

## Chapter I

THE PALLAVAS (THE PALLAVARS) - A SURVEY

The Pallavas, though lacking in spectacular all India achievements unlike the Cōlas, the other great imperial power of the South and despite the Eastern Overseas Expansion of both, have done much to preserve the religious and cultural pattern of the traditional Hinduism of India. As such, the following pages attempt to deal with the political and cultural background of South India during the times of the Pallavas.

When one deals with all the facets of the Pallavas, it is but fitting that the beginning be made with the 'Mystery' of the Pallavas, namely, their origin.

The Origin of the Pallavas

The origin of the Pallavas has, ever, been a great problem in the history of South India. Though many theories have been expounded by eminent scholars towards the solution of the problem, there is no finality as yet.

The Theories of the Origin of the Pallavas

The theories regarding the origin of the Pallavas are those which are either in favour of the indigenous origin or those which advocate otherwise.

The exponents of the indigenous origin of the Pallavas are Jayaswal,<sup>1</sup> Krishnaswamy Aiyangar,<sup>2</sup> Nilakanta Sastri,<sup>3</sup> Rasanayagam Mudaliar,<sup>4</sup> Smith,<sup>5</sup> Srinivasa Aiyangar (M),<sup>6</sup> Sathianathier<sup>7</sup> and Vaidya. On the other hand, Venkayya,<sup>8</sup> Dubreuil,<sup>9</sup> Rice,<sup>10</sup> Krishna Rao, Srinivasa Aiyangar (P.T.),<sup>11</sup> Subramaniam, Swaminatha Aiyar and Venkatasubbier are the advocates of the foreign origin of the Pallavas.

Though there are two main schools regarding the theory of the origin, they have their major sub-divisions too.

Among those who favour the theory of the indigenous origin, a sub-group is of the view that the Pallavas

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<sup>1</sup>Jayaswal, K.P., "The Pallavas and their Origin", JBORS, March-June, 1933, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup>Aiyangar, S.K., "The Origin and Early History of the Pallavas", J.I.H., Nov., 1922, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>Sastri, K.A.N., History of India, Part I, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup>Mudaliar, C.R., I.A., 1923, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Smith, V.A., Early History of India (1908 Ed.) p.423.

<sup>6</sup>Sathianathier, R., Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam, pp. 9-10.

<sup>7</sup>Vaidya, C.V., Mediaeval Hindu India, I, p. 280.

<sup>8</sup>Venkayya, V., ASR 1906-7, p. 221.

<sup>9</sup>Dubreuil, G.J., Ancient History of the Deccan, translated into English by V.S.S. Dikshitar, p. 54.

<sup>10</sup>Rice, L., Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 52-53.

<sup>11</sup>Subramaniam, K.R., Buddhist Remains of Andhra and Andhra History, p. 71

originated in the Deccan, while another group favours South India, whereas the third opines in favour of the theory of the Indo-Ceylonese origin. Similar is the case with those who advocate the non-indigenous origin of the Pallavas. One group discerns the Persian i.e. Pahlava or Parthian origin while the other links it up to Chaṣṭana.

The Indigenous Origin - The central India and the Deccan

Among the exponents of the indigenous origin, <sup>1</sup>Jayaswal, <sup>2</sup>Nilakanta Sastri, and <sup>3</sup>Vaidya trace the ancestry and culture of the Pallavas to central India and the Deccan. Jayaswal traces it back to the Vākāṭakas and Sastri to the Chūtūs and Kadāmbas. Jayaswal bases his theory on the similarity of the gōtras of the Vākāṭakās and those of the Pallavas and also on the identity of the caste taking the Pallavas as the Brahmins. No doubt Bhāradvāja is the common gōtra of both the Vākāṭaka and Pallava kings. But, there is no evidence for their being of the Brahmin caste. In fact, though indirect, the

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The authorities without number are such that the author could not have direct and first hand reference and hence the omission of the works though their opinions are cited.

<sup>1</sup>Jayaswal, K.P., loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Sastri, K.A.N., loc.cit.

<sup>3</sup>Vaidya, C.V., loc. cit.

Tālaguṇḍa Pillar Inscription<sup>1</sup> of the Kōḍāmba king Kākutsthavarman stands a proof for the Pallavas being the Kshatriyas, though their having a gotra typical of a Brahmin makes it self-contradictory. Thus, the Brahmin or the Non-Brahmin caste characteristic of the Pallavas is, still, a point of dispute. Sastri<sup>2</sup> holds that the term Pallava is the Sanskritised form of the Tamil 'Tonḍai' the name of the region to which they migrated and after which they called themselves. Vaidya<sup>3</sup> finds the Pallava anthropological elements in the Āryan population of Mahārāṣṭra.

#### South India

Sathianathier<sup>4</sup> locates the home of the Pallavas in the Tonḍaimaṇḍala area from the very centre of which, as the capital, they had extended their sway. The advocate of the theory bases his observations on the identification of the Pulindas, referred to in the Aśōkan inscriptions, with the Pallavas.

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<sup>1</sup>(a) Buhler, G., I.A., XXV, p. 27.

(b) Fleet, J.F., Dynasties, pp. 286 ff.

(c) Rice, L., E.C., VII, p. 200.

(b) Kielhorn, F., E.I., VIII, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sastri, K.A.N., loc.cit.

<sup>3</sup> Vaidya, C.V., loc.cit.

<sup>4</sup> Sathianathier, R., loc.cit.

T a m i l n ā d u

Both Srinivasa Aiyangar<sup>1</sup> and Smith<sup>2</sup> relate the Pallavas to the family of the indigenous tribes of Tamil-nāḍu like the Kaḷḷars and the Kurumbars.

The Foreign Origin - The Persian Origin

The evidence on which the scholars like Dubreuil<sup>3</sup> Krishna Rao,<sup>4</sup> Rice,<sup>5</sup> and Venkayya<sup>6</sup> rest their theories is more or less, the same. They are guided by the Purānas referring to the Parthians as Pahlavas and the similarity of the Pallava crown, shaped like an elephant's scalp, at the Vaikuṇḍanāṭaperumāl Temple at Kāñchi and that of the Indo-Bactrian king Demetrius in his Coins.<sup>7</sup> The resemblance between the term 'Pahlava' and 'Pallava' will be dealt with later on.

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<sup>1</sup> Srinivasa Aiyangar, M., Tamil Studies quoted in T.K.Venkataraman's Problems of Indian History, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Smith V., loc.cit.

<sup>3</sup> Dubrenil, G.J., loc.cit.

<sup>4</sup> Krishna Rao, D.V., The History of the early dynasties of Andhradeśa, quoted as in T.K.Venkataraman's op.cit., p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Rice L., loc.cit.

<sup>6</sup> Venkayya, V., loc.cit.

<sup>7</sup> Venkatasubbier S.I.I., XII, Pallavas, Introduction, pp. I-II.

The Kārdamaka stock

The Pallavas are also regarded as related to Chaṣṭana<sup>1</sup> of the Kārdamaka stock a section of which is supposed to have occupied the Telugu Coastal territory upto the Kṛṣṇā, a substantial portion of the Pallava territory.

The theories advocating indigenous or foreign origin based on the Śaṅgam literature

Indigenous

Taking a clue from the equation of the noted Tamil commentator Naccinārkiṇiyar that the Tamil 'Tonḍaiyar'<sup>2</sup> is equivalent to the Sanskrit Pallava, Krishnaswamy Aiyangar puts forward his theory that the Nāga princess of Perumbānārruppadai was the daughter of one of the Nāgas who were the vassals of the Andhras in the lower Deccan and who, as the Pallavas and as the successors of the Sātavāhanās, emerged ultimately as the rulers of the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and its neighbouring area in the north, having been, once, their officials in the region.

Gopalan<sup>3</sup> takes 'Tondaiyar' as a tribal name and he is not inclined to identify the 'Tonḍaiyar' with the 'Pallava,'

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<sup>1</sup> Aiyangar, S.K., loc.cit.

<sup>2</sup> Gopalan, R., History of the Pallavas of Kanchi, p.9.

<sup>3</sup> Rasanayagam Mudaliar, C., loc.cit.

a family name. He, thus, differs from Krishnaswamy Aiyangar in this respect. Gopalan is not referred to in the list of scholars who have worked on the Pallava origin as his is not a positive suggestion except that it is only a fitting criticism, of course, of the theory of Aiyangar (S.K.) and many others too.

#### The Foreign Origin - Indo-Ceylonese

Rasanayagam Mudaliar<sup>1</sup> points out that the Nāga princess was the daughter of the Nāga king Viḷaivānaṅ of Manipallavam (modern Jaffna) and that Tondaimān-llam-Tiraiyan was born of her through the Cōḷa king Neḍumudikilli. He takes Manipallavam as the word in which is to be found the term 'Pallava.'

No doubt, the theory of the Indo-Ceylonese origin is an advanced one as we find some Ceylonese named as Gōpallava, even to-day. But, it may be due to the Pallava influence later. It need not necessarily be the factor for the origin itself.

#### P e r s i a n

An attempt is made by Swaminatha Aiyar<sup>2</sup> to strengthen the already developed theory ascribing the Parthian origin

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<sup>1</sup> Rasanayagam Mudaliar, C., loc.cit.

<sup>2</sup> Swaminatha Aiyar U.V. quoted in Gopalan's op.cit., p. 23.



by bringing out the Persian origin for the word 'Tiraiyar' out of the Persian word 'Draya' both happening to convey the same meaning. The term 'Tiraiyar' according to him, is connotative of the Pallava Tonḍaimān and this theory runs on similar lines as that advocated by Ramaswamy Aiyangar<sup>1</sup> in favour of the Persian origin developed out of the term 'Tiraiyar'.

The theory of Rea<sup>2</sup> is fanciful and may be ignored.

#### Evaluation of the theories

Inscriptions are historical records and the contents of the historical documents should naturally reflect the culture of both the rulers and the ruled. The contents of the epigraphs, the most authentic source of the Pallavas, reveal such a culture which does not seem to have had any contact with any Non-Indian Culture. This is the most solid ground on which the author tends to discard the theories about the foreign origin.

All the theories advocating the foreign origin, in essence, are based/<sup>not</sup>on the cultural study of the problem but on superficial linguistic resemblance of the terms 'Pahlava' and 'Pallava' except the one based on

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<sup>1</sup> Ramaswamy Aiyangar, M.S., Studies in South Indian Jainism, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Rea, A., Pallava Architecture, p. 2, foot-note 5.



the Persian influence on a piece of the Pallava Architecture. This latter view is of a limited scope. To conclude, from the stray instance, that the very people whose only one out of an unlimited number of monuments, was influenced by the foreign element, are themselves foreign, is far fetched. Venkayya's<sup>1</sup> theory that suviśākha, Rudradāman's minister, is the founder-king of the Pallava dynasty, is not corroborated by the Pallava genealogies as found in their inscriptions. The Vayalur<sup>2</sup> pillar inscription, in which is enumerated the most exhaustive list of the Pallava genealogy, does not give any place to suviśākha. In fact, there is no reference to suviśākha in any of the Pallava Inscriptions. In addition, Rājasekhara,<sup>3</sup> the geographer of the Pallava times, draws a clear distinction between the Pallavas of the South and the Pahlavas of the North-west of India.

The next question is whether the indigenous origin pins itself to central India and the Deccan or South India or Indo-Ceylon.

Taking into consideration the history and culture of the Pallavas, the author is not inclined to accept the South Indian and the Indo-Ceylonese origins.

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<sup>1</sup> Venkayya, V., loc.cit.

<sup>2</sup> (a) E.C. 368/1908.  
 (b) M.E.R. for 1909, part II, para 16, p. 17.  
 (c) Dubreuil, J. Pallavas, pp. 19-21.  
 (d) Krishna Sastri H., E.I., XVIII, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Aiyangar S.K., op.cit., pp. 25-26.

The culture revealed in the Pallava epigraphs has been homogeneous. Going still further, it is more of the Sanskrit and Vaishnavite culture than of the Tamil and Śaivite culture. It has not been so with the earliest dynasties of the South namely, the Cērās, Cōlas and Pāṇdyas. Any attempt to study the cultural affinities through inscriptions and literature of the Pallavas with the pre-Pallavas of Tamilnāḍu and also of the historical Coḷas with the traditional powers of Tamilnāḍu will reveal that there is a greater cultural link between the Saṅgam powers and the Vijayālayacōḷās than between the ancient Tamil powers and the Pallavas though the Pallavas are far earlier than the later Cōḷās. The derogatory reference<sup>1</sup> to the Pallavas in the Saṅgam literature of traditional Tamilnāḍu is a further evidence for the fact that the Pallava culture, especially the early culture of the Indo-Āryan Charters, has been independent of the traditional culture of Tamilnāḍu.

Though it is held by Rao<sup>2</sup> that the 'origin of the Pallavas has remained, till now, a mystery,' still, certain observations can be made on this point here, which, it is hoped, will go a long way towards a solution.

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<sup>1</sup> Pingalandai quoted in Gopalan's, op.cit., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Rao B.V.K., op.cit., p. 135.

It may be agreed upon that the Pallavas, apart from being to South India what the Sātavāhanas have been to the Deccan, are not only the Sātavāhana officials, as pointed out by Krishnaswamy Aiyangar and not denied by Sircar,<sup>1</sup> but their very descendants and that it is possible that the Sātavāhanas had their own kith and kin as their regal deputies. When it is conceded that the Pallavas are Indian in their origin but not South Indian, they should be from the non-South Indian region of India. The only dynasty in the non-South Indian region of India, Brahmanical in its character, historical as against traditional, earlier in date, and whose influence over the Pallavas is discernable, is that of the Sātavāhanas. A few of the factors of influence are such as are revealed in the resemblance of the charters of the early Pallavas and those of the Andhra king Pulumāyi of 120-158 A.D. There is remarkable affinity in language and phraseology, the language being Prakrit. Then one of the, and, perhaps, the most revealing of proper names of the Pallava Monarchical line, is Śivaskanda which has dominated the Pallava monarchical system of names and finally given birth to the 'Sōmaskanda' of the Pallava Inscriptional study by Nilakanta Sastri,<sup>2</sup> of which the Śivaskanda is one of the

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<sup>1</sup>Sircar, D.C., The Successors of the Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup>Sastri, K.A.N., 'Somaskanda in Pallava sculptures' in The Hindu, August 27, 1961.

of the  
 Sātavāhana king of the period 165-68 A.D. and 'skanda'  
 is the prefix of 'Skandasthambī' of the period 174-156  
 B.C. and the prefix of 'Skandasvati' of the period  
 34-27 A.D. Further, the first Pallava record<sup>1</sup> refers  
 to a region named after the Sātavāhana, viz. 'Sātāhani-  
 ratṭa'<sup>1a</sup> the area of which formed part of the Sātavāhana  
 empire and which came under the Pallavas later. Another  
 factor in favour of the Sātavāhana origin, is that, when  
 the Sātavāhana power<sup>were coming</sup> ~~came to~~ an end, the Pallavas rose  
 to power i.e. at the end of the 2nd century A.D. or the  
 early 3rd century A.D.

Thus, it may not be wrong to propose that the  
 question of the origin of the Pallavas is the question  
 of the origin of the Sātavāhanas themselves. It is  
 likely that in the origin of the Sātavāhanas the begin-  
 nings of Pallava ancestry may be found.

#### The Pallava Chronology

After having studied the position regarding the  
 origin of the Pallavas, let us now pass on to their  
 chronology.

It was Rev. Father Heras who held that Pallava  
 chronology is still so obscure that, instead of enlight-  
 ening, it has darkened the situation. Now, though there  
 is not so much<sup>of</sup> obscurity as it was a little more than  
 a quarter of the century ago, the chronology is not yet  
 firmly fixed.

<sup>1</sup> vide no 295 of Appendix A.

<sup>1a</sup> vide p. 99, footnote (i) 4.

There are several opinions regarding the Pallava chronology ranging from the second century to the thirteenth century A.D. The difference of opinion, except in one case, regarding the alternative dates of the Pallavas is not so distinct. Most of the scholars accept that the Pallava power came to an end by the end of the 10th century A.D.; quite a few hold that the Pallava sway continued even after the end of the tenth century A.D. and that the final end of the power came only in the thirteenth century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

The Charters of the Pallavas, viz. those in Prakrit, Sanskrit and others form the basis on which are formulated the probabilities of the Pallava chronology. Accordingly, the period of the Pallavas is divided in accordance with the group of the charters viz. the Pallavas of the Prakrit Charters, the Pallavas of the Sanskrit Charters, and the Pallavas of the Sanskrit-Dravidian Charters, also called the Later Charters. The above three sub-divisions of the Pallava times do not apply to the period between 1000 A.D. and the thirteenth century A.D. which is controversial by itself. Generally, while the period of the Prakrit Charters is fixed upto the third century A.D. and that of the Sanskrit Charters

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1 Venkatasubbiar, V., S.I.I., Pallavas XII, Introduction, p. viii.

between the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. the Sanskrit-  
 Dravidian Charters fall within the period between<sup>the</sup> seventh  
 and the tenth centuries A.D. The tenth century is the  
 period when the status of the Pallava king<sup>was</sup> degraded to  
 that of a Chief i.e. after Aparājītavarman but the main  
 line was not broken. While the chronology of the period  
 of the Sanskrit-Dravidian Charters is not problematic,  
 the chronology of the period of the earlier Charters  
 i.e. the Prakrit and the Sanskrit, is otherwise. Palaeo-  
 graphy is the only guide for the chronology of the Prakrit  
 Charters and a comparative study of the palaeographical  
 elements of the Prakrit inscriptions of the Pallavas,  
 viz. The Mayidavōlu,<sup>1</sup> Hirahadahalli,<sup>2</sup> British Museum<sup>3</sup>  
 plates and the Āndhra inscription at Nasik<sup>4</sup> is essential.  
 Further, the Candravalli<sup>5</sup> and the Tālagunda<sup>6</sup> inscriptions  
 of the Kadambas supplement the Prakrit chronology, while  
 the Allahabad<sup>7</sup> Pillar inscription of Samudragupta supple-  
 ments that of the Sanskrit.

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<sup>1</sup>Hultzsch E., E.I., VI, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>(a) Buhler G., E.I., I, p. 5.  
 (b) Fleet, J.F., I.A., IX, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Hultzsch E., E.I., VIII, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup>Senart E., E.I., VIII, pp. 59-90.

<sup>5</sup>M.A.K., 1929, pp. 50-58.

<sup>6</sup>(a) Buhler, G., loc.cit.  
 (b) Fleet, J.F. loc. cit.  
 (c) Kielhorn F. loc. cit.  
 (d) Rice L. loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup>Fleet J.F., C.I.I., III, pp. 1-17.

Thus, the period of the Prakrit charters can be pushed back to the end of the second century A.D. and, with the finding of the Pallava Tamil Tañjāvūr Charter of Siṃhavarman of the period 550-575 A.D., that of the Sanskrit-Dravidian Charters falls within the middle of the sixth and the end of the tenth centuries when are issued the Charters by Chandrāditya<sup>1</sup> of the later part of the tenth century, the last Pallava Chief though not king or emperor of the Imperial line. It follows that the period of the Sanskrit Charters is between the end of the third and the early or the middle of the sixth century A.D.

The Pallavas of Circa 200 A.D. - 800 A.D.

Scholars like Hultzsch and Venkayya<sup>2</sup> assign the end of the Pallavas to the end of the reign of Nandivarman II, the Pallavamalla (733-796 A.D.), but it is otherwise to-day. It may be that the fag-end of the Pallava sway coincides with the end of the reign of the Pallava chief Chandrāditya of the later period of the tenth century A.D. i.e. Circa 1000 A.D., the end itself being with Aparājita the Pallava king of the beginning of the early tenth century i.e. Circa 900 A.D. Gopalan says "With Nṛpatuṅga or Aparājita the main line of the Pallava kings appears to have come to an end."<sup>3</sup>

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1 Gopalan, K., op.cit., p. 144.

2 Venkatsubbier V., op.cit., p. I.

3 Gopalan, R., op.cit., p. 145.



The Pallavas between 1000 A.D. and the 13th century

The inclusion of the two chiefs of the thirteenth century, by name Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvas the I and II, in the Pallava genealogy is a point of dispute. The possibility of the Pallava genealogy raising its head two centuries after its supposed end especially when, during the period of the oblivion, there was established the most powerful of the South Indian dynasties viz. the Cōlas and which also came to end is remote. One more point of difference between the Pallavas upto 1000 A.D. and the so-called Pallavas of the thirteenth century is that the Charters of the Pallavas that ended at 1000 A.D., have, in addition to the Indo-Aryan, the Dravidian Charters which are issued in the then living Dravidian languages Tamil, Telugu, and ~~Kannada~~. But the Pallavas of the thirteenth century have only Tamil Charters.

Thus, the Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvās would have been the successors of the Pallavas in the Tamil area but they might not have been the descendants of the Pallavas. A successor need not necessarily claim a descent from his predecessor. For instance the Cōlas are the imperial successors of the Pallavas in the South but they have nothing to do with the Pallava ancestry and similar might have been the case with the Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvās. As the Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvās were known more as the Kādavarāya chiefs, they can be taken to be a different dynasty - the

Kādavarāya dynasty. Venkatasubbier<sup>1</sup> has dealt with the chronology and the genealogy in such a way that the Kōpperuñjingadēvās are the Pallavas and they are like the other Pallava chiefs who were reigning after the end of the main line viz. Vayiramēghavarman, Chandrāditya, Śatti Skandaśishya and Gōpaladēva though their "relationship to the main line is not known." He has included Kampavarman before Aparājita the last of the main line but, Gopalan excludes Kampavarman from the main line as a king but treats him as a Pallava chief of the main line who came after Aparājita. It may be that except Gopālādeva the rest other than the Kōpperuñjingadēvās, were of the main line but as chiefs and not as emperors and they were probably Kampavarman Vayiramēghavarman, Chandrāditya, Śatti and Skandaśishya. In the case of Gopālādeva, the exclusion is explained in 'Introduction'.

Thus there does not seem to be any genealogical link and hence chronological link between the Kōpperuñjingadevas and the imperial line of the Pallavas, which, it may not be incorrect to establish, beginning at the end of the second century ended at C. 1000 A.D. and, thus, reigning for about eight centuries.

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1 Venkatasubbier, op.cit., pp. VI-

### The Pallava Genealogy

There may be some answer to the Pallava chronology. But, the fixing of the Pallava genealogy in the historic perspective has defied every attempt. The names of the rulers of the historical dynasty are so interwoven with the mythological ancestry that to have a clear view of the Pallava genealogy is rather impossible. What one can hope to do is to trace the genealogy of the later Pallavas i.e. the Pallavas of the non-Prakrit and non-Sanskrit charters of the period 575-900 A.D. starting from<sup>1</sup> Siṃhavishṇu and ending with Aparājita.

<sup>2</sup>Gopalan establishes the three different dynasties on the basis of the charters viz. (1) The dynasty of the Prakrit Charters, (2) The dynasty of the Sanskrit Charters and (3) the dynasty of the Sanskrit/Dravidian Charters also called the Siṃhavishṇu dynasty. The epigraphic evidence for his genealogical table is derived from the Prakrit - Mayidavōlu, Hirahada Halli, and British Museum and the Sanskrit VāyaIūr, Vēlūrpaḷāiyam, Ōmgoḍu, Uruva-palli, Mangalūr, Pikīra Chendalūr and Udayēndiram and

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<sup>1</sup>Here it may be pointed out that the author follows the chronology of the Siṃhavishṇu line as fixed by Prof. Venkataraman in his 'Problems of Indian History' Part II (privately circulated). The author follows him for the third dynasty with minor amendments for the reign of Aparājita and Dantivarman. In line with Gopalan he has not made Kampavarman more than a chief unlike Venkata-subbieh.

<sup>2</sup>Gopalan, R., op.cit., pp. 33-113.

the Tamil Kūram Inscriptions.

Heras,<sup>1</sup> who worked on the subject, later, differs from the general pattern of the theory of Gopalan<sup>2</sup> and arrives at two distinct features of the Pallava genealogy. The first is that the difference between the Pallavas of the Prakrit Charters and that of the Sanskrit Charters is superficial and that both of them should be viewed as one group on the basis of the issue of the Sanskrit-Darsi Plates by a King of the so-called Prakrit period. The second feature is that the establishment of a dynasty among the Pallavas of the Sanskrit Charters named after the King Virakūrcha and of two more dynasties of the Later Charters named after Simhavishnu and Nandivarman is ill founded as they claim the common ancestry from Kālabhartr̥ the first member of the Sanskrit dynasty.

Thus, Heras links the Prakrit period with the Sanskrit period and the Sanskrit ancestry of Virakūrcha with the Later/Sanskrit-Dravidian ancestry of Nandivarman and indirectly subscribes to Dubreuil's<sup>3</sup> view of the Pallava genealogy that the entire genealogy of the Pallavas, whether of the Prakrit or the Sanskrit, or the Later Charters, is to be traced to Bappa, the supposed founder of the Pallavas of Kāñchi.

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1 Heras H., The Pallava Genealogy, pp. 24-27.

2 Gopalan, R., loc.cit.

3 Dubreuil, G.J., Pallavas, pp. 72-73 - the genealogical table.

Scholars like Raychaudhuri<sup>1</sup> and Sircar<sup>2</sup> recognize and uphold the establishment of a new dynasty ruling from the centre of the Nellore-Guntur region of the modern Andhra Pradesh during the period of the Sanskrit Charters, independent of the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchi. That there were two Pallava dynasties independent of each other at a stage of the Sanskrit period based on the regional approach to the issue of the Charters and that the early Charters were not issued from Kāñchi, the capital, is not shared by all the scholars whose difference of opinion is based on the point that the places from where the Charters were issued were not independent of the Pallava dominion but part and parcel of it. "There was only one dynasty that of Kāñchipura," says Heras.

Though there may be one Pallava line from Bappa to Aparājita, it is better, for the sake of convenience and a detailed survey of the notables, to classify the Pallava genealogy under the conventional heads of the Prakrit, Sanskrit and Later Charters.

#### An Evaluation of the Pallava Kings

After having detailed out the problems connected

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<sup>1</sup>Raychaudhuri, H.C., Political History of Ancient India, p. 501.

<sup>2</sup>(a) Sircar D.C., History and Culture of the Indian people. The Classical Age, p. 283.  
 (b) The Successors of the Satavahanas, pp. 169-174.

with Pallava chronology and genealogy let us now proceed to study the careers of the famous kings of the dynasty. This would facilitate the understanding of the account of the swaying fortunes of the influence of the Pallavas on South Indian history and life.

Since the genealogy and the chronology of the Pallavas of the Pre-Simhaviṣṇu line is far from certainty, it would not be an obstacle in the approach of evaluating the role of the kings of the Prakrit and Sanskrit records from a general angle.

#### The Kings of the Prakrit dynasty

Among the kings of the Prakrit dynasty, Bappa, Śivaskandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman are the renowned figures. The period of their reign was the third century A.D. Bappa,<sup>1</sup> the earliest of the Prakrit kings is the supposed founder of the Prakrit family, and through it, of the Pallavas of Kanchi. Under him, the Pallava dominion had extended upto the Krishna in the north and the Pālār in the South. Raychaudhuri,<sup>2</sup> Gopalan<sup>3</sup> and Sircar<sup>4</sup> presume that, during his reign, there might have been two dynasties of the Pallavas independent of each other, viz., the Telugu dynasty with Amaravati as

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1 Gopalan, R., op.cit., pp. 36-37.

2 Raychaudhuri, H.C., loc.cit.

3 Gopalan R., op.cit., p. 34.

4 Sircar, D.C., loc.cit.

5 For some of the later kings of the so-called Telugu-Pallavas 'prakrit' is mentioned.

its capital and the Tamil dynasty with headquarters at Kānchi.

Bappa was followed by the second king Śivaskandavarman.<sup>1</sup> His reign was one of political, administrative and cultural importance. He had pushed his northern frontier further upto the Godavari and the Southern upto the South Pennar. Though Amaravati was not the second capital, as it was presumed to be so under his predecessor, it was a centre of the Buddhist learning. He had developed a sound administrative machinery on the lines of the Mauryan system of Government. The territory was divided into Vishaya, raṭṭha and Grāma, the Grāma being the lowest unit. The official hierarchy was classified into Vishayikas, raṭṭhikas (Rāshṭrikas) and Dēśādikaṭa (Dēśādhiṅṭas). The advisers to the king were the Amātya and the Rahasyātikata. The taxes were eighteen in number as known from Aṭṭāvasajātī Parihāra. The guiding principles of his administration - territorial, economic, or otherwise -, were to be found in the Dharmasāstras and the Arthasāstra.

The credit of the issue of the earliest of the South Indian charters and also of the Prakrit Charters goes to Śivaskandavarman. His epithet 'Dharmamahārāja' and his performance of the Aśvamedha, Vajapeya and Agnisṭoma sacrifices, apart from revealing his extensive conquests,

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<sup>1</sup> Gopalan, R., op.cit., pp. 37-39.



also bring to light the fact that he had affinity for the traditional Brahmanical ritual of an emperor.

The last king Vijaya-Skandavarman<sup>1</sup> whose identification is a point of dispute, is notable in that the earliest Pallava record mentioning a royal gift to the temple was issued during his reign. Regarding the extent of his kingdom, it appears that he maintained the territorial acquisitions of his predecessor.

#### The Kings of the Sanskrit Records

Inspite of the helping hand given by the Jain manu-  
script the Lōkavibhāga<sup>2</sup> in fixing the chronology of the members of the Sanskrit dynasty, what is finally arrived at is probable and it ranges between 325-500 A.D. Speaking of the above period, it is said that the political history of the Pallavas is almost a blank.<sup>3</sup> The only exception, since it was not a complete blank, was the reign of Viṣṇugopa who was better known amongst the probable seven members of the dynasty. The information on the chronological, genealogical and the other aspects of the Sanskrit dynasty is more meagre than that of the Prakrit dynasty. At least one could get a rough idea of the individual achievements

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1 Gopalan, R., op.cit., p. 39.

2 M.A.R. for 1909-10, p. 45.

3 Sastri, K.A.N., op.cit., p. 99.

of the Prakrit kings especially Śivaskanda-varman but, even that we are deprived of with regard to the Sanskrit kings. Even about Vishnugopa there is no direct information and what is available is that he might have been the same king referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of Samudragupta. Therefore, from the evidence on hand, there is no possibility of any reference to his achievements. As to his having been defeated by Samudragupta, there is no unanimity among scholars. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar<sup>2a</sup> upholds the 'digvijaya' as depicted in the inscription, while Jayaswāl<sup>2b</sup> and Dubreuil<sup>2c</sup> advocate a different view. Dubreuil is of the opinion that Samudragupta was forced to retreat by a confederacy of the Southern Kings. "It is no more a new Alexander marching victoriously through South India," says Dubreuil. Jayaswal says that he did not go to Kāñchi very probably. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar calls the idea of a confideracy 'imaginary'. Of the three view-points discussed here, Jayaswal's seems to be the sound one.

The Pallavas of the Later Charters also called the Sanskrit - Dravidian Charters or the Pallavas of the Siṃhavishnu line

As the chronology and the genealogy of the Siṃhavishnu

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1 Fleet, J.F., loc.cit.

2a) Discussion in the foot-notes of p. 129 of Venkataraman's Manual of Ind. Hist. Pt. I.  
b)  
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dynasty is clear, it may be stated that the period of their reign ranged between the 6th and the later part of the tenth century. The only doubtful aspect of the chronology is the ending of the reign which has been discussed earlier. So also there is a tinge of doubt as to who was the last king. There were twelve kings from Simhavishnu to Aparājita. The achievements of the major kings of this line may be summarised below.

<sup>1</sup>  
Simhavishnu (575 to 600 A.D.)

He was not only the first member of the imperial dynasty but the founder of a new line of the Pallavas called the Pallavas of the Later-Sanskrit/Tamil Charters or, after himself, the Simhavishnu dynasty. He extended his territory upto the Kāverī basin by subduing the Cōlās, the Pāṇdyas and the Kalabhras and laid the foundation of the dynasty on firm grounds. There is no information available about the northern extent of his dominion. He had the title Avānisiṃha. He seems to have been a Vaishṇavite. It was during the period of his reign that the Sanskrit poet Bhāravī paid a visit to Kānchi.

<sup>2</sup>  
Mahendravarman I (600-630 A.D.)

He succeeded Simhavishnu. He stands next only to his

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1 Gopalan, R., op.cit., pp. 83-88.

2 Ibid., pp. 88-96.

successor Narasimhavarman I, the greatest king of the dynasty. Though he lost a part of the dominions to the Cālukyan Pulakesin (Pulikesin) II, he made it up by his southward extension upto Trichinopoly. No doubt, he failed as a general. But the failure in the political sphere was doubly compensated by his extra-ordinary success in the field of patronage to arts. He was a well known poet and dramatist and patronised painting and music. Matta-Vilasa-Prahasana,<sup>1</sup> a work written by himself, his title Chitra-kārappuli,<sup>1</sup> and his musical composition inscribed at Kudimiyāmalai bear testimony to this. To have been the first king to introduce rock-cut architecture in South India was his contribution to sculpture and architecture. The rock-cut temples dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu at Vaḷḷam, Mahēndravāḍi and Daḷavanūr are the witnesses to his love of art and devotion to the Brahmanical trinity for whom he had caused the construction of a temple of Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva.

Narasimhavarman I<sup>2</sup> (630-68 A.D.)

As a worthier successor to his father, Narasimhavarman had regained what was lost by his father by sending Pulakesin

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<sup>1</sup> E.C., 82/1921 - The Conjeeveram Inscription of Mahindravarman.

M.E.R. for 1909 p. 75 - The Pallāvaram Inscription of Mahendravikrama.

<sup>2</sup> GOPALAN R. op. cit pp 97-108

II out of Vātāpi and, therefore was his epithet Vātāpi-koṇḍa. He was the greatest of the Pallavas and a formidable contemporary of the emperors of India of his times having defeated the very person of <sup>at</sup> whose <sup>hands</sup> names was defeated the emperor Harsha. He could influence by his naval expeditions even the Sinhalese king Manavarman by making him dependent on his aid for his installation to the throne. He was the first of the South Indian Kings to have maritime power and in this respect, the Pallavas had preceded the Coḷas. He was the founder of the port city Mahāmallapuram, called so after his title 'Mahāmalla'. <sup>1</sup> It is to his genius that the world-famous Pallava monuments at Mahābalipuram called the Seven Pagodas owe their construction. The noted Chinese traveller <sup>YUAN CHANG</sup> Huien Tsang had called on the king at his court at Kānchi.

Narasimhavarman II<sup>2</sup> (680-720 A.D.)

He was called 'Rājasimha'. He was the promoter of rock-cut temples. The Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchi and the shore temple at Mahābalipuram bear testimony to his love of rock-cut architecture. The traits of character are noticeable in his surnames 'Atyantakāma'<sup>2a</sup> Chitrakārmuka<sup>2b</sup> and Aparājita.<sup>2c</sup> Both the Sanskrit luminaries Daṇḍin<sup>2c</sup> and Bhāsa are said to have adorned the court of Rājasimha.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, J.F., I.A. Vol. IX, p. 99 - The Bādāmi Stone Inscription.

Nandivarman II. Pallavamalla

The Vaikunthaperumāl temple inscriptions<sup>1 a</sup> indicate that he was popularly chosen. He had cemented the possible break in the last of the lines of the Pallavas. He had built the Vaikuntha Perumāl temple and the Mukteśvara temple at Kāñchī. He was a devotee of Vishṇu. The king has been referred to by the eminent Vaishṇavite saint Tirumangai Alvār, a contemporary of his times, in his hymns on the deity of Asṭabhujā at Kāñchī. Politically, he<sup>b</sup> was the least peaceful of the Pallava reign of the Simhavishṇu line. He had to face attacks from many quarters viz., the Chalukya, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the Pāṇḍya and the Western Gaṅga dynasties. He had to yield to the Chalukya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Pāṇḍya inroads towards the occupation of Kāñchī and the area round the capital. He could recover the area gradually especially by means of an alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga by marrying the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Revā.

Nandivarman III (845-866 A.D.)

His epithet 'Tēllārrarinda'<sup>2</sup> shows that it was adopted

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2 Gopalan, R., op.cit., pp. 108-111.

2a Hultzsch E., S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 13.

b " Ibid., p. 24.

c E.C. 566 of 1912 and M.E.R. for 1913, paras 8 and 9.

1a M.E.R. for 1906, Part II, pp. 62-63.

b E.C. 37/1888.

c Aiyar K.V.Subramanya, E.I., XVIII, p. 117.

2 a E.C. 12/1895.

b Venkayya, V., M.C.C.Magazine, Vol. VIII, p. 102.

after his success at 'Tellaru' when he defeated his Pāndyan rival. The Tamil work 'Nandikkalambakam' of his times deals with the notable events of his reign. He was a Śaivite and a promoter of the Tamil Literature. Perundevanār, the author of the Tamil work 'Bhāratavenbā' was his contemporary.

The above sketch of the political careers of the main kings of the three groups of the Pallava dynasty should be sufficient to indicate that they were a power to reckon with so far as the south is concerned. Besides the political influence, several of the kings left their impress in other walks of South Indian culture as well. It would be better, therefore, to evaluate their influence.

#### The Field of influence of the Pallavas

The detailed study of the political history of the Pallavas is expected to throw light on the maximum and minimum field of influence of the Pallavas. Here, we deal with the history of the territorial acquisitions and surrenders with reference to the key battles. From the available sources, it is possible to get an account of the part played by the kings in the building up as well as the downfall of the Pallava empire.

#### The Kings of the Prakrit Charters<sup>1</sup> (3rd Cent. A.D.)

Bappa and Śivaskandavarman are the only members of

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<sup>1</sup> Gopalan, R., op.cit., pp. 32-40.



the Prakrit dynasty whose contributions towards the establishment and extension of the territory are known. The area of Tondaimaṇḍalam or Tundāka-rāṣṭra with Kāñchīpuram <sup>a</sup> is the centre and the Telugu districts on both the sides of the Krishna with Dharanikoṭa or Dhāñakaṭaka as the headquarters formed the dominion of Bappa. In other words, the entire stretch from the Pālār in the south and the <sup>Krishna</sup> (Kṛṣṇā) in the north was under his sway. This view, advocating two dynasties of the Pallavas - The Tamil and the Telugu, independent of each other, with Kāñchī and Amarāvati as their respective capitals during the reign of Bappa, has already been discussed earlier. However, it was under Śivaskandavarman that the Pallavas boasted of the maximum regional influence, for it was under this king that the northern frontier was pushed up to the Godāvarī and the Southern upto the South Pennār. The additional territory comprised roughly the modern Krishna and Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh in the north and the south Arcot district of Madras in the south. Therefore, it may be held that this was the situation of the Pallava empire by about the end of the rule of the kings of the Prakrit charters.

#### The rulers of the Sanskrit Charters

The extent of the Pallava dominion during this period from the fourth to the end of the sixth century cannot be ascertained precisely. There is only a glimpse of an

aspect of the Pallava dominion of the times of Vishnugopa, a member of the Sanskrit dynasty, available in a reference to his capital by Samudragupta in the Allahabad Pillar inscription.<sup>1</sup> On that basis, it can be argued that the region around Kāñchī should have been a part of the Pallava territory though the exact limits of the empire of the kings of the Sanskrit charter are not known.

### The Great Pallavas

It is with the beginning of the rule of the Great Pallavas that a detailed and precise account of the rise and fall of the empire is available. A brief survey of the notable events of a few kings responsible for the changing vicissitudes of the empire is attempted here starting with the founder Sīmhavishnu. Whether positively subdued or not, the Kalabhra, Mālava, Cōla, Pāndya and Sīmhala kings were influenced by the power of the founder. With the reign of Mahendravarman began the Pallava-Chālukya struggle and also the Pallava-Pāndya conflict. It appears that the Pallava-Chālukya conflict started with their claims over Veñgī and finally the Pallavas had to yield and Kāñchī was captured by the Chālukya forces.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Venkayya V., 'Ancient History of the Nellore Dist.', 1908, p. 284.

Fleet, J.F., C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 1-17.

Kielhorn, F., E.I., Vol. VI, p. 4.

The Kaśākkudi plates,<sup>1</sup> however, reveal that Mahendrarvarman could save the capital by defeating the Chālukyas at the battle of Pullalūr.

The invasion of Vātāpī and Ceylon is the highest watermark in the history of the Pallava reign. The Kūram plates<sup>2</sup> give a vivid description of the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala, and Suramāra at which Narasiṃhavarman could inflict a crushing defeat on Pulakeśin II. The capture of Vātāpī is also referred to in the Velūrpālaiyāram plates<sup>3</sup> and the Vātāpī inscription.<sup>4</sup> The Mahāvamsa also provides the evidence for the invasion of Ceylon. The invasion was caused not with a view to annex but to help restore the exile-king Mānavarman to the Ceylonese throne. Of the acts of gratitude shown by the enthroned king to the Pallava king, was his assistance to him in his fight against Vallabha, the Chālukyan king. A great feature of the empire building activities was the construction of the port city Mahābalipuram by Mahāmalla, the glories of which are spoken of by the Vaishnavite saint Tirumangai Ālvār and Hsuein Tsang.<sup>5,6</sup> This is also eulogised by Vogel

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1 Hultzsch, E., S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 346.

2 Ibid., I, pp. 144 ff.

3 Krishna Sastri, H., S.I.I., Vol. II, Pt. V, p. 508.

4 Fleet, J.F., Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 99.

5 Beal, S., Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 228.

6 Vogel, J. Ph., The Yupa inscriptions of the King Mūlavarman, quoted in Gopalan, op.cit., p. 100; and S.K. Aiyangar's 'Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture'; pp. 349-351.

who remarks 'Suppose, the powerful Pallava princes of Kāñchīpura had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Campa and Java, may we not assume that their conquests on the far side of the ocean, would have been extolled in their Prasastis with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chālukyas.'

The Pallava-Chālukyan fight continued. Though the Gadvāl Plates<sup>1</sup> refer to the conquest of Kāñchī of the times of Parameśvaravarman I by the Chālukyan Vikramāditya I, there are also records which make a statement contradictory to that of the Godavāl in that the Chālukyan king had 'to take to flight covered only by rags', and so on. Though the capture of the capital by the Chālukyas has no certainty, it is clear that they had come as far as the Cauvery,<sup>(Kaverī)</sup> and camped at Uragapura on its banks and there was waged a battle at Peruvalanallūr. The reign of Nandivarman II was the least peaceful in the entire regime of the Pallavas. He had to face attacks from all sides. The aggressors included the Pandyas, the Chālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.<sup>2</sup> The Kendūr Plates<sup>2</sup> of Kirtivarman II tell us that the Chālukyan king had defeated Pallavamalla by conquering the Tuṇḍākarāṣṭra.<sup>3</sup> The Velvikkudi<sup>3</sup> and

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1 Hultzsch, E., E.I., Vol. X, No. 22, p. 101.

2 Pathak, K.B., E.I., Vol. IX, p. 200.

3 Krishna sastry, H., E.I., Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

Sinnamannūr plates<sup>1</sup> are the records for the Pāṇḍyan victories over the Pallavas. The Rāṣṭrakūta success in their conflict with the Pallavas is clear from the Kadabā<sup>2</sup> and the Begumra<sup>3</sup> plates. The cause of the Pallava-Ganga war of his reign is just indicated in the Tandantōṭṭam plates,<sup>4</sup> and the end was in favour of the Pallavas. The extent of the Pallava territory during the rule of Dantivarman was from Trichinopoly in the South to Tiruchchānūr in the north i.e. the northern border of the traditional Tamilnad. He could command victory over the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa Mahārāja at the battle of 'Teḷḷāru' by resisting the invading Pāṇḍya army and then advancing as far as the Vaigai to give a crushing blow to the Pāṇḍyas. Under Nṛpatuṅgavarman, the southern frontier was a little further at Pudukkōṭṭāi while Guḍimallam was the northern frontier of the Pallava sway. He is believed to have subdued the Pāṇḍya contemporary on the banks<sup>5</sup> of the Arichit as evidenced by the Bāhūr plates though the Pāṇḍya Sinnamannūr plates state otherwise. His invasion of Ceylon is also probable. With Aparājita, not only the Siṃhavishṇu line but the entire line of the

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1 M.E.R. for 1907, pp. 63 ff.

2 Luders H., E.I. IV, p. 332.

3 Bhandarkar D.R., E.I. IX, p. 24.

4 Krishna Sastry H., S.I.I., Vol. II, Part 5, p.519.

5 Hultzsch, E.I., Vol. IV, pp. 180 ff.

Pallavas emanating from Bappa came to an end. The successors of Aparājita were not doubt there and ruled for about a century more but not as king emperors but as chiefs only. Aparājita fought a battle at Śrīpurāmbiya against the Pāndyañ Varaguna II aided by an alliance with the Gaṅga Pr̥thivīpathi II and gained victory. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates<sup>2</sup><sub>1</sub> speak of his final and decisive defeat at the hands of the Cōla (Śōlar) Ādityā I. With the death of Aparājita the main kingdom was lost to the Cōlas for ever.

Thus it will be apparent from the above survey that the maximum and minimum of the extent of the field of influence of the Pallavas varied from dynasty to dynasty and king to king. It was under the rulers of the P̥ākṛit charters that the field of influence was at the Zenith. The Pallava sway was at the lowest ebb during the period of the kings of the Sanskrit Charters, while, during the times of Śivaskandavarman of the earliest dynasty and Narasiṃhavarman I of the Siṃhavishnu line, the Pallavas were the lords of the south-eastern portions of South India including the lower Deccan.

#### Contemporary dynasties and feudatories

A reference has already been made to the Chālukyas

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1 E. C. 433 | 1915.

the Western Gaṅgās, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pandyas in their struggle for supremacy in the south and the wars waged by them for that purpose. A survey of the contemporary ruling dynasties and the feudatories of the Pallavas may now be undertaken.

Of the contemporary dynasties of the Deccan and South India with whom the Pallavas came into contact, the Chālukyas of Badāmi, the Chālukyas of Veṅgi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Kadaṃbas, the early or the Western Gaṅgās of the Deccan, the Cōlas and the Pandyas of South India were the major powers. Among the minor dynasties the Śālaṅkāyanās the Vishṇukūṇḍins, the Bānas and the Nōlāmbas are noteworthy.

The Pallava relations with the major dynasties may be studied first. Though the Pallavas had their contacts with the bigger contemporaries, the duration of such relations was not the same with every one of them. It varied according to the period of the reign of the various powers. For instance the Pallava-Chālukya relations were not only more prolonged but also prior to many others. The relations with the Badāmi-Chālukyas however dominate the entire scene.

#### The Pallava-Chālukyan relations

The Pallava Chālukya relations had influenced each other both politically and culturally. In the political sphere, there was always a Pallava Chālukyan conflict

④ It is also called Chālukya, in M. Williams. P. Journal of English Literature 1934 vol. 1



but in the field of art, there was only contact and mutual profit. The first of the Pallava-Chalukyan wars was waged between the Western-Chalukyan king Pulakesin II and the Pallava King Mahendravarman I. Though there is a contradictory statement both in the Chalukyan Aihole<sup>1</sup> inscription and the Pallava Kasakkudi<sup>2</sup> plates as to who gained the victory, it is generally believed that fortune favoured the Chalukyas. The second phase of the struggle was during the period when both Pulakesin II and Narasimhavarman I fought a battle. This time there was a reverse and the success sided with the Pallavas. About the victory of the Mahamalla and his capture of Vatapi, there are no contradictory versions and the Pallava inscriptions at Kūram,<sup>3</sup> Kasakkudi Udayendiram<sup>4</sup> and at Bādāmi<sup>5</sup> itself, bear testimony. The third and the last of the struggles was between Vikramaditya I and the Pallava Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla. About the outcome of the conflict, there is a contradictory evidence as to who was the victor. While the Gadwāl,<sup>6</sup> and the Vakkaleki<sup>R 7</sup> plates of the Chalukyan king speak in his favour to the

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1 Kielhorn, F., E.I., Vol. VI, p. 4.

2 Hultzsch, E., S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 346.

3 Ibid., I, pp. 144 ff.

4 Ibid., II, p. 365.

5 Fleet, J.F., I.A., Vol. IX, p. 99.

6 Hultzsch, E., E.I., Vol. X, p. 101.

7 a. Rice L., I.A., Vol. VIII, p. 23.

b. Kielhorn, F., E.I., Vol. V, p. 200.

tone of the Kūram and the Vēlū<sup>R</sup>kpālaiyam<sup>1</sup> records of the Pallavas is such as indicates the defeat of the Chālukyas. It is however, argued that it is not ruled out that the successful would have been the Chālukyan king since his territory was not less than that of the greatest of the Chālukyas, Pulakeśin II, his father.

Against this background of the political animosity,<sup>2</sup> the give and take in the field of art and architecture is remarkable. The Pallava art tradition seems to have influenced the Chālukyan Virupāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal. It closely follows the model of Kailasanātha at Kañchīpuram, according to scholars.

#### The Pallava Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations

It is in the Kadaba grant<sup>3</sup> that, perhaps, the earliest reference to the Pallava-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relation is to be found. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda II (773-78) sought the aid of the ruler of Kāñchī for establishing himself at the throne. The Bagumra<sup>4</sup> plates of Govinda III (792-814) allude to the conquest of Kāñchī. However, this bitterness seemed to have lessened in due course ending in the matrimonial alliance, as is known from the Velūrpālaiyam

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1 Krishna Sastry, H., S.I.I., Vol. II, p6. V, pp.500 ff.

2 Luders,<sup>H</sup> loc. cit.

3 Bhandarkar, D.R., E.I., Vol. IX, p. 24.

4 Bhagwanlal Indraji, Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 125.

plates which state that Revā, the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, was given in marriage to the Pallava king. The above pact, however, was violated since Kāñchī was not free from the second attack by Govinda III. In spite of the family relation, Pallavamalla's successor Dantivarman could not escape from paying tribute to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa suzerainty.

No details regarding the relations between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pallavas can be had so far as other fields are concerned.

#### Pallava-Gaṅgā relations

Though, from the point of view of the struggle for the South Indian empire, the Pallava-Chālukya relations were the most significant, from the point of general amity and understanding, the Pallava-Gaṅgā ties were the strongest. The Gaṅgās were the Pallava feudatories and their relations with the Pallavas were so strong, especially in the later period, that it had given scope for the Ganga-Pallava theory of there being a new line of the South Indian rulers called the 'Gaṅga-Pallavas'. It was Hultzsch who developed the Gaṅga-Pallava theory. The basis for such a theory, according to him was that, in the Bahūr<sup>1</sup> inscription the Pallava descent was claimed from Koṅkanika,

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<sup>1</sup> Hultzsch, E., E.I., XVIII, pp. 5 ff.

taken to be a Gaṅgā name. The other factor was that the Gaṅgā seal of the elephant and the swan is found in the Kilmuttugūr<sup>1</sup> inscription of Nṛpatuṅgavarman. Hultzsch finally holds that the Pallava dynasty came to an end with Pallavamalla-Nandivarman II (733-796) and that his successors were the Gaṅgā descendants. Though Venkayya supported the stand of Hultzsch, Gopinatha Rao differed correctly stating that Dantivarman the successor of Nandivarman II was only his son. He was not supplanted, as Dubreuil rightly pointed out, by the Gaṅgās. Though the Vayalūr pillar inscription contains names like Āryavarman and Koṅkaṇika of the Gaṅgā origin which only bear clear witness to the close affinities between the two dynasties, there is no proof that there was an independent dynasty called the Gaṅga-Pallava dynasty. It may be pointed out that the reference to the Gaṅgā royal names was made in the Pallava charters even by the middle of the seventh century whereas the supposed Gaṅga-Pallava dynasty was to have come into being with Dantivarman i.e. by about the beginning of the ninth century. To suppose, from the above, that the new dynasty was possibly established even by Circa 650 A.D. is incorrect as it would mean the very absorption of the Pallavas by the Gaṅgās or vice versa.

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1 Ibid., IV, pp. 182/183.

2 Rice, L., E.I., XIV, 331; also M.E.R. for 1914, p. 83, para 3.

The fact that Nandivarman II had to lead an expedition against the Gaṅgās shows that it was an independent dynasty.

The establishment of the Gaṅgā throne for Āryavarman by the Pallava Siṃhavarman as referred to in the Penukonda plates<sup>1</sup> and the patronage to the Jaina temple built by the mother of Pallava Siṃhaviṣṇu by the Western Gaṅgā king Avinīta are a few instances that stand as evidence for the informal relations between the Pallavas and the Gaṅgās.

#### Pallava-Pāṇḍya relations

The Velvikkudi plates<sup>1a</sup> of Nedunjadaiyan, the bigger Śinnamannūr<sup>3</sup> plates of Rājasimha and the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman<sup>4</sup> are the records that throw much light on the Pallava Pāṇḍya relations. The Pallava-Pāṇḍya relation was always one of conflict. The origin of the conflict may perhaps be found in the disputed accession of Nandivarman II the Pallavamalla to the Pallava throne as against the rival Chitramāya whose cause the southernmost Tamil powers took up. The outcome of the conflict was that many battles were fought some of which are referred to in the Parameśvara vinnagaram hymns of

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1 Rice, L., E.I., XIV, 331; also M.E.R. for 1914, p. 83, para 3.

Tirumangai Ālvār and also in the commentary on the Tamil work Iraiyanār Ahapporul. The reference to the conflict establishes that the theory ascribing a non-Tamilian origin for the Pallavas is sound and that the Pallavas were not one of the traditional states of Tamilnad.

#### Pallava Cōla (Śōlar) relations

As the Vijayalaya or the Later or the Historical Cōlas came to power almost by the end of the Pallava reign, except for the presumed Cōla interregnum<sup>1</sup> there is only one event which had brought both the Pallavas and the Cōlas into a face to face conflict which necessitated a war between them and which finally resulted in the passing away of the Pallava Kingdom into the hands of the Cōla king Āditya I.

In the field of art, there was an impact by the Pallavas on the Cōla art. It is the Pallava Aparājita style of architecture influencing the great temple at Tanjore.

The other aspects of the Pallava influence on the Cōlas were administrative, as will be seen later.

#### The Pallava Kadamba relation

According to the Tālagunda<sup>2</sup> record, the founder of

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1 a. Aiyangar, S.K., 'Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture', pp. 191-192.

b. Mahalingam T.V., A paper on the Cōla interregnum read at the Srinagar session of the All India Oriental Conference, 1961.

Continued on next page.

the Kadamba dynasty, Mayūrasarman, having been insulted by a Pallava horseman at Kāñchī, where he was a student of the Ghaṭikā, out of vengence, overthrew the Pallava officials of the northern division of the Pallava empire and got the Pallava recognition for his sovereignty over the Vaijayanthī region. However, the political animosity seems to have lessened with the passage of time and did not stand in the way of the marriage of the Pallava king Dantivarman to the Kadamba princess Aggalanimmati.

#### The Pallava Nōlamba relations

The Nolambas, at first the feudatories of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakad and, then, of the Later Chalukyas of Kalyāñī, are supposed to be the descendents of a member of the main Pallava line by name Trilochana Pallava with their capital at Hemavati. They claim the Pallava blood as the Kādavarāyas did.

#### Pallava Sālañkāyana/Vishṇukunḍin relations

The relation of the Pallavas, if at all it may be called so, with the Sālañkāyaṇās and the Vishṇukunḍins,

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Foot-note continued from previous page.

Dr. Mahalingam holds that it was not a presumption but a fact which, though it adds to the literature on the problem does not go very far in disproving the presumption.

- <sup>2</sup>a. Buhler, G., Ind. Ant., XXV, p. 27.
- b. Fleet, J.F., 'Dynasties', pp. 286 ff.
- c. Rice, L., VII, p. 200.
- d. Kielhorn, F., E.I., VII, pp. 24 ff.

- <sup>3</sup>Krishna Sastry, H., S.I.I., Vol. II, Pt. V, p. 511.



is genealogical in the sense that there is a resemblance of royal names among themselves as it was the case between the Western Gaṅgas and the Pallavas.

In the present discussion, only the political aspect of the relations which the Pallavas had with their contemporaries is emphasised. It is so because there was not much of cultural contact between the Pallavas and the contemporaries except in stray cases to which reference has been made. The relations were more of conflicting nature than otherwise except in the case of the Pallava Gaṅga relations. The Pallava Gaṅga relations, which were never strained could not result in any cultural influence except that the family ties were strengthened. Thus, apart from a few powers like the Gaṅgas, the Pallavas were always at conflict almost with the other contemporary powers.

#### CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS

A study of the Pallavas is incomplete without a reference to their cultural contribution. The cultural contributions of the Pallavas to the South Indian life are far greater than the contributions of any other power. During the Pallava times, there is a renaissance not only in the field of the Brahmanical religion but also in the South Indian Art. An attempt is made, here, to give a brief survey of the many-sided development of the Pallava contri-

butions pertaining to religion, education, literature and art, so as to emphasise the magnitude of Pallava influence.

<sup>1</sup>  
Religion

The religious renaissance of the Pallava times forms the major phase of its extension to the Cōla period. Barring a few like Rāmānuja, the greatest of the Vaishnavite āchāryas of the South, and Mādhva, the exponent of the Dvaita philosophy, who were the contemporaries of the Cōlas, most of the leaders of the renaissance were Pallava contemporaries of the Pallavas. Śaṅkara, the originator of the Advaita school of the Vedānta philosophy was the foremost and his counterparts were the Vaishnavite Ālvārs and the Śaivite Nāyanmārs, the greatest of the South Indian Saints. It is not that all the religious teachers who were contemporaneous to the Pallava times had contacts with the Pallava royalty. In fact, many were away though a few did come into contact with the monarchy like Tirumangai Ālvār and Appar Adiyār. But, the atmosphere was encouraging to the farther most teachers like Nammālvār, *huv.*

The approach of the renaissance was mainly emotional,

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<sup>1</sup> (revised text)  
See Śāstri K.N., op.cit., pp. 266-272, for a detailed treatment.

but that of Śaṅkara and others of the Mimāṃsā school like Kumārila and Prabhākara was intellectual and ritualistic respectively. Therefore, 'Bhakti' dominates all the other schools of the Brahmanical faith. Complete surrender to personal god on the basis of the absolute faith and devotion was the guiding spirit of the renaissance. Here, the South Indian Bhakti, emotional in character, differs from the dignified one of the Bhāgavatas of the North.<sup>1</sup>

Bhakti since then has always been at the lead as it has its appeal to the common-man for whom it is easy to practise. Further the literature of the Bhakti school has always been in the Dravidian language of the masses, whose movement it is essentially and as is the case even elsewhere. Further, under some kings the school enjoyed royal patronage. But, unfortunately, the Pallava records, as they are fundamentally Indo-Aryan in all their facets, do not reveal anything of this emotional Bhakti school but the Vedic Brahmanism discussed in later chapters.

Apart from the Bhakti and Vedic schools of the Brahmanical religion, there were also the Buddhist and Jaina faiths though decaying and unable to rival the Hindu consciousness.

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<sup>1</sup> Aiyangar, S.K., 'Contributions of South India to Indian Culture,' pp. 116-119.

### The Bhakti movement

The appeal of the cult of Bhakti at the hands of the apostles who wandered in the country and mixed with the masses led to the upsurge of a religious revolution.

It was the Ālvārs and the Nāyanmars who established the Brahmanical religion, though in the form of Bhakti, in South India on firm grounds. Their role becomes significant against the background of the evidence of the existence of <sup>elements</sup> Brahmanism as well as Paganism in the Sangam Classics. But for them, "who traversed the country many times ever moving from shrine to shrine, composing hymns in Tamil, singing, dancing and debating with their opponents all their way,"<sup>1</sup> there would have been no South Indian Vaishnavism or Śaivism. It is better to have a short account of their contributions with reference to their key works as that is essential to understand the role of the Pallavas in the set up of the South Indian Culture.

### The Ālvārs

The earliest group of the Ālvārs is the 'trio' viz., Poygai, Būdam and the Pey ālvārs of the period c. 550 A.D. The later Ālvārs, nine in number, are Tirumaliśai, Tirumangai, Periyālvār, Āṇḍāl, Tiruppān, Vipranārāyaṇa, Kulaśekhara, Madhurakavī and his guru Nammālvār, the greatest of the

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<sup>1</sup> Sastri K.A.N., op.cit., p. 267.

Vaishṇavite teachers of the South. Their composite work 'Nalāyira Divya Prabandham' popularly known as the 'Drāviḍa Veda Sāgaram' is perhaps the most sacred of the Tamil Vaishṇavite literature. The 'Tiruvāymoli', the Drāviḍa Upanishad, the work of Nammālvār "embodies the deepest religious experience and philosophic thought of one of the greatest mystics of the world has known."<sup>1</sup>

#### The Nāyanmārs

The most important of the Nāyanmārs also called the 'Adiyārs' numbering sixtythree, are the 'four' viz. Appar, Jñanasambandar, Sundaramūrti and Mānikkavāśagar. The first three are the contributors of Tevāram, the most valued treasure of Tamil Saivism.

#### The Ālvār-Nāyanmār relation with the Pallavas

Though it is generally stated that the age of the Ālvārs and the Nāyanmārs is contemporaneous with the age of the Pallavas, it is not without limitation. For instance, among Ālvārs, some of whom were contemporary to the Pallava kings, the Mudal Ālvārs and Tirumaliśai might have lived in the Pre-Pallava period. The contemporaneity of Tirumaliśai was, perhaps, with the Tamil-traditional founder of the Pallava dynasty Tonḍaimān - llam-Tiraiyan. Of the Ālvār contemporaries no one came into contact with the Pallava kings except Tirumangai. The others flourished in the far South and not in the Tondaimaṇḍala area.

Tirumangai was the contemporary of Nandivarman II of 733-796 A.D. The Pallava war implements and their other insignia, the Pallava Chalukyan conflict, the royal martial exploits are referred to in his hymns. Thus their literature is of immense help in knowing the culture of the Pallava period.

Among the Nāyanmārs, Appar and Parañjōti had come into direct contact with the Pallavas. While Appar, the contemporary of Mahendravarman I, had influenced the king by converting him to Śaivism from Jainism, the latter i.e. Parañjōti was the general of Parameśvaravarman I of 670-680 A.D.

#### The Vedic Movement and Centres of Learning<sup>1</sup>

It is the Vedic movement of the Pallavas that is reflected in their records as against the Bhakti movement that is found in the Pallava-Dravidian literature. This aspect is discussed in the last chapter with a beginning in the fourth on the Pallava Ethnography where is revealed the Vedic Brahmanism.

The Ghaṭikā at Kāñchī was the most important centre of Vedic Brahmanism. There were other centres at Ghaṭikā-calam in the North Arcot district and Bahur<sup>2</sup> where was run

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<sup>1</sup>For details see, Minākshi C., Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas, pp. 186-212.

<sup>2</sup>Hultzsch, E., E.I., XVIII, p. 5.

a college of Vedic studies. The temple Bhattavṛthi<sup>1</sup>s and the Agrahāras were the centres of the Brahmanical learning. The Dayāmukhamaṅgalam and the Paṭṭattālamāṅgalam were the notable agrahāras. Even the Maṭhās were the educational centres. There was also a Hindu University at Kāñchī.<sup>1</sup>

The Pallava epigraphs provide sufficient testimony for the prevalence of Vedic Brahmanism.

It may not be out of context if a reference is made to the fact that the establishment of the Brahmanical centres at Śringerī, Dvārakā, Badrināth, Pūri and Kāñchī by Ādi Śaṅkara took place during the Pallava age.

The Pallava tolerance, though not the acceptance of the rival faiths encouraged the co-existence of Buddhism and Jainism with the Brahmanical and Bhakti cult of the Neo-Aryan Pantheon. But the place, which the rival faiths could command in the society, was limited in that they were not free from persecution at the hands of a few members of the society, both monarchical and popular, as the Vaishnavite and the Śaivite sects of the Brahmanical faith themselves were the victims at the hands of their own members of the faith upholding the superiority of one sect over the other.

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<sup>1</sup>  
Dikshitar, V.R.R., 'A Hindu University at Kāñchī'  
in Dr. S.K.Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, 1936, pp. 304-307.



The -Buddhist Centres of Learning<sup>1</sup>

The Buddhist Centres were not only in the Pallava capital area but in the far flung corners of the empire, viz. the Andhra and Cōla regions. The centre at Dharanīkōṭa in the Andhra area was noteworthy. The Maṇimekalai, the classical work of the Saṅgam records Kāñchī as a great Buddhist centre.<sup>2</sup> At Kāñchī, the Yōga, Sthāvira, and the Dhyāna schools of the Buddhist thought were patronised. It was from Kāñchī, that Dharmapāla the Vice Chancellor of the Nālandā university hailed. The Buddhist logician Dignāga was also a native of Kāñchī. What was Nalandā to the North Indian Buddhism, Kāñchī was to the South Indian Buddhism. Buddhism had its following till the seventh century A.D. when its decadence started. But, Yuwan Chwang, when he had made the statement that Buddhism was on the decline in the South during the period of his visit i.e. the seventh century A.D., excluded Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam <sup>the</sup> <sup>empire, which</sup> <sup>did not seem to be an exception and the decay might have</sup> <sup>started at Kāñchī too. Though there was following to</sup> <sup>Buddhism during the major period of the reign of the</sup> <sup>Pallavas, it was not dominant.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars see Minākshi, C., op.cit., pp. 213-226.

<sup>2</sup> Sathianathier, R., op.cit., p. 23.

### The Jaina Centres of Learning<sup>1</sup>

Even the Jaina Centres of learning were scattered throughout the Pallava empire. Here again, Kāñchī was the foremost and the fact that there is, to-day, a Jaina Kāñchī testifies to the Pallavā capital, once being a great Jaina centre. The other places of the Jaina learning were Vedai in the North Arcot district and Pudukkoṭṭah (Pudukkoṭṭai), Sittaṇṇavāsai, Teṇimalai and Nārttāmalai in the Pudukkoṭṭah unit of the Trichinopoly district of Madras.

### LITERATURE<sup>2</sup>

The overall picture of toleration and prosperity led to the development and patronisation of the literary field as well.

The Pallava kings were, essentially, the patrons of Sanskrit literature which commanded their patronage to the utmost. The indigenous and popular Dravidian literature<sup>3</sup> was afforded less profuse patronage. Still, some of the works of the Tamil literature, in which was reflected the genius of the Ālvārs and the Nāyanmārs, were the products of the Pallava age. It indicates that the Pallavas

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<sup>1</sup> Minakshi, C., op.cit., pp. 227-238.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see, Gopalan, op.cit., pp. 157-161.

<sup>3</sup> Aiyangar, S.K., Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, p. 144-145.

had a general sympathy for the vernacular literature though not that force of inducement which they had exhibited for the court literature.

### The Sanskrit Literature

Some of the Sanskrit Praśastis could be compared with the classical kāvyas. Kāñchī was a great centre of the Sanskrit learning and it was, perhaps, on this score that the leading Sanskrit grammarian Patanjali dealt with the derivation of the term 'Kāñchīpuraka'. Kāñchī was so great a centre of Sanskrit studies that Mayūrasarman, the founder of the Brahmin dynasty of the Kadambas, had come to Kāñchī for Vedic learning. It is possible that the Sanskrit poet Bhāravi was patronised by the Pallava king Siṅhaviṣṇu and that he composed his 'Kirātārjunīya' during that time. The Sanskrit farce 'Mattavillāsa Prahasana' was the work of the Pallava King Mahendravarman. Daṇḍin, famous for his work 'Avantisundarikathāsāra', flourished at the Pallava court. Perhaps, Daṇḍin's associates Mātrdatta and Rāmasarman were encouraged by the Pallava royalty. It also appears that some of the works of Bhāsa and Śūdraka were stage <sup>the</sup> adapted <sup>plays</sup> at the Court.

### The Dravidian Literature

We do not find any Non-Tamilian Literature of the Dravidian family except a few Telugu and Kannada pieces of inscriptional literature. Tamil was the only estab-

-lished Dravidian literature.

The Dravidian-Tamil works

The Tiruvāsagam and the Tirukkōvai of Māṅikkavā Sagar, the Tiruttondatogai of Sundarar, the Tevāram, already referred to of, Appar Sundarar and Jnāpasambandar and the Nālāyira Divyaprabandham, also referred to earlier, of the Ālvārs were the products of the Pallava times which was congenial to literary activity.

A R T

The contributions of the Pallavas towards the enrichment of the South Indian Culture covered not only religion and literature but the field of art too. The Pallava art is comprehensive. Music, painting, dancing, sculpture and architecture find their due development. It is the Pallava art that has given the Pallavas a foremost place among the major powers of ancient India as the following account will show.

M u s i c<sup>1</sup>

The temple was a centre of music also where the Tevāram and the Nālāyiradivyaḥprabandham were sung in the

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<sup>1</sup> For more details see Minakshi C., op.cit., pp.239-275.

traditional style. The Kudimiyāmalai inscription<sup>1</sup> speaks of the mode of music as expounded by Rudrāchārya mentioned by Mātaṅga the author of Bṛhadēsi an authoritative treatise on music and refers to the instrument called 'Parivādinī'. 'Gāndharvavidyā' in all its aspects of Gītam, Vādyam and nṛtyam is well explained in the Tirumayyam inscription.<sup>1a</sup> Mahendravarman had the title 'Saṅkīraṇajātī' as the creation of a new jātī is ascribed to him.

### Painting.<sup>2</sup>

Painting also flourished, especially, under Mahendravarman who was himself a great painter as indicated by his epithet 'Chitrakārappuli'. Māmallapuram, Māmandūr, Arumamalai, Sittannavasal, the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāññī, Malayāḍipatti were the centre of the Pallava painting.<sup>2a</sup>

### Dancing

In line with Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra the Tāḷasaṃphōṭita, Lalāṭa Tilaka, Lalita and Kuñchita modes of dancing were promoted.<sup>2aa</sup>

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1 Bhandarkar, D.R., E.I., XII, p. 226.

1a Rao Gopinatha T.A., I.A., Vol. LII, p. 47.

2 Minakshi C., op.cit., p. 242.

A reference may also be made to the Pallava Painting  
2a (by Dubreuil for details.

Minakshi, C., op.cit., pp. 288-297.

2aa Ibid., pp. 276-287.

Sculpture - Architecture

The four distinct styles of the Pallava architecture<sup>1</sup> namely the Mahendra, the Māmalla, The Rājasimha and the Aparājita flourished under the personal patronage of the Pallava royalty. Under the Mahendra style come the Pallāvaram, Trichinopoly and Māmandūr caves. The Mahā-balipuram 'rathas', also called the 'pagodas', belong to the Māmalla style. The Kailāsnātha temple at Kāñchī is of Rājasimha style. The Aparājita style was the transitory one between the preceding i.e. the Pallava and the Vijaya-laya(śīla) Cōḷa styles and in it was to be found the origin of the architecture of the Great temple at Tanjore.

The Pallavas, the patrons of South Indian Art

The Pallavas are the architects of the South Indian art, and the early history of the South Indian art has been the history of the Pallava art. The greatest contribution of the Pallavas to the South Indian art and perhaps to the Indian art itself is the Rock cut architecture.

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a. Branfill R.B., Descriptive remarks on the Seven Pagodas (a treatise).

b. Carr, M.W., Descriptive and Historical Papers relating to the Seven Pagodas on the Coromandal Coast (a treatise).

c. Ferggsson, J., History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, pp. 302-410.

d. Longhurst A.H., 'Pallava architecture' Parts I and II Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 17 part I, pp. 1 to 37.

e. Minakshi, C., The Pallava Art (a treatise).

f. Starobinski I. The influences of Indian art

E p i l o g u e

A survey of the achievements of the Pallavas in various fields brings out their dominance in several facets of South Indian cultural development, and justifies a detailed study of their records from the historical and cultural aspects. It is hoped that such a study will further supplement the evaluation of their role.

