

The Madras
Geographical
Association



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THE MADRAS GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION

RULES.

1. The name of the Association shall be 'The Madras Geographical Association.'

Objects.

2. The objects of the Association shall be :—

- (A) To promote geographical knowledge ;
- (B) To secure for geography its proper place in the High School, the University and its constituent and affiliated Colleges ;
- (C) To help to improve the methods of teaching geography ;
- (D) To work for a school of geography being started ;
- (E) To promote studies about South India from various standpoints.

3. These objects shall be secured by :—

- (A) Holding meetings and conferences, and publishing periodicals and occasional bulletins ;
- (B) Organizing geographical exhibitions and excursions ;
- (C) Helping in the preparation of geography books in the languages current in the Presidency ;
- (D) Forming a central library of geographical literature, and collecting maps, charts, plans, models, slides and instruments ;
- (E) Providing for circulation to members, of books, periodicals, and other collections ;
- (F) And by such other ways as are deemed necessary to effectuate the objects of the Association.

Membership.

4. The membership of the Association shall be open to all those who are interested in the promotion of geographical knowledge or in the teaching of geography.

5. There shall be two classes of members, honorary and ordinary.

6. Honorary members are those who shall be so elected by the council by the majority thereof present at its meeting. They shall be exempt from liability to pay subscription, and shall have all the privileges of ordinary members, except voting.

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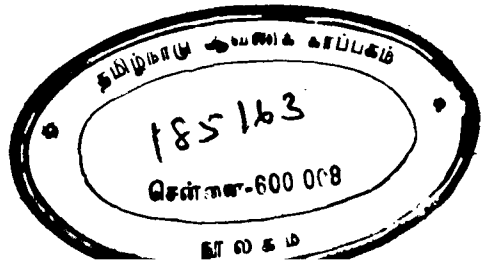
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These difficulties however have been considerably surmounted by the labours of several scholars; and though it is not possible to arrive at unanimity, a large number of facts are commonly accepted. The searching analysis of the geographical data given by Mahamahopadhyaya Svaminatha Ayyar in every one of his publications, is of incalculable value to the historical investigator. Very often, it is true, the eminent scholar mixes the data of the originals with those of the commentaries; but this defect is not serious. With a little trouble we can see which occur in the originals and which in the commentaries, and then separate the data for investigation. The ready-made analysis given by the Mahamahopadhyaya, of the countries, the Nāḍus, the towns, the villages, the mountains, the rivers, the religious centres, the markets, the legends, and numerous other items, places the student under a deep debt. The same is more or less the case with the other scholars like Pinnattur Narayanasami Ayyar, the talented editor of the Nāḍinai; of Mr. Rajagopalacharya, the editor of the Ahaṇācūru; Pandits Raghava Aiyangar and others. Interesting investigations have also been made by scholars like Kanakasabhai Pillai, M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Dr. S. Krishnasami Aiyangar, and others. Thanks to these, we are able to make a detailed analysis of the geographical data of the Śiṅgam works and are able to infer the historical vicissitudes as well as the chronology of the period, to a considerable, though not quite satisfactory, extent.

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THE TAMILAHAM.

Naturally the first question that confronts us at the beginning of our enquiries is the meaning and significance of the term *Tamīlaham*. The traditional boundary of the Tamil language (which is traditionally regarded as one of the eighteen languages of the world), is that it was prevalent in the country between the western and eastern seas (the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal), on the one hand, and between *Vēṅgaḍam* and *Kumārī* on the other¹. Even to-day *Vēṅgaḍam* (*Tirupati*) is regarded as the traditional boundary of the Tamil language; but as a matter of fact, the encroachment of Telugu has taken away some of the northernmost parts of the Tamil area.

Vēṅgaḍam however was only the inland boundary of *Tamīlaham*. Further east, in the coast, the traditional limit was marked by *Vēṅkāḍu*, now known as *Pēlavēṅkāḍu* (*Pulicat*)². It was bounded in the north, as we shall see later on, by the region of the *Vaḍuhas* (or northerners). For this reason it was known as *Vaḍuḥar-muṇai*, *Vēṅkāḍu* has been interpreted as the forest of *Vēl* trees; but I have a dim suspicion that it might be a corruption of *Aravakkāḍu*, the forest of *Aravam*, by which the northernmost linguistic division of *Tamīlaham* was then known.

The southern boundary is of course represented to be *Kumārī* or Cape Comorin; but there are some traditions³ to the effect that, in the earliest days of Tamil literature, there was an extensive land further south of *Kumārī*. The so-called first *Śaṅgam* is attributed by these legends to the age when such a land existed. That area is said to have comprised⁴ as many as 49 *Nāḍus*; a number of mountains (e.g. *Kumarikkōḍu* and *Maṇimalai*), a number of rivers (e.g. *Pabṛḷi* and *Kumariyāru*, the distance between these being 700 *kāḍams*), and a number of places of which the most important was the capital *Dakṣiṇa-Madhura*. It was at this *Dakṣiṇa-Madhura* that the first *Śaṅgam* is said to have been established. The whole area south of the present *Kumārī* is said to have been submerged by an irruption of the sea.

1. Compare: குணகடல் குமரி குடகம் வேங்கடம்

2. *Māmū'arār* in *Kuṟumtoḥai* says: "வடுகர் முனையது வல்வேற் கர்படி-
னன்னாட்டு. See also *Nachchirārkkiniyar*'s commentary on *Tolkāppiyam* *Poruladikāram*, *Sūtram* 113.

3. The tradition is recorded in the *Śilappadikāram*, which cannot be classed with the earliest of the *Śaṅgam* works. An earlier reference might, be *Kalittoḥai* 104.

4. The details about the *Nāḍus*, rivers and mountains south of *Kumārī* are enumerated only by the commentator *Nachchirārkkiniyar*, many centuries later. *Kanakasabhai Pillai* rightly remarks that "he does not quote his authority for this statement." The names, moreover are fanciful. They are apparently later elaborations from a vague knowledge of earlier marine convulsions.

The correct interpretation of the above tradition would postulate the existence of an area stretching for a distance of 1400 miles further south of Cape Comorin; for a *kāḍi*¹ is the same as the Sanskrit *Gavyūti*, measuring two miles. But there is little proof of the existence of a large area of 47 *Nāḍus* south of Cape Comorin. It is in fact referred to as a large area only by later writers like *Nachchirārkkiniyar* and *Adiyārkkunallār*. *Pandit Raghava Aiyangar*² points out that an earlier commentator of the *Śilappadikāram* locates the river *Pabṛḷi* in the neighbourhood of *Kumārī*, thereby showing that the land south of the Cape was a small district. Further, the same scholar points out, the commentator *Pēṇṇiār*, mentions that the single district of *Pēṇṇi āḍu* alone went under the sea with the river *Kumārī*. *Adiyārkkunallār* himself again betrays inconsistency in saying, in the course of his commentary, that, as compensation for the loss of his land in the south by the invasion of the sea, the *Pāṇḍyan* king seized two *kūṟams* from the *Cēra* and *Chōḷa* kings, an achievement which could hardly have satisfied him unless we suppose that his new acquisition was equal to the loss that he had sustained. Further, there is the suspicious circumstance that the convulsion of the sea was the cause of destruction, both of the first and second *Śaṅgams*. There seems to be more symmetry than truth in the legend. There is indeed nothing intrinsically impossible in the convulsions of the sea and the disappearance of some areas. There are traditions to that effect in the legends of Ceylon. *Tennent*³, for instance, describes three occasions when the inundations of the sea swept off large areas of Ceylon.—one in 2387 B.C., another about 504 B.C. and a third in 306 B.C. About the third, the *Rajavali*, one of the indigenous chronicles on which *Tennent* relies, states that, while king *Tissa* was ruling at *Kalyāṇ*, he oppressed his teacher to such a degree that the guardian deities of *Laṅkā* indignantly caused the sea to sweep away 100000 towns, 900 villages of fishermen and 400 centres of pearl fisheries—in fact eleven-twelfths of the kingdom. The *Maṭāvamsā* assigns the same event, with some modifications, to 200 B.C. There is thus nothing impossible in the accounts which the legends give regarding the encroachment of the sea more than once; and it is unnecessary to go so far with *M. Srinivasa Aiyangar*⁴ as to say that the stories are mere poetical exaggerations based on the destructive floods of the *Vaigai* and *Krtamālā* rivers and that *Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā* was in reality a place only five or six miles to the south-east of Modern *Madura*. When we study the details, however, the family likeness of the terminations of the so-called first and second *Śaṅgams* is very suspicious. All that we can say is that the tradition represents an age when there might have been some land further south of Cape Comorin which was submerged by the sea. But we cannot

1. But nowadays the meaning of *Kāḷa* has changed. It is equal in common parlance to 10 miles.

2. See *Sen-Tamil*.

3. *History of Ceylon*.

4. *Tamil Studies*.

say how far the circumstantial details about Dakṣiṇī-Madhura and other places can stand scrutiny. In any case, the tradition is of no use for historic times; for even the legendaries accept that the area vanished for ever, very early, and that the Tamil world, from historical times of which we have any knowledge, has had only Cape Comorin for its extreme boundary on the south.

We shall now pass on to the western boundary of Tamiḷaḥam. A discussion of this leads us to the recognition of a very interesting fact, viz., the mention of Tamiḷaḥam as a distinct geographical entity by the Roman and Greek geographers of the first and second centuries A. D., thus giving a clue to the chronology of the Śaṅgam age. The *Periplus*¹ of the Erythrean Sea, which belonged to the last quarter of the 1st century A. D., after referring to the region called Dachinabades (Dakṣiṇāpatha) south of Barygaza (Broach) from north to south and after describing the country and its markets, inland and maritime, says, that from the ports of Naura and Tindis the country known as Dimirike commenced. Bishop Caldwell was the first to point out that this is nothing else than Tamiḷaḥam. Dimirike, sometimes wrongly written Limurike, was apparently the name given to the south in contrast to the Āryaka of the north. The *Periplus* also shows an intimate knowledge, not only of the general boundary of the Tamiḷaḥam in the north but the ports and trade of the west coast and the political relation between the coast and the Pāṇḍyan country, indicating in its time that Malabar was part of Tamiḷaḥam, a fact which is supported by Tamil literature. This is also given by Ptolemy, a writer who lived about half a century after the author of the *Periplus*. He shows the same notion of a Dimirike south of Āryaka, describes the same ports with additional details about the political relations between them and the Pāṇḍyan country. There are some differences between the *Periplus* and Ptolemy in regards to the different parts of the eastern sea; but so far as the general notions of the individuality of Tamiḷaḥam is concerned there is no difference. Both writers speak of Tamiḷaḥam, as a region, which, like Egypt, Chryse (the golden island), etc., possessed, to the foreigners of the day, a distinct unity and individuality. The Indian section of the Roman maps, called the *Pentinger tables*, also applies the name Damirike (Tamiḷaḥam) to South India. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the term is a clue to the contemporaneity of the Śaṅgam works and these classical writers,

¹ The *Periplus* distinctly says that Tamiḷaḥam began south of the Leuke or white island. This was first identified by Kanakasabai with the Vellai-kal (white rock), eight miles to the north-west of the modern town of Badagara. In Portuguese times it came to be called, in consequence of a tragedy, the sacrifice rock. Kanakasabai surmised that Naura might have been a small village on the banks of the Akalappula, no longer identifiable. He identified Tindis with Tondi, near modern Pallikara, five miles north of Quilandy. See *Tamils 1800 years ago*, pp. 17-18.

The description of the western coast by Śaṅgam literature is very meagre. It is limited to a few incidental notices of some important places (e.g. Musiri) and their trade. The classical geographers on the other hand give detailed notices of the ports, towns, peoples, and markets. It is true that these accounts show an incorrect notion of the Indian coastal outlines. Even Ptolemy, though a great astronomer and researcher, had a false idea of the map of India (which is reproduced) in Mc Crindle.¹ An idea of the extreme inaccuracy of his notion can be seen from the fact that he places the great south-western point of India at Symylla, identified with Chaul, 20 miles south of Bombay. From Simylla he makes the coast turn sharply to the east and continue in that direction till the promontory Commaria, the same as Cape Comorin. Cape Comorin is thus represented as due east of Chaul! Then follows the Kolkhic gulf or the gulf of Manaar. It is said to be bounded on the north by a promontory called Kory which must be identified either with Pt. Calimere or the Ramesvaram spit. From cape Kory the coast for some distance is correctly given in its true northern direction. But this is followed by the most extraordinary mistake, which is thus described by Mc Crindle. "The actual direction of the east coast from Pt. Calimere is first due north as far as the mouths of the Krishna, and thereafter north-east up to the very head of the Bay of Bengal. Ptolemy however makes this coast run first towards the south-east, and this for a distance of upwards of 600 miles as far as Paloura, a place of which the site has been fixed with certainty as lying near the southern border of Katak, about 5 or 6 miles above Ganjam. Ptolemy places it at the extremity of a vast peninsula, having for one of its sides the long stretch of coast just mentioned, and he regarded it also as marking the point from which the Gangetic Gulf begins. The coast of this gulf is made to run at first with an inclination to the westward, so that it forms at its outlet the other side of the Peninsula." As a result of these mistakes the Ptolemaic map of India possesses a coast line more like that of south England or Spain.

In spite of the above defect, there is no doubt that Ptolemy knew a good deal of India and the information he gives is much more substantial than what we get from the Tamil literary works. With regard to the western coast, for instance, both the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy rightly mention that with Tindis (Tēṇḍi) began the Tamil world. The *Periplus* rightly locates it in the kingdom of Cherabothra, that is, Chēraputra or Kēraḷaputra. The *Periplus* then describes the ports of Muziris (Musiri, modern Cranganore), Nelcynda (modern Neḷaṅṅam), Bacara (modern Vaikkārāi), pointing out incidentally that these places were in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, which thus is shown to have extended to the western coast. It then refers to the Kottanora (Kuttā-nāḍu), evidently modern Kottayam, the dark red mountains called Paralia along the coast (Pural = coast?), the port and harbour of Balita (modern Varkkalai or Janārdanam), and then the port, harbour and bathing place of the Kumāri. Ptolemy refers to the same ports and

¹ *Ancient India*.

gives the additional information that some of them were in the territory of the feudatory Pāṇḍyan chief Aioi, a chief figuring prominently in Tamil literature. One inference which Kanakasabhai Pillai made from these references is that most of the places are on the eastern shore of the present backwaters and that therefore "neither the backwater which extends at present to over 40 miles from Changanacherry to Pallipuram, nor the long strip of land which forms its western bank, and on which now stand the flourishing seaports of Cochin and Alleppey, was then in existence."

With regard to the eastern coast, too, we are in the same position so far as the sources of information are concerned. Tamil literature is comparatively meagre and incidental, and mentions only Koṭṭai or Kapāṭapuram, famous for its pearl-fisheries, and Kāveripūmpattanam. But the classical geographers give more details. The author of the Periplus mentions, after Kumari, the port of Koṭṭai where, he says, the pearl-fisheries were worked by criminals. He next describes the coast-region as Argaru, which has been taken by some to be the equivalent of Urayur, and by others with Argalis Bay. Further north he mentions the ports of Camara (which has been identified with Kāveripattanam); Poduca (which has been surmised to be Puduvai, modern Pondicherry); Sopatma (literally, a fortified fort) to which, he says, ships came from Damirika and from the north for exchanging commodities; and then Masalia, bounded in the north by Dosarene, supposed to be the Sanskrit Dāsarṇas. Ptolemy gives even more details. Leaving the inland areas and towns which he mentions in fairly large number, we may note the following places mentioned by him after Kumārī:—(1) Kolkhiē gulf, which we may take as the gulf of Koṭṭai, with its pearl-fishery; and its ports of Sosikourai and Kolkhoi (Koṭṭai) on the mouth of the river 'Solen'; identified by Kanakasabhai with Tāmbraparṇi; (2) The Argaliē gulf, with cape Koti, called also Kalligikon, and the towns of Argeirou and Salour; (3) the country of the Batoi with Nakima the capital and with the other towns of Thelkheir and Koroula; (4) Paralia forming the country of the Toringoi and having the emporium of Khaberis in the mouth of the river Khaberis besides another called Sabouras; (5) the Arouarnori (Arvarnoi) with the emporiums of Podouke, Melangi in the mouth of the river Tyna (Pennai), Kottis and Manarpha. North of the Territory of Arouvarnoi he gives Maisolia, the land watered by the river Maisolos (the Kṛishṇa).

The description of the east coast given by Ptolemy is thus very detailed. The inland towns which he gives against each of the coastal area are even more detailed. The names given are so mutilated that it is very difficult, at times impossible, to identify them. It has been suggested that Kereoi may be the fisher class called the Karaiyārs; that the Batoi were the Veṭṭavar; that the Toringais were the Chōḷas, and the Aruvarnoi were the Aruvās of Aruvāṇḍu. These identifications however have yet to be worked out.

A study of the eastern coast of Tāmilāham involves the study of the tradition regarding Kapāṭapuram. This remarkable place figures in the Śāṅgam traditions as the seat of the so-called second Academy and as

having been eaten away, like Dakṣiṇa-Madhura of the first Academy, by the sea. Kapāṭapuram is referred to in the Arthasāstra¹ of Kautilya and the Rāmāyana. The former refers to the Tāmbraparṇika and the Pāṇḍya-kavāṭaka pearls, that is, the pearls which are produced in the Tāmbraparṇi and the Kavāṭa of the Pāṇḍyas. The commentator explains² Pāṇḍya-kavāṭa as a mountain known as Malayakōṭi in the Pāṇḍyan country. Dr. Krishnasami Aiyangar points out that the application of the term to a mountain is inconsistent with the association of the pearl industry with it, that it is more likely that, as the term means the door-way of the Pāṇḍya, it might be the promontory where the Western Ghats dip into the sea. The Ramayana describes the Kavāṭa of the Pāṇḍyas in this verse:³ —

ततो हेममयं दिव्यं मुक्तामणिविभूषितं ।

युक्तं कवाटं पाण्डयानाम् गता द्रक्ष्यथ वानराः ॥

and then proceeds to the description of the Mahendra mountain said by Agastya to be placed in the sea. It seems to me that Kapāṭapura was the same as Koṭṭai, the celebrated second capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The legend about the submergence of Kapāṭapuram arose probably out of the fact that, owing to the change in the coastline, Koṭṭai lost its importance. It probably took place at the time when Kāveripūmpattanam also was, as we shall see, destroyed by the sea long after the Śāṅgam age. The inclusion of Kapāṭapuram among the early places submerged by the sea was probably due to a vague and inaccurate knowledge of the subject among the later people.

Such is the boundary of the Tāmilāham as we are able to make it out from Tamil literature and from the classical works which supplement the information given in the Śāṅgam works. We shall proceed now to see what the Śāṅgam works have to say about the component divisions of Tāmilāham.

SECTION II

THE LINGUISTIC DIVISIONS OF TAMILAHAM.

Tamil writers of a comparatively late period divided the Tamil-speaking area into two great divisions from the linguistic standpoint, viz., the area where the Śen-tamiḷ or literary tongue is prevalent and the Koḍun-tamiḷ where a rough form of the Tamil language, evidently local, dialectical variations of it, was in vogue.⁴ The Śen-Tamiḷ area was Madura proper; and the Koḍun-tamiḷ is said to have been spoken in 12 nadus of the South Pāṇḍya, Kuttam, Kūdam Kaṭṭā Vēn, Puli, Panri, Aruva, North Aruva, Sitam, Maḷadu and Punalnadu. Of these² Kuttam, Kūdam, Karka, Vēn and Puli, comprised the modern Travancore State and British District of Malabar. Ten Pāṇḍi was identical

1. Shama Sastri's Edn. p. 86.

2. Dr Krishnasami Aiyangar's Beginnings of S. Ind. History, p. 68.

3. Kishkindhākāṇḍa, 41, verse 19.

4. Cf. the verse quoted below.

We do not know how far this definition represented facts of the time of, say, Tolkappiya.

with the Tinnevely District. Aruvā, southern and northern, was respectively the area now covered by the Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. Śītam, literally the cold country, was the same as that of the Nilgiris. Ma'ādu, or to use a more plain name, the Malairādu was practically identical with South Arcot. Lastly, Paṇṇi'ādu was the district north-west of Madura. It will be seen from this that even Tinnevely (Ten-Pāṇḍi) and the Chōḷa country (Punal Nadu) which are now inhabited by peoples speaking pure Tamil were in those days regarded as lands of Kodun-tamiḷ. One will naturally be surprised at this; but a little scrutiny will show a plausible explanation for it. By Śan-tamiḷ the traditionists meant literary Tamil and by Kodun-tamiḷ they meant the popular Tamil which was not used for literary purposes. Apparently the idea embodied in the above verse is that Madura or the Pandya country proper alone was the land of literary Tamil and that the rest of the Tamil-speaking area was occupied by people who were not famous for literary attainments, but who were speakers of Tamil.

தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங்கற்கா வேண்பூழி
பன்றியருவா வதன் வடகு—நன்றய
சீதம் மலாடு புன்னாடு செந்தமிழ்
சேரேதமில் பன்னிரு நாட்டென்.

We cannot say, however, that this linguistic division of the Tamil world was the earliest or the only one. Guṇasāgara, a Jaina writer of perhaps the ninth century,¹ describes pure Tamil as the language spoken in the area north of the Vaigai and south of the Madura river, and east of Karur and west of Maruvur. This would include, as Kanakasabhai Pillai pointed out with his usual acumen long ago, "approximately the northern half of the modern district of Madura and the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts." It would exclude Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya. The commentator Śeṇā-varāyar and, after him, Nachchirārkkiniya² accepted this definition of Śan-Tamiḷ Nādu, and they mentioned the names of the surrounding Nāḍus from the south-east to the north-east of Śan-Tamiḷ Nādu:—Poṇkar, Oli, Ten-Pāṇḍi, Kuṭṭam, Kudam, Paṇṇi, Karkā, Śīdam, Pūḷi, Malayarān, Aruvā and Aruvā Vaḍatalai. Guṇasāgara gave the same list with this difference that, instead of Poṇkar and Oli, he had Vēṇ and Pūṇal Nāḍus. Kanakasabhai Pillai goes on to point out that the very late writer Sankara Namachchivāya rejected the last definition as it would exclude Pāṇḍi-Nādu and as it was the Pūṇal or Chōḷa Nādu that should have been excluded and not the other.

We cannot say how far these two versions were true reflections of the knowledge of the Śaṅgam period. One thing is certain, namely, that if the latter view is taken, the early Śantamiḷ area would have to be assigned even a smaller area than what would be warranted by the former; for

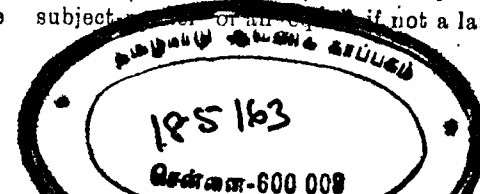
1. See Kanakasabhai Pillai's *Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 12 and p. 14. Poṇkar is the same as Poḍuṅga-Nādu. In the quotation given above the spellings are modernised.

2. In his *Tamil Studies*, p. 142-3, Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar clearly exposes Nachchirārkkiniya's geographical knowledge as well as that of later writers. There was absolutely no relation between their formula and the reality.

Poduṅga Nādu and Oli Nādu seem to have been, to infer from the method of the enumeration given above, identical with the modern area of Ramnad and Śivagangā. In any case it is clear from what has been said that neither the Chōḷa country nor Tondaimandalam, nor even the Chōḷamandalam was regarded as the land of Śan-Tamiḷ, though none would dare to dispute the position of the latter two areas as the equals of Madura at the present day.

This geographical definition of the Tamil area is, in the light of the knowledge gained from history, correct in some respects and incorrect in others. The inaccuracy is clear in the fact that, even in the days of the early Śaṅgams, it was not the Madura or the Pāṇḍya country alone that distinguished itself for literary greatness. It is true that the Śaṅgam was located in some one or other of the places in the Pāṇḍya country. But even in this we find from the traditions of the earliest Śaṅgam that it was located not in Madura but in a land even further south of Cape Comorin which is supposed to have been swallowed by the encroaching sea. The earliest Tamil Śaṅgam was thus located not in what was later on regarded as the land of Śantamiḷ but further south of a land which was regarded as one of Kodun-tamiḷ. Similarly we find an inconsistency in regard to this definition and the location of the so-called second Śaṅgam. As will be shown presently, the second Śaṅgam has been traditionally located at Kaṭṭaparam which was evidently the same as the famous sea-port capital Korkai. This, it will be obvious, is inconsistent with the claim made that Madura alone was the land of Śantamiḷ. Again the very habitation of Agastya, the first great literary figure in Tamil language and literature—in fact he was the reputed father of the Tamil tongue—is even now supposed to be the Podiyil hill, which is in the Tinnevely District. From all these facts we have to infer that the Ten-Pāṇḍi country was as much entitled to the designation of the land of Śantamiḷ as Madura proper. The fact seems to be that, in the earlier periods of the development of Tamil from its humble beginnings into a literary language under the influence of the Brahmanical colonists of the type of Agastya, the district of Tinnevely played as important a part as, if not a more important one than, the Madura country where the Śaṅgam came afterwards to be located. If the traditions have any value at all, they appear to show this. The inclusion of Ten-Pāṇḍi among Kodun-Tamiḷ countries is thus not justifiable.

The same criticism applies to the Chōḷa country. Though the Śaṅgam was never located there, the traditions point out that linguistically and culturally there was absolutely no difference between the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa kingdoms. A large number of the Śaṅgam poets belonged to the Chōḷa country and published their works in celebration of their own king or country. The actual publication might have been done in the Madura Academy. But there is no doubt that the kings and lands of Pūṇalādu were equal in the eyes of the poets with the Pāṇḍya country in their greatness; and they form the subject-matter of an epic if not a larger quantity of



Śān Tamīl output. Putār or Kāveripūmpattanam was as celebrated as Kōrkai; and Kōlī or Uraiūr was as prominent as Madura. There could not have been much difference between them. Neither geographical conditions nor other circumstances could have permitted such a distinction between Madura and Trichinopoly as to make the former the land of a pure tongue and the latter that of an impure tongue. We have thus to conclude that the inclusion of the Pāṇal-rādu in Kōḍun-Tamīl area needs justification.

The same remarks apply to Tēṇḍamandalam, as well. Some of the most celebrated poets of the so-called last Śāṇḍam were patronised by the Tēṇḍimāns or Iṇḍirayans of Conjeevaram; and it is difficult to say how they could have been patronised in a land of impure tongue. Similarly the lands of the last seven chiefs, of Kōṅgu of Malai-rādu, etc., were made celebrated in the Tamil world by a number of poets.

It is in regard to the Chēra Nāḍi however that we find the largest amount of inaccuracy in this definition of Tamil land. It should always be remembered that Malayāḷam as a literary tongue came into existence only after the 10th century. We have no evidences to show that there was a separate Malayalam language or literature till then. The Chēra country was regarded by the Greeks as Damurike or Tamiltham for the simple reason that the language which prevailed there was Tamil and that the land formed part of Tamiltham. It was for this reason that for a long period the Tamil language itself was known to Europeans who first became acquainted with Malabar as the Malabar language. Further, we find from the Śāṇḍam works that the people of Kēṇḍi or Chēra were proud to call themselves the votaries of sweet Tamil. The Śilappadikāram, for example, says that Kaṇṇaka and Vijaya, the two Āryan chiefs, were punished by Śāṅkettivan, the great Chēra conqueror, for their speaking low of beautiful Tamil. The home speech of the Chēra kings and their people was Tamil. The Aṅṅurāṇṇū, one of the great works of the Eṭṭottoṇai, was a work of five poets who belonged to the Kēṇḍi country. The work itself was compiled under the orders of the Chēra king Irumporai of the elephant's eye. The beautiful epic Śilappadikāram again was a work of the Chēra prince Iṇḍo Adigaḷ, the younger brother of Śāṅkettivan. The Pidiṇṇappattu celebrates the achievements of the Chēra kings and the composers of it regarded them in the same light as they elsewhere regarded the Pāṇḍyas. Even in the seventh and eighth centuries we find literary celebrities like Chēraṇ Perumāl and Kulacēkharai Āḷṅṅar amongst Tamil writers in addition to Aiyeririteṇṇār, the author of grammatical treatise Veṇṇāṇṇāi. Even Kamla who belonged to the twelfth century found an appreciative audience in the Kēṇḍi country. Śāṇḍam literature always speaks of Chēra as a Tamil Country. The names of villages in the Chēra country again are, in almost all cases, Tamil thus showing that ethnically there was little difference between the peoples of Malabar and the plains further east. The terms for directions in Malabar are again Tamil. The commercial and political centres of Malabar like Tēṇḍi (modern Kaddand), Musiri, Vanji, etc., are as prominent in Tamil literature

as Urayūr, Kāṇḍi, ūnpattanam, Madura and Kōrkai. Religious life also was the same. Till the close of the eighth century, in fact, Malabar was regarded as one with the rest of the Tamil country in regard to religious life. The temples of Malabar were as venerable as those of the East in the eyes of poets, saints and people. The Chēra country was inhabited by the early Tamil tribes and castes. Some of these minor Malabar castes figure in the inscriptions of Rājendrachōḷa as late as the 11th century. The names of villages like Vellancheri, Idacheri, Ayancheri, Valayanad, Parayancheri and Pallipuram in the Kurumbranad, Valluvanad, Ponnani and other taluks of the Malabar District clearly prove that Kēṇḍi was once inhabited solely by the Tamils.

Similarly the statement that the Tamil in use was a Kōḍun-Tamīl in the distant Tāṇi or Pūmbu-rādu is quite inconsistent with the recorded achievements of the poets and scholars of that region. The same remark applies to the Adigaṇṇa dominions immediately to the east of Pūmbu-rādu.

On the contrary, the inclusion of the Erumai Nāḍi, the territory of Iṇḍo Vēḷ and that of Nannan of Kōṇṇam in Śāṇḍam literature shows a rare insight. These areas are now lost either to Malayalam or Kanarese; and the inclusion of them in the Tamil area shows that Tamil alone was a literary language during this period; that the other Dravidian tongues were still primitive; that the Tamil area was much larger in those days than in the present. Inscriptions in fact show that, till the 11th century, some of the court records in these areas were in Tamil.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM 'ARAVAM.'

The northern regions of Tamiltham formed the Aru-rā Nāḍi immediately south of Vēṇḍam, the Erumai-Nāḍi further west, and the Tu-rā Nāḍis of Kōḍam and Kōṇṇam still further west. The country immediately to the north of Vēṇḍam was occupied by the Vādhas, literally northerners, which might be the name of a particular tribe or the people of the north in general. The rulers of the Dakkan and further north, however, are not usually given their dynastic names in Tamil literature; but vaguely called Āryas. This is a defect which has naturally given rise to a good deal of controversy in Tamil chronology. But it is very easy to see that, if the Tamils formed a world by themselves and if their intercourse with the land further north was comparatively meagre, if they politically and otherwise were able to keep themselves at a high level of self-sufficiency, they might have been indifferent to the exact names and relations of the powers of the north. Tamil geographical knowledge beyond Tirupati is of a most primitive type and to draw historical inferences on the argument of silence would be dangerous. Incidentally, it may be noted that Tamiltham was probably known to the Vādhas or northerners as Aravam from the fact that the part of the Tamil country immediately south of Vēṇḍam was known as Aru-rā-rādu, with its two divisions northern and southern. It might be that the term Aru-rā itself arose from a particular Tamil tribe called the Aru-rāḷar, a tribe which figures in 'Śāṇḍam

literature. But we cannot say how far this derivation is correct. The Aruvā rādī however had a high reputation. Even Ptolemy refers to this. Between the Chōlā coast and Misalis, the great port of that age, at the mouth of the Krishna, Ptolemy mentions the country of Arouvarnoi or Arvarnoi. The people of this country might have been the Aruvālis. It seems to me that it is in the term Aruvā that we should look for the origin of the term Aravam as applied to the Tamils by the later Telugus.

It should now be clear that the ancient Tamil literature of the Śaṅgam literature covered a much larger area than the present and, though the linguistic division of the traditionists is not quite consistent with practice, still it gives a correct insight into the relative preponderance of Tamil among the Dravidian tongues in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era. A proof of this in my opinion is afforded by the name Damirike which Ptolemy gives to the whole region as against the Āryaka or the Aryan country, identifiable with the Dakṣiṇāpāṭha and further north. It is not meant by this that the germs of the Telugu, Kanarese and Tulu tongues did not exist then. They might have existed among the masses. The courts however used either Tamil or Prakrit in case they were not subject to Aryan influence and there was no literary tongue as such in these languages. The study of the exact relations between the different Dravidian tongues during the period when Tamil was all active and the other dialects were still in formation is a fascinating subject for investigation. That Tamil was powerful in these areas is proved by the occurrence of Tamil place names therein, above all other things.

With these preliminary remarks about the real extent of Tamil literature we shall now proceed to study what the Śaṅgam literature says about the political, historical and commercial aspects of the geography of the Tamil country. We shall then be able to draw certain conclusions about the Tamil chronology and history, which can then be checked and correlated with the conclusions arrived at from other data than geographical, namely, literary, historical, philosophical, artistic, religious and so on.

SECTION 3.

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE PANDYAN KINGDOM.

The fundamental fact in political geography of the Śaṅgam period is the division of South India among the three major powers Chōlā, Chōlā and Pāṇḍya. So far as this main division is concerned, there is no difference between the earliest and the latest of the Śaṅgam works. The boundaries of the kingdoms must of course have been frequently changing, as they were constantly engaged in wars. But on the whole there were certain traditional boundaries which the poets have referred to and which we might take as normal, though under some sovereigns some dynasty might have gained accession of territory for some time at the expense of its neighbours. The traditional boundary of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom is reflected in this verse, generally attributed to the poetess Auvai.

வெள்ளாற்றின் தெற்கு மேற்குப் பெருவெளியாம்
தெள்ளம் புனற்கன்னி தெற்காகும்
உள்ளான் ஆய்ந்த கடற்கிழ
கான்பதாறுகாதம் பாண்டிநா டெல்லைப்பதி.

That is, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was south of the river Vellār, east of a tract of country called Peruvēlī, north of the limpid-watered Kanni and west of the gull-frequented sea, forming on the whole an area of 56 kālams or 560 miles¹. The Vellār referred to here is the southern river of that name. There is a northern Vellār, popularly called the Vasishtanadi, in the Salem and South Arcot districts. It is formed by the streams of the Kālāyan hills in the Salem district and after going through the Ārūr pass into the plain of South Arcot, flows across that district to the sea at Portonovo, very often forming, in the course of its 135 miles, the boundary between the two districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot. This is not the river referred to as the Pāṇḍyan boundary. The Southern Vellār which separated the Chōlā from the Pāṇḍyan kingdoms waters the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. It rises in the hills near Maruṅgūpuri in the Trichinopoly district, takes a south-easterly course through the Pudukkōṭṭai State and falls into the sea in Palk Strait south of Pt. Calimere. The superstition among the Nāṭṭiklōṭṭi Chetties that their women should not cross this river for the north, seems to be an echo of the times when the Vellār was an inter-state boundary. Nowadays, it is a very quick draining stream, being in flood for only six or seven days in the year during the monsoons. With regard to the western boundary Peruvēlī, literally the big plain, we are not able to say exactly what it was. It is probably the big plain which is east of the Malayamāi mountains, which is bounded on one side by the Pāṇḍi hills and on the other by the Pōdiyil, and which is watered, in its western parts, by the Upper Vaigai and the middle Periyār, which comes down through it from the hill. The southern parts of this plain country passed on into the domains of the chief Āy. The chiefdoms of Porunau, Āy and Pēhan were along the western limits of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom; but Āy had apparently full control over Vēṇā and Kuttam further west, so that these were reckoned as parts of the Pāṇḍyan, not the Chōlā, kingdom. In Vēṇādu, which must have been called after the forest of bamboo trees in that region there were the ports of Elankod, Kottiarā and Bammala referred to by western geographers and identified by the late Kanakasabai Pillai with Villavāṅkōḍi, Kō. ā. u and Ponrāni respectively. From the present location

1. It is difficult to say whether the kālams referred to the length of the boundaries or to the maximum lengths and breadths cross-wise.

2. It may be pointed out that, in later days, the boundaries of the kingdom are given differently. Vēṇbarrū ār gives the same limits in the north, south and east, but puts the western limit at Avarāsi, the great Śaivite centre in the district of Coimbatore. Puṅṇādi gives the same boundaries for the north, west and south, but says that the kingdom extended from the Peruvēlī (the great passage) in the west to the rampart of the assembly of the Nāyaka, the excellent ruler of Puṅṇā; in the east. Puṅṇāy was probably a seaport of Puṅṇā-rādu and might have been at the mouth of the river Vellār. Kamba's description reproduces that of Auvai in entirety.

of these places the same astute scholar inferred that, even south of Verṭalai or modern Kottayam, as to the north of it, the coast has receded six or seven miles since the days of Ptolemy. With regard to the inland towns in this region, Ptolemy mentions (1) Ponnata, (2) Alœ, (3) Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothras (4) Videris and (5) Adarima, and he identifies them with (1) modern Poonjarru near Meenachil, (2) Alwaye, the famous sanatorium, (3) Vañji or Karur 28 miles east by north of Cochin, (4) Pithara and (5) Atharimalai. Kūūr was identified by Caldwell and earlier scholars with the place of that name in the Coimbatore District; but Kanakasabhai correctly identified it with the ruins of Tirukaiūr, 28 miles off Cochin. It is very probable that the Tiru-Kāriūr of the later Kēṣṭō patti refers to the same place. The region around Cottanara, famous for its pepper, was the same as Kuṭṭanāḍi. The land south of Kuṭṭam, Vēnāḍi, was, together with Kūṭṭam, part of the Pandyan kingdom. Kumari, the southernmost point in the kingdom, is referred to in the Śilappadikāram and Māṇmēkālī as a counter-part of Benares in Brahmanical pilgrimage. The place of Kumarikkōlu in the Śāṅgam traditions has been already¹ referred to. The Pāṇḍyan coast along the gulf of Kōṟkai (Colchic gulf) which was inhabited by the Kareoi (i.e., Karayārs or fishermen) who were experts in pearl fisheries, had, according to Ptolemy, the sea ports of Sosikourai and Kolkhoi (Kōṟkai) and the inland towns of Mendela, Selour, Tittoua and Mantittour. All these places except Kōṟkai² defy, on account of their mutilation from the originals, attempts at identification. Kōṟkai which was in this age at the mouth of the Tāmbrapaṇi (which is named Solen by Ptolemy) is now, five miles inland and has yielded many archaeological things of interest. When the sea receded to its ruin, its place was taken by Kāyal which was flourishing in the time of Marco Polo in the 14th century. Tuticorin became prominent only from the 16th century onward; but Sosikourai of Ptolemy sounds so much like Tuticorin that one is tempted to say that it might have existed, though in a more humble form, in the early centuries of the Christian era, that is, in the Śāṅgam age as well.

Immediately north of Kōṟkai was the Orgalic gulf of the Greek geographers, which had Cape Koty (also called Kalligikon), the seaport towns of Argeirou and Salour and the inland towns of Tainour, Peringkaei, Korindiour, Tangala or Taga, Modoura the royal city of the Pandyan and Akour. The Cape Koty referred to here seems to be the same as Dhanushkōi, which apparently indicates the existence of the Fāma legend already in this age. Argeirou is probably a corruption of Uraṟūru or snake city, a name

1. See also Śān-Tamīl, Vol. V, 162 ff.

2. The Madras Manual interprets it as 'Slaying hand,' a metaphorical way of saying that it was a camp or royal headquarters. As I have mentioned elsewhere it was probably the Kaṟāṭapuram of the Artharāstra and the Rāṟāṇa. The pearl fishery at Kōṟkai is referred to in the Periplus; Abam 201; Maduraikkāñchi 135 38; etc.

which exists even now as Fān'āi, the island of that famous name 33 miles east of Ramnad. It is from this town that this part of the coast came to be called Orgalis by the Greek geographers. Salour is apparently the port of Śā'ū: 1, a few miles to the north of the Dhanushkōi spit. The Maduraikkāñchi describes this town as a far-famed port ever crowded with ships which had crossed the perilous seas and from which costly goods were larded, in picturesque surroundings, to the waving of flags from the mast-tops and resounding drums on land. Kanakasabhai Pillai identified Tainour with Tēnū: 2 in Madura District, referred to in some Tamil poems as the capital of a chief named Tē: vāṇ-kō nāi. He identified Tangala or Taga with Tanṭal³ in Śāṭtur Taluk and points out that the Śilappadikāram mentions that the revenue of the town of Tanṭā (as well as Viyalū) were assigned by a Fāṇḍyan king to the temple of the goddess at Madura.

We now pass on to the city of 'Modoura', which was of course the celebrated Pāṇḍyan capital. It was six miles to the south-east of the modern town of Madura. Very probably the capital was transferred from Kōṟkai to this place on account of its advantageous situation inland. The very name of the city indicates that it was founded in an age when the story of northern Mathura which was closely associated with Kṛiṣṇa, was to some extent a familiar thing in South India. It should be remembered that even in the days of Magasthenes the legendary connection of the Pāṇḍyas with Kṛiṣṇa (whom he calls Heracles), was well known. The Pāṇḍyas had also the names of Pañchayan and Kauriyan, after the sons and nephews of Pāṇḍu. These facts seem to indicate that the Pāṇḍyas were semi-Aryan in their origin, at least in profession. Madura of the Śāṅgam period and of the Greek geographers was fortified in a formidable manner⁴. The forts had four gates surmounted by lofty towers which touched the clouds. The walls were constructed of stone and surrounded by a deep moat. The city was also defended by a jungle of thorny trees all round. The Śāṅgam works describe in a picturesque manner the arrangements for the defence of the city. They say that the gates were wide enough to allow several elephants to go abreast and that weapons and missiles were skillfully concealed in the walls, to be discharged at a moment's notice against an unsuspecting enemy. The Śilappadikāram refers to the fact that Yavana soldiers used to guard its gates. This poem also refers to the broad, splendid and

1. It must have been very near, or identical with, Tēnḍi which (together with Tāṣipattēṇam) figured in the wars between the Pāṇḍyas and Ceylon.

2. It might be the village of that name 11 miles to the northwest of Madura.

3. It is 12 miles west of Śāṭhur. Tiruttāṇ āi is said to have been given as a Brahmadaya by a Pāṇḍya. See Ainkufunuru in 54 and 57.

4. The finest pen-picture of Madura is contained in the Maduraikkāñchi the Śilappadikāram, and the Nadunalvāḍai.

flag-adorned streets, the markets, the courtezans, the goldsmiths, corn merchants, cloth merchants, in the city. It was thronged by foreigners speaking different languages. Its streets always echoed to the tread of elephants, chariots, horses and footmen. It was full of occupations of every type. It had the Vallambalam or the silver shrine, the grandest building in the city, dedicated to Śiva, besides the temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Baladeva, Subrahmanya and Chināṭēvi. The Maduraikkāñchi mentions the existence of separate monasteries for the Buddhists, Brahmins and the Nirgranthas in the city. These two poems seem to be, to judge from the nature of these references, indicative of their composition in a comparatively late period, a period which cannot be the same as that of the vast majority of the Śaṅgam works proper. There is no question that, of all the cities of Tamiḻam, Madura was the most cultured and famous in the period with which we are dealing. It was the scene not only of soldiers constantly on the march and of merchants always busy in the market but of the best scholars of the Tamil world, organized into 'Śaṅgams,' for literary censorship and intellectual disputations.

According to Ptolemy, the coast beyond Orgalic gulf, which must have been the border land of the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḻa States, was the country of the Batoi. It is supposed that these Batoi were the Tamil Veḍḍivar or Veḍars, a caste of hunters. Kanakasabhai Pillai believed that this land was also known as Paṇṇi-rāḍu or land of pigs. It is doubtful, however, whether Paṇṇi-rāḍu can be located here. We have reasons to believe that it was the region around Palai that was known in those days as Paṇṇi-nāḍu. Ptolemy mentions that in the country of the Batoi the metropolis was Nikama. Kanakasabhai identifies this with Nāgāi or Nāga-paddinam, modern Negapatam. From the fact that Tamil poems make no mention of this place, he infers that there was not perhaps much intercourse between the Veḍar and the rest of the Tamil people. Besides Nikama, Ptolemy mentions the coastal towns of Thelkheir¹ and Koroula², and inland towns of Kalindoia,³ Bata⁴ and Talara⁵ in the country of the Batoi. It is after this that he mentions the land called Paralia which, he says, was also the country of the Toringoi⁶ from which we have to infer that Paralia and Toringoi referred respectively to Punal-rāḍu and the Chōḻas. Ptolemy's Paralia might be a corruption of Pūṇal-nāḍu.

1. Can this be Talaichehankōḍu, the 'Saivite centre south of the Kāveri and mentioned in the 'Silappadilāram as the native place of the Brahman Mālalan?

2. Probably K'ṇṇur.

3. Can it be Kāṇṇi-āreyil?

4. It reminds one of the name like Pattukkōtai.

5. Of Talayāṇṇu or Talayāṇṇam.

6. Toringoi might be a mistake for Choingoi (Chōḻarāya?).

Such is the extent and the geographical limit of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Passing on to the internal divisions of the kingdom, we are able to infer from the literature of the period that there were a number of subordinate chiefdoms which figured in the political and literary activities of the age. The southernmost of these chiefdoms was Nāñjilnād 1 of Porunan. The chiefdom comprised the extreme south of Vēṇāḍu (Travancore) and area south and west of the Podiyil hill of Agastya. Porunan was one of the chiefs who rebelled in the time of Neduñjeliyan (Aham 36). Porunan who has been celebrated by Marudan Ilurāga, in Puram 137 to 140, was at times a feudatory and General of the Chōḻa monarchs.

Another chief who figures in Podiyil is Tidiyan 2, a contemporary of Ollayūr Bātūa Paṇḍiya. (See Aham 25,322 & 331).

Still another chief who distinguished himself in the vicinity of the Podiyil hill was Paḷayan Māran of Mōḍū. 3 A lot of speculation centres round this chief. It has been maintained for instance that he was, the oldest line of the Pāṇḍyan stock, that he was the highest dignitary in the state next to the Pāṇḍyan king and that he met the Vamba Mōriyas and other northern invaders in the neighbourhood of Podiyil hill, and therefore had a part in thwarting the Maurya invasion of South India about the time of Bimbisāra or Aśoka. This is the view taken by Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of the Madras University. I am unable to agree with him in his theory that Paḷayan Māran was a contemporary of the Mauriyas of the 3rd century B.C. and that he had a part in withstanding an invasion of South India by them. The Vamba Mōriyas and other allied tribes were, in my opinion, tribes of the Telugu-Canarese area who played a part in the political convulsions of the period which immediately followed the downfall of the Āndhras and who were the indirect cause of the advent of the Gaṅgas, Kadambas and Pallavas. It is certain however that Paḷayan Māran was a very important chief. From the fact that the Chōḻa Kōḻi Vaḷavan, who besieged Madura once, was routed by him (Aham 345) and that his pride chastised a feudatory of the Chōḻa a Senkuttuvan and invited an invasion from him, it is clear that this chief was one of the active potentates of this period. His greatness can be realised from the fact that he figures, though in a distorted manner, even in the legends of Ceylon.⁴

AY OF PODIYIL.

Another feudatory of the Pāṇḍya king whose name we meet with in Śaṅgam works is Āy who owned the lands immediately north of those owned by Porunan. Āy is mentioned as one of the seven last chiefs. He belonged

1. Hence he was also known as Nāñjil-Vaḷḷavan.

2. See Śaṅ-Tamil, Vol II, p. 267 ff.

3. Mōḍū might be Tirunōḍur near Madura (6 miles to the north),

4. The relation between these and Muśindai, the chief of Vembi Nadu (in Tinnevely Dt.) who was a great giver of of sandals, chariots and elephants to servants, is not known.

to the Vāṇi agricultural caste. He was the master of the Kaviramalai, which seems to have been another name for Podiyil; for Podiyil was the source of the Tānbraṇi which seems to have also been known as Kāvēri. It is well-known that Agastyagiri was called Podibai, literally a hill of elephant forests. Āy's territory was therefore naturally rich in elephants, so rich in them that he gave them as rewards to scholars! Āy had the Surapūna garland for his insignia. The famous Āy who figures in literature is also called Andraṇ. His country was, thanks to the Tānbraṇi, very fertile, and his soldiers were a terror to others. On one occasion the Āy chief had gone to fight with the distant Kṇṇus themselves, we may presume, as the feudatory of the Pāṇḍya. The Āy of Podiyil should not be confounded with Āy Eyanan or Adigan of Kṇṇu who opposed Migāṇi in the battle of Pāṇi and was killed by him. It was the Āy of the Podiyil that is referred to by Greek writers as the owner of the ports of Kuttarāḍi. The term Āy or Āya was in all probability a corrupt form of Yālava.

PEHAN OF KANMAMALAI.

Another feudatory chief in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was Pēhan. He was the master of the territory immediately north of the Pāṇi hills and up to the hills giving rise to the upper waters of the Ana āvaṇi. Pēhan was also one of the seven last kings. His wife was Kṇṇaki, indifference to whom was ended by the interference of several poets. Puram 141 says that he once covered a peacock with a cover protecting it from cold—so charitable he was. His mountain was, for obvious reasons, called Kanmāmalai. It was immediately north of Pēhan's land that the Chēra had access to the Kōṇṇu region. Elsewhere we are told that Pēhan had for his capital Nalūr in Malairāḍi.¹ This Nalūr was probably a village near Palghat or the Pāṇi hills. Pēhan has also been called Vaiyāṇikkō or king of Vaiyāṇi; a corruption of vaikāpuri by which the region of Pāṇi and viṇū ākshi is known. The chief Neduvāvi who figures in Ahams I and 61 was perhaps an ancestor of Pēhan.

EVVI OF MUTTURU AND MILALAICKURRAM.

The northernmost part of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was occupied by a chief called Evvi. This region was known by the name of Milalaikkūrram and had in it a place called Muttūru also on the coast, where pearl-fisheries

1. It seems to have been the corruption of Vāṇapuri, or Vāṇbraṇi.
2. I am tempted to identify it with Nalūr near Bayapore but it seems to be too far off, beyond Pūṇiāḍu, to be placed in Pēhan's chiefdom.

were carried on, as in the further south. Evvi's Nāḍu is referred to in Ahams 115, 126, 266 and 366. A part of his Nāḍu was watered by the Kāṇi, thus indicating that it extended far north at times into the Chōḷa lands. In fact Milalaikkūrram seems to have been a border district sometimes forming the southernmost outpost of the Chōḷa kingdom and sometimes the northernmost province of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The province was so rich in pearl fisheries that merchants sold things in it not for coins but pearls! Poets Māṇḍu Maruda (Puram 24) and Kīraṇ of Kūṇiāṇi² (Ahams 366) refer to the abundance of the marudam and nēydaḷ lands in it. Evvi belonged to the Vēḷir family (Puram 24). He was a great donor of gifts to savants. He was a rebel against Nēḍiṇḍiyān and defeated by him at Maṇvāyil,³ he was deprived of his chiefdom. Evvi apparently died in the battlefield (Ahams 115 and Kuru. 19). Evvi was also known as the chief of Nīḍu;⁴ which has not been identified.

Such were the chief political divisions of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. In the west, it was separated from the Chēra kingdom proper by the Kuttāṇu which was subject to the control of Āy. In the north it was in touch with Pūṇi of the Chēras, the Kanmā of the Pēhans and the Evvis of Milalaikkūrram. Beyond these were situated the lands of Fāri, of the Kōṇṇus and of the Chōḷas of the Pūṇi-rāḍu. Within this extensive region there were a number of towns, forts, religious centres and other places of interest mentioned in the Śāṅgam works. These have yet to be studied in detail, the problem of identification being of special importance.

1. There is some inconsistency in regard to the locality assigned to Evvi's territory among scholars. Dr. Krishnasami Aiyangar places it round about the port of Kōṇkal. See Ancient India, p. 61, 370 and map opp. p. 369. But Milalaikkūrram was distinctly along the north coast of Madura District. In it was situated Āvaḍāṇi Kōḷ and the sea-port of Tirupperundūr which later on figured in the legends of Māṇikkavāṇḍya. It was the southernmost province of the Chōḷa kingdom, sometimes the northernmost province of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. For the topography of Milalaikkūrram see the erudite article of Radhakrishna Aiyar in the Sen-Tamil. In his Beginnings of S. Ind. History, p. 202, Dr. S. K. impliedly gives up his previous view and says that Evvi's territory was on the Coromandel coast, "embracing a part of the Pudukkotta State and the District of Ramnad."

2. Kuda-vāyil has been identified with the village of that name a few miles off Kumbakonam in Tanjore Dt.

3. Maṇvāyil might be Maṇalur, about 8 miles east south-east of Madura, where the battle might have taken place.

4. There is a Tiru-Nīḍu, one of the Śaivite centres north of the Kāṇi and a Tiru-Nedungalam, another Śaivite centre south of it. The latter might be the Nīḍu of Evvi but it seems to be a little too far north. However, as Evvi's land is said to have been watered by the Kāṇi, it is not quite improbable.

We understand for instance that there were temples to Subrahmanya, to Vishnu, etc.; places famous for sacred springs and resorted to by votaries of Vishnu; and so on. We have to see how far these belong to the Śāṅgam age and how far they were subsequent. We have to study also the commercial importance of the places. We are told, for instance, that the products of the Pāṇḍyan country were carried to the western ports through the country of Āy and exported from there. We also find that on the way from Madura to Urayūr, in the region of the Śīrumalai, there were groves of mango and jack trees, arecanut and cocoanut palms and the cultivation of onion, saffron, ragi, millet, hill rice, edible-roots, plantain and sugar-cane. We also know that Madura was a centre of weaving. Various other facts illustrative of the commercial geography of the Śāṅgam period have yet to be collated together.

SECTION 4.

THE CHOLAS

The Cōḷa power of the Śāṅgam period was generally known as *penṇi-rādu*. Its principal mountains were the Kollimalai, stretching north of the Kāvēri river and the Nēi-malai south of Urayūr. Its chief river was the Kāvēri. Poetess Auvai gives the boundary of the Cōḷa country in this stanza.

கடல் கிழக்கு தெற்கு கரைபெரு வெள்ளாறு

குடல் திசைக்கு கோபக்கரையாம்

வடதிசைக்கு யென்னாட்டு யெண்ணை

இருபது நாற்காதம் சோழநாட்டெல்கை யெனச்சொல்.

From this we understand that the Cōḷa country was bounded by the sea in the East, the Vēḷḷā in the south, Kōṭṭukkarai in the west and the Pēṇṇi in the north, the whole extent of the country being 24 *lālam*s². Kōṭṭukkarai has been identified with the place where the Karai-jōṭṭinā falls into the Kāvēri twelve miles west of Musri. The Pēṇṇi is the modern south Pennai which flows through the Salem and South Arcot Districts. Later on Puḷḷāṇḍi gives the boundary of the Cōḷa kingdom as the sea to the east, the Vēḷḷā to the south, Kōṭṭukkarai to the west and Īḷam to the north, the whole being 24 *lālam*s. We do not know what is meant by Īḷam. It generally means Ceylon, but here it probably means the area known in the Śāṅgam period as Māvilaṅḡai.

The capital of the Cōḷa kingdom, Urayūr, (near Trichinopoly), has been called in Tamil literature K¹ on account of the story that a cock is said to have attacked an elephant. The name Urayūr seems to have been a variation of Urayapuri or the town of serpents. We have perhaps to infer from this that it was originally established by the Nāḷas. It was strongly fortified by walls and woods of thorny trees. The Śilappadikāram refers to a temple of Arha and the Niranthas and to a temple under an

1. This seems to have been also known as Nēi-vāyil. A battle was fought there by Śenittuttuvan on behalf of his Cōḷa brother-in-law with eight rebel chiefs.

2. The area seems to be inaccurately estimated.

3. Hence the title Kōḷikkōḷ to the Cōḷa kings.

Asōka tree. The second capital of the Cōḷas was Kāvēripattanam, the celebrated sea-port at the mouth of the river Kāvēri. As we find that Kāvēripattanam was always coupled with Urayūr, we have to suppose that it was founded as the port of Urayūr. The exact topography of the port has given rise to some controversy. Tamil literature gives evidence to show that it was at the mouth of the river Kāvēri. Even to-day there is a village or group of villages called Kāvēripattanam at the mouth of the river. That this is the representative of the ancient city is proved by the facts that the Ellai Amman Kōvil which marked the western boundary of the ancient city is still there, that local traditions point out many places of interest in association with Karilāl Cōḷa and that even now, on the south bank of the river, there is the site of an ancient road going towards the sea. Half a mile to the north of this, in the middle of a gentle slope, lies the present apology of a river. It is insignificant, starved and is in no need of embankments on either side. The antiquarian can however clearly see that it is but the tiny fragment of a broad and magnificent river which once spread over a mile and which is now covered by ponds and fields. There is thus no doubt that Kāvēripattanam was situated at the mouth of the present Kāvēri.

Ptolemy's reference to the Kāvēri in the middle of the 2nd century A. D., however has given rise to some interesting doubts and discussions. He mentions Khabaris an emporium and the mouth of the river Khaberos as apparently separate. He locates the first in 128° 30', and 15° 4', and the latter in 129° and 15° 15'. It appears from this that the port in Ptolemy's time was apparently not at the mouth of the river. How are we to explain this inconsistency?

Mr. K. S. Venkatramani has in this connection made an interesting suggestion². He says:— "Kallidam did not at all exist in the days of Karikālan. If it existed, there would have been no pressing need to put up such strong embankments on both sides of the Kāvēri as Karilālan did. The entire volume of water which now finds its way through Coleroon in flood-time, was discharged into the sea at the time of Karikālan at Kāvēripattanam where the river was then more than a mile wide and very deep. Then the only drainage channel of the Kāvēri, direct or indirect, should have been the Palavar (i.e. the old river) which survives to-day. Karikālan's mighty embankments from Śīraṅgam to the sea pressed the river up till it gave birth to the Coleroon in one stormy night. For, the victories of man over nature have a silent nemesis. Even to-day the levels are such that the Coleroon and the Kāvēri cannot co-exist without some

1. An earlier name for Kāvēripattanam is said to have been Chamṛā or Cham:āraṭi. See Manimākalaiṇṇālikam, times 30-32.

2. In the Hindu, March-17, 1926. See also Mr. T. G. Aravamudan's The Kaveri, the Mavkharis and the Śāṅgam Age, pp. 60-68 for an excellent review of the literature in connection with the Kāvēri.

artificial regulation or anicut. The Kaveri is a high-bed river. A few miles to the north, the land abruptly slopes towards the sea in a line which the present Coleroon marks. But for a small high stretch of land running between Śīraṅgam and Muśiri to the north of the river, there would have been no Kā ēri at all, but only a Coleroon. Karikān's embankments extending from Śīraṅgam to Kāvēripattinam curbed the flooded river and drove it back to find the weakest spot for escape between Muśiri and Trichinopoly." A wild torrent from the west joins the Kā ēri at the other side of Elamuū, making the river at this spot still weaker. One fateful night, as Mr. Venkataramani eloquently describes, some decades after the death of Karikān, the Coleroon suddenly burst at this weak spot, reducing the mighty embankments of Kā ēri to insignificance and ending for ever the original beauty and grandeur of the Kā ēri. "This great change must have happened some decades after the death of Karikān and at least a hundred years before Ptolemy visited these parts and noted the settled facts and traditions. The Kollidam was hence both the main river and entered the sea at Porto Novo, Kāvēripattinam was divorced from the mouth of the real river by many miles." It therefore dwindled in importance. Its people apparently founded the city of Chidambaram on the banks of the Coleroon on a safe eminence and called it therefore Śīrē ānyam after the place from which they came. When Ptolemy distinguished the mouth of the Khaberos from the emporium further north, he probably meant not Kā ēri, ūnpattinam which was decadent but the city in the mouth of the Coleroon.

It seems to me that there is a great probability in the suggestive theory of Mr. Venkataramani. One thing is certain, that by the time of the Śilappadikāram there was a Coleroon distinct from the Kā ēri. Śilappadibaram distinctly refers to Śīraṅgam temple, to the deity Viśṇu lying recumbent in the large island amidst the wide billows of the Kā ēri. It is probable that the Coleroon came into existence between the days of Kūṭiān and the days of the composition of Śilappadikāram. It is very probable that during this transitional period many of the numerous water courses which now characterise the Tanjore delta were excavated by the immediate successors of Kūṭiān so that the water which was running in waste to the sea was utilised for the economic exploitation of the kingdom. Tamil literature gives no reference to the branches of the Kā ēri except the Arśi; but we cannot infer from this that there were no branches. What with the formation of the Coleroon and what with the utilization of the river in numerous streams and tiny streamlets, the Kā ēri naturally lost itself before it reached the sea. It became silted up and the city of Kāvēripattinam became a deserted, desolate area in a sea of sands very near the sea which had once given it a world-famous

1. The Mackenzie MS. (17-4-43) referring to chief of Aṭṭṭhā settling in the south and excavating the Kollidam and Veṇṇā ū as branches of the Kā ēri can hardly be taken seriously. The supposed reference to the Ōḍamṭōkki is very doubtful.

prosperity. Again, another reason has been suggested for the irreparable decay of Kā ēri, ūnpattinam. The poem Mēṇmēkalai gives a very interesting anecdote to the effect that the Cōṭṭi king, having lost his son at sea, "wandered along the beach, distraught with grief, and the people abandoned in consequence the usual festival to Indra; thereupon, the patron deity of the city grew wroth and laid a curse on it. The sea quickly over-whelmed the city and in consequence the king betook himself elsewhere." Apparently the city was destroyed by an eruption of the sea which thus completed the work of the irrigation channels.

It may be pointed out here that the Brihatsambhita which belongs to late fifth century and early sixth century mentions the Kā ēri in the plural, thus hinting that there were already a number of branches and that the Coleroon and a few at least of the artificial rivers of the delta were already existing. 1

At all events Gṇāṇasambhita refers to the Kollidam, to the Arśi Vāṇi and to other branches of the Kā ēri. He also speaks of an old Kā ēri distinct from the present one. From his references to the various villages we find however that by the old Kā ēri he evidently meant the present Kā ēri. His old Kā ēri must have been thus a different one from the present. One thing however we can be sure of in regard to the Kā ēri at this time. The Coleroon was distinctly formed as well as the delta; and while the prosperity of the delta was assured, the prosperity of the city at its mouth was irrevocably doomed.

Kāvēripattinam was known in the Śīraṅgam days as Puṭār and Kā-kanti. With his usual erudition Kanakasabhai Pillai wrote about it: "We have a full description of this town in the poems Chilappadikāram and Paḍḍinappiṭṭai. It was also known as Puṭār or Kākanthi. The latter name is said to have been given to Kā ēri, paḍḍinam, because it was once ruled by a prince called Kākanthan. The name Kākandi occurs in Bharhut inscriptions, which were engraved in the first or second century B.C. One of the inscriptions records the gift of the nun Sorna from Kākandi." A Buddhist Jātaka refers to the Buddha in a previous birth proceeding to the kingdom of

1. The confusion between the Kā ēri and Coleroon is seen among later European geographers. Yule in his map of Ancient India treats the present Coleroon as the Kā ēri and places Kā ēri, ūnpattinam 8 miles to the south of it. It may be pointed out in this connection that there is a tradition that the Coleroon was the old Kā ēri and that Kā ēri, ūnpattinam of to-day did not lie on the site mentioned in classical literature. But this is not probable as the evidences in connection with modern ruins at the mouth of the present Kā ēri clearly indicate the identity. The Coleroon itself was often changing its course; for we know of two Coleroons, the old and the new. References to Paṭṭiyā ū, Pāṭṭiā ū, Pāṭṭiā ū, Pāṭṭiā ū, indicate the frequent changes in the beds of the rivers.

Damila and dwelling in a park near Kāvēripattanam and cultivating mystic ecstasy and supernatural powers there. It is clear from this that Kāvēripattanam was in existence in the 3rd century B.C. at least. The Manimekalai says that previously it was known as Champāpati and that, in response to the prayer of a certain Kūtaman to relieve it from distress and famine, the goddess Champā welcomed the Kāvēri and had the town renamed after the river. We have perhaps to infer from this that the earliest settlement was known as Champāpati and that about the third century B.C. or possibly a century later, it was changed to Kāvēripattanam. The reference to Kākanthi seems to indicate the same date.

However it might have been, the city was one of the most flourishing ports of the age. It was built, we are told, on the north bank of the river, which was then broad, deep and full of busy, heavily-laden ships. The town was in two parts, the inland Paṭṭinapattanam and the coastal Maruṭṭipattanam. Between the two portions there was an extensive open ground, where, in a beautiful avenue, was held the great fair of the city. There were separate streets for the king, for cars, for merchants, Brahmans and other classes of people. There were settlements of Yavana and foreign merchants. The poems refer to the magnificent trade of the city, just as the western geographers do. There is reference to skilled artisans from Magadha, mechanics from Māhālam, smiths from Avānti and carpenters from the Yavana land, indicating close intercourse with Northern India in art and trade. There is also reference to a canopy of pearls sent by the king of Vajra (Bundelkhand), a hall of State furnished by the king of Magadha, as well as an ornamental gate-way presented by the king of Avānti. There were temples dedicated to the Kalpaka tree, the elephant Airāvata, the weapon Vajra, and the deities Balacēva, Sūrya, Chandra, Śiva, Subrahmanya, Śūta, āyana, Nirgrantha, Kāma and Yama. There were seven vilāsas built by Indra for 300 monks. All these indicate not only a very extensive religious contact, with the north but that parallelism of the Buddhist, Jain and Hindu activities which forms the chief feature of Aryavarta from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. We are told that horses were brought from beyond the seas, as well as pepper; gold and precious stones from the northern mountains; sandal and ahil from the western mountains; pearls from the southern seas; and coral from the eastern seas. The products of the Ganges and the Kāvēri, the articles of food from Ilam and manufactures from Kāṭṭakam (Burma), met there. These indicate Kāvēripattanam¹ as an international port of the first rank.

The references of the Greek writers to the ports and inland towns of the Chōḷa country are very confusing. Besides Khaberos, Ptolemy refers to another emporium called Sabouras. I suspect that he meant by this

1. It may be pointed out here that, according to one version, the port was a place of importance till the 15th century. See Sewell's *Antiquities*, I, p. 272, based on Dr. Burnell. Col. Yule identified the place with Fattan of Rashiduddin.

'Śāmbai or Champā' which was only another name for Kāvēripattanam though one cannot be positive about it. With regard to the inland towns of "the Paralia of Soretai," that is, of the Poṇalāḍi of the Chōḷas, he mentions Kalikur, Tennagora, Eikour, Beré, Abour, Karmara and Magour. He also mentions Orthoura, the royal city of the Sornagos,² by which he of course meant Urundai or Urayūr. Kālious must be a town in the modern Tanjore district named after Kālindi, the nāga, or after Kālī the goddess. Tennagora reminds us of Tirunāgēsvara. Eikour might be Agaram a few miles off Tanjore. Abour might be Ambil,³ the village of that name in Trichinopoly district. Karmara has been identified with Kāḷimalam, one of the 12 names of Shiyali. It may be mentioned that Shiyali itself came into existence after the Nāga Kālī. Tamil literary works mention a number of towns in the Chōḷa country of political, literary and religious interest. It is not possible to enumerate and identify all of them. A few of them were under the possession of feudal chiefs³ who took part in the petty wars of the period. Amongst such feudal towns may be mentioned Alundai of Tidiyan, which has been identified with Tēreḷundūr in Tanjore district; Araṅgam, the sacred temple of Viṣṇu; Kālār of the Chōḷa seion Matti who deprived Eḷṇi of his teeth and had them buried at the gates of Ven-maṇi-Vāyil; Kāḷūr or Kālūr ruled by the shepherd chief Kālūr and destroyed in the course of a local strife by a combination of the Vēḷir; Ūṇūr of Tālumban; Śirukuḍi of Paṇṇan Tēṇṇan Maṇivan; Po-Ōr or Pōr on the Kāvēri of the Chōḷa general Paḷayan who died at Kāḷimalam in battle with the Chēra and who was avenged by the Chōḷa king Chenni; Puṇḍai or Puṇḍiār of Periyar; Vallam near Tanjore; and so on. Amongst battlefields may be mentioned Kuṇḍakkai between Anṇi and Tidiyan of Alundai; Vēṇi in Tanjore district which saw the great battle between Karikā Chōḷa and Chēra Peruṇkēral-Irumpōrai; and Paruvūr where the Chōḷa met the two other great kings. Amongst places of literary interest may be mentioned Ārkkaḍu, Āvur, Erukkāṭūr, Iḍaikkāḍu, Kūḍavāyil, Karuvūr, Vēḷūr, Śēllūr, and a number of other places.

Śāṅgam literature deals with a number of feudal chiefs who were the masters of the hills and forest regions which were situated in the vicinity of the Kāḷimalai and which divided the Chōḷa country proper, the basin of the Kāvēri, from that of South Pēṇṇar. Nor is this unnatural. There is a great difference in geographical features, the Kāvēri basin and the wild hills and woods forming the border land between the Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts. Such rugged regions were naturally under the control of marcher

1. Or was it Sayavanam, just a mile off the present site of Kāvēripattanam?

2. Sornagas seems to me to combine the two names Chōḷa and Nāga. As Nāga means Uraga, Ptolemy meant by it the Nāga or Uraga of the Chōḷas. Nāgapattana in the coast owed its existence to the same age and people.

3. Or Ambar, Ambar-nāgalam, Śaivite centre south of the Kāvēri.

chiefs, whose political conduct was naturally one of elasticity and convenient allegiance to the most powerful king for the time being. The region has been generally known in literature as Megadai-rāḍu, Malava-rāḍu and Malai-rāḍu. It extended from the Kāvēri to the Perai. The most important of the chiefs north of the Kollimalais were two in number, viz., Ōri and of Kāri. Of these Ōri (or Val-vil-ōri) was the master of the Kollimalais of the Salem district. He was one of the seven last patrons (Puram 158). On account of his neighbourhood to the Chief Kāri further east he was naturally the hereditary adversary of the latter in the period of the struggle of the Chēra for suzerainty over the whole of South India. Ōri was slain by Kāri and the Kollimalais then came into the hands of the Chēra for whom Kāri fought. The Kollimalais were famous for a divine goddess, the famous Kollipprāvai. His subjects were called Mēlavars (Nāṅṅai) and he was very famous for his skill in archery.

Immediately east of the feudatory chiefdom of Ōri was that of Kāri. The southern border of the chiefdom was the Koleru if it existed in those days. On account of the abundance of hill in this region it was called Malairāḍu or more shortly, Maṭṭa. In consequence of this, the chief was called Malayarān Tirumṭṭi or the king of the Malaymāns. His capital was Muḷḷūr, which was probably near the modern Tirukōvalur in South Arcot district. his chief seaport was Keḍanṅāl on the mouth of the Pennai. Kāri's territory probably extended over the other side of the S. Pennār which was, as we have already seen the northern limit of the Cōḷa kingdom. He is said to have conquered the territory of Ōri around the Kōḷimalais and given then over to the Cōḷa king.² (Aham 209). He was a friend of the Brahmins and a great patron of letters. His great poet was Kaṭṭilar.

Side by side with Ōri and Kāri there seem to have been in the rugged region forming the northern border of Pṇal-rāḍu a number of feudal principalities which were, we may suppose, subordinate to the two prominent ones we have mentioned. One of these was Ēḡiklō,³ the chief of the Kuṛavas, an aboriginal tribe who are said to have occupied a portion of the Malairāḍu. This Kuṛava Chief has been panegyrised by poetess Ilaveyini. Another chief of the same region was Kaṇḍirakkō of Tōttimalai, which was evidently a part of Malai-rāḍu. Kaṇḍirakkō was also known as Nalli. He

1. Even Uṇṇūr the Chōḷa capital, was at one time a small chiefdom. A certain Dittan for example is mentioned as the chief. He is said to have been futilely opposed by "the vaḍuḥa" kings Katti and Bāṇa.

2. It was apparently in the course of this struggle that Atti, the Chēra general, killed the Chōla general Pēḷḷayan at Kaḷumalam and was afterwards avenged by the Chola. Auvai celebrates a Pēḷḷayan or Chēra of Kollimalais (Aham 303). This might be the conqueror referred to above.

3. He might be the Ēṛrai or Chēra general who was present in the battle of Kōlumalam (Puram 154), like Kāngan, Kanayan and Katti.

has been celebrated by Pāraṇai and "Śāntaṇār of the big head" as an unrivalled patron of letters. A lord of hills and woods, he was still regarded great enough to be counted among the seven last vaṇṇals. To the same region, more or less, belonged Abulai, the friend of the Kōṣars (Aham 113); Anni, the enemy of the Kōṣars; Kuṇṇambiyan, the chief of the Kuṇṇambas and the enemy of the Kōṣars and ally of Tidiyan of Alindai; and others. The Kōṣar seem to have played a very prominent part in South Koṇḍu and North Chōḷa or Māḷādai region. They seem to have been the southernmost branches of the community, unless we suppose that the term was, in later days at least, more political than racial; for we read of the Kōṣars of the Tuḷu-rāḍu, of Podiyil, of Śūlūr,¹ etc. The Kōṣars of South Koṇḍu were engaged, either on behalf of the Chēras or against them, in the strifes of the numerous chiefs of the region. To the north of these chiefdoms lay that of Kumaṇai of Mudirimalai (i. e. Vriḍḍāśālam). This chief was a feudatory of the Tondaimā. The story runs that, deprived of his estate by his younger brother, he was living in a forest, when poet Śāntaṇār the big-headed approached him for his support and that he offered his own head to be handed over to his younger brother who had placed a price on it, — an incident which immediately led to the reconciliation of the brothers through the poet. Kumaṇai has been immortalised by poets Peruṇchittaranār, Peruṇ-Śāntaṇār and others. To the same family belonged Kaṇṇai Eḷini and Nalleḷini, the author of the 13th verse in the Paripādai.

We now pass on to the country immediately north of the Penni-rādu. It is better, for the sake of comparison, to see first what the Greek geographers have to say about it. Ptolemy calls it the country of Arouarnori (Arvarnoi), that is of the Aruvās. He mentions five seaport towns in it, namely, Podouke, Melangai, the mouth of the river Tyna (by which he is supposed to have meant the Penni), Kottis and Manarpha or Manaliarpha. The Periplus mentions only two ports in this region, namely, Poduca and Sopatma. The Podouke of Ptolemy and Poduca of the Periplus are the same as Poduvai, near which later on Pondicherry was to rise. The exact equivalents of the other places are difficult to trace. The mouth of the river Tyna might be Kottai. Sopatma has been identified with Eyalpattanam with very great probability, for the Śirupāṇagrappadī describes in eloquent terms the glory of Eyalpattana, which was full of Paradavars (Paravars). With regard to the inland towns, Ptolemy mentions Kerage (which Kanakasabhai identifies with Kariyapattanam or Kariyapattinam, which Kanakasabhai identifies with Supattana and Eyal); Policour (Yakkā), which Kanakasabhai identifies with Supattana and Eyal); Pikerdaka (Palayam); Iatour (Ettū); Skopolour; Ikarta (Īkkāḍi); Malang; the royal city of Basarnagos; and Kandipatna (Kunṇapattinam).

1. A Śūli-kkoman of the Ilān-Kōśār was known as Ālan Eḷini. This seems to indicate a connection between the Adigamāns and the Kōśārs.

Kanakasabhai identifies Māvilangai¹ with Conjeeveram. The Periplus gives us the interesting information that the ports of the region were frequented by vessels from Damirica (i.e. the further south and Malabar) and from the north; that the former were small coasting vessels called Sangara and the latter were large vessels called Colandia; and that the latter were, as a rule voyagers to Chryse or the golden land, that is Svānabhumi or Burma and the Malay peninsula.

The Śāṅgam works of course give greater details of the inland region than the western geographers do. The first fact that we understand from them is that the territory immediately north of the Maādu was the territory of Tondaman Iṇdirayan, the patron of Auvai. He had Conjeeveram for his capital. Ahims 85 and 340 refer to him as the lord of the city of Pavattiri and the mountain of Vēṅgaḍam from which we have to infer that he was the master of all the Tamil-speaking area north of the Chōḷa lands. The Tondamān was called also Iṇdirayan, 'the young seaman'. The Tamil works regard the Tondamān as the son of the Chōḷa king by a Nāga princess, which indicates that the Tondamān was officially a semi-Chōḷa and semi-Nāga. It is very probable that in the later days of the Āndhra empire the Āndhra power was in a way recognized by the Tondaman Nāgas; for we have got coins with the figures of ships in the province ruled by them. The Pallavas who were also semi-Nāga in origin and kinship and who afterwards took possession of the country after the downfall of the Āndhras probably took over the title of Tondaman from their predecessors in this region. A later stage was to sanskritise the term tondai into Pallava. The semi-Nāga character of the Pallavas and their position as the governors of the south-eastern corner of the Āndhra empire in the last days of the Āndhra rule probably enabled them easily to become masters of the Tondamān country. Before the Pallava occupation, which we may take to have taken place at the close of the 3rd century A.D., the Tondamān was regarded as one of the seven last Tamil kings and a great patron of Tamil men of letters. Tondamān himself is credited with three verses in the Maṇi-mēla and a single verse in the Puṇarāṭṭa. He is also said to have composed a work called Iṇdirayanam which is now not extant. The Tondamān has been sung by Auvai. We have reasons to believe that there was rivalry between the Adiyamān and the Tondamān; for we are told that the poetess, in her partiality to the Adiyamān, apparently praised the navy shown to her by the Tondamān but really praised the martial valour of her own patron.

The Maṇi-mēla is now in Mysore district, (Tirumukkūdal, Jaṇapūram Taluk), in what corresponded to the geṅga country. Later inscriptions speak of Māvilangai or Ganarāthapura in Idairādu of Gragaṇādi Mudikeonda-chōḷamandalam. This was the birth-place of Pavaiṇḍi. But this Māvilangai does not seem to be the one referred to in Śāṅgam works, and by Ptolemy.

Another chiefdom in this part of the country which was presumably subordinate to the Tondamān was Paḷkunṇakkōtam of Nannan Vēṇṇā (the head of the Vēḷir) who ought not to be confounded with Nannan of Konkanam. Nannan of Paḷkunṇam was the hero of the Malaipedukacān. He figures also in the other anthologies. Nannan's capital was Śeṅgaṇrā (now spelt Chengama) a few miles west of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. We understand that it had a fort, ditch, big streets, shops and other characteristics of a flourishing city. We also read that Nannan had an audience hall with a throne in it, that he had his daily court and that he received tributes from feudatory chiefs. The city is also said to have been rich in palaces and residences for strangers from foreign lands. Nannan appears to have been a devoted adherent of the Śaivite cult. He dedicated a temple to Śiva at Naviramalai which was situated in his kingdom, and which he garrisoned with a strong force. The hill is now known as Triśūlagiri and the deity as Kalakaṇḍēśvara. The chief river which watered the territory of Nannan was the Cheyṇāru, also known as Shaṇṇukhanadi. Paraṇar, Kauśika, Maṇḍa, Mānū'a, describe Nannan as a great chief, a tactful man who ignored the faults of others and extolled their virtues, an ardent embodiment of truth and heroism, whose popularity was evidenced by festivals in celebration of his birthday. We do not know how far the stories of his killing a woman for eating a fruit of his garden and of his ancestor shutting his doors upon a scholar are true. The descendant of Nannan was also called Viḥchikkō. He refused, like Irūṅḍō-Vōl, to wed the daughters of Pāri,

ERUMA-NADU OR OYMA-NADU.

Another political division about which we have information in this period was Ērumā-nādu, or more commonly, Ōyṇā Nādu, the chief of which was known as Nalliyakkōḍa. His kingdom included Māvilangai, by which the Aruvā-nādu and Aruvā-vaḍatalai-nādu were known. His other towns were Eyil, Vēlūr (Vellore) and Āmur. Later inscriptions tell us that the village of Gidangil as well as Tiruttinḍisvaram (Tṇḍiv.ṇam) were in Ōyṇā-nādu. We have the ruins of a fort and ditch in this place even to-day. Nalliyakkōḍa belonged to a community called Ōiya. As the Ōiyars were a division of the Nāgas we have to believe that the chief of Ōyṇā nādu, like the Tondamān, was a Nāga prince, thus giving additional proof to the fact that a large part of the north Tamil country was ruled in the Śāṅgam age by the Nāgas. The southern borders of the Āndhra empire were under the Malārathas, the Chutus, the Pallavas and other Nāgas, and apparently there was an extension of the Nāga element further south.

The extreme north of Aruvā nādu was the Vēṅgaḍam of the chief Ātanuṇṇan, according to one version, and Pulli according to another. Pulli is described as chief of the 'K-ḷvar' (robbers), a liberal patron of scholars and as the owner of forests which abounded in elephants. The Tamil boundary line extended from Vēṅgaḍam to Paḷṇṇāḍu. (Kuru. II and Aham, 211 and 295). Beyond it, was the land of the Vaḍuhas. To

the west of the Aruvārādu was Erumai-nālu, also occupied by the Vaḍubas. The pass leading from Tirupati to the country further east or west seems to have been known as arai-vayl. It was through this that, as Māṇḍa and Kaḷḷil Ābirayanār say (Aham 281 and Fūṇam 175), the Mōriyars and Vaḍubas carried their arms further south.

SECTION 5.

THE CHERA KINGDOM.

The third great power of Tamiḷḥam was the Chēra kingdom. This comprised in those days the modern lands of Travancore, Cochin, Coorg, British Malabar, as well as the districts of Salem and Coimbatore which were collectively known as Kōṇḡu, and the Nilgiris. Sometimes it extended far into modern Mysore also as far as Kōṭṭar, (Kuvēlalayam). Tamil literature makes us believe that it comprised seven Kōḍu-Tamḷ rāḍus, namely, Vēṇāḍu (South Travancore), Kuttarādu (Kottayam), Kudarādu (Coorg), Pūḷḷādu (British Malabar), Keḷḷārādu (South Nilgiris and west Coimbatore), Śitam (Nilgiris), and Malayārādu-Nādu (East Kōṇḡu). The inclusion of Malayārādu-Nādu in the extreme east can be true only when the Chēra kingdom extended to its farthest limits of conquest and not in ordinary times. The Chēra king was known as Fūḷiyan, Kuttuvan, Kudarāḍan, Malayārān, etc. from the Nāḍus over which he ruled; The term Chēra-man, Chēra, was the most common title by which he was known. He was also called Kolli-vaḷavan from his occasional possession of the Kōḷḷimalais in the district of Salem. The traditional boundary of the Chēra kingdom, attributed to Auvai is this:—

வடகுத்தலம் பழனி வாழ்கிழக்குச் செங்கோடு
குடகிசைக் கோழி கடாகும்
கற்கடையினோர் மது தெற்காகுமோ
ரென்பதிங் காதஞ் சேரநாட் டெல்கை யெனச்செப்பு.

That is, it was bounded on the north by the Pāṇi; in the east by Śēṇḱōḍu (Shenkōtta); in the west by Kōḷḷikūdu Calicut and in the south by the sea, forming on the whole a distance of 80 kādams. It will be seen from this that the Chēra kingdom extended from Calicut to Cape Combrin and from the sea to the Pāṇis and Śēṇḱōḍu in the east. Another boundary stanza, generally attributed to the same poetess, is identical with the above except that the eastern boundary is not Śēṇḱōḍu but Tenkāsī in the district

1. *The expression arai-vayl has been discussed by various writers; but it clearly means a mountain pass. There is one such pass near Tirupati, the Chandragiri gorge; another at Chengam; another on the way from the Pāṇḍya to the Travancore country. The expression Arvā-velī was quite different and corresponded, in my opinion, to Dakṣh-nāpatha and the Vaḍugavelī of the later inscriptions. See the articles of Messrs A.S. Ramanatha Aiyar and Rangasami Sarasvati in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. The latter sees in the presence of the Aśoka inscriptions, in the vicinity of Hagiri which was in Badugarādu (or Erumai-rādu) a proof to indicate the Maurya invasion of the south with the Vaḍugas as advance party. But I regard this Maurya invasion of the south to be unproven and not supported by the evidence adduced.

of Tinnevely. The Chēra king had the garland of the pinnai tree as his insignia. He was the master of the rivers of Tāmbraṇai and Porunai. It is supposed that Poruṇi means toddy and that it was another name for the Tāmbraṇai river. On the other hand it has been identified by some, correctly in my opinion, with the Periyār.

It may be incidentally pointed out here that the later Kēraḷō-patti divides Kēraḷam, the country from Gōkarna (Goa) to Kumāri, into four kaṇḍams or provinces. The northernmost, the Tuḷuāḷiya, is said to have extended down to Paḷiyar river, five miles to the north-east of Mt. D'Ely. The second, Kūṇḱarāḷiya, is said to have extended from the above-mentioned river to Padupatnam near Nilasvar. The third, Kēraḷam proper,¹ is said to have extended from Nilasvar to Quilon. The last and the southernmost division is said to have been called Mūshika-rajya. These divisions however are not found in the Śāṅga literature. They are purely paurāṇic, and legendary. The term Mūshika seems to be clearly derived from Muśiri, the seaport capital of the Chēra kingdom, which figures prominently in the Śāṅga literature.

It is remarkable that western geographers do not include within Tamiḷḥam any ports in Kōṇḱanḱam (or the Tūlur country) and Kudakam. The first ports of Tamiḷḥam (Damurike) they mention—Nauris and Tonḍi—are on the coast of what corresponded to Paramburādu. Tamil literature however refers to at least one port,—Vāḱirpperundūṇi—further north of Tonḍi.

Excluding the Vēṇāḍu and Kuttanādu which practically formed parts of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the Chēra kingdom contained in order the sea ports of

1. Naura.
2. Tyndis (Tondi).
3. Brahmagara (Brahmakulam).
4. Klaikeis (or Kalaikarias), identified by Kanakasabhai Pillai with Chalacoory.
5. Musiris.
6. Pseudostomas (false mouth).

1. There is much controversial literature in regard to the relative significance of the terms Chēra, Kēraḷa and Kōṇḱu. On the whole Chēra seems to have been a wide term comprising Kēraḷa proper and Kōṇḱu. We find however that Chēra is used synonymously with Kōṇḱu. Kēraḷa might have been sanskritised form of Chēra. Kēram and chēram both mean coconut palm-juice. The Chēra, we must suppose, was, like the Chōḷi, an original Tamil royal clan, not an Aryan one. The Pāṇḍyan was probably also Dravidian though owing to the resemblance to the term Pandava, Sanskrit writers connected it with Pandu of the Mahabharata. An argument in favour of the latter view however is the occurrence of the name Madura as the name of the chief town in the latter.

7. Podoperoura.
8. Semna (Lemne).
9. Kareoura (Kaūr).
10. Bakarai on the mouth of the Baris.
11. Nelkynda.

Of these places the last five are mentioned in detail by Ptolemy alone. Pliny and the author of the *Periplus* are more meagre. Pliny refers to the danger of piracy in Muziris and then mentions Neacyndon (Nirkunram) and Bacare (Varkalai). The *Periplus* mentions Musiris and Nirkada (Nirkunram) as seats of government. As regards inland towns Ptolemy mentions west of 'the false mouth' Naroulia, Konta and Paloura.

It is now established that Musiris of the Greek Geographers was the celebrated Musiri or Muyirikkōḍu of Tamil literature and Karoura was the celebrated Kaūr or Vañji, the Chēra capital. Musiri has been identified with Kōḍiṅgālūr or Cranganore,—a place which was in existence till about 1341 when it was destroyed by the floods of the Periyār and modern Cochin was formed. The description of Muyirikkōḍu in Śāṅgam literature tallies with that of the Western Geographers and is a good proof of contemporaneity.

As regards Kaūr there has been a good deal of controversy. For a long time it was identified with Vañji or Tiruvañjikkaḷam¹ near Kōḍuñ ālūr in the Cochin State. But in a recent monograph Paudīt Raghava Aiyangar has argued with force that Kaūr in the Trichinopoly² district was the real Chēra capital. It seems to me that Kaūr in the Trichinopoly District was later on founded by the Chēra conquerors of Kōṅṇu after the conquest of the Kōṅṇu region by them. The name of the old capital was reproduced in the new capital which was established in the conquered land. Tradition unmistakably locates Vañji as Kaūr in Malabar. The Greek geographers clearly locate it on the Periyār. The Chēra kings are recognized to have come from the east by tradition and established Perunḷōlūr-Kōvilagam, Vañjikkaḷam, etc. in course of time. The Śīlappadikāram distinctly shows that the Chēra king was quite distinct from the Kōṅṇu king at the time of the consecration of the temple to Kōṇṇi. Thus Kaūr in the east was apparently a new city established by the Chēras after their conquest of Kōṅṇu. That seems to be on the whole a more correct view.

KONKANAM OF NANNAN.

We shall now pass on to trace from the Śāṅgam literature the various political divisions of the Chēra kingdom. The northernmost provinces of the Chēra kingdom were Kōṅṇu and Kūḍam. Kōṅṇam or Tōḷu āḍu was,

1. Tiruvañjikkaḷam is one mile off Kōḍuñ ālūr, and ten miles north of Cochin (Mahā. Svaminatha Aiyar). See also Śān-Tamil, Vol. II, 179 ff.

2. See his monograph on Vañji, reprinted from the Śān-Tamil.

under a chief named Nannan. We are told that Nannan had a kaḍimba tree in front of his residence as his insignia. The Ēḷil-kunram, identified with Mt D'Ely, sixteen miles to the north of Cannanore, formed the chief hill-fastness of Nannan. From various references in the Ahanānūṟa we understand that, close to Ēḷil-kunram, there was a place called Pālī which belonged to him. He was also the master of two other places called Paṟambu and Param, which have not yet been identified. Above all, Nannan had a great seaport called Vāṟai-pperundūr. Nannan has been called Udiyan (Aham 258), from which we have to infer that he was perhaps a scion of the Chēra dynasty. Nannan's chiefdom is said to have been very rich in gold mines which were guarded by men and a deity. Thanks to the grace of a forest deity named Kōṟṟavai, Nannan is said to have received as present a large number of troops and horses. Apparently Ēḷil hill had a temple dedicated to this deity. Nannan was a great patron of poets and scholars. He was a great soldier who vanquished various chiefs like Dittan, Velayan and Piṇḍan. He was a truthful and sincere lover of justice. The Ahanānūṟa says that his General Migñili killed one Āy Eyinan in a siege of the town of Paṟambu. In some authorities we find Adigan mentioned in place of Eyinan; which makes us infer that they might have been identical—and that the defeat was avenged by a chief named Ahudai (of Madura). This incident shows that Nannan was often at war with the Adiganāns who, as can be seen from the map, lived immediately east of the Kūḍa-rāḍu which belonged to Nannan. There are two stories not found in the Ahanānūṟa to the effect that Nannan killed a woman who ate a fruit from one of his trees and that he had a descendant named Viechikkō whom a poet refused to praise on the ground that he was the descendant of Nannan who closed his doors upon poets. These two legends are not consistent with the character of Nannan of Kōṅṇanam as described in the Ahanānūṟa. The Kuṟṟindobai 73 refers to the killing of Nannan by an enemy called the Kōṣṟ, while Aham refers to his being forced to betake himself to a forest under pressure from his enemy, the Kōṣṟ. 1. From the fact that Iḷam-perūñ chennai, the Cōḷa king, took Pālī or Nannan and exterminated the Vamba-Vaḍuhas who were there, we have to infer that the war between Nannan and the Kōṣṟ was widespread and that the Cōḷa was perhaps an ally of Nannan. Again from the Ahanānūṟu and the Padirruppattu we learn that the Chēra Kōḷṅkā-kkaṇṇi

1. Editors of Tamil literary works have introduced much confusion by putting down different chiefs of the name Nannan as one and the same. The Nannan of Kōṅṇanam sung in the Aham and Padirruppattu, for example, appears to be different from Nannan of Paṟambu and Vāṟai-pperundūr. Similarly we are unable to say how far Nannan of Pōḷu āḍu, Viyalur (Vēṇṇal), etc., were identical with the other Nannans above mentioned. See the Kumbakonam College Magazine, November 1926, for an article on the subject.

Nāmuḍichetūral took Vāṇaipperundrū and killed Nannan. From this we have to infer that Nannan was an enemy of the Chēras and that there was often war between them.

The Śāṅgam literature gives vague references to the political tribes and clans which were active further north of the territory of Nannan. The tribes mentioned are (1) the Kōśir, (2) the Vāḍuhas or Vamba-Vāḍihas; (3) the Vamba-Mōriyas; (4) the Āryas; (5) the Gaṅgas; (6) the Kattiya; (7) the Bāṇis. With regard to the Kōśir we are unable to say whether they were a particular community or a particular profession forming a community. From the fact that there are references to the Kōśirs of four cities (of Sellur, of Podiyil, etc.) we are warranted in supposing that they simply meant professional soldiers corresponding to the Rājanyas or Kshatriyas, and did not form a tribe. Kanakasabhai Pillai took them to be a tribe and connected them with the Kusūns. Dr. Krishnasami Aiyangar takes them to be a northern tribe connected with the Kōśikaras of Assam and that they were probably the vanguards in the troops of the Mauryas who, he believes, invaded South India. But we have no sufficient evidence to establish these speculations. The Kōśirs might have been the soldiers (or civil employees) who came as the followers of the Kadambas who conquered Nannan and founded the Kadamba dynasty. Or they might have been the allies of the Gaṅgas who established themselves at the same time in south Mysore and subsequently conquered Koṅgu, established Talakāḍ as the capital and came to be known by the name of Koṅgilaṅkōsar. When the Kōśir invaded the Tamil land they were met by the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Chēra kings. The Pāṇḍyan Pāḷayan Māran, for instance, met them at Mōḷū and the Chōḷa Kīḷi in Koṅgu, and the Chēras still further north. From all these we have to infer that the Kōśirs were soldiers who came in the wake of the Kadambas and Gaṅgas who came to power after the downfall of the Āndhras. The Vāḍuhas were probably allied to the Kōśirs. At any rate, they occupied the Telugu Kanarese region. It is very probable that they were closely connected with the Nāyas with whom the Pallavas were associated. They might also be allied to the Ikshvāku and Brihatpāṇavana dynasties which were established immediately after the downfall of the Āndhras in the lands which now form the border land of the Telugu country. The Vamba Mōriyas were probably one of the clans of Konkana, north of Nannan's land, who were the ancestors of the Mauryas conquered by the Chāḷukyas in the beginning of the 6th century. The Āryas¹ were in all probability the Āndhras. We

1. Western geographers appear to use the term Āryaka as a counterpart of Tamilaka. It may be noted here that Āryaka is referred to in the Mṛichebhakatias the king of Ujjain. An attempt has been made to connect it with Śūrakā and with Vikramāditya of Ujjain traditions, and to prove that he, with the assistance of Kharapata or Mūṇaśēra or Kāṇḍi-suta (the authority on the science of theft) who is, by the bye, mentioned in the Śīlappadilāram, overthrew Vasumitra Śoṅga and established an empire at the expense of the Sakas. See Journal of the Mythic Society.

know that Chenkuttuvan the Chēra king had dealings with the Nūṅṅuvar Kaṇṇir, undertook a pilgrimage to the Himalayas, planted his flag there and made some northern Āryan chiefs carry a stone from which the image of Kaṇṇiki was to be carved. The reference to the Nūṅṅuvar Kaṇṇir indicates that the kings of the Śāṅgam period lived in a time when the Āndhras were powerful. This is confirmed by the accounts of Tamilāham left by Greek geographers. With regard to the Gaṅgas it is probable that the earliest of them at first recognized their incompetency to proceed against the Chēra. For we come across a Gaṅga who was a general under the Chēra. We have to infer that, after the conquest of Koṅgu, they had to yield to the arms of the Chēra monarchs. The Kattiya were probably an allied tribe who came with the Kōśirs or Gaṅgas. The Katti king has been called Vāḍuha chief. He is further said to have been an ally of the Bāṇis and fought with his aid the Chōḷa chief Uṇṇū Dittan by name. We have to infer from this that the Gaṅgas, the Kattiya and the Bāṇis were allied with each other, succeeded in occupying Koṅgu and in the course of the struggle with the three Tamil kings further south, had to acknowledge the control of the Chēra over Koṅgu which they had taken. Further north, however they maintained their independence, as the Gaṅga, Kadamba and Bāṇa dynasties.

IRUNGO-VEL.

Immediately east of the territory occupied by Nannan of Konkanam there was Iruṅḍō Vēḷ's chiefdom. It was also part of the territory later on occupied by the Kadambas. It is called Arayam in Tamil works and it was watered by the Aiyirai which has been identified with Hagiri, in Mysore. He is connected by legend with the Vēḷir who arose from a sacrificial fire and who ruled over Dīā āpati for 41 generations and then came to the south. He is also said to have killed a tiger when it was about to fall upon a sage. Both these legends were afterwards adopted by the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra. This is another instance to show that the kings of the later centuries of the Christian era adopted the old Tamil legends (which of course had a Sanskrit substratum) under Sanskrit names and paṇḍitic garbs. The Pallavas, for example, similarly adopted the story of their Teṇḍimān predecessors, and the Kadambas appear to have done likewise after overthrowing Nannan. Iruṅḍō Vēḷ it may be added, incurred the displeasure of poet Kapila for his refusal to wed the daughter of Vēḷ Pāri of Pṛāmbu-rāḍu. Iruṅḍō-Vēḷ was eventually killed in the battle of Talaiāḷenkanam by Neḍuñjeliyan. He has been panegyrised by poet Nakiḷar.

ERUMAI NADU

Intervening between the lands of Iruṅḍō-Vēḷ and those of Adigaimān, who will be presently referred to, was Erumai-nāḍu, from which Mysore has taken its present name. Erumai Nāḍu (Aham 252) was ruled by the chief of the Vāḍuhas, from which reference we have to infer that, in the days of the Śāṅgams, there was no difference between Kanarese and Telugu. Māṇṭār

refers to the region as he refers to the Kōsar, Vādubas, Vamba Mōriyas, Pulli of Vēṅkaḍam and others. There is reference to the Gaṅgas side by side with the Koṅkaṇas, Kalingas, Kaṇṇāṭas, Paṅgalas, Kattiyas and the northern Āryas. The mention of the Gaṅgas is a clue to the chronology of the Saṅgam works.

ADIGAMAN NADU.

It has been already pointed out that the Chēras later on conquered Koṅgu.¹ The chief of Koṅgu in those days was known as Adigaman or Adiyaman. Nedunāṇ or Nedumanal Aṇji, Aṇji simply, and Elini are two figures in this family, conspicuous in Tamil literature. The first of these, called Neduman or Nedumanal Aṇji, is described as a great soldier, the leader of the martial Maḷivas, and the patron of the celebrated poetess Auvai. Legends say that he had a fruit which had the power of giving longevity, and he gave this to the poetess. Perhaps we have to infer from this that he was a

1. According to the Chronicle Konguḍēṣi-rāṇṅkaḷ on which Rev. Foulkes depended for his re-construction of early Koṅgu history, the Koṅgu kingdom first emerged as a distinct power in the first century A.D. From that time till its conquest by the Chōḷas there were two dynasties and 28 kings. The earlier of these was of the solar race and the latter of the Gaṅga. The earlier dynasty belonged to the Ratta tribe and consisted of seven kings, namely Viśa Rāya Caakravarti, Govinda Rāya, Kṛishṇa Rāya, Kāla-Vallabha Rāya, Govinda Rāya, Chaturbhuja Kaṇṇiradeva Chakravarti and Trivikrama-madeva Chakravarti. These kings, it is said, belonged to the first and second centuries. Govinda Rāya II lived about S. 4 Svabhānu (i.e. A. D. 83) and Trivikrama about S. 800 (Siddharti). It was after this that Koṅguvarma is laid to have founded the Ganga dynasty. Rev. Foulkes identified the Rattas with the Raṭtor, Raṣtrakuta, Reddi etc. in the Dakkan. The reference to them in the Kongu chronicle, he points out, is the earliest and further gives a clue to their possession of the southernmost region. He further points out that they disappear from South India at the end of the 2nd century. In the next historical references, he continues, "we find them high, up in the northern Deccan, amongst the kingdoms conquered by the Chalukyas about the 4th century A.D. Soon after they crossed the Nerbudda." But one difference between the Kongu Rattas and the Dakkan Raṣtrakutas is that the former are called Solar and the latter lunar. Foulkes enters into an elaborate discussion of the date given in the chronicle and concludes in favour of accepting it.

The chronicle however is entirely unreliable. It simply records in a very inaccurate and inadequate form, based apparently on a vague memory of the past, the supremacy of the Rāṣtrakūtas over this area. The names Kṛishṇa Vallabha, Gōvinda, Kaṇṇara, etc. show this. And epigraphy has shown that they were much later in date. To assign to them an age of prosperous rule before the second century in Koṅgu previous to the Gaṅgas is thus clearly an anachronism. This part of the chronicle should therefore be pronounced as valueless and rejected.

fairly long-lived chief. However this might have been, Adiyaman, we are told, was a relative of Chēramāṇi, from which we have to infer that he perhaps was a deputy of the Chēra kings who conquered this part of the country. Adiyaman who had his capital at Tagadur had the insignia of Palmyrā flower, Vetchi and Vēṅgai flowers. He was the equal and rival of the seven kings Chēra, Chōḷa, Tidiya, Erumaiyūra, Irūṅḍō-vēṇmāṇ, Pāṇḍya and Poruna. He is said to have opposed all of them and vanquished them, but as a Pāṇḍya is said to have had his country trampled by elephants (Abam 162) and as the Chōḷa Māchi is said to have knocked his teeth out, we cannot say that he was uniformly successful. He however captured Kovalur for which he has received the panegyrics of the poet Paraṇi. In his territory was situated the Kudiraimalai, the feudal chief of which was called Pittan Koṇṇan. His ancestors are said to have brought sugarcane from the heavens and a grove frequented by the Gods is said to have existed in his capital. From the poem Padiruppattu we understand that he was conquered by the great Chēra Irumporai.

Aṇji's son Elini or Pohutteluni was a great soldier and a great giver. He is said to have fallen in the battle of Tagadūr. Perhaps we have to infer from this that he fell a victim to either the Chēra Irumporai who had defeated his father or some successor of his. Apparently the Adiyamāṇi country from this time came to be the property of the Chēras.

It will be now clear that the Adigamāṇas owned, till their conquest by the Chēras, a large territory which included South Mysore and which had for its capital Tagadūr or Talakāḍi on the Kāvēri. Later on, when in the pauṇḍric age, new chiefs came into existence, they called themselves, after the clans which had preceded them. Hence we find the later rulers of the Koṅgu country having the title of Adigamāṇas. As has been already said, the people of Adigamāṇi's country were, for some unexplained reason, Malavas. They made good soldiers and were recruits in the then armies of the different Tamil states. The Adigamāṇas had for their enemies the chief of Parambu in the west, Pēṇan in the south, and the Ōris of Kollimalais and the Kāri of Kōḷaṭūr as well as the Teṇḍurāṇas in the east. The wars with these were further complicated by the inroads of the Chēras and of the Kōsar and Vādubas as well as the Vamba Mōriyas from the north. The southern boundary of the Koṅgu kingdom was the Karaipōttavār which flows through the present Nānakkal taluk and falls into the Kāvēri about 12 miles west of Muśiri in Trichinopoly district. The Chēra conquest of Koṅgu was evidently followed by the foundation of a new Kaṭūr in imitation of the Chēra capital Vaṇji near the west coast.

VEL PARI PARAMBUNADU.

A discussion of the relation between the *Chēras* and the *Kēngus* would necessarily require prominent mention of *Vēl Pāri* of *Parambunādu*. The lands of this chief extended from the upper waters of the *Amāvāti* to the *Nīlgiris* and consisted of 300 villages. A *Chēra* monarch intending to march along the *Amāvāti* into *Kēngu* must pass through *Pāri's Parambunādu*.¹ *Pāri* is described as one of the seven last kings and very magnificent in his generous patronage of letters. Once he saw a creeper unable to spread itself for want of support and so he left his own ear to serve that end! The king, he argued, was bound to be the guardian of the welfare of all things, animate and inanimate, in the kingdom! *Pāri*, we are told, was an inveterate enemy of the three kings. He had two beautiful daughters whose hand they solicited in vain from him. They led their combined forces against the *Parambu* fort. Unable to take it, they resolved to remove their adversary by treachery. Knowing that he could deny nothing to a beggar, they put on the guise of begging scholars and begged for his head from him. While *Pāri* became a victim to his charity, he left his daughters under the guardianship of his poet-friend *Kapilar*. He adopted them as his own daughters and tried to give them in marriage to the princes *Vichchikkōi* and *Iruṅgo-Vēl*. They refused the offer, and then he, according to one version, gave them in marriage to certain Brahmins and according to another version, to *Kāri* the ruler of *Kovai*. The generosity of *Pāri* to men of letters was so proverbial that *St. Sundaramūti* later on refers to him in his hymns. *Kapila* was the great poet of *Pāri* and ultimately starved himself to death in consequence of his inability to live without him.

Such in broad outlines are the geographical data of the *Tamil Political States* as described in the *Sāṅgam literature* and as further enlightened by western geographers. The references in *Sanskrit literature* to *Tamilāham* and of *Tamil literature* to the *Dakkan* and *North India*, the relation between *Tamilāham* and *Ceylon*, the references in the *Sāṅgam works* to distant islands and seas, the mountains, rivers, tanks, religious centres, commercial centres, the birds and animals, the mineral products, the plants and other things occurring in the *Sāṅgam works* afford manifold themes for studies. What has been thus far said from the standpoint of political geo-

1. See 'Sen-Tamil,' Vol. II p. 265 ff for an article on 'Pāri and his daughters.'

graphy is enough to show what a mine of information lies embedded in *Sāṅgam works*. It is as a result of the combined studies of all geographical aspects that a decision of the correct chronology of the different layers of the *Sāṅgam literature* can be made. But, from what has been said, it must be clear that the major portion of the *Sāṅgam works*, though not all of them reflect a state of things which existed from about 300 B.C. to about 300 A.D. A few of the so-called *Sāṅgam works* however give a distinct clue to a subsequent age. The *Śilappadibā-am* and the *Manimēkalai* as well as some of the poems included in the *Sāṅgam collections* cannot be placed, it seems to me, with the majority of the *Sāṅgam works* in regard to chronology, but to a slightly later period.

V. RANGACHARYA.

Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.

A MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION.

An ordinary meeting of the Association was held at 5.30 p.m., on Thursday the 15th March 1928, in the English Lecture Hall, Presidency College, Madras when Prof. V. Rangacharya, M.A., L.T., of that College read a paper on "The Historical Geography of the *Sāṅgam Age*". Mr. P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., University Reader of Indian History occupied the chair.

In his Introductory Remarks, the Chairman said: He had heard of the *Sāṅgam Age* in his youth, and even in his old age he had not understood what it was. What was that Age? Did it comprise two centuries or two millennia? From literature it appears as a very very long age.

* Mr. V. Rangacharya then read the paper on the *Historical Geography of the Sāṅgam Age*. At the end of the paper, a discussion followed:

Mr. T. G. Aravamudan congratulated the lecturer, which was a sort of fulfilment of the promise of several years ago. As regards the *Maukharis* on which the lecturer criticised him, he had only inscriptional evidence, which could not take him far. The *Chera* country, he thought, did not skirt the *Arabian Sea* at first, but was in the interior. He then discussed about the *Kodum Tamil* and *Sen Tamil* areas—their extent, distinction etc.

Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Iyer said that he did not appreciate the method of the Lecturer in trying to synthesise when full materials were lacking. He considered it was more important that they should make all the bricks

first, and then proceed to raise the building by putting one over another. He spoke at length on various Hypotheses—the Naga origin of the Pallavas; the Age of the Tamil Sangam; the interpretation of the word Vanga (Bengal or a ship); Senguttava's march; and his own identification of Kanishka with Kanaka.

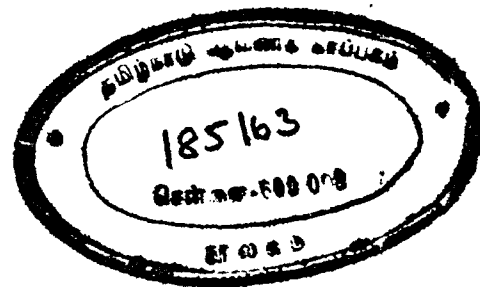
The lecturer in his reply, remarked that Mr. Venkatarama Iyer had not taken full note of Geographical considerations in his theories.

The Chairman in his concluding remarks, said:

He looked upon Sangam Literature as a series of anthologies; and the bulk of the poems deal with the history of the people. It is on the interpretation of this that he would lay the emphasis.

With the usual vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, the meeting came to an end.

TO
VENKATARAMA
18-5-22



7. A person shall become an ordinary member upon the proposal by a member, the seconding by another member and approval by the council by the majority thereof present at its meeting. He shall pay an annual subscription of rupees two payable in one instalment or in two equal half-yearly instalments at his option.

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9. There shall be the following officers for the Association:—
Patrons, Vice-Patrons, President, one or more Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer.

Management.

10. The management of the Association shall vest in a working Council, which shall consist of the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Secretary and the Treasurer as ex-officio members, and four others elected by the general body, one at least of whom shall be from amongst the mofussil members.

11. The Quorum for a meeting of the working council shall be three.

The Powers and Duties of the Working Council.

12. The duties of the Working Council shall be:—

- (A) To receive and approve all applications for membership;
- (B) To arrange for the annual and other meetings of the Association;
- (C) To provide for the custody and utilisation of the funds and other property of the Association;
- (D) To appoint committees and assign duties to them;
- (E) To act in all respects on behalf of and with the powers of the general body, except when it is actually sitting.

13. The working council shall have the powers, subject to the veto of the general body, to issue, modify or rescind bye-laws, for the regulation of the work and activities of the Association.

Miscellaneous.

14. The official year of the Association shall be from 1st April to 31st March, and shall be divided into two sessions.

15. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in March, when the officers for the coming year shall be elected.

16. All life membership subscriptions, all unspecified donations and one-third of all ordinary subscriptions, shall be carried to the capital fund of the Association.

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