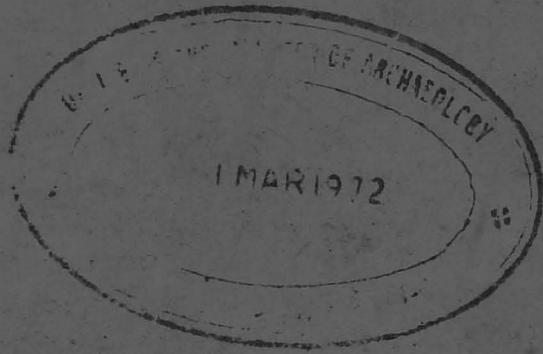


THE ORIGIN & EARLY
THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI

T.N.S.D.A.



The Origin and Early History of the Pallavas of Kanchi.

BY

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Hon. Ph.D.

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THE question of who the Pallavas were is one which can hardly be described as being out of the stage of discussion yet. The theory that held the field till recently almost unchallenged, was that they were a tribe of foreigners supposed to be of Parthian origin, who, having effected a lodgment in the part of the country near the mouth of the Indus, moved south-eastwards gradually till they came to be found in possession of the region dominated by Kānchī. The main reason for this contention is that a class of people called Pahlavas figure in the lists of tribes on that frontier in the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*¹ and other such sources of information. They are also found to figure among the enemies overthrown by the Sātavāhanas, namely Gautamiputra Satakarni and his son. The Ceylon chronicle also mentions a tract of country which seems to be located in that region which is named in the *Mahavamsa*, Pallavabhogga. This collocation of references to the Pallavas is held to justify the conclusion that they were a body of foreigners who entered India by way of Baluchistan, and moved on till they hinduised themselves so far as to forget their foreign origin and raise no suspicions among the peoples over whom they imposed their authority. There are, however, grave difficulties in the way of accepting this apparently satisfactory account as we have some information in Tamil literature, which militates strongly against this view of their origin. We have elsewhere pointed out that in the days of the early Cholas, Kānchī was a Chola viceroyalty, Palatine viceroyalty though it was. We have a number of references to show that the Tamils regarded Pulikat as their northern boundary, and the people or the tribes that inhabited the region immediately north of it have invariably been referred to as speaking a language different from that of the Tamils.² Those people are invariably referred to as *Vadukar*

¹ Tatah sāgara kuksisthān mlechhān parama dārunān
Pallavām Barbarāmschaiva kirātān yavanān Sakān
Tatoratnānyupādāya vase kritvā cha pārthivān
Nyavartata Kurusresto Nakulaschitramārgavit
Mah. II. 36 sl. 16 & 17.

Barbarā Yavanāschaiva Gargar Abhirakāstathā
Pallavāh Saka Kārusyas Tumbakāh Kāsikāstathā.

Ibid., sl. 92.

² See Appendix, n. 1.

which is the name by which the Telugus are ordinarily known in the Tamil country to-day. But in that early age the term *Vadukar* seems to have been invariably applied both to the Telugus and the Kannada people across the Tamil frontier. Even the *Periyapurānam*, a work of the early twelfth century, observes this classification as it speaks of the Karnātakas as *Vadukar*.³ That designation is still preserved in the name of the Badagas of the Nilgiris. The region on the eastern side of this portion of the peninsula occupied by this people is the region where we find the earliest memorials of Pallava rule. When the Pallavas emerge into the full light of history we find them in possession of Kānchī. Whether they were Tamils or Telugus they were people we find located along the region between the lower course of the Krishna and the river Palar. To begin with, this region, at least the major part of it, was designated Tondamandalam in those days. In regard to their origin and their previous habitat we have elsewhere exhibited a certain number of references from the old classical collection *Ahananuru* referring to what actually constituted Tondanādu; both Kānchī and Vengadam (Tirupati) were alike included in this territorial division Tondamandalam. We have also an old passage, in Nachchinārkinīar's commentary, of an author whose name is not quoted, giving the important equation that the people called Tondaiyar (people of Tondamandalam) were treated the same as the Pallavas. During the period to which this reference must be held to relate, the words Tondaiyar and Pallavas were considered to be synonymous.⁴ On this basis alone there is good reason for regarding the Tondaiyar as the name of the people living in the country who were subsequently called by a Sanskrit translation of the name. This inconvenient position is sought to be got round, by votaries of the foreign origin of the Pallavas, by bringing the Chola occupation of Kānchī and of the literature bearing on the period to a comparatively short period of interregnum that is supposed to have existed between one of the early dynasties of the Pallavas and the later great dynasty; in other words, by bringing the Sangam age itself to the fifth century A.D. We have already demonstrated clearly that it would be impossible, for a variety of reasons, to move the period down by about four centuries in that arbitrary fashion. The question rests still upon the specific Gajabāhu synchronism supported by so much of valuable historical evidence that it would require a very strong case to turn it upside down, not to speak of the insuperable difficulty in

³ See Appendix, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* n. 3.

detail that would have to be confronted in any attempt at constructive criticism. Kānchī figures in this body of early literature as a viceroyalty of the Cholas, and the Tondamān that figures in the whole body of this literature as the ruler of this part of the country is the Tondamān Ilam-Tirayan of Kānchī who ruled over Conjeevaram not so much in his own right but by right of his Chola ancestry. We shall come to this point a little later.

The Pallavas : Native to South India.

Among the large number of places in which the Pallavas get mentioned in Sanskrit literature they are found mentioned with the well-known tribes of the North-Western Frontier, such as the Sakas and the Yavanas. It would be difficult to find any clear reference to these anywhere in South India. There are a certain number of places in which the South Indian kingdoms are mentioned. We do not find anything corresponding to the Pallava, or Pallava State or tribe in the south. The Asoka edicts do not mention any. Even where the reference comes in in classical Sanskrit literature the Cholas, the Pāndyas, the Keralas are referred to, and where we should, from geographical position, expect the Pallavas a class of people by name Drāvida is mentioned. Drāvida or Dramida is generally taken to be the equivalent of Tamil, and Tamilakam (Sans. Dramidaka), the whole of the Tamil country. It is also used in a somewhat narrower sense as indicating one of the four kingdoms, a kingdom that would correspond to, and that gets to be known to later history as, the Pallava Kingdom with Kānchī for its centre. It would be rational, therefore, to regard the Pallavas native to South India, and as the people who were before then known by the name Tondaiyar more generally. There are some objections that we have to meet before taking this particular position definitely. By a careful study of the available Pallava records that epigraphy has unearthed we are able to throw the early Pallavas into three groups. They are found first of all as tribal chieftains ruling their various little states—three or four of them could be specifically mentioned—in the region which extended from the lower course of the Krishna to almost the Palar, Dasanapura, Palakkada, Menmattūra and Kānchī. The records of some of these rulers happen to be in Prakrit and the others in Sanskrit and they are found scattered across from the West Coast to the frontiers of the Godaveri District in the east, the actual belt of country constituting the Vaduka frontier of the Tamils of the age of classical literature. Their association with Amaravati, the discovery of certain statues of the Buddha which are believed to be of Roman workmanship, and a statement that one of these early rulers attained to his royal dignity by a marriage are all

brought into requisition to give them a marriage alliance with the Andhras, to give their art a Roman origin and to make these a foreign people who imposed themselves as rulers over the vast region extending almost from the Godaveri to at least the Palar in the south. The matter requires, therefore, careful consideration.

In the region which these later inscriptions indicate as peculiarly the Pallava province we find, in the days of the Sātavāhanas, certain records which describe the territory peculiarly the district of the Sātavāhanas. The Myakadoni inscription⁵ refers to the region round Adoni as Sātahani Ahāra, and the person responsible for the government of it is named Khanda Nāga (Skanda-Nāga) the Mahāsenāpati (great general). If the Ahāra or district of the Sātavāhanas in this record meant anything it must refer to the district which was the fief of the Sātavāhanas peculiarly, the Sātavāhanas being a clan or powerful family of the Andhra people as a whole.⁶ This interpretation of the term Sātavāhana is quite in keeping with what we find in Tamil literature. The Hirahadagalli copper-plates found in the Bellary District would confirm the same position, but being on copper-plates, it is likely that the record had travelled before it reached its final resting place at the village named above. This spread of the Sātavāhanas from east to west among the regions which the Tamils call Vaduka region would make the Sātavāhanas Andhra, and give the region the character of an Andhra frontier province. The name Khanda Nāga itself shows a family likeness to the early Pallava names that we know of from other records. Along with these must be considered the records of another class of Sātavāhana officers who gave themselves Nāga names and symbols in their records, and are associated with the district which went by the name of Nāgara Khanda afterwards. That is the region along the Western Ghats with Banavase for its capital. The expanded cobra-hood at the beginning of the inscription and the very name Cūtukulānanda as the title of one of the chiefs, the name Cūtu being Tamil or old Kanarese for crest, in this case the crest of the cobra. This interpretation can be supported by a familiar use in classical literature of Sūdu, Sūdu being frequently associated with cobra hoods; and Cūtukula can, without violence, be taken to stand for Nāgakula, a family of Nāgas. We find this chieftain and his records associated with the western part of the belt of the country extending from the East Coast to the west which the Tamils of the classical age invariably called the country of the Vaduka.

There is, besides, the mention of *Sadakana kalalaya-maharathi*,

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153.

⁶ *Vatsyayana's Kama Sutra*, II, vii.

Angiyakulavadhana maharathi Tanakayiro, father of the Queen Nāganika of the sacrificial inscription at Nānaghat, on coins found in Chitaldrug. These are Andhra coins and the legends as interpreted by Prof. Rapson and others, make them Sātakarnis, and Andhra officers of rank. The reference to Agnikula brings them into relationship with the Tamil Irungo-Vel chiefs of Arayam who are said to have been Agnikulas. The particular chief addressed by the poet Kapilar belonged to this family which came forty-nine generations after the founder, who sprang out of a sacrificial fire-pit, and ruled in Dvaraka, in all probability after the destruction of the Vrishnis following the death of Krishna. There is also the feature that Andhra coins bearing on the obverse the effigy of the two-masted ship are found all over the Tondamandala country proper. This would imply the possession of this tract by the Sātavāhanas at least for a time. The representation of a ship on the Sātavāhana lead coins found in this region is very appropriate as the more important section of the people who inhabited this tract of country is known to Tamil literature as the Tirayar (*lit.* sea-people). It is one of their chieftains, the son of a Chola king by a Nāga princess, that figures in classical Tamil literature as the first viceroy, other than a royal prince, of Kānchī. He is invariably given the name Tondamān (great one among the Tondar or Tondaiyar), and a classical passage quoted by Nachchinārkiniyar⁷ equates the Tondaiyar with the Pallavas. Naturally, therefore, if the region occupied by the Tondaiyar or the Pallavas passed under the authority of the Sātavāhanas, and if they appointed governors for this particular region from among them, these governors would be governors of the Tondamandalam or the Pallava country and would get to be known popularly as Pallava governors. The name of the great general in authority round Bellary having a family likeness to the names of the early Pallavas would warrant the assumption that it is these Mahāsenāpatis of the south-eastern territory of the Sātavāhanas that were the division of the family which came to be known to history as the Pallavas. They extended their territory from Amaravati in Guntur southwards to Kānchī itself and the territory dependent thereon extended to the banks of the South Pennar. The Nāga or snake as one of the ensigns on the banners of the Pallavas would argue some intimate connection with the family of the Nāgas, and that is what we find on an examination of such records of theirs as are so far accessible to us. There might have been foreigners in the region of the Guntur District. That is something different from calling the dynasty a dynasty of foreigners. So far as the available evidence goes, they were a dynasty of the

⁷ See Appendix, n. 3.

Andhras, probably related or even springing out of the clan of the Sātavāhanas. When the power of the latter extended southwards as the result of constant struggle on this frontier, the Governors of the Guntur District extended their sphere of authority so as to take in the newly acquired territory. When the Sātavāhana dynasty broke up in the middle of the third century these apparently set up independently and founded the new dynasty of the Pallavas as distinct from the older chieftains, the Tondamāns of the region. As the Tamils did not note any distinction between these Vadukas and those that lived to the westward of these along their own northern frontier, they must have been near of kin to each other in many respects. Belonging to the same clan as the ruling dynasty of the Dakhan, it is nothing strange that they should have entered into marriage alliance, even of an important character. All these circumstances would only be natural in their particular position. Hence the conclusion seems warranted by the known facts in relation to these people that they were natives of South India and are not a dynasty of foreigners. The conquest of the Tondamandalam by the Sātavāhanas would amply account for the eclipse of the Chola power in that particular region which had hitherto remained unaccounted for. When the Pallavas emerged into importance we find them engaged in a two-faced struggle—one against the Cholas of the south in alliance often with the other Tamil powers, and the other against the newly rising power of the Chālukyas in the north-west. In the beginning of this struggle we find the Cholas not the great political power that they were, but comparatively insignificant and depending upon the support of the Pāndyas.

The words '*Pahlava*' and '*Pallava*' are philologically one, but we have good authority for taking it that the two terms refer historically to different peoples, thereby illustrating that the partition that separates philology from history is not always very thin. The poet Rajasekhara lived in the courts of the Gurjara sovereigns Mahendrapala and Mahipala about the end of the ninth and the commencement of the tenth centuries A.D., just the period when the Pallavas were passing out of existence as the dominant South Indian power. He is the author of a geographical work named *Bhuvanakosa*, to which he actually refers for further information in Chapter XVII of the *Kavya Mimamsa*. In this last work, he makes a division of India into five and allots to each division, the peoples, towns and rivers that belonged to it. In that section he allots the *Pallavas* to the southern division, or Daksinapatha, lying beyond Mahismati, while the *Pahlavas*, he allots to the division Uttara-

rapatha, lying beyond Prithudaka. This last name, 'the great water,' probably stands for the Indus, and the people Pahlava are found associated with Huna, Kamboja, Bahlika, etc. In the estimation, therefore, of Rajasekhara, who seems a much travelled man and has really much interesting information to give of the different parts of India in respect, at any rate, of the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, the *Pahlavas* and *Pallavas* were distinct peoples, one of them belonging to the south and the other to the frontier on the other side of the Indus. Rajasekhara, no doubt, is a late authority, but undoubtedly gives expression to the prevailing opinion of his time in regard to these two peoples.

Pallavas : Patrons of Northern Culture.

We find in the earliest known inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas that they were votaries of the well-known Hindu gods Vishnu and Siva. The Nanaghaut inscription refers to some of the names of Lokapālas (the guardian deities of the directions), the four vyūhas (forms) of Vishnu and Skanda or Subrahmanya. The Myakadoni inscription itself is the record of the gift of a village by a queen to a Vishnu temple. If, therefore, as was pointed out in the preceding section, the dynasty of the Pallavas was native to the locality and were in close association, official and personal, with the ruling family of the Sātavāhanas, we should find them devoted to the same cult generally as the main branch of the Sātavāhanas, their religious culture being naturally northern, probably in both forms Vaishnava and Saiva. We find in the Andhra country, even a foreigner like the Saka Rishabadatta a votary of this comprehensive cult of the Andhras themselves as we are enabled to understand from the inscriptions recording his various benefactions. It is that broad culture that the Pallavas carried into the Tamil country when they moved into the northern part of it. Although we find evidence of the prevalence both of the cults of Siva and Vishnu in the Tamil country already, the patronage of this northern culture generally seems to have been associated with the Pallavas. Their inscriptions till late in the history of the dynasty happened to be either in Prakrit or Sanskrit; their earliest temples, even the cave ones, are devoted to Siva and Vishnu, and to none of the other deities known to the somewhat miscellaneous pantheon of the early Tamil classics. Hence the advent of the "foreign Pallavas" into the Tamil country not only meant the rule of the foreigner, but also carried along with it the special patronage of the new culture of the north. The hostility between the Pallavas and the Tamil kings of the farther south seems to be accounted for, to a certain extent at any rate, by this partiality apart from their character as *barbarian*

foreigners in the eye of the Tamil. Throughout the period of Pallava history, which may extend from A.D. 200 to almost the last quarter of the ninth century, the Pallavas and the southern powers were in constant hostility if they were not always at war. The hostility between the early Chālukyas and the Pallavas, which is a prominent feature of the history of both the powerful dynasties, is due to the effort of the Chālukyas, successors of the Andhras, to extend their authority over the whole of what was once the Andhra Empire, and the correlative effort of the newly founded dynasty of the Pallavas to make good their own possessions against these new claimants. It is the necessities of this struggle on the northern frontier that sometimes gave respite to the southern frontier, but otherwise the normal state of relationship seems to have been one of hostility between the Pallavas and the Tamils all through this long period of close on seven centuries.

Pallavas : Not Great Patrons of Tamil Literature.

This long period of Pallava dominance, as it may well be called, was a period of, no doubt, considerable activity and output in regard to Tamil literature. A large number of Tamil works are referable to this period but in none of them do we find the Pallavas as patrons of Tamil literature in the sense that we find the kings and the petty chieftains of the age preceding are. Several of these poets were contemporaries of some of the great sovereigns of the Pallava dynasty. The Tevāram hymner Appar, a Jain first and a Saiva afterwards, was a contemporary of the great Pallava Mahendra Varman, whose conversion to Saivism is said to have been due to him. His companion but a much younger man Sambandar, was a contemporary of his son and successor, Narasimha Varman, but neither of these rulers can be considered as a special patron of either of the authors that the kings or chieftains of the Sangam age could be said to be ; and the works of most of these writers have reference not directly to the celebration of the exploits of the patrons. They devote themselves more or less to other themes, and such references as we get to these rulers are merely incidental. It is only one work so far known that can clearly be referred to the literature of patronage, and that is the work *Nandikkalambakam* dedicated to a Nandi Varman victor at Tellāru, a late Pallava of the eighth or ninth century. So far as is known, therefore, the Pallavas do not show themselves to have been in any special sense patrons of Tamil literature as their predecessors were.

Early History of the Pallavas.

What was said of the origin of the Pallavas in the previous sections would have made it clear that they were, in all probability, a family of feudatories of the Sātavāhanas of the Dakhan. These feudatories are clearly described as belonging to the family of the Nāgas, whatever that may mean to us now. Northern Mysore and the country set over against it up to the western sea, which later on became a fief of the Kadambas, was in the possession of a Nāga family of Mahārathis belonging to the Cūtukula, apparently a Nāga designation. The Sātavāhana Rāshtra proper set over against the territory of Kānchī further to the east of this division, was the fief of the great commander (Mahāsenāpati) Skanda Nāga. In the days of the greatest expansion of the Andhra Empire under Pulumavi II and his immediate successors the whole of the southern frontier of the Andhra country, the region of the Vadukas according to Tamil literature, was held by powerful families of these Nāgas. When the Andhra Empire broke up early in the third century these powerful feudatories made themselves independent in the regions under their government. Tondamandalam, which in the reign of the great Pulumavi was under the Sātavāhanas, should have fallen to the lot of the Mahāsenāpati referred to above, or his successors in the same region, the district which was called peculiarly the district of the Sātavāhanas. The advance of the Sātavāhanas themselves under Pulumavi must have put an end to the authority of the Cholas in this particular region. When the governors set up independently of the Sātavāhanas, a generation or two later, the Mahāsenāpati Skanda Nāga himself, or one of his successors, became heir to this region of the Tondamandalam as well.

The Pallava Dynasties.

According to the available inscriptions of the Pallavas, the Pallavas could be divided into four separate families or dynasties. The connection of some of these to one another we know, and of others we do not know. Of their charters in Prakrit, we have three important ones. Then follows a dynasty which issued their charters in Sanskrit; following this came the family of the great Pallavas beginning with Simha Vishnu; this was followed by a dynasty of the "usurper" Nandi Varman, another great Pallava. We are overlooking for the present the dynasty of the "Ganga Pallavas" postulated by the epigraphists. The earliest of these Pallava charters is the one known as the Mayidavolu⁸ (Guntur District) copper-plates.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 84.

These plates contain the charter issued by the heir-apparent (Yuva Mahārājah) Siva Skanda Varman making a grant of the village Viripara ⁹ in the division Dhaññakada, that is Amarāvati, in the tenth year of the reign of his father, whose name is not given.

The next record is what is known as the Hirahadagalli ¹⁰ plates (Bellary District). This record is dated in the eighth year of Sivaskanda Varman, and confirms the gift made by his father, who is described merely as Bappadeva (revered father). Another copper-plate charter found in the Guntur District ¹¹ is dated in the reign of a Vijaya Skanda Varman, and is the record of a grant made by Chārudevi, wife of the Yuvamahārāja Vijaya Buddhha Varman and mother of Prince Buddhyamkura. There is no doubt that the Yuvamahārāja of the first record is the same as the ruling sovereign of the second, the name and circumstances of the two records giving us full warrant for the identification. The question is a little less certain in respect of the sovereign mentioned in the third record, namely Vijaya Skanda Varman. Is he the same as the Siva Skanda Varman of the previous two records? Among the records of that age Siva, Vijaya and sometimes even Vijaya-Siva, are used as prefixes, Vijaya indicating the regard or respect in which the ruler was held and Siva possibly the name of the father. Apart from this, the use of the attribute Vijaya before Skanda Varman does not alter the name, but only gives an additional circumstance of importance. It would not, therefore, be doing any particular violence to identify the Vijaya Skanda Varman of the other two. These three charters all of them refer to the region which was peculiarly the district of the Sātavāhanas. If this identification of Vijaya Skanda Varman turns out correct, the succession could be arranged in the following table :—

“ Bappa-Deva ”	
(Siva or Vijaya)	Skanda Varma
Yuva Mahārāja, Vijaya Buddhavarman—Chārudevi	
Prince Buddyamkura.	

⁹ May be the same as Vipparla, 12 miles west of Amaravati. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI p. 147, n. 1.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 2.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

The Mayidavolu grant was issued from Kānchīpuram (Conjeevaram or Kānchī) by the heir-apparent, to the Governor at Amarāvati, and the village granted is described as being in the Andhrapatha (Vadukavali of the Tamils, or the Andhra country). Thus it is made clear to us that Kānchī was already the capital of a region taking in naturally the Tondamandalam and the districts north of it, at least as far as Amarāvati or the river Krishna. In the second charter the ruler Siva Skanda Varma¹² lays claim to having performed the Agnishtoma, Vājapeya and Asvamedha sacrifices. Of these the last could be performed only by a conqueror, or one who set up as such. The way that he addresses his grant to the Lords of Provinces, Royal Princes, Generals, Rulers of Districts, Customs Officers, Prefects of countries, etc., gives us an insight into the distant Asokan character of the organisation of the Government and its affiliation even to the Arthasāstra. What is more important, it exhibits an organisation which is northern in character, perhaps quite distinct from that of the Tamils of the farther south.¹² There is another interesting detail in it, that the father of this king, whatever his name, had granted many crores of gold and, what is more important to us in connection with the origin of this dynasty, one hundred thousand ox-ploughs. This, if it means anything, indicates undoubtedly the effort made by this ruler for the conversion of the great forests into arable land. It would be well to remember in this context that this part of the country was known to the Tamils as *Dandaranyam*, the same as the Sanskrit *Dandakaranya* where cattle-rearing was the principal occupation, and cattle-raiding the principal sport. It was apparently this "Bappa-deva" that made an effort, with what success we are not told, to transform the forest into cultivated country. It will thus be clear that this dynasty of the Prakrit charters beginning with "Bappa-deva" were the historical founders of the Pallava dominion in South India. It is taken here that all the rulers whose charters in Prakrit have come down to us are to be regarded as members of a single dynasty while there is the possibility that they were members of two dynasties which may not, after all, be connected with each other; but there is little doubt, if this alternative should turn out true, that the two dynasties followed each other without much interval.

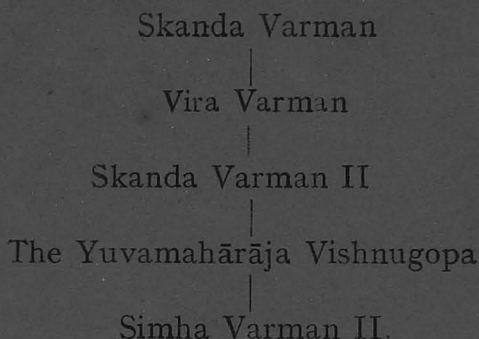
The Dynasties of the Sanskrit Charters.

Passing on to the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters, we come to a number of dynasties which would at first sight appear to be

¹² *Amham.*

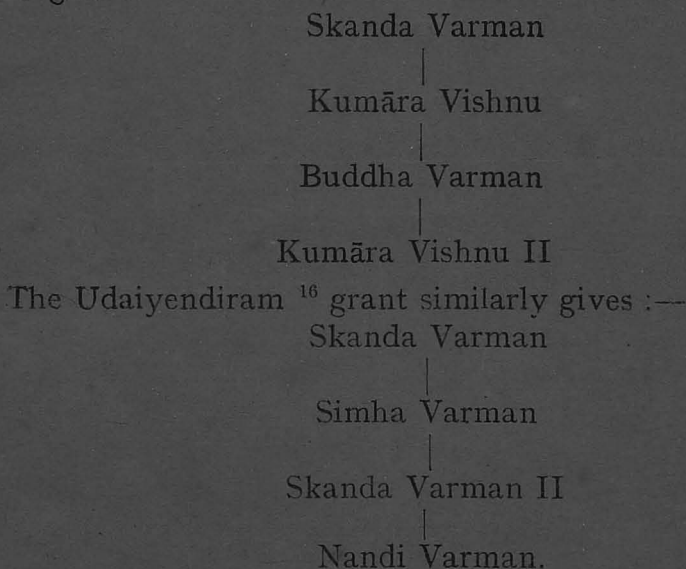
Visaye savatta rājākumāra
senāpati ratthika mādabinudesadhikatādike gāmāgāma bhojake
vallāve govallave amachche āranadhikate gumike tutheke
neyike anne vi cha amhapesanappayatti sancharantaka
bhadamanusana, etc.

so many separate dynasties. According to the Uruvapalli ¹³ copper-plates the succession is as follows :—

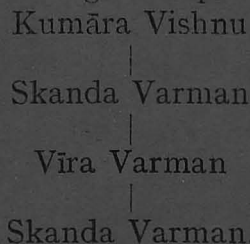


The Darsi ¹⁴ fragment refers itself to the time of the great-grandson of Virakorcha Varman, that is Vira Varma, referring apparently to Simha Varman, son of Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopa.

The Chendalūr ¹⁵ plates issued from the “victorious Kānchī-pura” give :—



The newly discovered Ongodu ¹⁷ plates give :—



These four separate genealogies were apparently not altogether separate in respect of the fact that several of these grants were issued from Kānchī, and others from places like Dasanapura.

¹³ *Indian Antiq.*, V, 50.

¹⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., p. 397.

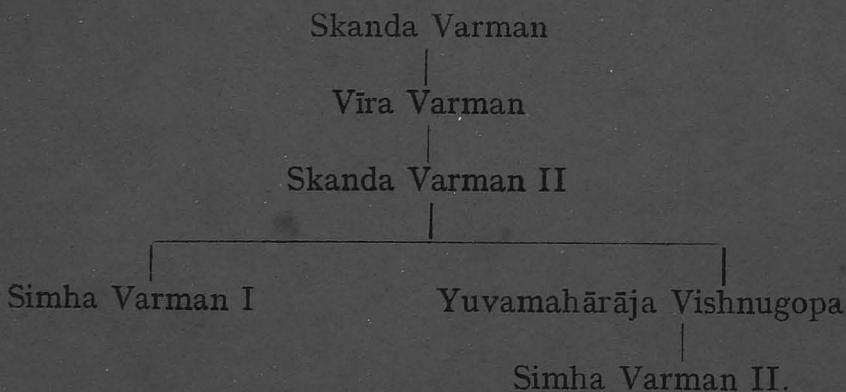
¹⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 142.

¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 233.

¹⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 246.

alakkada and Menmāttūra. There are considerations which could lead us to consolidate these four separate genealogies into one genealogical table.

The Uruvapalli copper-plates record the grant of Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopa, but the grant is dated in the reign of a king named Simha Varman. If Vishnugopa issued the grant as Yuvamahārāja, and dates it in the reign of a Simha Varman, Simha Varman must have been the Mahārāja, either the father or an elder brother of the donor. According to the grant itself, Vishnugopa's father is a Skanda Varman. The only other alternative, therefore, is that Simha Varman was, in all probability, an elder brother of Vishnugopa. So the genealogy will have to be extended by the addition of Simha Varman and would stand :—



The Chendalūr genealogy contains four names beginning with Skanda Varman. Dr. Hultzsch from palaeographical considerations concluded that these rulers must have come in between Simha Varman II and Simha Vishnu. The following two considerations, namely, that (1) the first part of the grant is the same in form and substance with the Uruvapalli, Mangalur and Pikira grants; (2) the palaeography almost the same, however, would lead to the identification of the Skanda Varman of these plates with that Skanda Varman, the father of Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopa. This arrangement would make Kumāra Vishnu another brother of Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopa, with a son Buddha Varman and his son Kumāra Vishnu II.

The genealogy given in the Udaiyendiram grant gives again at the top a Skanda Varman, followed by three other names ending in Nandi Varman. The Velūrpālaiyam plates introduce what appears a gap after Kumāra Vishnu II, and bring in a Nandi Varman before introducing Simha Varman, the father of Simha Vishnu. The only Nandi Varman referable to this period would be the last name mentioned in the Udaiyendiram grant. There-

fore it is possible to include this genealogy in that of the line of Simha Varman, the elder brother of Vishnugopa; Skanda Varman being the father; Simha Varman the eldest son and the elder brother of Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopa, his son Skanda Varman and his son Nandi Varman. This will, according to the Velūrpālaiyam plates, bring us on to the line of Simha Vishnu.

The Ongodu plates discovered in the year 1915 introduce us to yet another line beginning with Kumāra Vishnu. The last of these, Vijayaskanda Varman, issued the document not from Kānchī but from Tāmbrāpa. None of these names figure in the Velūrpālaiyam plates in this order; nor does the Vāyālūr pillar contain the four names in this order as given in the Ongodu plates. Mr. H. K. Sastri identifies the first Ongodu list with the first four names:

Kānagopa or Kālabhartr = Kumāra Vishnu

Skanda Varman

Vira Varman

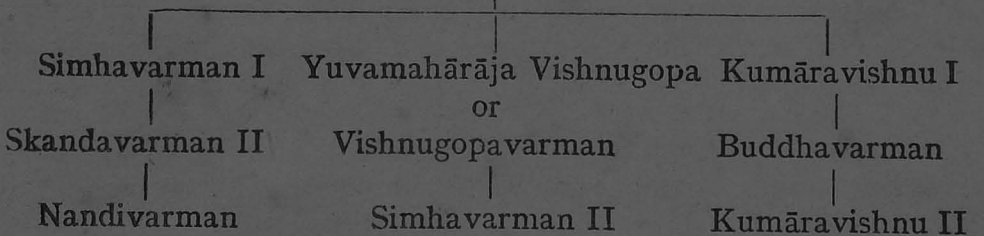
Vijayaskanda Varman.

The Kumāra Vishnu at the head of the table, therefore, may be Kumāra Vishnu I or Kumāra Vishnu II, and the whole dynasty, a local dynasty having had nothing to do with the regular succession of the main line. If it should actually have been so, we get the final genealogy arranged as follows:—

Skanda Varman I

Vira Varman

Skanda Varman II.



Verse 10 of the Velūrpālaiyam plates introduces then, without specifying any connection, Simhavarman father of Simhavishnu, and that introduces us to the line of the well-known Pallava dynasty. Before proceeding to a consideration of that dynasty we have to consider one or two questions that arise in respect of

the relation between the dynasty of the Prakrit charters and the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters, and Vishnugopa of Kānchī, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta.¹⁸ Incidentally, also, we shall have to consider the question whether the dating of the Uruvapalli, Mangalur and Pikira grants, respectively, from Palakkada, Dasanapura and Menmāttūra, all of them places in the Guntur District, warrants the assumption of a Pallava interregnum in Kānchī; and if there had been such an interregnum, whether this is the time to which we could refer the ancient Chola Karikāla and others connected with him.

The Interregnum in the Pallava Rule at Kanchi.

The question of this interregnum is so closely connected with the question of the origin of the Pallavas that the one cannot be separated from the other for any clear understanding of the early history of the Pallavas. The late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya made an excellent contribution, on the subject of the Pallavas, to the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for the year 1906-07. This article was an elaboration of his presidential address to the South Indian Association, Madras, on the same subject. He states it as his opinion, on page 221, that "the Pallavas with whose history we are concerned, may until their origin is satisfactorily established by indisputable evidence, be supposed to be identical with the Pahlavas, Palhavas, Pahnvas of the Purānas. This identification is based on etymological grounds and supported by the facts that Palhavas formed a distinct element in the population of Western India early in the second century. Their movement from Western India to the East Coast is not only possible but rendered likely by known historical facts. Future researches must disclose the actual circumstances which led to the movement of the Palhavas to the East Coast and to their assumption of sovereignty."

"As I have already remarked, the Pallavas were the political successors of the Andhras in the Godaveri and Kistna Deltas, and consequently the former must have acquired sovereignty soon after the latter ceased to be the ruling power. The Andhras probably lost their dominion about the middle of the third century and the Pallavas may be supposed to have taken their place about the end of the same century."

¹⁸ Kausālaka Mahendra, Mahākāntaraka Vyāgrarāja, Kaurālaka Mantarāja, Paishtāpuraka Mahendra Girikautturaka Svāmidatta, Airāndapallaka Damana, Kāncheyaka Vishnugopa, Avamuktaka Nilaraja, Vaingeyaka Hastivarmma, Palakkaka Ugrasena, Daivarāshtraka Kubera, Kausthalāpuraka Dhananjaya prabhrti sarva Dakshināpatharāja-grahana-moksha-anugraha-janita-pratāponisra mahābhāgyasya, etc.

The late Mr. Venkayya arrived at these conclusions by dismissing the consideration that the Tondamān Ilam-Tirayan, who is known to Tamil literature as the Viceroy of Kānchī, was the Tondamān who was the son of the Chola king by a Nāga princess as it is not stated so anywhere specifically. The connection is, however, clearly enough indicated in lines 29 to 37 of the Tamil poem *Perumbanarrupṭṭadai*,¹⁹ a poem of Kadiyalūr Rudran Kannan. This same poet has celebrated Karikāla in the *Pattinappalai*, both the poems being included in the collection *Pattupṭṭu*. But Mr. Venkayya would bring in Karikāla to the period of inter-regnum, and Ilam-Tirayan will therefore naturally go also to that period according to his arrangement.²⁰ He was led to this consideration by the fact that in an Eastern Chalukya grant of Vimaladitya²¹ of the early eleventh century, a Trilochana Pallava is mentioned. This Trilochana Pallava, Mr. Venkayya takes to be the feudatory of the Chola king Karikāla, and, therefore, Karikāla must be brought to that period. "Though this story is found only in records of the eleventh century and is not corroborated by earlier inscriptions, it is evidently based on the belief current in the eleventh century that the Pallava dominions extended in those early times to the modern "Ceded Districts." If this consideration is due to certain grants of the eleventh century it is hard to understand why a commentator who might have followed them, may be a century after, should not be shown similar consideration in regard to the connection of Ilam-Tirayan of Kānchī with the Chola, as the *Perumbanarrupṭṭadai* makes it certain. The learned scholar admits that there is no evidence of the eastward movement of the Pallavas, and still would postulate that the Pallavas of the Tondamandalam were the Parthian Pallavas who got into the country and imposed themselves upon the people of the locality. We have already quoted references from early Tamil literature to the territory of the Tondaiyar, that is Tondamandalam, dominated by Kānchī, the capital of Ilam-Tirayan. We have also quoted one passage in which the hill Vengadam (Tirupati) is said to have been in the territory of the Tondaiyar. What is more, we have referred to a passage, apparently from the ancient classics, though the actual source is not known at present, from the commentaries of Nachinārkinīyar and Ilam Puranar on the *Tolkappiyam* that the Tondaiyar were also known to these early Tamils by the name

¹⁹ See Appendix, n. 4.

²⁰ *A. S. I.*, 1906-7. Note on page 224.

²¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 146.

Ep. Reb., 1900, Sec. 45, and 205 of 1899 of Saka 1079. Karikāla was son of Jatachoda, King of Ayodhya, and had three sons: Karikāla, Tondamāna and Dasavarman. Karikāla is said to have ruled in Kānchi.

Pallava. Better even than this last, is the clear distinction, made by Rajasekhara, of early tenth century, between the foreign *Pa' havas* and the southern *Pallavas*, explained in a previous section. These cogent considerations would make it certain that the terms Pallava and Tondaiyar were synonymous in the estimation of the early Tamils. If, therefore, we have to look for the origin of the Pallavas, here are the people from among whom they must have sprung. The region of the Tondamandalam, the more extended division, was known to the Tamils by another name; the Tondamandalam proper was called *Aruva-Nadu*, the northern portion of which, dominated by Tirupati, was apparently known as *Aruva-vadatalai*. The people were also called Aruvālar (people with the bill-hook). The two descriptions, therefore, of these people as Tondaiyar and Aruvālar are descriptions based the one upon the totem of the tribe, the creeper Tondai (the Indian caper, *Caphalandra Indica*); and the other a professional name from the scythe which must have been their weapon as cattle-herds. We have pointed out already that the whole border land of the Tamils beyond this was occupied by a race of people known to them by the generic name Vadukar, whose profession was cattle-rearing. That this region was divided among a number of petty chieftains is also known. These chieftains were called by the Tamils Kurumbar, sometimes also "Kurunilamannar" (petty chieftains). They are also classed as cowherds (Idaiyar). Among these one name comes out prominently, and that is the name of a chieftain *Kaluvul* who was very troublesome on this frontier, perhaps on the western side of it, and a victory against whom by the early Cheras is made much of in poem 88 of the *Padirrupattu*. That same passage taken along with poem 71 of the same collection makes it clear that *Kaluvul* was a chieftain among the cowherds.²² It is apparently these people that are referred to in the poem 88 as *Andar*. *Andar* is a term in Tamil which is taken to be synonymous with cowherds. The index to the work makes *Andar* mean enemy. In that sense the penultimate syllable must have been shortened for which process there is no need as the metre of the poem does not require it. It seems, therefore, open to the interpretation that the term *Andar* is a modification of the Sanskrit *Andhra* which Ptolemy renders *Andarae*, standing for *Andhra* (Vadukar of the Tamils). As *Andha* and *Vrishni* were two divisions of the Yādavas, *Idaiyar* would be a term applied to them as cattle-rearing was their main occupation. That that region was remarkable for cattle-rearing, and that even southern kings

²² Compare poems 135 and 365 of *Aham*.

undertook expeditions against that region and its petty chieftains for the purpose of bringing in their cattle are in evidence in two poems of the Sangam collection. One of the early Cheras is described as the Chera who carried off the cattle from *Dandaranyam* (*Adu-kotṭattu-Seral*). There is a reference of a similar character to the cows from this country being carried off to the headquarters of Pulli of Tirupati. There is some justification, therefore, for Sir Walter Elliot's classification of certain early coins as those of the Kurumbar of this region; but anything like a dynasty of Kurumbar would seem unwarranted as the Pallavas never gave themselves that name, and the Kurumbar chiefs never seem to have advanced to the dignity of founding dynasties. Hence it is a far cry to connect the Pallavas of the Tondamandalam with the Yāvanas, Sakas and Pahlavas of the west till more evidence of a specific character becomes available to justify the hypothesis of a migration of the foreigners south-eastwards from the region of Gujarat and North Konkan to the Ceded Districts part of the Tondamandalam.

Evidence of Tamil Literature.

The validity of evidence from Tamil literature would be admissible if the chronology of the latter could be fixed with some degree of certainty. If with Mr. Venkayya we should believe that Karikāla and Ilam-Tirayan lived in the fifth or sixth century, the period of the interregnum he finds warrant for in the Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas, we shall have to demonstrate that all the region that came into the literature of the Tamils of this period had, in the fifth or sixth century, the general political division and the distinct character that could be gleaned from this body of literature. I have elsewhere thrown into relief the political condition of South India in this period. It does not require very much of argument to show that this is not the political condition of South India in the fifth or sixth century as we know it from such information as is at our disposal. For one thing, the social organisation of the region as portrayed in this body of literature is too primitive for this date. Other specific facts which would fix the age of this body of literature to the first and second century A.D. have all been indicated, and they relate to a period anterior to the rise of the Pallavas both of the Prakrit and the Sanskrit charters. It is the Sātavāhanas under Pulumāvi that made the first conquest of the Tondamandalam as the coins of this Sātavāhana ruler find their provenance in the Tondamandalam. The type of the lead coins with a two-masted ship found in this region is appropriate for the locality of the Tiraiyar, and it is probably this invasion of the Sātavāhanas that deprived the Cholas of the

viceroyalty of Kānchī which must have followed immediately the rule of the Chola Killi referred to in the *Manimekhalai*. This inference is supported by a number of references in the same body of Tamil literature which refer to invasions of the south by the Ariyas and Vadukar which were beaten back with great exertion by the Tamil chieftains. One of the Cholas is praised for having subjugated the Paradavar in the south and Vadukar in the north.²³ Another Chola claims credit for having broken up the Arya force on the field of Vallam.²⁴ The Malayman chieftain Kāri is said to have beaten back single-handed the Arya forces besieging Tirukovilūr, his capital.²⁵ Similarly a Chola king, probably the same as the one already referred to, is said to have beaten down the heads of Vadukar at Pāli or Serup-Pāli,²⁶ a place very likely on the West Coast, or at least in the western part of the Tamil country.

The fact that Dandāranyam was a forest in the country of the Ariyas, according to the Tamils, would lead to the conclusion that the Ariyas under reference in these contexts are the people of the country or their rulers, and the region in their occupation was the country included in the name, the Dakhan. It may be as the ultimate result of this struggle that the assistance of the Cholas was called in and they constituted the viceroyalty of Kānchī under Karikāla. There is clear evidence from the *Ahananuru* that one chieftain, by name Tiraiyan, ruled over the Tondamandalam with Kānchī and Vengadam included in it. It is doubtful whether he was the same as Ilam-Tiraiyan; but the fact that the latter takes the attribute Ilam (Eng. young) is a clear indication that there was another Tirayan before. This may render the inference possible that the Sātavāhana conquest under Pulumāvi came in after the disappearance of the Chola ascendancy; but the advance of the Chera into this region makes the inference not likely. In any case, it is clear that the Sātavāhana hold on this region could not have lasted long.

Evidence of Epigraphy.

This seems the condition of things reflected in the latest Pallava grant, the Velūrpālaiyam plates. This document together with a few others of quite recent discovery seem to make the interregnum hardly called for. It seems quite possible from the known facts relative to the genealogy of the Pallavas of the

²³ *Puram*, 378.

²⁴ *Aham*, 336.

²⁵ *Narrinai*, 170.

²⁶ *Aham*, 375.

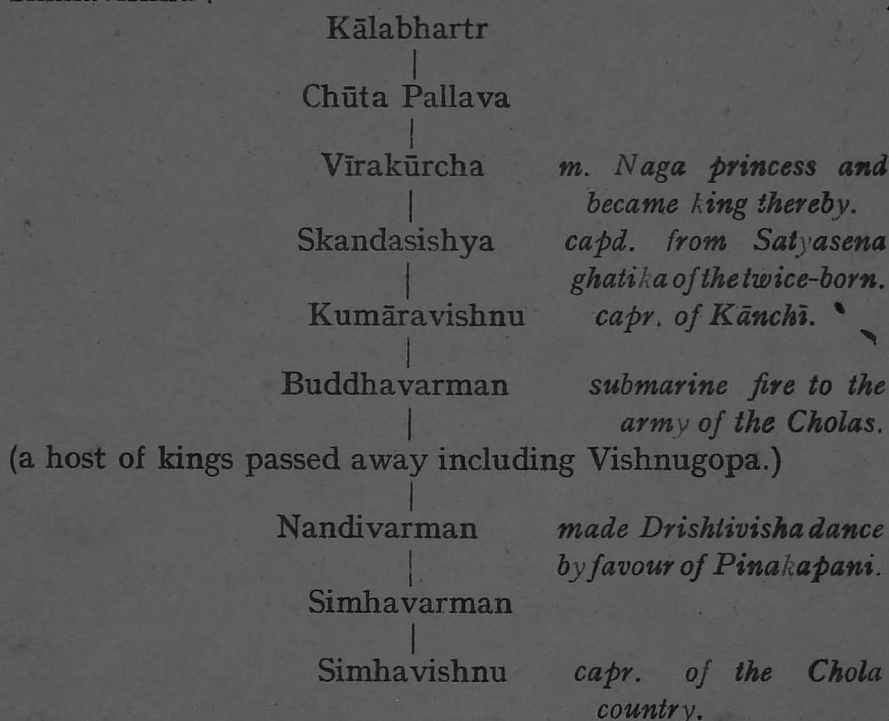
Sanskrit charters to arrange them in a continuous line, and even bring them into connection with the Simhavishnu line. The late Mr. Venkayya himself and the epigraphists consider it impossible that the Prakrit charters could be brought down to a date after the middle of the fourth century, the date of the invasion of Samudragupta and his victory over Vishnugopa of Kānchī. The Prakrit charters, therefore, and the dynasty or dynasties evolvable from them must be anterior to about A.D. 350, or better A.D. 330. As we have nothing to lead to the identification of Samudragupta's Vishnugopa of Kānchī with either of the two known Vishnugopas of the later Sanskrit charters, we shall have to regard him as a separate person distinct alike from the dynasty of the Prakrit charters and of the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. We shall have to find room, therefore, for the dynasty or dynasties of the Sanskrit charters after this particular period. This arrangement seems warranted by one circumstance which may fix the chronology. The Velurpālaiyam plates state it clearly that Skandasishya, Skandavarman II of the genealogical table, seized from King Satya Sena, the *Ghatika* of the Brahmins. This Satyasena seems to be the same as Svāmi Satya Simha, father of a Mahākshtrapa, Svāmi Rudra Simha III.²⁷ The transcript of the legend gives the name as *Satyasena* which is rendered by the learned professor *Satyasimha*. It might as well be *Satyasena*. His son would be *Rudrasena* as well. Names ending in *sena* are not unknown among the rulers of this dynasty. The date of this Satyasena would be sometime anterior to about A.D. 388. If Skandasishya's date be 388, the three generations before him would have for them about forty to sixty years if all three of them did rule. It is Skandasishya's father who, according to the Velurpālaiyam plates, "simultaneously with the daughter of the chief of serpents grasped also the complete insignia of royalty and became famous."

The Velurpālaiyam Plates.

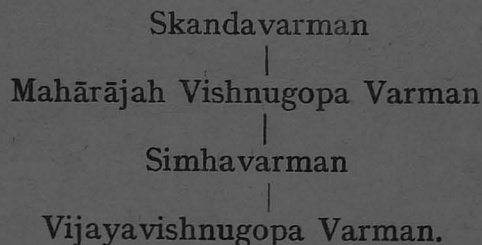
Passing on now to the Velurpālaiyam plates themselves, we are provided with the following genealogy of the early Pallavas

²⁷ Prof. Rapson, pp. 191-92, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum; Andhras, etc.* In regard to the reading of the coin legend suggested above, Prof. Rapson is of opinion: "The letters of the coin legends are so minute and so carelessly formed (at this period—the close of the Ksatrapa dynasty) that I consider it quite possible that the true reading may be *Satyasena* and not *Satyasimha*, as given by me on page 192 of the *B. M. Catalogue of the Andhra Dynasty*." On a kind reference by the obliging professor in my behalf Mr. John Allan examined the coin in question and gives it as his opinion, "I certainly think you would be justified in reading the name as *Satyasena* and not *Satyasimha*." This is the period to which the conquest of Kuntala by the Vakataka Prthvisena I is ascribable. Such an advance is possible only by the overthrow of Kshatrapas, and other successors of the Andhras in this region.

up to Simhavishnu :—



Along with these have to be taken the table provided by the Chura ²⁸ plates.



The two Ongodu plates give us two genealogies :—

I Mahārājah Kumāra Vishnu

|
Mahārājah Skandavarman

|
Vira Varman

|
Mahārājah Vijaya Skandavarman

II Mahārājah Viravarman

|
Mahārājah Skandavarman

|
Yuvamahārājah Vishnugopa

|
Simha Varman

These separate genealogies are obviously intimately connected with each other and could be worked into one table as many of the names are common and are apparently connected with each other. This is to a certain extent facilitated by the full list of Pallava succession given in the so-called Vāyālur Pillar inscription. Rao Bahadur H. Krishnasastri¹ proposes to identify Kālabhartr with the Kānagopa of the Kasākudi plates and also with Mahārājah Kumāra Vishnu of Ongodu plate I. Similarly in respect of the second name, Chutapallava, which would mean "a tender twig of the mango," he would regard it as a surname of Skandavarman I of the Uruvapalli grant; the Ongodu plate I also giving the name Skandavarman. The names that follow do not differ. Virkūrcha and Viravarman are not so different, nor Skandasishya and Skandavarman. He is led to this identification of the genealogy of the Ongodu plates with those of the Velūrpālaiyam ones as he finds the palæography of the Ongodu plates No. I, older in point of character, and almost the earliest known record of the Pallava dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. The Mahārājah Vijaya Skanda Varman, the donor of the grant, would be Skandavarman II, the Skandasishya of the Velurpālaiyam plates. If this is agreed to, there is no difficulty in accepting this except the first name Kumāravishnu which has no affinity with Kālabhartr or Kānagopa, one part of the genealogical tree gets settled. The genealogy in the Ongodu plates No. II amounts to almost the same as the Mangalur plates giving the genealogy from Viravarman to Simhavarman II as in the table below. The Chura plates add to this and carry the genealogy to Mahārājah Vijaya Vishnugopa Varma, the son of Simhavarman II, the donor of Ongodu grant No. II and Mangalur grant.

The point that the donor's grandfather Vishnugopa is given the title Mahārājah in this may be overlooked as a similar discrepancy is noticeable between the Ongodu plates I and II in respect of Viravarman, the first grant omitting the adjunct Mahārājah. The fact that the first Ongodu grant was made from the victorious camp of Tāmrāpa is taken to warrant the conclusion that it was a subordinate family by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, and taking advantage of the name Kumāravishnu he would make the members of the Pallava dynasty, whose names are found on this table, another line of descendants of Kumāravishnu I. That would make a difference of three generations between the epigraphist's estimate of time and the professor's, both of them based on palæography and nothing else. Three names being in agreement, we are rather inclined to accept the epigraphist's dictum on a question of palæography. We arrive then at a consolidated

table of the Pallavas somewhat as under :—

(1) Kālabhartr (Kānagopa)

(2) Chūtapallava

(perhaps a surname of Skandavarman I mentioned in the Uruvapalli grant)

(3) Virakūrcha (Virakorachavarman or Viravarman)

(4) Skandasishya (Skandavarman II)

V. Simhavarman I (5)	Yuvamaharajavishnugopa or Vishnugopavarman	VI Kumaravishnu I (7)
XI. Skandavarman II (10)	IX. Simhavarman II (6)	VII Buddhavarman (8)
XII. Nandivarman (2)	X. Maharajah Vijaya Vishnugopa Varman (9)	VIII Kumaravishnu II (12)

Turning now to the Vāyalūr pillar, the names 31 to 36 are in the recognised order of the later dynasty. The name 30 is a Vishnugopa which may be the Vishnugopavarman of the Chura plates, in which case we go on to the Simhavarman II in No. 29. No. 28 (Simhavarman) seems an additional name. Nos. 25, 26 and 27 may be the names Simhavarman I, Skandavarman III and Nandivarman I of the table. No. 24 (Skandavarman) then would be Skandavarman II on the table. Then comes in a Viravarman (No. 23) who may be the Virakūrcha of the table. No. 24 (Skandavarman) then would be

1. Vimala.	19. Vishnugopa.	Skandavarman II on the
2. Konkanika.	20. Vishnudasa.	table. Then comes in a
3. Kālabhartri.	21. Skandavarman.	Viravarman (No. 23) who
4. Chutapallava.	22. Simhavarman.	may be the Virakūrcha
5. Virakūrcha.	23. Viravarman.	of the table. He is
6. Chandrarvarman.	24. Skandavarman.	preceded by a Simhavar-
7. Karala.	25. Simhavarman.	man (No. 22) for whom
8. Vishnugopa.	26. Skandavarman.	and for three preceding
9. Skandamula.	27. Nandivarman I.	names we can find no
10. Kanagopa.	28. Simhavarman.	equivalent on the table.
11. Virakūrcha.	29. Simhavarman.	Then comes in a name
12. Skandavarman.	30. Vishnugopa.	(Skandavarman) pre-
13. Kumaravishnu.	31. Simhavarman.	ceded by three names :
14. Buddhavarman.	32. Simhavishnu.	Skandavarman, Kumāravishnu,
15. Skandavarman.	33. Mahendravarman I	Buddhavarman, which may be the names Skandavarman II,
16. Kumaravishnu.	34. Narasimhavarman I.	Kumāravishnu I, and Buddhavarman ; but the same three names
17. Buddhavarman.	35. Mahendravarman I.	repeat from 12 to 14. These are preceded by two other names
18. Skandavarman.	36. Paramesvaravarman I.	(10 and 11) Kānagopa and Virakūrcha ; then from 9 to 3 there

is a considerable agreement with the table here except that No. 6 (Chandravarman) has to be taken as a mistake for Skandavarman. The name Kaṭāla does not appear in any other grant at all, nor do the first two names (Vimala and Konkanika) find reference in any of the grants so far available to us. In respect of this list of thirty-six names it must be borne in mind that it is a list made up in the reign of the later Pallava Narasimhavarman II, and in all probability the list was put together from a comparative study of the various tables discussed above from some record of these various grants; what is worse, put together, perhaps, without any accurate knowledge of the connection of the various members to each other, or their actual position in the succession. This seems the only explanation for the repetitions and variations that one notices in the list in comparison with the genealogies of the grants. It would be safer to guide ourselves by the various tables discussed above rather than by this one omnibus list which otherwise provides us with no details whatsoever, to indicate the order of succession.

The History of these Pallavas.

Having arranged the various genealogies in the Sanskrit charters of these Pallavas in a consolidated table, we might now turn to enquire what exactly it is possible for us to know of them from these records and other sources of information available to us. Turning to the Velūrpālaiyam plates, we can pass over the document till we come to Kālabhartr, described as the head jewel of his family like (Vishnu) the husband of Indirā (Lakshmi). This, perhaps, gives us a hint that he bore the name Kumāravishnu as the Ongodu plates No. I would make us infer. No information of a historical character is given in regard to him. Then follows his son Chūtapallava, identified in the table with Skandavarman of the Uruvapalli and other grants. Even that name seems to be a mere eponymous name, the later tables giving instead the name merely Pallava. It is his son Virakūrcha that emerges the first historical character. He is said to have grasped the complete insignia of royalty together with "the hand of the daughter of the chief of the serpents", thereby becoming famous. Put in ordinary language this would mean that he married a Nāga princess and thereby acquired title to sovereignty of the region over which he ruled. This obviously has no connection with the birth of Tondamān Ilam-Tirayan who, according to the tradition embodied in the classical poem *Perumbanarruppadai*, was the son of a Chola king by a Nāga princess whose union

with him was not exactly what Vīrakūrcha's union as described is intended to be. The former is purely an affair of love which may even be regarded as a liaison. Varakūrcha's is a regular marriage to a princess and through her, the acquisition of sovereignty. Neither the detail of the marriage nor the acquisition of sovereignty will agree with the story of Ilam-Tirayan. The explanation of this apparently is that the Pallava chieftain, whoever he was, contracted a marriage alliance with a more influential Nāga chieftain in the neighbourhood and thereby acquired his title to the territory which came to be associated with the Pallavas. We have already noted that the Sātavāhana viceroy of the region round Adoni was the great commander Skandanāga. We also noted that even before his time the territory round Chitaldrug extending westwards to the sea almost, was in the possession of a family which went by the name Cūtukula, the members of which family described themselves as Sātavāhana also. This would mean that they were a clan of the Sātavāhanas other than that which held rule over the Dakhan, but connected by blood and, perhaps, even by alliance with that clan. At one time under the rule of the later Sātavāhanas, these Nāgas appear to have extended their authority and even acquired a considerable portion of the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas themselves. If the Pallava chieftain in the neighbourhood made himself sufficiently distinguished, a marriage alliance with these Nāgas, from whom came the early Sātavāhana queen Nāganika, would have been possible for him. Such an alliance might have led to his having become recognized as a feudatory sovereign of the region either by the Sātavāhanas themselves nominally, or by their successors the Cutu or other Nāgas. This hint, vague as it is in the inscription, seems to let us into the secret of the rise of this dynasty of the Pallavas to power, and may give us even an idea of the time when these Pallavas should have risen to the kingly position. This must have happened at a time when the Sātavāhanas as a ruling dynasty had passed away and the attempt at the assertion of the Gupta power over this region under Samudragupta had in a way shaken the authority of the older dynasties to allow of a new dynasty to spring into prominence. The character of the invasion of Samudragupta²⁹ itself makes it clear that the whole of the western portion of the empire of the Andhras was in the hands of a power whom for some good reason Samudragupta did not attack. One such reason might have been that they held possession of the territory with

²⁹ *Ep. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 10, where Daivarāstra and Airāndapalli are identified with Elamanchi Kalingadesa in the Vizagapatam District and Erāndapalli in Ganjam (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 212).

some power, such as the Vakatakas in Berar and Central India. It is likely that their authority was not readily acquiesced in by the smaller chieftains, feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, along the East Coast. If this surmise should turn out correct it is possible to conceive that the south-western portion was held by the powerful family of the Nāgas, relatives of the Sātavāhanas, and the Pallavas were among the feudatories who showed a ready inclination to throw off the Sātavāhana yoke. When Samudragupta had come and gone, the western power, whatever that was, might have entered into a marriage alliance with the Pallavas and recognised them in the position to which they had already risen by their own efforts. That this was the state of affairs seems supported from what is said of Virakūrcha's successor. Skandasishtya, son of Virakūrcha, succeeded the father and is described as "the moon in the sky of his family"; in other words, the most distinguished member of the family. He seized from king Satyasena the *ghatika* of the Brahmans. We already indicated the possibility that the Satyasena here referred to may be Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Satyasena of the coins whose time would be the ninth decade of the fourth century A.D. We do not know definitely that the power of the Mahākshatrapa extended as far south as to come into contact with the Pallavas. The probability seems to be the Pallavas co-operated with the dynasty of the Western Dakhan in a war with the Kshatrapas of Malva who might, it is possible, have made an effort to extend their authority southwards into the region of the Dakhan.

Decadence of the Andhra Power.

The state of things foreshadowed in the previous section is confirmed by the history of the decadence of the power of the Andhras, who held sway for more than three centuries in the whole of the Dakhan extending even into the Tamil country round Kānchī. According to Professor Rapson, an elaborate study of the coins and inscriptions relating to this dynasty leads to the conclusion that after the long reign of Yagña-Srī Sātākarni the empire broke up into two. The *Puranas* mention only three names after this Sātavāhana. One of the names, Srī Chandra, could be read on coins found in the Andhradesa proper. There are three other names, also traceable in the coins of this region and in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. The coins of neither of these groups have been found in Western India. This distribution of the coins of the later Andhras seems to justify the conclusion that the empire was divided. What is more, this investigation seems to confirm what the *Matsya Purana* has to say regarding the dynasties that succeeded the Andhras. This

portion of the dynastic list, according to the version common to several manuscripts of the *Matsya*, *Vayu* and *Brahmanda Puranas* begins, "Andhrānām samsthite rājye tesām bhrty ānvayā nṛpāh sapt aiv Andra bhavisiyanti" meaning that while the Andhras were still ruling a family of their servants, who were themselves Andhras, ruled for seven generations. One version of the *Matsya Purana*, however, has "Andhra Srīparvatīyas ca te divipancasatam samāh" : that is, the Srī Parvatīya Andhras ruled for fifty-two years. Taking the two together we get to this. That one section of the Andhras who were subordinates to the authority of Yagna Srī, asserted their independence and ruled for fifty-two years in the region round Srī Parvata, that is the "home territory," if it may be so called, of the Andhras. There is no mention in that list of what had happened to the western portion of their territory unless we take the next following passage to refer to what probably happened to that part. Ten Abhīras, servants of the Andhras as the others, ruled for sixty-seven years. We have an Abhira Governor of the Mahākshatrapa, Rudra Simha, son of Rudra Daman with a date 103 which is equivalent to A.D. 181. The Abhira concerned here is the general Rudra Bhūti, son of the general Bapaka, the Abhira.³⁰ The *Puranas* seem to be correct to this extent, that the Abhira feudatories in the region of Gujarat set up rule on their own account in the later years of the Andhras, in all probability in the years following Yagña-Srī. This would have reference to the early years of the third century A.D., and if the Abhiras ruled for sixty-seven years it would bring them practically to the end of the third century. The inscription of the Abhirā king Isvara Sena at Nasik is a clear indication that that part of the Andhra country was under the rule of the Abhirās. Isvara Sena himself was the son of the Abhira Sivadatta. If with Professor Rapson we can take these Abhiras to be identical with the members of the Traikūtaka dynasty, the Traikūtaka era beginning A.D. 249 would be the era of the Abhiras as well. The Abhira Isvara Sena may, therefore, be referable to about the same time. The inscription found in Jaggayyapetta of one Srī Vīra-Purusha Datta of the family of Ikshvaku and dated in his twentieth year shows that even the eastern territory of the Andhras was passing into other hands. This inscription is referable on palæographical grounds to the period of the later Andhras. What is most important to our present purpose here is that the southern portion and, perhaps, by far the largest portion of the empire of the Andhras, passed into the hands of a family of feudatories who called themselves Satakarnis as well, and had for their capital Banavāse

³⁰ Luder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions. Ep. Ind., Vol. X., No. 963 (Southern List).

(Vaijayanti). This is the famous Cūtu dynasty who give themselves the name Nāga as well, and who have for their crest an extended cobra-hood. Their inscriptions are found in Kanheri, in Kanara, and in the Shimoga District of Mysore. From their inscriptions so far available to us we know of three generations of these and two reigns, namely, that of Hārītīputra Vishnu kada (Skanda) Cutukulānanda Sātakarni, and his grandson by the daughter Sivaskanda Varman, also called Siva Skanda Nāga Srī in the Banavase inscription, and Skanda Nāga Sātavāhana in the Kanheri inscription. These two rulers appear to have preceded the Kadambas almost without any interval. It would appear as though the Kadambas made the conquest of the territory which became associated with them from this Siva Skanda Varman himself. The inscriptions of this dynasty at Kanheri may be taken as an indication of the extent of the territory to which they had become heir when the Sātavāhana power decayed. These were themselves Sātakarnis, and, almost from the commencement of the rule of the Sātavāhanas, held possession of the southern viceroyalty for them. Their ascent to independent power would again support the statement of the *Puranas* that it was the Andhrabhṛityas that ascended to power and independence while the Andhras were still ruling. It is this Cūtukula, successors of the Andhras in the territory immediately adjoining that of the Pallavas, that must be the Nāga family by a marriage alliance with which Virakūrcha was able to make good his position as ruler of the south-eastern viceroyalty of the Andhras. Probably the Pallavas in the locality of the Prakrit charters fought and took possession of the territory from the later Andhras. It may be that the Srī Parvatīya Andhras and the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters, at least the early members among them, either felt it necessary or considered it advantageous to get their possession validated by alliance with, and countenance of, perhaps the most powerful among the successors of the Andhras. It may be possible that even the princess-mother of Sivaskanda Varman Skanda Nāga had married the Pallava chieftain, perhaps a Mahābhoja as holding an important viceroyalty of the Andhras. If this surmise should turn out correct, as we have as yet no direct evidence to confirm it, Sivaskanda Nāga Srī of the western inscription could even be held to be the Skandasishya of the Pallava inscriptions. Such a position for Skanda Varman would be in accordance with the tradition associated with the foundations of the dynasty of the Kadambas.

According to the tradition as we find it recorded in the inscription of Kakustha Varman, it was a Brahman by name Mayura-Sarman who went to complete his *vedic* studies to the

"Brahman settlement" (*ghatika*) of Kānchī, and there he got into a quarrel with either some cavalry men or an important officer of the cavalry of the Pallavas, and gave up the life of a Brahman and assumed that of a warrior. He was so successful in this new life that he acquired possession of all the forest country up to Sṛī Parvata, laid the great Bāna under contribution, and otherwise made himself a very considerable obstacle to the pretensions of the Pallavas, who were just then rising into importance. The Pallava monarch for the time being considered it prudent to recognise the redoubtable Brahman as a military officer of his with the government of a considerable province extending from the sea in the west to the eastern limit of "Prehāra."³¹

Who were the Pallavas to appoint this Brahman to the governorship of the province whose capital was Banavase? The Pallavas must have possessed the territory which the Brahman perhaps made his own, and then the Pallavas rightfully conferred it upon the Brahman as his fief. If it had not been so, there is no sense in a Kadamba inscription claiming this as the rightful foundation of their title to the province. It seems, therefore, that the alliance between the Nāga and the Pallava which gave the title to the Pallava for the possession of the whole of the territory means nothing more than an alliance between the Pallavas and the Cūtus. This alliance resulted in the Pallavas becoming ultimately rulers not only of the Pallava territory proper but of practically the whole empire of the Andhras—as much of it, at any rate, as had not gone into the possession of foreigners like the Abhiras and the Ikshvākus of the east. This assumption would satisfactorily explain the setting up of the Kadamba power in the region which was peculiarly the province of the Cūtus. If that should turn out to be so, the statement regarding Skandasishtya that he took from Satyasena the *ghatika* of the Brahmans would become not merely possible but very likely. It is, perhaps, a subsidiary branch of this family of the Cūtus that ultimately overthrew the Kadambas in this region, in the dynasty of the Chālukyas.

The Pallavas and the Gangas.

It has already been shown above that the Pallava overlordship of the territory associated with the Kadambas indicates that the Pallavas succeeded to the whole of the southern portion of the Andhra Empire. This accession of territory to the Pallavas is explained by the fact of a marriage alliance between the Pallavas and a race of the Nāgas who held the southern

³¹ Could this be Perur in the Cuddapah District with which the origin of the Ganga dynasty is connected?

vicerealty on behalf of the Sātavāhanas and claimed to belong to the same clan of the Sātakarnis as well. A similar position of overlordship over the Gangas is given to the Pallavas in the so-called Penukonda plates³² of the early Ganga, Mādhava, the third of the name according to the complete list of Mr. B. L. Rice. These plates record the gift of a number of villages adjoining Parigi," about seven miles north of Hindupur in the Anantapur District, and therefore quite on the borders of the Kolār District, with which the rule of the Gangas is peculiarly associated. The document being undated the late Dr. Fleet, who held that most of the Ganga plates hitherto known were spurious records, was of opinion that these plates must be regarded genuine, and with the remark "A.D. 475 seems a very good date for it." These plates give a genealogy :—

Konkanivarman

|
Mādhava I

|
Ayyavarman

|
Mādhava II.

In regard to the first two there is nothing worthy of note except that, according to other records of this dynasty, Konkani-varman had the name Mādhava and was the uncle of the other Mādhava rather than the father. This difference may be explained on the ground that the table given here is a list of succession not necessarily from father to son. Ayyavarman, which name may be Ariyavarman and may be synonymous with Ari-Varman and Hari-Varman, and even possibly with Krishna-Varman as Mr. Rice suggests, succeeded Mādhava I. What is of peculiar importance in regard to him in connection with the Pallavas is that he was installed by a Mahārāja Simhavarman, the Indra of the Pallava kula 'in a literal sense' (yathārtham). His successor, according to this record Mādhava, had the alternative name Simhavarman, and he is said to have been similarly installed 'in a literal sense' by Mahārāja Skandavarman of the Pallavas. According to the other records of these Gangas, however, a Vishnugopa comes after Ayyavarman. Mr. Rice, who is the editor of the Penukonda plates finds it possible that there is an omission of the name in these plates, by the fault of the engraver. It seems likely, however, from the unanimity of the records in respect of this ruler Vishnugopa, that a ruler by name Vishnugopa

³² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 331, ff.

did precede Mādhava, the last of the name in this pedigree, whether he was the latter's father or grandfather, or there is still the possibility that he might have been an uncle, for which assumption there is no authority in any of the records. The fact that Simhavarman installed Ayyavarman who was followed by a ruler who bore the name Vishnugopa, and that this Vishnugopa was followed by a ruler who was installed by a Pallava, Skanda Varman, seems to imply a Pallava overlordship over the Gangas. If, as suggested above, Vishnugopa happened to be an uncle or grand-uncle of Mādhava, the name Simhavarman given to Mādhava would be an honour done to Simhavarman who installed Ayyavarman on the throne. There is, therefore, reference to a Pallava ruler, Simhavarman, who must have had a successor following either immediately or in the next generation by name Skandavarman with just the possibility that the Vishnugopa of the Gangas was a name given to the ruler in honour of a Vishnugopa, the Pallava overlord. If this possibility should turn out a fact, then we have this succession : Simhavarman, Vishnugopa and a Skandavarman. According to the Udaiyendiram grant we have had the succession Skandavarman, Simhavarman and a second Skandavarman followed by a Nandivarman, and we have for good reasons regarded this Simhavarman as the son of Skandasishya, father of Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopa. The possibility of connection, therefore, between the Pallava sovereigns of the Penukonda plates, and the succession list of the Pallavas we have arrived at, seems clearly indicated as following the reign of Skandasishya or Skandavarman II ; but the identification of the actual rulers is not thereby made easy. Simhavarman I, his younger brother Vishnugopa and Skandavarman, the son of Simhavarman, may be one set of names, if that is the order in which they ruled ; for our present purpose it would quite do if Simhavarman was followed by Skanda Varman, Vishnugopa being a mere Yuvamahārāja. There is another alternative : the three names referred to may be Simhavarman II, son of the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopa ; his son Mahārāja Vishnugopa of the Chura plates followed by the same Skanda Varman, the son of Simhavarman I, if this had been the order of the Pallava succession. Whichever of the two alternatives should ultimately turn out correct, the three Ganga rulers Ayyavarman, Vishnugopa and Mādhava, the second or third of the name, must have ruled in the period between Skandasishya or Skandavarman II and Simhavarman, the father of Simhavisnu, of the dynasty of the great Pallavas that, for good reasons, we have ascribed to the period c. A.D. 380 to A.D. 600. Even the approximate date of these rulers would depend entirely

upon the arrangement of the Pallava order of succession. After Skandavarman II we might take it, almost certainly from the Uruvapalli plates, that Simhavarman I succeeded the father, Vishnugopa being the Yuvamahārāja under him. If Vishnugopa did not rule, Simhavarman was probably followed by Simhavarman II, Skandavarman, perhaps, having been very young. It is also likely that he was followed by Vishnugopa II of the Chura plates, he in turn being succeeded by Skandavarman III; then must have followed the dynasty of the other son, Kumāra Vishnu I. If we can safely follow the Velūrpālaiyam plates, Kumāravishnu must have been succeeded by Buddhavarman, Nandivarman following then after Vishnugopa and others. The fact, however, that the Velūrpālaiyam plates speak of a host of rulers following Buddhavarman before Nandivarman at last succeeded would indicate that Simhavarman I was probably followed by Kumāravishnu; he by his son Buddhavarman, perhaps followed for a short while by Kumāravishnu II. The succession, perhaps, passed then to Simhavarman II of the table; then Vishnugopa II; then Skandavarman III and lastly Nandivarman. We may accept this order of succession tentatively till we get a more clear lead as to the actual order of succession of these having regard to the date A.D. 436 for Simhavarman II, and A.D. 475 for the Penugonda plates. If we turn to the Vāyalūr pillar for this lead it would be difficult to find any. Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu, is preceded by Vishnugopa, whom we might take to be the second of the name. He is preceded by a Simhavarman which is so far correct. He is preceded by another Simhavarman, and the only Simhavarman available is Simhavarman I of the table. He is preceded by five names (23 to 27) which are the names found in the Udaiyendiram plates already referred to of which No. 28 (Simhavarman) must be one. Nos. 15 to 22 seem difficult of adjustment on the table; some of the names are new and there is also confusion in the order. As was pointed out already, this list seems to be a jumble of various genealogies collected and put together as the order of succession without a correct knowledge of the actual succession. It would, therefore, be better to accept the arrangement last suggested, namely Simhavarman, the eldest son of Skandasishya, being followed by Kumāravishnu I, and then by Buddhavarman and perhaps even by Kumāravishnu II, the succession going back to the son and grandson of Simhavarman. That would bring Simhavarman, Vishnugopa and Skandavarman of the Penugonda plates late in the succession, which would make the date A.D. 475 for the plates possible. It may even be somewhat later.

Skandavarman was, according to the Velūrpālaiyam plates, followed by Nandivarman, then comes in a break in the succession as far as our present knowledge of it goes ; and then follows the line of Simhavarman, father of Simhavishnu, Nandivarman, Simhavarman, Simhavishnu and Mahendravarman occupying almost a century and, perhaps, a little more, between Simhavarman of the Penukonda plates, and Narasimhavarman, the great Pallava, whose accession may be dated approximately about A.D. 600.

It was already pointed out that the Ganga territory lay in the Anantapur and Kolar Districts particularly, and later on extended to take in practically the whole of the Mysore District as well with an alternative capital at Talakād. Kolar, however, is regarded as the ancestral capital of this dynasty even when the capital was actually at Talakād, and the hill Nandi is regarded as peculiarly the hill of the Gangas. According to one traditional verse defining the boundaries of Tondamandalam, the Pallava territory proper, the western boundary is fixed at Pavalamalai (coral-hill) ; according to another it is taken westwards to Rishabhagiri ; the former apparently denotes the foot-hills of the Eastern Ghauts that skirt the foot of the plateau and have a westward trend till they strike the Western Ghauts beyond the Nilgiris ; while the latter is obviously the hill Nandi. This latter boundary, perhaps, explains the overlordship claimed by the Pallavas over the Gangas. This claim to overlordship was clearly admitted by the Gangas themselves, according to the Pennukonda plates. It is clear from this that the original territory of the Gangas, at least the eastern part of it, formed a portion of the Tondamandalam and the Pallava claim to overlordship rested upon a sound historical basis. The overlordship claimed over the territory specially associated with the Kadambas was already explained as being due to the Pallavas becoming heir to the territory by virtue of a Nāga marriage, that is, the marriage of Virakūrchā with the Nāga princess which gave him a queen and a kingdom together. This historical union has nothing to do whatever with the period of the Tondamān Ilam-Tirayan of Kānchī. We thus see that the period extending from the latter half of the fourth century down to almost the commencement of the seventh is occupied by what seems a continuous succession of Pallava rulers. Anything like an interregnum postulated by the late Mr. Venkayya within which has to be brought in not merely the great Chola Karikāla, but the succession of political changes centring round his name and that of his successors for a generation or two at the outset, seems impossible.

The Theory of a Pallava Interregnum.

After all, the theory of a Chola occupation of Kāñchī during a Pallava interregnum in the fifth century rests upon the flimsy foundation of the eleventh century tradition recorded in copper-plate grants. According to a record of date the equivalent of A.D.³³ 1157 (Saka 1079), Karikāla was son of a Jatāchoda, King of Ayodhya, and had three sons himself : Karikāla II, Tondamān and Dasavarman. Karikāla is said, in this record, to have ruled in Kāñchī and had under his authority a Trilochana Pallava. An Eastern Chālukya grant of Vimaladitya³⁴ of the eleventh century refers to a Trilochana Pallava also. According to this grant Vijayaditya, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, is said to have been the fifty-ninth in descent from Udyana, apparently Udayana of Kausāmbi, and was ruler of the locality called the Ceded Districts nowadays. He is said to have belonged to the family of Ikshvāku of Ayodhya wherefrom he came to the south. Being an interloper, he had to fight against the man in possession of the country, who was Trilochana Pallava. The record claims a victory for Vijayaditya who, however, was killed in battle by his enemy Trilochana Pallava. His wife, who was then in an advanced state of pregnancy, found shelter in the Brahman village of Mudivemu (Pedda-Mudiyam of the Cuddapah District) and gave birth to a son who was named Vishnuvardhana in honour of Vishnu-sarman, the Brahman protector of the bereaved queen. The names Vijayāditya and Vishnuvardhana occur in the genealogy of the Chālukyas. The victor Trilochana Pallava is given credit for having reclaimed the forest country and brought it into cultivation. Certain of the later historical Telugu families claimed descent from this Trilochana Pallava, as did the so-called Telugu Chola families from the Cholas of the south. It is the fact of the reclamation of the forest country that has led to the connection between Karikala and Trilochana Pallava. This reclamation is ascribed in the *Pattinappalai* to a Karikala Chola who is said to have effected such vast conquests as to strike terror into the hearts of his neighbours. He is said to have brought the Oliyār (a class of Vellalar generally entrusted with the government of the conquered territory) into subordination, and reduced the ancient Aruvālar to take his orders. He is said then to have made the northerners and the westerners shrink in fear. He destroyed the valour of the southern Pandya by an angry look. He made the shepherd-rulers languish in

³³ *Ep. Rep.*, 1900, Sec. 45 & No. 205 of 1899. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI p. 339, *et seq.*

³⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI p. 146.

their territory and destroyed the power of the five great chieftains (Vels). Having done all these, he is said to have destroyed forests to make arable country out of them, and increased their fertility by digging tanks and providing for irrigation.³⁵

The two points to be noticed here are that his authority extended across the whole territory occupied by the Oliyar, the Aruvālar, the Idaiyar and the other chieftains, and reached the neighbourhood of the territory of the Vadavar (Aryas). We have naturally, therefore, to hold the reclamation worked by Karikāla to apply to the country conquered by him, and could not be held to apply, as the commentator takes it, to the Chola country that descended to him, as an ancient stanza quoted by the very commentator in regard to this doing of Karikāla, says in effect that all the product of fertility poured forth in plenty in other countries by means of tanks and waterlifts, if well considered, was barely equal to the gleanings of the paddy-fields of the ancestral land of Karikāla watered by the Kaveri. This makes it clear that Karikāla's work of reclamation and improvement cannot apply to the Chola country.

This reclamation of the forest country is clearly indicated to have been the achievement of the first important member of the Pallava Prakrit charters who is given no name and who is credited with having bestowed upon eligible persons crores of money and a hundred thousand ox-ploughs. Nothing could be clearer than this statement in regard to the reclamation of the forest country by him. The fact that he is referred to only by the term Bappa-deva (revered father), and not by any specific name, points to the fact that his services were specially distinguished in regard to this matter and that he left such a deep impression upon the people that it was hardly necessary he should be defined by a specific name. He is probably the one referred to in later records as the Bhattāraka Mahārāja Bappadeva. Dr. Hultzsch attempted another explanation of the expression occurring in the Uruvapalli plates in regard to Simhavarman II that he was a " worshipper at the feet of the Bhattāraka Mahārāja Bappadeva " as meaning his father. It will bear the interpretation, quite justifiably in regard to later documents. In regard to this particular document, however, Vishnugopa was not a mahārāja, and could not, perhaps, exactly be described as Bhattāraka Māharāja. There is no indication of a reason for the departure in respect of him particularly. If later tradition credited Trilochana Pallava with having cleared the forest country

³⁵ See Appendix, n. 5.

to turn it into occupied land, here was Bappa-deva's work which later tradition might indicate as that of Trilochana Pallava. It is just possible that Bappa-deva's name was some equivalent of Trilochana (Siva) taking the fact that his son called himself Siva Skandavarman into consideration. If he bore anything like the name Siva he could be spoken of as Trilochana, and the late tradition seems to be an echo of the achievement of Bappa-deva himself.³⁶

On palæographical considerations alone the Prakrit charters have to be regarded earlier than the southward march of Samudragupta, that is about A.D. 350 at the latest; Samudragupta's date being known, it is impossible to bring in either of the two Vishnugopas that figure in the genealogical table to a date about A. D. 350. Vishnugopa of Kānchī, the contemporary of Samudragupta, must have been a ruler different from the two Vishnugopas of the later table. Therefore, then, after the Satavahanas we have the Pallava dynasty or dynasties of the Prakrit charters; then follows the reign of Vishnugopa and then the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters, to whose history actually we shall now turn.

The Chronological Datum in the Lokavibhaga.

The Archæological Department of Mysore discovered a manuscript of a Digamabara Jaina work named *Lokavibhaga*, of which an account is given in the report for 1909-10. The subject treated of is Jaina cosmography. The work was supposed to have been first given by word of mouth by Vardhamāna himself and is said to have been handed down through Sudharma and a succession of other teachers. Rishi Simhasuri or Simhasura made a translation of it, apparently from the Prakrit into Sanskrit. The work is said to have been finally copied some considerable time after this (pura). The date of the copy by Muni Sarvanandin in the village named Pātalikā (Tirupādiripuliyur, Cuddalore New Town) in the Pānarāshtra (Bāna country) then follows. It was in the year 22 of Simhavarman, the Lord of Kānchī, and in the year 80 past 300 of the Saka year, in other words Saka 380. This piece of information is confirmed by two other manuscripts of the work since discovered. The late Dr. Fleet who was suspicious of early Saka

³⁶ It would be worth while noting here one feature of Karikāla's achievement, i.e., his efforts at the conquest of new territory involving reclamation of forest land etc. This is found detailed in the first passage in note 5 (Appendix) making it clear that the reclamation detailed above cannot refer to his ancestral dominions of the Cholas.

Sloka 4 in 24, *S. I. Ins.*, I, p. 12.

dates, after having examined the date carefully and making a correction in respect of the month and date, has arrived at the conclusion that it is equivalent to the year A.D. 458.³⁷ The Simhavarman under reference, therefore, must have begun to rule in A.D. 436. Unfortunately for us, there are two Simhavarman according to our genealogical table, Simhavarman I and Simhavarman II. As we have arranged it on the table three reigns come between the one and the other. It is just possible that the reference is to Simhavarman I except for the fact that Skandasishya's reign would be very long, having regard to the Satyasena datum already examined. If the Simhavarman referred to in the Penukonda plates is Simhavarman II, as we have shown reasons that he was the person referred to, the *Lokavibhaga* was a work that was composed in the reign of Simhavarman II, having regard to the fact that the Penukonda plates are datable about A.D. 475. A.D. 436 to 475 is a period of forty years and might be regarded long enough for the reign of two kings and of part of the reign of a third. After the Simhavarman referred to in the Penukonda plates there should have followed three rulers before we come to Mahendravarman, whose date would be somewhere near A.D. 600, namely, Nandivarman, Simhavarman, the immediate successor of Nandivarman according to the Velurpalaiyam plates, his son Simhavishnu followed by Mahendravarman. One century might be considered too long a period for three reigns on an average computation, but there is nothing impossible about it if one had been an unusually long reign or if any two of them had fairly long reigns. The possibility of anything like an interregnum in which we could work in the kings and potentates associated with Karikala and intimately connected with the so-called Sangam literature would then be obviously impossible.

As a result of this somewhat detailed investigation the trend of the early Pallava history may be described as follows :

³⁷ Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrigal, in editing the Ongodu Plates II in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 252-55, concludes that this datum is invalidated by the grant, which is of Simhavarman's fourth year and, therefore, of A.D. 440. This conclusion is arrived at on page 253. He takes the grant to have been on the occasion of an eclipse, although it is said to be on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha. The text has "Kasyapa-gotrāya Chhando-vidite (vide ?) sarva sāstra kusālāya devasarmāne graha(ha)nanimittam asmad-āyur-bhala-vijayābhivridhdhaye sampradāma." The question is—Does "grahana nimittam" mean "on the occasion of an eclipse" or "for the sake of his acceptance"? It is very unusual to indicate an eclipse in this manner in grants, without saying what eclipse it is and otherwise defining the *Punyakala*. What is worse in the interpretation of the epigraphist is the date of grant is actually specified in the concluding portion. "Sa-Vijaya rājya samvatsare chaturthe Vaisākha-Suklapaksha-Panchamyām dattam." This is quite unequivocal. In the face of this it would be difficult to prove that the grant was made on an eclipse day from the document. The difficulty and inconsistency are the results of the interpretation, and neither the author nor the scribe could be held responsible for a blunder which is not of their creation.

While yet the Cholas were ascendant in the south holding Tondamandalam under their control with Kānchī for its capital, the later Sātavāhanas under Vāsishtīputra Pulumāvi made an effort at conquering the country answering exactly to the Tondamandalam, extending from North Pennar to South Pennar. This effort is reflected in Tamil literature by references to various incidents in the struggle between the Ariyar and Vadukar on the one side, and the Tamil rulers, particularly the Cholas, on the other. Among these rulers stands out the name of Ilam Perum-Senni, who is given credit for having defeated the Paradavar of the south and the Vadukar of the north. Another is similarly credited with having crushed the Vadukar at Pāli on the West Coast. That these Vadukar should be no other than the Andhras is in evidence in a passage of the *Pattinapalai* where Karikāla is said to have brought under his control the Oliyar and then the Aruvālar and then the Vadavar, these last being interpreted by the commentator as those next north to the Aruvālar.

The region indicated by this reference is the region which would correspond exactly to the south-east frontier province of the Andhras dominated by Dhanakataka (Amarāvati). In this region at one time the Sātavāhanas had so far succeeded as to create a frontier province under a Nāga general, Skanda-Nāga, who is described as the Mahāsenāpati. Under Pulumāvi, therefore, the war had gone on for a considerable time. When after the death of Karikāla, owing apparently to the civil war that raged in the Chola country the Chola hold over the north relaxed, the Andhras advanced south and occupied the country almost up to the banks of the Southern Pennar as the ship-coins of the Andhras in this region indicate. It was during that period that the Andhras felt the necessity of a viceroyalty in the south-east of an important character to which none other than a great general and, possibly, even a blood-relation of the ruling family was considered necessary. After some time, probably in the reign of Yagna Sri, they felt the viceroyalty so far settled as to appoint a local chieftain of some influence to the position. This apparently was the Bappa-deva referred to in the earliest Prakrit inscription available to us. His gift of money and a large number of ox-ploughs seems to be a continuation of the good work begun by Karikāla of destroying jungle and creating arable land from it, and digging tanks and providing for irrigation. This chieftain is of the Bhāradvāja gotra, like the later Pallavas, and his son ruled over Kānchī as the head-quarters. Whether these were in any manner connected with the Tondamandalam of Ilam-Tirayan, Viceroy of Kānchī in the age immediately preceding

is not known. Ilam-Tirayan's viceroyalty passed on to Chola Ilam-Killi, the younger brother of Nedumudik-Killi. After the viceroyalty of this prince we do not hear of Kānchī being under the Cholas. It is very probable that it then passed into the hands of the Pallavas. As was already pointed out, there were four generations of these rulers, it may be two dynasties of two each, who ruled over this territory. Whether the territory passed to another dynasty or whether it was the same dynasty that continued, we do not know for certain, but it is clear that the territory of the Pallavas had broken up at least into three as in the Hari-Sena inscription of Samudragupta three rulers at least are said to be governing the territory under the early Pallavas. That inscription refers to Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Pālakka and Vishnugopa of Kānchī. This probably was the result of a struggle between the new dynasty of the Ikshvākus who came from the north and occupied the eastern portion of the Sātavāhana territory, and the Pallavas of the south. The rulers of Pālakka and Vengi may have been offshoots of this intruding dynasty of the Ikshvāku king Vīra-Srī Purusha Datta. If that is so, Vishnugopa of Kānchī would represent the native Pallava as against the new dynasty of intruders from the north. Samudragupta's defeat of these rulers seems to have brought about a change in Kānchī. Vishnugopa's power was apparently undermined by the defeat, and his throne was usurped by the founder of the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. This seems the actual course of events, as Vishnugopa's name is not mentioned in any of the charters; and Vīrakūrcha is the man who is said first to have acquired possession of this territory along with the hand of the Nāga princess. This clearly indicates a struggle, and the struggle must have been between Vishnugopa himself and a collateral branch of the family, who sought the alliance of the powerful Nāgas in the immediate west. Vīrakūrcha or Vīravarman, who, we have pointed out, might be the unnamed son-in-law of the Cūtu chief of Banavase, whose son is named Skanda Nāga in one of the records, and Skandavarman in others. This Skandavarman was, apparently, the Skandasishya of the Sanskrit charters. In other words, Vīravarman became heir alike to the south-eastern viceroyalty of the Sātavāhanas held by the Nāga general, first in behalf of the Sātavāhanas, and later by the usurping local dynasty of the Pallavas of the Prakrit charters, which may be by right of birth, but certainly by an act of policy. Through his wife he became heir to the perhaps most powerful south-western viceroyalty of the Cūtu family of the Sātakarnis, thus uniting under one ruler the whole southern

block of Sātavāhana territory about the time that the northernmost part of the Sātavāhana territory was being disputed for by the Nāgas from the south, the Vakatakas in the middle, and the Kshatrapas from the north. Either Vīrakūrcha himself or his son Skandavarman was able to re-assert the authority of the Pallavas over the territory extending as far north as Vengi. Several of the Sanskrit charters were issued from their victorious camp in various of the well-known localities along the lower course of the Krishna. Skandasishya's son Simhavarman, perhaps much more the younger son Vishnugopa, probably took part in this reconquest of the north to the Pallavas. Another son, Kumara-vishnu, who probably ascended the throne after his elder brother Simhavarman, is given credit for the taking of Kānchī, either from his cousin or from the Kadambas, and his son Buddhavarman for the conquest of the Chola country; that is, perhaps, the first effort at expansion southwards by the Pallavas. The history of the next following generations is somewhat obscure but when we come to Simhavarman and his son Simhavishnu we are more or less on firm historical ground. There was a re-assertion of the Pallava authority over the Chola country under Simhavishnu, and Mahendravarman was able to make very much more of a permanent advance.

In the meanwhile changes of a momentous character had taken place to the west of the Pallava territory. The region of the Nāga chieftains, cousins of the ruling Sātavāhanas, had been taken either in the reign of Skandavarman himself or his somewhat feeble successor by an enterprising Brahman who succeeded almost as a rebel in putting an end to the Pallava power in the northern half of their territory extending southwards from Sṛi Sailam. He extended his power so far as to levy contributions from the territory of the Bānas immediately to the west and south of the Pallava territory proper. The Pallavas apparently recognised his hold upon his native country by conferring it as a fief upon him, thereby purchasing peace and, perhaps, a restoration of the Pallava territory including the Ceded Districts. This achievement of Mayura Sarman, the Veda scholar, must have taken place in the reign of Skandavarman himself or that of his son Simhavarman. A certain number of generations of these had actually ruled. We find the Pallavas slowly gaining strength and reasserting their authority over the Gangas by successfully anointing and thus ratifying the succession of two Ganga rulers. The inference of a weakening of the power of the Kadambas at that time seems possible, and this was taken

advantage of by a feudatory dynasty of the Kadambas themselves. These are the western Chālukyas who, like the Kadambas, claimed to belong to the Mānavyasa gotra and described themselves as Hārītīputras. Other later charters traced their descent from the rulers of Ayodhya and laid claim, in their behalf, to belong to the family of Ikshvākus; the Cholas laid claim to the same descent as did Purushadatta, the interloper in the eastern half of the Andhra territory. By the time that Simhavishnu had placed himself firmly on the throne of Kānchī, the Chālukyas had so far established themselves in power first in the north-western part of the Andhra dominions, gradually extending downwards to occupy what belonged to the Cutu Nāgas, the cousin viceroys of the Andhras. It is in this frontier that they came into contact with the Pallavas, necessarily hostile, as it meant an expansion of Chālukya power and territory in that direction. It is then there began the war between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas, which is the feature of their later history.

Kanchi, the Centre of the Pallavas.

During the whole period of their history extending from about A.D. 200 to about the end of the ninth century, the Pallava power centred round Kānchī, which became definitely associated with them, at any rate, from the days of Samudragupta onwards, though a very much earlier ruler states, in a charter that he issued, that he ruled from Kānchī. Kānchī was the centre and capital of the region known to the Tamils as Tondamandalam, and the Pallavas came into possession of that region exactly. They show almost from the beginning of their history to have brought along with them the culture of the north, that is, Aryan culture as distinguished from what may be called Dravidian (Tamil). Their charters were all issued either in Prakrit or in Sanskrit. It may even be regarded that during their age Sanskrit literature came in for some encouragement in the region which must be regarded as Pallava. The Jain work *Lokavibhaga*, already referred to, is a work which was composed in Cuddalore in the fifth century. That is not all.

Patrons of Religion and Art.

They seem to have been patrons as well of religion and art. With the accession to power of the great dynasty of the Pallavas beginning with Simhavarman and his son Simhavishnu, they extended their power southwards and brought it up to the banks of the Kaveri. As a matter of fact, Simhavishnu is stated to have taken possession of the country of the Kaveri. Through-

But this region we see evidence of the work of his son Mahendravarman, otherwise called Mahendravishnu. The tanks, the cave temples and some even of the smaller temples are ascribable to him. A Sanskrit burlesque ascribed to him and called *Matta-vilasa-prahasana* is not merely evidence of what it may be regarded as partiality for Sanskrit literature ; it also throws considerable light upon the religious condition of the times. The purpose of the work is to bring into ridicule the votaries of the various cults that prevailed in the time. An ascetic Pāsupata, a Kāpālika and his wife, and a Jain (Buddhist) mendicant are brought into colloquy in the play and held up to ridicule. The omission of the Jain in the group may lead to the inference that at the time he composed the work Mahendra was a Jain and might thus lend support to the Saiva tradition that rather late in his life he was converted to Saivism by the saint Appar. That a work of the character of *Matta-vilasa-prahasana* should be composed in Kāñchī for the purpose for which it should have been intended is evidence of a certain degree of prevalence of Sanskrit learning. This position of Kāñchī is supported by its having been a *ghatika* of the Brahmans at an earlier period, and by the fact that Mayurasarma of the Kadambas found it necessary to go to Kāñchī to complete his vedic studies. Mahendra seems to have been a patron of music as well ; and a short musical treatise referable to his time is inscribed on the face of the rock in the great Siva temple at Kudimiyāmalai in the Pudukotta State, so that Mahendra in particular was a patron of art as well as of religion.

Sanskrit Literature during the Period.

Among the finds of manuscripts brought to light by the search parties sent out by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library are two works ascribed to Dandin, the author of the *Kavyadarsa*. This last work has a verse illustrating a particular kind of composition. The verse, which has to be of a recondite character, takes for its illustration the city, Kāñchī and its rulers the Pallavas.³⁸ This reference alone would lead one to suspect that Dandin had something to do with Kāñchī. Two manuscripts newly brought to light relate to the subject-matter of the prose-work *Dasakumaracharita*, generally ascribed to Dandin. The poetical work seems to be called *Avanti-Sundarikatha Sangraha*, and of the original prose version a few frag-

³⁸ *Kavyadarsa*, III, 114.

ments alone are yet available, but the substance of the story is put in poetic form and contains an introductory chapter which gives some information regarding Dandin himself and his ancestry. The matter of peculiar importance to our subject at present is that Dandin calls himself the great-grandson of Bharavi, the author of *Kiratarjuniya*, and Dandin seems to refer himself to the reign of Rajasimha or Narasimha II among the great Pallavas.³⁹ This seems supported by the fact recently brought to notice by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachariar that a Ganga king by name Durvinita lays claim to having written a commentary on the fifteenth canto of the *Kiratarjuniya* of Bharavi. In this account Bharavi is also brought into contemporaneity with the Chālukya Vishnu-vardhana who became famous afterwards as the founder of the Chālukya dynasty. This would make Bharavi a contemporary with either Mahendra Pallava himself or his son Narasimha I. In either case Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniya* may account for the great popularity that this particular incident, in the epic tradition of the manifestation of Siva, attained in this part of the country. Apart from its being one of the most oft-quoted instances of Siva's beneficence, the cutting out of the particular episode on the face of the big rock in Mahabalipuram which remained somewhat inexplicable till now finds a satisfactory explanation. Though we have another instance of a sculptural illustration of this in distant Behar in Chandi Mau, still it was a matter which could not readily be explained why the Tevaram hymnners should have pitched upon this particular incident among a large variety, and the sculptors of Mahabalipuram should have chosen this for an illustration.⁴⁰ If Bharavi and Dandin flourished in Kānchī, Kānchī must have been a very important centre of Sanskrit learning at the time.

Great Religious Ferment in the Country.

This period must also have been one of great religious activity. Many of the existing temples came into existence during this period and most of them in Kānchī and the surrounding countries received encouragement and extension. The town of Kānchī

³⁹ This position seems to gain authority from Kavyādarsa I, 5, which, according to tradition, involves an address to the prince, Dandin's pupil. There is a further reference in II, 278-79, which give the name Rajavarman or Ratavarman. The latter seems obviously a misreading. Could Rajavarman have been the princely designation of Rajasimha? Varman is the terminal affix of the names of all Pallava monarchs, and Rajasimha is one of the titles of Narasimhavarman II.

⁴⁰ See my article on "The Antiquities of Mahabalipuram" in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1918.

itself is so full of these Pallava monuments that it would be possible for one to make a complete study of Pallava art and architecture without going out of it. The great renaissance of religion and literature characteristic of the age of the Guptas in the north found a reflex during the age of the Pallavas at Kānchi. Both Saivism and Vaishnavism, the two offshoots of the school of Bhakti, took form and shape during this period. Literature bearing upon both of these in Tamil is almost entirely the product of the age of the Pallavas. Of the sixty-three Saiva devotees, one of the earliest is the Chola king Ko-Chengan, who must have followed the age of the Sangam very closely. We have shown elsewhere that the earliest of the Vaishnava alvars were in all probability contemporaries of the Tondamān Ilam-Tirayan himself. It is not at all unlikely that some of the Saiva Adiyars of the sixty-three may be referable to an age as early as these. The latest among the alvars is Tirumangai Alvar, who lived as certainly as it is possible for us to know the fact, in the middle of the eighth century. The latest of the Saiva Adiyars, Sundaramurti, lived perhaps a generation later in the closing period of the Pallava dominance in the south. The greatest among the Adiyars, Sambandar and Appar, two of the three most celebrated among the Adiyars, were undoubtedly contemporaries of Narasimha I. Thus we see the school of Bhakti, the early features of which we already find reference to in the Sangam literature, began their great developments under the Pallavas and took the form that they have at present in this age.

Influence of the Gupta Culture.

How much of this development may be due to any direct Gupta influence we are not in a position to trace in detail yet. It is impossible that there should not have been that kind of influence, but the whole of the Pallava development in point of religion of the Bhakti school is explainable without this external stimulus. It certainly was the age for the south of a certain amount of reorganisation of the Brahmanical religion such as it was in the earlier time. The reorganisation seems to have taken the form of a great emphasis being laid on what is generally described as "theistic religion"—religion whose centre and heart-core is a personal god, watchfully beneficent for the salvation of devotees. Such a movement was called for to remedy one of the vital defects of vedic Brahmanism, and the great success that attended the early efforts of Buddhistic teachers, and to a certain degree of the Jain as well, was due to the congregationalism of both these religious systems. It is the need, therefore, of a religion that would appeal to the masses that led on to this great develop-

ment in this particular period of Brahmanical reorganisation against Buddhism and Jainism. The recognition of a personal god and of popular worship necessitates the form of worship associated with temples.

Temple Building in the South.

If this happens to be the age during which the great majority of temples in the south came into existence, the explanation is here ready. It was an age when the people were anxious to bring themselves into touch with God, and that could be done only by means of the cult of Bhakti and the institutions embodying in a visible form the all-beneficent personal God. It is possible to trace the history of many of these temples to this particular period and the work of temple building, at least so far as Siva temples are concerned, is closely associated with the early Chola Ko-Chengan. It seems demonstrable that this great Chola built temples both to Siva and to Vishnu so that he could be described by the Saivas as no less than an Adiyar (devotee) among the sixty-three. The Vaishnava Alvar (Tirumangai Alvar) can, without sacerdotal impropriety, refer to him also as having constructed seventy temples to Siva. It is thus clear that temple building on a large scale was only the exhibition of the inward ferment that led to the great development of the Bhakti school.

Clear Evidence of Hindu Expansion in the East.

It is to the earlier portion of this period that Dr. Vogel refers the sacrificial inscription discovered at Koetei in East Borneo. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, the character is Pallava grantha and the donations have relation to the various benefactions and gifts that followed the completion of a Brahmanical sacrifice by the ruler Mulavarman. This document illustrates the prevalence of Brahmanism so far out as East Borneo in a form which made the celebration of a sacrifice of the greatest importance and which proves beyond a doubt the existence of a colony of holy Brahmans that could celebrate sacrifices in the distant East. Later we have it, on the authority of Fa-hien, that in Sumatra and the Malaya Peninsula there were large settlements of votaries of the Brahmanical religion, but as yet nothing that could be called a community of Buddhists. A later traveller of this age, I-Tsing, found the prevalence of Sanskrit culture in Sumatra so great that all the wealth of manuscripts that he was able to acquire by years of travelling in Northern India he could take over with him and translate in the 500 volumes that he despatched home, as a first instalment, in Sumatra as offering all the facilities that India itself could have offered for that kind of monumental work of devotion and learning.

APPENDIX.

- ¹ குல்லைக் கண்ணி வடுகர் முனையது
வல் வேற்காட்டி னன்னாட்டும்பர்
மொழிபெயர் தேளயத்தராயினும்

—MAMULANAR in *Kurum-togai*, II.

புடையலங் கழற்காற் புல்லிசூன்றத்து
நடையருங்கானம் விலங்கி நோன்சிலைத்
தொடையமை பகழித்து வன்று நிலைவடுகர்
பிழியார் மகிழல் கவிசிறந்தார்க்கும்
மொழிபெயர்தே ளய மிறந்தனராயினும்.

—*Ibid*, in *Aham*, 295.

துண்பூணெருமை குடநாட்டன்ன.

—*Ibid*, in *Aham*, 115.

கன்றுடைப் பெருகிரை மன்றுசிறைதருஉ
நோவன் றோள்வடுகர் பெருமகன்
பேரிசை யெருமை நன்னாட்டுள்ளதை
யயிரியா நிறந்தனராயினும்.

—NARKIRAR in *Aham*, 253.

- ² கானக்கடிசூழ் வடுகக்கருநாடர் காவன்
மானப்படைமன்னன் வலிந்து நிலங்கொள்வானாய்
யானைக்குதிரைக் கருளிப்படை வீரத்தண்டேர்
சேனைக்கடலுங் கொடுதென்றிசை நோக்கிவந்தான்.

—SEKKILAR's *Periya P. Muriinayanar*, II.

Periya-Vadugan Kalaham, referring to an invasion of the Tamil country by the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana, *Ep. Rep.*, 1913, Secs. 46 & 47.

This equation held good in the age of the great Pallavas as Tirumangai Alvār in the *Periya Tirumoli* refers to a "Pallavan Tondaiyar Kon," the two terms being in apposition.

³ Quoted by Nachinārkinīyar and Ilam Puranar in their comments upon *Tolkappiyam*, Purul 54.

முலைபொழிதீம்பான் மண் சேறுபடுப்ப
மலர்தலையுலக மோம்புமென்ப
பரிசிலைத் தொண்டைப் பல்லவனுணையின்
வெட்சிந்தாயத்து வில்லேருழவர்
பொருந்தா வடுகர் முனைச்சுரங்
கடந்துகொண்ட பல்லாநிரையே.

- ⁴ இருநிலங்கடந்த திருமறுமார்பின்
முன்னீர்வண்ணன் பிறங்கடையன்
னீர்த்திரைதருமார்பின் உரவோனும்பல்.

- ⁵ பல்லொளியர் பணிபொடுங்கத்
தொல்லருவாளர் தொழில்கேட்ப
வடவர் வாடக் குடவர் கூம்பத்
தென்னவன்றிறல் கெடச் சீறிமன்னர்

மன்னெயில்க் துவு மதனுடைநோன்றுண்
 மாத்தானைமற மொய்ப்பிற்
 செங்குணற் செயிர்த்துநோக்கிப்
 புன்பொதுவர் வழிபொன்ற
 விருங்கோவேள் மருங்குசாயக்
 காடுகொன்று நாடாக்கிக்
 குளந்தொட்டு வளம்பெருக்கிப்
 பிறங்குநிலைமாடத் துறந்தைபோக்கிக்
 கோயிலொடுகுடி நிதி இ.....

—*Pattinappalai*, ll. 274—286.

ஏரியும் ஏற்றத்தினனும் பிறர்நாட்டு
 வாரிசுக்கும் வளனெல்லாம்—தேரின்
 அரிகாவின் கீழு கூஉமந்நெல்லே சாலும்
 கரிகாலன் காவிரி குழநாடு.

—First Venba quoted at the end of *Porunaravruppadai*.

