

The History and Institutions of the Pallavas

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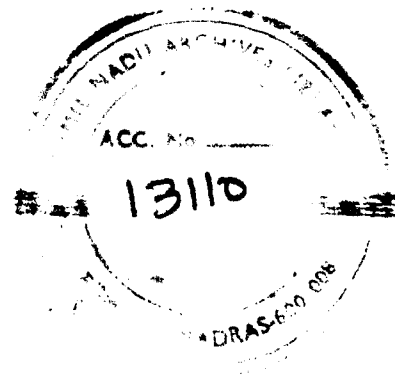


PREFACE

The following paper is an humble attempt at a brief description of the history of the Pallavas and the culture of their age, culled from all available published sources and books bearing on the subject, which are scattered and can be got at by the student only with difficulty. A small account of Pallava administrative institutions is also given. This forms part of a series of articles on "The Evolution of Political Institutions in South India" appearing in *The Young Men of India*. The author is greatly indebted to the writings of, amongst others, Messrs. V. Venkayya, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Jouveau-Dubreuil, T. A. Gopinatha Rao, A. Longhurst and K. V. Subramania Iyer, as well as to *The Indian Antiquary*, *The Epigraphia Indica*, *South Indian Inscriptions*, the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of the Government of India and the Madras Reports on Archaeology and Epigraphy.

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THE HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE PALLAVAS

THE question of who the Pallavas were, has not, even after years of controversy, been finally settled. Their origin constitutes, in the words of an eminent historian, one of the standing riddles of Indian history. Previous writers put forward the theory that the Pallavas were a northern tribe, of probably Parthian origin, and, not being able to settle in Northern India, continued their migration right up to Kānchipuram. Certain authors, and in particular Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, assuming this hypothesis, have tried to determine the date of Pallava migration to the south. In his article on the Pallavas, in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, for 1906-7, Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya says that the Pallavas, according to available literary testimony, were already a ruling tribe in Puranic times; and the fact that they did not conform to Brahminical practices showed that "they were either foreigners actually or were connected with them." The theory of their Parthian origin is found even as early as when Prof. Weber wrote his *History of Indian Literature*; and it held the field till recently almost unchallenged. References to the race of Pallavas in the *Mahābhārata* (Chap. 64 of *Sānti Parvan*), in the *Harivamśa* (XIV, verses 15 to 19), and in *Manu* and *Vishnu Purana*, all make the Pallavas figure in the lists of tribes on the frontiers of the Indus. "They are also found to figure among the enemies overthrown by the Sātavāhanas, namely Gautamiputra Sātakarni and his son. The Ceylon chronicle also mentions a tract of country which is located in that region, which is named in the *Mahavamśa*, *Pallavabhogga*." All these references were held to justify the assumption that the Pallavas were a body of foreigners who entered India by way of the north-west, gradually became Hinduised, and forgot all about their origin.

Mr. V. Venkayya had, however, a lurking suspicion that the Pallavas were possibly indigenous to South India, and were probably a mixed tribe made of the Cholas and the Nagas, who may denote some aboriginal tribe. According to Tamil tradition, the first Tondaiman, as the ruler of Kanchi and the surrounding region was called, was the

illegitimate son of a Chola king by a Naga woman. *Tondaiyar* appears to have been the name of the Pallavas according to Tamil literature; the Pallava king was called the *Tondaiman* or *Tondaiyarkōn*, and the Pallava country was called *Tundāka Vishaya* or *Tondāka Rashtra* in the eighth century A.D. in epigraphs. The story of the origin of the first *Tondaiman*, if true, would support the theory of the indigenous origin of the dynasty; but, as Mr. Venkayya added, "It is doubtful if this story explains the origin of the Pallavas, or if it only shows how they got possession of Kānchipuram and the surrounding country at some stage of their history" (p. 220 of *Annual Rep. of Arch. Sur.*, 1906-7).

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his article on "The Origin and Early History of the Pallavas of Kānchi" (pp. 20-66, Vol II, Part I, of *The Journal of Indian History*, and Chap. VII of his *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*; Calcutta University), would declare that the Pallavas were native to South India. According to him, the Pallavas were, in all probability, a family of feudatories of the Sātavāhanas of the Dekhan, who by conquest, under the powerful Pulumavi II, extended their rule over the region occupied by the *Tondaiyar*. The Sātavāhanas appointed governors for their southern frontier province, stretching from the region of Amarāvati on the lower Krishna to the region of Kānchi on the Palar. These Sātavāhana governors (probably of the 2nd century A.D.) eclipsed the Chola power in the *Tondaimandalam* region, and came to be known as governors or rulers of *Tondaimandalam*, or the Pallava country, since the term *Tondaiyar* is equated with the term Pallavas by Tamil writers like Nachhinārkkiniyar, the great commentator, and the *Vishnava Tirumangai Alwār*, who speaks of Pallavan *Tondaiyar Kon* in his *Periya Tirumoli*. These Sātavāhana governors used the Naga or snake emblem which was also used by the Pallavas on their banner. The Pallavas were probably the descendants of these Naga governors, and intimately connected with them. When the Andhra-Sātavāhana empire broke up, early in the third century A.D., these governors set up independently as rulers of the *Tondaimandalam* region.

Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil, of Pondicherry, working on the basis of a study of the Velūrpālayam plates (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part V), and the Vayalur inscription (No. 368 of 1908), engraved on a cubical pillar, declares that the first historic ruler of the Pallava dynasty became king by marrying the daughter of the Naga ruler of those parts (*The Pallavas*, 1917, p. 23). Again, in his *Ancient History of the Deccan* (1920) he would reiterate the same view. A number of coins, deciphered to have been struck by the Sātavāhanas, with the emblem of a ship with two masts on the obverse and the "Ujjāin symbol" on the reverse, were discovered on the Coromandel coast between Madras and Cuddalore. Thus all the part of the Coromandel coast which is in the vicinity of Kānchi was under the rule of the Sātavāhanas; and the Pallavas established themselves at Kānchi after the Sātavāhanas.

A fact noted by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar may be here mentioned as another factor destroying the theory of the northern or Parthian origin of the Pallavas. "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 Rājasekhara lived in the courts of the Gūjjara 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 *Bhuvanakōśa*, to which he actually refers for further information in Chap. XVII of the *Kāvya Mimāmsa*. 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 Dakshināpatha, lying beyond Mahishmati, while the *Pahlavas* he allots to the division Uttarāpatha, lying beyond Prithudaka. This last name, "the great water" probably stands for the Indus, and the people *Pahlava* are found associated with Hūna, Khāmboja, Bahlika, etc. In the estimation, therefore, of Rājasekhara, 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. Rājasekhara, no doubt, is a late authority, but undoubtedly gives expression to the prevailing opinion of his time in regard to these two peoples" (pp. 25-26, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. II).

Thus when the Pallavas, once feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, set up independently, they began the new dynasty of the Pallavas, as distinct from the older Tamil chieftains of the region, the *Tondaimans* who were the viceroys of the early Cholas in this northern Tamil region. The Pallavas belonged to the same clan or class as the ruling dynasty of the Dekhan, with whom they entered into marriage alliances. According to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, "so far as the available evidence goes, they were a dynasty of the Andhras, probably related to or even springing out of the clan of the Sātavāhanas."

II. THEIR EARLY HISTORY

According to Prof. Dubreuil, Prince Skanda-Naga was a great general when the Sātavāhana dynasty came to an end; and one of these semi-royal families of Naga origin, the Chutu, took the place of the Sātavāhanas. The most ancient of the Pallava rulers were contemporaries of the Chutus and related to them, and succeeded to their power. The Chutus were related to the Mahārathis, and both often bore the title of Satakarnis; probably these are the *Andhrabritiyas*, or servants of the Andhras, who, as mentioned in the Puranas,

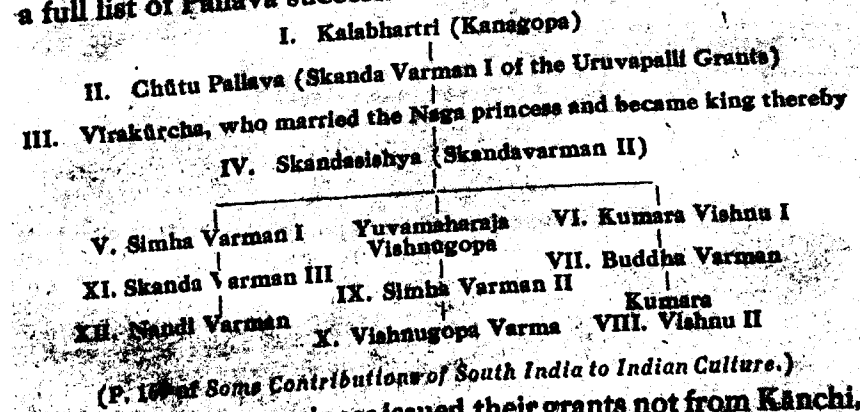
succeeded the Sātavāhanas. These Chūtu-Nagas were succeeded by the Pallavas. One of them, Mahāsenāpati Skanda-Naga, was, under the last Sātavāhana, military governor of all the country south of the Tungabhadra, from Banavasi (Vaijayanti) and Chitaldrug in the west to almost up to the region of the lower Krishna in the east. A celebrated inscription of the Kadambas, who later ruled over the same region, found at Tālgunda (pp. 21-22, Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*) says that Mayurasarman, the first king of the Kadamba dynasty, conquered the country by fighting with the Pallavas. It is, therefore, certain that the line of Skanda-Naga was succeeded by the Pallavas in the possession of this region.

Three sets of copper plates, written in Prakrit in a very archaic alphabet, the Mayidavolu copper plates (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 84), the Hirahadagalli plates (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 2), and the grant of Queen Chārudevi, found in the Guntur District (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 143) prove that in the third century there reigned the Pallava dynasty, which issued these Prakrit charters. Putting together these three documents, the succession of the kings mentioned in them could be easily arranged: Bappa Deva; Skanda Varman with the prefixes Siva in two plates and Vijaya in the third; the prince Buddhavarman, husband of Chārudevi; and Prince Buddhayamkura.

Bappa Deva was of the Bhāradvāja Gotra; and he, like the Tamil Karikala, destroyed the jungle and converted it into arable land, digging tanks and providing for irrigation. His son ruled over Kānchi as his headquarters. There were four generations of these rulers; "it may be two dynasties of two each, who ruled over this territory." The Prakrit charters themselves have got to be regarded on paleographical considerations as earlier than the southward march of the famous Samudra Gupta, i.e. about A.D. 350 at the latest; when a monarch of the name Vishnugopa was ruling at Kānchi. The Mayidavolu plates and the British Museum plates of Chārudevi give us a glimpse into the political condition prevailing in those days. The Mayidavolu grant was issued from Kānchipuram by the heir-apparent to the Governor of Amarāvati (Dhanakada) in the modern Guntur District; and the donative village was situated in the Andhrāpatha. The Pallava dominions included at this time not only Kānchi and the surrounding territory, but also the Telugu country as far north as the river Krishna. In the Hirahadagalli plates, the monarch Sivaskanda Varman is said to have performed the *Agnishtōma*, *Vājapēya* and *Aswamedha* sacrifices. That his dominions must have been extensive is clear from the grant which is addressed to lords of provinces, royal princes, generals, rulers of districts, customs house officers, prefects of countries, and others. "The land granted was to be free from taxes . . . from the taking of sweet and sour milk, . . . from troubles about salt and sugar, from forced labour, from the taking of oxen in succession, from the taking of grass and wood, from the taking of vegetables and flowers" (*Arch. Survey of India Report for 1906-7*, pp. 22-23).

As Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says, the Pallava administration is shown in these plates to have been elaborate. These give us an "insight into the distinct Asokan character of the organization of government, and its affiliation even to the *Arthasastra*"; what is more important, these details show that the Pallava administration was northern in character, perhaps quite distinct from that of the Tamils further south.

When we go to the next known dynasty of the Pallavas we are treading upon uncertain and shifting ground. What is known as the dynasty of Sanskrit charters came next. Separate genealogies are found in the grants, like the Uruvapalli copper plates of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 50); the Chendalur plates of Kumāra Vishnu (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 233); the Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 142); and the recently discovered Omgōdu plates (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, p. 246). The separate genealogies contained in these and in the Velurpālayam plates are obviously intimately connected with each other, and, with the help of the full list of Pallava succession given in the Vayalur Pillar inscription, have been worked out by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar into a full list of Pallava succession.



Some of these princes issued their grants not from Kānchi, but from places in the present Guntur District. Skandavarman II was encamped at Tāmbraṇa when he issued the Omgōdu No. I grant. Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa was probably the brother of Simhavarman and never reigned at all; he made a grant of the village of Uruvapalli in the eleventh year of the reign of Simhavarman. The places of the other grants, Chendalur, Pikira and Māngalar, and Dāsanapūra, from which the Māngalar grant was issued, and Menmatūra, from which the Pikira grant was made, are all situated in the Telugu country between the North Pennar and the Krishna.

Professor Dubrion concludes (*The Pallavas*, p. 25) that there were two dynasties of Pallavas ruling simultaneously, at Palakkada and at Kānchi. After some time the throne of Kānchi came into the possession of the dynasty of Palakkada, to which Simhavarman and Simhaviśnu, the ancestors of the Great Pallavas (Mahendravarman, Narasimhavarman,

etc.) belonged. This is why the Vayalur inscription gives first the names of the kings of the dynasty of Kānchi (of Nandivarman) and then of those of Palakkada. He would also try to construct the chronology of this line of kings, starting from Simhavishnu, who lived at the end of the sixth century, about A.D. 590, and by giving to each generation a duration of 28 years, arrive at A.D. 470 as the approximate date for Simhavarman I.

There is one difficulty. We know, from the famous Harisena inscription on the Asoka Pillar at Allahabad, that the emperor Samudragupta vanquished Vishnugopa of Kānchi about A.D. 340. Prof. Dubreuil would suggest that when Samudragupta advanced to the south of the Godavari, Mantaraja who reigned near the Kolair lake, his neighbour the king of Vengi and Vishnugopa of Kānchi and Ugrasena of Palakka formed a coalition to stop the invader. Who was this Vishnugopa of Kānchi? This is, according to Prof. Dubreuil, an immediate successor of Buddhayamkura, the last king mentioned in the Prakrit charters, and he ruled in the second quarter of the fourth century (p. 54 of *The Ancient History of the Deccan*).

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar would put forward the following theory of succession of the Pallava dynasties. Whether, after the dynasty of the Prakrit charters known from the inscriptions, members of the same dynasty continued to rule, or whether the territory passed to another dynasty, cannot be affirmed. But the dominion had broken up at least into three divisions, as in the Harisena inscription of Samudragupta, and three rulers were governing at the time of the Gupta invasion the territory which was under the early Pallavas. This was probably the result of a struggle between the new dynasty of the Ikshvākus, who came from the north and occupied the eastern portion of the ancient Sātavāhana territory, and the Pallavas of the south. If this was so, Vishnugopa of Kānchi would represent the native Pallava as against the new dynasty from the north. Samudragupta's defeat of Vishnugopa and others probably led to a revolution at Kānchi. Vishnugopa's power was broken up and his throne was usurped by the founder of the dynasty of Sanskrit charters. Vishnugopa's name is not mentioned in any of the Sanskrit charters; and possibly there was a struggle between Vishnugopa and a collateral branch of the family represented by Virakūcha, who first acquired possession of dominion along with the hand of the Naga princess, i.e. sought in his contest the alliance of the powerful Nagas in the west. Either Virakūcha himself, or his son Skandavarman, was able to reassert the authority of the Pallavas over all the country as far north as Vengi, as several of the Sanskrit charters were issued from their victorious camps in the region of the lower Krishna by the rulers of this dynasty. Skandavarman's son, Simhavarman, and more likely the younger son, Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa, took part in these conquests. Another son of Skandavarman, by name Kumāra Vishnu, who probably ascended the throne

after his elder brother Simhavarman, is given credit for the taking of Kānchi, either from his cousin or from the Kadam-
as. And Buddhavarman, Kumāra Vishnu's son, is given credit for the conquest of the Chola country to the south—the first attempt at expansion southwards by the Pallavas. For he immediately succeeding generations information is scanty, and the obscurity has not yet been lifted. But when we come to Simhavarman II and his son Simhavishnu, we are more or less on firm historical ground, and under Simhavishnu and his son, Mahendravarman, there was a reassertion of authority over the Chola country; and we enter the period of the Great Pallavas.

Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya would infer from the fact that many of the Sanskrit charters were not issued from Conjeevaram, but from places in the present Nellore and Guntur Districts, the conclusion that the Pallavas were driven out from Conjeevaram by one of the indigenous tribes of the Tamil country—probably by Karikala, whom he would bring down to the fifth and sixth centuries, and also Ilam Tiraiyan. He would quote the support of the astronomer Varāhamihira, who probably flourished at the beginning of the sixth century, and who would locate the Pallavas in the south-west division, and Kānchipuram in the southern division; and he adds, "If this is not due to a mistake, it may be that the Pallavas of the east coast were at that time occupying an inferior position,"—but he is careful to add that Varāhamihira's ideas of geography were somewhat hazy.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar would oppose this conclusion that Karikala and Ilam Tiraiyan lived in the fifth or sixth century, in the period of interregnum warranted for in the Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas. He would argue that the political condition and geography that could be gleaned from the Tamil literature describing Karikala was not the political condition of South India in the fifth or sixth century; and the literature would relate to a period anterior to the rise of the Pallavas both of the Prakrit and Sanskrit charters, and might be fixed for the first two centuries A.D. on various grounds which he has elaborated elsewhere.

The growth of the power of these Pallavas is known to us from other sources also. At the beginning of the period of this dynasty, the Pallava dominions comprised probably all the territory from Kānchi to Vengi, and the districts of Kurnool, and perhaps also Anantapur, Cuddappa and Bellary. The Kadambaras of Banavasi, who were originally Brahmanas threatened to defy the Pallavas. The founder of the family, Mayūrasarman, defied the Pallava frontier guards, and, in the picturesque words of the inscription (*The Talagunda inscription, Epig. Indica, Vol. VIII*), "with the hand dexterous in grasping the kusa grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation vessel, he (i.e. Mayūrasarman) unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth," and he soon occupied the inaccessible forest country stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata and levied taxes from the circle of kings headed by the great Bāṇa. The Pallava king was

shrewd enough to recognize the strength of the new usurper, and rewarded him with "territory bordered by the waters of the western sea," and extending in the east to the limit of Prehara. The likely assumption is that the Pallavas, who were lords of the territory of the Chutus, had to recognize the Kadamba power in the region which was peculiarly the province of the Chutus. Later Kadamba kings do not appear to have been on friendly terms with the Pallavas. One of them, Mrigēśavarman, boasts of having been the fire of destruction to the Pallavas; another Kadamba, called Ravivarman, conquered Vishnuvarman and other kings and overturned the lord of Kānchi. Dr. Fleet would assign these Kadambas to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

Later Eastern Chalukya tradition refers to a battle between the Pallava king, Trilōchana, and the Chalukya Vijayaditya, near Mudivemu in the Cuddappa District, probably at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. Evidently Pallava dominion in those days extended to the modern Ceded Districts. The Pallavas gradually asserted their authority over the Gangas of Talakād, by successfully anointing, and thus ratifying, the succession of two Ganga rulers. According to the Penugonda plates of the early Ganga king Madhava, we have a record of the gift of a number of villages near Hindupur, and so adjoining the Ganga centre. His successor, Ayyavarman or Harivarman, was installed by a Maharaja Simhavarman, "the Indra of the Pallava-kula." His successor, Madhava, with the alternative surname Simhavarman, was similarly installed in a literal sense by Maharaja Skandavarman of the Pallavas. All these would imply a Pallava overlordship over the Gangas, and their cumulative evidence might be used to test and correct the exact course of succession among the Pallavas.

A last chronological datum with regard to the Pallavas—the Digambara Jain work, *Lōkavibhāga*, was translated from Prakrit into Sanskrit by one, Rishi Simhasuri; and it was afterwards copied by Muni-Sarvanandin of Tiruppādirippuliyur in the Bānarāshtra in the year 22 of Simhavarman, the lord of Kānchi, and in the Saka year 380 (i.e. A.D. 458). The Simhavarman under reference must have begun to rule in A.D. 436. There are two Simhavarman in the genealogical table; and, as fixed by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, three reigns came between the one and the other. He says that it is just possible that the reference is to Simhavarman I. "If the Simhavarman referred to in the Penugonda plates is Simhavarman II, as we have shown reasons that he was the person referred to, the *Lōkavibhāga* was a work that was composed in the reign of Simhavarman II, having regard to the fact that the Penugonda plates are datable about A.D. 475. A.D. 435 to 475 is a period of 40 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 Penugonda plates, there should have followed three rulers before we come to Mahendravarman, whose date would be somewhere near A.D. 600. . . . One century might be considered too long a period for three reigns on an average computation; but there

nothing impossible about it, if one had been an unusually long reign or if any two of them had fairly long reigns."

III. THE GREAT PALLAVAS

With Simhavishnu ruling in the last quarter of the sixth century, a definite chronological arrangement becomes possible. The Valūrpālayam plates and the Vayalur inscription inform us that he was the son of Simhavarman. From him the history of the Pallavas assumes a new phase. The facts available about the rulers are definite and the chronology not altogether upset by conjecture and doubt. The earliest stone monuments of South India are of this age, though the beds cut into the natural caves and the Brahmi inscriptions accompanying some of them are of an earlier age. The foundations of Dravidian architecture were laid by these kings. The Pallavas became engaged in a life and death struggle with the Early Chalukyas (of Vātāpi), and this partially accounts for the expansion of the former in the Tamil country, and it was also the cause of the decline and downfall of both the Pallavas and the Chalukyas after about the middle of the eighth century. The relationship of the kings of this period to the earlier ones is explained in a few epigraphs.

Simhavishnu, the earliest of this series, claims to have vanquished the Malaya, Kalabjura, Chola and Pandya rulers, the Simhavarman, proud of the strength of his arms, and the Kadambas. (Vid. p. 35, Vol. II, of *The South Indian Inscriptions*.) His son and successor was Mahendravarman I, who, according to the same plates (Kasakudi), gained a victory at Pallapura, north of Kānchi, over probably Pulakesin II, his chief enemy. But the Chalukyas succeeded in permanently occupying the northern dominion of the Pallavas, and Vishnunarāyaṇa, the younger brother of Pulakesin II, succeeded in establishing himself at Vengi and starting the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. The Aihole inscription praises Pulakesin as having caused the splendour of the Lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obliterated by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kānchi. . . . he caused great prosperity to the Chola, Kerala and Pandya, by being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost, the enemy of the Pallavas. Pulakesin probably conquered the country round Elore and Guntur about A.D. 610.

Mahendra was at first a Jain, and was later converted to Saivism by Saint Appar. He was the author of the earliest rock-cut temple at Trichinopoly, Pallavaram, Mamallapuram, and other places, whose chief architectural features are Dravapala in a peculiar pose, cylindrical flagstone pillars square in section adorned with lotus flowers and double-arched Thiruvachis. In the inscriptions of these caves Mahendra is given the surnames of *Avantahajana Mahendrasa*, *Sairumalla* and *Gunabhadra*. The inscription at Mamallapuram seems to refer to *svara* and *varṇas* of music; and the famous

Kudimiyāmalai musical inscription was possibly engraved at the instance of Mahendra. Prof. Dubreuil thus sums up the achievements of Mahendra, whom he considers to be one of the greatest figures in the history of Tamil civilization. He gave a new impulse to Saivism; he glorified music and poetry; he transported the taste for rock-cut temples from the banks of the Krishna (Undavalli, etc.) to the Tamil country; and he built the great tanks at Mahendravadi Mamandur, Dalavanur, etc. He opened up a new era whose apotheosis came in the reign of his son, Narasimhavarman the Great.

Narasimhavarman (cir. A.D. 630-668) retrieved the fortunes of the family by repeatedly defeating the Cholas, Keralas, Kalabhras and Pandyas. He claims to have written the word, victory, as on a plate, on Pulakesin's back, which was caused to be visible and turned in flight after defeat in several battles at Pariyala, Manimangala, Sūramāra, etc. (vide *Kūram Plates, South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I*). He carried the war into the Chalukya dominions, and actually captured Vātāpi, which was destroyed, according to the testimony of all available records, the Vēlūrpālayam plates adding that he took from his enemies the pillar of victory standing in the centre of the town. The Kāsākudi plates say of him that he surpassed the glory of Rama by his conquest of Lanka, was a comet that foreboded destruction to the crowd of proud enemies, and imitated the pitcher-born Agastya by his conquest. His conquest of Lanka is confirmed by the *Chronicles of Ceylon*, according to which the Singhalese prince, Mānavamma, aided Narasimha in repulsing Pulakesin. Narasimha undertook two expeditions to Ceylon, probably after 642, when Vātāpi was destroyed and Pulakesin slain. The navy, which probably played a part in these conquests, was active at Māmallapuram, which was magnified by this king surnamed Mahāmalla. The place served as a landmark and a naval station for the Pallava fleet. In later times this Pallava king was known as Vātāpi-konda-Pōttaraiyan. The well-known saint, *Siruttondar*, was an officer in the Pallava army, and his contemporary, Sambandar, who was also a younger contemporary of Appar, lived in this reign, and these help to fix the date of the Saiva revival, of which they were the central figures.

Mahendravarman II, son of Narasimha, had probably a short and uneventful reign. The Chalukya power was in abeyance during his reign and also during the early part of the reign of his son and successor, Paramesvara Varman I, whose Kūram copper-plates give a lengthy description of a struggle with the Chalukya Vikramaditya, at a place which is probably Peruvalanallur, where, according to the Udayendiram plates, there was a battle between the Pallava and the Valabha. The Gadwal plates, dated A.D. 674, were issued by Vikramaditya, successor of Pulakesin, when he was encamped in the Chola kingdom on the southern bank of the Kaveri, at a place known as Urāgapura (almost certainly identifiable with Uraiur). This invasion of the Chalukyas into the Tamil

country is described in a life-like manner in the Gadwal grant (*Epig. Indica, Vol. X, p. 101*). According to the Kendur plates (*Epig. Indica, Vol. IX, p. 205*), it is known that all the kings of the south combined together against the Chalukyas, including the Keralas, the Kalabhras and the Simhalas. The struggle ended in the defeat of the Chalukya, who, according to the Kūram plates, had to run away covered only by a rag. In an inscription discovered at the Kailasanatha temple at Kānchi, Paramesvara is said to have destroyed the city of Ranarasika, a *biruda* of Vikramaditya I. According to Mr. V. Venkayya, "perhaps the former repulsed at Peruvalanallur, a counter invasion undertaken in consequence of his attack on the Chalukya capital, Vātāpi." Prof. Dubreuil thinks that the city of Ranarasika should be Uragapura, occupied for the time by the Chalukya. The Kūram plates of Paramesvara record a gift made to the temple of Vidyāvinīta Pallava at that place; and this temple constitutes the most ancient monument in South India known to have been built of stone.

Narasimha Varman II, surnamed Rajasimha, had a long and peaceful reign, greatly favouring the Saivite revivalist movement. He is credited with having built the Kailasanatha and Airāvattavara temples at Kānchi, the shore temple at Mamallapuram, and the Panamalai temple. His date may be put down as A.D. 690-715. The next king, Paramesvara Varman II, had a short reign and was the probable builder of the Vaikunthanatha Perumal temple at Kānchi, as well as of the Siva temple at Tiruvadi in South Arcot District.

A dispute about the succession arose soon after the death of the last king; and Nandivarman, a cousin of his, was chosen by the subjects. He was the son of one Hiranyavarman, who claimed to be a descendant of a brother of Simhavishnu and was powerful, being assisted by various chiefs, among them being the Muttaraiyan of Tanjore. Nandivarman reigned for a long time, as is evidenced by the Tanjantōttam plates of the 58th year of his reign, and the Tiruvallam inscription of his 62nd regnal year. He had to fight with Chitramāya, a pretender according to the Udayendiram plates, and suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chalukya Vikramaditya II (in A.D. 741). He was the donor of the Kāsākudi plates. His rule lasted on till, probably A.D. 79, when Dantivarman followed, ruling down to A.D. 830. The name of this king seems to be of Rashtrakuta origin. Numerous inscriptions of his have been discovered at places like Kunnāndarkoil (in Pudukkotta), Tondur (near Gingee), Jttaramallur, etc.—the last dated in the 21st year of the reign. Govinda III, Rashtrakuta, forced Dantivarman to pay him tribute; this might have largely weakened the Pallava power, and no inscriptions have been found between the 21st and 19th years of the reign. In addition to this northern pressure, there was the Pandya aggression from the south. The beginning of an attempt at the unification of the Pandya kingdom as early as the reign of Pallavamalla had the Pandya king gained a victory at Mannarichi, being in league with the

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pretender Chitramāya. Now Varaguna, the Pandyan king, over-ran (cir. A.D. 825) half the Pallava empire, and even prepared to march on Kānchi.

The next ruler was Nandi, of Tellaru, who is given by Prof. Dubreuil a reign of 24 years, from A.D. 830 to 854. He is the donor of the Velūrpālayam plates, while his grandfather, Nandivarman Pallavamalla, was the donor of the Tandantōtam plates, which are more archaic. This Nandi had to fight for the throne of his father, according to the Velūrpālayam plates. There is, perhaps, an allusion to the battle of Tellaru (in Wandiwash Taluq), fought before the tenth year of Nandi, when the Tillaisthanam inscription gives him the title of Tellārrerinda. The poem *Nandikkalambakam* tells us, in verse 64, that the king was victorious on the banks of the Vaigai, probably referring to a victory over the encroaching Pandya. The reign of Nandi was rich in poets. Perundevanar, the author of *Bhārathavenba*, refers to his patron as the Pallava king who conquered his enemies at Tellaru. Then, according to the chronology of Prof. Dubreuil, we come to Nripatunga, about whose ancestry a great controversy raged between Messrs. Hultzsch and Venkayya on the one hand and Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao on the other. The Bāhūr plates of this monarch, published by M. Vinson, give the genealogical descent of the ruler, and also the fact of his victory over the Pandyas, probably on the banks of the Arasilāru. He captured Madura about the eighth year of his reign (A.D. 862), and his peaceful and glorious rule extended for 26 years.

Dr. Hultzsch thought that Nripatunga was not a descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, that he was not a Pallava; that the name of an ancestor, Konkanika, found in the Bāhūr plates, proves that he was a descendant of certain chiefs of Western Ganga origin; and he built up the theory of a separate Ganga-Pallava dynasty. Mr. Venkayya improved upon this, saying that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was the last king of the Pallava dynasty; and that one branch of the family, claiming some connection with the Gangas of Mysore, occupied a considerable part of Tondai-nadu until the close of the ninth century. Mr. Gopinatha Rao had been consistently maintaining that there was only one dynasty of the Pallavas and the descendants of Pallavamalla must be identified with the ancestors of Nripatunga. The conclusions of Mr. Gopinatha Rao are strongly supported by Prof. Dubreuil on various grounds, some of them very convincing.

The last Pallava king Aparajita, called Pōttaraiyar, has about a dozen inscriptions. Ukkal (near Mamandur) has the name Aparajita Chaturvedimangalam. The battle of Sripurambiyam, after 879, was fought between Varaguna Pandya, Aparajita and the Western Ganga king. The Tiruvalangadu plates say that Aditya Chola defeated the Pallava king, Aparajita, and took possession of his kingdom. It is incontestable that Aparajita lived at the close of the ninth century, and was the last king of the Pallava dynasty. Mr. Venkayya held that Aparajita was the son of Nripatunga. The Southern Pallava

dominions of Tanjore and Trichinopoly passed into the possession of Aditya, who held sway there in the years after A.D. 880. Tondaimandalam, however, continued to belong to Aparajita till about A.D. 900. Mr. Gopinatha Rao has put forward the theory that the name Aparajita was but a pseudonym of Nripatunga. New discoveries may clear the situation.

IV. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

An unduly disproportionate amount of space has had to be given to the tracing of the political history of the Pallavas, as the material is now only being arranged in final shape and some conclusions of scholars have still to acquire final validity. The main features of Pallava art and culture and administrative institutions may now be traced. Kānchi was definitely associated with the Pallava power, at least from the days of Samudragupta onwards. "The Pallavas brought to Kānchi the culture of the north, as distinguished from what may be called Dravidian or southern culture." Their charters were almost all issued in Sanskrit or in Prakrit; and in their age Sanskrit literature came in for a large amount of encouragement. Kānchi was a *ghatika* of the Brahmins even at an earlier period, and Mayūra Sarman, the founder of the Kadamba power, found it necessary to go to Kānchi to complete his Vedic studies there. Kānchi rose to be a great literary centre, and a gathering place of religious disputants of all creeds.

The Pallavas appear to have been Saivas at first, as they adopted the bull for their crest and the club (*khatvāṅga*) for their banner. Some of the kings who issued the Sanskrit charters were probably Vaishnavas. Jainism also flourished along with these creeds, and, according to the *Periāpurānam*, was in the ascendant at the time of Mahendravarman. Patalipura, the modern town of Tirupapuliyur, in South Arcot District, had a big Jain monastery; and at Mylapore there were Jains when Gnanasambanda visited the place. Nedumaran, the Pandya, was converted from the Jaina creed to Saivism by Sambandar; likewise, in the previous generation, Mahendravarman was converted by saint Appar, and he destroyed the Patalipuram monastery and built in its place a Siva temple, called Gunadaravichharam. We have already noted the cave-temples and stone-temples built by the Great Pallavas. Besides Appar and Sambandar, Sundara, another great Saiva Samayāchārya, flourished somewhat later in the Pallava, Pandya and Chera courts. Three names in the orthodox list of Saiva saints seem to have been those of Pallava rulers—Narasingamunaiarayar, Iyadigal Kādavarkōn and Kalarsinga Nayanar. Some of the later Vaishnava Ālwārs flourished in the period; and Tirumangai, the last in point of chronology, refers to the achievements of some Pallava kings in his songs, and also to a king called Vairamegha, who made grants to Vishnu temples and besieged Kānchi—most likely the Rashtrakuta king, Dantidurga, who had that title. Buddhism

also prevailed and had its own votaries. Hiuen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, who visited Kanchi about A.D. 640, says of the religions of the Dravida country thus: "There are some hundred of *Sanghārāmas* and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the *Sthavira* school belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Deva temples and many heretics, called *Nirgranthas*" (Beal's *Translation*, Vol. II, p. 229).

We have seen already how Nandi of Tejjaru was the contemporary of Perundevanar, the author of *Bhārathavenbā*; and the poem *Nandikkalambaham* was dedicated to him. It is, however, as a centre of Sanskrit culture that Kanchi was most famous in the period. The discovery of Dandin's *Avantisundarikatha*, by the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library, has given us a great deal of information regarding the literary activity of this period. Bharavi, an ancestor of Dandin, the author of *Kirātārjuniya*, who was estimated to be on a par with Kalidasa by Ravikirti, the writer of the *Prasasti* of the Aihole inscription, is now known to be the contemporary of three well-known South Indian sovereigns, Simhavishnu of Kanchi; Durvinita, the Western Ganga, who is said to have translated into Sanskrit the *Brihatkatha* and written a commentary or fifteen sargas of *Kirātārjuniya*; and Vishnuvardhana, probably the founder of the Eastern Chalukya line. It is not known whether Bharavi wrote any other work; but his *Kirātārjuniya* became very popular soon after it was written. "We are not in a position to say whether the sculptor of the elaborate sculpture on the whole side of the hill at Māmallapura, representing the penance of Arjuna and his encounter with Siva in the guise of a Kirāta, was influenced more by the story as it was narrated in the *Mahabharatha* or as it is depicted in the immortal, *The Hunter and the Hero*," (Vide A. R. Sarasvati, on "The Age of Bharavi and Dandin," in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIII, pp. 670-88). Dandin was the author of *Kavyadarsa*, a great authoritative work on poetics in which there is reference to Rajavarma of the Pallava family of Kanchi. Both Prof. M. Rangacharya, and Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar of Mysore, would regard Dandin as being connected with the Pallavas; and the latter would assign him to the period of Rajasimha, the close of the seventh century A.D. Bhamaha was a contemporary of Dandin, perhaps slightly earlier or later in date. Another contemporary of these was Matridatta, who is called a friend of Dandin and who came from the Kerala country and resided at the Pallava Court. The *Mattavilāsa Prahasana*, recently published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, is attributed to Mahendravarman I; he also seems to be the king referred to as having inscribed the musical treatise on the whole side of the hill of Kudimiyāmalai, which, according to the colophon, was composed by some king who was the pupil of Rudracharya—possibly the same as Rudrata mentioned by Matanga as an author on music. The series of dramas published at Trivandrum as Bhasa's, seem also to belong to this period. *Svapnavāsavadatta* and other works of

the series appear to be abridged editions of the works of Bhasa and some other famous authors, like Sudraka, abridged for the purpose of being staged before the court of some king—Rajasimha, most possibly. Several manuscripts of *Mudrarākshasa*, found in South India, have the name of Dantivarman in the last benedictory verse—possibly identical with the Pallava sovereign of the name. There must have been many more works and poets whose names have been forgotten. Most of the inscriptions of the Pallavas are written in beautiful Sanskrit verse.

With such a wealth of cultural heritage, it is no wonder that we find the Pallava age a glorious epoch of art and architecture. Before the rise of the Pallavas all that we find are the antiquities of the caverns at Kilangunram, Māmbalappattu, Kavakkudi, etc. About the end of the sixth century a taste for rock-cut temples spread everywhere over the Pallava kingdom. Prof. Dubreuil could see Roman influence on early South Indian art; while Mr. Gopinatha Rao saw evidence of Græco-Roman influence in a statue of the Buddha found in the Kamakshi temple at Kanchi. Some of the rock-cut caves of Ajanta were due to the Vakātaka dynasty, who ruled in Berar and other tracts from about the third to the fifth centuries A.D. The Vishnukundins, who reigned over the kingdom of Vengi, had marriage relations with the Vakātakas, from whom they got the taste for building rock-cut caves. The rock-cut caves on the banks of the Krishna, as at Bezvada, Mogulrazpuram, Sittanagaram and Undavalli, were the work of the Vishnukundins. Mahendravarman Pallava was acquainted with these places, and his mother was probably a Vishnukundin princess. And he got this art, according to Prof. Dubreuil, from the Telugu country (Vide *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. II, pp. 25 et seq.).

The architectural character of early Pallava monuments is simple and severe, but indicative of great strength and durability. All the earlier Pallava cave-temples were excavated during the reign of Mahendravarman, belong to the Mahendra style, and have normally one external façade and a rectangular pillared hall. The pillars are curious, cubical at the top and bottom while the middle portion has the angles levelled off and is octagonal in section (caves of Vallam, Mahendravadi, Pallavaram, Trichinopoly, Singavaram, Mandagappattu, Tirukkalukkunram, Mamandur, Dalavanur and Singavaram). The monuments of the next stage, i.e. the Mamalla style (A.D. 640-674) are of three kinds: cave-temples, monolithic free-standing temples, commonly known as *raihas*, and rock-sculptures. The cave-temples become more ornamental and the panels more sculptured; and the rock-sculptures are large bas-relief sculptural scenes on the face of a cliff. Examples are only found at Māmallapuram. In the next stage, i.e. the Rajasimha style (A.D. 674-800) rock-cut architecture ends and structural buildings alone are met with—built of stone, sometimes with a brick superstructure and with a lofty tower rising in tiers over the shrine (e.g. Kailasanathaswami temple). In the last stage,

i.e. the Aparajita style (A.D. 800 to 900) there is a development of the apsidal-ended temple of the Mamalla period, and similar in style to the Sahadeva temple of Mamallapuram. This is the intermediate style between the Rajasimha and the early Chola styles leading on to the great temple of Rajaraja at Tanjore. (Vide *Pallava Architecture*, A. Longhurst, in the *Arch. Report for 1918-19, Southern Circle*, and Rea's *Pallava Architecture*.)

A résumé of Pallava history will serve as a good introduction to the study of their administrative institutions, which developed with such remarkable vigour and showed themselves to be so efficient and useful under the Cholas in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Administrative institutions must have certainly undergone great changes in a long period covering several centuries as the Pallava rule—first the period of the Prakrit charters; then after a gap the period of the Sanskrit charters; then after a gap the period of stone inscriptions of the Simhavishnu line; and lastly, the period beginning with Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

We have already seen from our study of the Hira-hadagalli plates how Pallava administration was complex and hierarchical in character and the tax-system was heavy and cumbrous. Many of the inscriptions give us information, though necessarily fragmentary, of the institutions of the land, the power of the officials under the king, their functions, the modes of holding land, of irrigation and of payment of taxes, the system of levying and realizing them, the growth of the temple and its value to social life, etc. The land was divided as in Chola times into *mundalas* (regions) *vaṇādus* and *nādus*. The real unit of administration was, however, the village community, either an individual village or a collection of villages. We do not know in detail from Pallava epigraphs of the features and elements of village administration; but there are reasons to believe that the rudiments of the later Chola village organization must have existed as there must have been a continuous evolution of village life.

In a manuscript account, called the Ancient History of Tondaimandalam (vide *Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. II), we are told that the first Kurumba chief divided the Kurumba territory into 24 parts, each with a strong fort in the centre. These divisions became Kōttams, as mentioned in the *Tondaimandala Satakam*, which also notes 32 *nādus*. A palm leaf *MSS.*, called *Tondaimān Kathai*, states that Tondaimandalam was divided into 24 *kōttams*, 79 *inner nādus*, 1,900 *nattams*, 64 *agrahāras* and 3,600 *kudis*. The Pallava epigraphs, especially those on stone, record the *nādu* and the *kōttam* in which the village connected with the grant was situated, and this greatly helps us in the identification of these localities; though many Pallava names of regions and places got transformed in Chola times.

As regards village assemblies, which controlled the bulk of local administrative business, we come across a "variety of terms more or less connected with one another, all of them connected with village corporations such as *Nagarattār*,

Ālunganattār, *Amrutaganattār*, *Ganapperumakkaḷ*, *Ērivāriyapperumakkaḷ*, *Dēvartirumaḷigaipapperumākkaḷ*, *Samvalsaraittupperumākkaḷ*, and so on." Of these, the *Ālunganattār* (the governing assembly) was probably the executive body of the village. The *Nugarattār*, mentioned in inscription 278 of 1902, refers certainly to the town-assembly. The *Ērivāriyapperumakkaḷ*, mentioned in a mutilated Pallava inscription at Uttaramallur, was the special committee appointed to supervise the tanks and irrigation channels. "A few of the well-known town and village sabhas of the Pallava times mentioned in the inscriptions are (1) the corporation of Tiruvorriyūr in Puḷai, (2) the assembly of Maṇali near Tiruvorriyūr, (3) the corporation of Tiruviprambēdu, (4) the assembly of Uttaramerur Chaturvedimangalam, (5) the assembly at Ukkal, and (6) the Sabha at Avani-Narayana-Chaturvedimangalam. Besides these there must have existed a number of other village and town corporations of which we have no inscriptional reference at present. The available inscriptions of the Pallavas, though they give us valuable glimpses into the variety of work turned out by the village corporations, through their committees, by the exercise of civil and magisterial powers, by acting as the custodians of public charities, by approving sale deeds, etc. They throw no light regarding their composition, election, their exact relation to the central government, and other vital details. In all probability the election rules, qualifications, franchise, etc., mentioned in the Uttaramallur inscriptions of Parantaka Chola were in force, at least partially" (vide a paper, *A Glimpse into Pallava History*, by Mr. R. Gopalan).

The *Kūram* plates of Paramesvaravarman describe the village of Paramesvaramangalam, which was evidently named after the king himself. The village was in 25 parts, of which three were enjoyed by Brahmins who performed the divine rites and looked after the repairs of the temple; 20 parts were given to 20 *Chaturvēdins*; and the remaining two parts were set aside for providing water and fire for the mantapa at *Kūram* and for reciting the Bharatha there respectively. The grant continues that "the donees shall enjoy the houses and house-gardens of the village, the oil mills, the looms, the bazaar, the brokerage, *Katthikkānam*, and all other common property." This gives us an insight into the village and the burdens which usually fell upon the villagers. An inscription of the seventeenth year of Nandi. Vikramavarman (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 93) mentions *Vikramaditta Chaturvedimangalam* and its sabha, and its powers in collecting revenue. Therein is also mentioned the list of persons who had to sing the *Tirup-padiyam*, i.e. the *Devāram* in the temple. Another inscription mentions a member of the committee administering the village of Tiruviprambēdu, and incidentally we come to know of the burden that fell upon oil-mills of the village. In a number of inscriptions we come across the assembly receiving paddy and collecting water-tax for irrigation. The *Tandantōttam* plates mention a host of duties collected usually, duties on oil-presses and looms, duty on toddy-

drawers and shepherds, fee on stalls, brokerage fee, fee on baskets of grains brought to the market, on areca-nuts, good corn, good bull, etc. The Kāsākudi plates describe exhaustively river-channels, their protection against inundations irrigation taxes to be paid, and curious taxes like the share of corn-ears, share of cloth, share of cotton-thread, palmyra molasses. Thus from the days of Sivaskandavarman, the people were liable to the taking of these numerous and ever-growing imposts. There are many duties which are unintelligible to us in our present state of information. These items were not necessarily all of them sources of normal revenue to the state, "but only obligatory services, which the king could enforce on the people for the benefit of the community." Gifts to temples and to Brahmins (*Dēvadānas* and *Brahmadēsas*) were freed from some or all of these taxes; and the right of collecting them transferred to the donees. There were taxes on professions; and merchants had probably to obtain a license for trading beforehand. There is an interesting record of a trade license belonging to the reign of Nandi of Tejjaru, when sanction was granted to the residents of Videlvidigu Kuthiraichhēri to trade in all articles, from camphor to leather, free from all encumbrances.

Pallava rule is particularly noted for its numerous irrigation works, some of which survive in good condition even to the present day. The embankment and the branching out of the Cauvery into various channels for irrigation, begun under Karikala and the earlier Cholas, continued under the Pallavas. The Pallavas started a number of huge irrigation works, which gave employment to skilled and unskilled labourers for long periods of time. Among these may be mentioned the Mahendra Tātaka, dug by Mahendravarman I, Perumbidigu Vāikkāl, Vairamegha Tātaka, Paramesvara Tātaka, Tiraiyan Eri, Chitrimegha Tātaka and Mārppidugeri. These were built either by the Pallavas or by their feudatories; and these must have helped in irrigating very large areas of cultivable land. It was customary in those days to parcel out a few acres of land irrigated by tanks among some families, and bind them and their descendants to do certain specified works for the upkeep of these, by the removal of silt and the depositing of it on the bund. Thus the reason of the popular saying: "As the banks are raised there will be more water; as the water increases, so will paddy; increase of paddy brings in more prosperity to the people; and with the prosperity of the subjects, the king's dignity grows" (K. V. S. Iyer, *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 368). The Vairamegha Vāikkāl is only one example of the numerous channels cut out by these rulers. (Vide the able monograph of V. Venkayya, on *The Irrigation of Ancient Times*.)

The temples, which were such an inseparable feature of village life, had great influence in moulding the temper and culture of the people. The Saiva and Vishnava revivalist movements of the seventh and eighth centuries gave an intense stimulus to temple building, which went on apace from the time of Mahendravarman. Some of the glorious Pallava

temples have survived to the present time. Great solicitude was shown in the matter of endowing these temples and ensuring the regularity and efficiency with which the temple services should be conducted. Numerous inscriptions record donations given in favour of temple service and to provide offerings to gods. An inscription of the eighth year of Aparajita records a grant for offerings to the temple of Tiruvorriyār for providing rice, ghee, plaintains, sugar, vegetables, areca-nuts, betel-leaves, tender cocoanuts, *panchagavya*, sandal-paste and camphor. Other inscriptions record the provision of perpetual lamps for the shrines of gods; while we saw above provision for the singing of *Tiruppadiyam* in the temple, probably to the accompaniment of music. As in Chola and other times, religious toleration prevailed; and the kings were concurrent endowers of Saiva and Vaishnava shrines. Persecution of Jains and Buddhists was only occasional. The temple often served as the meeting place of the village sabha, as the theatre, and the forum of the village. Provision was made frequently for the feeding of Brahmins, ascetics and the poor; and in almost every temple a free school was maintained; while in some temples were located colleges for Vedic and higher studies, supported by liberal royal grants. The Bāhūr plates of Nripatunga record a donation of three villages for the maintenance of a Vedic college at the place, which is said to have consisted of fourteen *ganas* (four Vedas, six *angas* and one each for *Mimāṃsa*, *Nyāya*, *Purāna* and *Dharmasastra*), organized and maintained by the learned men of the village. In the Tandantōttam plates we hear of donees who were very learned, and bore titles such as *Bhattas*, *Kramavits*, *Shadāṅgavits*, *Vājapeṭṭins*, etc.

While thus local administration seems to have been mainly in the hands of the villagers themselves, the country was parcelled out into districts, provinces and chieftaincies, which were entrusted by the kings to petty viceroys and rulers. These latter, in course of time, made themselves hereditary, and in their turn created a number of minor officials who had to render them personal or military services, thus creating a sort of feudal character for the administrative system of the country. "This was almost a necessity arising out of the circumstances of Pallava rule. It was superimposed upon the ancient traditional chiefs and kings of the south, and was upheld only by continuous force, threatened as it was throughout its life by the menace of a Tamil rising in the south and that of an advance of the Dekhan powers, the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas, from the north. After the vanishing away of the dynasty, the later Pallava chiefs sank into the position of mere feudatory nobles and officials in the service of the territorial kingdoms; and it was a Pallava local chief that took the first place among the feudatories of King Vikrama Chola, early in the twelfth century." Karunakara Tondaiman, the general against Kalinga, according to the work *Kalinṅat-tupparani*, was a Pallava and the lord of Vandalur. In the war of the Pandya succession, in the succeeding century, the

Tondaiman played a very important part. The name Tondaiman travelled actually from the Pallava to the Chola country. In the Telugu country there are inscriptions of local chiefs tracing their ancestry to Trinayana-Pallava. Sekkilār, author of *Periyapurāṇam*, got from the Chola ruler the title Pallavarayan. *Pallavaraja* is the name of one of the 30 *gōtras* of the Tamil-speaking Vellalas of Madura, Tanjore and Arcot. (Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 42.) The Pallavas are believed to be identical with the Kurumbas, of whom the Kurumbaras of the Tamil country and the Kurubas of the Kanarese country and Mysore are representatives. The first kings of Vijayanagara were supposed to have been Kurubas.

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