭī Mahādēva. The

vanik-kirūmattār and the Śankarappāṭiyār undertook the task of supplying 2/3 and 1/3 of the oil required. 80 of 1906.


Tirukkolambiyilr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruviiya. Undertaking by the Śivabrūhmaṇas and two uvaṉceṟ of the temple to perform certain specified ceremonies including hōṁa on every new-moon day to god Nāṉādeśiya-Viṭṭانṭak, from the interest on money and produce of land given to them by an officer of the siguḍanattup-perundaram named Maṉaikkūṭan Deṇean aḷiḷa Kājārāja Tadigaippāṭi-nāḏāḷvēn of Śāṭṭanūr. 51 of 1925.

Tiruvaiyēṟu (Tj.) — Fragments of the introduction. Gold ornaments to the Ten-kailāsa shrine in the temple by Nambirāṭṭiyēr Trailōkiyam-uṭaiyēr Adigāricci. 213 of 1894; SII. v. 512.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru - maruviiya. 25 kāḷāṉḷu of gold given to temple authorities for feeding a learned Brahman and for other purposes. The total interest was padakkunel every day. 75 of 1889; SII. iii. 55.

Tiruvāṟūr (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāṭi etc. Details of the quantity of gold used for plating and gilding the different parts of golden pavilion-(ponnin tirumaṇṭapam). 669 of 1919.


[ 588 ]
Year 4.—* Manimangalam (Ch.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Sale of land in Amanpakkam, tax-free, to Kāmakkavaiyāl, mother of Sēnāpatī Jayangonḍa-sōla Brahmadhirāja, who gave it to the temple. Mentions meeting at the Brahmatthāna maṇḍapa of the Mahāsabhā of Rājakulamāniu-caruppēdi-mangalam.

3 of 1892; SII. iii. 29.

" Tiruppugalēr (Tj.)—Tirumaga-l-maruviiya. Remission of taxes on temple lands by the assembly of Bhūlōka-māṇikka-catm. 79 of 1928.

" Tiruvāduturai (Tj.)—Iraṭtapāṭi etc. (in middle of the record). Royal (Kōnēriṇmaikoṇḍān) confirmation of grant made by the Māhēśvaras of certain privileges in the temple to Parasurāman Sankaran of Ijangārikudi for his acts of piety, such as, providing for offerings at Tiruvāduturai 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 Tiruvāduturai. 108 of 1925.

Year 4, day 184.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—Iraṭtapāṭi etc. The king, seated on Kāḍuveṭṭi in Keraḷan-māḷigai in Gāṅgaikōṇḍa-sōlapuram, orders certain taxes from dēvadānu villages to be devoted to a festival on the birthday of Nampenḍugal Kiliṇadigaḷ. Kanyākumāri is called Gāṅga-i-kōṇḍa-sōlapuram. Details of taxation and administrative procedure given. T.A.S. i. pp. 164-8.

Year 5.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tirumaga-l-maruviiya. Sale of land to temple of Bhāvarudraśomiśvara-dēva on the south bank of the river Veḷkā (Vēgavati) by the assembly of Parākrama-sōla-catm. in Dāmar-nādu of Jayangonḍa-sōla-manḍalam. Rights of irrigation and residence for labourers secured. 244 of 1915.

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Year 5.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tirumagal-maruviyā. Rajak. *
Udayādī Rañjendra. Sale of land tax-free to temple of Uruttiraśālai-mahādeva on the south bank of the Veḻkā at Parākrama-śūla-catm. by the Mahāśabha of Ven-

Kōṭūr (S.A.)—Tirumagal-maruviyā. Sale of land to temple of Tirukkōvalūr tax-free by ūr of Paduppūrūr as provision for recitation of Tiruvembāvai on Margali Tiruvādairai days and for offerings and prasādam to persons specified. 12 of 1905.

Kutṭālam (Tj.)—Irattapātī etc. Money to the temple of Sonnavāraṇivār at Vingū-nīrt-turutti by a native of Jayangonḍa-śūla-puram for feeding itinerant Śaiva 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 Köṭūr alias Cōla-
vidyādharā-catm., in Kaṅṉūr-nādu of Maṇavikōṭṭam in Jayangonḍa-śūla-māṇḍalam through which a feeder channel to the Tribhuvana-mūḍēvip-pērēri at Kūvam alias Madhurūntakanallūr was to pass. 328 of 1909.

Tirukkālukkunram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-nilaviyā. ‡ 90 sheep for lamp. 173 of 1894; SII. v. 466.

Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruviyā. Agreement by the assembly of Pugalūr to pay ten kāśu as interest on forty kāśu lent to them from the sum given by Pārkaraṇ Arumōli alias Akāraṇa-dāṇi Pallavaraiyar of Veḻjūr for the expenses of the nālēyram ceremony in the temple. 57 of 1928.


† The details given here are not in the text, which is an incomplete record giving only the name of temple followed by the names of some Śivabrāhmaṇas.

‡ This short form has much in common with Irattapātī etc.
Year 5.—*Tiruvengumbr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagal-maruviya.* Money for lampstand by a *peydañi* of the Uyyakkonõdän-teriñda-tirumañjanañitär-vulam at Gangai-konda-sölä-puram.

121 of 1914.

Year 5, day 35.—*Kuttalam* (Tj.)—Begins Konèrinmaikonõdän. *Tiru-maruviya* in middle of record. Land, tax-free, given in year 3 day 143 for festivals to Sonnavaririyum-mahäävä at Vingu-nirt-turuttu (in Tiruvalundür-nõdu) on the king’s birthdays. Also gift of taxes due from some villages, amounting to eighty *kästu* per annum, for Märgaï-tiruvädirai, to the temple. Regulation of expenses (*nivandam*), made on the day mentioned in year 5.

101 of 1926.

Year 5, day 135.—*Mêlapparuvôr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagal-maruviya.* Land as *natîravak-kâni* to a dancing master.

361 of 1924.

Year 6.—Ś. 979 *.—*Belatôru* (Mys.) (Kan.). A long pathetic poem on the sati of Dekabbô, the daughter of a chief of Nugunûd, her husband having been sentenced to death and the sentence executed at Talakkâd for his having killed a member of the royal family in a wrestling contest. 141 of 1898; *EC.* iv. Hg. 18; *El.* vi. pp. 213-9 (Fleet).

Year 6.—*Puñjai* (Tj.) †—*Irañhipâli 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 *kästu* received by them in parts from Irumaði-sõla-mûvendra-vëlár in year 36 of Anaimûruñjiyarûluina Vijaya-rañjendô-daeva and in year 3 of Räjendô-daeva. Produce from the land to be used for midday service to Tiruvalambur-am-adaiya-nayanår, his consort and the Pillaiyar set up by him in the temple. Also gift of 30 *kałañjyu* to temple for beating the *kucçôram* (?) on the marriage day of Æñppiyandår; this gift was made in year (3) 2 of Parak. Räjendra who took Pûrvadesam, Gangai, and Kañjaram.

193 of 1925.


† The text gives date year 3 immediately after the introduction and then mentions year 6; also expression "*Ilaiñhipai leydu kuñjuta-nilam."
THE COLAS

Year 6.—Tanjore (Tj)—Tiru-maruviya. Royal order to provide a tūṇi of paddy daily for playing the Rājarājēsvara-nāṭaka in the Rājarājēsvara temple to Śāntik-kūttan Tiruvālān Tirumudukunrīn alias Vijayarājendra-ścāryan and his vargattār as kāṇi. The performance was to take place in the Udaiyār-vaigāsīp-periyatiruvilī, the total annual allowance being 120 kalam to be given out of the temple treasury.

55 of 1893; SII. ii. 67.


"Tirumagalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Money, by Devu-pattagol-Pandaram and her daughter belonging to the Sivapradiṣṭa-teriṇa-tirumanjanattār Velam, for offerings to Udaguyakopāla-sūrya-deva, set up by them in the temple. 64 of 1928.

"Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Gift of 1,500 kuṭi to be cleared of forest and cultivated as arcanā-bhūga, for worshipping Durgā standing in the north-western corner of the temple, to a Śivabrahmana by the devakanmis and residents (ūr) of . . . . . . . nūr. 217 of 1921.

"Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Order of Tirumandira-ōlai Pallavan Pallavaraiyar at the request of Sēnāpati Vāṇādhīrājar that none except the Vellālas of Vakkūr should levy or pay any kind of dues within the village, and that others who do so should be considered to have transgressed the law. This was agreed when Perumpuliyūr-nambi was inspecting the temple business.† 180 of 1919.

* cf. 63 of year 11.
† Business was transacted by assembly at night. ARE, 1919, II 15.
Year 6.—Trībhuvani (Pondicherry.)—Tirumagal-maruviyā. An order of the assembly in accordance with a royal mandate altering the classification of land at Puttūr already granted for the merit of Udaiya-pirāṭṭiyār Pirāntakan Ulōga-mādōvīyār. Refers to kāḍāiyūdu of Villavaraiyar Mūvėnda-vēḷār, the adhikārin who is called ammān and Śenāpati Rājendra Vāyirāgarac-cōlan. 181 of 1919.

Year 6, day 300.—Veppangulam (Ch.)—Tirumādu-puviyēnum. Sale of land as iṟaiyili dēruṭāna for 97 kalaṉju of gold. 416 of 1902: SII. viii. 1.

Year 7. —Kōṇirājāpuram (Tj.) —Irattāpūli etc. Land. The Perungurī-sabhai of Pāvaikkūḷi met in the temple of Madhurāntaki Isvaram-uḷaiyār. 634 of 1909.

Puṇjai (Tj.)—Tirumādar-puviyēnum. An iṟaiyilal of 200 kāśis received by the assembly of Talaccangādu from the temple for taxes on 2½ rēli of land given in return for 1½ rēli which, having been assigned to the temple for harirbali-dāna, and found unproductive owing to the high level of the land and the difficulty of irrigating it, had therefore to be resumed as village common land. 194 of 1925.

Śingavaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-maruviyā. Lamp by a chief in atonement of his having stabbed a military official. 227 of 1904.

Tirumalai (NA.)—Kōparatrakēsari aliās Śrī Rājendra-cōla-dēva. Adhikāri Kōrramangalam-uḷaiyān made an enquiry of Śrūdanam Panimagan Kudippangudaiyān and Tiruvēngala-dēva Karmis, discovered irregularities in the maintenance of lamps endowed before, only two out of twenty-one were being burnt, and regulated matters for the future, the Śrī-vaishnavas accepting his finding. 64 of 1889: SII. iv. 293.

* A later copy. May be of Rājendra I.
THE COLAS

Year 7.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — Tirumagal-maruviya.

Land, for offerings etc., to Vira-sōja-vinnagar-ālvār; made iraili by the great assembly which met at night in the temple. Royal order suggesting the action. 183 of 1919.

Year 8.—Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Tirumādar-puviyenum. Land left in charge of dēvakannis for offerings to an image set up by Śirudanap-perundaram Sēnāpati Araiyan Kadakkangonda-sōjan Rājāraja Anipuri - nāḍālvān the son of an Aṇukki of Rājendra-cōla-dēva I. Other gifts. 84 of 1895; SII. v. 644.


Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Land for offerings, for feeding twelve sivayogins every day in the temple, and for two ear-ornaments to the god. 677 of 1919.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Deposit of gold with certain merchants of Tiruvārūr for offerings and oil for bath to the god; further gifts of gold for clothes to images and fees to temple songsters and servants. 678 of 1919.

Year 9.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—The assembly of Karaikkōṭtu-brahmadēsam alias Parākrama-sōla-catm. met in the temple of Pondai-udaiyār, and ordered the public sale of land to the temple of Rudraśolai-mahādēva on the southern bank of the Veṭkā. 270 of 1915.

Karuvūr (Coi.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Grant of a village to the Tiruvānīlai temple. Signed by five officers who also appear in an inscription of Virarājendra (SII. iii. 20), one of them being Araiyan Rājārajan alias Virarājendra Jayamuri-nāḍālvān, perhaps the same as Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍālvār of the Ceylon inscription (Sangili-Kanadarava) of Rājendra. 59 of 1890; SII. iii. 21.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 9.—Karuvur (Coi.)—Tirumagr - maruviya. Grant of Nelvayppaiji to the Tiruvanilai temple. Signed by the same officers as the preceding (SII. iii 21), some prefixing Kulottunga to their names.

65 of 1890 ; SII. iii. 22.

Kuttalam (Tj.)—Tirumadu - puviyenum (later form). Undertaking by a number of Brahmans of Tiruvalundur, a brahmadeya, to feed Sivabrahmanas during the mid-day service of Sonnavararivar with the interest (30 kalam) on 25 kāsu received by them from Venkadian-Ādavallān, a merchant in the big bazaar (angādi) within the fort of Gangaikondāsālapuram, who had made this endowment for the prosperity of the king’s arms.

102 of 1926.

Mahabalipuram (Ch.)—Irattapadi etc. The Nagarattar of Nagaramallapurum alias Jananathapuram define limits of tax-free lands held by Śrī - Paramēsvaramahāvarāhā-viṣṇugṛhatvāyār, make some additions to them and regulate expenses.

54 of 1890 ; SII. iv. 377.

Pulalār (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, as Bhārata-vrīti for the exposition of the Bhāratam, Rāmāyaṇam and similar Purāṇas in the temple of Tiruvayoddhi, by the assembly of the village.

48 of 1923.

Tirumalavadi (Tri.) — Tirumādar-puviyenum. Ornaments including a ‘mantrapuspam with nilam and other items, Rājadhirāja is called the elder brother of the king and a gift of year 3 of Virarajendra-deva (successor) is mentioned. *

87 of 1895 ; SII. v. 647.

Year 10.—Bāhur (Pondicherry.)—Irattapadi etc. Paddy for offerings. Interest 6 nāţi per kalam per month.

171 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 798.

* ARE. 1895 paragraph 9, contra the published text (SII. v. 647 li. 52-3).
THE COLAS

Year 10.—Tereyur (Mys.)—An introduction with many gaps. Capture of 75 elephants of the Bhadra species including Šatrubhayankara and Karapattira as well as camels and queens of Āhavamalla.

EC. xii. Mi. 76.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru-maruviiya. Land and certain rights to a Śivabrahmaṇa for the worship of Tribhuvanamsundara (Śōla-kēraḷa-viṭṭānkar), 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 urvanābhūga to Śōla-kēraḷa-viṭṭānkar set up by the assembly. Land sold as devadāna izaiyili to the temple by the sabhā. 215 of 1921.

Year 11. — Kaḷuṭṭur (NA.) — Tirumādū-puviyem. Sale of tax-free land to one of the āṁunganattār by sabhā including the sanvatsara-vāriyam of Vikramaśingacatm., for the perumbali offerings on Sundays to the Paśupatamūrtigaṇḍa in the temple of Tiruk-kumbisvaram-ūjaḷaya Mahādēva. Special grant, in lieu of taxes, of 37 kāsū, equal to 10 kalānju and 9 maṇjadi * of gold of the fineness of Madhurāntakaṇa-māḍai. 157 of 1916.

Tirippugalur (Tj.) — Irattapadi etc. Ornaments presented to Śinga-dēva and his two consorts set up in the temple at Pugalur by Devāṇpatṭigaṇ-Pandāraṇ and her daughter belonging to the Śiva-padaēkkhāra-teriṇja-tirumāṇjanatār-veḻain. 63 of 1928.


* 15 kalānju 9 maṇjadi and 2 māḍ, as now read. Codrington, Ceylon Codex p. 85.

† cf. 64 of year 6.
The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:


Kunadara Korale (Ceylon)—Mentions Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāḷvāṇ. 612 of 1912 †; SII. iv. 1408.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tirunāḍu-puṇvīyēnum. An order (of the king) of Vēḷḷakūṭṭān alias Śembiyan Muvenda-vēḷān to cover with gold plates certain portions of the garbhāṅga and the ardhamandapa of the temple. 675 of 1919. ¶

* This name occurs also in 247 of 1909 (a.-d.) as an alias Kalamūr with part of the introduction of Parak. Rājādērā.
† cf. 600 of 1912; MP. Chh. 56, 58-60
¶ cf. 669 of year 3; 670 of Rājādērā 31.
RAJAKESARI RĀJAMAHĒNDRA-DĒVA

Year 2.—Cidambaram (SA.)—Frag. Mentions Parāntakan Lōka-mahūdöviyār. 612 of 1930.

Hōsahalli (Mys.)—Manunidī-mugai - vaḷara. Gift of land to Tiruviyāḷūr Paraṇjōti alias Agōraśīva of the Tiruvūrul-matha, who was a native of Avikkūr alias Jayangoṇḍā-sōḷapuram in Perumbāṇappūḍī. 172 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 33.

Pulallūr (Ch.)—Tirumangai-vāḷara. Land given as Bhārāta-vr̥tti by a lady, wife of one of the āḷuṇgaṇam of Madhurāntaka-catm. 50 of 1932.

Tiruvallandai (Ch.) 275 of 1910.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagaḷ - viḷanga. Śankaran Gaṇḍarāḍīttna alias Śēnāpati Gaḷārāja-cōḷiya-varaiyar purchased from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam 800 kūḷi of land for 64 good current kāśu equal to 22 kāḷāṇju and 8 māṇjāḍī in gold at 7 māṇjū per kāśu, and presented it to the temple. 5 of 1890; SII. iii. 56.

Year 3.—Grāmam (SA.) 741 of 1905.


Olagapuram (SA.)—Manunidī-mugai-vāḷara. Sale of land by the nagarattār of Ulōgā-māḍēvipuram for being presented to the temple of Arikulakēṣari-Iśvaram to meet the expenses of the shrine of Rājendra-śōja-viṭānkar in it. 130 of 1919.

Olagapuram (SA.)—Manunidī-mugai-vāḷara. Sale of land by the nagarattār of Ulōgā-māḍēvipuram to a certain Śāttan for being presented to the temple of Ariṇjigai-Vinnagar Viḻirundāḻvār of ivvur-tirumēr-kōyil for expenses. The sale-deed was drawn up by
RAJAKESARI RAJAMAHENDRA-DEVA

Samantabahu Ācārya, a worshipper of the Sundara-śōjap-perumbali of this town.

141 of 1919.

Year 3.—Tiruppāpuliyūr (SA.) — Short introduction says that
the king fought with Āhavamalla. *

119 of 1902; IR, vii. 743.

* This confirms his place between Rājendra and Virarājendra cf. IL, iii.
pp. 113 ff. ARE, 1902 paragraph 9.
RAJAKESARI VIRAIRAJENDRA *

Year 2 †.—Alambakkam (Tri.)—Tiruvalar-tiralpuya. Assembly of Madhurantaka-catm. met in the temple of Tiruvilaiyur-Pallikoondalvar of this village and made a gift of land to Tiruvilaiyam-udaiya-mahadeva.

718 of 1909.

" Tiruvannamalai (NA.)—Repair of a tank by Tondu-manacci, daughter of Gangaiyar, to whom the lands irrigated by it were surrendered by former tenants who, being unable to repair the tank, had allowed the lands to lie waste for a long time.

552 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 143.

Tiruvanakadu (Tj.)—Tiruvar - tiralpuya. Taxes in several villages in three nāḍus in the Rājedhiraja-vala-nāḍu granted for festivals and offerings on Ayilliyan days (the king’s asterism) to Tiruvenkāduaiyar.

113 of 1896 ; SII. v. 976. ‡

" Tiruvogriyur (Ch.)—Viram-tuṇaiyagavum. Apportionment of 120 kāsu paid as rent by the Śāliya merchants in the Jayasinga-kula-kālap-perunderu § of Tiruvogriyur for special services in the temple on the day of Aśleṣa, the star of the king’s nativity, as settled by the officer Jayasinga-kula-kāla-viluppaiyan, after an enquiry held in the vakkānikku-mandapa in front of the temple. 136 of 1912.

Year 3.—Puñjai (Tj.)—80 kāsu by six persons for obtaining the tirukkāvanakkal (title-deed ?) which had been lost after the death of their relation, a certain Tiruvenkāduaiyan of Koṇnādur.

190 of 1925.

* Rājamanendra was the immediate predecessor of ViraIrājendrā. ARE. 1910 II 12.

† Read as 22 in ARE. 1910 II 22

‡ 452 of 1918 (Yr. 2 + 1) is similar.

§ Probably after a surname of the king, the opponent of W. Chukya Jayasimha III. Other quarters in the place were: Tribhuvanasundarap-perunderu of the Mangādis, and Nāgapattināyirap-perunderu of sculptors and artisans. ARE. 1913 II 32.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Year 3.—Tiruvāmattūr (SA.) — Viramē-tūnaiyāgavum. Gold and cows for two lamps by Viccadiran-madhurāntakan alias Sēnāpati Virarājendrā Kārānai Viḷapparaian of Kālikűndi. 3 of 1922.

Vyyalclcontldn-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Taxes for a festival by the king while seated on the throne called Abhimānārāman at Tiruvānaiakkāval. Among the taxes mentioned is dāṣāhanda. 462 of 1908.

Year 3 + 1. — Karuvār (Coi.) — Tiruvalar-tirl. Grant of a dēvadāna by the king from his palace at Gangai-kōndāsōlapuram. 58 of 1890; SII. iii. 20.

Year 4.—Māḷur (Mys.)—Tiruvalar-tirlpuya up to Gangai-mānagur; only the introduction is preserved. 194 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 85.

Punganur (NA.) 541 of 1906.

Tennēri (Ch.)—Viramē-tūnai (part). 93 sheep for lamp distributed among three persons, 48 with one and 22½ with each of the other two. 198 of 1901; SII. vii. 410.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Viramē-tūnai up to kaikkōndu, and then - Svasti Śrī Sakala - bhuvan - āśraya-Śrī - Mēlini - Valabha - Mahārājādhirājā - Cūlacalsundara * Pāṇḍya-Kulāntaka Āhavanallakula-kāla Āhavanallurait manusdhi ↑ venkayya (Rājāsēkhara) Rājāsweyya (Rājarājendrā) Śrī Vira Cūla ↑ Karikālakōḻa Śrī Virarājendrā-dēva Rājakēsaranmanaperumān-adīgal Kōṅkurinmaikōndă. Object of the record is not clear §. Mentions the nagaratd of Tirunāvalur alias Rājādītapuram. 371 of 1902; SII. iii. 81.

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.) — Tiruvalar-tirlpuya. Sale of land by residents of Elinūlai for presentation as

* Śēkhara in others.
† Aimmaṭi in later records. 
‡ cf. Viraḍhiyam.
§ Land to Tiruttoṭṭhāvana. ARE. 1902 App. B.
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madappuram to the Rājendra-śoḷa-mañḍam. The price was paid by Tiruvaraṅga-devan alias Mummuḍi-śoḷa Brahmārāyaṇ of Viraṇārāyaṇa-catm., a taniyür in Rājendraśingva-vaḷa-nāḍu of the Śoḷa-mañḍalam. Land was made igaiyili, the taxes remitted being named.

135 of 1912.

Year 5.—Accarappakkam (Ch.)—Virāmē-tūṇai (part). Gift of paddy and taxes (named) to god.

253 of 1901; SII. vii. 467.

" Byādarahalli (Mys.)—Virāmē-tūṇai up to Śīnāṇanai-yum-udārippuṅgaṇḍu. Self-immolation (tippāya) of a lady on the death of her husband.


" Gangaṅaṅga-caḷapuram (Tri.)—Tiruvulartiru followed by Virāmē-tūṇai several times. Long but ill-preserved.

82 of 1892 ; SII. iv. 529.

" Kīlūr (SA.)—Virāmē-tūṇai up to munnavar virada-mudittu. 48 sheep for lamp by a Maṇḍaṭi.

273 of 1902; SII. iii. 82.

" † Muṇimangalam (Ch.)—Tiruvulartirulpuyā. 4450 kuṇi of land to temple as arcavābhōga by Śenāpati Jayangopḍā-śoḷa Brahmādhirāja whose father Maṇjippayumār alias Jayasimha-kulāntaka-piramarāyār had purchased the land from the village.

2 of 1892; SII. iii. 30.


228 of 1912.

* 82-b mentions year 23 of Ayyan who took Purvadīśam, Gaṅgai, and Kaṭārīm. SII. iii. p. 195 and n. 11.


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RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Year 5.—Tiruvavariyar (Ch.)—Viramē-tnṟaiyāgamum. Shrine of Padambakka-dēva * was built of stone by adhikāri Rājendra Mūvendra-vēlān. 232 of 1912.

Year 5, day 348.—Tirunakkūṭal (N.A.)—Tiruvavari-tirālpuma. Royal order assigning the taxes of Vayalaikkāvūr, making it a tax-free dīvadāna, for the requirements of a Viṣṇu temple at Tirunakkūṭal in Madhurāntakacatm. Mentions eight officers, the scat Rājendra-sōla-māvali-vāparājan in the Sōla-Krāṉ-nirumālai at Gangaikonaṇṭa-ṉṟapuraṇam. Details of the equipment of a hospital (āṭula-sāhalai), and a school in the temple are also given. 182 of 1915.

Year 6.—Jambai (S.A.)—Viramē-tnṟaiyāgamum. Gift of land to an accountant (mvarukkakalikan) by the temple authorities among whom figures the Mahāvratin Lakulīśvara Pāṇḍita. † The beneficiary was to write up the accounts of the temple. 100 of 1906.

Potṭupalli (Mys.)—Titles as in 371 of 1902 (Yr. 4) with variations, most important among them being aimmade-vēnkaṇṭha for mummaṇi. Gift of wet land (uīr nilam) 50 kulī and dry land (ṭalṭaṟambam) 1000 kulī by an orphan for the merit of his deceased father and his mother who committed sati (tiyilpānīḷāl). 188 of 1911; EC. x. Ct. 161.

Tinḍivanam (S.A.)—Viramē-tnṟai (tull). Twelve cows for offerings of gḍī and curd for hōma and amudū to the Tiruvunālāgai sābhaiyār of the temple. 207 of 1902; SII. iii. 83.

Year 7.—Badur (N.A.)—Gold for lamp by two goldsmiths of Vādavūr. 411 of 1922.

Perumbēr (Ch.)—Viramē-tnṟai (alternative form). The Mahāsahbhā of tanṭīyār Madhurāntakacatm. give ṭraiyilī land, from land described as parappum tāḻvum-ingiri-mañjikkamāga-kūḷanda nilatil, to Tiruttān-

* ARE. 1913 II 32.

† Same as in 85 of 1889. (Mēlpūḍi) Yr. 9 of Rājendra I. ARE. 1907 II 39.

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tonri-mahā-ārī-karana Īśvaram-udaiyār at Nammūr-pidāgai-peru-Perūr alias Tribhuvana-nallūr.

266 of 1901; SII. iii. 84.

Year 7.—Tirukkalukkuṇṇām (Ch.)—Viramī-tuṇai as in 266 of 1901. 90 sheep for one lamp; again 270 for three.

175 of 1894; SII. v. 468.


273 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Eluwanāśūr (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.

Kaṭambarkāyil (Ch)—Tiruvāḷar-tirā (part). Sale of land by ēr.

226 of 1901; SII. vii. 439.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Tiruvāḷar-tirāpuya (with variations) and signatures. 19 of 1897; SII. v. 1382.

Tiruppattūr (Md.)—Sanskrit part mentions Kollāpurā. A part of the Tamil introduction and mention of ayyar (father?) who took Gangai, Pūrvadesam and Kaṭāram.

110 of 1908.

* This gives acc. Š. 986 (1063-4 A.D.) contra, Kielhorn A.D. 1062-3. Perhaps cyclic year in this Y.M. record is wrong. Ruled up to 1070-1. ARE. 1904, paragraph 21.

† See under yr. 4 (371 of 1902). The variants noted there are from this record.
Tiruvagiyur (Ch.)—Reclamation of 60 vēli of waste land in Singaviṣṇu-catrn, 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-deva, 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 hašu were appropriated to various items of expenditure including (a) the pay of two priests and a musician for pALLIYERI; (b) tiruvādirai-tirunāḷ including recitation of the tiruvembāvai and (c) the maintenance of 22 taliyilār who danced and sang, one dancing master, 16 dēvaratiiyār who recited the tiruppadiyam in the agamārga and (d) of four cooks.

128 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 32.

Yogi Mallavaram (C.)—Virarājendra-deva. Taxes from Muṇnaippundi, a dēvadāna, made over to the temple of Tiruppalādeva of Tiruccukanūr by Nāraṇa-deva, a local chieftain with Čāluṭkya titles. 266 of 1904.
PARAKESARI ADHIRAJENDRA-DEVA.

Year 2.—Gidiangil (SA.).—Said to be copy. Gift of land, by purchase from ur by a certain Satta Nalayiravan alias Karikala-sola Sengeni-nadiyalvan.

227 of 1902; SII. vii. 854.

Tiruvakkaraí (SA.).—The vimāna of Varadaraja-perunāl (in the Candramaujijāvara temple) which had been previously built of bricks by Köcōla, was now reconstructed of stone.

205 of 1904.

Tiruvilakhudi (Tj.).—Tingalēr-malarndnu. Remission of taxes on four mā of land by assembly (name lost) in favour of Tirukkanrai - mahādeva for seven kāsu received from the temple treasury.

123 of 1926.

Year 3.—Kalavai (NA.).—Tingalēr-malarndnu. Sale of land by the mahāsabha to the Tirukkārīsvara temple at Ulaga-landa-Cōla-catm.

228 of 1901; SII. vii. 442.

Kūlūr (SA.).—Tiru-maḍandayum. Lamp.

256 of 1902; SII. vii. 884.

Kūhūr (Tj.).—Tingalēr-malarndnu. Land for recitation by a person of Tiruppadiyam twice a day before Māmbalum-udaiya-mahādeva for (the recovery of the health of ?) the king.

280 of 1917.

Mūgavādi (NA.)

573 of 1906.

Panaiyavaram (SA.)

438 of 1903.

Panaiyavaram (SA.).—Gift of land by purchase to Para-

vai † Īsvaram-udaiya-mahādeva by a native of Mīlalai-
kūram in Rājarāja-Paṇḍi-nālu.

322 of 1917.

Polonnaruva (Cey.).—Tingalēr-malarndnu. † Gift of five kāsu for lamp to Vānavan-mādēvi-Īsvaram at Jana-
nāthamangala (old name of Polonnaruva), left in the

* Rightful successor of Vīrājendrā I; in possession of Kāñcī as capital in Yr. 3.=1072-4 (SII. iii. p. 117) Rājendrā II, Kūlūtunaga, usurper. ARE. 1904, paragraph 21.

† Paravaipuram, old name of Panaiyavaram. ARE. 1918 II. 32.

‡ Śiva temple Ferguson i. 248. cf. SII. iii. p. 114-8.
PARAKESARI ADHIRAJENDRA-DEVA

charge of the priests and their descendants, servants, dancing girls and the nانتvar.

594 of 1912 ; SII. iv. 1388.

Year 3.—Puduppādi (NA.)—Sale of land on the banks of the Pālūr by the villagers (Puduppādi ār) to the temple as the land had become unfit for cultivation in a flood.

428 of 1905.

Pullayāṇi āṇiripalle (Cud.)—Mentions Iraṇāṇi-kopāda-

537 of 1906.

Tirukkāṇūr (Tj.)—Gift of land and house by the assembly (sabāh) of Alaiyūr to the Viṣṇu-temple of Maṇavāla - āḻyār. Mentions Viṇāṇiṇī-dēvar-vāyikāl. 165 of 1911.

Tirunāmanalūr (S.A.)—Fragment.

355 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 985.

Tiruppāvūr (Ch.)—Tiru-nāṇandaiyum. Order issued by king from his palace at Gangaikonḍa-śolapuram remitt-

113 of 1930.

Tiruvōggiyur (Ch.)—Tingalēr-mālāndu. Sale of land to temple by the assembly of Sundara-śolā-catm.

219 of 1912.

Vēppungalum (Ch.)—Tingalēr-mālāndu. Three officers record dues from dēvadāna villages as obtaining from year 7 plus 1 of emperor Viṇāṇiṇī-dēva.

418 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 4.

Year 3, day 200.—Tiruvallam (NA.) — Tingalēr - mālāndu. 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 Viṇāṇiṇī-dēva.

15 of 1890 : SII. iii. 57.

The regnal is missing or uncertain in the following :-

Polonnaruva (Cey.)—Tingalēr-mālāndu.

596 of 1912 ; SII. iv. 1392.
COILA-PANDYA : JATAVARMAN SUNDARA.

Year 4.—Mannarkoil.—(Tin.)—Land to Rajendra-sojha Vinnagar, by sabha of Rajaraja-catm. for settling temple servants. 107 of 1905.

Year 6.—Ambasanadram (Tin.) — Incomplete. Mentions Rajaraja-catm. a brahmadhyam in Mulli-nadu of Mudikonda-sojha-vala-nadu in Rajaraja-Pandji-nadu. 70 of 1907.

" Ceramangalam (Tv.) — (Vatteuttu). * An undertaking given to the sabha of Ceramangalam by Mangudi Iraiyan Accain to stand surety (pynipaiturun) for the igai due from Ten-tiruvangam-aayivr-koyil-mudukuli Sendil Ayirava-devan, in case he went elsewhere (manju-magi-pugil). Ippadiala-nukku anu-kulaiju pon pugirudagu.


" Parthivasakharapuram (Tv.) — (Vatteuttu). Provision for a perpetual lamp and the sumptuous feeding (agran unvarum) of one Brahman every day in the temple of the village.

TAS. vi. i. App.

Year 8.—Virasikhamauni (Tin.) — (Vatteuttu) † No Jat. title.

Lamp. 40 of 1908.

Year 9.—Sucindram (Tv.)—Lamp. 76 of 1896.

" Sucindram (Tv.)—The local commandant (invur-paadait-tulaim) undertakes to maintain 1 1/2 perpetual lamps with 3/8 measure of ghii daily from 38 cows given by Sankarappathiyin Kalani-venpi alias Madhurantakapparaiyan of Kottir alias Mummudi-sojanallur, in the temple of Tiruvengalattayvar in Sucindram alias Sundara-sojha-catm., a brahmadhyam in Naalji-nadu.


* Palaeogr. later.

† The only other Vatteuttu record of this king is 162 of 1895 (Gaagai-koppan). ARE. 1908 II 41.
COLA-PANDYA JATAVARMAN SUNDARA


**Vijayanārāyaṇam** (Tin.)—The village is called Jayangonḍa-śōla-catm. * in Uttamaśōla-vala-nāḍu.

5 of 1927.

Year 11.—Ādādiru (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Lamp. 439 of 1909.


**Cōḷaṇpuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)**—80 Sheep for a lamp in same temple by Uḍalaiyar-perundattu-dōvan-Viccdi- ran *alias* Śōla-mārāyan. The sheep were left with one person, for whom another was guarantor.

TAS. vi. p. 9.

**Cōḷaṇpuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)**—Sabhā of Śivāljuva-mangalam *alias* Kāvala (?)-kulāsani-catm., a brahmādēya in Nāṭārāmpūkkū of Uttamaśōla-vala-nāḍu, sold some of the common land (enguḷūr viṭṭukkuḷutta podu-nilamārvadu) to the dēvakunnis of the same temple in Kōṭṭūr. Some conditions made regarding payment of taxes.

TAS. vi. pp. 11-2.

Year 12.—**Cōḷaṇpuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)**—Incomplete. 45 of 1896.

**Sermādevī** (Tin.)—The Śivabrāhmaṇas of Aganālīgai received 36 kāśī from Śrīkaṇṭha Dāmōlarabhatṭa for a lamp to Kailāṣam-uḍalaiyār. Mentions the temple Cōḷendraśinga-lāvaram. 193 of 1895; SII. v. 757; 621 of 1916.

Year 13.—**Ambāsamudram** (Tin.)—Gift for merit of the Nānādīśittisai—1,500 of Rājendra-cōla-māṇḍalam. The temple is called Tiruccālait-tuṅai-ūḷvār. 82 of 1907.

* Not found in Rājarāja’s records from the place. ARE. 1927 ii 35.

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Year 13.—Munnarkoil (Tin.)—Sale of land, 14½ nilam (vōlī) and 2 mā, including dry and wet lands, to Rājendra-sōla-vinṇagar of Rājarāja-catm., by the Mahāsabha of the place. The names of āstras in this village, twelve in number, furnish an example of the Cōla practice of renaming places: Rājarāja, Mummuḷi-sōla, Arumoli-dēva, Nittavināda, Cōḷendrasimha, Sundara-sōla, Vānavan-mādēvi, Uttama-sōla, Śembiyan-mādēvi, Kundavai, Paṅcavan-mādēvi, Lōka-mādēvi.


“Munnarkoil (Tin.)—Sale of land. Long account of land converted to velḷān-vagai, a tenure. 110 of 1905.


“Tiruvālīsvaram (Tin.)—Lamps. Temple of Tiruvāliiccuvram-uḷaiyār was in Rājarāja-catm, a brahma-dēya in Muḷḷi-nāḍu. 115 of 1905.

Year 14—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Incomplete. 75 of 1907.

“Munnarkoil (Tin.)—Sundara C. P.-dēva. Half a lamp and 16 cows by Śerraḷa-mādēviyār Adīcci, queen of the Cōra king Rāsinga-dēvar to Rājendra-sōla-vinṇagar-ālvār † at Mudi-kondā...in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 392 of 1916.

“Munnarkoil (Tin.)—Sale of a whole village to same temple, by two bhaṭṭas who were brothers. 106 of 1905.

“Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Half a lamp by a lady. 618 of 1916.

Year 14, day 320.—Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Provision by sabhā for offerings to Uyyakkōṇḍān (Tiruccennā)ḍai in the Nigarili-sōla-vinṇagar 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 (112 of 1905).
Year 15.—Śērmādevi (Tin.)—Land for tirumēyykkāppu in the Nigarili-śōla-vināgar-ālvār temple. 700 of 1916.

Year 16.—Ambāsamudrānam (Tin.)—Lamp to Tiruccēlaite-tuṅai-yuṅalaya-mahādeva in Rājarāja-cātun. 77 of 1907.

Mannārkāyil (Tin.)—Land. Mentions the Cēra king Rājarāja-dēva and kōliningāk-kāraṇmai. 111 of 1905.

Year 17.—Śērmādevi (Tin.)—Fifty sheep for a perpetual lamp and a śandivīlakkā to Kailāsam-uḷaiyār. 622 of 1916.

Tiruvallīśvaram (Tin.)—Uḷaiyār Śrī Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya-dēva, * seated in the manṭalapā outside his palace at Rājēndra-śōlapuram, gave, in accordance with the order of his ammān (the Cōla emperor ?), five vōli of land, after purchase, to the temple in Rājarāja-cātun. in Muḷḷi-ṇāḷu in Muḷḷiṇḍa-śōla-vāla-ṇāḷu, for festivals, the feeding of Brahmans, and the reading of Śīvāṭhaṇa. The gift included paddy given by the cultivator (vēllān) as the landlord’s share, uruvukōl-kāśu and kāksi-erudu-kāśu. 27 of 1916.

Year 17, day 7.—Śērmādevi (Tin.)—Uḷaiyār Śrī Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya-dēva. † Remission of taxes with effect from year 16 on lands at Kallār in Mēḷ-Vēmba-ṇāḷu in Muḷḷiṇḍa-śōla-vāla-ṇāḷu in favour of Kailāsam-uḷaiyār, by the king seated in the western hall of his palace at Rājēndra-śōlapuram at the instance of his ammān. Mentions items of money-income: alăgerudu-kāšci-kāṣu, kāṭci-erudu-kāṣu, and ārkkalāṇju; and also a number of royal officers. The lands got the new name Śīvāppālāṅkāra-nallūr. 619 of 1916.

Year 17, day 65.—Tiruvallīśvaram (Tin.)—Uḷaiyār Śrī Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya-dēva ‡. Begins with the phrase: variyiḻiṇu.

* This prince without any distinguishing epithet was another and a later prince than Jāt. Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya and was perhaps the successor of Mīk. Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya and a nephew of Rājēndhirāja I. ARE. 1917 II. 3.

† See note above.

‡ See n. ante.
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The king being at dinner in the siddar-kālam in his pleasure-garden called Puttan on the north side of Māḷakkuḷak-kiḻ-Madurai was seated (?) on the Rājeṇ-
dra-sōla-Alimūrkkaccengirai. The order of ammān was received and sanction given for variyiliḷu. (See No. 327 ante.)

Year 18.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—60 sheep for lamp. The Tiruppottudaiyār and Tiruccailait-turai Śri-mūlsthāna temples are said to have been in the southern hamlet of Rājarāja-catm.

Year 19.—Cēramangalam (Tv.)—A zinc (tara) lamp-stand to Ten-tiruvarangam-udaiyār of the village by Tiruvograi-
cēvāgan Māyilaṭṭi, the younger brother of Śankarap-
pāḷiyān Kāṇa-nilvenṇi of Mukkari alias Mūmudī-


Cōlapuram (Nagercoil)—(Tv.) Lamp.

Cōlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—12½ cows (muṇu) for half a lamp by the woman (meye) Tavaśi Nārapṭeṇṇāyira Maṇali-devi of the place (ivōr) to Rājeṇdra-sōla-
īsvaram-udaiyār in the interior (uḷālai) of Tirukkoṭīṭar alias Mūmudī-sōḷa-nallūr.


Śērnādēvi (Tin.)—Order of puravu-vari-tīṇaik-kaḷat-
ṭār and vari-pottuṣam-udaiyār that the ten persons who had the kāṇi of the 2 vēli of temple lands at Kallūr, under the name Śivapādaśēkhara-nallūr, had relinquished them in favour of the temple servants who would thenceforth cultivate them. "Māṇavira Purāntaka" appearing in this record was perhaps a surname of the king.

* See under year 9.—Sucindram.

† This record taken along with 619 (Yr. 17, day 7) shows that the viceroy in both must be the same.
Year 20.—Tiruvidiökأل (Tv.)—(Vaṭṭēḻuttu). Gold for lamp. 20 kalāṇju, kāśu Ṉigai kallāl mbaṇṭu māṭṭu.  
TAS. iv. pp. 139-41.

Year 21.—Anaimalai (Md.)—25 sheep for lamp. Mentions Kīl-Ιανίyamūṭṭam and Tiruvānimalai. Sheep left with Nakkan Šenbagam of the vēṭṭikeludi of Śri Narasimhadēva.  
64 of 1905.

65 of 1905.

Gangaikōḍān (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭēḻuttu) land.  
162 of 1895; SIL v. 726.

Tiruvalisvaram (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a certain woman (peyṭaitu). Pattargal-pañḍhiram, of the Ulaguliya-Piratviyār-vēḷam. The lamp was in the charge of a commandant (peyṭait-talaivan).  
330 of 1916.

Year 23.—Adanūr (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭēḻuttu). Damaged.  
438 of 1909.

617 of 1916.

Year 30.—Attūr (Tin.)—Lamp by one of the Sundara-śōḷa-āḷiyan-terinda-vēḷar.  
395 of 1930.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp. Mentions agānāṭigai-yōm.  
76 of 1907.

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Mentions Muttārrukūṟram.  
80 of 1907.

* Clearly implying that this viceroy was the son of Rājendral. ARE. 1917 ii 3.
**Ambāsamudram (Tin.)**—Lamp. Mentions Kṣatriyaśikhāmanipuram and the shrine of Karumāṇikkadēvar 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 ūr of Karumbāḷu alias Aḷagiya-sōla-nallūr of Nānja-nāl.


**Cōlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)**—Sale of land by ūr to Engalūr Madilagattu Rājendrasōla-īsvaram.

_TAS_ vi. i. App.

**Mannārkōyil (Tin.)**—Mentions the Cēra king Rājasimha. 114 of 1905.

**Śevilippēri (Tin.)**—50 sheep for lamp. 410 of 1906.

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CÔLA-PÂNDYA : JATÂVARMAN UDAIYÂR ŚRĪ CÔLA
PÂNDYA-DĒVA.

Year 3.—Sevilippēri (Tin.).—25 sheep to temple of Tentirumāli-
ruṇjōlai by a native of Dēvar-veṭṭi-kuṇḍi near Tirunel-
vēli in Kīl-vēmba-nāḍu, of the Muḷi-konṭa-śōla-vaḷa-
ṇāḍu in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 408 of 1906.

" Sucindram (Tv.)—Fifty sheep for a lamp to Sucindram-
udaiya Paramasvāmigal by Daṇḍanāyagam Ṣōḷamaṇ-
dalattu Vaḷlagarai-Rājēndra-sēnga-
valanāṭtu Tiruvāli-
nāṭtu Marudattīr-udaiyān Vēḷan Śōla-Kērala Tālas

Year 3, day 380.—Sērūndēri (Tin.)—The king from his throne
in the tirumāṇa-sūlai of the palace at Rājēndra-
sōḷapuram declared tax-free certain devadāna lands
at Kallūr, four vēḷis (including two vēḷis called Śiva-
piḍaśēkhara-nallūr), and had them entered in the
register under the orders of his father (nammayyar)
the Cōla emperor (Vīrājēndra) whose eulogy com-
mences viramē-tumaiyūgam. Temple Kūḷasam-
udaiyār said to be on the Muḷikonaś-śōḷappēṟṟu,
Tambarapperi. Many revenue officials sign the
record. 642 of 1916. †

Year 24.—Sucindram (Tv.)—Lamp. 69 of 1896. ¶

" Sucindram (Tv.)—Sabha of Sundara-cōḷa-catm. (Sucind-
ram) sold land for lamp to temple: vilai-porulūm

Year 25—Sucindram (Tv.)—Land. 70 of 1896. §

* Viceroy must be Gangaikonda appointed by Vīrājēndra. TAS. ibid.
† Viceroy was Gangaikonda-śōlān of Vīrājēndra's records. (EL. xi. 293)
—IRE. 1917 II 3.
‡ Perhaps the first Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya ruler. K.V.S. Aiyar. EL. xi. p. 293.
§ See last note.
THE COLAS


Record from which the name and regnal year of viceroy have disappeared:

Śermāḍēvi (Tin.)—Fifty cows for two lamps by Ulagudaiyāḷ, queen of (Rājendra I) who took Gangai, Kiṭārām and Pūrvadēsam. * 623 of 1916.

* Perhaps Vikrama C.P.-dēva. ARE, 1917 II 3.
Year 20.—Idanur (Tin.)—(Valleuttun). Before this is a line in Valletuttun mentioning year 3 of Jatavarman Sundara Coila-Pandya-deva. 434 of 1909.

Year 21.—Sermadivi (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailayam-udaiya Mahadeva of Nigarili-soja-catm. by a Brahman lady of the Kupljina-gotra. 194 of 1895; SII. v. 758.

Sermadivi (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a Brahman lady. 628 of 1916.

Year 22.—Sermadivi (Tin.)—25 Sheep for a half-lamp to Kailasam-udaiyar by Kutilagi-Sengoji of the Saramanar-vellam. 620 of 1916.

Year 24.—Kanyakumari (Tv.)—Money. 100 of 1896.

Year 25.—Sermadivi (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailasam-udaiyar.

Sermadivi (Tin.)—25 cows for lamp by Dandaniyakam Parakrama-narayana Brahmadhirajan. 627 of 1916.

Sermadivi (Tin.)—The Aganalligai-sivabrahmanar of Salingara-singa-svara and Kailasa temples at Nigarili-soja-catm., received twelve kashu from a Brahman lady and agreed to serve in the Rajadhuruac-curryai of the temple and burn a lamp to Dakshinamurti in the same temple. 640 of 1916.

Tiruvallivasaram (Tin.)—13 cows for half a lamp. 328 of 1916.

* Indirect evidence of sway of the C.-P. s over Kerala. ARE, 1917 II 4.

† King, identified with Mummudi-Sujan, younger brother of Rajendra-deva (II) ARE, 1917 II 3.
THE COLAS

Year 29.—Kanyakumāri (Tv.)—The sabhā of Kajikkudi met in the mukha-mañḍapa of the Rājarajasvaram temple and resolved to devote 20 kāsu, collected by public subscription (payiksampukku) at their instance (nām dēśamguḍuttu) by Accan Marrili, a merchant of Kūmāri alias Gangaikōnda-chōlapuram, and intended to be the corpus for meeting expenses for tiruvamidu in the temple, for repairing breaches in the Kōnālar-kulam, the perumakkal of Rājarajasvaram undertaking to supply daily two nāli of rice for offerings.

TAS. i. pp. 249-50 (R). *

* T.A.G. Rao is surprised at the Pāṇḍya titles in this record and seems also to mistake its import.
CÔLÀ-PÂNDYA : MÄRAVARMAN UDÂIYÂR

SRÎ PARÂKRÂMA

Year 3.—Tiruvâlîsvaram (Tin.).—Twenty-five sheep for half a lamp to Tiruvâlîsvaram-udâiyâr by Râman Keni alias Naďuvirukkai Tanam-setti. 329 of 1916.

Year 4.—Sirmuttivi (Tin.).—Money, 12 kâsu, with Aganâlijaiyâr by Yôga-dëva and (his wife) Sôma-dëvi of Kâśmiradësa for a lamp in the temple of Kâlîsâm-udâiyâr at Nigarili-sôla-catm., a brahmadësa in Moûli-nâdû, a sub-division of Uttama-sôla-vâla-nâdû in ' Râjarâja-pâṇḍi-nâdû.' 613 of 1916.

CÔLÀ-PÂNDYA : JÂTÂVARMAN UDÂIYÂR VÎRA *

Year 21.—Periccih'yil (Rd.)—Land for offerings during one service every day and for a lamp to Kṣestrâpâla-dëva in the temple of Mûṭṭîsvaram-udâiyâr in Môn-Marudûr alias Jayangônda-sôlanallûr. Mentions Kulâsâni Ambalatûdû also called Râjâdirîja-pûngunra-nâdîylvân and his brother Kulâsâni Mûluva-mânîkkam alias Adhirâjâdirîja-pûngunra-nâdîylvân. 99 of 1924.

* Perhaps Mummuďi-sōlan on whom his elder brother Râjendra conferred the Côla-Pâñgya title (S.II. iii. p. 62), or Gangâkoďa-sōlan who received from his father Virârâjendra-dëva the Pâñgya country and the title. ARE. 1924 II 25.
ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 30.—n. 7.—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 Pāṇḍyās chronicled in Tamil poems? Another Tamil legend connects the Pallavas with the Cōlas, making the first of them the son of a Cōla king and a nāgi. Could the Pallavas for whom, however, a Parthian origin has sometimes been postulated, have taken the place of the Cōlas, as in the centuries after the fall of the Pallavas, the Cōlas again rise into importance in the same territory?" *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* p. 70. See, however, *Studies*, p. 11.

Page 64.—ll. 1-3.—The camp of Poraivan (*Poyaiyan pāsavai*) is mentioned by Poygaiyār in another poem as well, *Nagriṇai* 18.

Page 100.—n. *—But see pp. 263-64 *infra*.

Page 103.—n. *—A.K. Kumaraswami, *J.A.O.S.* li. p. 181. Also the occurrence of Kannarese words in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, second century A.D. (*JRAS.* 1904, pp. 399 ff.) may be noted. *M.A.R.* 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 Idangala is said to have been the ancestor of Āditya who covered the
ADDITIONAL NOTES

Gudambaram temple with gold from Kongu. Even if this is a reference to Aditya I who conquered Kongu and annexed Tondai-nad to the Cōla kingdom, Idangali might have been connected with the Cōlas only by giving his daughter in marriage to a Cōla prince. At any rate, we have no evidence that the Cōlas were descended from the Veins in the male line.

Page 137.—n. §—On Mārgambavai and the title Pallavatilaka see also El. 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. xiv.) may not belong to Nṛpatunga’s reign; their beginnings are lost.

Page 153 and n *.—It is doubtful if Cāḷukya Bhima’s territory could have extended up to Śītpuli-naḍu between Venkatagiri and Gudūr (Rapur Tq). It may have been an attempt of Parāntaka to subdue the Telugu Cōlas. XI. R. 47 (p. 1267) 1. 34 mentions Cēḻupuli-naḍu.

Page 186—II. 9-10.— The third year of Sundara Cōla, about 959 A.D., is based on the text of 116 of 1896 in SII. v. But the figure ‘3’ is doubtful in that inscription, and as the general is mentioned in an inscription of Sundara Cōla in the seventh year (291 of 1908), Śīrya-vēḷjār must have fought and died in Ceylon after that date.

K.V.S. Aiyar suggests the ninth year, c. A.D. 965 (El. xiv. p. 124), and this is quite possible.

Page 217.—n. §—Published El. xxi. pp. 29 ff. An incomplete inscription from Tiruccatturai (Tq.), 204 of 1931, mentions victories in Pampa-māḷa and Mahai-māḷa, the defeat of Vaḷūḍi (Tāṇḍyā), the destruction of Viḷijāma with its strong ramparts, the sowing of cowries in Kaṟkaḷai-māḷa-nagar, and the defeat of Telungu-Bhima, and Jannāthuṟam-omberumāṉ Śēmbiyār Kōn. Evidently it is in praise of a chief who took part in these events, but whose name is lost. The inscription seems to be of the time Rajaraja I; I have examined the impression and am unable to accept the twelfth century date suggested in IRE. 1931, II. 30.
THE COLAS

Page 220.—n. —“ The Sultan takes the official title of king of the thirteen provinces and of the 12,000 islands. According to Owen this is scarcely a third or a fourth of the actual number, although, apart from 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 Geography by Elisee Reclus, ed. A.H. Keane, Vol. viii. India and Indo-China, p. 384.

Page 221.—ll. 14-5.—Another inscription of the thirty-first year of Rājarāja comes from Brahmadēsam (NA.), 252 of 1915.

Page 224.—l. 8.—Attention is drawn to the flight of Buddhist monks from Magadha to the South mentioned by Tārānātha (Schiefner 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 Hultzsch locates Malaiyūr in the North Arcot District (EI. ix. p. 231). Hultzsch’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:

[ 622 ]
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[1-14 see end] 1. Kedah (Kaḍāram) the pre-eminently strong, particularly on land (by its elephants);

[2-4 on Sumatra] 2. Palembang (Śrī Vijayam), the rich emporium ; 3. Pane ; Panai (Panṣai) the river-town ; 4. Djambi (Malaiyur), the ancient;

[5-8 on the Malay Peninsula:] 5. Hasin, Ma Hasin (Māyiruḍingam), the sea-town; 6 Wurawāri-Gangāyu-Langkāśuka (I-Langāśōkam), 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 (Mēvilimbangam), 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? (Vaḷaiipandāru 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 Milinda-panha (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. (Talaittakkōlam, in which Tamil talai means chief, original, Coedes); 11. Tāmbrā-līṅga. (Līṅga of Copper) = either Chaiyya or Bandon or—and in my opinion the most likely—Ligor, (Lakon, Nagor, Nakor, all meaning Nagar; against which Ligor can just be a corruption of an older 'Līṅga'; 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-Chaiya, dated 4332 Kali =1230 A.D., given by Śrī Dharmarāja, prince of Tāmbralinga).

* Coedes (p. 5, n. 1) remarks that some of the ornate epithets which in Hultsch's translation of the inscription in 1891 all become related to Kaḍāram may probably relate to Śrī Vijayam.
THE COLAS

The first, Ptolemy's emporium Takōla thus from c. 150 A.D., is described in this Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D., as praised by great men versed in the sciences; which, via the Milindapañha of the 5th century A.D. and the Bactrian prince Menander alias Milinda (c. 155 B.C.) praised therein, was known not simply in India itself but in the land of the Yavanas=Greeks.

The second, I think, is no other than Ligor=Lo-Yue (c. 800 A.D.)=Linga, say: 'Śiva's town'; later become Buddhist, and 'the city' (Nagara) or capital of Buddha, Dharma-nagari (Nāgarakeśāyana 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, Lamoerī (I-Lāmmuridēsām), 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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