

# MEDIEVAL PANDYAS

(A. D. 1000 - 1200)



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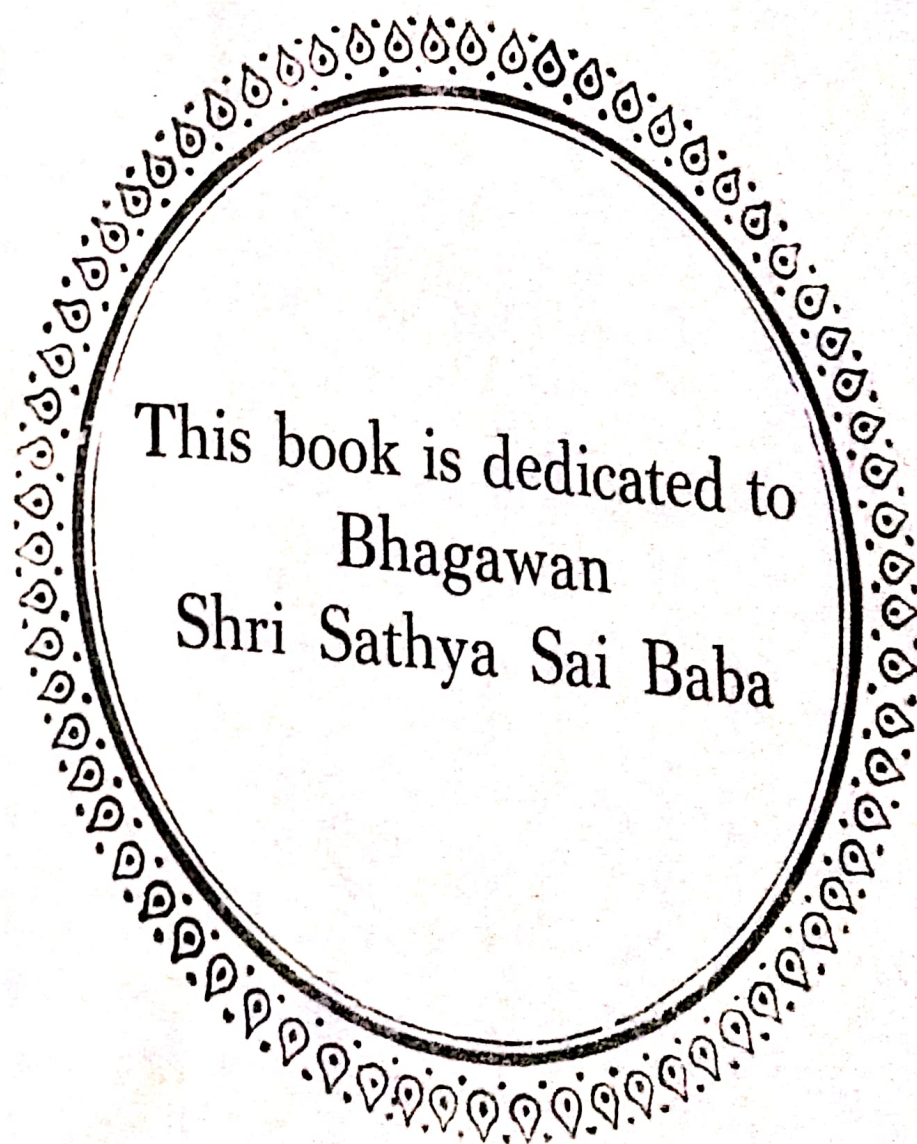


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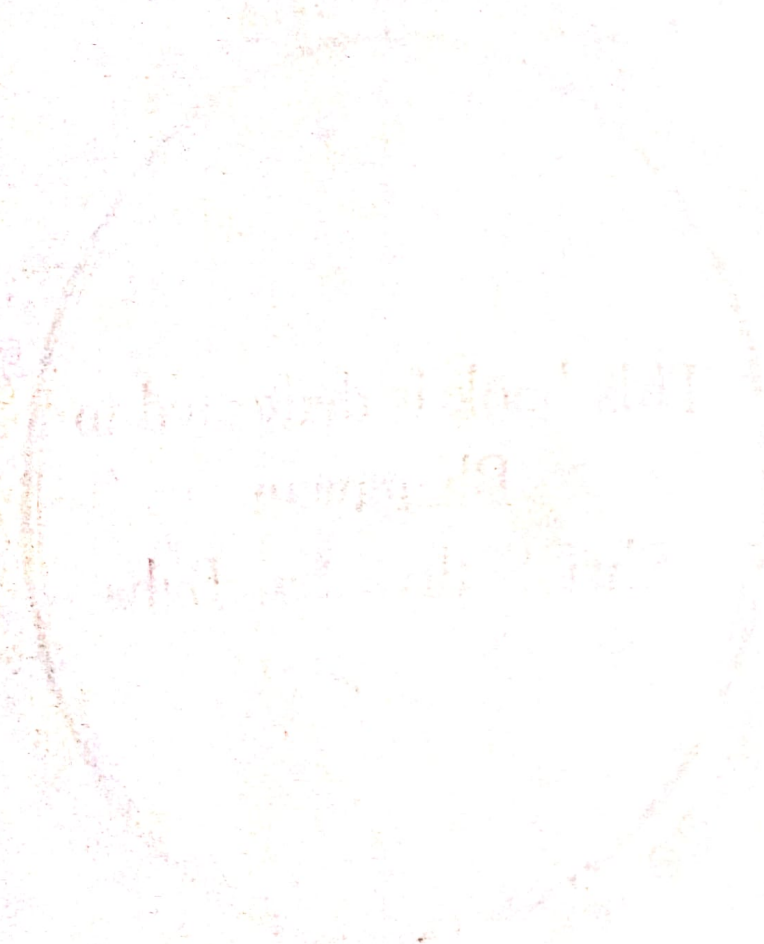
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Front cover and jacket - Fish emblem on the Meru mountain - the traditional claim of the Pandyas)



This book is dedicated to  
Bhagawan  
Shri Sathya Sai Baba





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## INTRODUCTION

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The extreme south of the Indian Peninsula was the Pandyan Kingdom. Madura was its capital. This book concerns with the Medieval Pandyas who ruled between A. D. 1000 and 1200. I have selected this period for several reasons. Here scores of source materials are available in the form of stone records and temples. Inscriptions belonging to the Pandyas of this period were discovered sixty or seventy years ago. But the history of these Pandyas and the kings who engraved those stone records are not known.

In this book I identify the Pandya kings who ruled between A. D. 1000 and 1200. Their records are also identified. Some of them had same name and title. This creates a serious problem in identifying them. Here Epigraphical research and the dates of the temples built by them help us in identifying the kings who had same name and title but who existed in different periods within a span of eighty five years.

In any research field "known areas help us to explore the unknown area". This method is employed in this weighty research work and I have explained the methodology in the first two chapters.

I have quoted many Pandyan inscriptions (of earlier as well as recent discoveries). Whenever I had doubts, I made personal visits to the temples and verified the reports with the actual inscriptions engraved on the walls. I visited important temples in the places like Madura, Solavandan, Tenkarai, Kuruvitturai, Tirunelveli, Tirupattur, Tirupattinam, Sermadevi, Kanyakumari and scores of other places in Pandi Mandalam.

I made several visits to the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore. I am thankful to Shri K. G. Krishnan, the Chief Epigraphist who was kind enough to permit me to consult many transcripts and impressions. He was also kind enough to supply me the required transcripts and photographs of impressions. I am also thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Dr. C. R. Srinivasan, the Superintending Epigraphists and other staff who helped me during my several visits to the department.

My thanks are also due to my wife Lalitha but for whose cooperation and help this work would not have been completed.



## ABBREVIATIONS

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- 1) Indian Ephemeris by Swamikkannu Pillai is followed for calculations.
- 2) Su di = Su = Sukla Paksha (Bright Fortnight).
- 3) Ba di = Ba = Bahula Paksha (Dark Fortnight).
- 4) S. I. I. = South Indian Inscriptions Volumes.
- 5) A. R. E. = Archaeological Report on Epigraphy.
- 6) T. A. S. = Travancore Archaeological Series.
- 7) E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
- 8) I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
- 9) Pd. = Pudukkottah state Inscriptions.

## CORRECTIONS

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# The Medieval Pandyas



The Pandyas of Madura existed from even before the beginning of the Christian era to the middle of the eighteenth century. The history of the Pandya kings is known but a clear picture in Chronological and Genealogical order is yet to be formed. What we know to-day is only a skeleton frame work. There are reasons for this.

The Pandyas who existed in B. C. are known from Tamil literature. Their inscriptions are not available. The history of these Pandyas is written on the basis of literature only. There is no Epigraphic evidence.

The early Pandyas who existed from 1st century to the 10th century are known to some extent from Tamil poems and also from their inscriptions and copper plates engraved after the 7th century. The inscriptions of the early Pandyas who existed in the 8th to 10th centuries are available. But they are less in number. The early Pandyas were the contemporaries of the later Pallavas and early Cholas who existed in the 9th and 10th centuries. Records of the Pandyas, Pallavas and the early Cholas are available. These source materials help us, to some extent, in identifying the early Pandyas. From the 11th century, the Pandyas enter a different era. This statement requires some explanation. The records of the early Pandyas who existed prior to the 11th century introduce the kings as Maran Chadaiyan or Chadaiyan Maran only. In the course of seven hundred and fifty years i. e. from the 11th to the middle of the 18th century scores of Pandya kings existed. They had only six names often repeated. The six names were Kulasekara, Srivallabha, Sundara, Vikrama, Vira and Parakrama. They had the titles either Maravarman or Jatavarman. In any particular period more than three or four or even five kings ruled overlapping the reigns of other Pandya kings. They had same names and same or different titles. They were related to each other. This phenomenon creates a serious problem in the investigation of the Pandyan records. For example Maravarman Sundara Pandya I of accession 1216, Jatavarman Kulasekara II, of accession 1237, Maravarman Sundara II of accession 1238 Jatavarman Vikrama I of accession 1241 were contemporaries. Yet a Maravarman Vikrama with "Tirumagal Jayamagal Prasasthi" of accession 1218 was a contemporary<sup>1</sup> of Jatavarman Kulasekara I of accession 1190 and Maravarman Sundara I.

Again Jatavarman Kulasekara II, Maravarman Sundara II, Jatavarman Vikrama I, Maravarman Vikrama II of accession 1250, Jatavarman Sundara I of accession 1251, Jatavarman Vira of accession 1253 and another Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254 were contemporaries.<sup>2</sup> Similarly



The identification of these kings is so difficult that one will get confused and he is liable to be caught in a mess. In order to solve this problem we must formulate some methodology. We shall discuss the methodology in the next chapter. But prior to that I would like to mention here two formulas which we should always remember while constructing the chronology of the Pandyas.

Formula No. 1 :- I will call this climbing the mountain from the foot hills. If we want to climb a mountain we cannot fly and reach the peak. We have to climb from the bottom of the foot hills overcome the obstacles, remove the obstructions like bushes and stones and then finally reach the peak. In the same manner if we want to identify the Pandyas, then we must not proceed from the 11th century. We must begin from the 18th century and slowly proceed towards the 11th century. We have to proceed from the bottom i. e., 18th century to the top i. e., 11th century. First we have to identify the Later Pandyas of the 15th and the 18th centuries. Again we have to identify the Imperial Pandyas who existed in the 13th and the 14th centuries. Once this is done, we can eliminate their records found in Pandi Mandalam. Then a way will be found to identify the Medieval Pandyas. This formula is better explained in the next chapter.

Formula 2 :- The Medieval Pandyas existed in the 11th and the 12th centuries. Their records are available in Pandi Mandalam comprising the present areas of Madura, Ramnad, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari Districts. But if we straight away try to investigate the Pandi Mandalam records then we will miserably fail. Because it is extremely difficult to identify the Medieval Pandyan records. If we press further and make the attempt without observing the caution, then we will find that the "Road is closed."

When the road is closed, due to some obstruction, then what shall we do? We must take the diversion. The diversion road proceeds to some distance on a different route and finally it joins the main road. This suggestion or which I call formula number No. 2 is to be applied in the investigation of the Medieval Pandyan records. The main road is Medieval Pandyan Chronology. The diversion route is Chola Chronology. Unless we have a firm grip on the Chola Chronology, we cannot identify the Medieval Pandyan records. I am sure the reader will appreciate this statement when he reads the several chapters of this book. Formula No. 2 is this. When the "Medieval Pandyan Chronology road is closed, then we have to proceed on the Chola Chronology diversion route which will ultimately lead us to the main road Medieval Pandyan Chronology".

*Foot Notes :-*

1. Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I of "Tirumagal Jayamagal" (திருமகள் ஜயமகள்) introduction ruled from 1218 to 1232. He is identified in the Appendix chapters of this book.
2. Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1253 was already known. Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254 is identified in the Appendix chapters of this book.



## Identification of the Medieval Pandyas

The Pandyas who existed in the periods 15th to 18th centuries can be easily identified. They are called Later Pandyas. Their records are available in Ramnad, Tirunelveli, Kanyakumari and part of Madura districts. They quote Saka and Cyclic years. They mention their natal stars. Sometimes their names are prefixed with the names of their predecessors. Paleaography confirms the dates of the records. There is no difficulty in identifying the records of Later Pandyas. The only difficulty is that the research worker or the Epigraphist should not get confused with the names of some of the Pandyas who in their records prefix the names of their predecessors.

Kulothunga Chola I (1070-1122) introduced the title Tribhuvana-chakravartin. Some of the Pandya kings adopted this title. Therefore if we find this title for any Pandya king we can conclude that the king existed after 1070.

From the year A. D. 960 to 1219 the Pandyas were subordinates under the Cholas. It was Maravarman Sundara Pandya I of accession 1216 who laid the foundation for the Second Pandyan empire. In the year 1219 he defeated the then Chola king Raja Raja III and the latter became a subordinate under the former. Sundara's successors extended their authority over Chola Mandalam, Thendai Mandalam and Kongu Mandalam comprising the present areas of Thanjavur, Trichirappally, South Arcot, North Arcot, Chittur, Nellore, Salem and Coimbatore Districts. *The Pandyan records found in these areas with the title Tribhuvana-chakravartin really belong to those kings who existed between 1219 and 1386.* The Pandyas of this period are called "The Imperial Pandyas". We can identify these kings with the help of the records found in the above mentioned areas. Once this is done we can transfer them to Pandi Mandalam and identify their corresponding records there.

In November 1978, I published my book "The Imperial Pandyas—Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology."<sup>1</sup> In that book I have identified the Pandyas who ruled from 1190 to 1400.

Thus having identified the Pandyas of the 13th to the 18th centuries, we can eliminate their records found in Pandi Mandalam. The rest of the records found in Pandi Mandalam belong to those Pandyas who existed between the 8th and the 12th centuries. Thus in order to find the Medieval Pandyas we have to proceed from the 18th century to 11th century.



The Medieval Pandyas existed in the 11th and the 12th centuries. Their records are available in Pandi Mandalam. But in the present state of our knowledge it becomes difficult to identify them. There are reasons for this.

1) The so far discovered Pandyan records are less in number compared to those of the Cholas. Most of the records are not published in full text. This is a serious handicap.

2) In those days lack of communication to the remote villages was a problem to the department of Archaeology. In the result most of the remote villages and the temples in Pandi Mandalam are yet to be visited. Hundreds of Pandyan inscriptions are yet to be discovered even though they are available in some corner villages of the Pandi Mandalam.<sup>2</sup>

3) The Pandyan records found in Pandi Mandalam are less in number. If we eliminate the records of the Pandyas who existed between the 13th and the 18th centuries then the rest belong to early Pandyas who existed in the 8th to 10th centuries and to Medieval Pandyas of the 11th and 12th centuries. The early Pandyan records are in Vattelettu character and they introduce the kings as Chadaiyan Maran or Maran Chadaiyan. If we eliminate early Pandyan records then the 11th and the 12th century Medieval Pandyan records become comparatively very less. They rarely supply the astronomical data.

4) When the Medieval Pandyan records are few and when they rarely supply the astronomical data then we find it extremely difficult to identify the kings and construct the Chronology. The problem is so difficult that a veteran scholar like Neelakanta Sastri wrote the history of the Medieval Pandyas in eight pages only.<sup>3</sup>

In order to identify the Medieval Pandyas, we should know the dates of "The Imperial Pandyas" of the 13th and the 14th centuries because the latter mention their ancestors. We should also have a firm grip on the Chola Chronology. The Cholas of the 11th and the 12th centuries mention the then contemporary Pandyan kings. The Chola chronology helps us in identifying most of the Medieval Pandyas.

In this book I adopt the above methodology. I have identified about ten Medieval Pandya kings. For this purpose I have to write more about the Cholas. Because unless we discuss the Cholas in detail, we cannot identify the Medieval Pandyas.



The above is a tentative methodology. Other methods are also to be observed according to the then circumstances. The other sources are the records of the Kongu Kings and the Ceylon Chronicle. Future discoveries may reveal direct evidence to construct the Chronology. Until such time the above methodology will hold good. The subsequent chapters are discussed in three parts as follows.

*Part I: Diversion route, the Chola Chronology:-* Here I furnish the Genealogy and the dates of the Chola kings. The Chola Pandyas, the reigns of Raja Raja II, Rajadhi Raja II and Kulothunga III are discussed. The discussions are restricted and limited to the extent required to the subject so that in the later stages they will help us in identifying some of the Medieval Pandyan kings.

*Part II:* Here the dates of "The Imperial Pandyas" are furnished. Some of the Imperial Pandyas refer to the transactions made in the reigns of their predecessors. The dates of the Imperial Pandyas will be useful to a great extent in identifying some of the Medieval Pandyas.

*Part III: The Medieval Pandyas:* On the basis of the discussions made in Part I and Part II, I proceed to identify the Medieval Pandyas and their records in Part III.

### Assigning Roman Numbers

Kielhorn (1907), Jacobi (1911), Swamikkannu Pillai (1913) and Robert Sewell (1915) Published the dates of eighteen Pandya kings who existed between 1162 and 1357. Following in their foot steps, in my book, "The Imperial Pandyas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology", I identified some more Pandya kings. The earlier scholars followed a system for assigning numbers to the kings of same name. The system is explained below.

From A. D. 960 to 1219 the Pandyas were subordinates under the Cholas. In the year 1219, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (of accession 1216) defeated the Cholas and brought the entire Chola Mandalam under the Pandyan banner. His successors expanded the empire upto the banks of river Thungabhadra and thus they attained the Imperial status. Those Pandya kings who lived and existed between 1219 and 1380 are called the Imperial Pandyas. They are given numbers like Jatavarman Kulasekara I, Jatavarman Kulasekara II, Maravarman Sundara I, Maravarman Sundara II and so on. After 1372 the Pandyan capital Madura was under the control of the Vijayanagar. The Pandyas who existed after 1380 are called "Later Pandyas" and their records are available in Ramnad, Tirunelveli and Kaanyakumari Districts. Pandyas who ruled between A. D. 1000 and 1200 were



subordinates under the Cholas. They are called Medieval Pandyas. They are given numbers because they did not attain imperial status. The Medieval Pandyas are referred to by their Prasasthis or by their accession dates.

### About Methodology

In this connection I would like to inform the reader that in the present state of our knowledge the above methodology is the only way which can help us in identifying the Medieval Pandyas. Unless we have a better understanding of the Chola Chronology and the dates of the Imperial Pandyas we cannot identify the Medieval Pandyas. In the light of this context the reader is requested not to make any conclusion that I am indulging in dissertations and diversions. In the present state of the availability of the source materials there is no other way except the above methodology.

This research work is not an historical literature. It is more than history in the sense that it is an Epigraphical research. I follow in the foot steps of the earlier scholars like Kielhorn, Hultzsch, Sewell and Swamikkannu Pillai. In a subject like Chronology, "investigation" is a process of discovering new findings where source materials alone are consulted. While doing so I have to refer to the records, their locations, the astronomical data and the events mentioned in the records. *This sort of investigation is something like conducting experiment in laboratory.*

The Epigraphical research is the process of discovering new findings. The result is the historical literature. I do the former and the latter is left to the historians. Once the Chronology is constructed then it is easy to write the historical literature. *The former cannot be contained within any convention for the simple reason that a methodology is to be formulated in the initial stage according to the need of the subject.* Once the construction is done, the dates of the records and the kings can be found. This will ultimately help the historians to write the history in a chronological order. If the result of the Epigraphical research is wrong then the history also will be wrongly written. If the Epigraphical research is correct then the history also will be correctly written.

*In other words the subject is to be handled maintaining the individuality of the subject. Free and uninhibited thinking alone can bring to light the hitherto unknown facts. Discovery is done on the basis of the available data for which methods are to be evolved according to the then circumstances and need. On this distinct understanding I have written the following pages, without making any damage to the historical truth.*



I am an Automobile Engineer and also a businessman. As an Engineer, I dismantle the records, collect and analyse the data and reassemble them to reconstruct the Chronology. As a businessman I am careful in balancing the data so that gain and profit alone are made, retaining assets and eliminating liabilities as far as possible. This is my approach to the Epigraphical research.

Any surmise is subject to revision depending upon later discoveries of inscriptions. Mine is neither an exemption nor an exception. My exertions may after all get revised depending upon new discoveries. But I am sure that the revisions will be in favour of the Pandyas and the historical truth. Under such circumstances if some of my surmises are confirmed by later discoveries of source materials then I will be only too glad to see the confirmation. If for any reason some of my surmises are revised and if such revisions are in favour of the historical truth, then also I shall be happy.

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*Foot Notes :—*

- 1. Please refer to the pages 1 to 20 of "The Imperial Pandyas—Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". In these pages I have dealt with in detail the methodology adopted in the investigation of the Pandyan records. For want of space and to avoid repetition I am not reproducing it here. For a better understanding of the subject I request the reader to please refer to the above book.
- 2. See the chapter Jatavarman Srivallabha of Pumadhu Punara (புமாத்ரு புனார) Prasasthi (of accession 1131). Only three of his records with the Prasasthi are known. They were discovered in the years 1917, 1960 and 1963. It took more than forty years to find the second and third records of the king.
- 3. Pages 105 to 113 The Pandyan Kingdom edition 1972 by K. A. Neelakanta Sastri.



## PART I

# THE CHOLA CHRONOLOGY



In the following pages the dates and the reigns of the Chola kings are discussed. The discussions are restricted and limited to the required extent so that at a later stage they will help us in identifying the contemporary Medieval Pandya kings.



Raja Raja Chola I  
985—1014

Eastern Chalukyas  
Daughter  
Kundavai + Vimaladitya of Vengi

Rajendra I  
1012-43

Daughter  
Madevadigal

Rajadhi Raja I  
1018—54

Maravarman  
Parakrama Chola  
Pandya 1052—63  
Rajamahendra  
1059—63

Madurantakan

Parantakan

Vira Rajendra  
1063—70

Daughter  
Arumoli Nangai

Jatavarman Chola  
Pandya 1063—70  
Adhi Rajendra  
1068—71

Daughter  
Ammanga

Raja Raja Narendra of Vengi  
1022—63

married

Jatavarman Sundara Chola  
Pandya 1021—22 to 1052  
Rajendra II 1052—64

Daughter Madurantaki

married

Kulothunga Chola I  
1070—1122

Parantaka Chola  
1111—19

Vikrama Chola  
1118—35



**Kulothunga Chola I**  
1070—1122

**Parantaka Chola**  
1111—19

**Vikrama Chola**  
1118—35

**Kulothunga II**  
1133—50

**Raja Raja II**  
1146—73

**Nallaman**  
(Opted saintly life)  
(Sankara Cholan Ula)

**Kulothunga III**  
1178—1218

**Raja Raja III**  
1216—60

**Rajendra III**  
1246—79

**Daughter Neriyaipperuma**

**Edirilipperumal**  
alias Rajadhi Raja II  
1166—81—Tamil Nadu  
1181—1215—Andhra



# The Chola Pandyas

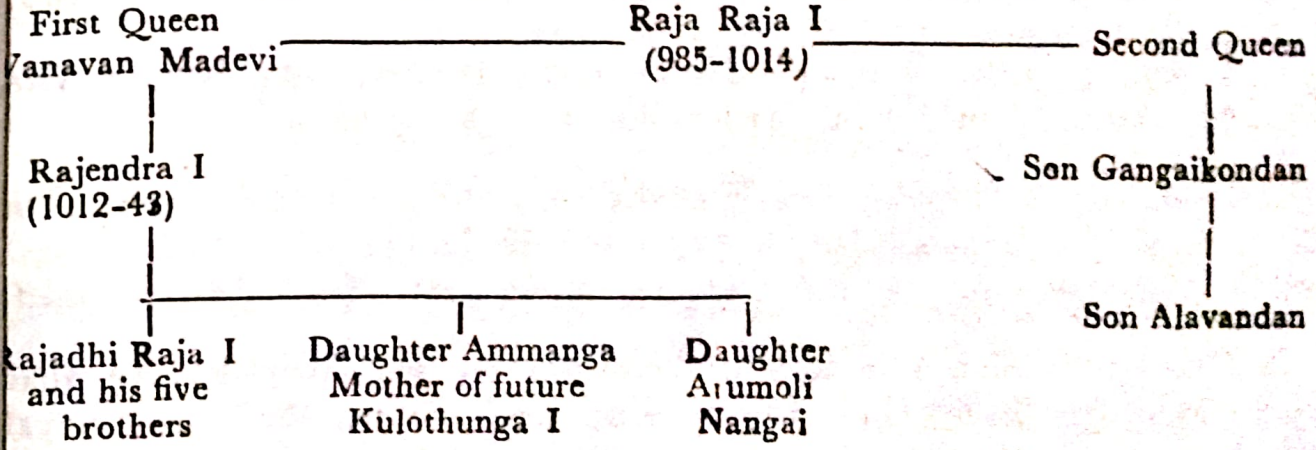
The history of the Chola Pandyas was a mystery. In November 1977 I published my book "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". On the basis of the Indian Calendar system I reconstructed the dates of the Chola Kings. The reconstructed dates helped me in identifying the Chola Pandyas<sup>1</sup>.

Raja Raja Chola I ruled from 985 to 1014. His son Rajendra Chola I ruled from 1012 to 1043. He had six sons namely Rajadhi Raja, Sundara Chola, Mummudi Chola, Vira Chola, Madurantakan and Parantakan. Rajendra Chola had two daughters namely Ammanga and Arumoli Nangai. In the year 1018 he crowned his first son Rajadhi Raja heir apparent.

In the year 1021-22, Rajendra built a Palace at Madura and appointed his second son as Chola Pandya. The second son mounted the Madura throne and he was called Udaiyar Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya<sup>2</sup>.

In the year 1043 Rajendra died. His first son Rajadhi Raja became the Chola Emperor. During his reign Rajadhi Raja confirmed the Chola Pandya Viceroyalty of his second brother Sundara Chola Pandya and the latter continued to rule from Madura.

In the year 1050 Rajadhi Raja appointed his father's step brother's son Alavandan to rule in the Kanyakumari area. This Alavandan was the grandson of Raja Raja I through a second wife. The relation-ship between Alavandan and Rajadhi Raja is as follows.



Rajadhi Raja appointed his other four brothers as Governors in different parts of the Chola empire including Ceylon. He also appointed his sons as Governors in some parts of the kingdom. In the reign of Rajadhi Raja there were continuous wars with Ceylon, Pandyas, Kerala and the Western Chalukyas. In these years Rajadhi Raja's sons died.



In the year 1052 Rajadhi Raja crowned Jatavarman Udaiyar Sundara Chola Pandya heir apparent and the latter adopted the Chola Royal name Rajendra II. Rajadhi Raja lost his life in the Koppam battle of 1054. Rajendra II became the Chola Emperor. We must remember here that from 1052 to 1054 the brother was a Chola Pandya and also a Chola Prince. But from 1021-22 to 1052 he issued his orders in his capacity as Chola Pandya and from 1052 he issued his orders in his capacity as a Chola Prince.

In the year 1054, when he became the Chola emperor, Rajendra II appointed his next brother Mummudi Chola as Chola Pandya. The latter mounted the Madura throne and he was called Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya. Rajendra appointed his other three brothers as Governors in different parts of the empire. Rajendra's sons and grandsons were also appointed as Governors. Rajendra II fought several battles against Ceylon, Pandyas and the Western Chalukyas. In these battles his last two brothers Madurantakan and Parantakan died. His sons and grandsons also died.

In the year 1058-59 Rajendra II anointed his next brother Mummudi Chola alias Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya heir apparent and the latter adopted the Chola Royal name Rajamahendra. From 1058-59 Mummudi Chola was a Chola Pandya and he was also the Chola Prince Rajamahendra. From 1058 he issued his orders in the capacity of a Chola Pandya and from 1059 he issued his orders in the capacity of a Chola Prince.

Early 1063 Rajendra II, Rajamahendra, and the other brother Vira Chola invaded the Western Chalukyan kingdom. A fierce battle took place near Gawarwad in the Belovola country of the Western Chalukyan kingdom. In the battle Rajamahendra was killed<sup>3</sup> by the Chalukyan king Ahavamalla Someswara.

In April/May 1063, Rajendra II crowned his only surviving brother Vira Chola and the latter adopted the Chola Royal name Vira Rajendra.

In the same year (1063) Vira Rajendra appointed his son Gangaikondan as Chola Pandya. Gangaikondan Mounted the Madura throne and he styled himself as Udaiyar Jatavarman Chola Pandya. In the year 1064 Rajendra II died.

In the year 1068 Vira Rajendra crowned his son Gangaikondan alias Udaiyar Jatavarman Chola Pandya heir apparent who adopted the Chola Royal name Adhi Rajendra. From 1068, Adhi Rajendra was a Chola king and was also a Chola Pandya. From 1063 he issued his orders in the capacity of a Chola Pandya and from 1068 he issued his orders in the capacity of a Chola Prince.

In June 1070 Vira Rajendra was sick. His son Adhi Rajendra was also suffering from a chronic disease. Adhi Rajendra had no sons. Therefore



13th June 1070 Vira Rajendra crowned his sister's son Rajendra Chola heir apparent.

In August 1070 Vira Rajendra died. Adhi Rajendra became the Chola Emperor. Vira Rajendra's sister's son Rajendra Chola was the coregent of Adhi Rajendra.

Since Adhi Rajendra vacated the Madura throne, he allowed Alavandan to exercise his authority as a Chola Pandya. We have already seen that Alavandan was ruling at Kanyakumari from 1050. Therefore from 1070 he styled himself as Maravarman Vikrama Chola Pandya. He ruled the Kanyakumari area only. But from 1070 Madura throne was not occupied by any Chola Prince.

In the year 1071 Adhi Rajendra died leaving no issues. His coregent Rajendra Chola became the Chola Emperor and adopted a new name Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulothunga Chola Deva (I).<sup>4</sup>

The above is the brief history of the Chola Pandyas. From 1021-22 to 1070 Madura City was occupied by the Chola Princes, who styled themselves as Chola Pandyas. The city Madura was virtually the "Branch Office" of the Cholas. Maravarman Vikrama Chola Pandya continued his rule at Kanyakumari. He died in 1080. The records of the Chola Pandyas are available<sup>5</sup>. The dates of the Chola Pandyas are summarised as follows.

- 1) Jatavarman Udaiyar Sundara Chola Pandya ruled from 1021-22 to 1054. In 1052 he became Rajendra II.
- 2) Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya ruled from 1052 to 1063. In 1058-59 he became Rajamahendra. He was killed in Belovola battle (1063).
- 3) Jatavarman Udaiyar Chola Pandya ruled from 1063 to 1070. In 1068 he became Adhi Rajendra.
- 4) Maravarman Vikrama Chola Pandya ruled from 1050 to 80. He ruled from Kanyakumari. He did not occupy the Madura throne.

Thus we find that for fifty years i. e., from 1021 to 1070 no Pandya king ever ruled from Madura. The contemporary Pandyan kings existed in some remote parts but they were severely beaten or suppressed<sup>6</sup>. This we shall see in the chapter Udaiyar Jatavarman Srivallabha of "Tirumagal Jayamagal Prasasthi".

#### Kurumbur inscriptions of 1940-41 :

Kurumbur is a small village in the Tiruchchendur Taluk of the Tirunelveli District. The Adbinarayana Vishnu Temple of this village contains inscriptions of Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya, Kulothunga I and the Pandyas of the 12th century.



Inscriptions Nos. 276 and 277 belong to Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya. They are in years 24 and 29 corresponding to 1045 and 1050 respectively. No. 277 is in verse and definitely states that Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya the son of Senni Rajendra Chola. From these records we come to know that the temple was built in the 24th year (1045) of Sundara Chola Pandya. The records mention the consecration of the image of Vishnu and His two Consorts attended by Markendeya.<sup>7</sup>

In the inscriptions of Jatavarman Srivallabha<sup>8</sup> dated 1106 and 1122 the temple is called Sundara Chola Pandya Vinnagar Emberuman; and the village is called Sundara Sola Pandya Chathusvedhi Mangalam. Jatavarman Kulasekara's record<sup>9</sup> dated 1193 mentions Sundara Chola Pandya Emberuman in Kurumbur ali Rajendranallur evidently so named after Sundara Chola Pandya who in the year 1052 was anointed as Rajendra II. Pandyas were subordinates under the Cholas till 1218. Therefore in the year 1193 Kulasekara maintains the Chola name of the God. In contrast to Kulasekara's record, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I's record dated 1218 mentions the name of the village as Rajendranallur. But it mentions the name of God as Sundara Pandaya Vinnagar Emberuman evidently named after Sundara Pandya himself indicating his ulterior motives against the Cholas. This is also evident from his campaign conducted in 1219 when Sundara Pandya invaded the Chola country and defeated the then Chola king Raja Raja III.

### Tentirupperai record of Kulothunga I

Tentirupperai is a small village in the Tiruchchendur Taluk of the Tirunelveli District. The Vishnu temple of this village contains Chola and Pandyan inscriptions. A record<sup>11</sup> of this temple belongs to Kulothunga I year 39 corresponding to 1109. The record mentions an earlier grant made by Udaiyar Rajamahendra Deva<sup>12</sup>

Rajamahendra's records are available in Chola Mandalam and Thondai Mandalam only. His records are not found in Tirunelveli District. The report states<sup>13</sup> that the inscription indicates the rule of Rajamahendra in the present Tirunelveli District. Actually the indication is this. Mummud Chola alias Parakrama Chola Pandya ruled at Madura. From the year 1052 he was Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya. Later in the year 1058-59 he became Rajamahendra. He died in 1063. Therefore from 1058-59 to 1063 he was Chola Pandya as well as Rajamahendra. As a Chola Pandya his records are available<sup>13</sup> upto year 4 corresponding to 1058. He exerted his authority in the Tirunelveli area. Therefore Kulothunga rightly mentions the earlier grant made by Rajamahendra who was called Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya. Kulothunga's record is an evidence to prove that Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya and Rajamahendra were same. This is further confirmed from an old Kanarese inscription found at Gawarwad. The



record describes the battle between the western Chalukyas and the Cholas in the Belovola country. The encounter took place early 1063. In this battle the western Chalukyan king Ahavamalla Someswara I killed Rajamahendra. While describing his event the Kanarese record states that *the Chola king styled himself as Pandya Chola gave his live head<sup>14</sup> in battle to Someswara.*

### **Tirumadandaiyum Jaya madandaiyum**

The last Chola Pandya who ruled at Madura was Udaiyar Chola Pandya Deva. He was Gangaikondan son of Vira Rajendra. From 1063 to 1068 he was a Chola Pandya. Later he became Chola Prince under the Chola Royal name Adhi Rajendra.

Adhi Rajendra came to the throne in June 1068. He died sometime after May 1071.

Tirukkoilur - Kilur record No. S. I. I. VII 884 belongs to Adhi Rajendra year 3 corresponding to 1070-71. The record contains his Prasasthi "*Tirumadandaiyum Jayamadandaiyum*".

Jatavarman Srivallabha was a contemporary of Kulothunga I. He came to the throne in 1101. We shall see him in a separate chapter. Surprisingly Srivallabha's records contain the Prasasthi "*Tirumadandaiyam Jayamadandaiyum*". The first two lines agree-with Adhi Rajendra's Prasasthi.

### **Importance of this Chapter**

In his earlier records, Kulothunga I (1070-1122) says that he defeated five Pandyas. At Madura no Chola Prince ever ruled after 1070. But the regular Pandyan Princes occupied the Madura throne and their descendants continued to rule from Madura. This chapter will help us in identifying the Pandyas who ruled at Madura after 1070. We shall do this later.

#### **Foot notes:**

1. For a comprehensive study of the Chola Pandyas please refer to pages 46 to 68 of "The Cholas—Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". by N. Sethuraman.
2. Tiruvandar Koil record No. 363/1917 Rajendra I year 10; Mannarkoil record No. 112/1905 Rajendra I year 24; K. V. Subramanya Iyer page 292 of E. I. Vol. XI.
3. Pages 57 to 61 "The Cholas—Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".
4. Please refer to pages 74 to 97 Ibid for the detailed discussions on the dates of Vira Rajendra, Adhi Rajendra and Kulothunga I.



5. Page 608 onwards, "The Colas" Part I by K. A. N. edition 1935; Also S. I. I. XIV.
6. This we shall see in the chapter Jatavarman Udaiyar Srivallabha of "Tirumagal Jayamagal" Prasasthi.
7. Page 244 A. R. E. 1939—40 to 1942—43.
8. 279 and 282 of A. R. E. 1940—41 of Srivallabha years 6 and 22. The form contains the Prasasthi "Tirumadandaiyum". For the dates please refer to the chapter Jatavarman Srivallabha of Tirumadandaiyum Prasasthi, accession 1101. Also see page 245 para 46, A. R. E. 1939—40 to 1942—43.
9. 275/1940—41; Jatavarman Kulasekara I year 3 Prasasthi "Puvin Kilathi".
10. 274/1940—41; Maravarman Sundara I year 2. Prasasthi "Pumaruviya".
11. 291/1940—41.
12. Page 240 para 36 A. R. E. 1949—40 to 1942—43.
13. S. I. I. Vol. XIV page 112.
14. Pages 58 to 61 "The Cholas Mathematics—Reconstructs the Chronology". Also refer to Lionel Barnett E. I. XV. page 337.



## Raja Raja II

The Chola emperor Parakesarivarman Raja Raja II was the son of Kulothunga II. Raja Raja ascended the throne<sup>1</sup> between the 20th June and the 8th July 1146. His rule extended<sup>2</sup> upto 1173.

In the year 1166, Raja Raja crowned his sister's son Rajadhi Raja II heir apparent. Rajadhi Raja ascended the throne<sup>3</sup> in June/July 1166 (which we shall see in the next chapter). The circumstances under which Raja Raja crowned Rajadhi Raja are narrated in the latter's Pallavarayan Pettai record<sup>4</sup>. The record states that Raja Raja's two sons were young boys. Therefore Raja Raja anointed his sister's son Rajadhi Raja.

Raja Raja died in 1173 when Rajadhi Raja became the emperor of the Chola empire. In the year 1178 Rajadhi Raja crowned Kulothunga III the second son<sup>5</sup> of late Raja Raja. Rajadhi Raja's rule came to an end in 1181 when he went to Andhra, lived there for a long time and died<sup>6</sup> in 1215.

The Pandyan Civil War which we shall discuss in the subsequent chapters commenced in the year 1166. At that time Raja Raja II was alive. The first stage of the Chola interference in the Pandyan civil war is narrated in Rajadhi Raja's Arpakkam record<sup>7</sup> year 5 corresponding to 1170—71. At this time also Raja Raja was alive.

The second stage of the war is mentioned in Rajadhi Raja's Pallavarayan Pettai record<sup>8</sup> year 8 corresponding to 1173—74. Further details of the war are narrated in Rajadhi Raja's Tiruvalangadu record<sup>9</sup> year 12 day 157 corresponding to the end of 1177.

The first three stages of the Pandyan civil war are narrated in Rajadhi Raja's records dated 1170—1171, 1173—74 and 1177. Raja Raja was alive upto 1173. Now we should find the crucial issue of the stage upto which Raja Raja was alive. This will have some bearing on the identification of Vira Pandya of the Pandyan civil war (We shall do this later).

When did Raja Raja die? Scholars surmised differently. Some scholars surmised that Raja Raja died<sup>10</sup> in 1163. Others surmised that Raja Raja died<sup>11</sup> in 1164. Sastri concluded that Raja Raja continued to live upto 1173. I have discussed his problem in my books "Aruludaich Chola Mandalam" and "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". I have proved that Raja Raja was alive in 1172. Now we shall find the exact last date of Raja Raja. The records which are in the closing years of Raja Raja are tabulated below.



## Records of Raja Raja II

(Closing years)

TABLE I

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	A. D. year
411/1909	Siddalingamadam	19	1165
86/1927—28	Tiruppugalur	19	1st February 1165
151/1926	Tiruvilakkudi	19	
S. I. I. IV. 1050	Draksharama	20	1166
132/1917	Penumuli	20	1166
S. I. I. IV. 1051	Draksharama	20	1166
17/1908	Darasuram	21	1167
708/1920	Kolluru	21	1167
Nellore 0.59	Kondamanchaluru	21	1167
CP. 23/1916—17	Nanduru Copper plates	21	1169
E. I. XXIX page 225		Saka 1091	
695/1920	Pedakonduru	24	1170
704/1920	Kolluru	26	1172
123/1912	Tiruvorriyur	27	1172—73
with Prasasthi			
181/1899	Konidena (Andhra)	28	1173
S. I. I. VI. 626		Saka 1095	

## Confusions, problems and solutions

In the 12th and the 13th centuries there were two Chola kings of the same name Raja Raja. The former was Parakesarivarman Raja Raja II who came to the throne between the 20th June and the 8th July 1146. The latter was Rajakesarivarman Raja Raja III who came to the throne<sup>12</sup> between the 18th June and the 11th July 1216. The records of these two kings are available. Certain records introduce the king simply as "Tribhuvanachakravartin Raja Raja Deva" only. This type of introduction creates confusions and problems. In the result we are unable to identify the king to whom the records belong. The methodology adopted to identify the two kings is as follows:—

1. The Prasasthi of Raja Raja II begins with "Pumaruviya Thirumadhum" (புமருவிய திருமாதும்) or "Pumaruviya Polilelum" (புமருவிய பொழிலேழும்). If we find these Prasasthis then we can assign the records to Raja Raja II.
2. The Prasasthi of Raja Raja III begins with "Seer Manni Thisa Nangum" (சீர்மன்வி திசை நான்கும்).



3. In certain inscriptions, by mistake, the engraver could have wrongly inscribed Parakesarivarman instead of Rajakesarivarman or vice versa. In such cases the Prasasthi is the guide line which we will help us to identify the king and rectify the error in the title<sup>13</sup>.

4. If the regnal year is more than 28 then we can safely conclude that the record belongs to Raja Raja III. Because Raja Raja II died in his 28th year which we shall see below.

5. The records which quote the regnal years 18th to 28th offer problems. Here we have to rely on the paleography of the inscription (especially on the comparison of the inscriptions of the same temple), internal evidence and the astronomical data. On the basis of the above methodology we shall identify some more records of Raja Raja II.

Pon Amaravathi record No. PD. 137 (9/1909) of Raja Raja year 19 :— Sastri assigned this record<sup>14</sup> to Raja Raja III. The information supplied by the following tables prove that this record belongs to Raja Raja II only<sup>15</sup>.

#### PON AMARAVATHI RECORDS

Record No.	King	Regnal year	Details
Pd. 131	Raja Raja	4	Gift by Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadha Rajan of Pon Amaravathi
Pd. 132 } 4/1909 }	Raja Raja	9	The above Chief consecrated Shiva Linga and built the Sri Vimana
Pd. 137 } 9/1909 }	Raja Raja	19	The Chief who consecrated Shiva Linga and Built the Sri Vimana is also called Viman Rajendra Solan Nishadha Rajan evidently the same chief of the above two records.

#### KALLAMPATTI RECORDS

Pd. 133	Raja Raja	8	Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadha Rajan of Pon Amaravathi gifted lands to the temple.
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Record No.	King	Regnal year	Details
Pd. 134	Raja Raja	11	The above Chief consecrated the image of Goddess Ayyapolil Nachiyar (அய்ய பொழில் நாச்சியார்)
Pd. 148	Kulothunga	13	Tirukkodunkunram Udaiyacc Nishadha Rajan alias Nilambol Alagiya Devan gifted land for the service of the above Goddess Ayyapolil Nachiyar

Image of the Goddess Ayyapolil Nachiyar consecrated in the 11th year of Raja Raja is referred to in the 13th year of Kulothunga. This proves that the former is Raja Raja II<sup>16</sup> and the latter is Kulothunga III. Since Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadha Rajan of Pon Amaravathi figures in the records of Raja Raja these records are to be assigned to Raja Raja II only. In Pd. 137 the Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadha Rajan is also called Viman Rajendra Solan Nishadha Rajan. Thus Pd. 137 year 19 belongs to Raja Raja II and is dated 1165.

Tiruvennai Nallur Record No. 434/1921:— The record belongs to Tribhuvanachakravartin Raja Raja Deva. The data are year 19, Tula, Su 8. Sunday and Avittam. The data perfectly agree with 25th October 1164. The record belongs to Raja Raja II<sup>17</sup>.

Madurantakam Taluk Arassar Koil Record No. 304/1921:— The record belongs to Tribhuvanachakravartin Raja Raja Deva.<sup>18</sup> The data are year 21, Simha Su, Monday and Hasta. The data agree with 1st August 1166. The record belongs to Raja Raja II.<sup>19</sup>

Tanjore District Tiruppampuram record No. 90/1911:— It belongs to Tribhuvanachakravartin Raja Raja year 22. It records the consecration of the image of Goddess Mamalaiyattiyar (மாமலையாட்டியார்). It mentions the village Tiruppampuram situated in Uyyakkondan Valanadu. Kulothunga III's records are also available in this temple. His 23rd and 27th year records<sup>20</sup> mention the same name for the village. But his 28th year record<sup>21</sup> mentions the village as Pampuram alias Kulothunga Chola Chathurvedhi Mangalam situated in Pampurnadu a sub-division of Uyyakkondan Valanadu. It is evident that the village Tiruppampuram is now renamed after Kulothunga III. Since the new name Kulothunga Chola Chathurvedhi Mangalam is not mentioned in Raja Raja's record and also in the earlier records of Kulothunga III it is evident that the former is to be identified with Raja Raja II only. Raja Raja's record is in year 22 corresponding to 1168.



Tanjore District Koilur Record No. 195/1908 :- This record is published by the Tamil Nadu Government Archaeological Department under No. 1976/189 of the Tirutturaippundi inscriptions. The record introduces the king as Tribhuvana chakravartin Raja Raja Deva only. It refers to the consecration of the image of Goddess. The data are year Twenty (in words), Makara, Su 7, Monday and Aswathi.<sup>22</sup> The data perfectly agree with 10th January 1166. This record belongs to Raja Raja II only.<sup>23</sup> It states, that, Pillai Purasaikkudaiyar consecrated the image of Goddess for the health<sup>24</sup> of the king and also for the success of Pillai Irungolar<sup>25</sup>. Record No. 196/1908 of the same temple belongs to Raja Raja year 21 month Kumba. This record also mentions the same transactions of the previous record and states that lands were assigned for the service of the Goddess whose image was consecrated by Pillai Purasaikkudaiyar for the health of the king. It is evident that this record also belongs to Raja Raja II and it is dated February 1167.

Thus we come to know that Raja Raja was sick on 10th January 1166. He crowned Rajadhi Raja in June/July 1166 (which we shall see in the next chapter). The Pallavarayan Pettai record<sup>26</sup> states that Raja Raja's two sons were young boys and so he crowned Rajadhi Raja heir apparent.

In the first week of January 1166, Raja Raja was sick. He wanted to appoint heir apparent. But his two sons were young boys. Therefore he crowned his sister's son Rajadhi Raja heir apparent. The above records are direct evidences to prove that Raja Raja was sick in 1166 and therefore he crowned Rajadhi Raja heir apparent.

Tiruvadatturai record No. 213/1928-29 :- This record belongs to Tribhuvanachakravartin Raja Raja Deva.<sup>27</sup> The data are year 22, Dhanus, Ba 7, Monday and Puram. The data perfectly agree<sup>28</sup> with 4th December 1167.

Tiruvilambudur record No. 121/1940-41 :- This record belongs to Tribhuvanachakravartin Raja Raja Deva. The data are year 24, Karkataka 4 and Sunday. The report equates the data to 30th June 1241 and assigns this record to Raja Raja III. But the date falls in the 26th year of Raja Raja III. Further the suggested date makes June 1217 the 0th year of the king whereas he came to the throne in June 1216. The record does not belong to Raja Raja III.

The data perfectly agree with 29th June 1169. On this date<sup>29</sup> star Magha was current. Therefore Magha in Karkataka of 1146 falls in the first year. The star was current on 13th July 1146. This agrees with Raja Raja II's accession between the 20th June and 8th July 1146. The record belongs to Raja Raja II.

Vedaranyam record<sup>30</sup> No. 495/1904 :- The record belongs to Tribhuvanachakravartin Raja Raja Deva. The data are year 27, Makara, (Apara) Paksha Panchadasi, Monday and Pusam.<sup>31</sup> Apara Paksha Panchadasi is a mistake for



Purva Paksha Panchadasi<sup>32</sup> which means Full Moon. Since star Pusam (Pushya) is quoted for the month Makara, naturally it follows that Full Moon namely Purva Paksha Panchadasi should be quoted. Accordingly Aparā is a mistake for Purva. With this justifiable correction, we get the date 1st January 1173. The record belongs to Raja Raja II.

Uyyakkondan Tirumalai record No. 389/1939-40:- This record belongs to Tribhuvanachakravartin Raja Raja Deva. The record mentions the consecration of the image of Goddess in the temple. The data of the record are year 27. Rishaba 11, Wednesday and Revathi. The data perfectly agree<sup>34</sup> with 9th May 1173.

Raja Raja's Konidena (Andhra) record No. 181/1899 (S. I. I. VI. 626) quotes year 28 and Saka 1095. His 28th year begins in July 1173. There he was alive in July 1173.

### Records of Raja Raja II (Last years)

Record No.	Regnal year	Date
434/1921	19	25th October 1164
Pd. 137	19	1165
221/1928-29	19	1165 (Sekilar's brother is mentioned. See Foot note No. 27)
195/1908	20	10th January 1166 (The king was sick)
304/1921	21	1st August 1166
196/1908	21	1167 (The king was sick)
213/1928-29	22	4th December 1167
90/1911	22	1168
121/1940-41	24	29th June 1169
495/1904	27	1st January 1173
389/1939-40	27	9th May 1173
S. I. I. VI. 626	28	(July or after July) 1173

Raja Raja II was alive in July 1173. Pallavarayan Pettai record No. 43/1924 belongs to Rajadhi Raja II year 8 which ends in June/July 1174. The record states that Raja Raja died. Sometime later his Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan also died. After the demise of Pallavarayan the subject record was engraved. Now we must know how long Pallavarayan was alive.

Rajadhi Raja's Tiruvalanjuli record No. S. I. I. VIII. 227 :- Line 10 of this record refers to the presence of Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan<sup>35</sup>. The data of the record are year 8, Simha, ba 12, Monday and Punarvasu which correspond to 6th August 1173. On this date Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan was alive. Probably he



ed after this date but prior to June/July 1174. Because his death is mentioned in Rajadhi Raja's Pallavarayan Pettai record year 8.

Thus we get a complete picture of the reign of Raja Raja II. He came to the throne in June 1146. In the first week of January 1166 he was sick. His sons were young boys. Therefore he anointed his sister's son Rajadhi Raja II heir apparent. Rajadhi Raja came to the throne in June/July 1166.

Raja Raja was alive in July 1173. Probably he died after July 1173 say the third quarter of 1173. His Minister Peruman Nambi was alive on 6th August 1173. Probably he died early 1174.

In the subsequent chapters we shall discuss the Pandyan civil war. The tails of the war are narrated in the records of Rajadhi Raja even though the senior king Raja Raja II was alive during the civil war.

In the year 1166 Jatavarman Kulasekara Pandya (of Putala Madandhai assthi Accession 1162) killed Maravarman Parakrama Pandya and mounted the Madura throne. In the year 1169 Parakrama Bahu of Ceylon sent his army and captured Rameswaram. Early 1170 the Ceylon Generals entered the Pandian main land, drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya, son of late Parakrama Pandya, on the Madura throne. The Ceylon army threatened the Chola kingdom. The Chola Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan arrested the further advance of the Ceylon army. This happened in 1170 when Raja Raja II was alive. Kulasekara fought in vain and finally sought assylum in the Chola country. The Chola Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan advanced towards Madura, killed the Ceylon Generals, drove out Vira Pandya and installed Kulasekara on the Madura throne. This happened in 1172. At this time also Raja Raja II was alive. But he did not mention these events in his records. The events are narrated in his heir apparent Rajadhi Raja's records only. Probably being a pious king Raja Raja attributed the credit to his junior. But in his poem akkayagapparani<sup>36</sup> (தக்கயாகப்பரணி ) Poet Ottakkuthar mentions these events. In the benedictory verse the poet states (verse 830).

தென்னவர் தென் மதுராபுரி சீறிய  
மன்னவர் மன்னன் வரோதயன் வாழியவே

He says, "Long Live Mannvar Mannan (i.e. Raja Raja) Varodhaya who conquered on the southerner (Pandya) and south Madura". Being a poet he attributes the credit to Raja Raja the then senior King.<sup>37</sup>

A verse in the Tamil Navalar Charitai<sup>38</sup>, refers to the victory of Chola King Raja Raja II. It states that the gates of the cities of Kapatapuram, (Madura) Kapapura (Ceylon) and Kalyanapuram (the capital of western Chalukyan kingdom) were always open to Raja Raja II. The verse runs as follows :—



கரத்துஞ் சிரத்துங் களிக்கும்  
 களிநுடைக் கண்டன் வந்தான்  
 இரத்துங் கபாட மினிதிறப்  
 பாய்பண் டிவன னங்கே  
 உரத்துஞ் சிரத்துங் கபாடநீ  
 திறந்திட்ட துண்டி லங்கா  
 புரத்துங் கபாட புரத்துங்  
 கல்யாண புரத்திலுமே

The gates of Madura and Ceylon were always open to Raja Raja II. This refers to the success of the Cholas in the Pandyan Civil War in the years 1170 and 1172. The gates of Kalyanapuram, the capital of western Chalukyan kingdom were also open to Raja Raja. This refers to the success of Raja Raja when he interfered in the affairs of western Chalukyan kingdom.<sup>39</sup> (On behalf of Raja Raja his Andhra feudatory Rajendra Choda Gonka Raja invaded the western Chalukyan kingdom and gained success for his overlord Raja Raja II).

The importance of this chapter will be better understood and appreciated when the reader goes through the subsequent chapters where the details of the Pandyan civil war are discussed. The fact remains that Raja Raja was alive in 1172 when the Cholas removed Vira Pandya and installed Kulasekara on the Madurai throne. These events are correctly narrated by the poet Ottakkuthar in his poem Thakkayagapparani. The poem Tamil Navalar Charitai also narrates these events. The Tamil poems correctly chronicle the events.

Later we shall identify Vira Pandya of the Pandyan civil war. There we shall find that when he became a chola subordinate, he borrowed few phrases from Raja Raja's Prasasthi "Pumaruviya Thirumadhum" (புமருவிய திருமாதும்) and modified the Prasasthi to suit his position<sup>40</sup>

### Pallippadai Rajagambira Iswaramudaiyar Temple

Darasuram is a small village four kilometers west of modern Kumbakonam. The ancient name of the village was Raja Rajapuram so named after Raja Raja I. The Airavateswara temple of this village was built by Raja Raja II. In the inscriptions the temple is called Raja Raja Iswaramudaiyar.<sup>41</sup> In his poem Thakkayagapparani, poet Ottakkuthar mentions Raja Rajapuram and Raja Raja Iswaramudaiyar temple.<sup>42</sup> To-day the temple is a protected monument and it is maintained by the southern circle of the Archaeological Survey of India.

In April 1979, Dr. C. R. Srinivasan, the Superintending Epigraphist of the Chief Epigraphist Office Mysore and Mr. Chandu Nair the copyist visited the temple. I was also present on that occasion. We suspected that certain inscriptions could be found below the ground level at the bottom of the east wall of the

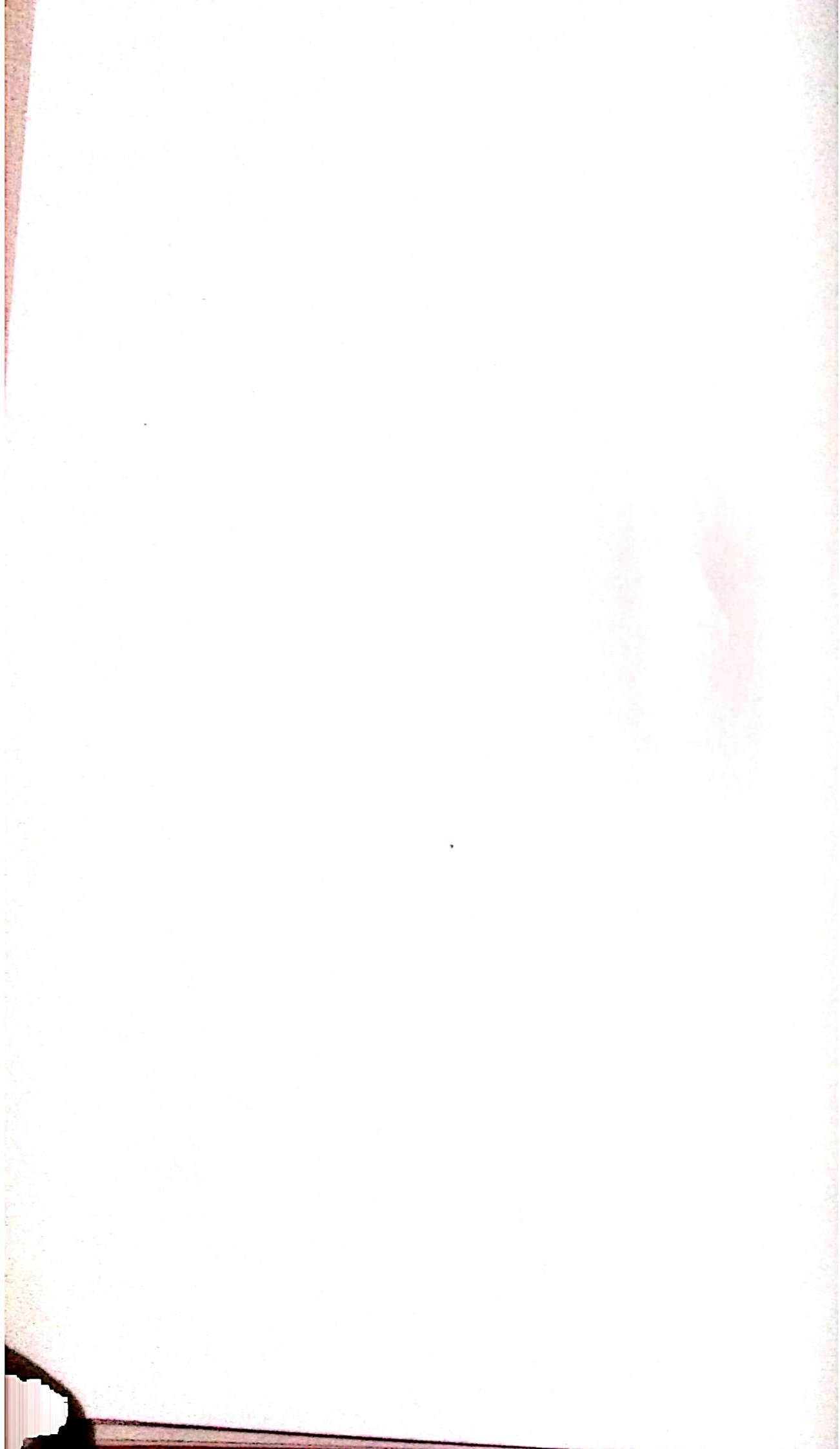




Darasuram inscription – New Discovery – The record refers to the sepulchral temples raised over the mortal remains of Raja Raja Chola II and his four queens. Please refer to page 25.

(Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore)







first Prakara. An excavation was made and our expectations were amply rewarded. Two inscriptions were found below the ground level left of entrance. The inscriptions were copied with great difficulty. They are in the character of late 12th century.

The first one belongs to Rajadhi Raja II<sup>45</sup> year 4 day 453 and it refers to the grants made to the accountant of the temple whose name is lost.

The second one belongs to Konerinmaikondan year 5, day 443. The royal secretary and the other signatories of the previous record figure in this record also. One more witness by name Rajendra Chola Kalappala Rayar figures. Rajendra Chola was another name of Kulothunga III<sup>46</sup>. It is evident that the record belongs to Kulothunga III. (The contents of the record also confirm that it belongs to Kulothunga). The record registers the grants made to one Arrurudaiya Kuthan who was to maintain the accounts of the village Raja Raja Chaturvedhi Mangalam and the Pallippadai temple accounts of the Pallippadai Rajagambira Iswaramudaiyar, Bhuvanamuludum Udaiyal Iswaramudaiyar, Thiru Bhuvanamuludum Udaiya Iswaramudaiyar, Elulakamuludai Iswaramudaiyar, Ulakudaimukkokilanadi Iswaramudaiyar and another temple whose name is lost. All the six were Shiva temples.

Rajagambira was the surname of Raja Raja II.<sup>45</sup> The other four temples bear the names of his four queens. It is said that the copy of this record is engraved in these Pallippadai temples. Details of the sixth temple are lost.

It is evident that after the death of Raja Raja a temple was built on his mortal remains. Similar sepulchral temples<sup>45</sup> were also built on the mortal remains of his four queens. Rajagambira Iswaramudaiyar Pallippadai temple came into existence in 1173-74. (i.e. after the death of Raja Raja II). Either it was built by Rajadhi Raja II or prior to his demise Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan the trusted Chief Minister could have built it.

Raja Raja Chaturvedhi Mangalam was another name of Urrukkadu<sup>47</sup> which is about sixteen kilometers south west of Kumbakonam. The said Pallippadai temples probably existed near Urrukkadu. To-day these temples are not identified. A thorough survey and exploration of this area may reveal these temples probably in the form of ruins.

In his Seranur record<sup>48</sup> Kulothunga states that he gilded the temple dedicated to his father and also the temple Raja Rajeswaram. The first temple is probably Pallippadai Rajagambira Iswaramudaiyar. The second one is the Raja Rajeswaram (Darasuram) temple. (Kulothunga's Darasuram temple<sup>49</sup> record no. 8 confirms that he gilded Darasuram temple).

The above two Darasuram records will be published in A. R. E. 1978-79



*Foot Notes :*

- 1) Page 15, "The Cholas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" by author. Also see E. I. Vol. IX page 219 - Kielhorn.
- 2) Pages 32 and 108 "The Cholas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" Page 354 "The Cholas by K. A. N. Also see E. I. XXXI page 228.
- 3) Pages 15 to 21 and pages 108 to 112 "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". I surmised the accession date of Rajadhi Raja as January 1. In the next chapter it is revised as June/July 1166.
- 4) 433/1924. See "Aruludiachchola Mandalam" by the author. Also see Page 123 to 134 "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".
- 5) Kulothunga III was the second son of Raja Raja II. See pages 135 to 150 "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". Tamil poem Santhi Cholan Ula confirms this.
- 6) Ibid page 33
- 7) 20/1899; S. I. I. VI. 456
- 8) 433/1924
- 9) 465/1905; E. I. XXII No. 14
- 10) T. V. Sadasiva Pandaraththar
- 11) E. I. XXI. Page 186 and E. I. XXII page 86. These reports Pandaraththar surmised that Raja Raja died in 1163. But Raja Raja's records are available upto 1173. Scholars explained this anomaly by stating that inscriptions were engraved in the name of the dead king! This is impossible. The Chola Government was not ignorant to that extent. In this book I have identified 27 records of Raja Raja which were engraved in the years 1163 to 1173. In his Korukkai record No. 229/1917 Kulothunga III mentions Perumal Devar Raja Raja's 19th year. In his Sivapuram record No. 278/1927 Kulothunga III mentions his predecessor Raja Raja's 20th year. In his Kanchipuram record No. 372/1919 year 17, Kulothunga refers to the 23rd year of Raja Raja II.
- 12) Page 187 "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". Also see E. I. IX. page 221 - Kielhorn.
- 13) Please note the observations made in para 51 page 100 of A. R. E. I. Tiruvorriyur record No. 125/1912 year 3, Tiruppangali record No. 93/1892 year 25 and Tiruverumbur record No. 142/1914 year 29 belong to Raja Raja III and they contain his Prasasthi. But, by mistake, the engraver inscribed Parakesarivarman instead of Rajakesarivarman. Similarly Erumur record No. 397/1913 year 7 and Tiruvorriyur record No. 123/1912 year 27 belong to Raja Raja II and they contain his Prasasthi. But the engraver wrongly inscribed Rajakesarivarman instead of Parakesarivarman.



- 14) **The Colas by K. A. N. Volume II part II page 746**
- 15) In his 19th year corresponding to 1245 Raja Raja III could not have engraved his record at Pon Amaravathi which was a sub-capital of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (of accession 1216) under whom Raja Raja III was a subordinate.
- 16) A. R. E. 1909 page 101 para 51 (6) confirms this.
- 17) A. R. E. 1921-22 page 85 assigns this record to Raja Raja III and equates the data to 21st October 1235. This makes October 1216 the 0th year of Raja Raja III. But he came to the throne in June 1216. The date suggested by the report is not convincing.
- 18) A. R. E. 1921-22 page 85 assigns this record to Raja Raja III and equates the data to 24th August 1237 and suggests Su 12. In Simha su 12 will not combine with Hasta. Su 4 will combine. Further the suggested date makes August 1216 the 0th year of the king whereas the king came to the throne in June 1216. My date agrees for Raja Raja II in all respects. It was Su 4 and the date falls in the Adhika Masa Bhadrpada corresponding to the Tamil Solar Month Simha.
- 19) This is the earliest record of this Vishnu temple. Probably the temple was built in the reign of Raja Raja II.
- 20) 86/1911; 85/1911
- 21) 91/1911; Also 96 and 97/1911 of the same temple belonging to Kulothunga III year 31 mention the village as Pampuram alias Kulothunga Chola Chaturvedhi Mangalam.
- 22) E. I-XI. page 128 equates the data to 5th January 1237 and assigns the record to Raja Raja III. But the date falls in the 21st year. Therefore the report corrected the regnal year 20 as 21. This is wrong. The record clearly mentions the regnal year as Twenty in words (இருபதாவது), We cannot accept correcting the regnal year.
- 23) Please refer to A. R. E. 1927-28 page 45 and A. R. E. 1931-32 page 89. Tiruvalanjuli record No. 202/1928 belongs to Raja Raja III. It quotes year 20, Makara, Su 5, Monday and Uttirattathi. The data agree with 14th January 1236. Naturally the third day Wednesday the 16th January must be a day of Aswathi. This is confirmed by Raja Raja III Tiruppandurai record No. 136/1932. The data are year 20, Makara, Aswathi and Wednesday corresponding to 16th January 1236. Tiruppandurai record and Koilur record contain the same name Raja Raja. They quote year 20, Makara and Aswathi. But in the former record the week day is Wednesday and in the latter the week day is Monday. The variation in the week days for the same regnal year, month and star proves that they belong to two different kings of the same name Raja Raja. Thus Koilur record No. 195/1908 definitely belongs to Raja Raja II. In view of this argument the date 1236 suggested by Tamil Nadu Government Archaeological Department, Tirutturaippundi inscriptions, 1976/189 is to be revised.



was not aware that Raja Raja II could have ruled upto 1173. The most convincing date is 1st January 1173. the 27th year of Raja Raja II. Incidentally Tiruvidaimarudur record No. 201/1907 belongs to Raja Raja III. It quotes year 27, Makara, Pushya and Wednesday. In E. I. X. page 135 Sewell equates the data to 7th January 1243. The two records contain the same name of the king, same regnal year, month and star. But there is difference in week days. This proves that they belong to two different kings of the same name.

- 34) The report A. R. E. 1939-40 to 1942-43 page 179 assigns this record to Raja Raja III and equates the data to 4th May 1244. This date is wrong because it falls in the 28th year of Raja Raja III and not in his 27th year. My date is correct. The record belongs to Raja Raja II only.
- 35) "செயங்கொண்ட சோழ மண்டலத்து ஆழார் கோட்டத்து சிறு குன்ற நாட்டு காரிகைக் குளத்தார் குளத்துழான் பொருமான் நம்பியாளுடையாரான.....etc" Peruman Nambi alias Kulattulan of Karikaikkulattur in Sirukundra Nadu of Aamur Kottam in Jayankonda Sola Mandalam. This name appears in Rajadhi Raja's Pallavarayan Pettai record No. 433/1924 also.
- 36) In Thakkayagapparani poet Ottakkuthur Praises Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan the Chief Minister of Raja Raja II. Thakkayagapparani Verse 236.
- 37) See pages 174 and 175 of "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". There I surmised that the date of Thakkayagapparani wa. 1170-71. In view of the present surmise I revise the date of the poem as 1172-73s. The revision is in favour of the historical events.
- 38) See page 273 Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXI; also see pages 141 and 142 of the south Indian Temple Inscriptions Volume III part II.
- 39) This happened in 1169-70. Please refer to pages 173 and 174 of "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". I have dealt with this subject in detail.
- 40) This entire chapter is meant to prove that the Tamil poems are correct and Vira Pandya of the Pandyan Civil war borrowed portions of Raja Raja's Prasasthi with some variation. We shall see this later when we discuss Jatavarman Vira Pandya of the Pandyan Civil War.
- 41) Darasuram records; 17/1908 Raja Raja II year 21 (1167); 20/1908 Kulothunga III year 8 (1186). Raja Rajapuram is the ancient name of the village. In course of time this name took the corrupt form Darasuram as it is called to-day. Also see page 225 Later Chola temples by Padma Shri S. R. Balasubramaniam.
- 42) Thakkayagapparani verses 772 and 778
- 43) This is the continuation of 18/1908; In the year 1908 when this record was copied, part of it was under the ground level. The hidden portion was brought to light in 1979.



## Rajadhi Raja II

Raja Raja II's successor was Rajadhi Raja II. Most of Rajadhi Raja's records contain the Prasasthi "*Kadal Sulnda Parmadharum*" (கடல் சூழ்ந்த பார்மா தரும்). His Kilur record<sup>1</sup> contains the Prasasthi "*Pumaruviya Thisai Muhathon*" (பூமருவிய திசை முகத்தோன்). A record from Pallavarayan Pettai<sup>2</sup> bears the Prasasthi "*Pumaruviya Thirumadhun*" (பூமருவிய திருமாதும்) (of Raja Raja II).

The dates of Rajadhi Raja II are still under dispute.<sup>3</sup> Kielhorn surmised<sup>4</sup> that Rajadhi Raja ascended the throne on some day approximately between the 28th February and the 30th March 1163. He did his calculations in 1906. He was no more in 1907. His calculations were published in 1908. He consulted the following inscriptions and suggested the equivalent dates.

Dates of Rajadhi Raja II suggested by Kielhorn  
Table I

Kielhorn's number	Inscription	Regnal year	Dates suggested by Kielhorn
145	538/1904	2	30-3-1164
146	627/1902	8	10-8-1170
147	540/1904	10	27-2-1173
148	394/1902	11	15-8-1173
149	222/1904	13	8-7-1181

The last one is irregular. It yielded the date 8th July 1181 which falls in the 19th year, if March 1163 is considered the commencement year of the king. But the inscription itself states that it belongs to the 13th year. Something is wrong somewhere. In the foot note Kielhorn observed that either the regnal year of the inscription or the solar day in the data was wrong<sup>5</sup>. This inscription is irregular and it cannot be relied upon. Kielhorn said that he relied on the other four inscriptions only.

As on 1906 enough source materials were not available; but research work revealed that Rajadhi Raja was a king between Raja Raja II and Kulothunga III. In the circumstances Kielhorn made compromising calculations and arrived at the above conclusion. HOWEVER DURING HIS LIFE TIME KIELHORN DID NOT PUBLISH THESE CALCULATIONS. HIS CALCULATIONS WERE PUBLISHED AFTER HIS DEMISE. THIS IS A VITAL PIECE OF INFORMATION WHICH WE MUST REMEMBER. In 1906 he said as follows



- 24) The image of Goddess was consecrated on Monday the 10th January 1166. The king was also sick. It means that the king seeks the devine grace for long life. This hastened him to crown Rajadhi Raja in June 1166 which we shall see in the next chapter.
- 25) "பெருமாள் திருமேனி கல்யாண திருமேனியாகவும் பிள்ளை இருங்கோளற்கு விஷயார்த்தமாகவும்...etc". Probably the same Irungolar figures in Raja Raja Brahmedsam record No. 192/1918 year 14, which contains the king's Prasasti "Pumaruviya Tirumadhum." It is stated that Irungolar consecrated the image of Goddess in the Brahmedsam temple.
- 26) 433/1924 Rajadhi Raja II year 8
- 27) 221/1928-29 of the same temple belongs to Raja Raja II year 19 corresponding to 1165. The record mentions Sekilar Palaravayar (சேக்கிழார் பாலரவையர்) alias Kalappalarayar (கலப்பளரையர்) evidently the younger brother of said Sekilar the author of Periapuranam.
- 28) A. R. E. 1928-29 page 52:- The report equates the data to 29th November 1216 and assigns the record to Raja Raja III. This makes November 1216 the 0 year of the king whereas he came to the throne in June 1216. In the same page the report equates the data of 332/1928-29 year 23 to 14th November 1238. See the anomaly. If 14th November 1238 belongs to the 23rd year then how can the later date 29th-November 1238 of the former record be in the 22nd year. The date suggested by the report for 213/1928-29 is wrong. The record belongs to Raja Raja II only.
- 29) Karkataka begins on June 26th.
- 30) S. I. I. XVII. No. 537 (495/1904)
- 31) The report S. I. I. XVII 537 states that the data are irregular and cannot be worked out. But it published Aparā in bracket; perhaps this portion is damaged in the inscription. It could be Purva also. Since damaged it looks like (Aparā) See foot note 33 below.
- 32) We come across such mistakes in certain records. Tirumaichur record No. 63 1902 (S. I. I. VIII. 243) belongs to Maravarman Kulasekara II. The record quotes the 25th year of Jatavarman Srivallabha. The data of Srivallabha's dates are Virchika, Aparā Paksha Poorānima, Wednesday and Rohini. Aparā Paksha Poorānima is a mistake for Purva Paksha Poorānima. Refer to Swamikkann Pillai page 225 the Indian Antiquary 1913; Robert Sewell page 248 the Indian Antiquary 1915; pages 157 to 161 of "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" by the author.
- 33) Kielhorn worked out the data of 495/1904 in page 271 of E. I. VIII. He rightly corrected Aparā as Purva. He assigned the record to Raja Raja III. For this purpose he corrected the regnal year 27 as 21 and suggested the date 12 January 1237 on which date there was lunar eclipse which is not quoted by the record. Correction of the regnal year is not convincing. Probably Kielhorn



was not aware that Raja Raja II could have ruled upto 1173. The most convincing date is 1st January 1173, the 27th year of Raja Raja II. Incidentally Tiruvidaimarudur record No. 201/1907 belongs to Raja Raja III. It quotes year 27, Makara, Pushya and Wednesday. In E. I. X. page 135 Sewell equates the data to 7th January 1243. The two records contain the same name of the king, same regnal year, month and star. But there is difference in week days. This proves that they belong to two different kings of the same name.

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- 35) "செயங்கொண்ட சோழ மண்டலத்து ஆழர் கோட்டத்து சிறு குன்ற நாட்டு காரிகைக் குளத்தூர் குளத்துழான் பொருமான் நம்பியாளுடையாரான.....etc" Peruman Nambi alias Kulattulan of Karikaikkulattur in Sirukundra Nadu of Aamur Kottam in Jayankonda Sola Mandalam. This name appears in Rajadhi Raja's Pallavarayan Pettai record No. 433/1924 also.
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- 41) Darasuram records; 17/1908 Raja Raja II year 21 (1167); 20/1908 Kulothunga III year 8 (1186). Raja Rajapuram is the ancient name of the village. In course of time this name took the corrupt form Darasuram as it is called to-day. Also see page 225 Later Chola temples by Padma Shri S. R. Balasubramaniam.
- 42) Thakkayagapparani verses 772 and 778
- 43) This is the continuation of 18/1908; In the year 1908 when this record was copied, part of it was under the ground level. The hidden portion was brought to light in 1979.



- 44) Tirunaraiyur 168/1908 year 2 and Achyutamangalam 393/1925 year 5 belong to Kulothunga III. But they introduce the king as Rajendra Chola. Rajendra Chola Kalappala Rayar figures in Ayyampettai record No. 123/1928 Kulothunga III year 15.
- 45) A. R. E. 1927-28 page 82 para 25; Thakkayagapparani verse 774.
- 46) For a study of sepulchral temples please refer to pages 76 to 78 of A. R. E. 1926-27.
- 47) Darasuram 20/1908 Kulothunga III year 8 and Conjeevaram 55/1908 Kulothunga III year 18, refer to Raja Raja Chathurvedhi Mangalam Urrakkadu situated in Avur Kurram of Nittavinodha Valanadu.
- 48) Pd 163 and Pd 166 Kulothunga III year 34 "தரணி கொள் திருத்தாயை, இராசராசேசுவரதார்க்கும் காரண்ண சிறந்த கோயில் அணிதிகழ் பொன் மேய்ந்த
- 49) 20/1908 - The record confirms the gilding of the temple in the 8th year of Kulothunga III.



## Rajadhi Raja II

Raja Raja II's successor was Rajadhi Raja II. Most of Rajadhi Raja's records contain the Prasasthi "*Kadal Sulnda Parmadharum*" (கடல் சூலந்த பரமாதாரம்). His Kilur record<sup>1</sup> contains the Prasasthi "*Pumaruviya Thisai Muhathon*" (பூமருவிய திசை முகத்தோன்). A record from Pallavarayan Pettai<sup>2</sup> bears the Prasasthi "*Pumaruviya Thirumadhum*" (பூமருவிய திருமாதம்) (of Raja Raja II).

The dates of Rajadhi Raja II are still under dispute.<sup>3</sup> Kielhorn surmised<sup>4</sup> that Rajadhi Raja ascended the throne on some day approximately between the 28th February and the 30th March 1163. He did his calculations in 1906. He was no more in 1907. His calculations were published in 1908. He consulted the following inscriptions and suggested the equivalent dates.

Dates of Rajadhi Raja II suggested by Kielhorn  
Table I

Kielhorn's number	Inscription	Regnal year	Dates suggested by Kielhorn
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149	222/1904	13	8-7-1181

The last one is irregular. It yielded the date 8th July 1181 which falls in the 19th year, if March 1163 is considered the commencement year of the king. But the inscription itself states that it belongs to the 13th year. Something is wrong somewhere. In the foot note Kielhorn observed that either the regnal year of the inscription or the solar day in the data was wrong<sup>5</sup>. This inscription is irregular and it cannot be relied upon. Kielhorn said that he relied on the other four inscriptions only.

As on 1906 enough source materials were not available; but research work revealed that Rajadhi Raja was a king between Raja Raja II and Kulothunga III. In the circumstances Kielhorn made compromising calculations and arrived at the above conclusion. HOWEVER DURING HIS LIFE TIME KIELHORN DID NOT PUBLISH THESE CALCULATIONS. HIS CALCULATIONS WERE PUBLISHED AFTER HIS DEMISE. THIS IS A VITAL PIECE OF INFORMATION WHICH WE MUST REMEMBER. In 1906 he said as follows



A) "I AM ALSO KEEPING BACK A NUMBER OF DATES OF KULOTHUNGA CHO  
II AND RAJADHI RAJA II, BECAUSE I AM NOT FULLY CONVINCED OF THE CORRECTNESS  
MY GENERAL RESULTS. THE DISCOVERY OF ADDITIONAL DATES OF THESE KINGS  
HIGHLY TO BE DESIRED AND WOULD BE OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE"<sup>6</sup>.

Kielhorn was no more in 1907. In his notes he left certain observations.  
These observations were made by him in 1906 prior to his demise in 1907. They  
were published in 1908. The observations of Kielhorn are reproduced below.

B) "Five of these dates (Nos. 145—149) belong to king Rajadhi Raja  
Rajakesari Varman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign  
these dates with great probability show to have commenced<sup>7</sup> between (approximately)  
the 28th February and the 30th March A. D. 1163".

C) "The first four dates work out regularly on the *assumption*<sup>8</sup> that the  
king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th  
March A. D. 1163".

D) "From the materials available, I therefore infer<sup>9</sup> that Rajadhi Raja  
Rajakesari Varman i. e., Rajadhi Raja II commenced to reign between  
(approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A. D. 1163".

Kielhorn made his surmise in 1906 and it was based on *approximately*  
*probability* and *assumption*. He did not publish his surmise. He left room for the  
future students, to make further research on this issue. Kielhorn clearly said that  
he was not convinced of the correctness of his general results obtained for the dates  
of Rajadhi Raja II. He kept these dates under reserve. He expected new  
discoveries which would have helped him for revised calculations. Unfortunately  
he was no more in 1907. The calculations about which Kielhorn himself was not  
quite satisfied were published in 1908. Had he lived longer Kielhorn would have  
certainly revised his surmise. Till date, Kielhorn's CALCULATIONS ARE RELIGIOUSLY  
FOLLOWED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO HIS CAUTION AND WARNING.

Later discoveries of inscriptions did not agree with the initial year March  
1163. Scholars were puzzled. They suggested correcting the regnal years or the  
astronomical data of the records on the assumption that the records were wrong in  
quoting the relevant data<sup>10</sup>. But nothing could be done in the case of those  
records which quoted Cyclic or Saka years and which indicated the accession in  
1166. Scholars explained this anomaly by stating that two sets of dates are found  
in the inscriptions, one counting some date in March 1163 as the initial year and  
the other suggesting some date in the middle of 1166 as its starting point.<sup>11</sup> It was  
surmised that Rajadhi Raja was installed heir apparent in March 1163 and on the  
fourth annual asterism of his installation i. e., in the middle of 1166 he was



anointed. Scholars came to this conclusion by filling up certain gaps (in which there was not enough room for the suggested letters) in the much damaged Pallavarayan Pettai record<sup>12</sup> of Rajadhi Raja. I studied the inscription *in situ*. I have discussed it in detail in my book "Aruludaich Chola Mandalam" (Tamil) and "The Cholas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". I found that the much damaged Pallavarayan Pettai record does not state that Rajadhi Raja was anointed on the fourth annual asterism of his installation.

Lines 11 and 12 of the Pallavarayan Pettai record No. 433/1924 are damaged. The available portions state that Raja Raja followed the precedence and crowned Rajadhi Raja (*munnalile Kariyam Irundapadi* i. e., in accordance with the practice of the earlier days). The precedence refers to the accession of Kulothunga I (1070—1122) son of *Ammanga* sister of Vira Rajendra (1063—70). It means that Raja Raja II crowned his sister's son Rajadhi Raja. Again the record states that Rajadhi Raja was crowned in "...*thu nalam tirunakshatiram*". It means that he was crowned at the age of (?) 4. "*tirunakshatiram*" means age and this is evident from line 7 of the Pallavarayan Pettai record and also from the record of the Ceylon king Vijaya Bahu.<sup>13</sup> On the basis of other source materials I surmised that Rajadhi Raja was crowned in "*(pa th) thu nalam tirunakshatiram*" i. e., at the age of (1) 4. At any rate the Pallavarayan Pettai record does not convey the possibility of two initial dates for Rajadhi Raja. So he could count his regnal year from one date only. We shall find *that date* with the help of later discoveries of inscriptions.

In my book "The Cholas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" (edition 1977) I surmised that Rajadhi Raja II came to the throne between the 5th and the 8th January 1166. When I did further research, I was convinced that my previous calculations also needed some revision. I visited various temples, read the inscriptions at the respective sites, consulted many impressions in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist Office, Mysore. Shri K. G. Krishnan, the Chief Epigraphist helped me in deciphering the symbols for regnal years in some of the 12th century records. In the result I found that my previous calculations were very close to the truth but needed a minor revision. The revision was required due to the following reasons.

1) The regnal years in certain records of Rajadhi Raja are engraved in elliptic circles. I deciphered them with the help of Shri K. G. Krishnan, the Chief Epigraphist.

2) In my previous calculations, I consulted L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris Volume I part 1. While doing so I committed some mistakes. Later I consulted L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris ready reckoner and rectified those mistakes.



3) I relied on Tiruppachur inscription No. 134/1930. Now I have found that this is an unreliable record. I will discuss this in the appropriate place so where below.

In the result I found that Rajadhi Raja II came to the throne in June/Jan 1166 and not in January 1166 as was surmised by me in my book "The Chronology of Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". The revision is in favour of historical truth. The revision pushes downward the accession date of the king by six months only. The revision helps us to arrive at a precise date but it does not make any damage to the historical events which I surmised in my earlier exertion. The difference of six months makes no harm in the construction of the Chronology and recording the historical events in the Chronological order. In the light of these observations (of mine) let us see the correct dates of the records of Rajadhi Raja II.

Rajadhi Raja ruled in Tamil Nadu upto his 15th year which we shall discuss later. In his 15th year he retired to Andhra, lived there for a long time and died in 1215. Some of his Andhra records contain Saka years and they are tabulated below.

### Rajadhi Raja II Andhra Records

Table II

S. I. I. IV.	Regnal year	Saka year	A. D. year
1074	16		
1223	28	1115	1193-94
1331	28	1116	1194-95
1332	29	1117	1195-96
1218	30	1118	1196-97
1002	31	1119	1197-98
1279	35	1123	1201-02
1257	40	1127	1205-06
1117	46	1134	1212-13
1118	47	1134	1212-13
1330	49	1137	1215-16

1) As per 1223 and 1331 the 28th year falls both in Saka 1115 and Saka 1116. Therefore Saka 1088 = 1st year

Saka 1088 = also to 0th year

It means that the accession took place some time in the middle of Saka 1088



2) As per 1117 and 1118 the regnal year 46 changed over to 47 in Saka year 1134. Similarly the Oth regnal year should have changed to the first regnal year in Saka 1088. It further means that the king ascended the throne sometime in the middle of Saka 1088.

Saka 1088 covers the period 25th March 1166 to 24th March 1167. Rajadhi Raja II ascended the throne on some day between these two dates. This is also confirmed by his Nandalur record<sup>14</sup> year 12, Cyclic year Hemalamba, Makara, Su 1, star Avittam and Saturday which perfectly agree with 21st January 1167.

12th year = 21—1—1178

Oth year = 21—1—1166

1st year = 21—1—1167

So Rajadhi Raja came to the throne prior to 21st January 1167. In other words his accession date falls between the 25th March 1166 and the 21st January 1167.

Nandalur record is the vital clue in relation to Andhra records. The regnal year in the Nandalur record is 12 only. Robert Sewell suggested correcting the regnal year 12 as 15. Had Sewell proceeded on the basis of the quoted regnal year 12—instead of correcting it as 15—he would have correctly surmised the accession year as 1166. But Sewell relied on Kielhorn's surmise of 1163 as the accession year of Rajadhi Raja. Jacobi too relied on Kielhorn's surmise<sup>15</sup>. In the result everybody accepted 1163 as the accession date of Rajadhi Raja. But certain records did not agree with 1163. So scholars suggested correcting the regnal years and the data in more than fifteen records.<sup>16</sup> These corrections are not at all required. The data of Rajadhi Raja's records agree with the middle of 1166. I furnish below 31 records of Rajadhi Raja and they agree with the initial year 1166 only.

Records of Rajadhi Raja II  
Table III<sup>17</sup>

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and date	A. D. Date
1	2	3	4
1. 538/1904	Tiruvarur	2, Mesha, Su 6, Punarvasu, Monday	15th April 1168
2. 241/1927	ottaiyur <sup>18</sup>	3, Rishaba, Su 5, Pushya, Saturday	3rd May 1169



1	2	3	4
3. 421/1912	Valuvur	5, Karkataka, Su 13, Saturday	27th June 1171 16.
4. 19 1913	Aduthurai	5, Tula 15, Visaka, Monday	12th Oct. 1172 17
5. 69/1931	Pandanallur	5, Tula, Su 9, Avittam, Monday	19th Oct. 1173 18
6. 607/1902	Munniyur	6, Dhanus, Su 5, Sravana, Thursday	2nd Dec. 1174 19
7. 172/1908	Tirunaraiyur <sup>19</sup>	6, Mina, Su 6 Rohini, Thursday	2nd March 1175 20
8. 224/1917	Korukkai	6, Mithuna, Su 3, Punarvasu, Saturday	27th May 1176 21
9. 311/1921	Tirukkoilur	7, Kanni 25 Swathi, Thursday	21st Sep. 1177 22
10. 627/1902	Tiruvalanjuli	8, Simha, ba 12 Punarvasu, Monday	6th Aug. 1178 23
11. 158/1932	Tiruppirambiyam <sup>20</sup>	8, Virchika 24 Su, Bharani, Monday	19th Nov. 1179 24
12. 122/1928	Ayyampettai	8, Dhanus, ba 12 Visaka, Monday	3rd Dec. 1179 25
13. 343/1921	Tirukkoilur	8, Masi 26, Puram, Monday	18th Feb. 1174 26
14. 619/1902	Tiruvalanjuli	9, Kumba, Su 9, Rohini, Saturday	1st Feb, 1175 27
15. 403/1896	Tiruvorriyur	9, Panguni, Su 11 Ayilyam, Wednesdsy	5th March 1175 <sup>2</sup> 28



	1	2	3	4
16.	340/1921	Tirukkoilur	10, Simha, Su 1, Pura, Monday	18th Aug. 1175
17.	134/1936	Terkukkadu	10, Virchika, Su 2, Mula, Monday	17th Nov. 1175
18.	251/1951	Tirukkuvalai	10, Makara, Su 12, Rohini, Friday	26th Dec. 1175
19.	540/1904	Tiruvarur	10, Mina, Su 13 Magha, Tuesday	24th Feb. 1176
20.	394/1902	Tirunallar	11, Simha, Su 5, Swathi, Wednesday	11th Aug. 1176
21.	428/1912	Valuvur	12, Simha, ba 8, Rohini, Thursday	18th Aug. 1177
22.	603/1963	Tiruvaymur	12, Makara, ba 11, Mulam, Monday	16th Jan. 1178
23.	571/1907	Nandalur	12, Hemalamba, Makara, Su 1, Avittam, Saturday	21st Jan. 1178
24.	132/1927	Attur	12, Kumba, Su 13, Pusam, Thursday	2nd Feb. 1178
25.	451/1912	Kottur	13, Karkataka, Su 7 Swathi, Saturday	22nd July 1178
26.	80/1913	Tiruchengattankudi	13, Simha, ba 9, Wednesday	9th Aug. 1178
27.	389/1921	Tiruvadi <sup>21</sup>	13, Virchika, 20, Sravana, Thursday	16th Nov. 1178
28.	133/1927	Attur	13, Makara, ba 10, Visaka, Thursday	4th Jan 1179



1	2	3	4
29. 537/1921	Nidur	14, Virchika, Su 13, Aswathi, Tuesday	13th Nov. 1173
30. 188/1925	Kidarankondan <sup>22</sup>	14, Dhanus, Su 15, Ardra and Thursday	15th Dec. 1173
31. 11/1925	Pallavarayanpettai	15, Mithuna, ba 10, Aswathi, Monday	8th June 1181

The above table reveals that Rajadhi Raja II ascended the throne on 23rd day in the middle of 1166. On the basis of record No. 11/1925 Aswathi Mithuna of 1181 falls in the 15th year. Accordingly Aswathi in Mithuna of 1181 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 23rd June.

On the basis of 451/1912 Swathi in Karkataka of 1178 falls in the 13th year. Accordingly Swathi in Karkataka of 1166 falls in the first year. The star was current on 7th July.

23rd June 1166 = 0th year

7th July 1166 = 1st year

Rajakesarivarman Rajadhi Raja Chola II came to the throne between 24th June and the 7th July 1166. His Pallavarayan Pettai record is in his 15th year and it is dated 1181. His 16th year record appears in Andhra. It is evident that Rajadhi Raja ruled 14 full years. In his 15th year i. e., after June 1181 he retired to Andhra where he lived upto 1215.

(Rajadhi Raja's Tiruppachur record No. 134/1930 quotes saka 1095 as regnal year 9 which do not agree with the 31 dates of the Table III above (Tiruppachur record is an unreliable one).

Parakesarivarman Kulothunga III came to the throne<sup>23</sup> in July 1178. His records are available<sup>24</sup> upto year 40. His rule extended upto 1218. The accession and the termination dates of Raja Raja II, Rajadhi Raja II and Kulothunga III are tabulated below.

Table IV

King	Accession	Last year
Raja Raja II	June—July 1146	July 1173
Rajadhi Raja II	June—July 1166	Upto June 1181 in Tamil Nadu
Kulothunga III	July 1178	From 1182 to 1215 in Andhra 1218



The above table reveals that Rajadhi Raja crowned Kulothunga in 1178 and both ruled jointly for three years. In fact a record<sup>25</sup> which comes from Pattiswaram confirms that Rajadhi Raja and Kulothunga were jointly ruling. The record belongs to Rajadhi Raja. It states that the donor Amarakon presented two lamp stands and sheep for burning lamps in the temple. But owing to the default in the supply of ghee by the shepherds who took charge of the sheep, money was taken in the reign of the next king i. e., in that of Sri Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulothunga Chola Deva. The record intends to supply the regnal years and other data for Rajadhi Raja and Kulothunga.<sup>26</sup> But the relevant portions are damaged. At any rate the joint rule of Rajadhi Raja and Kulothunga is also confirmed by this direct evidence<sup>27</sup>.

On the basis of the Pallavarayan Pettai record and other source materials I have discussed the relationship among the three kings Raja Raja II, Rajadhi Raja II and Kulothunga III. Since it is beyond the scope of this book I am not reproducing those details here and I request the reader to please refer to my books "Aruludaich Chola Mandalam" (Tamil) and "The Cholas—Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". However for the convenience of the reader I reproduce below the gist of my earlier surmises.

The Pallavarayan Pettai record<sup>28</sup> of Rajadhi Raja II is in his eighth year corresponding to 1174. The record states the circumstances under which Rajadhi Raja became the Chola king. In some places the record is damaged. Earlier scholars filled up the gaps and interpreted the record<sup>29</sup>. But their interpretations do not agree with the dates of the three Chola kings. When I studied the inscription at the site I found that the earlier scholars filled up the gaps with certain letters for which there was not enough room in the gaps. So I came to the conclusion that the earlier interpretations needed revisions. I applied the dates of the three kings and interpreted the record without prejudice to these dates. I surmised as follows.<sup>30</sup>

1) There were some dangers to the royal family. The Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayar protected the two sons of Raja Raja in the well guarded Raja Rajapuram Palace. At this time the sons were one and two years old.<sup>31</sup> This happened few years before 1166.

2) Pallavarayar removed the dangers. This took some time or few years. When everything settled down and peace prevailed, Raja Raja was pleased to be present in the Raja Rajapuram Palace. Probably he was sick and he wanted to appoint heir apparent. His sons were young boys and they were not fit for appointment. Raja Raja consulted his Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayar who advised the king to follow the precedence as it was done in the earlier days.



The precedence refers to the accession of Kulothunga I (1070-1112). Vira Rajendra ruled from 1063 to 1070. In the year 1070 he fell sick. Adhi Rajendra (1068-1071) was also sick. Adhi Rajendra had no sons. Rajendra crowned his sister's son Kulothunga. This happened in June 1070. Rajendra died in August 1070. Adhi Rajendra died in the middle of 1070. Kulothunga who was already made crown prince became the Chola monarch.<sup>22</sup>

Raja Raja followed the above precedence.<sup>23</sup> He crowned Edirilipperuma son of Neriudaipperuma (as the record states) and (great) grand-son of Vikrama Chola. Neriudaipperuma was the sister of Raja Raja. Edirili was called Raja Raja II and he was crowned in June/July 1166 at the age of probably fourteen.<sup>24</sup>

3) The Pallavarayan Pettai record proceeds further and describes in detail the success of Peruman Nambi Pallavarayar in the Pandyan civil war about which we are not concerned here. Finally the record states that Peruman Nambi Pallavarayar died of some disease. His death occurred after the demise of Raja Raja.

In the last chapter we surmised that Raja Raja died in the third quarter of 1173 and Peruman Nambi Pallavarayar died early 1174. In his Pallavarayan Pettai record year 8 which ends in June 1174, Rajadhi Raja speaks about the death of late Raja Raja and also the circumstances under which he became the king. Unless the sons were alive in 1174 there was no need for Rajadhi Raja to mention the sons of late Raja Raja. Thus we can infer that in 1174 when Raja Raja was still more his sons should be young Princes.

Rajadhi Raja states that few years prior to 1166 Raja Raja's sons were still young and two years old. Contrary to the general practice he mentions the second son in the first place and the first son in the second place and he does so in 1174 when the sons of late Raja Raja are young Princes. After four years i. e., in 1178 he crowns Kulothunga. The sequence indicates that one of the two sons was Kulothunga<sup>25</sup> and more probably the second son. This is also confirmed by the Tamil poem Sankara Cholan Ula.<sup>26</sup>

Between 1173 and 1178 Rajadhi Raja was the independent ruler and the late Raja Raja's sons were young Princes. Rajadhi Raja ruled in the capacity of guardian for the two sons. He crowned Kulothunga in 1178. Both of them ruled jointly for three years. In 1181 Rajadhi Raja retired to Andhra and Kulothunga continued his reign. Against this background we have to see the poem Sankara Cholan Ula (whose author is not known).

Verses 15 to 26 of the *Ula* describe the Chola kings who went to the heavens. They were namely Vijayalaya, Parantaka I, Raja Raja I, Rajendra Raja Raja I, Rajendra II, Rajamahendra, Vira Rajendra, Kulothunga I, Vikrama Chola, Kulothunga II and Raja Raja II.



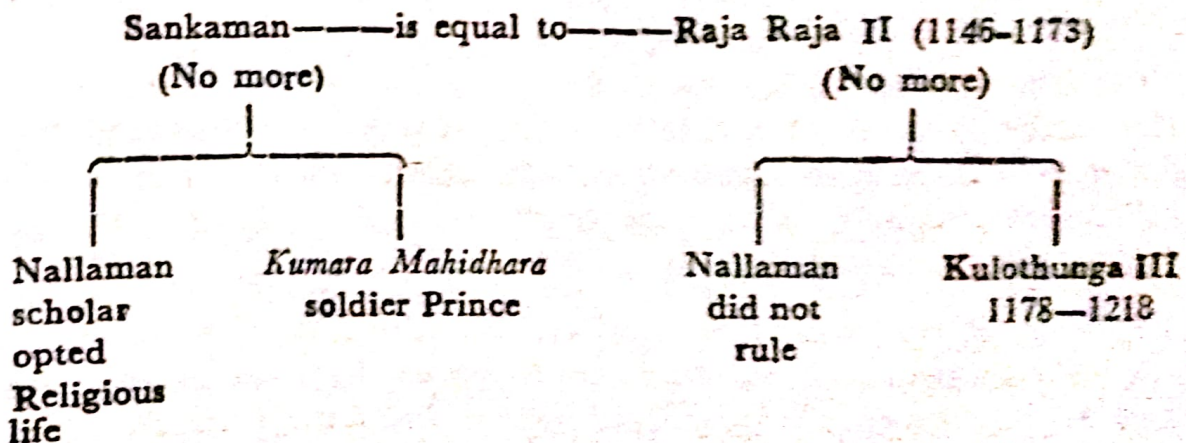
Verse 30 equates Sankaman to Raja Raja II who was no more. The invocation stanza (Kappu) states<sup>27</sup> that Sankaman made Sankara Raja, the Chola king. Verse 38 states that Sankara Raja is the hero of the poem. Sankara Raja was ruling from Gangaikonda Cholapuram. These references indicate that the hero of the poem is Rajadhi Raja. This is also confirmed by verse 389 which states that the ancestors of the hero Sankara Raja were praised in the (Tamil) poems *Kalingattupparani* and *Muver Ula*<sup>28</sup> (three Ulas) a clear indication that Rajadhi Raja is the hero of the poem *Sankara Cholan Ula*.

Verses 30 to 38 refer to Sankaman, his two sons and Sankara Raja. The important portions state,

சங்கமன் தொல்லைத் தவம் போல் (V. 30) செழும் திகிலியின் தியிரம் தீர்ப்ப (V. 31)  
மொழி அனைத்தும் வல்லமன், ஆதிமனுவிற்கும் மேதக்க நல்மன் என்ற நாயகற்கும் (V. 32)  
பூசற் குடற் கடற்கே போர் வாட்கறை கழுவி.....பொருபுலியைப் பங்கோடி வேந்தனிய  
வைத்த குமார மகீதரர்க்கும் (Vs. 36 & 37) மெய்த்துணை யாய்த் தேற்றிய சங்கராசன்  
போற்றிய கங்காபுரிராசன் (V. 38)

- 1) In accordance with the earlier prayers of (late) Sankaman (V. 30).
- 2) In order to dispel the darkness of the world (V. 31)
- 3) For Nallaman the *Nayaka* who knows all languages and who is an expert (in Shastras) better than Adhi Manu (V. 32)
- 4) And for Kumara Mahidhara (the soldier Prince) who washed the stain of his sword in the western sea and who made the other kings bow before the fierce tiger (Chola), (Vs. 36 and 37).
- 5) *Sankara Raja* the king of *Gangaikonda Cholapuram* is the truthful guardian (V. 38)

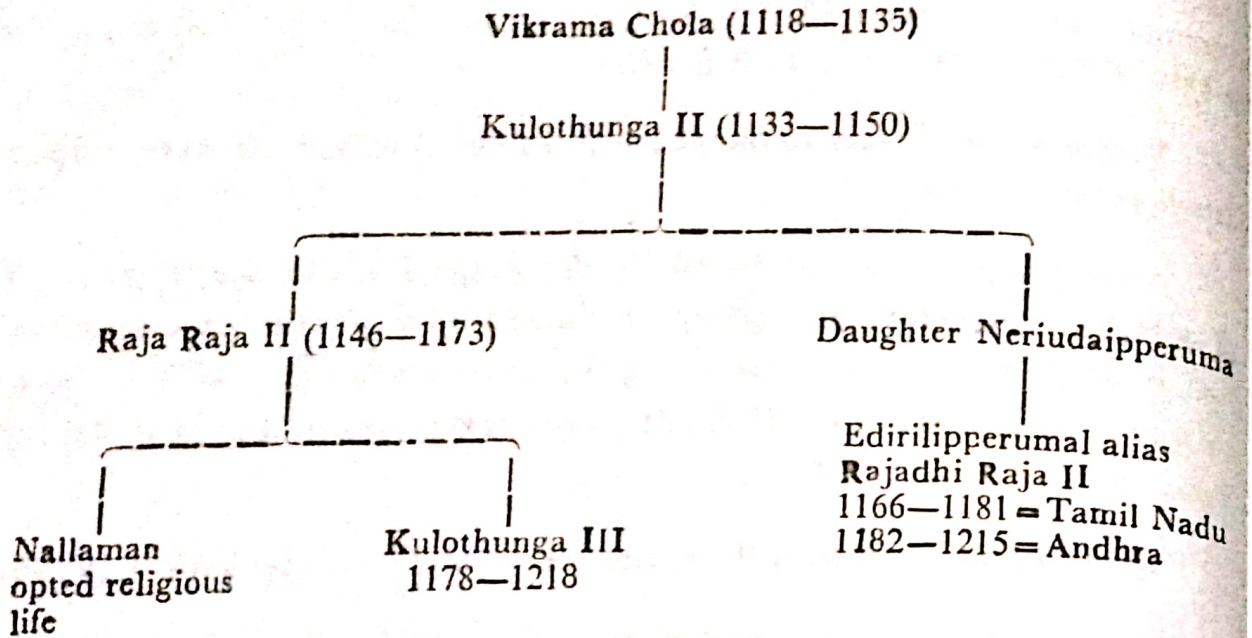
The above sequence can be interpreted as follows:-





*Sankara Raja* the truthful guardian of Nallaman and Kumara Mahidhan is to be identified as Rajadhi Raja II who between 1173 and 1178 was the truthful guardian to the two sons of late Raja Raja.

In the light of the Pallavarayan Pettai inscription and the poem *Sankara Cholan Ula* the genealogy of the three kings is constructed as follows.



Tribhuvanachakravartin Sri Rajadhi Raja Deva was a noble king. In the south when the Pandyas were fighting for power, (Civil War) Rajadhi Raja gave back the Chola kingdom to the legitimate heir Kulothunga and retired to Andhra. In turn the Chola country exhibited its gratitude to Rajadhi Raja and *Sankara Cholan Ula* is a fitting compliment to him.

Rajadhi Raja retired to Andhra in 1181 and lived there upto 1215. During this period Kulothunga and Rajadhi Raja were on cordial terms. In his third year Kulothunga dug a big tank at Valivalam near Tiruvarur and called it "Rajadhi Rajan Perungulam."<sup>40</sup> At Ayyampettai near Tiruvarur, Kulothunga built a new temple and called it "Rajadhi Raja Isvaramudaiyar"<sup>41</sup> in honour of Rajadhi Raja. In certain records<sup>42</sup> Kulothunga borrows the Prasasthi "*Pumaruviya Thisai Muhathu*" which belongs to Rajadhi Raja.

Tiruvennai Nallur is a sacred Saiva centre. It was here Lord Shiva offered His friendship to saint Sundara Moorthy Nayanar. "Friendship" as a cult in the devotion to God was followed by the saint. This cult in the "Bakti Movement" is called "*Friendship towards God*" (தோழமை யோகம்). Fittingly in a record<sup>43</sup> of this temple, Kulothunga states,

"பூமருவிய திசை முகத்தோன் படைத்த பெரும் புவிவிளங்க என்னும் சீர்மொழி கீர்த்தி முடிய எழுதி திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள் மதுரையும் பாண்டியன் முடித்தலையுடைய கொண்டருளின ஸ்ரீ குலோத்துங்க சோழ தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு யெவது...etc".



"After writing fully the sacred Prasasthi *Pumaruviya Thisal Muhathon Padaitha Perum Puvilanga* (of Rajadhi Raja) in the 17th year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Sri Kulothunga Chola Deva who took Madura and the crowned head of the Pandya.....' etc.,

In the year 1195, Kulothunga states, "Pronounce the sacred Prasasthi of Rajadhi Raja before reading my inscription", a clear warning to the future epigraphists<sup>4</sup> and the researchers not to postulate a theory of enmity between Kulothunga and Rajadhi Raja.

*Foot notes :*

- 1) Kilur 262/1902 (S. I. I. VII 890)
- 2) Pallavarayan Pettai 11/1925
- 3) E. I. XXXI page 271
- 4) Kielhorn E. I. IX pages 211 to 213
- 5) Kielhorn E. I. IX page 213 foot note 1
- 6) Kielhorn E. I. VIII page 261 para 1
- 7) Late F. Kielhorn E. I. IX page 207 continuation from page 261 of E. I. VIII
- 8) E. I. IX page 211
- 9) E. I. IX page 213
- 10) There are many cases. For example please refer to E. I. X. page 127, E. I. XI page 123, A. R. Ep. 1914 page 59, A. R. Ep. 1918 page 110, A. R. Ep. 1921-22 page 84, A. R. Ep. 1926-27 page 62 and A. R. Ep. 1927-28 page 45.
- 11) E. I. XXII page 86 and E. I. XXXI page 271
- 12) 433/1924. This is discussed in E. I. XXI No. 31 and E. I. XXXI No. 30 and it is also referred to in E. I. XXXI page 271
- 13) S. I. I. IV. 1396. ஐம்பத்து அய்யாண்டு திருவிராஜ்யம் செய்தருளி எழுபத்து மூவாண்டு திருநகைத்திரம் செலுத்தின ஸ்ரீ விஜயபாருதேவர். Sri Vijaya Bahu Deva who at the age of 73 was running the 55th regnal year. Incidentally E. I. XXXI page 271 cites the Punganur record No. 209/1932 of Rajadhi Raja. The record quotes the regnal year in a peculiar manner as '*padinalavadhana pannirandavadhu*' Scholars interpreted this as the 12th year which is the same as the 14th year and surmised that the 14th year counted from March 1163 is the same as the 12th year counted from the middle of 1166. It is not so. The 14th year counted from March 1163 ends in March 1177 which does not fall in the middle of 1177 the beginning of the 12th year counted from the middle of 1166. Further there are no two initial dates for Rajadhi Raja. I surmised that Rajadhi Raja came



to the throne in 1166. The regnal year in the Punganur record is to be understood as 12th part 14th i. e., 26th year corresponding to 1192. Probably Rajadhi Raja who retired to Andhra in 1181 came to Punganur area to help Kulothunga III in the latter's campaign against the Telugu Cholas. This surmise is based on Kulothunga's Ramagiri record S. I. I. XVII No. 688 year 15 corresponding to 1192-93. In this record Kulothunga adopts the titles *Vira Rakshasa*, *Kanchi Paramesvara* and *Vira Nalamba*. Perhaps he adopted these titles after defeating the Telugu Chola chief *ain Bhujabalavira Nallasiddhamadeva Chola Mahadeva* who in the Kanarese record 483/1906 dated 1192 boasts of having collected tributes from *Kanchipuram*.

- 14) A. R. Ep. 571/1907, E. I. X page 127. Sewell suggested correcting the regnal year 12 as 15. This is not convincing. Also please refer to S. I. I. XXIII. The report equates the 12th year to 1175 and equates the data which contain a cyclic year to 21st January 1178. The 12th year must be equated to 1178.
- 15) E. I. XI page 123 record No. 172/1908.
- 16) Foot note 10 above. Please refer to page 109 of "The Cholas Mathema Reconstructs the Chronology" by N. Sethuraman.
- 17) The painstaking calculations are required to settle the issue. The table contains the records consulted by Kielhorn. The data of those records agree with the initial year 1166. The table proves that there are no two initial dates for Rajadhi Raja. Corrections in the data of the records are not required. In table I have not included the records in which the data are either irregular or imperfect.
- 18) A. R. E. 1926-27 page 62 assigns 241/1927 to Rajadhi Raja I (1018-54). Sastri too believed this surmise. See foot note 10 page 235 "The Cholas" (edition 1975) by Sastri. I visited the temple and read the inscription. It belongs to Rajadhi Raja II and it contains his *Prasasti Kadal Sulnda* etc. The record mentions a village by name *Kulothunga Chola Savana Mangalam*.
- 19) See foot note 15 above
- 20) The report states that the regnal year in 158/1932 is Ten in words. I visited the temple and verified the inscription. The regnal year is eight and it is in words.
- 21) The report states that the regnal year in 389/1921 is (16). I verified the inscription on the temple wall. The regnal year reads (1) 3
- 22) The stone wall reads *Sukla Panchadasi* and not *Sukla Panchami* as reported in 188/1925. I verified the inscription at the site.
- 23) Kielhorn E. I. IX page 220
- 24) Kulothunga's records 489/1912, 273/1914 and 162/1926 are in year forty
- 25) 270/1927 Please refer to A. R. Ep. 1926-27 page 82 last para



26) 270/1927 lines 1 and 9.

Line 1 :- ஸ்வஸ்திஸ் திரிபுவளச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீராஜாதி ராஜ  
தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு.....நாயறும் பூர்வ பக்ஷத்து ஷஷ்டியும்  
சனிக்கிழமையும் பெற்ற சோதி நாள்.....etc.....etc...

Line 9 :- இவ்விடையர் கைக் கொண்ட ஆட்டுக்குத் திரு கொந்தா விளக்கு  
எரிக்க செய் அளவாமையால் திரிபுவளச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள்  
ஸ்ரீ குலோத்துங்க சோழ தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு.....று பூர்வபக்ஷத்து  
துவாதசியும் திங்கள்..... நச்சதயத்து நாள் இக்கோயில் சிவப்  
பிராமணர் இத்திரு கொந்தா விளக்கு இரண்டுக்கும் திருகொந்தா  
விளக்கு ஒன்றினுக்கு செய் உழக்காக செய் உரியும் சந்திராதித்த  
வரை எரிக்கக்கடவதாக.....etc.

Rajadhi Raja quotes the reign of Kulothunga III. This proves that both were ruling jointly and they were on cordial terms. Incidentally the record is found in Pattiswaram the suburb of Chola capital. With the available data the probable dates of the two kings quoted in this record can be restored.

Rajadhi Raja year (?) month (?) Su 6, Swathi and Saturday.

Kulothunga year (?) month (?) Su 12, Sadaiyam and Monday.

Rajadhi Raja year (13) dated 22nd July 1178

Kulothunga III year (1) dated 25th September 1178.

Kulothunga came to the throne in July 1178. On 22nd July 1178 Rajadhi Raja states that the order is to be given effect to from 25th September 1178 the reign of Kulothunga. At any rate the joint rule of the two kings is established beyond any doubt. In the circumstances the chapters 30 and 37 of E. I. XXXI are to be revised, since they are based on assumptions. Most of the surmises made in these chapters are totally wrong. These surmises are to be revised on the basis of the revised dates of Rajadhi Raja II.

27) This direct evidence and the dates of Rajadhi Raja and Kulothunga prove that the two kings were on cordial terms. There was no civil war between Kulothunga and Rajadhi Raja. The former did not drive out the latter and occupied the throne as was surmised in south Indian Temple Inscriptions Volume III part II pages 101, 105 and 127. Please refer to E. I. XXXI page 272. Sastri surmised that Rajadhi Raja was practically driven out by Kulothunga in 1178. The surmise no longer holds good.

28) 433/1924 Rajadhi Raja year 8

29) E. I. XXI. No. 31 and E. I. XXXI No. 30

30) The approach in the interpretation of 433/1924 is important. In E. I. XXI No. 31 Venkatasubha Ayyar considered that 1163 was the accession date of Rajadhi Raja. He filled up three gaps and surmised that Raja Raja was no more in 1163. But records of Raja Raja prove that he lived upto 1173. So



Ayyar said that those records were probably issued in the name of the dead Raja Raja. But the editor said that the resulting confusion could possibly be cleared by future discoveries (See E. I. XXI page 186 foot note 1 and page foot note 4). Ayyar settled the last year of Raja Raja as 1163 by filling up gaps of the damaged record.

Sastri accepted the records of Raja Raja running upto 1173. But he considered two initial dates for Rajadhi Raja namely installation in 1163 and anointment in 1166. He too filled up the gaps and made a different surmise which is also not free from doubt. Because he surmised that Kulothunga II was not the son of Vikrama Chola but was an adopted son and in the similar manner Raja Raja II adopted Rajadhi Raja, an unknown Prince. Stone records, copper plate grants and Tamil poems confirm that Kulothunga II was the son of Vikrama Chola. So Sastri's surmise is not free from doubt (E. I. XXXI No. 433/1924 does not speak about installation of Rajadhi Raja in 1163 and anointment in 1166).

In my book "*Aruludaich Chola Mandalam*" and "*The Cholas Mathematically Reconstructs the Chronology*," at the outset, I fixed the dates of Raja Raja, Rajadhi Raja and Kulothunga. Without prejudice to these dates, I interpreted the damaged record No. 433/1924.

There is no harm in attempting to restore the missing letters in the gaps of a damaged record. But such an attempt should not be harmful to earlier records. Any guess undertaken in filling up the damaged portions should not make the earlier records null and void. Otherwise such a guess may be accepted as the historic truth and the earlier records may become false. Therefore in such cases it is better to leave the gaps as they are and try to make the interpretation with the help of other known authentic records. For example please see Kudumiyamalai record Pd 221. It is a later copy of an earlier record. But the engraver of the 13th century, in the reign of a Pandya king, while re-engraving the earlier record of Kulothunga, states that twenty letters are missing in the first gap and seven letters are missing in the second gap. He did not try to restore the missing letters. Thus he avoided confusion and set an example for the future epigraphists.

- 31) However there is a lacuna in line 7 of 433/1924. It implies that when Periyadevar Raja Raja died, his sons were one and two years old and they were brought up in Raja Rajapuram Palace. The record proceeds further and states that since the sons were not of proper age Rajadhi Raja was crowned. Records prove that Raja Raja ruled upto 1173. Rajadhi Raja was crowned in 1166. It is evident that Raja Raja did not die before 1166 the accession date of Rajadhi Raja. Line 7 of the Pallavarayan Pettai record is incorrect. The date of the record is 1174. As far as the record is concerned Raja Raja was no more. The intention of the composer was to refer to Raja Raja as "*late periyadevar Raja Raja*". Instead he engraved the passage in a wrong manner. The phrase in line 7 of the record reads *Periyadevar thunji arulip pillaikalukku onrum irandum tirun shatiramakaiyal*. It means that "Periyadevar (Raja Raja) died and his sons were



one and two years old'. It is the mistake of the engraver. It should read '*thunji arulia periyadevar pillaikalukku onrum irandum tirunakshatiramakaiyal*'. It means that, 'the sons of late Raja Raja were one and two years old'. In 1174 Raja Raja was no more and the record should address him as a 'late king'. The error in the Pallavarayan Pettai record dated 1174 is to be understood with the help of earlier records of Raja Raja.

we come across such kind of mistakes in certain earlier Chola records also. Parantaka I ruled from 907 to 954. His son Rajaditya was killed in the Takkolam battle in 949. But Raja Raja I's Leyden grant issued in the reign of his son Rajendra (accession 1012) states that Rajaditya ruled after the demise of Parantaka. This statement is contrary to stone records. This is pointed out by K. V. Subramania Iyer in E. I. XIX pages 82—83 and E. I. XXII page 219.

Sundara Chola ruled from 957 to 974. His first son was Aditya and the second son was Raja Raja I. Aditya was murdered in 965 in the life time of his father Sundara Chola. But Rajendra's Tiruvalankadu plates dated 1017 state that Aditya ruled after the death of Sundara. This is contrary to stone records. Please refer to S. I. I. III pages 419 and 420 and also page 124 '*The Early Cholas—Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*' by N. Sethuraman.

When a later record is incorrect the error is to be found and rectified with the aid of earlier records. The above three are such examples. Otherwise there will be point of no return and the truth cannot be found. An error found in a single record of later date cannot make scores of earlier records null and void.

- 32) Please refer to the chapter 'Accession of Kulothunga I' in '*The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*' by N. Sethuraman.
- 33) See E. I. XXXI page 224 foot note 2. Sastri was inclined to consider the accession of Kulothunga I as the precedence but he rejected it since in his view Kulothunga was an usurper. We must remember here that Kulothunga I died in 1122. Raja Raja came to the throne in 1146. It was Raja Raja who followed the precedence. In the eyes and views of Raja Raja, his great grand-father Kulothunga could not be an usurper. Tamil poem Kalingattupparani and the revised dates of Chola Kings confirm that Kulothunga I came to the throne by right. See foot note 32 above
- 34) Aruludaich Chola Mandalam and *The Cholas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*.
- 35) Venkatasubha Ayyar surmises that Kulothunga III was probably the son of Raja Raja II. See E. I. XXI page 186. The Prasasthi in the Tiruvalankadu record 86/1926 of Kulothunga III year 15 describes him, '*thanich Singam perra thani magan kon*' i. e., Kulothunga the unique son of the reputed 'Singam' (lion). Kulothunga's father Raja Raja had the surname Cholendra Singa (336/1917 and 17/1908).



- 36) *Sankara Rajendra Cholan Ula* (misnomer for *Sankara Cholan Ula*) published by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer library, Tiruvanmiyur, Madras.
- 37) *Sankama munthu thamil Sankara Solan* (சங்கமர் முத்து தமிழ் சங்கரசொலன்)
- 38) Kulothunga I (1070-1122) is the hero of the poem *Kalingathupparani*. The *Ulas* are *Vikrama Cholan Ula*, *Kulothunga Cholan Ula* and *Raja Raja Cholan Ula*. They were composed by poet *Ottakkathar*. The heroes of the three *Ulas* are *Vikrama Chola* (1118-1135), *Kulothunga II* (1133-50) and *Raja Raja II* (1156-62) respectively.
- 39) *Kulothunga III* is the hero of the Tamil poem *Kulothunga Cholan Kooni*. The poem states that *Kulothunga* was the son of king *Sankama* (*Sankama Kulothunga*). The poem also states that *Sankaran* was the predecessor of *Kulothunga* (*Sankaran munnon Kulothungan.....*)
- 40) *Valivalam* 110/1911 *Kulothunga* year 3
- 41) *Ayyampetnai* 117/128
- 42) *Tirunarayur* 176/1908 *Kulothunga* year 5 and *Valuvur* 423/1912 *Kulothunga* year 33. In these records *Kulothunga* borrows *Rajadhi Raja's Prasanthi* which appears in *Kilur S. I. I. VII 890* of *Rajadhi Raja* year 5 (262/1932)
- 43) *Tiruvennai Nallur* 313/1902 (S. I. I. VII 942) *Kulothunga* year 17
- 44) *South Indian Temple Inscriptions Volume III Part II* pages 101, 105 and E. I. XXXI page 272. Page 388 "*Pirkala Solar Varalaru*" by *Sankar Pandarathar* published by the *Annamalai University* edition 1974.



## The Pandyan Civil War

Rajadhi Raja II ascended the throne between the 24th June and the 7th July 1166. His rule in Tamil Nadu extended upto 1181. In the year 1181 he retired to Andhra and there he spent the evening of his life. He was no more after 1215.

The dates of Rajadhi Raja's reign help us in reconstructing the chronology of his war campaigns against the Pandyas and Ceylon. The subject requires careful study since the campaigns were spread over eight years in different stages. The details of all the campaigns in their different stages are furnished in Rajadhi Raja's Tiruvalangadu record<sup>1</sup> year 12 day 157 corresponding to December 1177. Kulothunga III ascended the throne in July 1178.

### The War

Maravarman Parakrama Pandya was ruling the Pandya kingdom from his capital Madura. Jatavarman Kulasekara Pandya (of "Putala Madandhai" Prasasthi பூதல மடந்தை) was ruling from Tirunelveli. He came to the throne in March 1162 (which we shall see in a separate chapter). Kulasekara also claimed the Madura throne. In the result a fierce civil war broke out. Parakrama Pandya appealed for aid to the king of Ceylon. Before the arrival of the Ceylon army, Kulasekara killed Parakrama Pandya and mounted the Madura throne. This happened in 1166 (which we shall see in the chapter Jatavarman Kulasekara of "Putala Madandhai" introduction, accession 1162).

In the later part of 1169 the Ceylon army landed in the island of Rameswaram. In the year 1170 the Ceylon generals Lankapura Dandanayaka and Jagathraya Dandanayaka succeeded in advancing deep into the Indian main land. Kulasekara Pandya was driven out from Madura. The Ceylon generals installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. Vira Pandya was the son of the deceased Parakrama Pandya. Upto this stage the events are mentioned in Mahavamsa the National History of Ceylon<sup>2</sup>. Further developments of the events are recorded in the inscriptions of Rajadhi Raja II.

### Arpakkam record :

Chengleput District Arpakkam record<sup>3</sup> of Rajadhi Raja is in year 5 corresponding to 1170-71. The record narrates the course of the subsequent events. It states that the Ceylon army, after capturing Rameswaram, advanced in the Indian main land and drove out Kulasekara from Madura. The Chola feudatories



were also driven out. The Ceylon army threatened to enter the Chola kingdom. Rajadhi Raja sent his army under the command of his Chief Minister-Cum-Army General Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan who gained success in driving out the Ceylon army and its generals Jagadhraya Dandanayaka and Lanakapura Dandanayaka.

The Arpakkam record stops at this stage. It is evident that Rajadhi Raja was successful, for the present, in arresting further advance of the Ceylon army. However the war was not over. The Ceylon generals were still occupying some of the strategic areas and pockets of the eastern region. From the Arpakkam record we come to know that Kulasekara was driven out from Madura. The Ceylon army was prevented from entering the Chola kingdom. The war continued and reached the second stage the events of which are fully narrated in the Pallavarayan Pettai inscription of Rajadhi Raja.

#### Pallavarayan Pettai record No. 433/1924:

The Pallavarayan Pettai record is in the eighth year of Rajadhi Raja corresponding to 1173-74. The record states that the Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan died of some disease. Thereupon, the next in command, Vedavanam Udaiyan Ammai Appan Annan Pallavarayan (hereafter called just Pallavarayan) requested Rajadhi Raja to distribute lands to the family members of the late Pallavarayan. Rajadhi Raja did so. In grateful appreciation of the services of the late Chief Minister, Rajadhi Raja engraved this inscription. In this record Rajadhi Raja says about the important and vital events related to the history of the Cholas namely,

- (a) Accession of Rajadhi Raja himself
- (b) and the Pandyan Civil War.

For the present we shall proceed with the events of the Pandyan war only. The record repeats the events as stated in the Arpakkam inscription and supplies some extra information. It states that Kulasekara left the Pandya country, came to the Chola capital and sought aid from Rajadhi Raja<sup>6</sup>. The Chola king sent his army under the command of Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan who defeated the Ceylon generals and killed them. The heads of the two Ceylon generals were nailed at the gates of Madura. The Ceylon army was wiped out from the main land. Pallavarayan installed Kulasekara on the Madura throne. The victorious Chola army returned to the capital. Sometime later Pallavarayan fell sick and died. Thus we get a complete picture of Rajadhi Raja's first campaign which was spread over three years. The chronology is constructed as follows:—

1) In the later part of the year 1169 the Ceylon army captured the Island of Rameswaram. Early 1170 they advanced further deep into the Indian Main Land. This is confirmed by Mahavamsa also.<sup>7</sup>



2) The Ceylon generals succeeded in driving out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the throne of Madura. The Ceylon army threatened to invade the Chola kingdom. This was successfully arrested by Pallavarayan the Chola Chief Minister-Cum-Army Commander. These events occurred in 1170. Kulasekara was still operating in the south.

3) The war continued for some more time. Kulasekara came to the Chola capital and sought aid from the Chola king Rajadhi Raja. The latter sent his army under the command of Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan. After several battles, Pallavarayan defeated the Ceylon generals and killed them. Kulasekara was reinstated on the Madura throne and Vira Pandya was driven out. The Ceylon army was driven out from the main land. The events are to be placed around 1172, since Pallavarayan fell sick and died late 1173 or early 1174.

We gather some more information regarding these events from other sources also. They are as follows:—

1. Raja Raja II was alive upto July 1173. In his records he did not mention the Pandyan war. He bestowed the credit on the Junior king Rajadhi Raja. But in his poem Thakkayagapparani (தக்கயாகப்பரணி) the poet Ottakkuthar attributes the credit to the senior king Raja Raja II. Tamil Navalar Charitai (தமிழ் நாவலர் சரிதை) also attributes the credit to Raja Raja II. This we have seen in the last chapter.

2. Junior Pallavarayan also participated in the above campaigns. This is clearly spelt out in Rajadhi Raja's Thiruvallangadu record. He was a witness and also a participator in the 1170-72 Madura campaigns.

(Eventhough the Ceylon army was driven out from the main land, it occupied the Island of Rameswaram till 1189 as evidenced by the Ceylon king Nissankamalla's inscription at Rameswaram.\* It was left to future Kulothunga III to carry out the task of recovering Rameswaram.)

The continued occupation of Rameswaram by the Ceylon army and certain developments in the Island of Ceylon kindled fire in the hearts of the Cholas.

They waited for an opportunity, invaded Ceylon and completely burnt down the northern country. The details are recorded in Rajadhi Raja's Thiruvallangadu record year 12. In view of these victories Rajadhi Raja adopted the title "He who took Madura and Ceylon" (மதுரையும் சீழும் வெகண்டருளிய). The title appears for the first time in the Prasasti of Rajadhi Raja's Alangudi record<sup>9</sup> year 11 day 182 corresponding to January 1177. Evidently the Ceylon campaign was over by 1176. The title appears regularly from the 11th year till the end of his



**Rajadhi Raja II**  
**Madura and Ceylon campaigns**<sup>10</sup>

Year	Event
1169	Ceylon Army landed in Rameswaram.
1170	Ceylon Army entered the Indian Main Land. Kulasekara was driven out from Madura. Vira Pandya was installed on the Madura throne by the Ceylon generals. <sup>11</sup>
1170	Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan the Chola Chief Minister-cum-General defeated the Ceylon army and arrested its further advance. The war continued for some more time. The Ceylon army occupying strategic areas in the eastern regions of the Pandya country. Kulasekara was still in the south resisting the Ceylon army.
1172	Kulasekara came to the Chola capital and sought aid from Raja Raja; Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan drove out the Ceylon army from the Main Land. The Ceylon generals were killed. Vira Pandya was driven out. Kulasekara was reinstalled on the Madura throne. <sup>12</sup>
1173	Raja Raja II died
1173-74	Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan died of some disease.
1176	Annan Pallavarayan (Junior Pallavarayan) the Chola commander Srivallabha invaded Ceylon.
1177	Kulasekara of Madura became a traitor. Junior Pallavarayan removed Kulasekara and reinstalled Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. <sup>13</sup>

*Foot Notes :*

- 1) 465/1905, E. I. Vol. XXII No. 14; Also refer to Thirumayanam 261/1925; both are same, For the dates of Rajadhi Raja II please refer to "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" by the Author.
- 2) E. I. XXXVI page 27; Also see pages 8 to 12 of A. R. E. 1899 and page 24 of A. R. E. 1923-24.
- 3) S. I. I. VI. No. 456 (20/1899)
- 4) Regarding Rajadhi Raja's accession please refer to "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" by the Author.



- 5) பாண்டியனார் குலசேகர தேவர் தம்முடைய ராஜ்யம் விட்டுச் சேழ ராஜ்யத்திலே புகுந்து என்னுடைய ராஜ்யம் நான் பெற வேணும் என்று சொல்ல.....
- 6) Ep. Ind. Vol. 36 page 27.
- 7) In the chapter Jatavarman Kulasekara of the "Putala Madandhai" Prasasthi we shall see Kulasekara's record dated 1171 at Attur in Tiruchchendur Taluk of Tirunelveli District. See record No. 438/1929-30 year 10.
- 8) Please refer to the chapter "Ceylon".
- 9) S. I. I. VI. 438.
- 10) For the full discussion on the Pandyan Civil War please refer to "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" and "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" by the Author.
- 11) Tenkarai record No. 5/1894 (S. I. I. V. 293) belongs to Kulasekara. It contains his prasasthi Putala Madandhai. The record is in year 9 day 44 corresponding to April 1170. The record states that Kulasekara issued the orders when he was pleased to be seated on his throne in Madura palace. It is evident that Kulasekara was driven out from Madura around April 1170. Vira Pandya ascended the throne after April 1170. This date will be again referred to when we discuss Vira Pandya of the Civil war.
- 12) Kallidaikkurichi record No. 112/1907 (S. I. I. XXIII 112) belongs to Kulasekara. It contains his Prasasthi Putala Madandhai. It is in year 11 which ends in March 1173. The record states that the king issued the orders from his Mudura Palace. It is evident that Kulasekara was installed on the Madura throne in 1172.
- 13) Record No. 327/1908 belongs to Kulasekara and it contains his Prasasthi Putala Madandhai. It is in year 15 which ends in March 1177. The record is found in Kuruvithurai Vishnu temple near Madura. It states the construction of the front hall. It is evident that Kulasekara was in Madura in 1176 and he was driven out in 1177.



## Kulothunga III - Madura Campaigns

Kulothunga III ascended the throne in July 1178. He ruled upto middle of 1218. There is reason to believe that as a young prince he too have participated in 1177 Madura campaign just a year before his accession. we shall see now.

### Kulothunga's Earlier Adventure

Rajadhi Raja II ruled the Chola empire upto the middle of 1178. Kulothunga III ascended the throne in July 1178. Rajadhi Raja and Kulothunga jointly ruled for three years.

In view of his successful campaigns against Madura and Ceylon Raja adopted the title, "He who took Madura and Ceylon"<sup>1</sup> (மதுரையும் சீலம் கொண்ட ருளிய). The title appears in the following records of Rajadhi Raja.

### Rajadhi Raja II with the title "He who took Madura and Ceylon".

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	A. D. year
S. I. I. VI. 438	Alangudi	11 day 182	1177 Jan
465/1905	Thiruvallangadu	12 day 157	1177 Dec
261/1925	Thirumayanam	12 day 157	1177 Dec
731/1909	Alampakkam	13	1179
228/1917	Kurukkai	13	1179
340/1914	Nangupatti	13	1179
193/1901	Tenneri	13	1179
449/1912	Kottur	13	1179
80/1913	Thiruchchenkattankudi	13	1179
443/1912	Kottur	14	1180
129/1927	Athur	14	1180
253/1925	Thirukkadaiyur	14	1180
58/1906	Thirumayanam	14	1180
14/1918	Tiruvidaivayil	14	1180



Kulothunga III was the second son of Raja Raja.<sup>3</sup> He borrowed his father's Prasasthi, "Puyal Vaiththu" and adopted the same from his third year. His records introduce him with various titles according to the success of his several campaigns against the Pandya kingdom and Ceylon. His first successful Pandyan campaign is recorded in the Prasasthi of his Chidambaram inscription.

*Chidambaram Inscription*<sup>4</sup> :- The record is in Kulothunga's 9th year 22th day corresponding to October 1186. The Prasasthi is in full form and it narrates the king's successful Pandyan campaign and the capture of Madura. The record states as follows :-

- 1) A rival claimant Vikrama Pandya sought the aid of Kulothunga.
- 2) Kulothunga invaded Madura drove out Vira Pandya. In the battle Vira Pandya's son was killed.
- 3) The Ceylonese army which came to the aid of Vira Pandya was driven out far beyond the sea.
- 4) Kulothunga successfully marched in the city Madura and planted his banner and victory pillar. He gave the city Madura to Vikrama Pandya.

Since the events are narrated for the first time in the Prasasthi of his record dated October 1186, the campaign should have been completed prior to this date. Kulothunga adopted the title, "He who took Madura" (மதுரை கொண்டு வருகின்ற). The title appears in the following records.

Kulothunga III with the title "He who took Madura"

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	A. D. year
25/1903	Thittakudi	8	1185—1186
61/1906	Thirumayanam	8	1185—1186
S. I. I. III. No. 86	Chidambaram	9	1186 October
37/1906	Thirukkadaiyur	9	1186—1187
62/1906	Thirumayanam	9	1186—1187
63/1906	Thirumayanam	9	1186—1187
125/1896	Sirkali	9	1186—1187
25/1918	Thiruvaidavayil	9	1186 Decem
41/1914	Thiruppanandal	9	1186—1187
296/1927	Kumbakonam	9	4—5—1187
893/1907	Maruththuvakkudi	10	1—6—1187
611/1902	Aridhuvaramangalam	10	18—7—1187
			5—1—1188



From the above table, we can infer that in 1186 Kulothunga adopted the title "who took Madura". This proves that he undertook the first Pandya campaign in 1186. We must note here that the title is specific in introducing Kulothunga as "he who took Madura" only<sup>5</sup>. The title finds its due place in the Prasasthi of the Chidambaram record dated October 1186.

### Also the crowned head of the Pandya

The following earlier records of Kulothunga introduce the king as "he who took Madura and the crowned head of the Pandya".

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	A. D. year
I90/1904	Thiruvakkarai	2	1179—80
24B/1903	Thittakkudi	4	1181—82
24A/1903	Thittakkudi	5	1182—83
93/1918	Kuhaiyur	6	1183—84

"He who took Madura and the crowned head of the Pandya" the doubtless title appears from 1179-80. *The inscriptions do not mention this title in the Prasasthi of the king.* The details of the war are not furnished in the records. The title is absent in his 3rd and 7th year records. But from his 8th year the king is introduced as "he who took Madura". "The crowned head of the Pandya" is omitted. The details of the Pandyan war are furnished in the Chidambaram record of the 9th year. The Prasasthi of this record is in full form and introduces the king as "he who took Madura" only.

The above facts prove that the title "who took Madura and the crowned head of the Pandya" refers to some other war which occurred before 1179-80. The only Pandyan campaign which was conducted by the Cholas before 1179-80, was in 1177, during Rajadhi Raja's reign. Kulothunga was crowned in July 1178. His records appear from July 1179. Only few of his earlier records introduce the king as "he who took Madura and the crowned head of the Pandya". The title appears in 1179-81 when Rajadhi Raja was also ruling as the senior king. Both the king claim victory over Madura from 1178 to 1181. These facts prompt us to infer that Kulothunga too could have participated (as a young prince) in 1177 Madura campaign, just a year before his accession. Junior's participation in battles along with the senior king, before accession, is not uncommon in the history of the Cholas. Aditya II, Rajendra I, Kulothunga I and Vikrama Chola established precedents. The poem Sankara Cholan Ula also indicates that Kulothunga too participated in 1177 Madura campaign along with Rajadhi Raja II<sup>6</sup>. Kulothunga's independent Madura campaign is to be placed in 1186 only. It could not have occurred prior to his 2nd



year. Because later we shall identify Vira Pandya; there we will find that in June 1181 Vira Pandya was happily sitting on the Madura throne, when Kulothunga was running the third year and Rajadhi Raja was still in the Chola country.

In the year 1186 Kulothunga drove out Vira Pandya and installed Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne. But the soldier prince Vira Pandya did not keep quiet. In the next year he counter attacked. Again Kulothunga defeated Vira Pandya and the latter's sons were killed. This is evident from another Chidambaram record<sup>7</sup> of Kulothunga. This record is in the 11th year day 118 corresponding to November 1188. The Prasasthi repeats the events as detailed in the previous record. It further states that Vira Pandya counter attacked. Kulothunga defeated Vira Pandya and took his crowned head. This phrase does not mean that Vira Pandya was killed. It is an exaggeration of Kulothunga's victory because we shall again see Vira Pandya fighting with Kulothunga in the subsequent years. The most important point is this.

- a) Kulothunga's Chidambaram record dated October 1186 states  
 "மதுரையும் அரசும் கொண்டு ஐயஸ்தம்பம் நட்பு அம்மதுரையும் அரசும்  
 நாடும் அடைந்த பாண்டியற்களித்தருளி மெய் மலர்ந்த வீரக் கொடியுடன்  
 தியாகக் கொடி எடுத்துச் செம்பொன் வீர சிம்மாசனத்துப் புவன முழுதுடை  
 யாளொடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய கோப்பரகேசரி பன்மரான மதுரை கொண்  
 டருளின ஸ்ரீ குலோத்துங்க சோழ தேவர்....."

"Kulothunga took Madura and the kingdom, and planted the victory pillar. He gave Madura and the (Pandya) kingdom to the legitimate Pandya (Vikrama). He raised his victorious banner. Thus having attained success *Kulothunga Chola Deva who took Madura* was pleased to be seated on the throne. etc....."

- b) His Chidambaram record dated November 1188 states  
 விக்கரம பாண்டியற்குக் கடல் மாநகர் குடுத்து மீண்ட தற்பின் எடுத்து வந்த  
 பரிபவத்தால் எதிர்த்த வீர பாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டமர் முடிவில்  
 ஐயஸ் தம்பம் நட்பின் வாகைப் பெருவீரக் கொடி உடன் எடுத்து செம்  
 பொன் வீர சிம்மாசனத்துப் புவன முழுதுடையாளொடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய  
 கோப்பரகேசரி வர்மரான ஸ்ரீ திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள் மதுரை கொண்டு  
 பாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டருளிய ஸ்ரீ குலோத்துங்க சோழ தேவர்".....

"Kulothunga gave Kudal managar i. e., Madura to Vikrama Pandya. After this event Vira Pandya counter attacked. Kulothunga defeated Vira Pandya, took his crowned head, planted the victory pillar and raised his banner. *Kulothunga Chola Deva who took Madura and the crowned head of the Pandya* was pleased to be seated on his throne etc," The scene of the battle was Nettur and this is evident from his Sri Rangam record<sup>8</sup>.

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Thus there were two hot battles. The first one was in 1186, Kulothunga adopted the title *who took Madura*. The second one was November 1188 and Kulothunga adopted the title *who took Madura and the head of the Pandya*. This title appears for the first time in the Prasasthi of Tiruppagalur record<sup>3</sup> year 10 day 52 corresponding to September 1187. The date of the second battle is prior to September 1187. The title appears in Kulothunga's records subsequent to the 10th year of his reign.

#### To sum up :

Before accession, young prince Kulothunga participated with Raja in 1177 Madura campaign. In July 1178 Kulothunga was crowned. 1178 to 1181 Rajadhi Raja and Kulothunga jointly ruled. In 1181 Rajadhi retired to Andhra.

In 1186 Kulothunga defeated Vira Pandya and drove out the Ceylon army which came to the aid of the latter. Kulothunga drove out Vira Pandya installed Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne. In 1187 Vira Pandya attacked at Nettur. But Kulothunga defeated him.

#### Further campaigns :—

We shall stop at this stage. In the chapter Ceylon we shall discuss subsequent events of the campaigns conducted by Kulothunga.

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#### Foot Notes :

- 1) Vide last chapter.
- 2) Vide last chapter.
- 3) Tirunaraiyur 165/1908 Raja Raja II year 5; Poet Ottakkuthar composed Thakkayagapparani and praises Raja Raja. The poem begins with "Vayppa".
- 4) S. I. I. III. No. 86.
- 5) Perhaps because of this victory, Kulothunga adopted the name Vijaya Rajendra Chola Deva vide Salem District Tadavur record No. 462/1913 year 9. Some scholars quote Kulothunga's Tirukkolambudur record No. S. I. I. VI. (1/1899) and surmise that he undertook the campaign before his fourth year. This is wrong. Because the regnal year of the record is lost. It is a latter record and it refers to the earlier grant made in the fourth year of Kulothunga. See confirms this. See foot note No. 43 page 410 "The Colas". Also see foot note in page 119, The Pandya kingdom by Sastri edition 1972. Some scholars quote



Kulothunga's Tiruvakkarai record No. 190/1904 year 2 and Brahmadesam record No 167/1918 year 4 in which two Sambuvaraya Chiefs figure with the title who captured Madura. But these two Chiefs figure with the same title in Rajadhi Raja's Tiruvakkarai record No. 195/1904 year 7 and Melasevur record No. 222/1904 year 13. Evidently the Chiefs adopted the titles in the reign of Rajadhi Raja. Their titles have no bearing on Kulothunga's campaigns.

- 6) Please refer to the chapter "Sankara Cholan Ula" in "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".
- 7) S. I. I. III. No. 87 (A. R. E. 458/1902)
- 8) Sri Rangam record S. I. I. III. 88 year 19 (66/1892)
- 9) Tiruppugalur record No. 80/1928 year 10 day 52.



**PART II**

**THE IMPERIAL PANDYAS**

(A. D. 1190—1400)

Kielhorn (1907), Jacobi (1911), Swamikkannu Pillai (1913) and Robert Sewell (1915) published the dates of eighteen Imperial Pandya kings who existed between 1190 and 1400. Following in their foot steps, in my book "The Imperial Pandyas—Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" (edition 1978) I identified twelve more Pandya kings. The dates of "The Imperial Pandyas" are furnished in the following pages. Their dates will be helpful because some of these kings refer to the transactions made in the reigns of their predecessors i. e., Medieval Pandyas.



## The Imperial Pandyas - Their Dates

- 1) *Jatavarman Kulasekara I* (1190—1221):- His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Puvir Kilathi" (புவின் கிலத்தி).
- 2) *Maravarman Sundara I* (1216—41). His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Pumaruviya Tirumadhum" (பூமருவிய திருமாதும்) or "Pumaruviya Tirumadandhaiyum" (பூமருவிய திருமடந்தையும்). He had the epithets, "who took the Chola country"; or "who took and presented the Chola country" or "who took and presented the Chola country after performing the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Mudikonda Cholapuram" (சோனாடு கொண்டு or சோனாடு கொண்டு சோனாடு வழங்கி அருளிய" or "சோனாடு கொண்டு சோனாடு வழங்கி முடிக்கொண்ட சோழபுரத்து வீராபிஷேகமும் விஜயாபிஷேகமும் செய்தருளிய"). Sundara's natal star was Avittam (Dhanishta).
- 3) *Maravarman Vikrama I* (1218—1232):- His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Thirumagal Jayamagal" (திருமகள் ஜயமகள்). (See appendix chapter of this book).
- 4) *Jatavarman Kulasekara II* (1237—58):- His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Puthala Vanidhai" (பூதல வனிதை). His natal star was Visaka. His accession star was Swathi. (For further details see foot note No. 4 in the chapter "Jatavarman Kulasekara of 1162 accession").
- 5) *Maravarman Sundara II* (1238—55):- His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Pumalar Tiruvum" (பூமலர் திருவும்)
- 6) *Jatavarman Vikrama I* :- He ruled from 1241 to 1248
- 7) *Maravarman Vikrama II* (1250—65):- His Grantha Prasasthi begins with "Samastha Bhuvaneka Vira". His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Tirumalar Madhu" (திருமலர் மாது). He was called "Bhuvaneka Viran".
- 8) *Jatavarman Sundara I* (1251—83):- His Grantha Prasasthi begins with "Samastha Jagad-Adhara". His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Pumalar Valar" (பூமலர் வளர்). He had the title "who took every country" or "who took all countries" (எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டருளிய or அனைத்துலகும் கொண்டருளிய). He was also called *Pon Meynda Mahipathi* (பொன் மேய்ந்த மகிபதி Lord who gilded the temples). His natal star was Mula.



- 9) *Jatavarman Vira I* (1253-83):- He had the epithet, "he conquered Kongu, Ceylon, the fierce Vadukas, Chola, Hoysala, Ka... and who performed anointment of heroes and victors at mangar i. e., Chidambaram. (கொங்கு ஈழம் கொண்டு கொடு கோடழித்து கங்கை இருகரையும் காவிரியும் கைக்கொண்டு வென்று காடவனைத் திறை கொண்டு தில்லை மாநகரில் வீராபிரேம விஜயாபிஷேகமும் செய்தருளிய). His natal star was Sadabha (Satabhishaj).
- 10) *Jatavarman Vira II* (1254-65):- His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Thiru Magal Valar Mulai" (திருமகள் வளர் முலை). For further details see the respective appendix chapter of this book.
- 11) *Maravarman Kulasekara I* (1268-1312):- His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Ther Pol Algal" (தேர் போல் அக்குல்). He had the epithet "he took every country" (எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டருளிய). His natal star was Mula.
- 12) *Jatavarman Sundara II* (1277-1300):- His surname was *Avaniveran Raman* (அவனிவேந்த ராமன்). His natal star was *Uttirattathi* (Uttirattathi Badrapada).
- 13) *Maravarman Vikrama III*:- He ruled from 1283 to 1287.
- 14) *Jatavarman Vira Pandya III* (1297-1342):- He had the surname *Kaliyuga Raman* (கலியுக ராமன்). He was the elder son of *Maravarman Kulasekara I*.
- 15) *Jatavarman Sundara III* (1304-1320):- His surname was *Kodan Raman* (கோதண்டராமன்). His natal star was *Pushya*. He was the second son of *Maravarman Kulasekara I*.
- 16) *Jatavarman Srivallabha* (1308-42):- He was called *Akavarman* (ஆகவராமன்) He had the surname *Val Vasi Kattinan* (வால் வசிகத்தினன்) i. e., "he who swashed his sword and showed his valor". Probably he was the third son of *Maravarman Kulasekara I*.
- 17) *Maravarman Srivallabha* (1308-42):- He had the surname *Manankathan* (மானங்காத்தான்) i. e., he who saved the prestige.
- 18) *Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya* 1313-35:- He was probably the last son of *Maravarman Kulasekara I* by a second wife. *Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya* joined the Muhammadan invaders.



- 19) *Maravarman Kulasekara II* (1314-62):- He was called *Bhuvaneka Viran*. His natal star was *Uttiram*.
- 20) *Jatavarman Parakrama I* (1315-33):- He had the surname "*Para Raja Raman, Vaiyam Thola Ninran* (பர ராஜராமன் வையம் தொழ நின்றான்). In the year 1319 he defeated *Khusru Khan* and adopted the title *Valal Vall Tirandan* (வாளால் வழி திறத்தான்) i. e., "he who opened the way by the Sword". (303/1910)
- 21) *Jatavarman Sundara IV* (1318-42):- He had the surnames "*Paliyil Pugalanan*" (பழியில் புகழானான்) i. e., who became famous by taking revenge against his enemies and "*Alavil Anjatha Perumal*" (அளவில் அஞ்சாத பெருமான்) i. e., his interpidity is limitless".
- 22) *Jatavarman Sundara V*:- He ruled from 1329 to 1345.
- 23) *Maravarman Vikrama IV* (1333-40):- He had the surname *Rajakkal Nayan*. (ராஜாக்கள் நாயன்). His natal star was *Hasta*. His accession star was *Robini*. He was also called *Raja Narayana*. (215/1915).
- 24) *Maravarman Vira Pandya* (1334-80):- He had the surname *Kaliyuga Raman*. (கலியுக ராமன்). He invited *Vira Kampanna*, the *Vijayanagar* Prince, to drive out the *Muhammadans* from *Madura*.
- 25) *Maravarman Parakrama I* (1335-62):- He had the title "*Mudi Mannar Nayan*" (முடி மன்னர் நாயன்) i. e., "Lord of the crowned kings".
- 26) *Jatavarman Vira IV*:- He ruled from 1337 to 1376 (vide *Perichikkoil* 69/1924).
- 27) *Jatavarman Vikrama II*:- He ruled from 1344 to 1352.
- 28) *Maravarman Sundara III* (1344-72):- He joined *Vira Kampanna* in driving out the *Muhammadans* from *Madura*. He had the title "who took all countries" (எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டருளிய)
- 29) *Jatavarman Parakrama II*:- He ruled from 1358 to 1372 (vide *Nagarkoil* 30/1896).



*Jatavarman Parakrama III*:- He ruled from 1368 to 1387 (vide Kuttalam 408/1917).

*Maravarman Kulasekara III*:- He ruled from 1396 to 1410 (vide Ilangi 328/1911).

*Jatavarman Kulasekara*:- He ruled from 1396 to 1403 (vide Karivalam Vandha Nallur 270/1908).

*Vikrama Pandya?*:- He ruled from 1401 to 1418 (vide Tiruppanavai S. I. I. VIII. 209).

"FOR FURTHER DETAILS PLEASE REFER TO THE BOOK  
"THE IMPERIAL PANDYAS-MATHEMATICS RECONSTRUCTED  
THE CHRONOLOGY".



## PART III

# THE MEDIEVAL PANDYAS

(A. D. 1000 to 1200)

In the following pages the Medieval Pandyas are identified. Their records are discussed in detail. The contemporary Chola records, the Kanarese record found at Sri Rangam engraved in the reign of the Konkan ruler Vira-Kavy Alopendra and the Ceylon Chronicle Mahavamsa are also consulted. These source materials help us in constructing a reasonable frame work of the Medieval Pandyan Chronology. The dates of some of the temples built by the Medieval Pandyas are also discussed. The dates of these temples help us in identifying the kings who had same name and same title but who existed in different periods. Medieval Pandyas were subordinates under the Cholas. Roman Numbers are not assigned to them. They are referred to by their accession dates or by their Prasasthis.



## Jatavarman Udaiyar Srivallabha of Accession 1014

A record from Tiruvisalur<sup>1</sup> dated in the third year of Rajendra Chola Deva I, (corresponding to 1014-15) states that the queen of the Pandya king Srivalluvar i. e., Srivallabha gifted ornaments to the image of God. This proves that a Pandya king by name Srivallabha existed around 1014-15 and he was contemporary of Rajendra Chola I (1012-1043).

In the year 1021-22 Rajendra Chola built a Palace at Madura and appointed his second son as the viceroy to rule over the Pandya territory. The son was called Udaiyar Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya.

It is evident that in the initial stage, Srivallabha who existed in 1014-15 was friendly with the Cholas and later in the year 1021-22 he was removed from Madura. The Chola Pandya occupied the Madura throne. On this basis we have to find out a contemporary king Srivallabha Deva. This Pandya king existed in 1014-15 and therefore he could not have adopted the title *Tribhuvanachakravartin* since the title was introduced in Tamil Nadu by Kulothunga Chola I (1070-1120). The Pandya could be called simply as Srivallabha Deva or Udaiyar Srivallabha Deva. Such a king really existed. The following records belong to Udaiyar Srivallabha Deva. The records are found in Tirunelveli District only.

### Jatavarman Udaiyar Srivallabha Deva

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Remarks
S. I. I. XIV. 210	Sermadevi	5	Line 29 mentions Nikar Sola Kon surname Raja Raja I; 985-1014
S. I. I. XIV. 214	Attur	6	Prasasthi is Tirumagal Jayamagal
331/1916 S. I. I. XIV. 239	Tiruvalliswaram	17	-Do-
454/1961-62	Tirukkolur	Lost	-Do-



## The Tiruvaliswaram record<sup>s</sup> S. I. I. XIV. 239

This record is in the 17th year of Udaiyar Srivallabha Deva. In this record,

- 1) Line 65 mentions Vira Pandya Muvenda Velan
- 2) Line 72 mentions Sundara Pandya Muvenda Velan
- 3) Line 75 mentions Manabarana Uttara Mantiri (Minister)
- 4) Line 163 mentions Rajendra Chola.....
- 5) Line 182 mentions an Officer by name Araiyan Chola Pandyan.....

The above information prompt us to infer that Srivallabha was the contemporary of Rajendra Chola I. A careful reading of the lines 180 to 186 reveal some interesting information. The relevant portion refers to the transactions made in the eighth year of Srivallabha. They state as follows :—

- 1) Previously Umai Ammai<sup>4</sup> (உமை அம்மை - a lady) made some endowments.
- 2) In accordance with the endowments made by Umai Ammai, *the Kant* (right of cultivating the lands) was granted to Sankara Padyan alias Manabarana Vaikuntha Nadalvan.
- 3) The above grant was suggested to the king by Captain<sup>5</sup> (Senapatbi) Raja Raja Vellappa Nadalvan and the order was engraved on stone. The order was to take effect from the eighth year of Srivallabha. One of the witnesses in the order was Araiyan Chola Pandya.....

The Officer Araiyan Chola Pandya borrows the surname from his overlord Chola Pandya. It could be noted that even in the eighth year of Srivallabha the Chola Pandya was in Madura. Jatavarman Udaiyar Sundara Chola Pandya came to the throne in 1021—22. If this is so, then the Pandya king Srivallabha should have come to the throne atleast in 1014.

A record<sup>6</sup> from Veppilaippatti dated in the third year of Srivallabha states that the stone on which the record is engraved was put to mark the site of the bund of the tank of Iranjonadu by *Araiyan Madurantakan alias Karunilakkudi Nadalvan*. In the third year record of Srivallabha an Officer by name *Madurantakan* figures. *Madurantakan* means 'lord of death to Madura i. e., to the Pandyas'. With such a name an officer figures in the record of the Pandya! It is evident that he is a Chola Officer and he figures in Srivallabha's record. The Chola Officer was probably deputed by the Cholas to supervise the affairs in the Pandya country. *Madurantakan* was the surname of Rajendra Chola I who came to the throne in 1012. It is evident that the 3rd year of Srivallabha falls in the reign of Rajendra I.



Srivallabha's highest regnal year is 17. Probably he could have had maximum upto 1031. His Prasasthi runs as follows.

திருமகள் சயமகள் திருப்புயத் திருப்ப  
 இருசிலத்தொரு குடை நிறற்ப போர்வலி செம்பியர்  
 சினப்புலி ஒதுங்க அப்புயர் மேருவிற்  
 கயல் வினையாட பார்மிசை மன்ன.....  
 மொழி மாற்றி நாற்றிசை மன்னவர்  
 திறை முறையளப்ப மன்னிய வீரசிம்மாசனத்து  
 எழுந்தருளிய மாமுதல் மதிக்குலம் விளக்கிய  
 கோமுதல் கோச்சடையரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீ வல்லப தேவர்.....

The Prasasthi invokes the blessings of Maha Lakshmi and Jaya Lakshmi. The fierce tiger i. e., the Chola who was powerful in battles is said to have retreated. The *Fish Emblem* of the Pandyas plays on the Meru Mountain. The kings of the four quarters pay tributes to Jatavarman Udaiyar Srivallabha who belongs to the lunar race. The Prasasthi is a poem glorifying the king. But in one place it states that in his reign the fierce tiger, the powerful Chola retreated. This is impossible. Perhaps these high sounding words should have provoked Rajendra Chola to drive out Srivallabha from Madura and the former's son Chola Pandya mounted the Madura throne in 1021-22. This is also evident from Rajendra's Tiruvalangudi copper plates<sup>7</sup> which state that Rajendra drove out the powerful Pandya king who had a large army, to the mountains and installed his son as Chola Pandya on the Madura throne. The Chola Pandya was installed in 1021-22. Fittingly in the Tiruvaliswaram record of Srivallabha a Chola Pandya Officer figure is mentioned. Probably after 1021-22 Srivallabha became a subordinate under the Cholas. Srivallabha should have gone to the southern district Tirunelveli where his records are found.

We cannot brush aside the claims of Srivallabha as an empty boast. It clearly reflects his resistance to the Chola authority. Because in the after years his successors suffered at the hands of Rajadhi Raja I. The surnames of Srivallabha's Officers prompt us to infer that probably Vira Pandya, Sundara Pandya and Manabarana were the successors (perhaps the sons) of Srivallabha. Sometime before 1045 Rajadhi Raja killed Vira Pandya and Manabarana. He drove out Sundara Pandya<sup>8</sup>. In the year 1050 Rajadhi Raja appointed his last brother, son and step-elder brother Alavandan as Viceroy in Tirunelveli area. This is evident from Rajadhi Raja's Prasasthi<sup>9</sup>. In the year 1067 Vira Rajendra Chola defeated Vira Kesari (another?), son of Srivallabha. This is evident from the former's Karur record.<sup>10</sup>

From 1021 to 1070 the Cholas ruled at Madura in the name of Chola Pandyas. The contemporary Pandya kings were driven out and some of them died in the encounters with the Cholas. Around 1080 the last Chola Pandya also



disappeared and once again the Pandyas commenced their rule at Madura and also from other places. They were subordinates under Kulothunga I.

The history of the Pandyas from 1070 to 1166 is not clear and in the present state of our knowledge it remains so. However in the midst of many difficulties we shall see a few kings in the subsequent chapters.

### Gist

Jatavarman Udaiyar Srivallabha existed (probably) between 1014 and 1031. In the initial stage he was friendly with the Cholas. Later in 1021-22 he was driven out from Madura. Rajendra I's son Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya occupied the Madura throne.

Srivallabha spent the evening of his life in Tirunelveli area. His successors were subdued by the Cholas who appointed their relatives to rule in different parts of the Pandya country. Srivallabha's Prasasthi begins with "Tirumagal Jayamagal" (திருமகள் ஜயமகள்)

### Additional information

Tiruvalliswaram records S. I. I. XIV 160 and 161 belong to Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya years 16 and 17 corresponding to 1038 and 1039. Line 73 of the former and line 20 of the latter mention an Officer by name Vikrama Pandya Brahmadhirayan. Perhaps a Vikrama Pandya existed in 1039. Probably this Vikrama Pandya was defeated by Rajadhi Raja I (1018-1054) and was driven to Ceylon.

A record from Manimangalam is in the 29th year of Rajadhi Raja I and is dated 3rd December 1046. It states that at Ceylon Rajadhi Raja defeated both Vikrama Bahu (of Ceylon) and Vikrama Pandya who had already left Tamil Nadu and sought assylum in Ceylon.<sup>11</sup>

(Vikrama Pandya existed in 1039 and he was ruling somewhere in the Pandya country. Later he fled to Ceylon. Rajadhi Raja invaded Ceylon defeated the Ceylon king and Vikrama Pandya. This happened prior to 1046).<sup>12</sup>

### Foot Notes

- 1) Tanjore District, Tiruvisalur record No. 46/1907; S. I. I. XXIII No. 46.
- 2) Tiruvandarkoil record No. 363/1917 Rajendra I year 10; Tirunelveli district Mannarkoil record No. 112/1905 Rajendra I year 24; K. V. Subramanya Iyer E. I. Vol. XI. page 292. See page 46 "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". Refer to the chapter "Discovery of the Chola Pandyas".



- 3) Here I would like to draw the attention of the epigraphists and the researchers to the difficulties involved in analysing the Pandyan records due to the delay in the publication of the full text. S. I. I. XIV 239 and 331/1916 are the same. A. R. E. 1917 page 17, the report states that the regnal year is 7. The report in page 109 identifies this Srivallabha with another (later) Srivallabha who had the Prasasthi "Tirumadandaiyum" (திருமடந்தையும்) and Srivallabha contemporary of Kulothunga I (1070-1122). The later Srivallabha who was madandaiyum introduction was a different king and he came to the throne in 1101 which we shall see in another chapter. Srivallabha of 331/1916 has Prasasthi "Tirumagal Jayamagal" (திருமகள் ஜயமகள்). He was the contemporary of Rajendra I (1021-1043). Record 331/1916 was discovered in 1916. Full text was published in S. I. I. XIV. 239 in which the regnal year is clearly spelt out as 17 in words and not 7 as was surmised in page 17 of A. R. E. 1917. The work of S. I. I. XIV was undertaken by A. S. Ramanatha Iyer between the years 1918 and 1941. It was completed in 1956. But the volume was published in 1962. (Please see the preface of S. I. I. XIV). I am fully aware of the difficulties of the epigraphic department and I do not find fault with what I wish is this. The Government must take sufficient interest in the department with enough men and materials so that the publications could be brought out quickly. Government should pay greater attention towards Epigraphic research.
- 4) Umai Ammai existed in 973. Please refer to Kielhorn E. I. IX. page 234.
- 5) This name of the army Officer clearly shows that the captain belongs to the Chola army. Incidentally the same temple record No. 120/1905 refers to the Chola army Munrukai Mahasenai under whose protection the temple, treasury and the servants are kept.
- 6) 345/1930-31; S. I. I. XIV 203:- "ஸ்ரீ சியவல தேவர்க்கு யாண்டுந் இருஞ்சோனா ன்று உணி. அரையன் மதுராந்தகனான கருநீலக்குடி நாடாள்வான் இட்ட அணைகுடி"
- 7) S. I. I. III. page 422 verses 90 to 93.
- 8) See Rajadhi Raja I records S. I. I. XVII 312 year 26 (the report wrongly translates year 26 as year 22); S. I. I. VIII. 675 year 27; S. I. I. XVII. year 27. Tiruvaliswaram record S. I. I. XIV No. 160 belongs to Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya year 16, corresponding to 1038. Line 98 mentions the Officer by name Vira Pandyan Solai. It is evident that Vira Pandya existed in 1031 and 1038. He was killed prior to 1045.
- 9) S. I. I. VII 1046 Rajadhi Raja I year 33; See page 50 "The Cholas Mathematical Reconstructs the Chronology". See page 11 ante.
- 10) Karur record S. I. I. III. 20 Vira Rajendra year 4.
- 11) S. I. I. III: 28 line 4 :- "தென் தமிழ் மண்டலம் முழுவதும் இழந்து ஏழ்கடல் புக்க இலங்கேசுவரனாகிய விக்கிரம பாண்டியன் பருமணி மகுடமும்....."
- 12) For further details please refer to S. I. I. III page 56 and pages 248 to 252 "The Cholas" by K. A. N. edition 1975.



# Jatavarman Srivallabha Pandya

Of Accession A. D. 1101

Inscriptions belonging to Tribhuvanachakravartin Jatavarman Srivallabha of "Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum" (திருமடந்தையும் ஜயமடந்தையும்) Prasasthi are published in S. I. I. XIV. They range from regnal years 2 to 23. The Prasasthi runs as follows.

திருமடந்தையும் ஜயமடந்தையும் திருப்புயங்கள் இனிதிருப்ப  
இருநிலமும் பெருமையெய்த எண்டிசையும் குடைநிழற்ற  
மன்னரெல்லாம் வந்திறைஞ்ச மரபில் வரு மணிமுடிசூடித்  
தென்குமரி முதலாகத் திரைகடலோர் எல்லையாகப்  
பார் முழுதும் கயலாணைபரந்து செங்கோலுடன்  
வளர்மன்னிய வீரசிம்மாசனத்து உலகமுழுதுடையாரோடும்  
வீற்றிருந்தருளிய மாமுதல் மதிக்குலம் விளக்கிய  
கோச்சடையபன் மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ வல்லபதேவர்  
மாடக்குளக்கீழ் மதுரைக்கோயிலினுள்ளாலை அழகிய பாண்டியன்  
கூடத்துப் பள்ளிக்கட்டில் பாண்டியராஜனில் எழுந்தருளி இருந்து.....

The Prasasthi does not furnish any historical event. It states that the king has the blessings of Maha Lakshmi and Jaya Lakshmi. The king rules the land with fame. The other kings pay tributes to Srivallabha. The king belongs to the lunar race. He rules from Madura. He issues the orders when he was pleased to be seated on the throne Pandya Rajan in the bed chambers of the hall Alagiya Pandyan Kutam in the Madura palace. In certain records his throne Kalingattarayan in Alagiya Pandyan Kutam situated within the Madura palace is also mentioned.<sup>1</sup> His natal star was Chitra.<sup>2</sup>

Vijayanarayanam record<sup>3</sup> of Srivallabha contains his prasasthi "Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum". It is dated year 10 month Tula. It refers to a grant made in the 31st year of Kulothunga who took Kollam i. e. Kulothunga I. It is evident that Srivallabha was a contemporary of Kulothunga I (1070-1122).<sup>4</sup>

A record from Tenkarai<sup>5</sup> is in the 21st year of Srivallabha. It contains his Prasasthi. The record is much damaged. The available data are month Makara, solar day 2, Friday and Uttirattathi. The data do not produce any date between 1100 and 1200. The data are defective. However, S. I. I. XIV page VI suggests Friday 25th December 1142 and admits that it was Makara I and not 2. The report surmises that the king came to the throne between 1120 and 1122 (probably a printing mistake for 1121-1122). The report admits that this initial date does not agree with the king's two more records<sup>6</sup> which quote the positions of Jupiter.



Tenkarai record is defective. We have to seek other solution. narayanam record is in the 10th year month Tula. Line 3 states

“ திருமுகப்படி திருக்கோயிலில் குறிப்புப்படியும் இறையவிட்ட  
நிலம் கொல்லம் கொண்ட குலோத்துங்க சோழதேவர்க்கு  
யாண்டு நயக ஓநயக ஆண்டு முதல் தரத்து  
ஸ்ரீ சடகோப விண்ணகர் ஆள்வார்க்கு நிலம் (?)  
ஸ்ரீ வரகுண விண்ணகர் ஆள்வார்க்கு நிலம் (?)  
ஸ்ரீ ராகவ சக்கரவர்த்திகளுக்கு நிலம் (?).....etc ”...

The inscription states that as per the references found in the temple documents tax free lands were gifted to the temple in the 31st year of Kulothunga Chola I who took Kollam. They were first grade lands and they were granted to Sadagopa Vinnaga Alwar temple, Varaguna Vinnaga Alwar temple and Rajas Chakravarthi ( Rama ) temple. The record then proceeds to register the grant of second grade lands made to the temple in the 10th year of Srivallabha.

The record which is in the month Tula of the 10th year of Srivallabha states that as per the temple documents ( திருக்கோயில் குறிப்புப்படியும் ) certain lands were granted in the 31st year of Kulothunga I. Thus it is evident that the year month Tula of Srivallabha is later than the 31st year of Kulothunga.

Year 10 month Tula of Srivallabha > 31st year of Kulothunga.

Year 10 month Tula of Srivallabha > June 1100-June 1101.

Srivallabha's Ambasamudram record<sup>7</sup> contains his Prasasthi. It is in year 20. It registers the grant made to the temple and states that the grant made effective from the date when Jupiter entered Kumba ( கும்ப வியாழ முதல் )

20th year of Srivallabha = Jupiter entered Kumba.

Srivallabha's Rajasingamangalam record<sup>8</sup> contains his Prasasthi. The record is in his 10th year. The record while mentioning the grant made in the 10th year also refers to an earlier grant made in the year when Jupiter entered Kumba. It is evident that in some year prior to his 10th year, Jupiter entered Kumba. Jupiter has 12 year Cycle. As per the Ambasamudram record, in his 20th year Jupiter was in Kumba. Naturally in his 8th year, Jupiter should have entered Kumba. The grant made in the 8th year is referred to in the 10th year.

8th year	=	Jupiter entered Kumba
10th year	>	8th year
10th year	>	1100-1101
20th year	=	Jupiter entered Kumba.



Satisfying the above equations we have two dates for Jupiter in Kumba (300 to 330 degrees). The first date was the 320th solar day of the solar year Kaliyuga 4208 (1107-1108) when Jupiter entered Kumba. The data fall on 6th February. The date corresponds to the 8th year.

The second date is the 300th solar day in Kaliyuga 4220 (1119-20) when Jupiter entered Kumba. The data fall on 18th January. The date corresponds to the 20th year.

8th year	=	6th February 1108
10th year Tula	=	October 1110
20th year	=	18th January 1120.

Therefore

October 1100	=	0th year
January 1101	=	1st year
February 1101	=	1st year
October 1101	=	1st year

The above calculations reveal that Jatavarman Srivallabha came to the throne in January 1101. His Tiruttangal record<sup>10</sup> is in year 22 day 540 corresponding to the middle of 1123. Probably his rule extended upto 1124.

### Verification

In the above calculations, it is pointed out that Jupiter entered Kumba (300th degree) on 18th January 1120. It travels 30 degrees and enters Mina (330th degree) in the next year 1121. It means that commencing from 18th January 1120 Jupiter will be in Kumba for one year. This is corroborated by Kulothunga I's Tirukkoshtiyur record No. 284/1923. The data of the record are year 50, Jupiter in Kumba, Mesha 26.

Kulothunga came to the throne on 13th June 1070. His 50th year Mesha 26 falls on 8th April 1120. Kulothunga's record states that on this date Jupiter was in Kumba. This agrees with our above calculations.

### Son Sundara Pandya

Jatavarman Srivallabha mentions his son Sundara Pandya (சுந்தர பாண்டிய தேவர்). In the present state of our knowledge we are unable to find the records of this Sundara. If at all this Sundara had ever ruled, then he should be a Maravarman and this Sundara's successor should be a Jatavarman and they should have ruled from Madura. Because Srivallabha's records state that his capital was Madura. Sundara figures in the 4th, 9th, 17th and 20th year records<sup>11</sup> of Srivallabha. Sundara existed in 1104, 1109, 1117 and 1120.



Srivallabha's Rajasingamangalam record<sup>1</sup> mentions the grant made by his son Manabarana (மன்பரணன் மரபரணன்). In the Kattarimangalam record Srivallabha refers to his son as "our son Sundara Pandyan" (நம்முள்ளி சுந்தரபாண்டியன்). Probably Manabarana was the surname of Sundara Pandya and we shall see this later.

### Gist

Jatavarman Srivallabha ascended the throne early 1101. His Prasasthi begins with "Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum" (திருமடந்தையும் ஜயமடந்தையும்). His capital was Madura. His natal star was Chitra. He was a subordinate under Kulothunga I. Srivallabha had a son by name Sundara Pandya alias Manabarana. Sundara was alive in 1120. Jatavarman Srivallabha's rule extended upto 1124.

### Kuruvitturai Temple

Madura is situated on the southern bank of river Vaikai. Solavandan is an agricultural centre about twenty kilometers north west of Madura. The proper town Solavandan is situated on the northern bank of river Vaikai. Tenkarai means south bank. Fittingly the village Tenkarai is on the south bank of the river opposite to Solavandan. Madura to Tenkarai is about twenty Kilometers. Tenkarai to Solvandan is one kilometer. Kuruvitturai is also on the south bank and it is about ten kilometers west of Tenkarai. In the ancient days the locality was in the complex of Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam which in modern times has taken the corrupt form Solavandan.

The Chitra Ratha Vallabha Perumal (Vishnu) temple is in Kuruvitturai. The earliest inscriptions of this temple belong to Thirubhuvanachakravartin Jatavarman Srivallabha. They contain his Prasasthi "Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum" (திருமடந்தையும் ஜயமடந்தையும்). The records are tabulated below.

### Kuruvitturai records of 1908 — Jatavarman Srivallabha of "Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum" Prasasthi

Table 1

A. R. E No.	S. I. I XIV. No.	Regnal year	Name of God mentioned in the record
1	2	3	4
323/1908	198	2	Tiruchakkara Thirtha Emberuman
321/1908	215	7	Tiruchchakkara Thirtha Paramaswami



1	2	3	4
326/1908	223	9	Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar
318/1908	229	11	Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar
324/1908	236	16	-Do-
322/1908	254	22	-Do-
319 and 320 of 1908 }	255	22	-Do-

All the records are found on the walls of the central shrine and they contain the Prasasthi. They mention the king's capital Madura. The name of God is given as Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar. It means the same name Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar. Srivallabha's 11th year record<sup>14</sup> narrates certain events which supply the clue to fix the date of the temple. The record states as follows.

In the second year of the king an officer of Mangadu of Puliyur Kottam in Thondaimandalam purchased some lands from the assembly of Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam and gifted them to the temple. These lands were grouped together and a new hamlet was formed. The new hamlet was called in the sacred name *Kulasekara Mangalam* (குலசேகர மங்கலம் எனலும் திருநாமத்தால்) and it was in the centre of Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam. The lands of the new hamlet *Kulasekara Mangalam* were assigned tax free and gifted to the temple. This happened in the second year of our king Srivallabha i. e., in 1102. The boundaries of the lands of *Kulasekara Mangalam* lie,

- West of Parakrama Pandyan big river,
- North of Muvayira Nallur Kalkudi lands,
- East of Parakrama Pandyan Sluice and
- South of river Vaikai.

A careful reading of the lines 5 to 7 of the record reveals that the temple itself was built in the centre of the above lands. They state that previously in the second year of the king five velis of lands were assigned for the formation of the "temple", "its yard", and "the Colony"<sup>15</sup>. Out of these five velis of lands three velis were not in the enjoyment of the temple and this was rectified in the 11th year. It is evident that the temple was built in the second year of Srivallabha. The date of the temple is A. D. 1102.

The record mentions another transaction also. In the 11th year, certain specified areas of lands of this temple were gifted to Tenkarai Vishnu temple and in



turn lands of the same measurement belonging to Tenkarai Vishnu Temple were gifted to the former temple. It means exchange of lands between Kuruvitturai and the near by Tenkarai Vishnu Temples<sup>16</sup>. From the above transactions we come to know the following.

a) Since Kulasekara Mangalam, *the village in the sacred name*, was formed in the second year of the king, it is evident that a king by name Kulasekara existed as a predecessor to Srivallabha. Probably that Kulasekara was the father of Srivallabha and he should have ruled at Madura between 1070 to 1101. Because Chola Pandyas ruled at Madura upto 1070 and Srivallabha ruled there from 1101.

b) As early as the second year of the king a river and a sluice are mentioned in the name of Parakrama Pandya. This proves that there was a Parakrama either a predecessor or contemporary.

c) Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple was built by Srivallabha in his second year i. e. 1102 and it was called Tiruchchakkarath Alwar (திருச்சக்கரத்தாள்வார்)

d) In the 11th year of the king certain lands belonging to this temple were given in exchange to Tenkarai Vishnu Temple for the same measurement of lands. It is evident that at Tenkarai (near Kuruvitturai) there was another Vishnu Temple. It was in existence from the earlier times. We shall discuss about the Tenkarai Vishnu Temple in the chapter Solavandan complex.

Another Kuruvitturai record<sup>17</sup> of Srivallabha is in year 9, corresponding to A. D. 1109. The record registers the grant made by the king for conducting Parakrama Pandyan Kattalai (regular service under endowment in the name of Parakrama). These facts indicate that probably Parakrama was a predecessor or a contemporary and he was no more in the 9th year of Srivallabha.

The village Tenkarai is adjacent to the Kuruvitturai village. The Mulasthanam Udaiyar Shiva Temple of the Tenkarai village contains many Pandyan records. We shall consider two records of Srivallabha.

Record No. 6/1894 (S. I. I. V. 294):- This record belongs to Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession. It contains his Prasasthi *Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum*". The Regnal year is 3 corresponding to 1103. The record states that certain individuals set up the images of Lord Nataraja and His consort. The king granted lands for the worship of the images. The record mentions the temple as Mulasthanam Udaiyar situated in Sendaneri Kattikkallur in Ten Kallaka Nadu.



Record No. 7/1894 (S. I. I. V. 295):- This record also belongs to the same Jatavarman Srivallabha. The transactions mentioned in the previous record are also narrated in this record. The individuals who figure in the previous record also figure in this record. It is said that the lands granted in the previous record for the worship of Nataraja and His consort are made tax free from year 4 corresponding to 1104. The temple is called Mulasthanam Udaiyar situated in Sendaneri Kattikkallur in Ten Kallaka Nadu. The village is also called as *Parakrama Pandya Puram*. This proves that a Pandya king Parakrama existed as a predecessor to Srivallabha and the former was no more in 1104. Probably Parakrama was the elder brother of Srivallabha.

### Suggested Genealogy

Kulasekara (existed between 1070 and 1101)

Parakrama Pandya  
no more in 1104

Jatavarman Srivallabha of  
(Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum  
Prasasthi) 1101—1124.

Sundara Pandya alias Manaberana.

### Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam

In the second year record of Srivallabha corresponding to 1102 the city Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam is referred to. It means that the city existed in the earlier days also and it was called after the surname of an earlier Pandya king.

Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola ruled from 939 to 959. He had the title Cholantaka<sup>18</sup>. Probably during his reign the city was formed and it was called in his name as "Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam."

### Modern name

Kuruvitturai record S. I. I. XIV. No. 223 belongs to Srivallabha year 9 corresponding to A. D. 1109. Line 5 mentions Kuruvikkalludaippu—a sluice. (குருவிக்கல்லுடைப்பு.....). Probably the modern name Kuruvitturai is derived from this name. (Turai means village on the banks of a river)

The modern name of the above Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple is Chitra Batha Vallabha Perumal temple. This name has no historicity. In the inscriptions the temple is called "Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar (திருச்சக்கரத்தாவர்) only. Record No. 327/1908 of this temple belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara of Putala



In the present state of our knowledge we are unable to identify the Pandyas who were defeated by Kulothunga I. But it is definite that Jatavarman Srivallabha of accession 1101 could not be one of these five Pandyas. Srivallabha came to the throne in 1101. But Kulothunga defeated five Pandyas prior to 1084. However to some extent we can find the names of some of the Pandyas who were defeated by Kulothunga. But we are unable to identify the records. (I doubt whether the records of these Pandyan princes are discovered)

When we discussed Jatavarman Srivallabha of accession 1101 we found that a Kulasekara and a Parakrama were predecessors to Srivallabha. In his records the same Srivallabha mentions a standard unit of measure called Vira Pandyan Kal<sup>2</sup> perhaps a Vira Pandya existed prior to the reign of Srivallabha.

A record<sup>2</sup> from Kanyakumari is in the 4th year of Rajendra II (of accession 1052) and it is dated 1056. In this record (in line 19) an officer by name Vira Pandya Muvendavelan figures. Probably a Vira Pandya existed in 1056 as a subordinate to the Cholas.

In the year 1067 Vira Rajendra Chola defeated a Vira Kesari son of Srivallabha<sup>10</sup> about whom we have no knowledge. This Vira Kesari was killed. Perhaps he would have lived beyond 1070 when Kulothunga came to the throne.

In all probability Kulothunga would have defeated Vira Pandya, Vira Kesari, Kulasekara and Parakrama. The fifth Pandya who was defeated by Kulothunga is not known. Rajadhi Raja I states that he killed Manabarana, drove out Sundara Pandya and killed Vira Kerala who were the then three southerners (தென்னவர் மூவருள்). In his Tirukkadaiyur records<sup>11</sup> (1192-94) Kulothunga III states that he pardoned மீனாவனும் வீரகேளரனை i. e., Minavan (Pandya) alias Vira Kerala. It is evident that a line of Travancore Kerala family was also considered as one among the five Pandyas<sup>12</sup>. Probably Kulothunga I defeated a Kerala king and the victim could be the fifth Pandya.

Kulothunga I completed his southern campaign before 1084. The Pandyas were subdued. However *Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum* Jatavarman Srivallabha of accession 1101 managed to get on smoothly with the Cholas.

### Foot Notes

- 1) Page 13, "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". Also refer to the chapters Kulothunga I and his accession pages 74 to 95.
- 2) Page 35 Ibid. I have proved that Kulothunga was crowned by Vira Rajendra. In his poem Kalingathupparani poet Jayankondar confirms that Vira Rajendra crowned Kulothunga.



Pages 92 to 94 Ibid; Kulothunga's Somangalam record S. I. I. VII, 102 is in year 3 corresponding to 1072-73. The Prasasti states

“கமலமணிய நிலங்கள் தன்னை முன்னிக்குனித்த வன்ருக் திருமகக்  
கெழலா எடுத்ததென்ன யாதுஞ் சலியா வகையில் இனிதெடுத்த” Like lord  
Vishnu who brought the Goddess of earth (like a lotus) Kulothunga established  
the kingdom without difficulty.

- 4) S. I. I. III. 68 Kulothunga I year 5.
- 5) 186/1914 Kulothunga I year 11.
- 6) S. I. I. III. 69 and S. I. I. XVII. 153; Kulothunga year 14.
- 7) See page 313 “The Colas” by K. A. N. edition 1975; Sastri agrees.
- 8) S. I. I. XIV 223 Line 6.
- 9) Kanyakumari 105/1896. Tamil Nadu Government Kanyakumari Inscription No. 1968/56.
- 10) S. I. I. III. 20. Vira Rajendra year 4.
- 11) 254/1925 and 42/1906.
- 12) Scholars are divided on the “Five Pandyas” theory. The fact remains that many kings of the same or different names ruled in the same or overlapping periods. Please refer to page 247. “The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology” by the author.



# Jatavarman Srivallabha Pandya

Of Accession 1131

Tribhuvanachakravartin Jatavarman Srivallabha Pandya with the  
Prasasthi "Pumadhu Punara" (பூமாது புணர) existed in the 12th century.  
His records in which the Prasasthi appears are tabulated below.

## Tribhuvanachakravartin Jatavarman Srivallabha with "Pumadhu Punara" Prasasthi.

Record No.	Village	Regnal year
625/1917	Kadaiyanallur ( Tirunelveli District )	Lost
343/1959-60	Vembathur ( Ramnad District )	(3) ..... ?
498/1962-63	Aanaiyur ( Near Madura )	2

Vembathur is a small village in Ramnad District. On the south wall of the Vinayaka temple there are two inscriptions. One belongs to "Pumadhu Punara" Jatavarman Srivallabha<sup>1</sup>. The record is in the character of the 12th century. The other inscription<sup>2</sup> belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara I who came to the throne in 1190 and it contains his Prasasthi "Puvin Kilathi" (பூவின் கிழத்தி). It is evident that the former Srivallabha existed prior to 1190. The Prasasthi of Srivallabha runs as follows.<sup>3</sup>

பூமாது புணர புகழ்மாது விளங்க  
நாமாது விரும்ப நயந்த செயமடந்தை  
தானினிது வளர்ந் ..... ரர் தழைப்ப  
வண்டமிழ் கூடலில் மணிமுடி சூடி  
விக்கிரமத் தொழிலால் சக்கிர நடாத்தி  
..... நிழற் செந்தமிழ் தெரிந்து அருமறை முறைமையில்  
அருள் முடிவுரை இருநிலம் தழைப்ப  
ஒரு த(னி) வெண் குடை சிழற்ற  
செங்கோல் ஓச்சி கருங்கலி கடிந்து  
பெருங்குடை வகுள சாமரை இருமட



வீரசிங்கா தனத்து உலகமுமுதுடை யானோடும்  
 வீற்றிருந்தருளிய மாமுதல் மதிக்குலம் விளக்கிய  
 கோமுதல் சடையபன்மரான திரிபுவளச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள்  
 ஸ்ரீ வல்லப தேவர் .....

( 625/1917 )

The Prasasthi states that the king Jatavarman Srivallabha has the blessings of Maha Lakshmi, Kirti Lakshmi, Saraswathi and Jaya Lakshmi. It is said that the king was crowned in the city of Tamil Kudal i. e., Madura. It is evident that this king Jatavarman Srivallabha's capital was Madura.

In his Aanaiyur record, regnal year 2, an Officer Kavanur Kilavan Tiruvorriyur Ther Poliya Nirran (காவனூர் கிழவன் திருவொற்றியூர் தேர் பொலிய சிற்றான் ) figures<sup>4</sup>. The same officer figures in *Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum* introduction Jatavarman Srivallabha's Ambasamudram record<sup>5</sup> year 20 corresponding to 1120. This Srivallabha's rule came to an end in 1124. This proves that the second year of *Pumahu Punara Srivallabha* is later than 1126 and he existed after this date. This is inference No. 1.

( The records of both the kings state that the officer Kavanur Kilavan Tiruvorriyur Ther Poliya Nirran (காவனூர் கிழவன் திருவொற்றியூர் தேர் பொலிய சிற்றான் ) hails from Kavanur of Thevur Nadu in Vijayaraja Vala Nadu of Chola Mandalam).

The beginning portion of the Prasasthi "Pumadhu Punara Pugal Madhu Vilanga" (பூமாது புணர புகழ் மாது விளங்க) and the phrase "Vikkiramat Tolilal Chakkira Nadaththi" (விக்கிரமத் தொழிலால் சக்கிர நடாத்தி) etc., closely resemble the Prasasthis of Kulothunga I (1070 - 1122) and Vikrama Chola. (1118-1135). Therefore it is possible that Jatavarman Srivallabha was a contemporary of Vikrama Chola. (1118-1133). This is inference No. 2.

Srivallabha's Kadaiyanallur record (625/1917) is damaged in certain places. The name of the king and the regnal year are lost. However we can assign this record to Srivallabha since it contains his Prasasthi "Pumadhu Punara" and the title Jatavarman. The record supplies some important information.

Line 4 of the record states that four individuals requested the king to grant certain lands to the temple "Thirukkamalisuramudaiya Mahadeva" situated in Kadaiyanallur. The grant was required in order to carry out regular worship, festivals and various services in the temple.

Lines 5 to 7 state that, in accordance with the above request, the king granted certain specified lands to the temple. The lands were made tax free and were declared the "devadana lands" of the temple.



Lines 9 and 10 state that four revenue officers signed the order of the temple. The order took effect from the day when Jupiter entered Kumba? (கும்ப விளக்கு முத்திரை).

Lines 8 and 9 state that the above order was communicated to the temple authorities. When Jupiter was in Kumba, on a Thursday, on which day star Hasta was current, the order was entered in the temple register (கும்ப விளக்கு முத்திரை விளக்கிழையும் அத்தமும் பெற்ற நாள்). When the order was entered in the register four more signatories signed as witnesses.

From the above information we can infer certain important facts. The date of the record is later than 1124. Sometime after this date, when Jupiter was in Kumba, star Hasta was current on a Thursday. Satisfying the above conditions we get the dates as follows.

- 1) Jupiter was in Kumba between the 31st December 1131 and the 31st January 1133.
- 2) 29th December 1132 was a Thursday and star Hasta was current on that date. The date falls in the period when Jupiter was in Kumba.

The sequence of the transactions in this. The grant was made effective 31st December 1131. Necessary entries were made in the temple register on 29th December 1132. The dates reveal that Jatavarman Srivallabha was ruling in 1131 and 1132. This is inference No. 1.

Pudukkottai state Nedungudi record No. Pd. 426 belongs to Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha. The Prasasti is absent. The data is year 10, month Simba, ba 6. Aswathi and Monday. The data perfectly agree with the date 5th August 1140. The record belongs to Pumadhu Punara Srivallabha. So he came to the throne in 1131.

Our inferences 1, 2 and 3 and the initial year 1131 prompt us to infer that probably Pumadhu Punara Srivallabha was the grandson of Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadaadhaiyum Srivallabha. (Both have the same title and name). Against this reasonable assumption let us see the Solapuram records discussed below.

### Solapuram records

Solapuram is a small village in the Kovilpatti Taluk of Tiruchirappalli District. The Venkatachalapathy Perumal Temple of this village contains many Pandyan records and they were copied in the year 1909.

Record No. 493/1909 belongs to Jatavarman Srivallabha of Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadaadhaiyum introduction. It is in year 4 corresponding to 1131.



The record states that the order was issued by Prince Sundara Pandya son of Srivallabha. It further states that the names of the village and the temple were Sudara Pandya Chathurvedhi Mangalam and Sundara Pandya Vinnagar Alwar respectively called after Sundara Pandya. The village included the hamlets Tiruchelur in Thudaiyanur Muttam of Venbaikudi Nadu, Amanputhur, Kondayeneri and Upanayana Mangalam.

Record No. 497/1909 of the same temple belongs to Konerinmaikondan year 16. It mentions the name of the temple as Uttama Chola Vinnagar Alwar situated in Solapuram alias Uttama Chola Chathurvedhi Mangalam the Devadana of the temple. The record narrates the events of the earlier days. It states as follows<sup>10</sup>.

1) In the days of the great grand-father (அரிய அப்பா) and in accordance with the royal letter received from the grand-father (அரிய அப்பா) the hamlets (whose names are same as described in 493 above) were grouped together and formed as a village and it was called Sundara Pandya Chathurvedhi Mangalam. The people enjoyed the benefits and lived happily in the village Sundara Pandya Chathurvedhi Mangalam.

2) Later (பின்னர்) due to famine, drought and unforeseen circumstances the people left the village. The tanks became dry and forests grew. The temple was closed and there was no worship or service.

3) Under such circumstances the grandson (குருதி) after making an appeal to Uttama Chola Periyar<sup>11</sup>, bestowed the names Uttama Chola Vinnagar to the temple and Uttama Chola Chathurvedhi Mangalam to the village. Twenty families were settled in the village.

4) In the 16th year of Konerinmaikondan the village assembly members appealed to the king for laying stone embankments to the tanks and also for the removal of the forests. Accordingly it was done so as per the orders of Konerinmaikondan.

On the basis of the information obtained from the above two records (493 and 497) we can surmise as follows :-

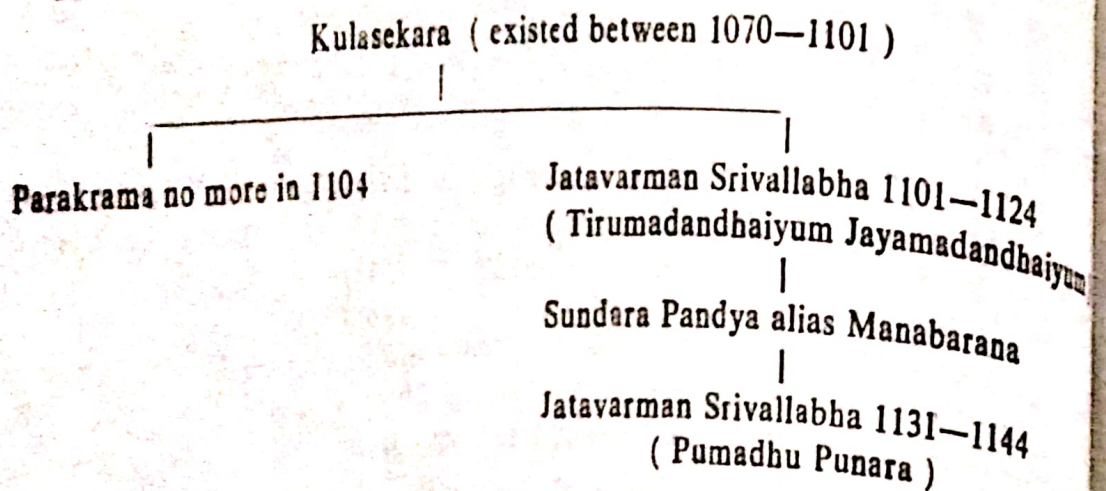
Great Grand-father	=	Jatavarman Srivallabha (1101-24)
Grand-father	=	Sundara Pandya
Grand-son (?)	=	Grand-son (?)
Konerinmaikondan	=	Son (?)



The son of Jatavarman Srivallabha (1101—1124) was Sundara Pandya. In year 1104 he founded the village Sundara Pandya Chathurvedbi Mangalam. His son (the grand-son of Srivallabha of accession 1101) should be a Jatavarman. We may not be far wrong in equating him to Jatavarman Srivallabha of Purnama Punara Prasasthi. His son Konerinmaikondan should be a Maravarman. (He was probably Maravarman Parakrama Pandya whom we shall see in the relevant chapter).

So we conclude that Jatavarman Srivallabha of Purnama Punara Prasasthi was the son of Sundara Pandya and the grand-son of Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession. Purnama Punara Srivallabha was alive in 1140. His successor was Maravarman Parakrama. He came to the throne in 1143-44 which we shall see in another chapter. On the basis of Parakrama's date we shall fix 1144 as the closing year of Srivallabha.

### Suggested Genealogy



### Foot Notes

- 1) 343/1959-60
- 2) 344/1959-60
- 3) I am thankful to Shri K. G. Krishnan, the Chief Epigraphist who was kind enough to show me the transcript of this Prasasthi. This appears in 625/1917.
- 4) A. R. E. 1962-63 page 31 ;
- 5) S. I. I. XIV 245
- 6) A. R. E. 1962-63 page 31
- 7) See note 3 above
- 8) Refer to L. D. S. Indian Ephemeris Volume I, Part I - the Geocentric places for Jupiter and consult page 267 of Volume III Indian Ephemeris.



9) S. I. I. XIV 205 - Please read lines 9 to 35.

10) I am thankful to shri K. G. Krishnan the Chief Epigraphist, Office of the Chief Epigraphist Mysore. He was kind enough to supply me the transcript of 497/1909 which is reproduced below.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள் கோனேரின்மேல் கொண்
2. டான் சோழபுரத்து உத்தம சோழ விண்ணகராழ்வார் தேவதானம் உத்தம சோழச் சதுர்வேதி மங்கலத்து ஸபையார்
3. க்கு இவ்வாழ்வார் தேவதானம் ஆண்மாநாட்டு வெள் னையறை நல்லூரான தன்ம பராயணப்பேரேரியும் துடையனார் முட்டத் -
4. து திருச்சேலூரும் அமன்புத்தாரும் கொண்டயனேரியும் உபனியன் மங்கலமும் பெரிய அப்பாட்டர் காலமே தங்
5. களுக்கு காணிவார்த்து இறை கட்டினபடிக்கு புரவுவரியார் உள்வரியும் இனிய அப்பாட்டர் திருமுகமும் பெற்று சுந்தரபாண்டிய
6. ச் சதுவேதிமங்கலமென்று அனுபவிச்ச போந்து பின்பு துறிகூடும் கரஸ்வரையபு மிக்கு தாங்கள் குடிபோனமையில் இக்கு
7. ளங்கள் பாழாய் காடெழுந்து கிடந்து திருவாராதனமும் முட்டி கிடந்தமையில் பேரனார் உத்தமசோழப்பெ-
8. ரியா (ர்) க்கு விண்ணப்பஞ்செய்து இவ்வாழ்வார்(ர்) க்கு உத்தம சோழ விண்ணகராழ்வாரென்று பேராலும் உத்தமசோ-
9. ழச் சதுர்வேதிமங்கலமென்று இருபது பேர்க்கு நிகாமஞ் செய்வித்தும் குளங்கமும் கல்லுவித்து நிலமும் காடுவெ-
10. ட்டிக் கைக்கொண்டு அனுபவித்து உந்துதாக இப்படிக்கு நம்மோடையும் பெற வேணுமென்று விரதமுடித்த பெருமாள் சொல்லுகையி-
11. ல் அப்படி செல்வதாக சொன்னோம் இக்குளங்கள் முன்பு தாங்கள் அனுபவித்து வருகிற படியெ இவ்வாழ்வார்கு பண்பாடு பழநடை கடமை
12. இறுத்து அனுபவிக்க இவை (முனி) வநாயன் எழுத்து இவை வயனாட்டரயனெழுத்து இவை பல்லவராயனெழுத்து யாண்டு
13. பதின் முன்றுவது நாள் ஆயிரத்தொரு நூற்று ஒரு பத்தொன்பதினும் பிரசாதஞ் செ(ய்) தருளிவித்தது.

( Please compare the above transcript with S. I. I. XIV 205 )

- 1) The grandson appealed to Uttama Chola Periyar. In Tamil Periyar means Greatman. We do not know who was that Greatman, Uttama Chola. We can only make a harmless guess. In the analysis the grandson is identified as Jatavarman Srivallabha of Pumadhu Punara introduction. He existed between 1131 and 1144. His contemporary was the Chola emperor Kulothunga II (1133-1150) who had the surname Uttama Chola. This is evident from Sekilar Puranam the Tamil poem composed by Umaphathi Sivam. For further details please see pages 168 to 170 " The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology " by the author.



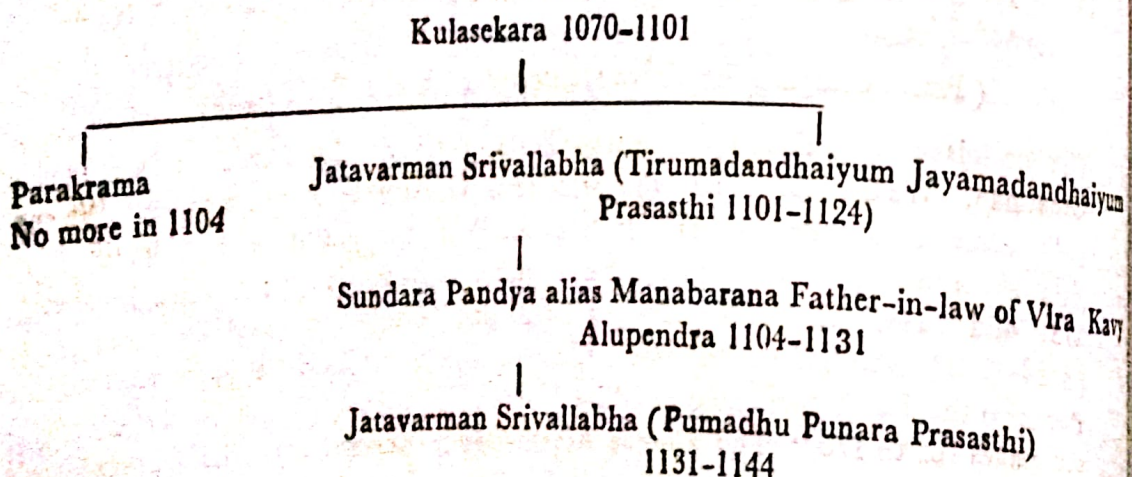
## Sundara Pandya

Jatavarman Srivallabha of *Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum* introduction ruled from 1101 to 1124. His son was Sundara Pandya. Sundara Pandya's son was Jatavarman Srivallabha of *Pumadhu Punara* introduction and he ruled from 1131 to 1144.

The period 1124 to 1131 is to be filled up. We can safely assign the period to Sundara Pandya. But, as a king, Sundara figures in the 4th, 9th, 17th and 20th year records of his father<sup>1</sup>. Probably Sundara was crowned in 1104. If this is so then we can safely surmise that Sundara ruled from 1104 to 1131. In the light of this surmise let us see a Kanarase inscription found at Sri Rangam.

The subject record<sup>2</sup> is found on the west wall of the fifth Prakara of the Sri Ranganatha Temple Sri Rangam. Shri K. G. Krishnan, the Chief Epigraphist has edited this record in the pages 225 to 230 of E. I. Vol. XXXVIII.

The record belongs to the Alupa king-Vira Kavy Alupendra<sup>3</sup> who ruled in Konkan (Mangalore area) between 1114 and 1155. Shri K. G. Krishnan has discussed this record in detail. From this record we come to know that Pattamadevi the queen of Vira Kavy Alupendra was the daughter of the Pandya king Manabarana of Madura. Shri K. G. Krishnan correctly identifies the Pandya king Manabarana as the son of Jatavarman Srivallabha of *Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum* introduction. We have also identified the son of Srivallabha as Sundara Pandya alias Manabarana. In the light of these findings, we shall surmise the genealogy as follows.





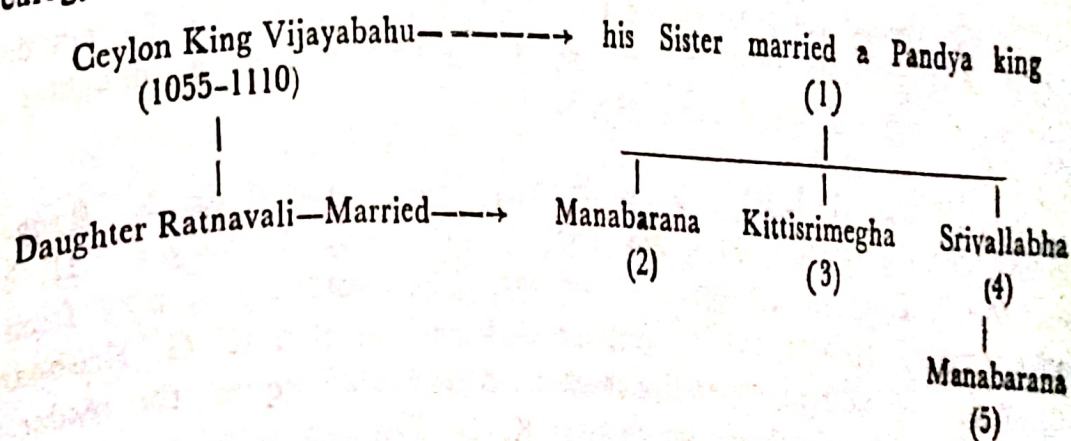
The date of (Vira Kavy Alupendra's) Sri Rangam record is not available. But Shri K. G. Krishnan states that the Alupa Prasasthi obtained in the above record appears to be the earliest occurrence (or version)<sup>4</sup> so far noticed. If this is so then we can surmise that *probably* the record was engraved between 1115 and 1120. In this record Vira Kavy Alupendra attributes the following epithets to his father-in-law Manabarana.

- 1) Chandra Kulasekara (the head ornament of the lunar race)
- 2) Cholakulantaka (lord of death to the Chola family)
- 3) One who is seated on the head in the centre of the excellent seat of Indra among the devas
- 4) Madhuradhiswara (lord of Madura) Sriman Manabaranadevar.

The record of the Alupa king at Sri Rangam, its probable date between 1115 and 1120, and the attributes of the epithets to the Pandya king of Madura are puzzling. The subject period falls in the closing year of Kulothunga I (1070-1122) and the beginning of the reign of Vikrama Chola (1118-1133). We shall see this puzzle in the next chapter "Parantaka Deva"

### Mahavamsa

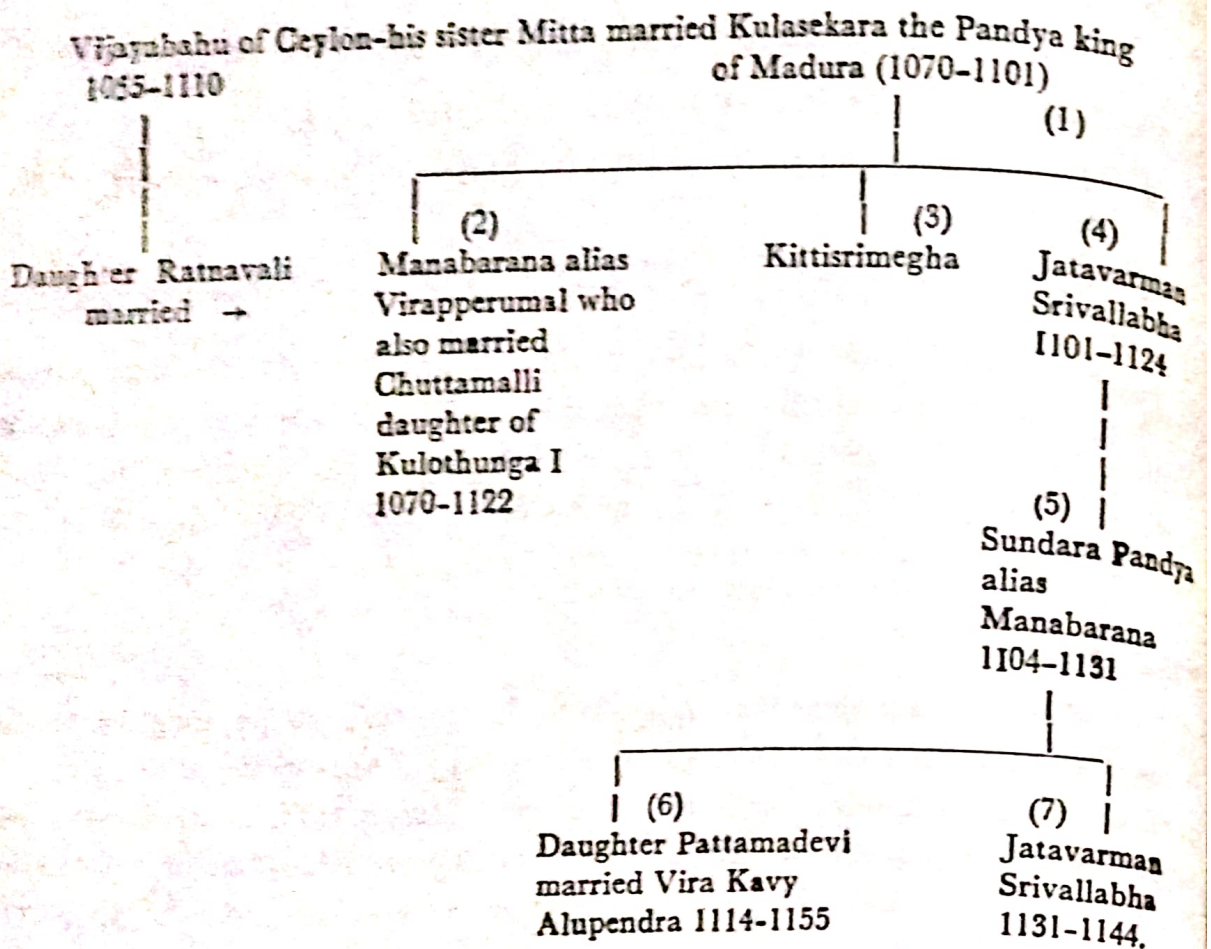
Mahavamsa states<sup>5</sup> that Vijayabahu I, the then ruling king of Ceylon (1055-1110) gave his sister Mitta to a Pandya king (whose name is not given) in marriage and Mitta gave birth to three sons Manabarana, Kittisrimegha and Srivallabha. The first son Manabarana married Ratnavali daughter of Vijayabahu. The last son Srivallabha had a son whose name was also Manabarana. The genealogy is as follows.



From other stone records<sup>6</sup> of Ceylon we come to know that Manabarana (No. 2) son-in-law of Vijayabahu also married Chuttamalli the daughter of Kulothunga I (1070-1122). This Manabarana was also called Virapperumal.



A record from Polonnarava, Ceylon equates the 55th regnal year of Vijayabahu to his age 73. It is evident that Vijayabahu came to the throne in 1070 at the age of 18. At this age he as a young Prince could have given his young sister Mitta in marriage to another young Pandya Prince. Probably that young Pandya Prince was Kulasekara whom we placed at Madura - as a ruler - between 1070 and 1101. On the basis of this inference we shall construct the genealogy as follows.



In the Sri Rangaam record the donors are Kittideva and Pattamadevi. Kittideva is probably Kittisrimegha (No. 3). Pattamadevi is the daughter of Sundara Pandya alias Manabarana (No. 5).

(Shri K. G. Krishnan has made an excellent analysis of the Sri Rangaam record. His observations throw new light on the Medieval Pandyas. He has given the genealogy of the kings in his own way. I have made my surmise from a different angle. However the fact remains that but for Shri K. G. Krishnan's article, I could not have written this chapter. At any rate I request the reader to please compare the genealogy given by Shri K. G. Krishnan with the surmise of mine and observe the differences in the approach. I am sure pages 225 to 230 of E. I. XXXVIII and the surmises made in this chapter will attract the attention of the researchers).



No. 2 Manabarana and No. 3 Kittistimegha were probably in Ceylon. In the previous chapters I surmised that a Parakrama Pandya was the elder brother of Srivallabha of 1101 accession. Probably Parakrama was the son of Kulasekara by another queen.

### Legend

There is a legendary story prevalent in the Tamil literature. Pukalendi Pulavar (புகழேந்திபுலவர்) the author of Nala Venba (நலவேண்டி) was supposed to be the contemporary of the Tamil poet Ottakkuthar who was the court poet in the reigns of Vikrama Chola (1118-1135), Kulothunga II (1133-1150) and Raja Raja II (1146-1173).

It is said that there was rivalry between Pukalendi Pulavar and Ottakkuthar. Pukalendi Pulavar left the Chola country and sought assylum in the court of the Pandya king Manabarana. If this is so then Manabarana was probably Sugdara Pandya who existed between 1104 and 1131. How far the story is true we do not know.

### Foot Notes

1) See page 75 ante; See foot note No. 11 page 80 ante.

2) Sri Rangam 117/1937-38

3) A. R. E. 1926-27 page 109 para 75; A. R. E. 1928-29 page 79, para 44.

4) Page 226 E. I. XXXVIII

5) Page 227 E. I. XXXVIII

6) Page 227 E. I. XXXVIII; Ep. Zyl; Vol. III pages 303/12

7) 600/1912; S. I. I. IV 1396; தஸராஜ்ய தர்மத்தால் ஐம்பத்தப் பாண்டு இலங்கை முழுதும் ஒரு குடை நிழற்றித் திருவிராஜ்யம் செய்தருளி எழுபத்து மூவாண்டு திருநகரத் திரம் செலுத்தின கோமுகேசங்கபோதி வம்சரான சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ விஜயபாகுதேவர் — The Seventy three years old Vijayabahu ruled Sri Lanka for fifty five years under one umbrella in accordance with "Ten Dharma Shastras".



## Parantaka Deva (?)

An Inscription of Parantaka Deva in the character of the 12th century is engraved on the east wall of the first Prakara of the Kanyakumari temple at Cape Comorin<sup>1</sup>. It contains his Prasasthi and it runs as follows :—

திருவளரச் செயம் வளரத் தென்னவர்தம் குலம் வளர  
 அருமறைநான் கவைவளர அனைத்துலகுந் துயர் நீக்கத்  
 தென் மதுராபுரித் தோன்றி தேவேந்தரனோடி னிதிருந்த  
 மன்னர் பிரான் வழதியர்கோன் வடிவலம்ப நின்றருளி  
 மால் கடலை எறிந்தருளி மலையத்துக் கயல்பொறித்துச்  
 சேரலனைச் செருவில்வென்று திறை கொண்டு வாகை குடிக்  
 கூபகர்கோன் மகட்டுடுப்பக் குலவிழிஞங் கைக்கொண்டு  
 கன்னிப்போர் செய்தருளிக் காந்தனூர்சாலை கலமறுத்து  
 மன்னுபுகழ் மறையவர்தம் மணியம்பலத்து இனிதிருந்து  
 ஆயிரத்தெண்மர் அவிரோதம் பணிப்பணியால் மறைபேர்த்துக்  
 கல்நாட்டிப் பண்டுள்ள பேர்தவிர்த்து நிறுப்பனவும்  
 அளப்பனவும் கயலெழுதி அனந்தபுரத் தெம்மாற்கு  
 நிலவியபொன் மணிவிளக்கு நின்றறெரிய பத்தமைத்து  
 ஆங்கமைந்த தாயநல்லூர் அடதென்னூட்டு அரையனென்ன  
 அறிவாகையால் அறிந்துணர்த்த தென்னவர் தம்குலதெய்வம்  
 தென்குமரி கன்னி ( படாரியார் ) திருநாள் விளாவுதனில்  
 தைப்பூசப் பிறறைநான்று வந்திருந்தோ ரெல்லோர்க்கும்  
 மாற்றாதே தியாகம்இட அறத்தால் விளங்கிய  
 ஆய்ந்த கேள்விப் புறத்தாயநாடு பூமகட்களித்துத்  
 தெலிங்கவிமன் குளங்கொண்டு தென்கலிங்க மடிபடுத்து  
 திசை அனைத்துமுடனூண்ட ஸ்ரீ பராந்தகதேவற்கு யாண்டு ௯ ஆவது  
 ராஜராஜப் பாண்டி நாட்டு உத்தம சோழ வளநாட்டு  
 புறத்தாய நாட்டுக் குமரிக் கன்னியா பகவதியார்  
 தேவதானத்துக்குப் பெருநான் கெல் லையாவது.....

The name of the king is Parantaka Deva only. The regnal year is 9. The title Maravarman or Jatavarman and the name "Pandya" are absent. The date only one record of this king is found in full form. (The other one found in the same temple is fully damaged and it is also in year 9)<sup>2</sup>. The above Prasasthi stands as follows :—

The king Parantaka Deva rules for the prosperity of the wealth, victory, the family of the southerners and the four Vedas. He removes the sorrows of the world. Valudiyar Kon (Pandya) who was born in Madura and who was happily



sitting on the throne along with Devendra, washes Parantaka (i. e., performs the sacred bath for Parantaka). King Parantaka inscribed the fish emblem on the mountain. He defeated the Chera and collected tributes from him. The king of Kupaka ( Travancore ) gave his daughter in marriage to Parantaka who captured Villinam ( a city in Travancore ). Parantaka conducted Kanni battle ( Pandyan War ? ) and destroyed the *Kalam* at Kandalur Salai. He was pleased to be seated on Mani Ambalam. On the advise of the counsel of one thousand eight members and as per the codes of Sastras he planted ( boundary ? ) stones. He inscribed the emblem of fish on the standard weights and measurements. He gifted lamps to Lord Vishnu of Anantapuram ( Travancore ). In order to make it known that he is the Lord of the southern country he celebrated the Thai Pusam festival for Kanyakumari the family Goddess of the southerners. He gifted lands to Kanyakumari temple during the festival. Parantaka defeated Telugu Vima and brought south Kalingam ( Orissa ) under his control.

The rest of the record deals with the transactions of the business. It is said that the king arranged festivals for Goddess Kanyakumari on the day of star Pushya in the month of Thai.

Gopinatha Rao rightly identifies the king as a contemporary of Kulothunga Chola I ( 1070-1122 ). Scholars identified Parantaka as a Pandya king. But I am doubtful about this surmise in view of the following reasons.

- 1) The title Jatavarman or Maravarman and the name Pandya are absent.
- 2) The title Jatavarman is said to have been found in another record but the record is not published.
- 3) It is said that the Pandya who was born in Madura and who was happily sitting on the throne along with Devendra Washes ( வடிவலம்ப ) Parantaka. ( Pandya performs the bath for Parantaka ). The phrase prompts us to infer that Parantaka may belong to another dynasty and he could not be a Pandya. (No Pandya will say that another Pandya performs "Vadivalamba" for the former ).
- 4) Parantaka claims to have defeated Telugu Vima and Kalingam which campaigns were conducted by Kulothunga I and Vikrama Chola.
- 5) Parantaka uses the phrase "Kandalur Salai Kalam Aruththu" ( காந்தலூர் சாலை கலம் அறுத்து ..... ) which is usually found in the Prasasthis of the Cholas. This phrase was used by Raja Raja Chola I ( 985-1014 ) and Rajadhi Raja Chola I ( 1018-1054 ).



- 6) While referring to the boundaries of the village, Parantaka mentions Raja Raja Pandi Nadu and Uttama Chola Vala Nadu. These names of the territorial divisions are found in the Chola records only. The contemporary Pandyan records and the records of the subsequent Pandyas mention Pandi Mandalam only. Though they were subordinates under the Cholas Pandyas never said "Raja Raja Pandi Nadu" (Raja Raja Pandi Nadu is named after Raja Raja I who brought the whole of Pandya country under Chola control. Uttama Chola Vala Nadu is named after Rajendra I who had the surname Uttama Chola )
- 7) The name of the king is Parantaka Deva only. His 9th year record alone is known.

According to the Puranic legends like Halasyapurna, Pandya Kulodhayam ( Sanskrit ) and Tiruvilaiyadal Puranam ( Tamil ) Goddess Meenakshi was the daughter of king Malaiyathvaja. She was the first Pandyan Princess. She married Lord Shiva who became the first Pandya of Madura under the name Soma Sundara Pandya. Ugra Pandya was the son of Soma Sundara Pandya and Meenakshi. It is said that Ugra Pandya was the incarnation of Kartikeya ( Kumara or Subramanya ) Once Ugra Pandya went on war campaigns. He went to the heavens. Lord Devendra was pleased to receive Ugra Pandya and both were sitting on the same throne.

Pandyas used to claim the achievements of Ugra Pandya and they would state that they had the privilege of having born in Madura and being seated on the throne with Devendra. This is referred to in the Prasasthi of Parantaka. It is said that the Pandya who was born in Madura, and who was pleased to be seated with Devendra, washes Parantaka. It means Parantaka belongs to some other dynasty and he could not be a Pandya. No Pandya will say that the another Pandya washes the former.

The presentation of the Prasasthi and the contents prompt us to infer that Parantaka may be a Chola but he acts like a Pandya as was done by the Chola Pandyas.

He says "தென்னாட்டு அரையினென்ன அறிவாகையால் அறிந்துணர்ந்த". He wants to make it known that he is the Lord of the southern country. No Pandya requires this advertisement.

In the circumstances I doubt whether he is really a Pandya king ! He may be Parakesarivarman Parantaka Deva first son of Kulothunga Chola I. His records upto year 9 are available in Tamil Nadu and Andhra. The records are tabulated below.



Parantaka Deva<sup>8</sup>

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Saka year
S. I. I. IV. No. 1324	Draksharama		
	-Do-		1034
S. I. I. IV No. 1017	-Do-		1037
S. I. I. V. No. 1214	Vijayawada		1038
S. I. I. IV. No. 737		5	1037
	Thiruvalangadu		Cyclie year
S. I. I. V. No. 879	Koil Thevarayan Pettai	9	Manmatha
261/1923	Thiruvadathural	9	
225/1928-29	Madhurantakam	9	
S. I. I. V. No. 991		7	

A record found at Draksharama<sup>4</sup> is in the 40th year of Kulothunga. The record refers to Parantaka as the son of Kulothunga (புள்ளையார் பராந்தக தேவர்). In the undated inscriptions<sup>5</sup> of Draksharama, Parantaka figures with the characteristic Eastern Chalukyan title Sarvalokasrya Vishnuvardhana Maharaja. In the Telugu records<sup>6</sup> the king is given the Tamil title "Konerinmaikondan" (in Telugu *Konerinmaikondaru*). The years supplied by the inscriptions agree with the period of Kulothunga I. In Andhra records Parantaka is mentioned as the Governor of Vengi under Koluthunga I. In Tamil records, he is given the title Parakesari Varman Tribhuvanachakravartin. His Tamil inscriptions contain the Prasasthi "*Pumagal Valara Puvimangai Punara*"<sup>7</sup> etc.,

Parantaka ruled from 1111 to 1119. He was the elder brother of Vikrama Chola<sup>8</sup> (1118-35). Parantaka undertook successful campaigns against Telugu Vima and Kalingam. He died in his ninth year corresponding to 1119. Perhaps Kulothunga could have appointed his son Parantaka Deva in-charge of the Pandya country following in the foot steps of his ancestors Chola Pandyas. Curiously Parantaka Deva's Kanyakumari record is also in the ninth year which was his last year.

## Hoysala invasion

Hoysala Vishnu Vardhana invaded the Chola country and marched upto Rameswaram<sup>9</sup>. This happened around 1118. He says that he killed a Pandya king. This Pandya could be a Tirunelveli Pandya. In this period (1118) Vira Kavy Alupendra the ally of Vishnu Vardhana could have also accompanied the Hoysala. In the last chapter<sup>10</sup> we discussed the Sri Rangam record in which Vira Kavy Alupendra refers to Manabarana alias Sundara Pandya as Cholakulantaka. To sum up we can surmise as follows.



Around 1118, Hoysala Vishnu Vardhana and Vira Kavy Alupendra invaded the Chola country. They received support from Sundara Pandya of Madura. The Chola king Kulothunga I drove out the invaders and sent his son Parantaka to set right the matters in the Pandya country.<sup>11</sup> This happened in 1119 the 9th year of Parantaka Deva. In the same year he engraved his record at Kanyakumari. Parantaka Deva was no more after 1119. In the year 1123 Vikrama Chola installed an image of God at Tribhuvani (Pondicherry State) and called it *Parantaka Isvaramudaiyar* in memory of his elder brother Parantaka<sup>12</sup>.

Gi-t

Parantaka Deva of the Kanyakumari inscription regnal year 9 was not a Pandya king. He was a Chola. He was Parantaka Deva the first son of Kulothunga Chola I (1070-1122). Parantaka ruled from 1111 to 1119.

*Foot Notes :*

- 1) 108/1896; T. A. S. III page 4; Tamil Nadu Government Kanyakumari inscription No. 1968/57.
- 2) T. A. S. Page 1 and page 4 foot note 14. The record is not published Part of it is published in T. N. G. K. I. 1968/75.
- 3) E. I. XXXII No. 22; The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology pages 100 to 102.
- 4) S. I. I. IV. 1023
- 5) S. I. I. IV. 1271 and 1272.
- 6) S. I. I. IV. 1270 and 1274.
- 7) E. I. XXXII No. 22 மும்ங்கை வளர புனிமங்கை புணர ஜயமங்கை மகிழ் புகழ் மங்கை மலரத் தன் அடி இரண்டும் தரணிபர் சூட்ட பொன் முடியது புகழு-ன் சூடி தன் கோன் வரவில் செங்கோல் நடாத்தி திங்கள் வெண்குடைக்கீழ் விஜய சிம்ஹாசனத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளிய கோப்பரகேசரி பன்மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ பராந்தக தேவர்.
- 8) See foot note 3 above
- 9) E. I. XXXII pages 191-195; E. I. XXXVI No. 25 page 205.
- 10) Page 91 ante.
- 11) Incidentally an undated inscription belonging to Kulothunga I is found in Kanyakumari District. It refers to the grant made to the temple for the welfare of the king, his queen and his sons (பெருமாள் திருமேனியும் நம்பிராட்டியார் திருமேனியும் பிள்ளைகள் திருமேனியும் கல்லியாண திருமேனியாக). Please refer to inscription No. 1968/130-A of the Kanyakumari Inscriptions published by the Tamil Nadu Government.
- 12) Tribhuvanai 175/1919



## Maravarman Parakrama Pandya Of Accession 1143

Jatavarman Srivallabha of "Pumadhu Punara" Prasasthi ruled from 1131. He was alive in 1140. His successor should be a Maravarman and he should have ascended the *Madura throne* after 1140. We have also discussed about a Parakrama Pandya of Madura. In the Pandyan Civil War he was killed<sup>1</sup> in the year 1166. Therefore it is possible that this Parakrama Pandya could have ruled between 1140 and 1166. In all probability he could be a Maravarman. This is inference No. 1.

Records of Tribhuvanachakravartin Parakrama Pandya are available. The research work in the Pandyan Chronology is so difficult that scholars got confused and assigned the dates<sup>2</sup> of these records to the reign of Kulothunga I (1070-1120). This is natural because of several reasons.

Parakrama's records are in the character of the 12th century. The records are not published in full text. The records were discovered some 60 or 70 years ago. The surmises and the suggestions made in the then A. R. E. reports were not verified or checked in the light of later discoveries of inscriptions and further progress made in the epigraphical research. None of the records of Parakrama contains astronomical data.

In the course of seven hundred years i. e., from A. D. 1000 to 1700 scores of Pandya kings existed. They had only six names often repeated. The six names were Kulasekara, Srivallabha, Vira, Vikrama, Sundara and Parakrama. They were either Maravarmans or Jatavarmans. Kings of same name with same or different titles ruled jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reigns is common. The phenomenon is more prominent in the 13th and 14th centuries. When one tries to study the Pandyan Chronology he is liable to get confused—the balance lost—short of becoming mad!

Kielhorn (1907), Jacobi (1910), Swammikkannu Pillai (1913), and Robert Sewell (1915) published the dates of some Pandya kings. After the demise of these scholars reconstruction of the Pandyan Chronology was not attempted. No doubt the veteran scholar Neelakanta Sastri published his monumental work "The Pandyan Kingdom": His book was published in 1929. He wrote his book based on the dates suggested by Kielhorn, Jacobi, Pillai and Sewell. After 1929 no research work was attempted in reconstructing the dates of the Pandya kings and also in identifying the hitherto unknown kings.



In the result Parakrama Pandya of the Civil War could not be identified in the records found in the Pandya country. We come to know about him from Ceylon Chronicle and the Chola records only. Anyway in the midst of many difficulties we shall try to identify our Parakrama and his records.

### Nishadharajans :

In the 12th century certain chieftains with the family name Nishadharajan were ruling the area around Pon Amaravathi about sixty Kilometers north east of Madura. This tract lies between the northern boundary of the Pandya country and the southern boundary of the Chola country. In view of their pivotal position Nishadharajans showed their alliance to the Pandyas as well as the Cholas. They also figure in the Pandyan Civil War<sup>3</sup> of 1166 to 1177.

Ramnad District, Tiruppattur Tiruttalisvara temple record No. 94/1908 belongs to Parakrama Pandya year II. In this record a chief by name Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan of Pon Amaravathi figures. The same chief figures in the records of the Chola king Raja Raja II who came to the throne in 1146. Those records are tabulated below.

### Records of Raja Raja II ( 1146 - 1173 )

Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan of Pon Amaravathi figures  
Pon Amaravathi records

Table 1

Record No.	King	Regnal year	A. D. year	Details
Pd 131	Raja Raja II	4	1150	Gift by Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan of Pon-Amaravathi.
Pd 132 . 4/1909	Raja Raja II	8	1154	The above Chief consecrated Shiva Linga and built of stone the Sri Vimana
Pd 137 9/1909	Raja Raja II	19	1165	The above Chief who consecrated the Shiva Linga and constructed the Sri Vimana is also called Viman Rajendra Solan Nishadharajan
Pd 147	Kulothunga III	12	1180	Gifts made to the temple by the same chief.



## Kallampatti records

Record No.	King	Regnal year	A. D. year	Details
Pd 133	Raja Raja II	11	1157	Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan of Pon Amaravathi gifted lands to the temple
Pd 134	Raja Raja II	11	1157	The above Chief consecrated the image of Goddess Ayyapolil Nachiyar
Pd 148	Kulothunga III <sup>4</sup>	13	1191	Tirukkodun Kundram Udaiyan Nishadharajan alias Nilamai Alagiya Devan gifted lands for the service of the above Goddess Ayyapolil Nachiyar.

Pd 134 belongs to Raja Raja. It states the consecration of the image of Goddess Ayyapolil Nachiyar. Pd. 148 belongs to Kulothunga. It refers to gifts of lands for the service of the same Goddess<sup>5</sup>. This proves that the former is Raja Raja II and the latter is Kulothunga III (1178-1218). Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan of Pon Amaravathi figures in the records of Raja Raja from 1150 to 1165. The same Chief figures in the 11th year record of Parakrama Pandya. This proves that Parakrama was a contemporary of Raja Raja II. Parakrama's 11th year is closer to 1150 or 1166. He should be the same Parakrama Pandya ( of Madura ) who was killed in 1166. This is inference No. 2.

Tiruppattur record No. 131/1908 belongs to Maravarman Parakrama Pandya year 12. It contains his Prasasthi " Tirumagal Punara " ( திருமகல் புனரா. ) It registers the grants made to the Vallabha Pillaiyar Vinayaka temple. Vallabha Pillaiyar is probably named after Jatavarman Srivallabha ( 1131-44 ) the immediata predecessor of Parakrama.

Madura District, Tirumangalam Taluk Vikkiramangalam record No. 615/1926 belongs to Maravarman Parakrama Pandya. It contains the King's Prasasthi " Tirumagal Punara ". According to the report the regnal year is lost. But Burges and Natesa Sastri<sup>6</sup> found the regnal year as 23. Let us rely on the earlier scholars. This record mentions a previous donation made in the 40th year of Kulothunga I. It is evident that the 23rd year of Parakrama is later than the 40th year of Kulothunga i. e., 1110. Maravarman Parakrama of *Tirumagal Punara* Prasasthi existed after 1110. But we have found that upto 1140 three kings ruled



from Madura. Therefore Maravarman Parakrama of Tirumagal Punara Prasasthi existed after 1140. As we shall see below his highest regnal year is 23. During the Pandyan civil war Parakrama was killed in the year 1166. If this is so then Parakrama could have come to the throne in 1143-44. This is inference No. 3.

Vembattur record No. 337/1959-60 belongs to Maravarman Parakrama Pandya and it contains his Prasasthi. The regnal year is lost. The record mentions the name of the village as Vembarrur alias Vikrama Pandya Chaturvedhi Mangalam. The same temple record No. 322/1959-60 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara I of accession 1190. The regnal year is 22. The record mentions the name of the village as Vembarrur alias Kulasekara Chaturvedhi Mangalam in the name of the king. It is evident that Maravarman Parakrama existed prior to 1190. This is inference No. 4

### Cholantaka and Cholakulantaka

Vide page 77 ante we discussed the Kuruvitturai records of Jatavarman Srivallabha who ruled from 1101 to 1124. In his second year he founded a hamlet in the sacred name Kulasekara Mangalam, in the city Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam situated in Pakanur Kurram. This shows that the name Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam was in existence from the earlier days and it was so called after an earlier Pandya king who had the surname Cholantaka. Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola ruled from 939 to 959. He had the surname Cholantaka<sup>7</sup>. Probably the city was called after his name. Thus even in 1101 Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam existed in Pakanur Kurram. The same name is referred to in the 20th year record<sup>8</sup> of Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession. It means that in A. D. 1121 also the city had the same name. In the records of later kings the city was called Cholakulantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam situated in Pakanur Kurram. This change in the name of the city is found in the following records.

### Cholakulantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam situated in Pakanur Kurram

Record no. 1	Village 2	King and his Prasasthi 3	Regnal year 4	A. D. year 5
127/1910	Tenkarai	Maravarman Parakrama (Tirumagal Punara)	8	(?)
205/1932-33	Kodaganallr <sup>9</sup>	Jatavarman Kulasekara (Puthala Madandhai of 1162 accession)	4 day 243	Nov. 1165
300/1929-30	Alagar Koil	-Do-	8	1170



1	2	3	4	5
S. I. I. V. 302	Tenkarai	Jatavarman Kulasekara I (Puvin Kilathi)	5	1195
S. I. I. V. 300	-Do-	Maravarman Sundara I (Pumaruviya)	9	1223
S. I. I. V. 301	-Do-	Jatavarman Kulasekara II (Puthala Vanidhai)	2	1239

1) Upto 1121 the city was called Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam situated in Pakanur Kurram.

2) In his Sri Rangam inscription Vira Kavy Alupendra refers to his father-in-law Manabarana as Cholakulantaka. This Manabarana was Sundara Pandya who ruled from 1104 to 1131. He had the surname Cholakulantaka<sup>10</sup>.

3) In the reign of Tirumagal Punara Prasasthi Maravarman Parakrama Pandya the name of the city was Cholakulantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam instead of Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam.

4) In the reign of Kulasekara of the Pandyan civil war (i. e., in 1165 and 1170) the city was called Cholakulantnka Chathurvedhi Mangalam and the same name continues to appear in the after years. This Kulasekara was the same king who killed Parakrama Pandya in 1166.

5) The above sequence places Maravarman Parakrama Pandya of Tirumagal Punara Prasasthi after 1131 and before 1166.

*Cholantaka and Cholakulantaka* though they sound alike, have different meanings. *Cholantaka* means god of death to the Chola. *Cholantaka* was the surname of Vira Pandya who ruled between 939 and 959. *Cholakulantaka* means "God of death to the Chola family". *Cholakulantaka* was the surname of Sundara Pandya who ruled from 1104 to 1131. Later his son Jatavarman Srivallabha ruled from 1131 to 1144. Therefore we may not be far wrong if we place *Tirumagal Punara Prasasthi Maravarman Parakrama* between 1144 and 1166. This is inference No. 5.

### Tenkarai records :

The village Tenkarai is adjacent to the Kuruvitturai village. The Mulasthanam Udaiyar Shiva temple of the Tenkarai village contains many Pandyan records. Let us see some of them.



Record No. 6/1894 (S. I. I. V. 294):- The record belongs to Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession. It contains his Prasasthi *Tirumadandhaiyum*. The regnal year is 3 corresponding to 1103. The record states that certain individuals set up the images of Lord Nataraja and His consort temple as *Mulasthanam Udaiyar* situated in *Sendaneri Kattikkallur* in *Ten Kallaka Nadu*. The record mentions the

Record No. 7/1894 (S. I. I. V. 295):- This record also belongs to the same Jatavarman Srivallabha. The transactions mentioned in the previous record are also narrated in this record. The individuals who figure in the previous record also figure in this record. It is said that the lands granted in the previous record for the worship of Nataraja and his consort are made tax free from year corresponding to 1104. The temple is called *Mulasthanam Udaiyar* situated in *Sendaneri Kattikkallur* in *Ten Kallaka Nadu*.

Record No. 10/1894 (S. I. I. V. 298):- The record belongs to Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession and it contains his Prasasthi. The regnal year is 4 corresponding to 1104. One Pon Maligai Pichan the signatory of 7/1894 above also figures in this record as a signatory. The temple is called *Mulasthanam Udaiyar* situated in *Sendaneri Kattikkallur* in *Ten Kallaka Nadu*. The three records 6, 7 and 10 of 1894 are found on the walls of the central Shrine.

Records 127 and 130 / 1910:- The records are found on the Prakara walls and they belong to Maravarman Parakrama Pandya. They are in years 8 and 11 respectively. They contain the *Prasasthi Tirumagal Punara*. They mention the temple as *Mulasthanam Udaiyar* in *Kattikkallur* in *Ten Kallaka Nadu*. Record No. 130 mentions the king's Palace at *Madura* and also the royal seat called "Who was pleased by music". (இசையால் உகந்தான்) put up in the hall *Manabarana*.

Record No. 5/1894 (S. I. I. V. 293):- The record<sup>11</sup> belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara of 1162 accession. It contains his Prasasthi *Putala Madanthai*. The regnal year is 9, day 44, corresponding to early 1170. The record mentions the name of the temple as *Mulasthanam Udaiyar* situated in *Kulasekarapuram* in *Ten Kallaka Nadu*. This Kulasekara was the same king who killed Parakrama Pandya in the Civil War of 1166. After occupying *Madura*, Kulasekara changed the name of the village as *Kulasekarapuram* in his name.

The above sequence and our inferences 1 to 5 place the existence of *Tirumagal Punara Prasasthi* Maravarman Parakrama Pandya prior to the time of 1166. He is to be identified as the same Parakrama who was killed in the Pandyan Civil War. Vide pages 86 and 87 ante we discussed the *Solapuram* records 493 and 497 of 1909. The latter record belongs to *Konerinmaikondan* and it is in



year 16. We inferred that Konerimaikondan was the son of Jatavarman Srivallabha of Pumadhu Punara Prasasthi who ruled from 1131 to 1144. If this is so then we can safely surmise that Konerimaikondan was Maravarman Parakrama Pandya. The date of this Solapuram record (497/1909) is 1159. Solapuram is in Tirunelveli District. Parakrama's record 1159 is found here. We shall discuss this in another chapter. The highest regnal year so far found for this king is 23. Probably he came to the throne in 1143-44. We shall for the present fix his accession date as 1143. His Prasasthi runs as follows:—

திருமகள் புணர புகழ்மகள் விளங்க  
 விக்கிரம ஜயமகள் பொற்புயத் திருப்பக்  
 கனக மேருவிற் சயல் விளையாட  
 வெண்குடை நிழற்ற உயர் மணிமுடி  
 தன்னுரிமையிற் சூடி உலகு பொதுநீங்க  
 ஒருகோலோச்சி வஞ்சிமன்னரும் வடபுல வேந்தரும்  
 அஞ்சி வந்திறைஞ்சி அடிமலர் சூடி  
 மண்ணிய வீரசிம்மாசனத்து உலக முழுதுடை யாரோடும்  
 வீற்றிருந்தருளிய மாமுதல் மதிக்குலம் விளக்கிய  
 கோமுதல் கோமாறபன்மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள்  
 ஸ்ரீ பராக்கிரம பாண்டிய தேவர்க்கு.....

The Prasasthi is a mere poem glorifying the king Maravarman Tirubhuvanachakravartin Parakrama Pandya. It invokes the blessings of Maha Lakshmi, Kirti Lakshmi, and Jaya Lakshmi. The fish emblem (of the Pandyas) plays on the golden Meru mountain. It is said that king of Vanchi and the kings of the northern kingdoms pay respects to Parakrama. The Prasasthi does not supply any historical event. The following records belong to Parakrama and they contain his Prasasthi.

**Triubhuvanachakravartin Maravarman Parakrama with the Prasasthi**  
**“ Tirumagal Punara ” ( accession 1143 )**  
**Table - 4.**

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	A. D. year
98/1908	Tiruppattur	3	1146
44/1928-29	Sivapuri	4	1147
45/1928-29	Sivapuri	5	1148
127/1910	Tenkarai	8	1151
291/1927-28	Chathurvedhimangalam	10	1153
130/1910	Tenkarai	11	1154
131/1908	Tiruppattur	12	1155
615/1926	Vikkiramangalam	(23)	1166



## Manabarana - a predecessor

Thenkarai record ( 130 / 1910 ) is in the eleventh year of Parakrama. The record refers to the king's Palace at Madura and the royal seat " Isaiyalvugan-  
dan " ( who was pleased by music ) in the hall *Manabarana*. The Palace hall was  
called probably after the surname of Sundara Pandya.

## Gist

Maravarman Parakrama Pandya ruled from 1143 to 1166. His Prasasthi  
begins with Tirumagal Punara. He was the son of Jatavarman Srivallabha  
(1131-44) of Pumadhu Punara introduction. In the year 1166, Parakrama was  
killed in the Pandyan Civil War.

## Genealogy

We have identified the kings who ruled from 1070 to 1166. Their capital  
was Madura. The genealogy is as follows.

Kulasekara existed between 1070 and 1101

Parakrama was no more in 1104

Jatavarman Srivallabha  
Prasasthi *Tirumadandhaiyum*  
*Jayamadandhaiyum* 1104-1124.

Sundara Pandya alias  
Manabarana. His daughter  
married Vira Kavy Alupendra.  
1104-1131

Jatavarman Srivallabha  
Prasasthi *Pumadhu Punara*  
1131-1144

Maravarman Parakrama  
Prasasthi *Tirumagal Punara*  
1143-1166

He was killed in the Pandyan  
Civil War.



## Foot Notes

- 1) See page 49 ante; Also please refer to the chapter Jatavarman Kulasekara of 1162 accession ( of Putala Madandai Prasasthi ).
- 2) A. R. E. 1909 pages 84 and 85.
- 3) Mahavamsa ; Also please refer to page 109 South Indian Temple Inscriptions Volume III, part II.
- 4) Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan figures in Kulothunga III, Sivapuri record No. 35/1928-29 year 12 corresponding to 1180.
- 5) See page 20 ante.
- 6) Page 1039 record No. 400 " Inscriptions of Madras Presidency " by V. Rangacharya.
- 7) Pages 67 to 77 " Early Cholas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology " by N. Sethuraman. S. I. I. XIV 79. Also please refer to page 99 " The Pandyan Kingdom " by Sastri edition 1972. A. R. E. 1910 page 96
- 8) Kuruvitturai 322/1908. S. I. I. XIV 354.
- 9) Please refer to Kulasekara's records in the chapter Jatavarman Kulasekara of Puthala Madandhai introduction ( of accession 1162 ).
- 10) Page 91 ante.
- 11) Refer to the chapter Jatavarman Kulasekara of accession 1162.



# Maravarman Srivallabha Pandya

Of Accession 1145

Tribhuvanachakravartin Maravarman Srivallabha Pandya with the Prasasthi *Pumagal Jayamagal* ( பூமகள் ஜயமகள் ) existed in the 12th century. His records which contain the Prasasthi are tabulated below.

## Maravarman Srivallabha Pandya with Pumagal Jayamagal Prasasthi

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Remarks
607/1915	Malaiyadi Kurichi	Year 3	
271/1927-28	Kottakarungulam ( Tn. District )	Year 3	Mentions Srivallabha father Kulasekara
645/1916	Sermadevi	Year 5	
1968/193 Kanyakumari inscriptions Tamil Nadu Government	Suchindram ( Kanyakumari District )	Year 8 day 407	T. A. S. Volume IV Part I page 123.
489/1916	Giriammalpuram	Year 13	
619/1916	Sermadevi	Year 16	
50/1896	Puravari ( Travancore State )	Year 17 day 96	
363/1959-60	Jayadunga Nallur ( Tn. District )	Year 17	
49/1896	Puravari ( Travancore State )	Year 17	

I have collected the records which are available in the reports. His records without the Prasasthi may also be available. For example Sermadevi records Nos. 533, 537 and 538 of 1911 are to be studied with interest. Unfortunately most of the records are not published in full text. This is a serious handicap in the research work. At any rate with the available authentic records let us proceed. Maravarman Srivallabha's Prasasthi runs as follows :-

பூமகள் சயமகள் பொற்புயல் தலைப்ப  
காமகள் விருப்ப காமத்தை தெரியினில்



இருசில முழுதும் ஒரு குடை நிழற்ற  
 கருங்கலி சுடித்து செங்கோல் ஒச்சி  
 ஏத்தருங் கீர்த்தி ஹிமசேது பரியத்தம்  
 கோத்தொழிலால் நடாத்தி பார்த்திவர் திறைஞ்சு  
 வெற்றி முரசு முறையினில் முழங்க  
 போர்ச்சிகை முறியப் புலிபிவஞ் சேரக்  
 கனக மால்வரை கயல் வினையாட  
 விஜயாபிஷேகம் முறைமையிற் பண்ணி  
 விளங்கிய சுதிர்மணி வீரசிம்மாசனத்து வீற்றிருக்கருளிய  
 ஸ்வஸ்திபூர் கோமாறபன்மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள்  
 பூர்வல்பதேவர்.....

The Prasasthi invokes the blessings of Goddess of wealth Maha Lakshmi, Goddess of Victory Jaya Lakshmi and the Goddess of learning Saraswathi. The king Maravarman Srivallabha rules the land as per the code and conduct of Vedas, removes Kali (bad) and establishes orderly rule. His fame is known from Himalayas to Sethu (southern tip of the land). His victorious drum reverberates. The other kings pay tributes to Srivallabha; The bow was broken (Chera was defeated); the tiger ran into the hole (Chola was frightened). The king Srivallabha stamped the fish emblem on the Kanaka (golden) mountain. The Prasasthi does not furnish any historical event. It is an empty biruda praising the glory of the king.

(The records are in the character of the 12th century. For the benefit of the researchers I have published elsewhere the photograph of record No. 649/1916. The paleographic features agree with the middle of the 12th century).

The accession date of this king is still under dispute. Hultzsch surmised<sup>1</sup> that Maravarman Srivallabha might have existed in the 12th century. A. R. E. 1917 page 107 surmises that the king might have ascended the throne in 1132. The same is followed in paragraphs 44 and 45 page 244 of A. R. E. 1939-40 to 1942-43. Scholars relied on the surmises of the reports and wrote the history of this king accepting 1132 as his accession date. It was also surmised that this king had another Prasasthi *Jayamadandhaiyum* (ஜயமடந்தையும்), was called *Akavaraman* (ஆகவரமன்) and he was born in the star Purattathi.

However the veteran historian Neelakanta Sastri suspected the initial date 1132. In his monumental work "The Pandyan Kingdom" he states, "Maravarman Srivallabha is known to have been reigning in A. D. 1160-61. The records of this king generally begin with the introduction Pumagal Jayamagal (புமகல் கயமகல்). But one in his thirty seventh year (426/1916) begins with an introduction *Jayamadanchaiyum* (ஜய மடந்தையும்) almost similar to that of Jatavarman Srivallabha. The astronomical details furnished by this record are said to yield



a date in A. D. 1169 for the inscription; the date is not quite regular but may be accepted in the light of other evidence relating to this king. This would mean that Maravarman Srivallabha came to the throne in A. D. 1132 and that this record is among the last ones of his reign. But it is doubtful if Srivallabha ruled as late as 1169 and it may after all turn out that this record belongs to some other king".

Sastri's observation is correct. Records of two kings of the same name Maravarman Srivallabha were mixed up. The first one was the king who existed in the 12th century. The second king of the same name Maravarman Srivallabha existed in the 15th century. Casual error crept in the epigraphical research and the construction of the Chronology. In the result the records of these two kings were mixed up.

First we shall discuss the reign of Maravarman Srivallabha who existed in the 12th century. Later we shall see how mistake was committed in identifying the 15th century king as the 12th century ruler.

### Maravarman Srivallabha of Pumagal Jayamagal Prasasthi

Travancore state Puravari village Vishnu temple record No. 56/1896 is dated Kollam 336 month Idaba corresponding to April 1161. The record states that one Tennattu Pasingulattu Singanarangan founded the Brahmin colony Puravari Chaturvedhimangalam and eighteen Brahmins were settled in the new colony. This proves that Singanarangan founded this village<sup>2</sup> in April 1161.

Record No. 50/1896 of the same temple belongs to Maravarman Srivallabha year 17 day 96. The record contains the king's prasasthi "*Pumagal Jayamagal*". In this record the individual Tennattu Pasingulattu Singanarangan of the previous record figures. He requested the king for certain grants to be made to the temple and the king did so. Therefore year 17 and day 96 of Maravarman Srivallabha is later than April 1161 because Singanarangan himself founded this village in April 1161 only. Record No. 49/1896 of the same temple belongs to Maravarman Srivallabha year 17. The record mentions Pillaiyar (Prince) Kulasekara Devar evidently Jatavarman Kulasekara of accession 1162. Kulasekara was the son of Srivallabha<sup>3</sup>.

a) Srivallabha's 17th year day 96 is later than April 1161.

b) Srivallabha's 17th year record mentions Kulasekara evidently the king who came to the throne in 1162 (of Putala Madandhai introduction). Thus we may not be for wrong if we equate 17th year of Srivallabha to 1162.

17th year of Srivallabha = 1162

0th year of Srivallabha = 1145

1st year of Srivallabha = 1146



Therefore Maravarman Srivallabha could have come to the throne in 1145-46 (minimum). It can be later but definitely not earlier. Srivallabha's records are available but they do not furnish astronomical data. For the present let us surmise that he came to the throne in 1145.

Maravarman Srivallabha's record No. 50/1896 mentions the king's Palace at Tirunelveli. It is evident that he ruled from Tirunelveli and his son Kulasekara also ruled from here. Later, in the year 1166 Kulasekara marched towards Madura, killed Parakrama, and occupied the Madura throne.

Srivallabha's Kottaikarungulam record year 3 mentions his father (சிருத்தகப்பலர்) Kulasekara Deva. Evidently his father should be a Jatavarman Kulasekara who should have existed prior to 1145-1146. In the present state of our knowledge we are unable to identify this Kulasekara. His records may be available in the Tirunelveli area. They can be identified provided all the Pandyan records are discovered and published in full text.

Maravarman Srivallabha's records are known upto his 17th year. Probably his rule came to an end in 1162.

Srivallabha's area of operation was confined to Tirunelveli District and part of Travancore State. His capital was Tirunelveli. However from the days of Jatavarman Srivallabha of (Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum Prasasti) of accession 1101 the entire Pandya country was under the control of Madura. For example records of Jatavarman Srivallabha (of accession 1101) are available at Kanyakumari<sup>4</sup>.

Solapuram is in Tirunelveli District. Vide pages 86 and 87 ante we discussed the Solapuram records of Jatavarman Srivallabha (1101-24), Sundara Pandya (1104-31) and Jatavarman Srivallabha (1131-44). Vide page 105 ante we assigned record No. 497 of 1909 to Parakrama Pandya year 16 corresponding to 1159.

The above dates indicate that probably the Tirunelveli Pandyas accepted the authority of the Madura Pandyas. Later there was strain in the relationship. Jatavarman Kulasekara son of Maravarman Srivallabha turned against Parakrama Pandya of Madura. In the result Pandyan civil war broke out in 1165-66. This we shall see in the next chapter.

Gist

Maravarman Srivallabha Pandya came to be throne in 1145. His Prasasti begins with Pumagal Jayamagal (பூமகள் சயமகள்). His capital was Tirunelveli. His son Jatavarman Kulasekara came to be throne in 1162. Srivallabha's records upto year 17 are found. Probably his rule extended upto 1162.



## Genealogy of Tirunelveli Pandyas

Kulasekara existed prior to 1145

Maravarman Srivallabha 1145-1162  
(Pumagal Jayamagal)

### Maravarman Srivallabha of 1402-03 accession

In the research work records of this king were mixed up with those of Maravarman Srivallabha of 1145 accession. This we shall investigate now. I reproduce below paragraphs 44 and 45, page 244, of A. R. E. 1939-40 to 1942-43.

“(Para) 44. Next in Chronological order come No. 241 and 246 of 1940-41 from Devadanam in Ramnad District, dated in the 23+1 and 32+1st year respectively, belonging to Parakrama Pandya with title Jatavarmen. The later inscription states that the king was camping at Devadanam when he assigned the right of worship in the temple Tiruppagavan-Parai-Udaiya Aludaiya Nayanar to another person consequent on the failure of the original priests to attend to their duty even after repeated calls. Incidentally the Epigraph refers to the renovation of the temple by the king. The two documents are attested by *Tachchal Nemmai Udaiyan* who also signs a record at the same village (No. 243/1940-41) of Maravarman Srivallabha (accession 1133 A. D.) which refers to Parakrama Pandya Sandi. Parakrama Pandya of the present record may therefore be identified with the Pandya king of the same name who flourished in the 12th century A. D. but whose initial year has not yet been satisfactorily fixed”.

“(Para) 45. Of the three records of Maravarman Srivallabha No. 243/1940-41 noticed above is dated in the 31st year of the king and refers to the royal order issued from the office room (*eluttu Mandapa*) at Varatunga Devanallur in Ariya Nadu providing for worship and offering during the service *Akavaraman Sandi* instituted by the king in the temple of Tiruppagavan-Parai-Aludaiya-Nayanar at Semmaiam alias Kulasekarapuram. The record gives Purattadi as the natal star of Srivallabha. As an inscription of Maravarman Srivallabha (accession 1133 A. D.) with the introduction *Jayamadandhaiyum* etc., (An. Rep 1917 page 107) also states that Purattadi was the king's asterism the present inscription may also be assigned to him”.



Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in three vertical columns. The rightmost column contains the most legible characters, including what appears to be a date or year.

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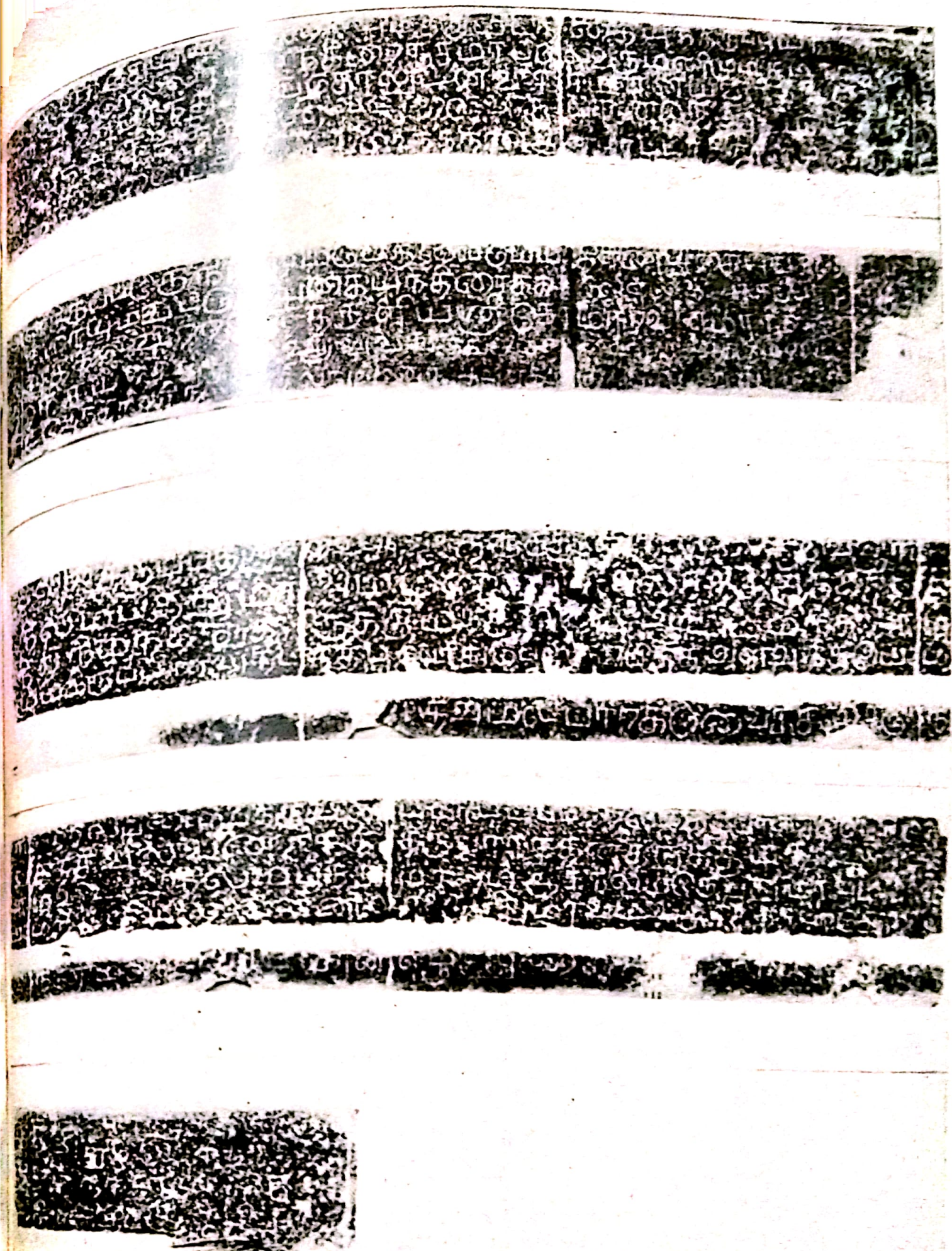
Sermadevi Record No. 649/1916 Maravarman Srivallabha of Pumagal Jayamagal Prasasthi year 16 corresponding to 1161.  
Please refer to pages 109 and 152.

(Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore)









Attalanallur Record No. 426/1916 - Paleaography corresponds to 15th Century -







According to the report the officer *Tachcha Nenmali Udaiyan* figures in the records of *Jatavarman Parakrama* and *Maravarman Srivallabha* whose initial date is considered as 1133. But the same report in page 188 equates the data of the records as follows :-

- 1) *Maravarman Srivallabha*'s record No. 243/1940-41: The data are year 31, Kumba 26, Su 1, Friday and Purattadi.
  - a) A. D. 1162 February 16 Friday. It was Kumba 25 and not 26.
  - b) A. D. 1338 February 20 Friday. It was Kumba 27 and not 26.
- 2) *Jatavarman Parakrama*'s record No. 246/1940-41:- The data are year 33, Mithuna, Su 9 Tuesday Chittirai.
  - a) A. D. 1350 June 15 Tuesday
  - b) A. D. 1390 June 21 Tuesday

The anomaly in the suggested dates is self explanatory. How could the same officer *Tachcha Nenmali Udaiyan* figure in the years 1162, 1332, 1350 or 1390? The report suggests that the two kings are contemporaries! The report suggests the dates without looking into the internal evidence. Something is wrong somewhere. This prompted me to go the Chief Epigraphist Office Mysore. I verified the relevant records and found the truth.

All the above records are in the character of 15th century. The data of *Maravarman Srivallabha*'s record No. 243/1940-41 perfectly agree with 20th February 1433. It was Kumba 26 only; so this king came to the throne in 1402-03. The record mentions the kings' surname *Akavaraman* and his natal star *Purattadi*. It mentions some donations made in the king's 28+2th year by *Nayanar* (senior king) *Parakrama*.

The internal evidence proves that this *Srivallabha* and *Pumagal Jayamagal Srivallabha* are not same. They are far removed by 260 years! *Jatavarman Parakrama* contemporary of *Srivallabha* (of 1402-03 accession) is a different king. The data of his record 246/1940-41 agree with 19th June 1431 thus yielding his accession in 1398-99.

**Tirunelveli District Kuttalam temple records of 1917:**

Record No. 459/1917 mentions (.....) *Raman Srivallabha*. It is dated Saka 1351, Mesha, ba 1 *Siddhayoga Visaka* corresponding to 20th April 1429. Naturally the gap is to be filled up as (*Akava*) *Raman Srivallabha*. Record No. 461/1917 belongs to *Srivallabha* and it is dated Saka 1355 corresponding to 1433. In view of these arguments the surmise made in para 54, page 157 of A. R. E. 1918 is to be revised.



Pudukkottai copper plates (A. R. E. 1909 page 72 para 29) refer to Arikesari (Tenkasi) Parakrama who ruled from 1422 to 1462. The copper plates state that Parakrama's predecessor Srivallabha covered the Gopura of Rameswaram temple with copper. It is evident that he was the same Maravarman Srivallabha who came to the throne in 1402-03. This king figures as the predecessor of Tenkasi Parakrama in the Sanskrit poem Pandyakulodhayam. In the light of these findings let us see record No. 426/1916.

### Record No. 426/1916

Attalanallur is a small village in the Ambasamudram Taluk of the Tirunelveli District. The Gajendra Varadaraja Perumal Vishnu temple of this village contains many Pandyan and Chola records. The records were copied in the year 1916. They are Nos. 426 to 444.

Gajendra Varadaraja Perumal is the name for Lord Vishnu who saved the life of an elephant from the clutches of a crocodile. In Tamil it means *Anaikku Arul Seyda Piran* (ஆனைக்கு அருள் செய்த பிரான் The Lord who blessed the elephant)

Record No. 426/1916 is found on the base of the central shrine. It belongs to Maravarman Srivallabha year 37. The record is in the character of the 15th century. It mentions the name of God as *Anaikku Arul Seyda Piran*. It mentions Srivallavan Sandhi in the name of the king on the day of his natal star Purattathi. Records 427 and 428 are found on the walls of the Mandapa in front of the central shrine and they are dated Kollam 820 Adi and 727 Adi corresponding to July 1645 and July 1552 respectively. These two records mention the name of God as *Anaikku Arul Seyda Piran*.

Records No. 429 to 443 are engraved on the prakara walls of the temple. They belong to different kings namely Kulothunga I (1070-1122), Vira Pandya (1253-83), Maravarman Kulasekara I (1268-1312) and other Pandyan kings who existed in the 11th to 13th centuries. All these records mention the name of god as *Moymam Pum Polil Alwar* (மொய்மாம் பூம் பொழில் ஆள்வார்).

Thus it is evident that in the period 11th to 14th centuries the name of God was *Moymam Pum Polil Alwar*. The central shrine which was in existence in the 11th to 14th centuries went into ruins. Later in the 37th year of Maravarman Srivallabha the central shrine and the front Mandapa were rebuilt. At the time of re-construction God was called "*Anaikku Arul Seyda Piran*" which in Sanskrit means "*Gajendra Varadaraja Perumal*".

The name of God indicates that Maravarman Srivallabha of 426/1916 does not belong to the 12th century but he existed after the 14th century. This record mentions "*Jayamadandhaiyum Tirumadandhaiyum*" (ஜயமடந்தையும்



திருமடந்தையும்) Prasasthi which is a poem of high sounding phrases. The signatory Tachcha Nenmali Udaiyan who figures in 241, 246 and 243 of 1940-41 also figures in 426/1916. It is evident that this Srivallabha was the king who came to the throne in 1402-03.

I consulted the Chief Epigraphist Shri K. G. Krishnan who was kind enough to supply me the photograph of the impression and the transcript. The photograph is published elsewhere. The record is in the character of the 15th century. It runs as follows.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ செயமடந்தையும் திருமடந்தையும் திருப்பயங்குளிலினி திருப்ப இரு நிலமும் பெருமை யெய்த எண்டிசையுங் குடை நிறற்
2. மன்னவரெல்லாம் வந்திறைஞ்ச மரபிலெவரு மணிமுடிசூடித் தென் குமரியும் வட கெங்கையுந் திரைக்கடலே எல்லையாக பார்முழுதுங்.
3. கயல் கண்பரந்து செங்கோலுடன் வளர மன்னிய வீரசிம்ஹானைத்தில் வீற்றிருத் தருளிய ஸ்ரீ கொமாறவன்மரான
4. திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ வல்லபதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஈய (எ) வது கும்ப நாய (damaged) பூர்வபக்ஷத்து பிரதமையும் ஸனிக்கிழமையும்
5. பெற்ற நம்முடைய ஆட்டைப் பிறந்தநாள் ஆன பூரட்டாதி நாள் முள்ளிநாட்டு அத்தானி நல் லூரில் நாயினார் ஆனைக்கருள் செய்தபிரான் கோ
6. யிலில் திருப்பதி ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு இன்னுயனற்கு இவ்வூர் பற்றில் பழையன திருவிடையாட்டப் பற்றில் கைய்யாண்டு
7. நிலம் பத்து மாவும் முன் (வி) ளா (க) த்தில் சிவல்லவன் சந்தி திருவாராதனத் துக்கும்
8. நிய நமந்தங்களுக்கும் திருவிடை ஆட்டமாக நாம் விட்ட நிலம் பத்து மாவும் ஆக நிலம் இருபது மாவும் இந்த (நில)
9. மும் திருப்பணியு நடத்தப் போதும்படி கற்பித்த அளவுக்கு இம்மரியாதியிலே யின் னிலம் இருபது மாவும் சந்திரா தித்தவற் செல்வதா
10. கவும் பாற்க இவை தச்சை நென்மலி உடையான் எழுத்து சுபமஸ்து

The Prasasthi states that the king has the blessings of Goddess of Victory and Wealth. He rules the land whose boundaries are Kumari in the south, Ganges in the the north and other sides are surrounded by the sea. The fish emblem is respected through out the world.

The Prasasthi is a mere poem. The 15th century king borrows the Prasasthi of the 12th century king. But he has omitted to mention the queen. This shows how Tamil culture has deteriorated in the 15th century.



The transaction refers to the grants made to the temple for conducting services on the day of the king's natal star Purattathi, in his name Srivallabha Sandhi.

The data are year 37, Kumba, Su 1, Saturday and Purattathi. The data perfectly agree with 15th February 1439. On this date the solar day was Kumba 20. The data portion of the record intend to supply the solar day of the month. But it is indistinct. I could read the Tamil numerals as "௨௦" meant 'for 20. But the report 1916 states that the solar day is 10 which is not correct. The report A. R. E. 1917 page 94 considered the data as year 37, Kumba 10, Su 1, Saturday and Purattathi. The report equated the data to 1st February 1169 which was Sunday and Su 2. Paleography was not noticed. The solar day mentioned in the record is not 10. These casual errors or oversights prompted the report to identify the 15th century king as the 12th century ruler.

The reader is requested to please refer to the following reports which confirm that Maravarman Srivallabha of 462/1916 came to the throne in 1402-03.

- 1) Records 426 to 442 of 1916
- 2) 241, 246 and 243 of 1940-41
- 3) Para 54, page 157 of A. R. E. 1918

4) Para 61 of page 100 of A. R. E. 1926-27. The Chief Tachcha Nemali Udaiyan figures in the records of Maravarman Srivallabha and Jatavarman Vira Pandya.

In the result we conclude that Maravarman Srivallabha of *Pumagal Jayamagal* Prassathi existed in the middle of the 12th century. But Maravarman Srivallabha of 426/1916 came to the throne in 1402-03. Both were different kings who existed 250 years apart!

My thanks

I found it extremely difficult to identify the king of 426/1916. I visited the Chief Epigraphist Office Mysore and verified this record and also other connected records. I am thankful to Shri K. G. Krishnan, the Chief Epigraphist, Dr. K. V. Ramesh and Dr. C. R. Srinivasan the Superintending Epigraphists, who helped me in this venture. I am also thankful to the department for supplying me the photograph of the impression and the transcript. But for this kind help I could not have identified Maravarman Srivallabha of 1402-03 accession. In this connection I would also like to offer the following suggestion for the future researchers.



“ Whenever there is difficulty in the Epigraphical research, it better to visit the Chief Epigraphist Office Mysore. The Chief Epigraphist and his staff render all possible help to the researchers and the students of Epigraphy. Personal visit to the office of the Chief Epigraphist is a must for Epigraphical researchers. ”

od Notes

1) Page 1707 record No. 120 (50/1896) “ Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency ” by N. Rangacharya.

2) Shri K. G. Krishnan, confirms this date in page 160 E. I. XXXIII.

3) Kallidaikkurichi record No. 110/1907 is published in S. I. I. XXIII. The record belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara of accession 1162. It contains his Prasasthi Putala Madhandhai. It is in year 2. Line 10 refers to an earlier grant made by Periya Nayanar ( great senior king ) Srivallabha. It is evident that Maravarman Srivallabha was the father of Kulasekara and the former was no more in the second year of the latter.

4) Agastiswaram 218 to 219 of 1965-66.

5) Pandya Kulodhayam published by the Sanskrit Research Institute of the Punjab University, Hoshiarpur.

6) Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession had the Prasasthi *Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum*. In his Prasasthi he always mentioned his queen, Maravarman Srivallabha of the 15th century (426/1916) borrowed the Prasasthi of his ancestor. While doing so he reversed the first two words and thus the Prasasthi begins with *Jayamadandhaiyum Tirumadandhaiyum*. But he has omitted to mention his queen. Certain later Pandyas of the 15th to 17th centuries sometimes borrowed the Prasasthis of the earlier Pandyas who existed in the 12th and 13th centuries. Once the Tamil culture was at its zenith in the days of the early, Medieval and Imperial Pandyas. The glory deteriorated in the days of the later Pandyas of the 15th to 17th centuries. For example Alagan Perumal Attiviraraman alias Srivallabha existed in the later part of the 16th century. 21 records of this king are published in the pages 120 and 121 of A. R. E 1918. The dates supply the Saka years, cyclic years and regnal years. But the figures are quoted carelessly. The data indicate that the king would have come to the throne either in 1561, or 1562 or 1563 or 1564. The Saka, and regnal years are indiscriminately quoted. Sometimes they do not agree with the quoted cyclic years. This king Attiviraraman Srivallabha borrows the Parasasthi Bhuvanekavira etc., vide his Kurralam records 488, 498, 500, 501 and 617 of 1917 etc., Bhuvaneka-Viran Prasasthi ( or Samastha Bhuvanekavira etc., )



belongs to Maravarman Vikrama Pandya (1250-1265) who conquered Kanchipuram, Sendamangalam, Hoysalas etc., This Prasasthi - in a correct form - is copied by Attiviraraman Srivallabha who came to the throne between 1561 and 1564. The later Pandyas had a vanity in borrowing the past glory of their ancestors.

See Panpulli records 658 and 652 of 1917. Another Srivallabha (who came to the throne in 1535) boasts in 1545 that "he revived the old times. It was never so. He was defeated by Travancore king. Achutadevaraya came to the rescue of this Srivallabha. In turn Srivallabha gave his daughter in marriage to Achutadevaraya.

Also see Srivilliputhur record No. 561/1926. In this record, in the year 1536, Kulasekara alias Kodandarama boasts of having revived the past. The past always remained past. It was never revived.

For further details see Sastri's remarks in pages 220 and 222 of "The Pandyan Kingdom"

- 7) Please see the photograph of the impression published elsewhere.
- 8) Please refer to pages 123 and 124 "The Pandyan Kingdom" by Sastri edited in 1972. He states, "It must be noted also that Paleaography fails to furnish any material assistance in confirming or correcting the results of astronomy. This observation was made by Sastri in 1929. The case of astronomy of Srivallabha of 1402-03 accession disproves Sastri's observation. Paleaography does help in the study of Pandyan records provided the researcher sees the inscriptions in person. Please see the photograph of the impression of 426/1917



## Jatavarman Kulasekara Pandya Of Accession 1162

Tribhuvanachakravartin Jatavarman Kulasekara was the son of Maravarman Srivallabha. Kulasekara's Tiruppattur record No. 101/1908 is in his 5th year. The other data are Karkataka 27, Rohini and Saturday. The data agree with 23rd July 1166. This proves that Kulasekara came to the throne<sup>1</sup> between the 24th July 1161 and the 23rd July 1162.

Vellanguli record No. 449/1916 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara and it contains his Prasasthi *Puthala Madandhai*. It is in year 6. The next record (of the same temple) No. 450/1916 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara year 6 month Masi. This record is to be assigned to our Kulasekara in view of the following reasons.

1) In certain records Jatavarman Kulasekara of *Puthala Madandhai* introduction states that he passed the orders when he was pleased to be seated on the throne Muniyadharayan, in Srivallabhan hall within the Palace at Madura east of Madakkulam<sup>2</sup>. Record No. 450/1916 also states that the king issued the orders when he was pleased to be seated on the throne Muniyadharayan, in the Srivallabhan hall within the Palace at Madura east of Madakkulam.

2) The same record supplies some more information. The record is dated year 6 month Masi. It states that the orders passed in year 4 day 992 were recorded in the 6th year month Masi.

Year 4 day 992 is equal to year 6 day 262. Orders passed on the 262nd day of the 6th year were recorded in the month Masi of the same 6th year. It means that in his 6th year, month Masi falls 262 days or approximately 9 months after the commencement of the 6th regnal year. It further means that in any regnal year, month Masi comes 9 months after the beginning of that regnal year. In other words his regnal year commences sometime in the Tamil month Vaikasi or in some month prior to Vaikasi. Jatavarman Kulasekara I of accession 1190 ascended the throne in the Tamil month Ani<sup>3</sup>. Jatavarman Kulasekara II of accession 1237 came to the throne in the Tamil month Avani<sup>4</sup>. Therefore it is clear that record No. 450/1916 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara of *Puthala Madandhai* introduction only.

Kulasekara came to the throne between July 1161 and July 1162. It means that he came to the throne between Karkataka (Adi) 1161 and Karkataka 1162. Month Masi should come 9 months after the commencement of the accession.



After Karkataka 1161 month Masi comes in 1162 which is within 7 months. It is evident that Masi of 1162 belongs to the 0th year. Therefore Masi of 1163 belongs to the first year. The first regnal year commenced 9 months before Masi 1163 could have commenced either in Vaikasi or prior to that month in 1162.

Masi 1162 = 0th year  
 Vaikasi 1162 = 1st year  
 Karkataka (Adi) 1162 = 1st year

Jatavarman Kulasekara came to the throne between the month Masi and the month Vaikasi of 1162.

Chaturvedhimangalam record No. 297/1927-28 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara and it contains his Prasasthi *Puthala Madandhai*. The data are year Mina, Divitiya, Rohini and Saturday. In the month Mina Divitiya and Rohini will not combine. Either the thithi or the star is correct. At any rate,

on the basis of the thithi the data agree with 21st March 1170 ;  
 on the basis of the star the data agree with 13th March 1171 ;

Therefore

Either 21-3-1170 = 9th year  
 or 13-3-1171 = 9th year

In other words

Either Mina of 1162 = 0th year  
 or Mina of 1162 = 1st year

To sum up

Masi (February) of 1162 = 0th year  
 Mina (March) of 1162 = 0th year or 1st year  
 Vaikasi (May) of 1162 = 1st year

The above sequence indicates that Kulasekara came to the throne either in March or after March 1162. For the present we shall take his accession date as March 1162 ( till something turns up in the future. Even then the accession date will fall between February and May 1162).

So we conclude that Jatavarman Kulasekara of *Puthala Madandhai* introduction came to the throne in March 1162. His Prasasthi runs as follows.

பூதல மடக்கை புகழொடும் பொலிய  
 வேதமும் தமிழும் மேன்மையில் விளங்க  
 சுற்புடைத் திருமகன் பொற்புயத் திருப்ப  
 திக்கு திரு நான்கும் சக்கிரவாளம் குழும்



புவன மேழும் கவிந்த வெண்குடை நிழல்  
 செங்கோல் நடப்ப நாடொரு மதியழும்  
 நாயறும் வலங்கொள் ஆடகப் பொருப்பின்  
 அரசும் நிருப்ப சுந்தர மார்பினில்  
 இந்திரன் பூட்டிய ஆரமும் அலங்கமும்  
 அழகுடன் திகழ வினையும் புலியும்  
 வில்லும் சுரம்புக ஆணை மன்னவர் அடிமலர்  
 குட மரபில் வந்த மணிமுடிக்குடி  
 விளங்கிய கதிரொளி வீரசிம்மா தனத்து  
 உலக முழுதுடை யாரோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய  
 மாமுதல் மதிக்குலம் விளங்கிய கோமுதற்  
 சடையபன்மரான குலசேகரதேவர்.....

The Prasasthi is a mere poem praising the king. It states that the king has the blessings of Goddess of earth and Kirtilakshmi. In his reign the Vedas and Tamil prosper. He has the blessings of Goddess Mahalakshmi. His order reaches the eight corners of the world. He wears Indra's garland. Chera and Chola were afraid of Kulasekara! The Prasasthi is an empty boast. Kulasekara's records are tabulated below. 101/1908 and 450/1916 do not contain the Prasasthi but the internal evidence agrees. The other records contain the Prasasthi.

Jatavarman Kulasekara  
 (of Puthala Madandhai)  
 (புதல மடந்தை)

Table 1

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	A. D. year
110/1907 S. L. L. XXIII 110	Kallidaikkurichi	2	1163-1164
8/1894			
S. L. I. V. 296	Tenkarai (Near Madura)	3	1164-1165
464/1916	Giriambapuram	4 day 50	May 1165
205/1932-33	Kodaganallur	4 day 243	Nov. 1165
101/1908	Tiruppattur	5	23rd July 1166
437/1929-30	Attur	5	1166-67
707/1916	Sermadevi	5	1166-67
614/1926	Vikkiramangalam	5	1166-67
449/1916	Vellanguli	6	1167-68
450/1916	-Do-	6 Masi	Feb. 1168
300/1929-30	Alagarkoil	8	1169-1170
534/1916	Pattamadai	4 day 1745 (8 day 285)	Jan. 1170

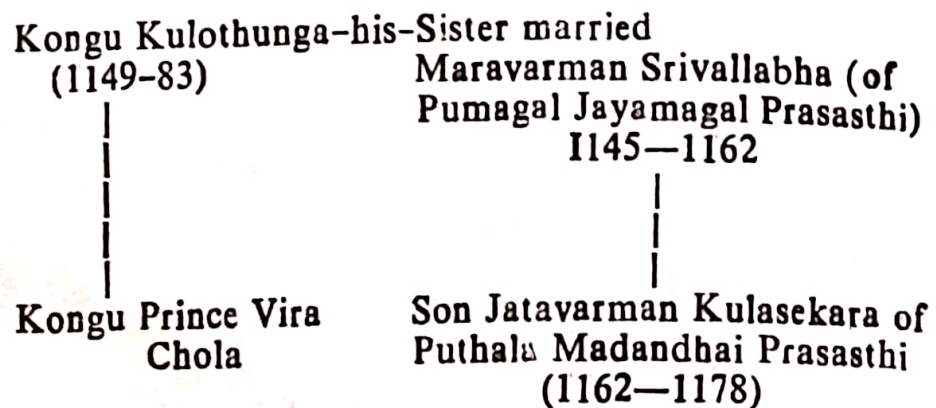


Record No.	Village	Regnal Year	A. D. Year
297/1927-28	Chathurvedhimangalam	9	1170-71
5/1894	} Tenkarai	9 day 44	May 1170
S. I. I. V. 293			
204/1932-33	Kodaganallur	9 day 50	May 1170
438/1929-30	Attur	10	1171-72
112/1907	} Kallidaikurichi	11	1172-1173
S. I. I. XXIII 112			
638/1917	Kadaiyanallur	12	1173-74
459/1909	Sittamalli	14	1175-76
660/1916	Sermadevi	14 day 345	Feb. 1176
327/1908	Kuruvitturai	15	1176-77
307/1959-60	Senkottai	15 day 560 (16 day 195)	Oct. 1177

### Pandyan Civil War

Elsewhere we discussed<sup>5</sup> the Pandyan civil war. Now let us compare the events of the war and the records of Kulasekara.

Kulasekara's Tenkarai record (8/1894) year 3 is dated 1164-65. It is found in the vicinity of Madura. In this record one Silamban Vira Sola Lankeswaradevan a Samanta (army officer) of the Kongu prince Vira Chola Deva figures. Kulasekara's mother was the sister of Kongu king Kulothunga whose son was Prince Vira Chola. The genealogy is as follows.<sup>6</sup>



In 1164-65 when Parakrama Pandya was ruling in Madura the record of Kulasekara is found 20 Kilometers west of Madura. The Kongu army officer Lankeswara was also present. These facts prompt us to infer that in 1164-65 Kulasekara and the Kongu army officer had some ulterior motives. Because as we shall see below, in the year 1166 Kulasekara received help from his uncle Kongu Kulothunga to capture Madura.

Kulasekara's Kodaganallur record (205/1932-33) is dated November 1165. The record states that while issuing the order, the king was seated in his bed.



chamber in the palace at Solakulantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam at Pakanur Kurram. This place is the modern Kuruvitturai about 30 Kilometers west of Madura.

Kongu king Kulothunga Chola's Vijayamangalam record No. 598/1905 quotes Saka 1085 year 14 corresponding to 1163-64. The same Kulothunga's Nerur record No. 336/1928 belongs to his 17th year corresponding to 1166-67. In this record Kulothunga says that he is starting out on an expedition to get the kingdom and capture Madura for his nephew (Marumaganar) Kulasekara.<sup>8</sup> Thus it is evident that eventhough as early as November 1165 Kulasekara was within 30 kilometers from Madura, till 1166 he could not capture Madura. He expected reinforcement from Kongu and it arrived early 1166.

Here we must see two points. In 1165, Kulasekara was occupying the Palace at Solakulantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam 30 kilometers west of Madura. He did not enter Madura. Early 1166 in order to capture Madura he received help from his uncle Kongu Kulothunga. As on 23rd July 1166 he was firmly established on the Madura throne. This is evident from Kulasekara's Tiruppattur record (101/1908) which states that the members of the village assembly wanted to go to Madura to pay respects to the king. The date of this record is 23rd July 1166. The sequence indicates that in 1165 Kulasekara was within the reach of Madura, but it took one year for him to enter the city.

Mahavamsa states<sup>9</sup> that Parakrama Pandya was besieged in Madura by his enemy Kulasekara. Parakrama appealed for help to Parakrama Bahu, the king of Ceylon who ordered his General to proceed to Madura and conquer Kulasekara and establish Parakrama Pandya on the Madura throne. But before the Ceylonese army could leave Ceylon, Kulasekara had succeeded putting his rival to death and in capturing Madura. Parakrama was killed in the battle which took place near a village called *Sirimallakka*.

From the above facts we shall surmise the events in the Chronological order as follows :-

1) 1165-Kulasekara besieged Madura and occupied Solakulantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam palace. Parakrama Pandya appealed to Parakrama Bahu the king of Ceylon. For one year Parakrama offered stiff resistance. Madura was still under his control.

2) Early 1166-Kulasekara received fresh reinforcements from his uncle Kongu king Kulothunga. Parakrama could not withstand the onslaught. Aid from Ceylon did not arrive.

3) In the middle of 1166 Parakrama came out of Madura. A fierce battle took place near *Sirimallakka*. In the encounter Kulasekara killed



Parakrama and proceeded to Madura. As on 23rd July 1166 Kulasekara was firmly established on the Madura throne.

4) The events indicate that 1166 was the closing year of Parakrama. Vira Pandya the son of the deceased Parakrama Pandya appealed for aid to the Ceylon king Parakrama Bahu who sent a large army under the command of Lankapura Dandanayaka and Jagathraya Dandanayaka. In the year 1169 the Ceylon army landed in the Island of Rameswaram. After strengthening their positions they entered the Indian Main Land. The Ceylon generals captured Madura, drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. This happened in 1170. This is evident from the Pandyan and Chola records and also from Mahavamsa.<sup>10</sup>

Kulasekara's Tenkarai record<sup>11</sup> is in year 9 day 44. His Kodaganallur record<sup>12</sup> is in year 9 day 50. Both the records correspond to May 1170. They state that the king issued the orders when he was seated on his throne Muniyadarayan in the Srivallabhan hall within the palace at Madura east of Madakkulam.

The Chola king Rajadhi Raja II's Aarppakkam record dated 1170-71 states that the Ceylonese army drove out Kulasekara from Madura. The Chola Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan arrested further advance of the Ceylonese army. Thus it is evident that in May 1170 Kulasekara was in Madura and in the middle of 1170 he was driven out by the Ceylon Generals who installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. Kulasekara was operating in the south till 1171 and this is evident from his Attur Record.<sup>13</sup>

Pallavarayan Pettai record<sup>14</sup> is in the eighth year of Rajadhi Raja corresponding to 1173-74. It states that Kulasekara came to the Chola country for help. Rajadhi Raja II helped Kulasekara. He sent his Chief Minister Cum-Army-General Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan to invade Madura. Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan defeated the Ceylon army, killed the two Ceylon Generals and drove out Vira Pandya. Pallavarayan installed Kulasekara on the Madura throne. After some time Pallavarayan died of some disease. It is evident that Kulasekara was installed on the Madura throne prior to 1173.

Kulasekara's Kallidaikkurichi record<sup>15</sup> is in year 11 corresponding to 1172-73. It states that the king issued the order when he was seated on the throne in the Madura palace. Thus we can safely surmise that Kulasekara was installed on the Madura throne in 1172. (His Sittamalli record<sup>16</sup> year 14 corresponding to 1175-76 mentions his Madura Palace).

The Ceylon king Parakrama Bahu planned to invade the Chola country. The Chola emperor Rajadhi Raja despatched his Navy under the command of Annan Pallavarayan. The Naval Commander made a surprise raid on Ceylon and



crippled the Ceylonese Naval and Military power. This happened in 1176. In the meantime the Pandya king Kulasekara became a traitor and had secret contacts with Ceylon. These developments infuriated Rajadhi Raja. His general Annan Pallavarayan invaded Madura, drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. This is evident from Rajadhi Raja's Tiruvalangadu record<sup>17</sup> dated December 1177. This proves that prior to December 1177 Kulasekara was driven out from Madura.

Kulasekara's Sermadevi record<sup>18</sup> dated February 1176 mentions his Madura Palace. Kulasekara's Kuruvitturai record<sup>19</sup> is in year 15 which ends in March 1177. This record states that Kulasekara issued the order when he was seated on his throne in his Palace at Madura. Thus it is evident that upto March 1177 Kulasekara was in Madura. Prior to December 1177 the Chola general drove out Kulasekara from Madura and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne.

Kulasekara was operating in the south. His Senkottai record<sup>20</sup> is in year 15 day 560 corresponding to October 1177. The record states that the king was residing in Kallakkudi Palace in Tirunelveli District. Kallakkudi is another name for "Ukkirankottai"<sup>21</sup>. Kulasekara was operating from Ukkirankottai. What happened to him after October 1177, we have no knowledge.

Thus we find that the dates of Kulasekara's records and their contents agree with the course of events of the Pandyan Civil War.

HIST

Jatavarman Kulasekara was the son of Maravarman Srivallabha. He ascended the throne in March 1162. His Prasasthi begins with "*Putala Madindhai*" (புதல மடந்தை). In the year 1165, Kulasekara besieged Madura. In 1166 he killed Parakrama Pandya and occupied the Madura throne.

Sometime after May 1170, the Ceylon army drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. Till 1171 Kulasekara was operating in the south resisting the Ceylon army. Later he went to the Chola country and sought aid from Rajadhi Raja Chola II. The Chola king assisted Kulasekara. In the year 1172 the Chola General Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan killed the Ceylon generals, drove out Vira Pandya and installed Kulasekara on the Madura throne.

In the year 1177 Kulasekara turned against the Cholas. The Chola general Annan Pallavarayan drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne.

Kulasekara was alive in 1177. He spent the evening of his life in the south. The fate of Kulasekara is not known.



### For information

Alagar Koil is near Madura. Alagar Koil Record No. 800/1929-30 belongs to Kulasekara and it is dated 1169-70. It refers to the spring on the top of the Alagar Koil hill and the flower garden laid out there by the queen. Even to-day on the top of the Alagar Koil hill the spring is there and it brings out potable fresh water. But instead of the garden there is forest.

### Genealogy of Tirunelveli Pandyas

Kulasekara existed prior to 1145

Maravarman Srivallabha 1145-1162  
(Pumagal Jayamagal)

Jatavarman Kulasekara 1162-1177  
(Puthala Madandhai)

### Foot notes :

- 1) L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai — Indian Antiquary 1913 page 229
- 2) 5/1894 ; 204/1932-33 ; 112/1907 ; 660/1916 ; Jatavarman Kulasekara I of Putal Kilathi introduction came to the throne in 1190. He mentions his throne Malavarayan in his place at Madura. See 682/1916 ; 685/1916 ; 509/1916 ; Jatavarman Kulasekara II of Putala Vanidhai introduction came to the throne in 1237. He mentions his throne Malavarayan in Madura Palace. See 13/18 (S. I. I. V. 301)
- 3) Jatavarman Kulasekara I came to the throne between the 4th and the 8th June 1190. See page 25 "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".
- 4) In the Indian Antiquary 1913 page 168 L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai surmised that Jatavarman Kulasekara II came to the throne between the 16th June and the 30th September 1237. Kulasekara's Tiruvaleswaram record No. 370/1913 contains his Prasasthi Putala Vanidhai. The regnal year is 3 day 2690 or year 3+7. The other data are Margali 20, Sunday, Saptami and Uttara Bhadrappada. The data agree with 16th December 1246.

year 3 day 2690 = 16-12-1246

year 3 day 1 = 6th August 1239.

6th August 1239 was the first day of the 3rd year. On this date star Swathi was current in the month Avani. Therefore Swathi in Avani of 1237 was the first



day of the first year. The data fall on 30th July 1237 the accession day of the king.

- 5) See page 49 ante. The events discussed there are to be compared with the events discussed in this chapter.
- 6) K. V. Subramanya Iyer. "Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan" page 70.
- 7) S. I. I. XIV see Kuruvitturai records of Jatavarman Srivallabha of Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum introduction. Also see Kuruvitturai records 318 to 325 of 1908
- 8) E. I. XXXI page 272 ; E. I. XXV page 83
- 9) A. R. E. 1899 pages 8 to 10
- 10) Mahavamsa, Also see foot note 9 above
- 11) 5/1894 ; S. I. I. V. 293
- 12) 204/1932-33
- 13) 438/1929-30
- 14) 433/1924 of Rajadhi Raja II year 8
- 15) 112/1907 ; S. I. I. XXIII No. 112
- 16) 459/1909
- 17) 465/1905 ; E. I. XXII No. 14
- 18) 660/1916
- 19) 327/1908 ; It contains the Prasasthi Puthala Madandhai; See A. R. E. 1909 page 81 para 24.
- 20) 807/1959-60
- 21) A. R. E. 1935-36 pages 27 and 28.



# Jatavarman Vira Pandya

## Of Accession 1170

Vira Pandya was the son of Parakrama Pandya. This relationship is furnished by the Ceylon Chronicle Mahavamsa. Tiruvalangadu record of Rajadhi Raja year 12 also states that Vira Pandya was the son of Parakrama. We discussed the events of the Pandyan Civil War and also the campaigns conducted by Kulothunga III against the Pandya country. We must have a firm grip on the following events so that we can identify the records of Vira Pandya of the Civil War.

Year	
1170 (May)	Jatavarman Kulasekara was still on the Madura throne
1170 (Middle)	Ceylon Generals drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne
1171	Kulasekara's record is found at Attur, Tirunelveli District. He was still resisting the Ceylonese Army
1172	Kulasekara sought assylum in the Chola country. Rajadhi Raja Chola's Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan drove out Vira Pandya and installed Kulasekara on the Madura throne
1173	Raja Raja II died after July. His Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan died after August
1176	Rajadhi Raja's General Annan Pallavarayan and one Srivallabha raided Ceylon
1177 October	Kulasekara was residing in Kallakkudi
1177 December	Rajadhi Raja's General Annan Pallavarayan drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. Young prince Kulothunga participated in this campaign (before accession)
1178 July	Kulothunga III came to the throne
1181 June	Rajadhi Raja's last record appears in Tamil Nadu
1182	Rajadhi Raja retired to Andhra
1186	Kulothunga III drove out Vira Pandya and installed Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne. Vira Pandya's son was killed.
1187 Middle	At Nettur Vira Pandya counter attacked; He was defeated by Kulothunga.



From the above facts we come to know that,

1) Vira Pandya was installed on the Madura throne in the middle of 1170. He was not crowned by his father Parakrama Pandya because in 1166 the latter was killed in the initial stage of the Pandyan civil war.

2) Till 1171 Kulasekara was operating in the south. In 1172 he left the Pandya country and sought assylum in the Chola country. During this period Vira Pandya was occupying the Madura throne. Therefore 1172 was the third regnal year of Vira Pandya.

3) Late 1172 Vira Pandya was driven out from Madura. Kulasekara occupied the Madura throne. Again in the middle of 1177 Kulasekara was driven out and Vira Pandya occupied the Madura throne.

4) From 1177 to 1186 Vira Pandya was ruling from Madura. Therefore the years 1170 to 1186 must correspond to his reigns as follows.

Middle of 1170	Accession in the middle of the year
Do. 1171	1st year ends and 2nd year begins
Do. 1172	2nd year ends and 3rd year begins
Do. 1175	5th year ends and 6th year begins
Do. 1177	7th year ends and 8th year begins
Do. 1180	10th year ends and 11th year begins
Do. 1181	11th year ends and 12th year begins
Do. 1186	16th year ends and 17th year begins
Do. 1187	17th year ends and 18th year begins

Without prejudice to the above facts we must identify the records of Vira Pandya and also find his accession date on the basis of the astronomical data found in his records. This is the most important logical deduction which should be applied to the records of Vira Pandya. The process requires patience and scientific reasoning.

Parakrama Pandya was a Maravarman. His son Vira Pandya should be a Jatavarman. On this distinct understanding let us search for Jatavarman Vira Pandya's records.

Angamangalam is a small village in the Tiruchchendur Taluk of Tirunelveli District. The Narasinganathar temple of this village contains many Pandyan records. They belong to the Medieval, Imperial and later Pandyas. The following records attract us.



Record No.	King	Regnal year	A. D. Year	Details
356/1949-40	Jat. Tri Vira Pandya	5	?	The Village Angamangalam is called Madurodaya Perunderuvu in Kudanadu
357/1949-50	Mar. Sundara I who presented Chola cuntry	4 Mesha	March 1220	The village Angamangalam is called Madurodaya Perunderuvu in Kudanadu
369/1949-50	Maravarman Kulasekara I	39 Margali	December 1306	The village is called Angamangalam alias Vira Pandya Managar

From the above records we come to know that in 1306 the name of the village Angamangalam was Vira Pandya Managar evidently called after Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu Illam conquest (of accession 1253) or another Vira Pandya of 1254 accession (of Tirumagal Valar Mulai திருமகள் வளர் முலை Prasasthi).<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1220, i. e., in the reign of Maravarman Sundara I, the village was called Madurodaya Perunderuvu in Kudanadu. The same name is mentioned in the record of Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira Pandya. Therefore this Vira Pandya was either an earlier or a later or a contemporary king. He existed either before or after 1220. The data of Vira Pandya's record are year 5, Makara 13, Su 10, Monday and Punarpusam. Since the solar day 13 is quoted in the month Makara, star Punarpusam will combine either with Su 14 or Su 15. But the thithi quoted is Su 10. Either the thithi or the star or both are wrong. However for Makara 13 and Monday the data agree with 6th January 1175, satisfying the internal evidence<sup>2</sup>. It was 13th solar day of Makara. On this day Su 13 and Ardra were current. Punarpusam commenced after midnight. The data are defective. But the internal evidence, the solar day and week day alone help us to fix the day. There is no other go. We must also note here that his record dated January 1175 is found at Angamangalam in Tiruchchendur Taluk. Because between 1172 and 1177 Kulasekara was occupying the Madurn throne while Vira Pandya was operating in the south east region.

The village Angamangalam in Tiruchchendur Taluk is within a distance of 60 kilometers from the west coast of Ceylon. It is situated about 180 kilometers south east of Madura. This clearly proves that in the years 1172 to 1177 when he was absent at Madura, Vira Pandya was operating from an area which was nearer to Ceylon so that he could always get immediate help from the Ceylon forces who were also stationed at Rameswaram very near to Angamangalam. As per this record January of 1175 belongs to the king's fifth year. Therefore January 1170 belongs to the 0th year.



Kulasekara came to the throne early in 1162. As on the 50th day of his 9th year i. e., May 1170 he was sitting on the Madura throne. Later he was driven out and Vira Pandya was installed.

All put together we can surmise that Vira Pandya mounted the Madura throne in the middle of 1170. This he achieved with the help of the Ceylonese army.

Ramnad District Tiruppattur Taluk, Tirukkoshtiyur village record No. 313/1923 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara I who came to the throne in 1190. The record contains his Prasasthi "Puvin Kilathi" (புவின் கிழத்தி). It is in his 12th year dated 23rd November 1201. The record mentions sale of lands by the king's Chief Jayangkonda Solan Sivallavan Kalavali Nadalvan'. The same Chief Jayangkonda Solan Sivallavan Kalavali Nadalvan figures in Jatavarman Vira Pandya's Tirukkoshtiyur and Tirumalai records<sup>4</sup>.

### Jayangkonda Solan Sivallavan Kalavali Nadalvan figures

Record No.	Village	King	Regnal year	Remarks
313/1923	Tirukkoshtiyur	Jat. Kulasekara I	12	23rd November 1201
316/1923	-Do-	Jat. Vira Pandya	Year 11 Day 339	Prasasthi "Pumeviya Tirumadhum"
23/1924	Tirumalai	Jat. Vira Pandya	Year 11 Day 349	Pumaruviya Tirumadhum
471/1962-63	Tiruvadavur	Lost	Lost	(Refer to A. R. E. 1962-63 page 32)
375/1961-62	Kanur	Lost	13+1	

The presence of the same Chief in the records of Kulasekara and Vira Pandya proves that the dates of the records are very close. Vira Pandya was either a successor or a predecessor. The successors were Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1253 and Jatavarman Vira Pandya of 1254 accession. Their 11th year day 349 falls in 1264 or in 1265. The same Chief could not have figured for such a long period of 63 years. Jatavarman Vira Pandya of 1253 accession had the epithet Kongu Illam conquest and the other Vira Pandya had the prasasthi "Tirumagal Valar Mulai" (திருமகள் வளர் முலை). But the prasasthi of our Vira Pandya in which the same Chief figures begins with "Pumeviya" or "Pumaruviya Tirumadhum" and the other details are same. Therefore it is certain that these two records belong to Vira Pandya of the civil war and he was the predecessor to Kulasekara of accession 1190. The regnal years of the records are year 11 day 339 and year 11 day 349 respectively, which correspond to the end of the 11th year of



approximately one month short of the beginning of the 12th year. The record is thus to be assigned to the middle of 1181. The full prasasthi runs as follows:-

பூமருவிய திருமாதும் ஜயமாதும் புயத்திருப்ப  
 திருமருவிய மலர் கூந்தல் சீர்மடந்தை பார் விளங்க  
 பொன்னிமயத் தருகடல்கள் பொலி வெய்தப்  
 புனரிசூழ்ந்த மண்முழுதும் குடைகிழற்ற  
 மரபில் மணிமுடி சூடி செங்கோலால்  
 கருங்கலியைத் திக்கெட்டில் பிறஞ் செலுத்தி  
 வெற்பகோப மதசாணையிறல் வேந்தர் திறையளப்பத்  
 தென் தமிழ்க ளொருமுன்றும் சதுர்வேதமும் தழைத்தோங்க  
 அணர்பிரான் மணியாகத் தணியாரமது புனைந்து  
 மன்னிய வீரசிம்மாசனத்து உலகமுழுதுடை யாளோடும்  
 வீற்றிருந்தருளிய மாமுதல் மதிக்குலம் விளக்கிய  
 கோமுதல் கோச்சடைபன்மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள்  
 ஸ்ரீ வீரபாண்டியதேவர் மதுரைக் கோயில் வடக்கில்  
 தோட்டில் நீராவி மண்டபத்துப் பள்ளிக் கூடலில்  
 எழுந்தருளியிருந்து யாண்டு இரண்டாவதின்  
 எதிர் ஒன்பதாவது முன்னூற்று நாற்பத்து ஒன்பதினால்.

(The above Prasasthi begins with *Pumaruviyu Tirumadhum* and it is found in Tirumalai record No. 23/1924. In the Tirukkoshtiyur record No. 316/1923 it begins with *Pumeviya Tirumadhum* (பூமேவிய திருமாதும்) Both the phrases mean "Mahalakshmi". The other details are same).

The above two records of Vira Pandya are in the last days of the 11th year corresponding to the middle of 1181. The Tirumalai record states that the king issued the orders when he was in the bed chamber of his Palace at Madura. Tirukkoshtiyur record states that while issuing the order the king was pleased to be seated on the throne "Pallikkudal" put up in the Mandapa surrounded by water (Niravi Mandapa நீராவி மண்டபம்) in the grove north of the Palace at Madura east of Madakkulam.

The records prove that in the middle of 1181 Jatavarman Tribhuvana-chakravartin Sri Vira Pandya Deva was actually present in his Palace at Madura. Therefore till 1181 he could not have been driven out by Kulothunga III. Vira should have continued to rule from Madura till 1186 when Kulothunga drove him out and installed Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne.

Tirukkoshtiyur and Tirumalai records prove that Vira Pandya was occupying the Madura throne in the middle of 1181 which is the end of the 3rd year and the beginning of the 4th year of Kulothunga. But Kulothunga adopts the title "who took Madura and the crowned head of the Pandya" even from his



2nd year corresponding to 1179-80. The title does not appear in his 3rd year. The title refers to the war which took place prior to 1179. It confirms Kulothunga's participation<sup>6</sup> in Rajadhi Raja's Pandyan campaign of 1177. This I have surmised in page 58 ante and that surmise gets support from Vira Pandya's above records. Kulothunga's independent campaign against Madura did not commence till 1186.

In the year 1186 Kulothunga drove out Vira Pandya from Madura and installed Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne. From 1186 to 1330 the successors of Vikrama Pandya ruled from Madura. Vikrama's son Jatavarman Kulasekara I (of Puvir Kilathi Prasasthi) ascended the throne in 1190. His successor was Maravarman Sundara Pandya I of accession 1216 who founded the second Pandyan empire and from whose days the Pandyas attained the Imperial status.

Kulothunga's records state that in the year 1187 Vira Pandya counter attacked at Nettur. This village Nettur is situated near Ilayathangudi in Sivaganga Taluk of Ramnad District. Thus we can surmise that after being driven out from Madura Vira Pandya should have moved to the Sivaganga area. He should be ruling in this area around 1187. This is confirmed by a record of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I. Ramnad District Paramakudi Taluk Saligramam record No. 312/1949-50 belongs to Maravarman Sundara I year 21 and it is dated 18th August 1237. The record registers the sale of certain fields and lands to the temple. The record states that the lands were previously mortgaged to the temple in the 18th year of Vira Pandya and again for an additional sum in the 12th year of Kulasekara. The mortgaged money due for a long time was made up by selling the lands to the temple in the year 1237. It means that the lands were mortgaged in 1187-88 the 18th year of Vira Pandya. Again the lands were mortgaged in 1202 the 12th year of Jatavarman Kulasekara I. Since the due amount was not paid till the reign of Sundara, the lands were sold to the temple itself in 1237 and the due amount was made up. It is evident that Vira Pandya was alive in 1187-88.

### Suchindram inscription of Vira Pandya

The village Suchindram is situated about Seventy Kilometers south of Travancore. In the Shanunathaswami temple of this village there is an inscription of Vira Pandya. It is in the character of the 12th century. The record is published in page 18 of Travancore Archaeological Series Volume II. The record belongs to Vira Pandya. The Prasasthi of the record is reproduced below.

பூமடந்தையும் செயமடந்தையும் பொலிந்து திருப்புயத்திருப்ப  
பார்முமுதும் குடைநிழற்ற பராக்கிரமத்தால் முடிசூடி  
தென் மதுராபுரிக் திருவினையாட்டத்தில் கண்டு மன்னரெல்லாம்  
வந்திறைஞ்ச மலைநாடு கொண்டருளி மாபாரதம் பொருதருளி



மன்னவர்கு தூதுசென்றருளி தேவாசரமது கைத்திருத்தி  
 தேனருமறையுங் கொண்டருளி வடவரையில் கயல் பொறித்து  
 வானவர் கோனாரம்பூண்டு திடவாசகக் குறுமுனிபால்  
 செந்தமிழ்நூல் தெரிந்தருளிச் தனிரிருங்கை மாதூரிமைச்  
 செங்கோல் எங்கும் திசை நடாத்தி  
 மன்னிய வீரசிம்மாசனத்தில் திரைலோக்கிய முழுதுடையாரோடும்  
 வீற்றிருந்தருளிய மாமுதல் மதிக்குலம் விளக்கிய  
 கோமுதல் கொற்றவன்மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள்  
 வீரபாண்டியதேவர் அபிஷேக காலத்தில் ..... etc.,

The Prasasthi invokes the blessings of Mahalakshmi and Jayalakshmi. The king Vira Pandya was crowned solely through his prowess to protect the land under his umbrella; He was pleased to be victorious in southern Madura campaign; He captured Malai Nadu (Travancore area). Other kings pay respect to Vira Pandya. He participated in the war between the Deva and Asuras. He took part in the Mahabarata war! He acted as an Ambassador for Pandavas! He put his fish emblem on the northern mountains. Vira Pandya wore the garland of Indra. He learnt Tamil from Sage Agastya. The scepter which he has in his hands "is the Right of Female" (மாதூரிமைச் செங்கோல்) allusion to Goddess Meenakshi who as per Puranic legends was the first Pandyan Princess. Vira Pandya born in the Lunar race was pleased to be present with his queen on the throne when he was crowned ... etc .....

The record introduces the king as Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira Pandya Deva only. The king claims victory in the wars at Madura. He claims to have taken Malai Nadu evidently Travancore regions. The record proceeds to register the claims of the king's ancestors (Puranic Pandyas) who stamped the Fish Emblem on the Northern Mountains and who also took part in Mahabaratha Wars! The king Vira Pandya is said to have learnt Tamil from the Sage Agastya. He wears the garland of Indra. His sceptre came down from Goddess Meenakshi. These Puranic references confirm that he is a Pandya of the Madura line.

K. V. Subramaniam Iyer assigns this record to Vira Pandya of civil War. His surmise is reasonable. The regnal year is not given. But the record states that it was engraved after the coronation of the king. So the date of the record is 1170. Since this is the first year of the king, his claims in the wars at Madura are genuine. Vira Pandya claims to have captured Travancore area. This must be true. Because the record itself is found near Travancore. In the earlier days Maravarman Srivallabha of accession 1145 extended his authority in the Travancore region. His son Kulasekara also should have had control over the same area. But in the year 1170, when he was driven out from Madura, Kulasekara was in the Tiruchchendur area and he was there till 1171. Later in 1172 he came to the Chola country. In the same year he was installed on the Madura throne. The



Interval of these two years could have enabled Vira Pandya to capture Travancore the region south west of the Pandya country. In this record one Prince (Pillaiyar) Vira Kerala figures as a witness.

From 1170 to 1172 Vira Pandya was the enemy of the Cholas. Therefore in his first year he adopted his Prasasthi in the Pandyan style. In the year 1177 the Cholas installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. From 1177 to 1186 Vira Pandya was on cordial terms with the Cholas. Therefore in the year 1181 he adopted the Prasasthi in the Chola style. (Actually he borrowed the first two words of Raja Raja II's Prasasthi). Probably he wanted to write off the enmity which he had with the Cholas.

In this connection we should also observe here an unique coincidence. Rajadhi Raja who in the year 1177 installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne, crowned Kulothunga in 1178. In the year 1181 Rajadhi Raja left Tamil Nadu and settled in Andhra. Before leaving Tamil Nadu Rajadhi Raja engraved his last record No. 11/1925 which is found at Pallavarayan Pettai. It is in year 15 dated 8th June 1181. In this record Rajadhi Raja borrows his uncle Raja Raja's Prasasthi "Pumaruviya Tirumadhum" in full form. In the year 1181 Vira Pandya borrows the beginning portion of the same Prasasthi "Pumaruviya Tirumadhum". These points prompt us to infer that Vira Pandya really wanted to extend his friendship with the Cholas. But the wheel of fortune turned down.

Vira Pandya was a great soldier prince. He made several attempts to establish his position and occupy the Madura throne. Fate was against him. From Kulothunga's records we come to know that probably around 1199 Vira Pandya was killed. This we shall see in the next chapter "Closing year of Vira Pandya".

(I have so far identified only four records of Vira Pandya. His other records may be available. In the present state of our knowledge we are unable to identify his other records. We can do so provided all the Pandyan records are published in full text. I trust the future will do it).

Gist

Jatavarman Vira Pandya was the son of Maravarman Parakrama Pandya. In the middle of 1170 he drove out Kulasekara and mounted the Madura throne. This he did with the help of the Ceylon army.

In the year 1172 Rajadhi Raja Chola's General Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan drove out Vira Pandya and installed Kulasekara on the Madura throne.

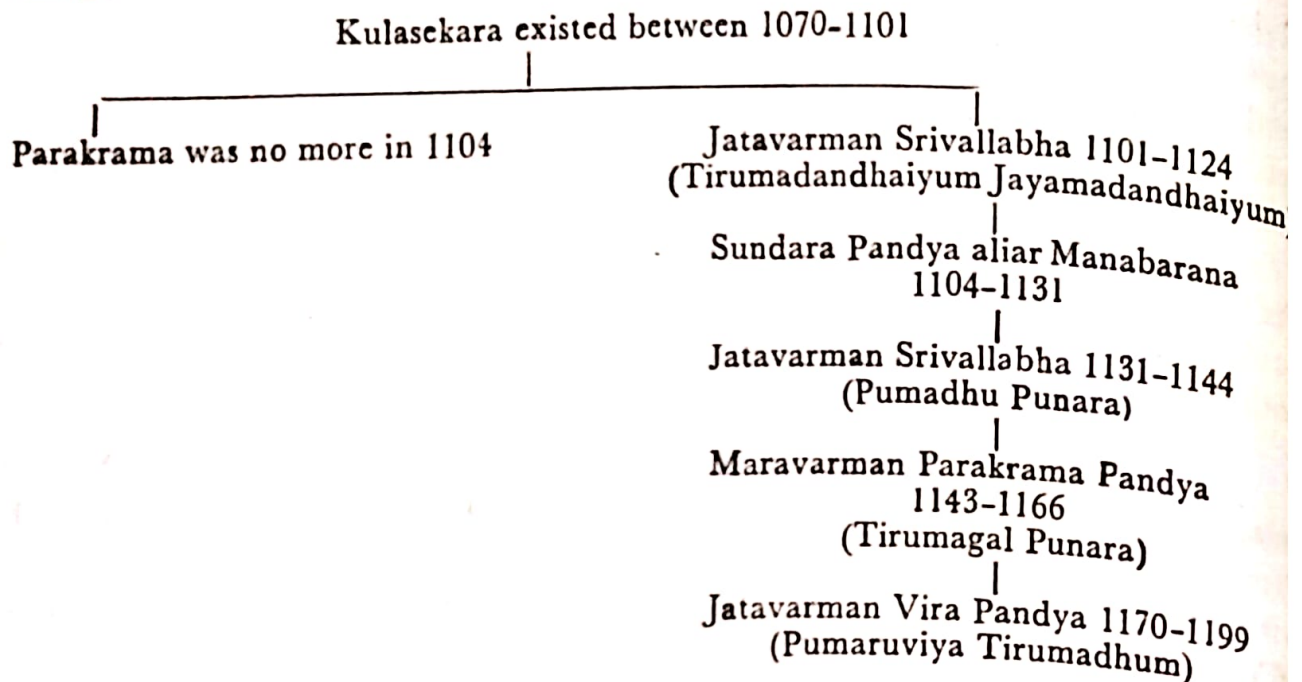
Again in the year 1177, Rajadhi Raja's General Annan Pallavarayan drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. Vira Pandya



continued his rule and wanted to establish his friendship with the Cholas by borrowing the first portion of Raja Raja and Rajadhi Raja's Prasasthi "Pumaruviya Tirumadhum". The phrase appears in Vira Pandya's records dated 1181. Probably Vira Pandya wanted to extend his friendship with the then Chola emperor Kulothunga III who was the son of Raja Raja the uncle of Rajadhi Raja

In the year 1186 Kulothunga III drove out Vira Pandya and installed Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne. In 1187 Vira Pandya counter attacked. But he was defeated by Kulothunga. Vira Pandya was alive in 1187-78. Probably he was killed around 1199 and we shall see this in the next chapter.

### Genealogy of Madura Pandyas



### Foot Notes

- 1) Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu Illam conquest came to the throne in 1253. Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Tirumagal Valar Mulai ( திருமகல் வளர் முலை ) came to the throne in 1254. Please refer to the relevant chapters in the appendix.
- 2) The data do not produce any date in the reigns of the three Jatavarman Vira Pandyas of accession 1253, 1254, and 1297 respectively. The last one was the son of Maravarman Kulasekara I of 1268 accession. For further details see "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".
- 3) A. R. E. 1923-24 page 106 para 26.
- 4) A. R. E. 1923-24 page 108 para 32.
- 5) I am thankful to Shri K. G. Krishnan, the Chief Epigraphist for supplying me the transcripts of the Prasasthis.



**Kulasekara** was alive in October 1177. Rajadhi Raja's general drove out **Kulasekara** prior to December 1177. In this campaign young prince **Kulothunga** participated. Did **Kulothunga** kill **Kulasekara** and adopt the title "Who took **Madura** and the crowned head of the **Pandya**"? I hesitate to make any definite conclusion until something turns up in the future.

Incidentally there is a precedent. In the year 959 **Aditya Chola II** killed **Vira Pandya**. **Aditya** came to the throne in 960. His records introduce him as "He who took the head of the **Pandya**". Prior to his accession **Aditya** killed **Vira Pandya** and he claimed the credit after the accession. (Please refer to "Early Cholas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" by the author)

7) Please refer to **Gangadevi's Madhura Vijayam**. **Gangadevi** was the queen of **Vira Kampanna (1357-74)**. She quotes this allusion. See page 213 "The Pandyan Kingdom" by **Sastri**.



## Closing year of Vira Pandya

In the year 1177 the Cholas drove out Kulasekara and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne. In the year 1186, at the request of Vikrama Pandya, Kulothunga drove out Vira Pandya and installed Vikrama on the Madura throne. In the next year Vira counter attacked at Nettur but Kulothunga defeated him. Upto this stage we know the details of the events. Let us see the further stages.

Kulothunga's Tirukkadaiyur records<sup>1</sup> are in years 15 and 16 corresponding to 1192-93 and 1193-94 respectively. They repeat the above events in identical terms and supply some fresh information. They state,

“தண்டொன்றால் வீரபாண்டியன் தண்ட...னை முக்...து கொண்டு விக்கிரம பாண்டியற்குக் கூடல் மாநகர் குடுத்து கண்டபின் எடுத்து வந்த பரிபவத்தால் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டமர் (முடித்) தவன் முதல் மகளிரை வேளம் ஏற்றி புகலற்று குட டெ(கால்லம்) புக்கதென்னனும் மிக்க சேரனும் பங்கய மலரடி (வண)...வைத்து செந்தமிழ் நாட்டரசும் மெளலியும் தந்...னுக் கருத் தருளி வீரக்கழல் புனைந்து வீரக் கொடியும் தியாகக் கொடியும் எடுத்து கைகயர் கொற் காதலனையும் போகாடக் கண்டருளி ஏதரிய செல்வத் துடந் எல்லையில் பரி சட்ட நல்கி மீனவனும் வீர கேரளன் வேளை கொண்டு விரல் தரித்துத் தாநடிமை புகுதலால் தாராமர் பெருவாழ்வளித்துப் பக்கத்திருந்துண்ணப் பரிகல பரிச்சின்ன நல்கி திக்கெட்டும் ஏவல் கேட்டுச் சக்கர வெற்பில் புகழ் எறிப்ப.....”

“With a single army Kulothunga defeated Vira Pandya and cut off the nose (of Vira). Having finished the fight, he (Kulothunga) caused the best of his (Vira Pandya's) women to enter (his own) velam; (he) set his foot on the crowns of the Tennavan (Pandya), who had entered the western Kollam with his relatives as he had no (other) refuge, and of the powerful Cera, when they made obeisance at his lotus feet; (he) was pleased to confer on the Tennavan (Pandya) the sovereignty of the land of sen-Tamil (Madura country) and (its) crown; (he) put on the anklet of heroes and raised the banners of heroism and of liberality; (he) was pleased to be present when the chief of Kaikayas named his son after him (Kulothunga) and gave him many robes; having bestowed a living, such as kings seldom got, on the Minavan (Pandya) Vira Kerala<sup>2</sup> whom he had compelled to turn his back on the battle-field, whose finger he had cut off, and who had since surrendered himself into slavery; (he also) gave him to eat by his side from vessels given by him”<sup>3</sup>

Vira Pandya fled to Kerala. But the Kerala king was afraid of Kulothunga. The Kerala king and Vira Pandya surrendered to Kulothunga who magnanimously pardoned both. The event is to be placed around 1192.



Kulothunga's Kuhaiyur record year 17 and Sri Rangam record year 19 supply the same information<sup>4</sup> and add that Vira Pandya's son was treated well. A record recently discovered at Darasuram<sup>5</sup> supply some interesting information. The regnal year is lost. The record states,

“ அவணி ஆண்டு சந்திரவர்ஷத்துப் பாண்டியனைத் தலை அரிந்து நாடு கொண்ட பின் அவன் மகனாக...த்து பார்த்தொண்டு முடிக்கொடுத்து அடி முடியால் பண்ணி அவன் முடிமேல் அடி வைத்து பக்கத்து இருந்துண்ணப் பரிகலம் திக்கெட்டும் ஏவல் கேட்க...”

“ Kulothunga (who rules the world) cut off the head of the Pandya of the lunar race. He put his feet on the head of the Pandya's son. Then he was pleased to take food from the same vessel with the Pandya's son.”

A record<sup>6</sup> which comes from Kovilur is in the 25th year of Kulothunga corresponding to 1203 and it supplies some fresh information. It states,

“ திறை இடாத் தென்னவன்மெல் தண்டேவத் திருவுள்ளமாய் வரு (தி) (நாடு) தனதாக்கி மதுரை நகர்திறைப்படுத்திப் பூண்ட பெரும்போரில் வென்று அவன் முடித்தலை கொண்டமர் முடித்துக் கொண்டு பெருங்கவரியுங் கொடு முடியும் குலமகனும் பிடியுண்ண புதல்வர்தம் விரல் செறித்து புகழ்மைந்தனைப் பெர்சாட்டி அபயமென்று வருதலால் அரசியாற் கையொடும் கூடவந்து வணங்குதலும் சினமறந்து திருவுள்ளமாய்த் தென்னவனுமென மொழிந்து பட்டொளியும் தீவ்யாசனமும் பரிசட்டமுமிக நல்கி அரசும் ஆண்மையும் அவற்களித்து அணிமதுரையவற்காக்கி விடைகுடுத்து.”

“ Kulothunga sent his army to punish the Tennavan (Pandya) who refused to pay the customary tributes. He captured Madura and the Pandya country. The Pandya produced his son and prostrated with his queen before Kulothunga. Since the Pandya craved for excuse it was accordingly granted and Kulothunga was pleased to declare that the Pandya was “the Tennavan“. Kulothunga offered the Pandya the seat of glory and royal robes. He gave back Madura and the Pandya kingdom to the Pandya.”

The event is to be placed around 1203 when Jatavarman Kulasekara I of accession 1190 was ruling. It is evident that in this campaign Kulasekara was defeated. If this is so then we can infer that the Darasuram record refers to the death of Vira Pandya at the hands of Kulothunga. This is also confirmed by Kulothunga's Tribhuvanam record<sup>7</sup>. Probably Vira Pandya met his death, - in some battle around 1199. Thus ends the story of the great soldier prince Vira Pandya. The rest belongs to the story of Jatavarman Kulasekara I and his successors. It is not dealt with here since it is beyond the scope of this book.



*Foot Noets*

- 1) Tirukkadaiyur 254/1925 year 15 and 42/1906 year 16. I went to Mysore and consulted the transcripts. I am thankful to the Chief Epigraphist Shri K. G. Krishnan who was kind enough in permitting me to consult the transcripts of these records and also the transcripts of other records which I have quoted in this chapter.
- 2) Refer to last chapter. Probably the same Vira Kerala figures in the Suchindram record of Vira Pandya.
- 3) Page 380 " The Colas " by Sastri edition 1975.
- 4) Kuhaiyur 112/1910 year 17 ; Sri Rangam 66/1892 S. I. I. III 88 year 19 dated 12th November 1196.
- 5) I discovered this record at Darasuram near Kumbakonam. The record was copied by Dr. C. R. Srinivasan, Superintending Epigraphist Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. The record will be published in A. R. E, 1979.
- 6) Kovilur 183/1908 year 25. I consulted the transcript at the office of the Chief Epigraphist Office, Mysore.
- 7) S. I. I. XXIII No. 190 ; Also see page 949 South Indian Temple Inscriptions Volume II.



# Jatavarman Srivallabha

Of Accession 1158

In the 11th and 12th centuries several Pandya kings have borne the same name Srivallabha. A. R. E. 1909 page 81 suggests the existence of three Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabhas in the 12th century. In the reports their records are mixed up.

S. I. I. Vol. XIV was published in the year 1962. The report contains the inscriptions of Srivallabhas. So far we know the following Srivallabhas.

1) Udaiyar Srivallabha ruled from 1014 to 1031. He was a contemporary of Rajendra Chola (1012—1043). His Prasasthi begins with "Tirumagal Jayamagal" (திருமகல் ஜயமகல்). He did not have the title "Tribhuvanachakravartin" since the title was introduced by Kulothunga I (1070—1122).

2) Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha of Thiru Madandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum Prasasthi (திருமடந்தையும் ஜயமடந்தையும்) was a contemporary of Kulothunga I. He came to the throne in 1101. His rule extended up to 1124. His capital was Madura.

3) Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha of Pumadhu Punara (பூமாத் புனரா) Prasasthi ruled from 1131 to 1144. His capital was also Madura.

4) Maravarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha of Pumagal Jayamagal (பூமகல் ஜயமகல்) Prasasthi came to the throne in 1145. He ruled Tirunelveli and South Travancore area. His capital was Tirunelveli. His rule extended upto 1162. (His son was Jatavarman Kulasekara who came to the throne in 1162).

5) Yet another Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha existed in the later half of the 12th century. We shall see him now.

Jatavarman Srivallabha under discussion can be identified after strenuous research only. The study requires patient scrutiny of the Chola and the Pandyan records. A firm grip over the details of Pandyan civil war is also necessary.

At Ceylon Parakrama Bahu the Great ruled from 1153 to 1186. He interfered in the politics of the Pandyan affairs. His participation in the Pandyan civil war is known. Parakrama Bahu gave his sister in marriage to Manabarana a Pandyan Prince (about whom we have no knowledge). Manabarana was a rival of Parakrama Bahu. After the demise of Manabarana, his son Srivallabha seems to have aspired for the Singalese throne. But his designs were foiled by Parakrama



Bahu. Around 1154, Srivallabha was taken prisoner by Parakrama Bahu and forced to march in front of his triumphant procession. However Srivallabha escaped and fled to the Indian Main Land. We get this information from Ceylon Chronicle<sup>1</sup>. Srivallabha came to the Indian Main Land probably after 1154.

Rajadhi Raja Chola II ruled from 1166 to 1181. In the year 1176 he sent his Navy under the command of Annan Pallavarayan who made a surprise raid on Ceylon. While doing so, Annan Pallavarayan took with him Srivallabha, the nephew of Parakrama Bahu. Pallavarayan and Srivallabha burnt the northern province of Ceylon. We get this information from Rajadhi Raja's Tiruvalangadu record<sup>2</sup> year 12. This record clearly states that Srivallabha was the nephew (மருமகனார்..... Marumaganar) of Parakrama Bahu. The record states that Srivallabha was a claimant to the Ceylonese throne but he was driven out by Parakrama Bahu. Srivallabha arrived in the Chola Court and settled in the Pandya country. He participated in the Ceylon raid conducted by the Cholas in 1176. It is evident that Srivallabha existed in 1176. *This is inference No. 1.*

In the year 1186 Kulothunga III drove out Vira Pandya and installed one Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne. Vikrama's successors were Jatavarman Kulasekara I (1190—1224) and Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (1216—1241).

Pattamadai is a small village in Tirunelveli District. The Bilvavananatha Shiva temple of this village contains many Pandyan records. In the records the temple is called Srivallabha Iswaramudaiyar temple. Records Nos. 543, 546, 549, and 550 of 1916 of this temple belong to Jatavarman Kulasekara I of accession 1190 (*Puvir Kilathi Prasasthi*). From these records we come to know that Srivallabha Iswaramudaiyar temple was built in the 13th year of Kulasekara corresponding to 1203. The temple was built by the Chief Pemma Nayan alias Irungolan. The name of the temple prompts us to infer that Srivallabha existed prior to the time of Kulasekara and a temple was built in his name in 1203. *This is inference No. 2.*

Vide pages 19 and 100 ante we have seen that a Chief by name Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan of Pon Amaravathi existed between 1150 and 1180. He figures in the records of Raja Raja II and Kulothunga III. He was an ally of the Cholas.

A record from Tiruppattur<sup>3</sup> (Ramnad District) is in the 21st year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha. In this record Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan figures as the donor. It is evident that the 21st year of Srivallabha falls between 1150 and 1180. This Srivallabha was a contemporary of the Chola kings Raja Raja II, Rajadhi Raja II, and Kulothunga III. He was also a contemporary of the Tirunelveli Pandya kings namely Maravarman Srivallabha



(1145-62), Jatavarman Kulasekara (1162-77), and the Madura Pandyas namely Parakrama (1143-66) and Vira Pandya (1170-99). *This is inference No 3.*

A record from Sivapuri Ramnad District<sup>4</sup> is in the 25th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha. The record states that Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Devar Nishadharajan alias Alala Sundara Perumal gifted lands to the temple. The Chief has the surname "Tappilla Vachakan" (தப்பில்லா வாசகன்). Probably he was the same Chief discussed above.<sup>5</sup>

A record from Sivapuri Swayamprakeswara temple<sup>6</sup> is in the 7th year of Jatavarman Kulasekara I (of accession 1190) corresponding to 1197 and it contains his Prasasthi "Pumeni Kilathi" (பூமேனி கிளத்தி). The record states that one Keralan Alagaiy Devan alias Viramalagiya Nishadharajan of Tirukkodunkundram (கேரளன் அழகிய தேவன திருக்கொடுங்குன்றமுடையான் வீரமழகிய நிஷதராஜன்) gifted two villages to the temple for conducting a service "Viramalagiyar Sandhi" instituted in his name.

Another record which comes from the same Sivapuri Temple<sup>7</sup> is in the 21st year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulothunga. The record states that Tirukkodunkundramudaiyan Keralan alias Nishadharajan got certain lands exempted from taxes and gifted them for the service of Viramalagiyar Sandhi. Therefore this record is later than 1197 and it evidently belongs to Kulothunga III dated 1199. The same chief figures in the Chaturvedhi mangalam record<sup>8</sup> of Kulothunga III year 21 corresponding to 1199. In this record the Chief mentions a colony in the name of Tappilla Vachakan (தப்பில்லா வாசகன் திருமடை விளாகம்) evidently the surname of Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Devar Nishadharajan<sup>9</sup> whom we have seen in the 25th year record of Srivallabha. It is evident that the 25th year of Srivallabha was prior to 1199. *This is inference No. 4.*

A record which comes from (Ramnad District Tiruppattur Taluk) Sivapuri is in the 3rd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Maravarman Sundara Pandya I corresponding to December 1218. The record<sup>10</sup> mentions the grants made in the 24th year of Kulothunga I, in the 15th and 24th years of Srivallabha Deva, and also in the 7th and 21st years of Kulasekara Deva evidently Jatavarman Kulasekara I the immediate predecessor of Sundara<sup>11</sup>.

Kulothunga's 24th year falls in 1094. The 15th and 24th years of Srivallabha must be placed after 1094. The highest regnal year<sup>12</sup> for Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession is 23. Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1131 accession ruled for 13 years. Therefore Srivallabha whose 24th year is quoted by Sundara Pandya was a different king. Srivallabha's 24th year must be closer to Kulasekara. Vikrama Pandya was the father of Jatavarman Kulasekara of accession 1190. Therefore Srivallabha mentioned in the above records should be a predecessor to Vikrama. *This is inference No. 5.*



The village Ariviyur is situated in the Tiruppattur Taluk of the Ramnad District. The village gets different surnames in the reigns of different kings. Those records are tabulated below.

Record No.	Village	King	Regnal year	A. D. year	Ariviyur alias
S. I. I. XIV. 213	Sivapuri	Jatavarman Srivallabha (Tirumadandhai)	6	1106	Nana Desi Perunderuvu
S. I. I. XIV. 238	Tiruppattur	-Do-	17	1117	Desi Uyyavanda Pattinam
S. I. I. XIV. 253	Sivapuri	Tribhuvana Srivallabha (?)	21	?	-Do-
S. I. I. XIV. 259	Sivapuri	-Do-	24	?	-Do-
283/1923	Tirukkoshtiyur	Jatavarman Kulasekara I	14	1204	Sivallavapuram
67/1928-29	Sivapuri	Maravarman Sundara I	12	1228	Kulasekara-pattinam.
288/1923	Tirukkoshtiyur	Jatavarman Vira of accession 1253	10	1262 October	-Do-

In the year 1117 the village Ariviyur was called Desi Uyyavanda Pattinam. In the 21st and 24th years of Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha (either Tirumadandhai or Srivallabha of this chapter) the village had the same surname. In the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekara I i. e. in 1204 the village was called Sivallavapuram. Later in 1228 it was called Kulasekara Pattinam in the name of Jatavarman Kulasekara I.

Thus we come to know that prior to Jatavarman Kulasekara I, there should have existed a Srivallabha after whom the village was surnamed by Kulasekara as Sivallavapuram. But this king is different from Jatavarman Srivallabhas of accession 1101 and 1131 respectively because in the reign of any Srivallabha the village had the surname Desi Uyyavanda Pattinam only. In other words there was a third Jatavarman Srivallabha a predecessor to Jatavarman Kulasekara I of accession 1190. This Srivallabha is far removed from 1131 but closer to 1190. *This is inference No. 6.*

The village Sivapuri is in the Tiruppattur Taluk of Ramnad District. The Swayamprakeswara temple of this village contains many records. In the



Inscriptions the god is called Tiruttandonri Iswaramudaiyar (திருத்தான் இசுவரமுடையர்). The village gets different names in the reigns of different kings. The records of those kings are tabulated below.

Record No.	King	Regnal year	A. D. Year	Name of village
20/1928-29	Kulothunga I	47	1117	Solamarthanda Chaturvedhi Mangalam
29/1928-29 S. I. I. XIV. 243	Jatavarman Srivallabha (Tirumadandhai)	18	1118	Nirupasekara Chaturvedhi Mangalam
14/1928-29	Parakrama <sup>13</sup>	4	1147	-Do- alias Sivapuri
15/1928-29	Parakrama <sup>13</sup>	9	1152	-Do- alias Sivapuri
16/1928-29 S. I. I. XIV. 259	Tri. Sri vallabha	24	?	-Do-
17/1928-29 S. I. I. XIV. 261	-Do-	27	?	-Do-

The transactions referred to in the last two records of the table are interconnected. The name Sivapuri occurs in the record of Srivallabha who has the highest regnal years 24 and 27 and in whose records the Prasasthi and the title Jatavarman or Maravarman are absent. The sequence indicates that a Srivallabha existed with high regnal years upto 27. He could be a contemporary of Parakrama (1143-66) and this Srivallabha could be the predecessor to Vikrama.

In the year 1186 Vikrama sought aid from Kulothunga III and occupied the Madura throne. If this is so then Srivallabha's reign would have come to an end in 1185. His highest regnal year is 27. Probably he came to the throne in 1158. *This is inference No. 7.*

Our inferences 1 to 7 point to the existence of Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha between 1158 and 1185. Against this background let us see the Solapuram records.

Vide pages 86 and 87 ante we discussed the Solapuram records 493 and 497 of 1909. We surmised that the village Sundara Pandya Chaturvedhi Mangalam came into existence in 1104. The temple was called Sundara Pandya Chaturvedhi Mangalam. It was prosperous in the reign of Jatavarman Srivallabha (1101-24) and Sundara Pandya (1124-31). Later due to unforeseen circumstances the villagers left the village. In the reign of Jatavarman Srivallabha of Purnaduvara Prasasthi i. e., between 1131 and 1144 the village was brought into use. The forests were removed. The tanks were repaired. 20 families were settled.



the village received a new name Uttamasola Chaturvedhi Mangalam and the Temple was called Uttama Chola Vinnagar Alwar. The above information are told by Konerinmaikondan great grand-son of Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession. Vide page 105 ante we surmised that Konerinmaikondan was Parakrama Pandya to whom we assigned record No. 497/1909 and fixed its date as 1159.

Therefore in any Solapuram record if we find the name Uttama Chola Chaturvedhi Mangalam and Uttama Chola Vinnagar we can safely surmise that the record was engraved either after 1131 or after 1144. On the basis of this distinct understanding let us see the Solapuram record No. 499/1909.

Solapuram record No. 499/1909:- The record belongs to Tribhuvana chakravartin Jatavarman Srivallabha year 9 (?). The full text is published in S. I. I. XIV. 221. The record mentions the temple as Uttamasola Vinnagar Alwar. It is evident that this Srivallabha existed after 1131. The record runs as follows ( as per S. I. I. XIV. 221 ).

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்திபூர் கோச்சடைய பன்மரான திரிபுவனச்சக்கரவர்த்திகள்
- 2) சிவலதேவற்கு யாண்டு கூ வது மேஷ நாயற்று முதல்.....
- 3) பக்ஷத்து பெளர்ணயும் செவ்வாய்க்கிழமை .....
- 4) தி நாள் .....
- 5) Swasthi Sri Ko-Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin
- 2) Srivallava Deva year 9 Mesha month First .....
- 3) Paksha Pournami Tuesday .....
- 4) thi ( day ) ..... etc

S. I. I. XIV. page IV states that the data mentioned in this record are year 9, Mesha month, First Solar day, Full Moon, Tuesday and Uttiram. The report tried for a date in the reign of *Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum* Srivallabha but in vain. Star Uttiram is not found in the text. The star is mentioned as "..... thi nal " which may be Revathi, or Aswathi or Swathi or any star whose name ends in " thi ".

This record is dealt with by Swamikkannu Pillai in page 225 of the Indian Antiquary 1913. He said that the data of the record were 9, Month Mesha, Full Moon, Solar day either 11 or 16 or 19 and Tuesday. According to Pilai the star was not available in the record. He assumed the Solar day as 11 and equated the data to 5th April 1300. In page 248 of the Indian Antiquary 1915 Robert Sewell rejected this record since Full Moon falls on 12th Mesha and not on 11th. The star was not available. I have dealt with this record in page 156 of my book "The Imperial Pandyas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". I too rejected this record.



The curiosity prompted me to see the original impression in person. On 12th February 1979 I went to Mysore and verified the original impression in the office of the Chief Epigraphist. To my great surprise I found that

- a) the record is engraved in the character of the middle 12th century;
- b) the regnal year is like ௬ which means that it is 6 only and not 9;
- c) the date 1300 suggested by Pillai is not convincing since the paleography of the record is 12th century. The Solar day is not 11 but it is written in words as "First". Now let us see the data. They are as follows.

- 1) year 6
  - 2) Mesha month first.....
  - 3) Paksha Pournami Tuesday.....
  - 4) thi Nal
- The damaged portions can be restored in two ways.

#### Vay No. 1

- 2) யாண்டு ௬ வது மேஷநாயற்று முதல் (தியதிபூர்வ)
- 3) பகஷத்து பெளர்ணையும் செவ்வாய்க்கிழமையும் (பெற்றசோ)
- 4) தி நாள்.

The data will be year 6, Mesha First (Solar day Purva) Paksha Pournami i. e., Full Moon, Tuesday and Star (Swa) thi. Because in the month Mesha, star wathi will combine with Full Moon which is called Purva Paksha Pournami. Thus the data will be Mesha I, Full Moon, Tuesday and Star Swathi. I tried for a date in the 12th century. There is no date for this combination in the 12th and 13th centuries.

#### Vay No. 2

- 2) யாண்டு ௬ வது மேஷநாயற்று முதல் (தியதி அபர)
- 3) பகஷத்து பெளர்ணையும் செவ்வாய்க்கிழமையும் (பெற்ற ரேவ)
- 4) தி நாள்.

The data will be year 6, Mesha First (Solar day, Apra) Paksha Pournami<sup>14</sup> i. e., New Moon, Tuesday and Star (Reva) thi. Because in the month Mesh star Revathi will combine with New Moon which is called Apra Paksha Pournami. Accordingly the data will be year 6, Mesha I, New Moon, Tuesday and Star Revathi. The data perfectly agree with 24th March 1164. This is the correct date of the record. It falls in the 6th year of the king.

This makes March 1158 the 6th year of the king and March 1159 the first year of the king. The king Jatavarman Srivallabha of this record came to the



throne between March 1158 and March 1159 (i. e., Saka 1080). On 24th March 1164 he rightly calls the temple as Uttamasola Vinnagar Alwar which name came into existence after 1131.

Tirumayam Taluk Virachilai record No. Pd. 455 belongs to Perumal Srivallabha. The data are year 10, Dhanus, ba 10, Chitra and Thursday. The data perfectly agree with Thursday 7th December 1167. This makes Chitra in Dhanus of 1158 the first year. The star was current on 16th December.

Pudukkottah State Ambukovil record No. 227/1914 (Pd. 458) belongs to Srivallabha. (The record mentions the district as Raja Raja Vala Nadu). The data are year 19, month Simha, Su 12, Monday and Uttirashada. The data agree with Monday the 8th August 1177. This makes Uttirashada in Simha of 1158 the 0th year. The star was current on 8th August 1158. Srivallabha came to the throne between the 9th August and the 16th December 1158. Probably he ascended the throne in Simha i. e., the Tamil month Avani of 1158.

The highest regnal year is 27. Srivallabha's rule came to an end in 1185. (This agrees with our inferences 1 to 7).

### Gist

Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Srivallabha came to the throne in 1158. His rule extended upto 1185. His successor was Vikrama Pandya whom we shall see in the next chapter.

### Additional Information

Circumstances point to the surmise that probably Srivallabha was the nephew of Parakrama Bahu. At any rate whether he was Parakrama Bahu's nephew or not, the fact remains that Jatavarman Srivallabha existed between 1158 and 1185.

Srivallabha was an ally of the Cholas. His earliest record dated 1164 is found in the Solapuram temple where Parakrama's record dated 1159 is also found. This proves that Srivallabha occupied part of Parakrama's area. This happened prior to the time of the Pandyan Civil War of 1165-66. Probably the Cholas would have helped Srivallabha to settle down in this track of the country. (Incidentally around 1164 the Chola Military establishment was stationed<sup>15</sup> at Kottaru in Kerala very near to Tirunelveli District).

After the third stage of the war, Srivallabha's records are found in the Tiruppattur area. Probably Srivallabha operated from the region east of Madura.

The earliest records of the Rajasimhesvara Shiva temple, in Sinnamanur (Madura District) belongs to Maravarman Kulasekara I (1268-1312). Record



ongs to Jatavarman Vira Pandya, (1297-1343) son of Maravarman  
 he regnal year is 26 corresponding to 1323. The record registers  
 proceeds of contributions on the sale of certain articles of  
 record No. 434/1907 of the same temple belongs to Jatavarman  
 IV (of accession 1318) and it is in year 7. The astronomical data  
 , Mirgasira agree<sup>16</sup> with Friday the 28th December 1324. The  
 e gift of certain contributions on exports for maintaining a  
 he records of Vira Pandya and Sundara dated 1323 and 1324  
 ion the temple Vikrama Pandya Iswaramudaiyar in Srivallavan  
 itary Contonment). It is evident that a Military Contonment  
 e of Srivallabha (of 1158 accession). In the centre of the  
 ple in the name of Vikrama Pandya (successor of Srivallabha)

page 187 foot note 7; E. I. XXII page 87. Also see page 408  
 5 "The Colas" by Sastri - edition 1975.

See E. I. XXII page 92. Line 20 of 465/1905 reads as follows.

ஹதுக்குப் பரிகாரமாக ஈழத்தான் மருமகனாரை ஈழராஜ்யத்துக்கு கடவராய்  
 போந்திருந்த சீவல்லரை அழைப்பித்து .....” (Rajadhi Raja states  
 er to ward off this danger summoned Srivallabha the nephew of the  
 king and a claimant to the kingdom of Ceylon and who had already  
 ere - ”.

93/1908 ; S. I. I. XIV. 252

1929 ; S. I. I. XIV. 260

vation made by the report in S. I. I. XIV. 260

928-29 Jatavarman Kulasekara I year 7

1928-29 Kulothunga III year 21

ict Chaturvedhimangalam record No. 311/1927-28 Kulothunga III

lam Pd 174 belongs to Kulothunga III year 39 corresponding to  
 tes that Kannudai Perumal daughter of Keralan Nishadharajan of  
 vathi was the wife of Tirukkodunkundram Udaiyan Nishadharajan.  
 Nishadharajan was the father-in-law of the latter one.

1928-29 ; A. R. E. 1928-29 page 70.

m 683/1905 Maravarman Sundara I year 3 read with A. R. E. 1903



- 12) S. I. I. XIV. 257
- 13) A. R. E. 1928-29 page 67 para 9
- 14) Aparā Pakṣha Pournami was in useage. Please refer to Tirumaichur record No. 639/1902 S. I. I. VIII No. 243 ; Also see Vedaranyam S. I. I. XVII 537. For the technical term Aparā Pakṣha Pournami see the discussions made in E. I. VIII page 271 ; E. I. X page 135 ; I. A. 1913 page 225 and I. A. 1914 page 248.
- 15) Sri Rangam Inscription of Raja Raja II. E. I. XXXIII page 160.
- 16) See page 144 E. I. X Robert Sewell said that the date of 434/1907 did not agree for any date in the 500 years commencing from 1251. But as per L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris Ready Reckoner the date fall on 28th December 1324.



# Maravarman Vikrama Pandya Of Accession 1181

In the year 1186 At the request of Vikrama Pandya the Chola emperor Kulothunga III invaded Madura, drove out Vira Pandya and installed Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne. This information is supplied by the records of Kulothunga III.

We can infer two points. Vikrama was a king in 1186 and he was ruling some where. He should have been crowned in some year prior to 1186. In the last chapter we surmised that Jatavarman Srivallabha ruled from 1158 to 1185 and his successor was Vikrama. We have to find the accession date of Vikrama and identify his records.

Jatavarman Kulasekara I of Puvir Kilathi introduction came to the throne in 1190. A record from Tirunelveli<sup>1</sup> is in his 19th year and it refers to the consecration of the image of God in the reign of Periyadevar (senior king) Vikrama Pandya Deva. It is evident that Vikrama Pandya was the predecessor of Kulasekara. If this is so then Vikrama should be a Maravarman. He should have ruled more than four years.

The Naduvulappar temple in Sermadevi (near Tirunelveli) contains the records of Maravarman Srivallabha and Maravarman Vikrama. They are engraved on the tiers of the Mandapa in front of the central shrine. The records are tabulated below.

## Sermadevi Naduvulappar temple records

Record No.	Location	King	Regnal year	A. D. date
645/1916	North tier	Maravarman Srivallabha (Pumagal Jayamagal)	5	1150
646/1916	-Do-	Jatavarman Kulasekara	11	?
647/1916	West tier	Jatavarman Kulasekara	15	?
648/1916	West and South tiers	Maravarman Vikrama	8	?
649/1916	-Do-	Maravarman Srivallabha (Pumagal Jayamagal)	16	1161



Elsewhere I have published the photographs of 649/1916 and 648/1916. The former belongs to Maravarman Srivallabha and it is dated 1161. The latter belongs to Maravarman Vikrama year 8. Both the records are in the character 12th century. The letters look alike. On the grounds of Paleaography both the records belong to the same period.

Record<sup>2</sup> No. 648/1916 belongs to Maravarman Vikrama Pandya Deva year 8. The other data are Karkataa. Su 4, Magha and Wednesday. The combination of Su 4 and Magha in Karkataka indicates that it was Adhika Masa Sravana. Satisfying these conditions and the Paleaography the data<sup>3</sup> agree with Wednesday the 29th June 1188 This date yields his first year in 1181. This Maravarman Vikrama was the predecessor to Jatavarman Kulasekara of 1190 accession.

In the present state of the circumstances I am unable to find the other records of Vikrama.

In the last chapter we discussed about Jatavarman Srivallabha who ruled from 1158 to 1185. Probably he crowned his successor Maravarman Vikrama in 1181.

Srivallabha was an ally of the Cholas. His Chief Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan was also an ally of the Cholas. He figures in the 21st year (1179) record of Srivallabha. When Srivallabha crowned his successor Vikrama the Chief Rajendra Solan Keralan alias Nishadharajan probably accepted the overlordship of Vikrama also. This is evident from a record which comes from the village Sundaram in Pudukkottah state<sup>4</sup>. The record is the order of Nishadharajan who states that the order takes effect from the second year of Vikrama Pandya Deva.

### Gist

Maravarman Vikrama Pandya Deva came to the throne in 1181. His predecessor was Jatavarman Srivallabha (1158-85). In the year 1186 Vikrama sought help from Kulothunga III who drove out Vira Pandya and installed Vikrama on the Madura throne. Vikrama's rule extended upto 1190 when his successor Jatavarman Kulasekara of Puvin Kilathi ascended the throne<sup>5</sup>.

### Genealogy

Manabarana ( married the sister of Ceylon king Parakrama Bahu 1153-86 )  
 |  
 Jatavarman Srivallabha 1158-85  
 |  
 Maravarman Vikrama Pandya 1181-90  
 |  
 Jatavarman Kulasekara 1190-1221  
 (Puvin Kilathi Prasasthi)



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**Foot Notes**

- 1) Tirunelveli 83/1927 ; A. R. E. 1926-27 pages 89 and 90.
- 2) No. 648/1916 records the consecration of the images of Lord Rama, His consort Sita and Lakshmana.
- 3) I have no hesitation in assigning this record to the year 1188 ; Please see page 94 of A. R. E. 1917.
- 4) Pd 987. Read the Tamil text and compare it with Pd 986.
- 5) Please refer to the chapter Jatavarman Kulasekara I "The Imperial Pandyas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".



## Ceylon

(Sri Paranavitana, Peradeniya Ceylon, has edited the "Rameswaram inscription of Nissankamalla" in the pages 23 to 32 of Epigraphia Indica Volume XXXVI edition 1965. The article is an excellent analysis of the subject. It deals with certain historical accunts of Ceylon related to the period 1153 to 1200. All the relevant details pertaining to the Ceylon history are reproduced here from Paranavitana's analysis. For further details the reader is requested to please refer to Sri Paranavitana's article).

Parakrama Bahu, the greatest ruler of Ceylon came to the throne in 1153. His reign was a golden age in the history of Ceylon.

In Maleya there was a royal family founded by the immigrants from Kalinga in India (Eastern Ganga). The soldier Prince Nissankamalla alias Kalinga. Chakravarthi or Kitti Nissanka belonged to this family. Nissankamalla, son of Sri Jayagopa and Parvati Mahadevi of Simhapura or Singora (modern Singapore?) was invited to Ceylon by Parakrama Bahu and trained in royal accomplishments. Perhaps Parakrama Bahu gave his daughter named Subadra in marriage to Nissankamalla. In his inscriptions Parakrama Bahu refers to Nissankamalla as son-in-law.

Parakrama Bahu ruled from 1153 to 1186, a long reign of thirty three years. We have already seen his part played in the Pandyan civil war. He was a perpectual troublesome figure for the Cholas. In the year 1169 he captured Rameswaram and strengthened the fort Kundukkal.<sup>1</sup> The later events of the Pandyan civil war are known to us.

Parakrama Bahu interfered in the politics of Tamil Nadu. We have also seen how in the Pandyan civil war the Ceylonese army, in order to contain the Cholas, took the cause of Vira Pandya and Kulasekara alternatively. In the subsequent years also this sort of interference was continued by Ceylon. Cholas could not tolerate this. In 1176, Junior Pallavarayan the commander of Rajadhi Raja Chola raided Ceylon. Parakrama Bahu died in 1186 when Vijaya Bahu II mounted the throne but in the next year he was murdered. Nissankamalla came to the throne in 1187 and ruled till 1196. As far as the Pandyan affairs are concerned Nissankamalla followed in the foot steps of Parakrama Bahu. *He too gave assistance to that Pandya who was opposed to the Cholas.*

An inscription of Nissankamalla in Sinhalese language is found on the Pali Pita close to the Flag staff in front of the famous Ramanathaswami temple at



Rameswaram. Once the slab was the "Royal seat" (Vira Simhasana as the record states) of Nissankamalla when he was staying in Rameswaram. In the later renovations, probably it was put up in the Pali 'ita. This record throws light on the Pandyan civil war.

The regnal year of Nissankamalla's Rameswaram record is lost. But Parnavitana states that from the provenance of the record it can be inferred that the record was engraved prior to the king's 4th or 5th year. It means that the record is dated prior to 1190 or 1191. For the present we shall fix it as 1188 because later we will find confirmation for this date. In this record Nissankamalla narrates many of his claims and achievements. We are not concerned with his claims in Ceylon. But in line 7 Nissankamalla states as follows.

"Having eradicated the thorns in the village as well as in the forests, and having placed the country in tranquility, he desirous of *single combats* proceeded to Lambudvipa (India) on two occasions and tarried there for full duration of three months.

It is evident that after his coronation, on two occasions Nissankamalla proceeded to the Pandya country for single combats and stayed there for three months. His visit could not be in 1186 when Vira Pandya was removed from Madura. Because that was the closing year of Parakrama Bahu and the beginning year of Vijaya Bahu II. Nissankamalla states that he proceeded to the Pandya country for single combats. Evidently it indicates his independent campaigns. His visit should be in the beginning of his reign, prior to September 1187 (vide page 60 ante) when Kulothunga defeated Vira Pandya at Nettur which is very near to Rameswaram. Prior to the battle probably Nissankamalla was in the Pandya country for three months assisting Vira Pandya.

Nissankamalla's records found in Ceylon supply some interesting information. Some of his records picturesquely describe how when he arrived in south India, the mother of the Pandya ruler sent messengers requesting him to take over the whole of relam leaving just one village for the maintainance of her family. The lady may be the mother of Vira Pandya. Probably at her request Nissankamalla was in the Pandya country assisting Vira Pandya. In the circumstances it is natural to expect full wroth from Kulothunga towards Ceylon.

In the days of Raja Raja and Rajadhi Raja the island Rameswaram, went into the hands of Ceylon. The Ceylonese maintained their garrison in the island for about twenty years. Kulothunga's main target was to recover Rameswaram so that the headache from Ceylon could be eradicated once for all and thus the island which was lost in the days of his father Raja Raja would be in the hands of the Cholas.



The appeal by Vira Pandya's mother to Nissankamalla and the latter's occupation of Rameswaram were kindling fire in the heart of Kulothunga whose aim was to wipe out the Ceylonese from the island. By this process Kulothunga achieves two objects. He gets back Rameswaram the sacred place for the Tamils and also the age old strong hold of the Cholas. The rebellious Pandya could not get help from the Ceylonese. Let us see how Kulothunga achieved this

Kulothunga's Tirukkannapuram and Manimangalam records<sup>5</sup> are in year 11 and 12 respectively. The former corresponds to 1188-89 and the latter is dated 4th December 1189. In these records Kulothunga adopts the title "He who took Madura, Ceylon and the crowned head of the Pandya" (மதுரையும் ஈழமும் பாண்டியன் முடித்தலையங் கொண்டருளிய). His Tirukkachur record<sup>6</sup> year 13 corresponding to 1190-91 contains the same title. Kulothunga claims to have taken Ceylon and he states this in 1189. We have tentatively fixed the date of Nissankamalla's Rameswaram record as 1188. Thus we may not be far wrong in surmising that Nissankamalla was in Rameswaram in 1188. In the next year 1189 Kulothunga drove out Nissankamalla, recovered Rameswaram, and adopted the title "who took Madura, Ceylon-etc." Actually Ceylon was not captured by Kulothunga. But his victory over the Ceylonese and the capture of Rameswaram are referred to in his title by the word "Ceylon".

Since Nissankamalla was driven out from Rameswaram Vira Pandya could not get any help from Ceylon. This resulted in Vira Pandya's flight to Kerala which we have already seen.

Paranavitana says "the internal troubles which followed the end of Nissankamalla's reign in 1196 sapped the Military strength of the Ceylonese and the Cholas seem to have taken advantage of that position. It is recorded that General Kitti (who maintained queen Lilavathi on the throne from 1197 to 1200) repulsed the Cholas on three occasions when they landed in the island and advanced for some distance into the interior". Paranavitana adds that the Singhalese were no longer in a position to maintain the garrison at Rameswaram.

We have already seen Kulothunga capturing Rameswaram in 1189. In the words of Ceylon General Kitti the then Chola king Kulothunga should have conducted three Ceylon invasions between 1189 and 1200. The first one was in 1189. In this campaign after capturing Rameswaram the Chola army could have landed in Ceylon and conducted a raid. We shall now see the second and third campaigns.

Kulothunga's Tirthanagiri record<sup>7</sup> is in year 15 day 271 corresponding to April 1193. The Prasasthi supplies some important information. The relevant passage states,



“தென்னவன் வந்தடிபணியச் சிங்களவர் தலை மலையாறத்தென்ன ... ங்கொள்க  
வென்னத்திரை கடலை அடைக்கவென்னத் தென்னிலங்கையர் கோன் தலை அரிந்த  
திருநெடுமால் இவன் என்னத் தென்னவனைத் தலை அரிந்து தேசமெல்லாம் இருள்  
அகற்றி”

“Tennavan (Pandya) prostrated before the feet of Kulothunga Like Lord Vishnu who put a dam across the sea and who killed the king of Ceylon (Ravana), Kulothunga cut off the head of the southerner (Ceylon Prince). The heads of Ceylonese cut off by Kulothunga were like heaps of mountains and they blocked the sea (like the dam constructed by Rama); thus Kulothunga removed the darkness”.

Pandya surrendered. This we have already seen. It was Vira Pandya who along with Vira Kerala surrendered to Kulothunga in 1192. It seems that in the above Ceylon expedition Kulothunga killed a Ceylon Prince about whom we have no knowledge.

Sri Rama constructed a dam across the sea, entered Lanka and killed Ravana the king of Lanka (Ceylon). Kulothunga also invaded Ceylon and killed a Ceylon Prince. But instead of comparing himself to Sri Rama the Chola king Kulothunga compares himself to Lord Vishnu. There is some meaning in this. Sri Rama had only one wife Sita. He is the incarnation of Lord Vishnu who has two consorts Sri Devi and Bhudevi. Kulothunga had two queens. So in the matter of heroism he could be like Lord Rama, but in the personal life he was not. Therefore he compares himself to Lord Vishnu whose incarnation was Sri Rama.

Kulothunga's Tiruvalangadu record<sup>8</sup> is in year 15 day 221 corresponding to February 1193. In this record the Prasasthi repeats the above events and further states,

“ வாழ்வேங்கையும் மடமானும் வந்து ஒரு துறை நீருண்ணக் கோன் வேங்கைக் கொடி எடுத்துச் சங்கமில்லா சோனாட்டில் சோற்றுமலை கண்டருளி தென்னவன் வந்தடி பணியச் சிங்களவன் தலை மலையாற ..... திரைக்கடலை அடைக்கவென்ன பொன்னி சூழ் நாடெங்கும் தன் பெருநிலைமை நாற்றிசைக்கும் காவலனாக சேவலரு நெடுங்கொடியோன் திருக்கயிலைச் சிவன் அருளால் மேவலரைச் சதமடக்கிய தனிச் சிங்கம் பெற்ற தனிமகன்கோன் தேசமெல்லாம் விளங்க .....

‘ In his (Kulothunga's) land (the Chola country) the fierce tiger and the timid deer drink water in the same shore. His tiger (Chola) banner was raised. In the Chola country where there was no toll tax Kulothunga was pleased to see heaps of mountains of rice. Tennavan (Pandya) surrendered. The heads of Ceylonese (who were killed by Kulothunga) piled up like mountains and they blocked the sea. Kulothunga established his fame in the Cauvery Nadu. He, the lord of the earth subdued the other kings and this he achieved with the blessings of Lord Shiva of Sri



*Kailasa. Kulothunga the reputed unique son of the Simha i. e., the lion (i. e., son of Raja Raja II alias Cholendra Simha) was the lord whose fame shines in the country".*

( Here is an allusion to Ramayana. Lord Rama built a dam with stones across the sea, crossed over the same, entered Ceylon and killed Ravana, the king of Ceylon. But Kulothunga did it in a different way. Rameswaram was occupied by the Ceylonese. Kulothunga first entered Rameswaram, killed the Ceylonese, built a dam with the heads of the Ceylonese across the sea, crossed over the same and entered Ceylon).

Thus Kulothunga's second Ceylon expedition is to be placed in 1192. Because of this successful victory, Vira Pandya lost support from Ceylon, fled to Kerala and later surrendered to Kulothunga.

Kulothunga's Tiruvidaimarudur record<sup>9</sup> year 16 corresponding to 1193-94 states that the warriors of Kulothunga began to guard all places in response to the order " capture Illam in the south so that the Tennavar ( southern Pandya and Kerala) may come and prostrate themselves and the head of the Singalavan ( Ceylon king ) may be cut off ; fill the wavey sea to make a cause way ". This is a clear warning by Kulothunga to the Pandyas and Kerala not to seek aid from Ceylon.

A record from Tirumanikuli<sup>10</sup> of the twenty first year corresponding to 1198-99 states that Kulothunga adorned with his feet the crown of the Ceylonese king in order that it may prosper. At Ceylon Nissankamalla's reign ends and Queen Lilavathi's reign begins in 1196. Therefore Kulothunga's third expedition is to be placed in 1196 when Nissankamalla was alive, Because Kulothunga mentions the Ceylon king and not the Queen. Fittingly his Nellore record<sup>11</sup> dated Saka 1119 corresponding to 1197 contains the title " who took Madura, Ceylon and the crowned head of the Pandya.

Perhaps these successfull Ceylon raids are retold in Kulothunga's Kovilur record<sup>12</sup> year 25 corresponding to 1203. The relevant passage states,

“ ஈழமண்டலம் ஏறிவதாக அங்கிருந்து திசைக்கருங்கடல் மீது தண்டேவிச் சென்று செருமலைஆம் மண்டலத்தரசு நீக்கி அழகாய் சேனை அழிவித்து வேளை கொண்டு விரும்புதற்கு வீரன்தன் மார்பில் வேளை கொண்டு வந்தவேந்தனை பணி கொண்டு வெள்ளிப்பரி செல்ல திருவுள்ளம் வைத்தருளி ஆலங்காபுரி அன்னாள் இருந்ததென நேகக் கேட்டருளி கலங்காது நின்ற அவன்தன் குளிற்றுகை தனை விநங்கீத்திதிக்கு எட்டும் ஏவல் கேட்ப ..... ”

“ Having desired to conquer Ceylon, Kulothunga sent his army (i. e., Navy) over the sea. The Ceylonese army was routed. A Ceylon Prince was killed. Having desired to ride on the white horse (to celebrate the success) he (Kulothunga) defeated the Ceylonese and was pleased to hear that Lankapuri was (invaded) as it was (done) in those days (of Lord Sri Rama who invaded Ceylon)



### To sum up

Parakrama Bahu ruled in Ceylon from 1153 to 1186. In the year 1169 he captured Rameswaram. He interfered in the Pandyan civil war but his designs were thwarted by Rajadhi Raja II. In 1176 Rajadhi Raja's General Junior Pallavarayan raided Ceylon. In 1186 Parakrama Bahu helped Vira Pandya. Kulothunga drove out the Ceylon Army, removed Vira Pandya and installed Vikrama Pandya on the Madura throne.

Nissankamalla ruled in Ceylon between 1187 and 1196. In the year 1187 he assisted Vira Pandya at the request of the latter's mother. But Kulothunga defeated Vira Pandya at Nettur. In the year 1189 Kulothunga captured Rameswaram and drove out Nissankamalla. This successful expedition of Kulothunga prevented Vira Pandya in getting help from Ceylon. Vira Pandya fled to Kerala. Again in 1192 Kulothunga raided Ceylon. Vira Pandya and the Kerala king surrendered to Kulothunga. In the next year 1193, Kulothunga warns the Pandyas and Kerala not to seek aid from Ceylon because Ceylon itself was crippled by Kulothunga. Prior to 1196 Kulothunga undertook another successful raid on Ceylon.

In the battle against Ceylon (in 1192) a Ceylon Prince was killed. We have no knowledge about this Ceylon Prince. Around 1199 Vira Pandya was also killed in some battle.

"Ceylon" was the target of Kulothunga. Once the king of Ceylon was subdued then there was no outside help for the Pandyas. Whoever gets help from Ceylon he was treated as the enemy of the Cholas. Perhaps this should have prompted Kulothunga to select Vikrama Pandya for the Madura throne. *Vikrama belonged to that Pandya family which was opposed to Ceylon.* We also surmised that Vikrama succeeded Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1158 accession.

### Foot Notes

- 1) E. I. XXXVI page 27; A. R. E. 90/1905
- 2) E. I. XXXVI pages 23 to 32
- 3) E. I. XXXVI page 31
- 4) E. I. XXXVI page 28
- 5) Tirukkannapuram 505/1922 year 11 and Manimangalam 5/1892; S. I. III 36 year 12. Also see A. R. E. 1923 page 106 para 39



- 6) Tirukkachur 275/1909 year 13; The title " who took Ceylon " appears in Kulothunga's Somangalam record S. I. I. VII 393 dated 2nd January 1192 and Tiruvilambadur record 133/1940-41 year 13 corresponding to 1190-91.
- 7) S. I. I. XVII 135; A. R. E. 116/1904
- 8) Tanjore district Tiruvalangadu record No. 81/1926. This Shiva temple was built by Kulothunga III. His statue to a height of 1.5 meter is available in the temple. I visited this temple, read the inscription No. 81/1926 and compared it with the transcript at Mysore.
- 9) Tiruvidaimarudur 288/1907; S. I. I. XXIII No. 288
- 10) Tirumanikuli S. I. I. VII 797; 170/1902
- 11) S. I. I. V. 496 year 19 Saka 1119
- 12) Kovilur record No. 183/1908 year 25. I consulted the transcript in the office of the Chief Epigraphist Mysore. Ceylon regularly appears in the titles of Kulothunga from his 19th year corresponding to 1197. For example see Tiruvalangadu 91/1926 year 20.

**NOTE:-** The Prasasthis of Kulothunga are in chaste Tamil poems in which the story of Ramayana is referred to. It seems Kulothunga III was a scholar in Tamil. Lord Rama States, " இந்த இப்பிறவியில் இருமாதரை சிந்தையாலும் தொடேன் " — In this incarnation I shall not think of another woman ( except my wife Sita ) vide Kamba Ramayana in Tamil by poet Kambar. Kulothunga who has two wives, bears this in mind and compares himself to Lord Vishnu whose incarnation is Lord Rama.

Incidentaly the Tirubhuvanam Kampakareswar temple built by Kulothunga contains many panels depicting the sceners from Ramayana.



# History of the Medieval Pandyas

- Prior to 1014 :- } A Parakrama Pandya existed.
- 1014 :- } Udaiyar Jatavarman Srivallabha ascended the throne. His Prasasthi begins with "Tirumagal Jayamagal" (திருமகல் ஜயமகல்). He was ruling in Madura.
- 1018 :- } In the Chola country Rajendra Chola I anointed his first son Rajadhi Raja I the crown Prince.
- 1021 :- } Rajendara Chola I drove out Srivallabha from Madura and appointed his second son Udaiyar Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya as the Chola Viceroy. Sundara Chola Pandya was ruling from Madura. Srivallabha and his three sons Vira Pandya, Manabarana and Sundara Pandya settled in Tirunelveli area and accepted the authority of the Chola Pandya.
- 1030 :- } Srivallabha's reign came to an end. His sons continued their reigns in Tirunelveli area.
- 1039 :- } Another Pandya by name Vikrama Pandya existed. Rajadhi Raja drove him out to Ceylon.
- 1043 :- } Rajendara Chola I was no more.
- 1045 :- } Rajadhi Raja killed Vira Pandya and Manabarana and drove out Sundara Pandya to Mullaiyur. Rajadhi Raja invaded Ceylon, defeated Vikrama Pandya and also Vikrama Bahu the king of Ceylon.
- 1052 :- } Rajadhi Raja anointed his younger brother Udaiyar Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya as Chola Prince and the latter adopted the Chola royal name Rajendra Deva. Between 1052 and 1054 the younger brother was a Chola Pandya as well as a Chola Prince.
- 1054 :- } Rajadhi Raja I died in Koppam battle. Rajendra Deva became the Chola monarch. He appointed his next brother Mummudi Chola as a Chola Pandya who adopted the Pandya name Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya. This Chola Pandya also ruled from Madura.
- 1059 :- } Rajendra Deva anointed his brother Mummudi Chola alias Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya as a Chola Prince and the latter adopted the Chola Royal name Rajamahendra.



- 1063:- Maravarman Parakrama Chola Pandya alias Rajamahendra was killed by the Chalukyan king Someswara I in the battle of Belavola. Rajendra Deva made his next brother Vira Rajendra crown Prince. Vira Rajendra appointed his son Gangaikondan as Jatavarman Chola Pandya and the latter ruled from Madura.
- 1064:- Rajendra Deva died. Vira Rajendra became the Chola monarch.
- 1068:- Vira Rajendra crowned his son Jatavarman Chola Pandya as a Chola Prince and the latter adopted the Chola royal name Adhi Rajendra. Between 1068 and 1070 the son of Vira Rajendra was a Chola Pandya as well as a Chola Prince.
- 1070  
June:- } Vira Rajendra crowned his sister's son Kulothunga I.
- 1070  
August:- } Vira Rajendra died. Adhi Rajendra became Chola monarch. Madura was without a Chola Pandya. Probably a Pandya king by name Kulasekara mounted the Madura throne as a subordinate under the Cholas. He had two sons Carakrama and Srivallabha. The latter's mother was the sister of Vijaya Bahu of Ceylon. Maravarman Vikrama Chola Pandya grand-son of Raja Raja I, by a second queen, commenced his rule at Kanyakumari.
- 1071:- Adhi Rajendra died. Kulothunga I became Chola emperor. He was the first Tamil king who introduced the title Tribhuvanachakravartin.
- 1080:- Maravarman Vikrama Chola Pandya died. The Pandyas rebelled. They were subdued by Kulothunga I.
- 1101:- Kulasekara of Madura was no more. His son Jatavarman Srivallabha mounted the Madura throne. His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "*Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum*" (திருமடந்தையும் ஜயமடந்தையும்)
- 1102 Srivallabha built the Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar Vishnu temple in the hamlet called in the sacred name Kulasekara Mangalam in Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam (i. e., Kuruvitturai).
- 1104 Parakrama elder brother of Srivallabha was no more. Srivallabha made his son Sundara Pandya crown prince. Sundara had the surname Manabarana. Sundara Pandya Chaturvedhi Mangalam and Sundara Pandya Vinnagar Vishnu temple were founded in the name of Sundara Pandya. (Solapuram and its Vishnu temple).



1118  
to  
1119

**Hoysala Vishnu Vardhana** invaded the Chola country. He went upto **Rameswaram**. Probably the Konkan ruler **Vira Kavy Alupendra** also took part in this expedition. Probably he received help from his father-in-law **Sundara Pandya** alias **Manabarana** of **Madura**. **Sundara** adopted the title **Cholakulantaka**. **Kulothunga** drove out the **Hoysalas**. In order to have direct control over the **Pandyas**, **Kulothunga** sent his first son **Parantaka Deva** to the **Pandya** country. **Parantaka** subdued the **Pandyas** and engraved his record at **Kanyakumari**.

1124

**Jatavarman Srivallabha** was no more. **Sundara Pandya** continued his reign.

1131

**Sundara Pandya's** reign ends. His son **Jatavarman Srivallabha** became the **Pandya** king. **Srivallabha's** **Prasasthi** begins with "**Pumadhu Punara**" (பூமாத் புணர)

1143

**Jatavarman Srivallabha** crowned his son **Maravarman Parakrama Pandya**.

1144

**Srivallabha** was no more. His son **Maravarman Parakrama Pandya** continued his reign from **Madura**. **Parakrama's** **Prasasthi** begins with "**Tirumagal Punara**" (திருமகள் புணர)

1145

At **Tirunelveli** **Maravarman Srivallabha** ascends the throne. **Srivallabha** refers to the reign of his father **Kulasekara** about whom we have no knowledge. **Maravarman Srivallabha's** **Prasasthi** begins with "**Pumagal Jayamagal**" (பூமகள் ஜயமகள்)

1153

**Parakrama Bahu** ascended the **Ceylon** throne.

1158

**Ceylon** king **Parakrama Bahu** drove out his sister's son **Srivallabha** who fled to the **Chola** country. The **Cholas** helped **Srivallabha** to rule in some parts of **Ramnad** area. He had the title **Jatavarman**. This **Srivallabha's** father was a **Pandyan** Prince by name **Manabarana** about whom we have no knowledge.

1162

At **Tirunelveli** **Maravarman Srivallabha** was no more. His son **Jatavarman Kulasekara** mounted the **Tirunelveli** throne. His **Prasasthi** begins with "**Puthala Madhandai**" (பூதல மடந்தை)

1165

**Jatavarman Kulasekara** occupied the **Cholakulantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam** Palace (**Kuruvitturai**) and besieged **Madura**. The **Madura** king **Parakrama Pandya** appealed to **Ceylon**.



- 1166 Parakrama received no aid from Ceylon. A fierce battle took place near Sirimallaka. In the battle Kulasekara killed Parakrama and mounted the Madura throne. ( In this battle Kulasekara received help from his uncle Kongu king Kulothunga ). In the Chola country Raja Raja II crowned his sister's son Rajadhi Raja II.
- 1169 Ceylon king Parakrama Bahu sent his army headed by Lankapure Dhandanayaka and Jagadraya Dhandanayaka. They captured Rameswaram.
- 1170 The Ceylon Generals captured Madura, drove out Kulasekara and installed Jatavarman Vira Pandya ( the son of late Parakrama ) on the Madura throne. Rajadhi Raja Chola's Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan arrested further advance of the Ceylonese army.
- 1171 Kulasekara was operating in the south.
- 1172 Kulasekara sought assylum in the Chola court. Rajadhi Raja Chola's Chief Minister invaded Madura and killed the two Ceylon Generals. The Ceylonese were wiped out. Vira Pandya was driven out and Kulasekara was installed on the Madura throne. These events are narrated in the records of Rajadhi Raja. But in his poem " Thakkayagapparani " ( தக்கயாகப்பரணி ) poet Ottakkuthar attributes these victories to Raja Raja II.
- 1173 Raja Raja Chola II died. A Pallipadai temple was built over the mortal remains of Raja Raja. Late 1173 Raja Raja's Chief Minister Peruman Nambi Pallavarayan also died.
- 1176 Rajadhi Raja Chola's General Annan Pallavarayan and Jatavarman Srivallabha (of accession 1158) raided Ceylon.
- 1177 The Chola General Annan Pallavarayan drove out Kulasekara from Madura. Kulasekara's fate is not known. Vira Pandya was installed on the Madura throne. In this campaign young Prince Kulothunga Chola III participated.
- 1178 Rajadhi Raja Chola crowned Kulothunga III.
- 1181 Vira Pandya's records with the Tamil Prasasthi " Pumaruviya Tirumadhum " ( பூமருவிய திருமாதும் ) appear. He was still ruling in Madura. Rajadhi Raja II retired to Andhra. Jatavarman Srivallabha of (accession 1158) crowned his successor Maravarman Vikrama Pandya.



The reign of Jatavarman Srivallabha (of accession 1158) ends.

85  
86 At the request of Vikrama Pandya Kulothunga drove out Vira Pandya from Madura. The Ceylon army which came to the rescue of Vira Pandya was also wiped out. In Ceylon Parakrama Bahu died. Vijaya Bahu II became the Ceylon king.

87 In Ceylon Vijaya Bahu II was murdered. Nissankamalla became the Ceylon king. At the request of Vira Pandya's mother. Nissankamalla gave assistance to Vira Pandya who counter attacked Kulothunga III at Nettur. But Kulothunga defeated Vira Pandya.

89 Kulothunga captured Rameswaram and drove out the Ceylon king Nissankamalla. Vira Pandya fled to Kerala. Kulothunga raided Ceylon.

90 Vikrama crowned his son Jatavarman Kulasekara I of *Puvin Kilathi* (பூவின் கிளத்தி) Prasasthi. Vikrama probably died after crowning his son. (Kulasekara ruled till 1221).

92 Kulothunga raided Ceylon for the second time. Vira Pandya and Vira Kerala surrendered to Kulothunga who pardoned both.

96 Kulothunga raided Ceylon (third raid).

99 Kulothunga III killed Vira Pandya in some battle.

02 Kulothunga defeated Jatavarman Kulasekara I.

16 Jatavarman Kulasekara I crowned Maravarman Sundara I. Kulothunga III crowned Raja Raja III.

18 Maravarman Vikrama I ascended the throne. Kulothunga III was no more.

19 Maravarman Sundara I defeated the Chola king Raja Raja III. The rest is the history of "The Imperial Pandyas".



## Solavandan Complex

The village Solavandan is an agricultural centre about twenty one kilometers north west of Madura. The proper village Solavandan is situated on the northern bank of the river Vaikai. Tenkarai means south bank. Fittingly the village Tenkarai is situated on the south bank of the river opposite to Solavandan at a distance of one kilometer. Tenkarai is twenty kilometers west of Madura. The village Kuruvitturai is also on the south bank and it is about ten kilometers west of Tenkarai i. e., 30 kilometers west of Madura.

The river Vaikai flows west to east. When it approaches Kuruvitturai area it turns left, flows south to north, again turns right and flows west to east. Kuruvitturai is situated at a point where the river turns to the right. In other words Kuruvitturai is on the south bank as well as on the east bank of the river Vaikai.

## Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam

In the ancient days the city *Cholantaka Chathurvethi Mangalam* existed on the south bank of river Vaikai. It was in Pakanur Kurram (sub-division of Pakanur). The city was so called after Vira Pandya who took the head of Chola (939-959) and who had the surname Cholantaka. This name was in vogue till 1124 the closing year of Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession. His son Sundara Pandya (1104-1131) had the surname *Cholakulantaka* which we have seen in the Sri Rangam inscription of Vira Kavy Alupendra the son-in-law of the former. Probably after his surname the city would have been called *Cholakulantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam*<sup>1</sup> because this name appears for the first time in the eighth year record<sup>2</sup> of Maravarman Parakrama (1143-1166). The record states that in the city Cholakulantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam there were more than twelve Brahmin colonies (Brahmadeyas). The same name appears in the records of Jatavarman Kulasekara of "Puthala Madandhai" introduction (1162-1177) and also in the records of later kings<sup>3</sup>. Therefore we can infer that in any record if we find the name Cholakulantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam we can conclude that the subject record was engraved after 1124. The difference in the name is very important and it will help us in identifying the Srivallabha Vinnagar Temple which we shall discuss somewhere below.

Kuruvitturai is the modern name. The old name was Kulasekara Manglam a hamlet of Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam situated in Pakanur Kurram. Tenkarai is 10 kilometers east of Kuruvitturai and it is on the south bank of river Vaikai. Madura is 20 kilometers east of Tenkarai. Between Tenkarai and



Madura there is a big lake called "Madakkulam" (மாடக்குளம்). In the inscriptions the city Madura is called "Madura situated east of Madakkulam" (மாடக்குளக் கீழ் மதுரை). We must know why the city Madura was called in that fashion.

Near Kuruvitturai there was a Palace and it was called "the Palace situated in Cholantaka Chaturvedai Mangalam" (சோளாந்தக சதுர் வேதி மங்கலத்துக் கோயில் உள்ளாலை). This is referred to in the inscriptions<sup>5</sup> of Jatavarman Srivallabha of accession 1101 and in the records<sup>6</sup> of Jatavarman Kulasekara of 1162 accession. Sometimes the kings were residing in this Palace. The Palace at Madura was well fortified. Probably Madura was the administrative capital and the Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam Palace was the seat of the Pandyan Royal family. In order to differentiate the two Palaces, Madura was called "the city east of Madakkulam" since Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam Palace was west of Madakkulam lake. Madura Palace and fort continued to exist upto the 18th century.

But to-day the Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam Palace (which was near Kuruvitturai) does not exist. I visited this place in November 1979. East of Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple, at a distance of half a kilometer I found a high-land on the south bank of river Vaikai. The local people call this place "Kottai Medu" (கோட்டை மேடு) i. e., Fort highland. Probably the Palace would have existed in this place and disappeared in course of time. A proper excavation in this area may reveal the truth.

### Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple

The present name of the Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple is Chitra Ratha Vallabha Perumal temple. This name has no historicity. It is a modern name. In the inscriptions the temple is called "Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar" only<sup>7</sup>.

The earliest record<sup>8</sup> of this temple belongs to Jatavarman Srivallabha of 1101 accession and it is in year 2. Vide page 78 ante his 11th year record<sup>9</sup> is discussed. The record states that in the second year of the king a hamlet in the sacred name Kulasekara Mangalam was formed in the city Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam. The temple Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar was built in the new hamlet. The record further states that certain lands belonging to this temple were given in exchange to another Vishnu temple situated at Tenkarai. This proves that from the ancient days a Vishnu temple existed at Tenkarai i. e., on the south bank of the river Vaikai. We shall see this temple later. The fact remains that the Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple was built in 1102. *This date and the temple are land marks for the study of the art history of the Medieval Pandyan temples.*

In front of the central shrine there is a Mandapa (hall). On the south and east walls of the Mandapa, a record<sup>10</sup> belonging to Jatavarman Kulasekara of



accession 1162 is found. It contains his Prasasthi "Puthala Madandhai". It is in year 15 corresponding to 1176-77. The record states that the construction of the Mandapa was undertaken in the name of the king by an individual belonging to Tirunelveli alias Kulasekara Chathurvedhi Mangalam situated in Kil Vembu Nadu. Since the record itself is found on the walls of the Mandapa, the date of the Mandapa is 1176. *This is another land mark in the study of the art history of the Medieval Pandyan temples.* (It is to be noted here that in the year 1177 the Cholas drove out this Kulasekara from Madura and installed Vira Pandya on the Madura throne).

Record No. 328/1908:- This record is found at the entrance to the kitchen. It belongs to Parakrama Pandya year 9. It mentions Srivallabha Vinnagar Vishnu temple. Below this inscription is engraved an incomplete introduction of the Prasasthi "Tirumagal Jayamagal" which belongs to Maravarman Vikrama I (of accession 1218)<sup>11</sup> contemporary of Jatavarman Kulasekara I (of accession 1190) and Maravarman Sundara I (of accession 1216). Parakrama's record is found on the door jamb of the kitchen and mentions Srivallabha Vinnagar, another Vishnu temple. The door jamb does not belong to the present temple which had the name Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar, the name that was in vogue from 1102 to 1176. Srivallabha Vinnagar was a different temple and it was probably in the vicinity of Kuruvitturai. Later it went into ruins. The slabs from the ruins were brought to the Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple and were put up in the kitchen. (This is also evident from the records of Tenkarai temple discussed below). The kitchen is not part of the original temple. It is a built up one. Various slabs containing fragments of inscriptions are used to form the kitchen. A Vijayanagar inscription is also found and the slab containing this inscription is inverted. The kitchen was built in the after years with the then available slabs brought from the near by area.

### Tenkarai Shiva temple

The Mulasthanam Udaiyar Shiva temple is situated in Tenkarai. The earliest records belong to Jatavarman Srivallabha of accession 1101. They are in the years 3 and 4. Vide page 78 ante the records are discussed. The temple is in existence from 1103. *This date is another land mark in the study of the art history of the Medieval Pandyan temples.*

In front of the central shrine, there is a Mandapa (hall). There are several pillars in the Mandapa. Records Nos. 131 and 133 of 1910 are found on two pillars. They contain the records of Konerinmaikondan year 15. They state that at the request of Malavarayan gifts were made to Srivallabha Vinnagar Alwar temple situated on the western bank of the river Vaikai at Cholakulantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam. The record belongs to some king who existed after 1124



because the name Cholakulantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam is referred to. Probably it belongs to Maravarman Sundara Pandya II (1238-55) in whose time a famous Minister by name Malavarayan existed. The two pillars do not belong to the present Shiva temple. They belonged to the Srivallabha Vinnagar Vishnu temple which was on the west bank of river Vaikai. Probably it was west of Kuruvitturai and was situated on the west bank of river Vaikai. The temple went into ruins probably due to floods. The pillars were brought to the Shiva temple during some renovation. Record No. 131 states that the continuation of the record can be found on another pillar. But the other pillar does not exist. This proves that only two pillars were brought from the ruined temple and the third one was probably not available.

The fact remains that a Vishnu temple by name Srivallabha Vinnagar Alwar existed on the west bank of river Vaikai, west of Kuruvitturai. It went into ruins. Some slabs belonging to this temple were put up in the kitchen of the Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple. Two pillars were erected in the Mandapa of the Tenkarai Shiva temple. Srivallabha Vinnagar Vishnu temple might have been built in the reigns of Sundara Pandya (1104-31) or Jatavarman Srivallabha (1131-44) or Parakrama (1143-66) probably in the name of a predecessor.

Records Nos. 132 and 134 of 1910 are found on two pillars in the Mandapa in front of the central shrine of the Tenkarai Mulasthanam Udaiyar Shiva temple. Record No. 132 belongs to Raja Raja I year 17 corresponding to 1002. It registers the grant made to the temple of Madhubid in Tenur in Jananatha Chaturvedhi Mangalam. Record No. 134 belongs to Raja Raja I year 17 corresponding to 1002. It registers the grant made to God Naduvil Sri Koil Sri Vira Kerala Vinnagardevar at Jananatha Chaturvedhi Mangalam.

These two pillars belonged to two Vishnu temples which do not exist to-day. At Tenur the Vishnu temple Madhubid existed in 1002. It went into ruins. One of the pillars of the temple was erected in the Tenkarai Shiva temple. (Village Tenur exists to-day near Tenkarai).

Another Vishnu temple by name Naduvil Sri Koil Sri Vira Kerala Vinnagardevar existed in this locality. Probably the temple was named after Vira Pandya (939-959) who had the surnames Vira Kerala and Cholantaka. The city Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam itself was called after Vira Pandya. Later Raja Raja changed the name of the city in his surname and called it Jananatah Chaturvedhi Mangalam. When the Pandyas recovered in 1100 again they mentioned the name of the city as Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam. After 1124 it was called Cholakulantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam in the surname of Sundara Pandya.



In the Kuruvitturai records we discussed<sup>12</sup> about the exchange of lands made in the 11th year of Jatavarman Srivallabha of accession 1101 between the Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar temple and the Tenkarai Vishnu temple. Probably Vira Kerala Vinnagardevar Vishnu temple might be the Tenkarai Vishnu temple referred to in Srivallabha's record.

The three Vishnu temples which do not exist to-day probably suffered damage and disappeared due to floods. Curiously two inscriptions are found in the Muhammadan Mosque and in the Dharga of Solavandan which is situated on the northern bank of river Vaikai (opposite to Tenkarai). Inscription No. 334/1961-62 is found in the Nimarpalli Mosque. It is a fragmentary inscription of the 13th century Pandyas. In the Makhdum Jalaludin Dharga record No. 335/1961-62 is found on a slab. It belongs to Jatavarman Srivallabha of accession 1101. It is in his 11th year corresponding to 1111 and it contains his Prasasthi *Tirumadandhaiyum Jayamadandhaiyum*. It mentions the gift of lands made to the temple. To sum up,

1) The city Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam existed from the days of Vira Pandya 933—959. After 1124 it was called Chola Kulantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam. The city contained twelve Brahmin colonies.

2) At Kuruvitturai i. e., at Cholantaka Chaturvedhi Mangalam there was a Pandyan Palace. It existed in the 12th century. Later it disappeared (probably due to floods).

3) The Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple was called "Tiruchchakkarathu Alwar" Vishnu temple. This name was in vogue from 1102 to 1176.

4) The central shrine of the Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple was built in 1102. The front Mandapa was built in 1176.

5) Tenkarai Mulasthanamudaiyar Shiva temple exists from 1103.

6) West of Kuruvitturai, on the west bank of Vaikai river, a Vishnu temple by name "Srivallabha Vinnagar" was built. Probably it was built either by Sundara Pandya (1104-31) or by Jatavarman Srivallabha (1131-44) or by Parakrama (1143-66) in the name of a predecessor. It existed in the 13th century also. Later it went into ruins. Slabs from the ruins, containing the fragments of inscriptions, were put up in the kitchen of the Kuruvitturai Vishnu temple. The pillars with inscriptions, were put up in the Mandapa of the Tenkarai Shiva temple.

7) Madhubid and Naduvil Sri Koil Sri Vira Kerala Vinnagardevar temples existed in 1002 and also in 1102. Later they disappeared probably due to floods. The pillars of these temples were put up in the Tenkarai Shiva temple.

8) Some slabs from these ruins—with inscriptions—also found their way to the Muhammadan Mosque and the Dharga at Solavandan.



At Tenkarai, in the Mulasthanamudaiyar Shiva temple, in the north east corner of the first Prakara, I found statues of Lord Vishnu and His consorts Sri Devi and Bhu Devi. They are fixed on a slab which contains fragments of inscriptions. The statue of Sri Devi is of recent origin (probably Nayak period). But the statues of Vishnu and Bhu Devi belong to the 10th century. Probably the statue of Lord Vishnu is the same "Vira Kerala Vinnagardever" called after Vira Pandya.

Centuries ago the beautiful picturesque Vaikai Valley, the city Cholanataka or Cholakulantaka Chathurvedbi Mangalam, its Pandyan Royal Palace, the twelve Brahmin colonies (Brahmadeyas) were prosperous. "Time" consumed many things. Later the city disappeared. To-day in its place small hamlets and villages exist surrounded by green paddy fields, sugar cane farms, banana plantations with betel leaf creepers and tall cocoanut trees. The old antiquity of the name "Cholanataka" or "Cholakulantaka" took the corrupt form "Solavandan" the present day busy agriculture centre north west of Madura. The river Vaikai which has witnessed the reigns of many a great kings flows silently as if she knows nothing. Men may come; Men may go; but the river Vaikai flows for ever.

#### Foot Notes

- 1) Page 103 ante
- 2) Tenkarai 127/1910
- 3) See note 1 above
- 4) S. I. I. V. 301 ; S. I. I. XIV 206, 236, 250 and many Pandyan records.
- 5) S. I. I. XIV 229 ; S. I. I. V. 294 ;
- 6) Kodaganallur 205/1932-33
- 7) See pages 79 and 80 ante
- 8) S. I. I. XIV 198
- 9) S. I. I. XIV 229
- 10) Kuruvitturai 327/1908 ; A. R. E. 1909 page 81 para 24.
- 11) Please refer to the relevant chapter in the Appendix
- 12) Page 78 ante.



## Appendix

In my book "The Imperial Pandyas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" - I surmised that Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I of *Tirumagal Jayamagal* (திருமகல் ஜயமகல்) Prasasthi was a contemporary of Jatavarman Kulasekara I (1190-1221) and Maravarman Sundara I (1216-1241). I could not find the dates of Vikrama. I made further research and found that Maravarman Vikrama I ruled from 1218 to 1232. The reign of this king is discussed in the following chapter. The chapter "Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I" is the reproduction of my paper presented before the Sixth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Ahamadabad in March 1980. The date of Maravarman Vikrama I is important. His date is referred to in page 168 ante where record No. 328/1908 is discussed.

In my book "The Imperial Pandyas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology", I surmised that Jatavarman Vira Pandya I of Kongu fame came to the throne in 1253 and he had the Tamil Prasasthi "*Tiru Valar Mulai*" (திருவளர் முலை) or "*Tiru Magal Valar Mulai*" (திருமகல் வளர் முலை). I made further research and found that two kings of the same Jatavarman Vira Pandya existed. The senior Jatavarman Vira Pandya I was of Kongu fame and he came to the throne in 1253. The junior Jatavarman Vira Pandya II came to the throne in 1254. The Tamil Prasasthi *Tiru Valar Mulai* or *Tiru Magal Valar Mulai* belongs to junior Vira Pandya, This Vira Pandya has also an epithet which introduces him as "*he who conquered Chola, Ceylon and took the crown and the crowned head of the Savagan*".

The discussions on the dates of two Vira Pandyas of accession 1253 and 1254 are made in the subsequent chapter.

The dates of these two Vira Pandyas are important. They are referred to in pages 130 and 131 ante where the dates of Civil War Vira Pandya (1170-1199) are discussed.



# Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I

Of accession A. D. 1218.

Kielhorn<sup>1</sup> (1907), Jacobi<sup>2</sup> (1911), Swamikkannu Pillai<sup>3</sup> (1913) and Robert Sewell<sup>4</sup> (1915) published the dates of eighteen Pandya kings who existed between 1162 and 1357. Following in their foot steps, in my book, "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology edition 1978" I identified twelve more Pandya kings. The earlier scholars followed a system for assigning numbers to the kings of same name. The system is explained below.

From A. D. 960 to 1219 the Pandyas were subordinates under the Cholas. In the year 1219, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (of accession 1216) defeated the Cholas and brought the entire Chola Mandalam under the Pandyan banner.<sup>5</sup> His successors expanded the empire upto the banks of river Thungabadra and thus they attained the Imperial status. Those Pandyan kings who lived and existed between 1219 and 1372 are called the Imperial Pandyas. They are given numbers like Jatavarman Kulasekara I, Jatavarman Kulasekara II, Maravarman Sundara I, Maravarman Sundara II and so on. After 1372 Pandyan capital Madura was under the control of the Vijayangar. The Pandyas who existed after 1372 are called "Later Pandyas" and their records are available in Ramnad, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari Districts. Pandyas who ruled between A. D. 1000 and 1216 were subordinates under the Cholas. They are called Medieval Pandyas. They are not given numbers because they did not attain Imperial status since they were subordinates under the Imperial Cholas.

In my book "The Imperial Pandyas", I have dealt with the methodology<sup>6</sup> adopted in identifying the Pandya kings and their records. For the convenience of the readers I shall repeat it here in a simpler form.

(1) Kulothunga Chola I (1070-1122) introduced the title Tribhuvana-chakravartin. Some of the Pandya kings adopted this title. Therefore if we find this title in the record of any Pandya king we can conclude that the king existed after 1070.

(2) Upto 1219 Pandyas were subordinates under the Cholas. After 1219 Cholas were subordinates under the Pandyas. Therefore records of the Pandya kings with the title Tribhuvanachakravartin found in Chola and Thondai Mandalams really belong to those kings who existed after 1219. Their records found in Pandi Mandalam are numerous.

(3) Records of the Pandyas, who existed prior to 1219 will be found in Pandi Mandalam only.



(4) When we try to identify the kings, we must have a firm grip over their Prasasthis, epithets, surnames, natal stars etc.,

(5) The Paleaography of the record should also be observed.

(6) The astronomical data are to be carefully applied satisfying 1 to 5 above. While working the astronomical data sufficient care should be taken so that no damage is done to historicity. On the above basis let us see the dates of Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I.

### Maravarman Vikrama Pandyas.

In the 13th and 14th centuries four kings of the same name Maravarman Vikrama Pandya existed. In my book "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology", I have identified those kings. They existed as follows:

(1) Maravarman Vikrama I<sup>7</sup>: He was a contemporary of Jatavarman Kulasekara I (1190—1221)<sup>8</sup> and Maravarman Sundara I (1216—1241)<sup>9</sup>. Vikrama's records begin with the Tamil Prasasthi "Tirumagal Jayamagal" (திருமகள் ஜயமகள்)

(2) Maravarman Vikrama II<sup>10</sup>: He ruled from (1250 to 1265). His records contain the Prasasthi "Samastha Bhuvaneka Vira" in Grantha and Tirumalar Madhu" in Tamil. (He was senior to Jatavarman Sundara I of accession 1251).

(3) Maravarman Vikrama III<sup>11</sup>: He ruled from 1283 to 1288.

(4) Maravarman Vikrama IV<sup>12</sup>: He ascended the throne on 26th January 1333. He ruled till 1341. His natal star was Hasta. His accession star was Rohini. He was called "Rajakkal Nayan".

### Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I:

In this chapter we shall find the dates and the position of Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I whose Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Tirumagal Jayamagal". (We shall discuss the Prasasthi at a later stage). His records are tabulated below:—

#### Records of Maravarman Vikrama Pandya with the Prasasthi Tirumagal Jayamagal

Record No.	Village	Regnal Year
S. I. I. XVII 635	Srinivasanallur (Trichy District)	Lost
395/1917	Kilappavur	Lost



Record No.	Village	Regnal Year
	Tirukkoshtiyur	Lost
317/1923	Alagar Koil (Madura)	3
297/1930	Giriyammapuram	8
472/1916	Nambantattai	8
486/1916	Tirukkoshtiyur	8
312/1923	Tirumalai	8
22/1924	Ttрукkoshtiyur	10
818/1923	Kalladakkurichi	11
90/1907	Pattamadai	13
539/1916	Sermadevi	13
704/1916	Tirumanikkam	13
289/1961	Cheyadunganallur	13
369/1960	Cheyadunganallur	14

His Srinivasanallur record is found in Chola Mandalam (Trichy District). His other records are found in the traditional Pandya country only.

In the year 1219, Maravarman Sundara I defeated the Cholas and the latter became the subordinates under the Pandyas. Therefore if we find any later Pandyan record in Chola Mandalam we can conclude that the subject record was engraved after 1219.

Trichy District Srinivasanallur record (S. I. I. XVII 635) contains the fragments of the Prasasthi "Tirumagal Jayamagal" which belongs to Vikrama Pandya. It is evident that Tirumagal Jayamagal Vikrama Pandya existed around or later than 1219. This is inference No. 1.

### Kattarimangalam records of 1929-30

Kattarimangalam is a small village in the Tiruchendur Taluk of Tirunelveli District. The Vira Pandyaswara temple of this village contains many Pandyan records. Record No. 375 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara I (1190-1221) and it contains his Prasasthi *Puvir Kilathi*. The regnal year is 23 corresponding to 1213. The record mentions the name of the village as Kattanimangalam.

Record No. 377 of this temple is engraved on the same wall on which record No. 375 above is engraved. In the former record the name of the king and the the regnal year are lost. The record states that the king while seated in his palace at Madura, east of Madakkulam, ordered that the name of the village Kattanimangalam should hence forth be called as Vikrama Pandya Chathurvedhi



Mangalam in the name of the king<sup>13</sup>. It is evident that the record belongs to Vikrama Pandya and he existed after 1213.

Record No. 369 of the same temple belongs to Maravarman Sundara I (1216—1241) and it contains his epithet who presented the Chola country. The regnal year is 7 corresponding to 1223. The record mentions the name of the village as Kattanimangalam alias Vikramapandya Chaturvedhi Mangalam. It is evident that Vikrama Pandya existed in 1223. This is inference No. 2.

### Kalladaikkurichi, Nageswaram Udaiyar Temple records S. I. I. XXIII:—

Record No. 97 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara I and it contains his Prasasthi *Puvin Kilathi*. The regnal year is 9 day 1430. In other words it is in year 12 day 335.

Record No. 91 belongs to the same Jatavarman Kulasekara and it is also in year 9 day 1430 (i. e., year 12 day 335). The Minister the signatories and the revenue officers who figure in these two records are same. Kulasekara came to the throne in June 1190. Therefore the records are dated May 1202.

Record No. 97 states that 5.5 Ma of lands were purchased from the village assembly. The boundaries of the lands are given. It is said that the lands are called "Elivarathu Nilam" (எலிவாரத்து நிலம்) i. e., lands are in Elivaram. The land is situated east of another land cultivated by the individual "Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty" (திருநீற்று சோழ சிலை செட்டி). At the request of the Minister Kalingarayan, the king Kulasekara assigned the lands to the temple Nalayira Iswaramudaiyar (நாலாயிர ஈஸ்வரமுடையார்) in Kallidaikkurichi as Devadana lands and they were made tax free. The order was to take effect from the beginning of the 13th year i. e., from June 1202. Let us call these lands as "A" in "Elivaram" (எலிவாரம்). An individual by name "Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty" figures in the beginning of the 13th year of Kulasekara.

Record No. 91 refers to another transaction. It states that 6.5 Ma of lands were purchased from the village assembly. The boundaries of the lands are given. It is said that the eastern boundary of the land is west of the land being cultivated by the individual *Pattana Swami* (பட்டண சுவாமி). At the request of the Minister Kalingarayan, the king Kulasekara assigned the lands to the temple Nilaiyudaiya Pandya Iswaramudaiyar (நிலையுடைய பாண்டிய ஈஸ்வரமுடையார்) in Kallidaikkurichi as Devadana lands and they were made tax free. The order was to take effect from the beginning of the 13th year of Kulasekara i. e., from June 1202. Let us call these lands as "B" whose eastern boundary is west of the land cultivated by *Pattana Swami*.



It is to be noted here that the lands "A" and "B" are totally different. The records 97 and 91 refer to two transactions of two temples related to the lands situated in two different places.

Record No. 92 belongs to Maravarman Sundara I year 9 corresponding to 1225. It states that the 5.5 Ma of lands "A" situated in "Elivaram" are the Devadana lands of the temple Nalayira Iswaramudaiyar (நாலாயிர ஈஸ்வரமுடையார்)

Record No. 97 (a) belongs to Maravarman Vikrama Pandya year 11. It contains his prasasthi Tirumagal Jayamagal. It refers to the lands "A" of 5.5 Ma<sup>14</sup> situated in "Elivaram". The lands are east of the lands cultivated by "Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty". It states that as of old entry the lands "A", with the boundaries as mentioned in 97, were sold by the village assembly to the temple Nalayira Iswaramudaiyar. The record is incomplete. It intends to state something about a later transaction related to the lands "A". Unfortunately it stops incomplete. But the record states that "as of old entry" the lands "A" belong to the temple. (இவ்வூர் பழம் பற்றுக்கு). This indicates that Maravarman Vikrama Pandya was a later king. Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty who figures in the beginning of the 13th year of Kulasekara also figures in the 11th year of Vikrama. In the reign of Sundara i. e. 1225 the lands are Devadana. It is evident that Vikrama's 11th year is later than June 1202 and 1225.

Record No. 90 belongs to Maravarman Vikrama Pandya. It contains his Prasasthi Tirumagal Jayamagal. It is in year 11. It states that as of old entry the lands "B" of 6.5 Ma with the boundaries as mentioned in 91, were sold by the village assembly to the temple Nilaiyudaiya Iswaramudaiyar. It is said that the eastern boundary of the land is west of the land being cultivated by Pattana Swami. The transaction is referred to "as of old entry". (இவ்வூர் பழம் பற்றில் சிலத்துக்கு சேர் பழம் பற்று எல்லையாவது). The record further states that the lands did not get the benefit of the first (head) flow of the irrigation water. This advantage was held by one Verrirundan Puyandan. It is now rectified by paying 13 Kasu (money) to the village assembly at the rate of 2 Kasu per Ma. (It works out to 13 Kasu for 6.5 Ma of lands). Incidentally the record refers to another previous transaction related to the sale of some lands to a Vishnu temple also.

Pattana Swami and Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty who figure in the beginning of the 13th year of Kulasekara also figure in the 11th year of Vikrama. The lands A which were made Devadana in 1202 are also called Devadana in 1225. In the 11th year of Vikrama these lands are referred to "as of old entry". From the provenance of these transactions it is evident that the 11th year of Maravarman Vikrama is later than 1202 and 1225. For a better understanding of the transactions, the details are tabulated below.



## S. I. I. XXIII

Record No.	King	Transaction
97	Jatavarman Kulasekara I dated May 1202	The village assembly sold to the temple, the lands "A" of 5.5 Ma situated in "Elivaram". They were made Devadana and tax free effective from June 1202. Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty figures.
92	Maravarman Sundara I year 9 dated 1225	The above 5.5 Ma lands in "Elivaram" are Devadana lands.
97(a)	Maravarman Vikrama Pandya year II	The above transaction related to the lands "A" is referred to as of old entry. The record intends to state what happened next. But it is incomplete. Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty figures.
91	Jatavarman Kulasekara I dated May 1202	The village assembly sold to the temple the lands "B" of 6.5 Ma. They were made Devadana and tax free effective from June 1202. An individual Pattana Swami figures.
90	Maravarman Vikrama Pandya year 11	The above transaction related to the lands "B" is referred to as of old entry. The lands did not get the benefit of the first flow of the irrigation water King Vikrama rectified the defect. The same individual Pattana Swami figures.

The transactions reveal that the 11th year of Maravarman Vikrama Pandya of Tirumagal Jayamagal Prasasthi is later than 1202 and 1225. This is inference No. 3.

## Cheyadunganallur records of 1959-60

## Tirunelveli District, Sri Vaikuntam Taluk

## Cheyadunganallur records of 1959-60.

Record No.	King	Regnal year	A. D. Year
364	Maravarman Vikrama	13	?
367	Jatavarman Kulasekara I	14	1204
368	Jatavarman Kulasekara I	24	1214
368-A	Jatavarman Kulasekara I	23	1213
369	Maravarman Vikrama	13	?
370	Maravarman Vikrama	14	?



The report A. R. E. 1959-60 (page 24) states that the donors, individuals and witnesses who figure in 368 and 368-A also figure in 369 and 364. One Sundara Peruman of 368 figures in 370. Therefore Kulasekara and Maravarman Vikrama are contemporaries.

No. 369 contains the Prasasthi Tirumagal Jayamagal. This proves that the 13th year of Maravarman Vikrama of *Tirumagal Jayamagal* Prasasthi is close to 1214. The contents of the above records further reveal that 368-and 368-A are earlier transactions. 369 and 370 are later. Therefore the 14th year of Vikrama is later than 1214. This is inference No. 4.

Our inferences, 1, 2, 3, and 4 prompt us to surmise that Maravarman Vikrama Pandya of *Tirumagal Jayamagal* Prasasthi existed around 1219, 1223 and 1225. His accession should be prior to these dates.

Srivilliputtur record No. 554/1926 belongs to Maravarman Sundara I. (of accession 1216). It contains his epithet "who heaving taken the Chola country was pleased to perform the anointment of victors at Mudikonda Cholapuram". The regnal year is 15 Chittirai Vishu corresponding to 26 March 1231. The record registers the reduction of taxes for certain lands. The record further states that the order was passed by Prince Vikrama Pandya after obtaining permission from Sundara Pandya. This proves that Vikrama Pandya was Junior to Maravarman Sundara I and the former should have come to the throne after 1216 say, in 1217 or later.

Record No. 415/1914 is found on a stone of the well opposite to the choultry in the Aruppukkottai Town. The record is dated Saka 1154 corresponding to 1232. It records the construction of the well. It also mentions the name Vikrama Pandya. This proves that Vikrama Pandya existed in 1232 also.

The above facts prove that Maravarman Vikrama Pandya of *Tirumagal Jayamagal* Prasasthi came to the throne some time after 1217 and he existed in 1223 and 1232. The highest regnal year so far found for this king is 14. To sum up,

(1) Maravarman Vikrama of *Tirumagal Jayamagal* Prasasthi was junior to Maravarman Sundara I of accession 1216.

(2) Maravarman Vikrama would have come to the throne in 1217 or some time after this date. He existed in 1232.

(3) Prior to 1223 Vikrama changed the name of the village Kattani mangalam as Vikrama Pandya Chaturvedhi Mangalam.

(4) Therefore Vikrama existed between 1223 and 1232. The interval is 9 years. His highest regnal year is 14. The balance 5 years may be prior to 1223



or later than 1232. Or they may cover some years prior to 1223 and few years after 1232. His eleventh year is later than 1225.

(5) In view of the logical deductions made in 1 to 4 above we can safely surmise that Vikrama's accession could be in 1218 or later.

Sermadevi Ramaswami temple record No. 704/1916 belongs to Maravarman Vikrama Pandya. It contains his Prasasthi Tirumagal Jayamagal. The data are year 13, month Karkataka, 3rd solar day, Purva Paksha Panchadasi (Full Moon) and Thursday. The date should fall in 1230 or in a later year, satisfying the conditions 1 to 4 above. The data agree with 27th June 1230. It was Thursday. Full Moon was current upto Noon. But it was Karkataka first solar day and not the third. The photograph of the record is published elsewhere. It clearly reads Munram tedi (முன்றும் தியதி) which means 3rd solar day. I am of the opinion that it is the mistake of the engraver. He should have engraved it as Onram tedi (ஒன்றும் தியதி) which means first solar day. I am not inclined towards correcting records. However with much reluctance I suggest correction because I have to justify Historicity and Paleaography. If we rely on the data, than in the whole of the 13th century we get only one date and it was 29th June 1284. It was Karkataka 3. This date is against *Historicity* and *Paleaography*.<sup>15</sup> Further if this date is accepted then Vikrama's 11th year falls in 1281. Vide page 177 ante the individuals Pattana Swami and Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty figure in the beginning of the 13th year of Kulasekara and also in the 11th year of Vikrama. It means that both the persons figure in 1202 and 1281, cultivating the same lands adjacent to lands "B" and "A". This is improbable.

An extremely difficult or rather a delicate choice is left before us. We have to justify either Historicity, internal evidence and Paleaography or the astronomical data. In the present state of the circumstances I rely on Historicity, internal evidence and Paleaography and consult the data treating the solar day as a mistake. For the present, in the midst of many difficulties this is the only solution till something turns up in the future. At any rate the fact remains that Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I was a contemporary of Jatavarman Kulasekara I (1190-1221) and Maravarman Sundara I (1216-1241). This information is one step forward in the research study of the Pandyan Chronology. Without prejudice to this truth we have to arrive at a reasonable surmise.

In the result we have to conclude that the third solar day mentioned in the record is a mistake for the first solar day. (முன்றும் தியதி must be ஒன்றும் தியதி). *Historicity and Paleaography admit 27th June 1230 the 13th year of the king.*

13th year of Vikrama = 27th June 1230.

0th year of Vikrama = June 1217.

1st year of Vikrama = June 1218.



Maravarman Vikrama Pandya came to the throne between June 1217 and June 1218. We can safely surmise that Vikrama came to throne early 1218. This date satisfies the above transactions. Accordingly Vikrama's 11th year corresponding to 1229 is later than 1225. The two individuals Pattana Swami and Tiru Nitru Chola Silai Chetty who figure in 1202 could also figure in 1229. Vikrama's highest regnal year is 14. Probably his rule extended upto 1232. In the light of these findings let us see his Prasasthi "Tirumagal Jayamagal". The Prasasthi runs as follows.

### Tirumagal Jayamagal Prasasthi (Tamil)

திருமகள் ஜயமகள் திருப்புயத் திருப்ப  
 பொருகட லாடை நிலமகள் புணர  
 கடவுள் மேருவிற் கயல் வினையாட  
 வடபுல மன்னர் வந்து அடிபணிய  
 நேமிவரை சூழ்நெடு நில முழுவதும்  
 தர்ம வெண்குடை நிழலில் தழைப்ப  
 செங்கோல் நடப்பக் கருங்கவி துரந்து  
 வேத விதியில் நீதி நிலவச்  
 சேரனும் வளவனும் திறைகுணர்ந் திறைஞ்ச  
 வீரமும் புகழும் மிகநனி விளங்க  
 நதிப் பெருஞ்சடை முடிநாதன் குடிய  
 மதிக்குலம் திகழ் மணிமுடி குடி  
 விளங்கிய மணியணி வீர சிங்காசனத்து  
 வீற்றிருந் தருளிய கோமாற பற்மரான  
 திரிபுவனச்சக்கரவர்த்திகள் பூவிக்கிரமபாண்டிய தேவர் .....

The Prasasthi states that Maravarman Vikrama Pandya has the blessings of Goddess Sri Lakshmi, Vijayalakshmi and Bhū-Devi (Goddess of earth). The Pandyan emblem, the fish, plays on the Meru mountain of the Lord (God). The kings of the north bow before the feet of Vikrama. Under the shadow of Vikrama's white Umbrella, which is Dharma, the kingdoms prosper. Right rule is established. The dark sin is driven out. The Chera and the Chola kings pay tributes to Vikrama whose heroism and fame marvellously shine; Vikrama wears the Jewelled crown belonging to the family of Moon which is worn on His head by Lord (Shiva) who on His head has the river (Ganga).

Vikrama says that he collects tributes from the Chola king. His claim appears for the first time in his Alagar Koil record year 3 dated 1220-21. This requires some explanation.

In the year 1219, Maravarman Sundara I invaded the Chola country and defeated the then Chola king Raja Raja III (1216-60) who became a subordinate under the Pandyas. Therefore in the year 1220-21 Vikrama rightly claims of



having collected tributes from the Chola. The historicity of Vikrama's Prasasthi and his dates prompt us to infer that Vikrama Pandya participated in Sundara's campaign against the Cholas.

Jatavarman Kulasekara I (1190—1221) Maravarman Sundara I (1216—1241), and Maravarman Vikrama I (1218—1232) belong to the same joint family. Vikrama's records mention his Palace in Madura<sup>16</sup>. Similarly Kulasekara and Sundara also mention their Madura Palaces<sup>17</sup>. It is evident that they were united and were on cordial terms.

### Gist

Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I came to the throne in 1218. His Prasasthi begins with "*Tirumagal Jayamagal*" in Tamil<sup>18</sup>. He participated in Maravarman Sundara Pandya I's campaigns against the Cholas. Vikrama was on cordial terms with his seniors Jatavarman Kulasekara I (1190—1221) and Maravarman Sundara I (1216—1241). Vikrama's rule extended upto 1232.

### Foot notes :

- 1) E. I. IX pages 226 to 229.
- 2) E. I. XI
- 3) Indian Antiquary 1913 pages 163 to 172 and 221 to 229.
- 4) E. I. X, XI and Indian Antiquary 1915, pages 165 to 176 and 189 to 202.
- 5) Pages 26 to 30 'The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology'.
- 6) Pages 3 to 20 'The Imperial Pandyas — Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology.
- 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12) Ibid ; Please refer to the relevant chapters.
- 13) A. R. E. 1929—39 page 75 para 8.
- 14) S. I. I. XXIII 97 and 97 (a) equate Kale Arai Ma land to 5.5. Ma land. One Veli is 20 Mas. Kale means quarter. Kale Arai Ma means quarter of a Veli and half Ma which become 5.5 Ma.
- 15) Please refer to page 94 of A. R. E. 1917. Swamikkannu Pillai suggested 29th June 1284. Now historicity and Paleaography admit the date in 1230. Also refer to the suggestion made by Pillai in 427/1917 page 112 of A. R. E. 1918. If his advice and suggestion were followed up the date in 1230 would have been discovered long ago. G. V. Srinivasa Rao suggests that Vikrama was a predecessor to Kulasekara. See S. I. I. XXXIII 90. But records reveal that Vikrama came to the throne after Kulasekara.

In the Pandyan records mistakes in the astronomical data are numerous. Under such circumstances justice must be done to historicity. I have dealt with this subject in pages 72 to 76 of my book "*The Imperial Pandyas — Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*". I quote few examples.



Giriamma Puram record No. 462/1916 belongs to Maravarman Sundara Pandya "who was pleased to take all the countries". The Paleography is 13th century. The epithet belongs to Jatavarman Sundara I who came to the throne in 1251. But the record says Maravarman. The data with the solar day supply the date 25th March 1315, the reign of Jatavarman Sundara III who came to the throne in 1304. He too was not a Maravarman. He did not have the epithet "who was pleased to take all the countries". 218/1901 and 125/1903 belong to Jatavarman Sundara I of accession 1251. But the astronomical data are intrinsically wrong. (Please refer to Swamikkannu Pillai, page 169 of the Indian Antiquary 1913). Tirukkoshtiyur records 301 and 302 of 1923 belong to Jatavarman Sundara I. But the data with solar days are wrong. (Please refer to the report). Tirukkallakkudi record No. 107/1916 belongs to Maravarman Kulasekara II. The regnal year is 4. The Saka year is 1239. The other data are Kanya, ba 11, Friday and Punarvasu. The equivalent date is 2nd September 1317. But the star ended the previous day. See page 95 of A. R. E. 1916. Also please refer to pages 259 to 261 of E. I. XI. Robert Sewell quotes six Pandyan records which are irregular in data. 439, 485 and 551 of 1916 are also typical examples

- 16) Giryammapuram 472/1916 — Maravarman Vikrama year 8.
- 17) Pattamadai 550/1916 Jatavarman Kulasekara I year 13; Idakkal 509/1916 Jatavarman Kulasekara I year 16; Valudur 483/1916 of Maravarman Sundara I year 16; Tirukkalakkudi 84/1916 of Maravarman Sundara I. Pappankulam S. I. I. XXIII 124 of Maravarman Sundara I year 23.
- 18) With this information please refer to record No. 328/1908 page 168 ante.



## Two Jatavarman Vira Pandyas

Of Accession 1253 And 1254

Jatavarman Vira Pandya I came to the throne in 1253. He had the epithet, "who conquered Kongu, Chola, Telugu Chola, Vallala and who performed the anointment of victors at Tillaimanagar i. e., Chidambaram". It is generally believed that his Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Tiru Valar Mulai" ( திருவளர் முலை ) or "Tirumagal Valar Mulai" ( திருமகள் வளர் முலை ).

Swamikkannu Pillai found that certain records of Jatavarman Vira Pandya pointed to his accession in 1254. So Pillai surmised that Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame came to the throne in 1254. Scholars were puzzled by two sets of records the dates of which indicated the accession year as 1253 and 1254 respectively.

In this chapter attempt is made to establish the existence of two Jatavarman Vira Pandyas. The senior Jatavarman Vira Pandya I came to the throne in 1253. He had the epithet "who conquered Kongu, Ceylon, Chola etc. and who performed the anointment of victors at Tillaimanagar i. e., Chidambaram". The Tamil Prasasthi which begins with "Tiru Valar Mulai" or "Tirumagal Valar Mulai" does not belong to him. It belongs to another king Jatavarman Vira Pandya II - a junior and he came to the throne in 1254.

Research work in 1902-1903 ( E. I. Vol. VII pages 10 and 11 )

Kielhorn consulted two records of Tribhuvanachakravartin Sri Vira Pandya Deva and surmised that Vira Pandya came to the throne between the 11th November 1252 and the 13th July 1253.

These two records do not supply the dynastic title Jatavarman or Maravarman. They simply introduce the king as Tribhuvanachakravartin Sri Vira Pandya Deva only. One record supplies the solar day along with the astronomical data. The other record is perfect in data.

Again in E. I. Vol. IX page 227, while posting the above dates Kielhorn was very careful in mentioning the name of the king. He did not add the title Jatavarman or Maravarman because the records did not contain either of these titles. This is a very important point which will be discussed soon.

Research work in 1909- 1910 (E. I. Vol. X. page 139)

Robert Sewell consulted the Kodumbalur record (181/1907) of Jatavarman Vira Pandya. In this record the epithet portion is damaged. The available



Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The characters are white and appear to be a traditional South Indian script.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The characters are white and appear to be a traditional South Indian script.



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portions state that the king took Konganam, river Kaveri, subdued the Telugu Chodas and performed anointment of victors at Puliur i. e., Chidambaram. The data of this record<sup>1</sup> are year 17, Simha, ba 10, Mula and Thursday. Sewell equated the data to Thursday the 8th August 1269 and said that Jatavarman Vira Pandya came to the throne in 1253. Sewell surmised that Kielhorn's Vira Pandya was a Jatavarman who conquered Kongu, river Kaveri i. e., the Cholas and performed the anointment of victors at Chidambaram.

Thus it was surmised that Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu, Chola, Telugu Chola conquest came to the throne in 1253.

#### Research work in 1913 (Indian Antiquary 1913 page 170)

Swamikkannu Pillai consulted the Siddhalingamadam record (395/1909) of Maravarman Vira Pandya, year 15, Dhanus, ba 8, Hasta and Saturday. He equated the data to 10th December 1267 and surmised that the king came to the throne in 1253. He further said that Kielhorn's Vira Pandya was a Maravarman.

#### Research work in 1915 (Indian Antiquary 1915 page 194)

Sewell said that Kielhorn's Vira Pandya did not have the dynastic title. But the 17th year record which has definite historicity states that Vira Pandya was a Jatavarman. Therefore, Sewell said, that in the Siddhalingamadam record Maravarman was a mistake for Jatavarman and not Vice Versa.

#### Research work in 1980

Why should we correct the title in the Siddhalingamadam record? The inscription is in the character of the 14th century. Actually a king by name Maravarman Vira Pandya existed in the 14th century and he came to the throne<sup>2</sup> in 1334. The data of Siddhalingamadam record perfectly agree with Sunday the 14th December 1348 yielding 1334 as the first year. It is evident that the Siddhalingamadam record belongs to a later king Maravarman Vira Pandya of accession 1334.

Thus we eliminate the title Maravarman and clear the confusion. We go back to the research work as it stood in 1909-10 and stand by the view that Vira Pandya of Kongu Chola, and Telugu Chola conquest was a Jatavarman and he came to throne in 1253.

#### Research work in 1913 (Indian Antiquary 1913 page 170)

Swamikkannu Pillai consulted eight records of Jatavarman Vira Pandya. The first set of five records yielded the accession year as 1254. Out of these five one record was irregular and the other four were perfect in data and three among these four contain solar days. The dates suggested by Pillai for these four records were correct since the data were perfect in all respect.



The data of the second set of three records were also perfect in all respect and they yielded the accession year as 1253. One of them contains the epithet Kongu, Ceylon, Chola, Telugu Chola conquest and the anointment of victors at Chidambaram.

So Pillai was confronted with two sets of dates for Jatavarman Vira Pandya Deva. The first four dates agree with 1254 accession. The second set of three dates agree with 1253 accession. Pillai was silent about this anomaly but assigned all the records to the same king Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu, Ceylon' Chola etc., conquest and surmised that the king came to the throne in 1254.

*Again I repeat. Dates of four records pointed to the accession in 1254 and dates of three records agreed with 1253 accession. Pillai was silent on this anomaly. But he said that the records belonged to the same king Jatavarman Vira Pandya and surmised that the king came to the throne in 1254.*

### Research work in 1915 (Indian Antiquary 1915 page 194)

Robert Sewell made his comments on the dates suggested by Pillai. Sewell said that Jatavarman Vira Pandya came to the throne in 1253 only. Sewell said, "three of Pillai's eight inscriptions support my view (1253 accession), while the other five, four of which all come from the same temple *also do so if it is allowed that a mistake of one regnal year was accidentally made in each*".

Sewell's observation is this. That the first set of four records which pointed to the accession in 1254 were supposed to have errors in regnal years. So he suggested adding one to the regnal year in each of these records.

Finally Sewell said, "To sum up the case; *It is not part of my duty positively to assert that Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai is mistaken but I insist that my theory is quite as good as his and that the evidence before us is insufficient to prove that there were two Vira Pandyas the latter coming to the throne a year after the earlier. On that evidence founded on all these inscriptions put together it is permissible to maintain the existence of a Jatavarman Vira Pandya with accession in A. D. 1254 as not proved while the accession period of Kielhorn's Vira Pandya with dynastic title Jatavarman is limited to the days between 20 June and 4 July A. D. 1253*".

*It is evident that Sewell was aware of a group of records which indicated the accession of a Vira Pandya in 1254. But he was not sure of the existence of this king. So he suggested correcting the regnal years and assigned them to 1253 accession Jatavarman Vira Pandya who conquered Kongu etc ,*

### Research work in 1916

Swamikkannu Pillai continued his research. In page 98, A. R. E. 1916 Pillai consulted two more records which indicated that Jatavarman



Vira Pandya came to the throne in 1254. Pillai was in a dilemma. He was confronted with two sets of dates. He said, "Altogether there seem to be now seven dates for A. D. 1254 and four for 1253 and one neutral. It is improbable that one Jatavarman Vira Pandya came to the throne in 1253 and another in 1254 and we may for the present suppose that in the four dates referring to 1254 the number of regnal year is by error overstated by one". (Here the confusion is further precipitated by a printing mistake<sup>3</sup>. "Four dates referring to 1254" should read "Four dates referring to 1253")

Pillai felt that Jatavarman Vira Pandya came to the throne in 1254. He said that records which indicated 1253 as the accession year overstated the regnal year by one "

### Research work in 1918

In page 112 A. R. E. 1918 Pillai came across another record which indicated the accession year as 1253. So Pillai said that the dates of the reign of Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame pointed some to A. D. 1253 and others to A. D. 1254, the majority pointing to 1254.

### Research work in 1920

In page 85, A. R. E. 1920 Pillai consulted three records. They agreed with 1253 or 1280! However Pillai said that the existence of Vira Pandya with accession in 1280 was not free from doubt.

Finally Pillai said that the dates of certain records pointed to 1253 July as the accession date of Jatavarman Vira Pandya and others pointed to 1254 as the accession date.

### Research work in 1921 (A. R. E. 1921 page 81)

Pillai consulted one more record which supported 1253 accession. The report agreed that there were two sets of dates, one agreeing with 1253 and the other with 1254. No conclusive decision was made.

### Research work in 1980

Between 1921 and 1980 no progress could be made in deciding this crucial issue. Which is the correct accession date of Vira Pandya? 1253 or 1254? This question remains unanswered.

Historians usually write their books on the basis of the surmises made by the Epigraphical researchers and the Mathematicians. When no conclusive decision is made, the historians, are very liberal in assigning either 1253 or 1254 as the accession date of Vira Pandya. Certain books state that Vira Pandya came to the throne in 1253. In some books it is said that Vira Pandya came to the throne



in 1254. In my book "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" I too followed in the foot steps of the earlier scholars and surmised that Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame came to the throne in 1253. I kept silent about Vira Pandya of 1254 accession because I was rather confused. Now we are in 1980. I have traced the historiography of the research work. What should we do now?

- 1) The fact remains that there are two sets of records.
- 2) The dates of the first set indicate that Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame came to the throne in 1253.
- 3) The dates of the second set indicate that Jatavarman Vira Pandya came to the throne in 1254.
- 4) If the regnal years are corrected in the first set then they can be assigned to Vira Pandya of 1254 accession. If this is so then we should deduct *one* from the regnal year of each record.
- 5) Otherwise if the regnal years are corrected in the second set then they can be assigned to Vira Pandya of 1253 accession. In this case we have to add *one* to the regnal year of each record.

Is it justifiable to correct the numerals which represent the regnal years? No! Scientific reasoning will not permit us. The regnal years are attached to historicity. They should not be corrected. If this is so then how could we answer these two sets of dates?

1253 or 1254 – a big question! Mathematics indicates two initial dates. Mathematics points out that two Jatavarman Vira Pandyas could have existed. The first one came to the throne in 1253. He was of Kongu fame. Another Jatavarman Vira Pandya came to the throne in 1254. This surmise i. e., the existence of Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254 could not be established for want of something.

Something is missing. Something is wanted to establish the existence of two kings of the same name Jatavarman Vira Pandya, one coming to the throne in 1253 and the other in 1254. Something is required to cut this gordian knot. What is that something?

*That something is the process of establishing the co-existence of Mathematics, Historicity and the contemporaneous character of the records in substance and Paleaography. We shall do it now.*

Some among the records which indicate the accession in 1253 contain the epithet, "he who conquered Kongu" etc., The records which indicate the



accession in 1254 may or may not contain any epithet or Prasasthi. None noticed any epithet or Prasasthi in these records. In other words historicity was not established in these records. This was the position of the research work when it was undertaken by Pillai and Sewell. If we establish historicity in one single record, then it will solve the problem. We can also safely proceed to establish that there were two kings of the same name and their records are contemporaneous in substance and palaeography.

Now we have to search for historicity in favour of Jatavarman Vira Pandya of 1254 accession. Before doing that let us see the records of Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame who came to the throne in 1253. His records which contain the epithet and in which the astronomical data agree with the initial year 1253 are tabulated below.

**Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame**  
(Records with the epithet)

Table 1

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Data	Date	Reference
435/1906	Murappunadu	14	Karkataka, Su I, Pushya and Sunday	4th July 1266	I. A. 1913 Page 170 L. D. S.
402/1907 S. I. I. XXIII 402	Perungarunai	14	Mithuna, Eka- desi, Kirtika, and Sunday	19th June 1267	-Do- page 171
131/1907 Pd. 379	Kodumbalur	17	Simha, Su 10 Mula and Thursday	8th August 1269	E. I. X. page 139 Sewell
Pd. 376	Irumbanadu	16	Dhanus, ba 10 Swathi and Saturday	1st December 1268	
437/1917	Kúrralam	15	Virchika, Su 5, Monday	21st November 1267	A. R. E. 1918 page 112
298/1941	Kovilpatti	16	Mithuna 7 Sunday	2nd June 1269	

Murappunadu record does not contain the epithet but it mentions Posala Vira Somideva Chaturvedhi Mangalam which came into existence<sup>4</sup> in 1248 the 10th year reign of Maravarman Sundara Pandya II (of accession 1238). The other five



records contain the epithet Kongu, Ceylon, Chola conquest etc., It is evident that all the above six records have definite historicity. They point to the accession sometime between June and July 1253. On the basis of Perungarunai record star Kirtika in Mithuna of 1253 falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 21st June 1253. On the basis of Murappunadu record star Pushya in Karkataka of 1253 falls in the first year. The star was current on 28th June.

21—6—1253 = Oth year

28—6—1253 = 1st year

*Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame came to the throne between the 22nd and the 28th June 1253.*

Records which do not contain the epithet but the data of which agree with 1253 are tabulated below. The dates were suggested by Kielhorn, Sewell and Pillai.

**Records of Jatavarman Vira Pandya of 1253 accession  
(No epithet)**

Table 2

Record No.	Regnal year	Date	Remarks
174/1895	15	10—11—1267	E. I. VII pp. 10 Kielhorn
243/1901	7	13— 7—1259	-Do-
128/1908	22	29— 4—1275	I. A. pp. 171 L. D. S.
278/1914	17	21— 7—1269	contains solar day
66/1918	8	23—10—1260	See Respective report
299/1919	4	22— 1—1257	-Do-
483/1919	8	27—10—1260	-Do-
34/1920	6	28— 7—1258	-Do-
99/1920	7	12— 9—1259	-Do-
623/1920	14	27—10—1266	-Do-

The above records agree with the initial year 1253. Now we must know three things.

- 1) Which is the earliest record in which, the epithet Kongu Ceylon Chola etc., conquest appears for the first time?
- 2) What are the other records in which the epithet appears?
- 3) How long did this Vira Pandya live?



Tittandanapuram record No. 598/1926 contains the epithet. The report A. R. E. 1926-27 page 16 states that the regnal year is (11). The same report in page 92 para 46 states that the regnal year is obliterated. The second digit is traceable in the beginning and the regnal year could be (15). Again the same report in page 64 considers the regnal year as (15) and equate the data to 9th October 1269. The date makes October 1254 the 0th year. We cannot rely on this doubtful record. What we can surmise is this. The regnal year could be 17 since the data produce a date in the 17th year of the king. At any rate we have to reject this doubtful record. The following records of Jatavarman Vira Pandya contain his epithet Kongu, Chola, Ceylon, etc., conquest.

Jatavarman Vira Pandya with the epithet "Kongu etc", conquest.

Table 3

Record No.	Village	Regnal year
421/907 S. I. I. XXIII 421 } 185/1895 Pd. 370 Pd. 371 Pd. 372 Pd. 374 Pd. 375 544/1911 214/1942 286/1961 Pd. 363 598/1926	Kambam Shermadevi Perungalur Tiruvetpur Irumbanadu Kudumiyanmalai -Do- Shermadevi Silattur Peraiyur Billamangalam Tittandanapuram	10 14 14 14 15 15 15 16 16 17 Lost Doubtful

His epithet appears from his 10th year corresponding to 1263. Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame was alive in 1275 ( Vide table 2 )

Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254

Now we shall turn to Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254. His records in which the astronomical data agree with 1254 accession are tabulated below. It is to be observed here that most of the records contain the solar days. The first five records were consulted by L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai in page 170 of the Indian Antiquary 1913. Others can be found in the respective reports.



**Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254.**  
Table 4

Record No.	Village	Regnal Year	Data	Date
129/1894 S. I. I. V. 418	Tirunelveli	4	Simha, ba 9, Rohini, Sunday	5— 8—1257
142/1894 S. I. I. V. 433	-Do- <sup>5</sup>	4	Vaikasi 20, Hasta, Tuesday	14— 5—1258
136/1894 S. I. I. V. 425	-Do-	6	Kanni 14, ba 5, Uttirattathi Friday (Kanni is a mistake for Kataka)	11— 7—1259
151/1894 S. I. I. V. 443	-Do- <sup>6</sup>	7	Kartigai 16, Sadaiyam, Friday	12—11—1260
134/1908	Tiruppattur	10	Mithuna 7, Magha, Sunday	1— 6—1264
432/1917	Kurralam	3	Virchika 13, ba 6, Ayilyam, Thursday	9—11—1256
69/1929	Sivapuri <sup>7</sup>	3	Kumba 6, Su 13, Punarvasu, Monday	29— 1—1257
Pd. 361	Tirukkulambur	5	Kumba 3, Su 3, Purattathi, Monday	27— 1—1259
25/1929	Sivapuri	5	Rishabha 3, Su 3, Punarvasu, Monday	28— 4—1259
613/1915	Malaiyadikuruchi	6	Kanya 13, Ba 7 Mircasira, Wednesday	10— 9—1259
6/1916	Vallanadu	11	Rishabha, Su 11, Uttiram, Monday	27— 4—1265
34/1929	Sivapuri	11	Tula 26, Su 3, Thursday Anilam	23—10—1264

The above dates indicate that the king came to the throne between June and August 1254. On the basis of 134/1908 Magha in Mithuna of 1254 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 20th June. On the basis of 129/1894 Rohini in Simha of 1254 falls in the first year. The star was current on 8th August.



20—6—1254 = Oth year  
8—8—1254 — 1st year

Jatavarman Vira Pandya came to the throne between the 21st June and the 8th August 1254.

Mathematics indicates that Jatavarman Vira Pandya came to the throne in the middle of 1254. To establish the existence of this king we require the following.

- 1) Historicity
- 2) We should prove that Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame who came to the throne in 1253 and Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254 were contemporaries.
- 3) We should also prove that the Paleaographic features of their records are same.

### Kurralam records of 1917

Kurralam (or Tirukkurralam) is a small village in the Tirunelveli District. The Kuttalanathaswami temple of this village contains many Pandyan Inscriptions. *Three inscriptions found on the walls of the first Prakara attract us. They are discussed below.*

Record No. 426/1917 is found on the south wall of the first Prakara of the temple and it belongs to Maravarman Vikrama Pandya<sup>8</sup> II who ruled from 1250 to 1265. The record is in his 5th year and it is dated 29th October 1254. The record states that the village assembly assigned certain lands in Sundara Pandyapuram to Lakkumanan Devanayakan and Lakkumanan Andapillai two of the Tamil Ariyas of Tirukkurralam. The assignees should cultivate the lands and pay the taxes to the temple<sup>9</sup>.

Record No. 432/1917 is found on the north wall of the same Prakara and it belongs to Jatavarman Vira Pandya. It is in his third year, dated 9th November 1256 yielding November 1254 as the first year. It is evident that the record belongs to Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254. *The record contains the Tamil Prasasthi "Tiru Valar Mulai".* We shall see this Prasasthi later. The record states that certain lands were purchased from the merchants of Sundara Pandyapuram for the temple of Tirukkurralam. The lands were leased to Lakkumanan Andapillai and his decendants on condition that Lakkumanan Andapillai should cultivate the lands and pay the taxes to the temple.

Record No. 487/1917 is found on the same north wall of the first Prakara and it belongs to Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame and it contains the epithet Kongu Ceylon, conquest etc., The record is in year 15, dated 21st



November 1267, yielding November 1253 as the first year. This confirms his accession year as 1253. The record states that Andapillai did not pay the taxes. The lands were leased out to another person.<sup>10</sup> From the above three records we can infer as follows.

1) Maravarman Vikrama II (1250-65), Jatavarman Vira of 1253 accession and Jatavarman Vira of 1254 accession were contemporaries.

2) The two Vira Pandyas came to the throne after Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II of accession 1250.

3) The individual Andapillai figures in the records of the three kings.

4) 437/1917 belongs to Jatavarman Vira Pandya of 1253 accession and it contains his epithet "Kongu Ceylon conquest etc ,

5) 432/1917 belongs to Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254 and it contains the Tamil Prasasthi "Tiru Valar Mulai". This record can be found in Table 4. The data contain solar day also.

The above facts prove that there were two kings and they had the same name Jatavarman Vira Pandya. Let us call them Jatavarman Vira Pandya I and II. Jatavarman Vira Pandya I was of Kongu fame and he came to the throne in 1253. Jatavarman Vira Pandya II had the Tamil Prasasthi "Tiru Valar Mulai" (திருவளர் முலை) and he came to the throne in 1254. In certain records the Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Tiru Magal Valar Mulai" (திருமகள் வளர் முலை). The other contents of the Prasasthi are same. The records of Jatavarman Vira Pandya in which the Prasasthi begins with "Tiru Valar Mulai" or "Tiru Magal Valar Mulai" are tabulated below.

### Records of Jatavarman Vira Pandya with "Tiru Valar Mulai" or "Tiru Magal Valar Mulai" Prasasthi

Table 5

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Date
432/1917	Kurralam	3	9th November 1256
8/1929	Dalapathisamudram	4	1258
9/1929	-Do-	4	1258
584/1915	Darukapuram	7	1261
480/1930	Sendamangalam	9 Simha	1262 August
Pd. 866 856/1906 } }	Kudumiyanmalai	Year 11	1265



### Contemporaries

Pd 366 belongs to Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1254. It is in his 11th year corresponding to 1265. The record states that the temple maid servant Nachi daughter of Dhukkaiyandi consecrated the image of Goddess<sup>11</sup> "Aruvudaimalai Mangai" (அருவடைமலை மங்கை). The same maid servant figures, in the same temple record No. Pd. 367 which belongs to Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1253. The data of this record are year 13, Mesha, Su 13, Hasta and Sunday. The data agree with 18th April 1266. Thus it is proved that both the kings were contemporaries.

### Tirunelveli records

The four records S. I. I. V. 418, 433, 415 and 443 are found in the Nellaiappar temple Tirunelveli. They belong to Vira Pandya of 1254 accession. They are dated 1257, 1258, 1259 and 1260 (vide Table 4).

In the last line of the record No. 415 an individual by name Srivallavan of "Madura east of Madakkulam" figures. The phrase "Madura east of Madakkulam" is generally found in the 12th or 13th century Pandyan records. The same individual Srivallavan of "Madura east of Madakkulam" figures in the same temple record of Maravarman Sundara<sup>12</sup> Pandya II (S. I. I. V. 434) and it is dated 1249.

In the records of Vira Pandya (418, 433, 415 and 443) there are many witnesses and signatories. Most of them figure in the same temple records of Maravarman Sundara II (S. I. I. V. 427 and 434) and they are dated 1248 and 1249. This proves that the signatories and the witnesses who lived in 1248 and 1249, the reign of Maravarman Sundara II also lived in 1257, 1258, 1259, and 1260 the reign of Vira Pandya of 1254 accession.

Maravarman Sundara II ruled from 1238 to 1255. Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame came to the throne in 1253. Vira Pandya of 1254 accession ruled after Maravarman Sundara II whose reign came to an end<sup>13</sup> in 1255. In other words Maravarman Sundara II (1238-55), Vira Pandya of Kongu fame accession 1253 and Vira Pandya of 1254 accession were contemporaries.

### The Prasasthi

The Prasa. thi of Jatavarman Vira Pandya of 1254 accession begins with Tirumagal Valar Mulai or Tiru Valar Mulai. The other details are same. The Prasasthi<sup>14</sup> states that Vira Pandya defeated the Chola at Kavikkalam. In order to establish the right rule he subdued the Telugu Cholas. Vira Pandya invaded Ceylon. In the fierce battle, he killed a Ceylon Prince and captured many of his royal possessions. He received tributes from the other Ceylon king whom he (Vira



Pandya) raised to the throne. Vira Pandya engraved the fish emblem of the Pandyas on the hills of Trikonamalai and Trikutamalai. A Prince from Savagam (Java) came to Ceylon to the aid of the Ceylon king. Vira Pandya captured the Prince of Savagan and dragged him in the streets. The Prince of Savagan pleaded for mercy. Vira Pandya pardoned him and let him go free.

The above historical events are narrated for the first time in Vira Pandya's Kurralam record year 3 dated 9th November 1256. It is evident that the campaigns were over by early 1256.

The then Chola king who was defeated by Vira Pandya was Rajendra III of accession 1246. Maravarman Vikrama II of accession 1250 claims to have subdued the Cholas and the Telugu Chola Vira Ganda Gopala. His claims appear for the first time in his second year record.<sup>15</sup> Later in 1255 Vira Ganda Gopala was killed<sup>16</sup> by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (of accession 1251). Probably Vira Pandya also took part in this campaign.

Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (of accession 1251) also claims to have defeated and collected tributes from the Ceylon king. His claims for the first time appears in his 7th year record dated 7th October 1256 and it comes from Tiruppunduruthi<sup>17</sup> Tanjore District. It was the same Ceylon campaign in which Vira Pandya played a decisive part. In this campaign Vira Pandya engraved the fish emblem of the Pandyas at Trikonamalai and Trikutamalai. The event is to be placed around 1256. (Even to-day the fish emblem of the Pandyas is available at Trikonamalai Ceylon. Below the emblem it is engraved Swathi Sri Vira Pandya Deva.<sup>18</sup> The date of the emblem is 1256).

In the Ceylon campaign Vira Pandya claims to have defeated "Savanmaindan" (Prince of Savagan i. e., Java). Fittingly his 10th year record (No. 588/1916) which comes from Karisulndamangalam contains his epithet "who was pleased to take the Chola country, Illam (Ceylon) and the crown and the crowned head of the Savagan".

### Paleaography

The report A. R. E. 1917 page 111, para 11, states, that on the grounds of Paleaography record No. 588/1916 (discussed above) agrees in character with the records of Jatavarman Vira Pandya of Kongu fame (of accession 1253). It is evident that on the grounds of Paleaography the records of both the kings are in the same character.

### Two Jatavarman Vira Pandyas

Mathematics proves that they were two identities. Internal evidence found in their records proves that they were contemporaries. On the grounds of Paleaography the records of the kings are of same character.



Thus the existence of the two kings of the same name Jatavarman Vira Pandya one coming to the throne in 1253 and the other in 1254 is proved by establishing the co-existence of Mathematics, Historicity, and the contemporaneous character of the records in substance and Paleaography.

The senior Jatavarman Vira Pandya I came to the throne in 1253. He claims to have conquered Kongu, Chola, Ceylon, Telugu Chola etc., and to have performed the anointment of victors at Tillaimanagar i. e., Chidambaram<sup>19</sup>. His epithet appears for the first time in his 10th year record corresponding to 1263. He does not claim the crown of the Savagan.

The Junior Jatavarman Vira Pandya II came to the throne in 1254. His Tamil Prasasthi begins with "Tiru Valar Mulai" or "Tiru Magal Valar Mulai" and the other details are same.<sup>20</sup> In his epithet he claims to have conquered Chola, Ceylon and to have taken the crown and the crowned head of the Savagan. His claims are narrated for the first time in his third year record dated 1256. He does not claim victory over Kongu.

### Last years

Jatavarman Vira Pandya I of accession 1253 probably ruled upto 1275. His records upto this date are identified. His epithet appears from 1263.

Jatavarman Vira Pandya II of accession 1254 probably ruled upto 1265. His records upto this date are identified. His Prasasthi appears from 1256.

Maravarman Kulasekara I came to the throne in 1268. His Alagapuri record No. 103/1924 is in year 15 corresponding to 1283. The record states that Kulasekara gifted lands to the temple for the welfare of Vira Pandya. One of the two Vira Pandyas lived upto 1283. Probably the senior (1253 accession) would have lived upto 1283.

### History

- 1) Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II came to the throne in 1250.
- 2) Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I came to the throne in 1251.
- 3) Jatavarman Vira Pandya I of Kongu fame came to the throne in 1253.
- 4) Jatavarman Vira Pandya II of "Tirumagal Valar Mulai" or "Tiru Valar Mulai" Tamil Prasasthi came to throne in 1254.

All the Princes claim the same victories in one form or other. The events took place between 1251 and 1263. I have dealt with this subject in the pages 89 to 93 of my book — "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". In view of the discovery of the existence of two Jatavarman Vira Pandyas, the dates of the campaigns are to be adjusted as under.



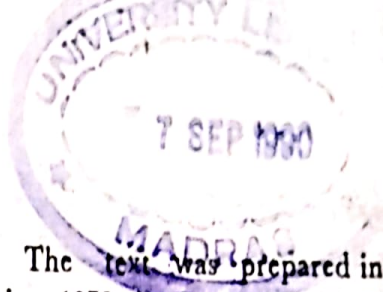
- 1) 1251 :- Ceylon was subdued. The Cholas, Kerala, Koperunchinga, Telugu Chola Vira Ganda Gopala, Kakati king Ganapathi and the Hoysalas were defeated. Maravarman Vikrama II conducted these campaigns. Jatavarman Sundara I also participated in these campaigns.
- 2) 1255 :- Jatavarman Sundara I killed Vira Ganda Gopala. Jatavarman Vira I and Jatavarman Vira II participated in this venture. Maravarman Vikrama II performed the anointment of victors at Kanchipuram.
- 3) 1256 :- Jatavarman Sundara I and Jatavarman Vira Pandya II ( of accession 1254 ) invaded Ceylon and brought it under the Pandyan banner. Vira Pandya II engraved the fish emblem at Trikonamalai and Trikutamalai in Ceylon. He defeated the Prince of Savagan who came to the aid of the Ceylon king. Vira Pandya I also participated in the campaign. Vikrama Pandya gilded the Vimana of the Chidambaram temple<sup>21</sup>. Sundara performed Tulabara at Chidambaram and Sri Rangam. He gilded the Sabha of the Chidambaram temple<sup>22</sup>.
- 4) 1257 :- Jatavarman Sundara I performed the anointment of victors at Nellore.
- 5) 1262 :- Jatavarman Sundara I killed Vira Someswara and captured Kannanur. This enabled Jatavarman Vira Pandya I to capture Kongu which he claims in his 10th year corresponding to 1262-63.
- 6) 1263 :- Jatavarman Vira Pandya I of accession 1253 performed the anointment of victors at Chidambaram. Probably at this time the chaste Tamil poems describing the achievements of Vikrama and Sundara were engraved on the walls of the Gopuras of the Chidambaram Nataraja Temple.<sup>23</sup> Because one of the poems warns Vikrama not to go to the north where a woman evidently Kakatiya queen Rudramba was ruling in the guise of a man.<sup>24</sup>

### Gist

Jatavarman Vira Pandya I of Kongu fame came to the throne in the middle of 1253. Some of his records contain the epithet, "he who conquered Kongu, Cholas, Telugu Cholas, etc., and who performed the anointment of victors at Tillaimanagar i. e., Chidambaram". He was alive in 1275. Probably he lived upto 1283.

Junior Jatavarman Vira Pandya II came to the throne in the middle of 1254. Some of his records contain the Tamil Prasasthi, "Tiru Valar Mulai" ( திரு வளர் முலை ) or "Tirumagal Valar Mulai" ( திருமகள் வளர் முலை ). In the year 1256 he invaded Ceylon, and killed a Ceylon Prince. There he captured the prince of Savagan (Java) and later pardoned him. His epithet introduces him as he who conquered Chola, Ceylon and who took the crown and the crowned head of Savagan. Vira Pandya was alive in 1265.





not notes :

- 1) Record No. 131/1907 was discovered in 1907. The text was prepared in 1945 by Srinivasa Rao. It was published in 1979 in S. I. I. XXIII No. 131. The time lag of 72 years gave room to casual errors in the text. The English translation of S I. I. XXIII No. 131 states that the regnal year is 17. But the Tamil text reads 16. This is wrong. Line 12 of the text refers to the amount received in the month Avani (i. e., Simha) of the 17th year. Therefore the regnal year 16 in line 4 of the Tamil text is a clear printing mistake. Sewell has scrutinised this record in 1909, in E. I. X page 139 where the regnal year is quoted as 17. The record is also published in Pd 379 in which the Tamil text clearly reads the regnal year as 17 only. Again S. I. I. XXIII No. 131 equates the data to 10th August 1269 which was a Saturday and not Thursday as quoted in the record. The errors in S. I. I. XXIII No. 131 are to be rectified in the light of the above facts.
- 2) Pages 200 and 201 "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".
- 3) This printing mistake gave me lot of troubles.
- 4) See line 20 Tirunelveli record S. I. I. V. 448 (156/1894)
- 5) The text in S. I. I. V. 433 reads "Vaikasi 20" only and not 22. Pillai was right in reading it as Vaikasi 20.
- 6) S. I. I. V. 443 clearly reads Friday. Pillai assumed Friday in page 170 of I. A. 1913. His assumption was correct.
- 7) The record states that the Goddess shrine in stone was built. The date of Goddess shrine is 1257.
- 8) See pages 76 and 81 "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".
- 9) A. R. E. 1918 page 39 and page 154 para 45.
- 10) A. R. E. 1918 page 155 para 48.
- 11) The date of the image of Goddess in the Kudumiyamalai temple is 1265.
- 12) S. I. I. V. 427 and 434 are equal to 138 and 143 of 1894 and their dates are suggested by Kielhorn in E. I. VI pages 304 and 305.
- 13) Alagar Koil record No. 17/1931-32 year 17. See page 41 "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".
- 14) Kudumiyamalai Pd. 366 states.

ருமகள் வளர்முலை திருமார்பு தனைபட பொருமகள் வளர்முலை புயம்புணாந்து களிப்ப  
 ர்மொழி நான்மிசைச் சொன்மகள் இருப்ப திசைகள் எட்டினும் செயமகள் வளர  
 ருமுன்று சமயமும் ஒரு முன்று தமிழும் வேத நான்கும் நீதியில் விளங்க  
 ிகம் கவுடம் கடாரம் காசிபம் கொங்கம் குதிரம் கோசலம் மாளுவம்  
 நுமணஞ் சோனகம் சீனம்வந்தி திருநடமீழும் கலிங்கம் தெலிங்கம் பேபனந்தண்டகம்  
 ளாடரமுதவி எம்புலிவேந்தரும் மிகல்மண்டலீகரும் மும்முரைசமுழங்கும் செம்பொன்மாளிகை  
 ராயிற் கொற்ற வாயில் புருந்து காலம் பார்த்து கழலினை பணிந்து நல்வேழமும் நிதியமும்  
 ட்டி பூவிரி சோலைக்காவிக்களத்து சோழன்பொருத வேழப்போரில் மதப்பிற் ருருக்கத



குளியா னைது னைக்க செம்பொற்றொடிக் கையில்பிடித்து வ னைத்துமேல்கொண்டு வாகைகூடி தலைப்பேராண்மை தனித்தனித்யெடுத்து தலைத்த வீரசர் நவீன்பெறத்துதிப்ப தெற்றமன்னர் திதாத்யமல் ஒற்றையாழி உலகுலமா ஏனைமன்னவர் இதற்கொடிறைந்து மீனவர் கொடி தெருவிலேந்த வடுவரைக்கொடுங்கோல் வழங்காவண்ணம் நடுவிநிலை செங்கோல் நாடொறுநடப்ப எத்திசை மன்னரும் மிருங்கலி கடிந்து முத்து வெண்குடை முழுநிலவு சொரிய ஒருமொழி தரிப்பப்புவி முழுதாண்ட மதமார்பு விளங்க மணிமுடிசூடி உரெசெழு ..... பல அரைசியல் வழக்கம் நெறிப்பட நாட்டும் குறிப்பினூர ..... ட்டிசைத் திருப்பாதஞ்.....செ திருந்த மந்திரி சரணமதிகழந்.....தினிதுநோக்கி முரண்முகு சிறப்பில் ஈழமன்னர் இலகுவரி லொருவனை வீழ்ழப் பொருது விண்மிசை ஏற்றி உரிமைச் சுற்றமும் உயகுலம்புக்குத் தருமையாண்மையும் பலப்பைபுரவியும் கண்மணித்தேரும் சீனவடவரும் நாகத்தோடும் நவமணிக்ஞுவையும் ஆடகத்திரியும் அரிஆசனமும் முடியுங்கட்கமும் முழுமணி ஆரமும் கொடியும்குடையும் குளிர்வெண்கவரியும் முரசும் சங்கமும் தனமும்முதலி அரைசுகெமுதாய மடையவாரி காணுமன்னவர் கண்டுகண்டேங்க கோணமலையிலும் திரிகூடகிரியிலும் உருகெழு கொடியிசை இருகயல்எழுதி ஏனைவேந்தனை ஆனை திறைகொண்டு பண்டேவல்செய்யா திகல் செய்திருந்த சாவன்மைந்தன் நலமிருந்திறைஞ்ச வீரக் கழல்விர வரைச்சூட்டி திருக்கோளம் அலைவாப்படன் கழித்து வழங்கிடஅருளி முழுங்குகளிற் ஏறி பார்முமுதறிய ஊர்வலம் செய்வித்து தந்தை மரபென் நினைப்பிட்டரைசிடமகிந்து ஆனூ ர்புரிச்சுவிரையச்செல் கென விடைகுடுத்தருளி ஆகமடந்தை அன்புடன் சாத்தி வாகைகூட மதுமணங் கவர்ந்த வெண்கவரின் வாடலும் தென்றலும் வேந்தர்வீச வீரசிம்மாசனத்து கபகந்தழுவிய காமர் உன்னத பெற்றொடி புணந்து மலர்ந்த மலர்க்கொழும் பாபுரைத் சிற்றடி உலகமுமுதுடையாரோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோச்சடைய பன்மரான ஸ்ரீ வீரபாண்டிய தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு யக வது நூற்று எழுபத்து முன்றினால்.

- 15) Tirunama Nallur 252/1939-40 year 2 of Vikrama.
- 16) Tiruppathi Devasthanam inscriptions Volume I page 80.
- 17) S. I. I. V. 459 ; Tiruppunduruthi 166/1894 ; Kielhorn page 307 E. I. VI.
- 18) Pages 46 and 209 "A Short History of Hinduism in Ceylon" by C.S. Navaratnam edition 1964. Also please refer to History of Ceylon Volume I part II page 685 published by University of Ceylon.
- 19) "கொங்கு ஈழம் கொண்டு கொடு வடுகு கோடழித்து கங்கை இருகரையும் காவிரியும் கைக்கொண்டு வல்லாளனை வென்று காடவனைத் திறை கொண்டு தில்லை மாநகரில் வீராபிஷேகமும் செய்தருளிய கோச்சடைய பன்மரான ஸ்ரீ வீரபாண்டிய தேவர்".
- 20) A. R. E. 1916 page 124 para 29 read with A. R. E. 1912 page 72 para 39. Pd. 366 and 356/1906 are similar.
- 21) Chidambaram 569/1963 Grantha Verse.
- 22) Tiruppunduruthi S. I. I. V. 459. Chidambaram 570 and 571/1963 Grantha Verse
- 23) Vikrama 329, 336, 337, 353 and 365 of 1913 Sundara 332, 338, 340, 354, 361 and 363 of 1913.
- 24) Chidambaram 365/1913 of Vikrama.



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