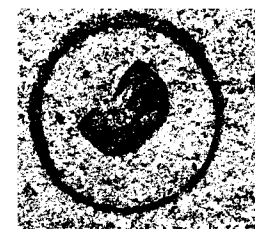


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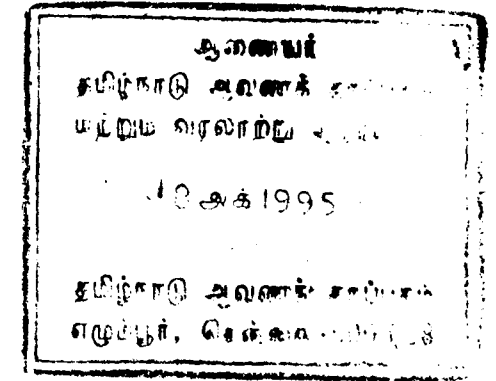
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8. FIVE PANDYA KINGS OF THE 14TH CENTURY

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Introduction

The extreme South of the Indian Peninsula was the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Madura was the traditional capital of the Pāṇḍyas. In the course of seven hundred years *i. e.*, from 1000 to 1700 A. D. scores of Pāṇḍya kings existed. They had only six names—often repeated. The six names were Kulaśekhara, Srivallabha, Vira Vikrama, Sundara and Parākrama. They were either Jaṭavarman or Māgavarman. Kings with the same or different titles ruled jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reigns is common. The phenomenon is more prominent in the 13th and 14th centuries. When one tries to study the chronology of these Pāṇḍya kings he is liable to confuse one with another. Kielhorn (1907) Jacobi (1911) Swamikkannu Pillai (1913) and Robert Sewell (1915) identified eighteen Pāṇḍya kings who existed between 1162 and 1357 A. D. Following in their foot steps, in my books "*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*" (edition 1980) and "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" (edition 1978) I identified twenty two more Pāṇḍya kings who existed between 1000 and 1400 A. D.

The investigation of the Pāṇḍya records is not easy. There are many obstacles and hurdles. In the midst of many difficulties I progress slowly and identify the hitherto unknown kings. In my books "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" and "*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*", I have dealt with in detail the methodology which should be followed in the investigation of the Pāṇḍya records. I

commenced my research work in the Pāṇḍya chronology in 1978. I am still continuing my research. I visit many temples and see the stone records *in situ*. I also get necessary transcripts from the office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. I compare the records, consult the internal evidence and apply the astronomical data. The discovery of the Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya-kulodaya* also throws new light. In the process of finding the truth, wherever adjustments are warranted, I never hesitate to accommodate them. My paper "*Two Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍyas of accession 1253 and 1254*" presented in the annual congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held in March 1983 at Gorakhpur are such examples. In this paper also there are some revisions which I shall explain somewhere below. In the 14th century there were many Pāṇḍya kings. I have identified some of them vide my book "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" and my 1983 Gorakhpur paper. In this article I identify five Pāṇḍya kings namely, Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya 1330-1347, Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍya (I) 1334-1367, Māgavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya 1337-1343, Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya 1337-1378, and Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍya (II) 1341-1388.

In my book "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" when I identified Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1329, I mixed up the records of his junior. In this paper the junior is identified as a separate king Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1330. In my

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earlier research, I surmised that Māgavarman Vikrama came to the throne in 1334 and he was called Rājākaṇ Nāyan with natal star Hasta and accession star Rohiṇī. In this paper I have found that Māgavarman Vikrama came to the throne in 1337. There was another Māgavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya with a surname Rājākaṇ Nāyan, natal star Hasta and accession star Rohiṇī. He was a different king. I know his date but I have not introduced him in this paper. Swamikkanna Pillai surmised that there was only one Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍya and that king existed in the 14th century with the accession date 1334. In this article I have identified two Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍyas with accession dates 1334 and 1341 respectively. The existence of two Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍyas is a fixed point in the Pāṇḍya chronology. In the history of the Pāṇḍyas from 550 to 1400 A.D. there were two Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍyas and they existed in the 14th century only. Their records are available in all the districts of Tamil Nadu with the exception of the Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. This information is a fixed point in the methodology in the investigation of the Pāṇḍya records. If we find the name Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍya in the records found north of Madura, we can immediately conclude that the records belong to the 14th century. Thus the two Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍyas help us in identifying the contemporary Pāṇḍya princes also.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
453/1966 Tirunallār	4, Kaṇṇaṭaka, śu 4, Uttiram and Friday	16th July 1333 A.D.

Māgavarman Vira Pāṇḍya II of accession 1341 is an important king. In his Tirukkālakkuḍi (Ramnad district) record dated Friday the 12th September 1371, Vira Pāṇḍya states, that the Vijayanagar prince Kampana drove out the Muhammadans and established orderly government. This statement, which agrees with the records of Kampana, Tamil Chronicle *Madurai tala varalaṇu*, *Shāṇṇikar varalāru* and the Sanskrit poem *Mathurā-vijayam* is a turning point in the history of Tamil Nadu and also South India.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYA 1330-1347

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 25th January and the 7th July 1330. In the year 1343 he gilded the Tiruvēndipuram Viṣṇu temple. He was called *kōyil poṇ mēynda Perumāḷ* "lord or king who gilded the temple". To some extent he was successful in fighting against the Madurai Sultanates. This is evident from the appearance of his records dated 1339 and 1340 at Kāḷaiyārkōyil which is 60 kilometers east of Madura where the Muhammadan invaders, Sultans, were ruling in that period. Probably because of this success Sundara adopted the title *paḷiyil puḷāṇāṇ* "he who became famous in removing the bad name". His rule upto the year 1347 is known. The records of Sundara are tabulated below. The logical arguments of how the kings are identified are detailed in the discussion.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
25/1900 Tāramaṅgalam	6, Kaṇṇaṭaka, śu. 4 Uttiram and Monday (Lands were sold to the <i>brāhmaṇas</i> of the colony Śrī Lakshmaṇa Chaturvēdimaṅgalam founded by Nalluḍai Appar)	24th July 1335 A.D.
137/1902 Tiruvēndipuram	10, Kaṇṇaṭaka, ba. 5, Monday and Rēvatī (see discussion)	26th July 1339 A.D.
583/1902 Kāḷaiyārkōyil	Year lost, Dhanus, śu. 9, Friday and Rēvatī (Year must be 10-see discussion).	10th Dec. 1339 A.D.
584/1902 Kāḷaiyārkōyil	10, Dhanus, śu. 3, mistake for ba. 3, Pūṣam and Sunday - (<i>tithi</i> is restored in bracket as <i>thuthikai</i> . It must be <i>trithikai</i>).	19th Dec. 1339 A.D.
581-A/1902 Kāḷaiyārkōyil	11, Dhanus, didikai for ba. 2, Punarpūṣam and Wednesday.	6th Dec. 1340 A.D.
119/1944 Rishivaṇṇiyam	17, Makara, śu. 5, Rēvatī and Wednesday. The king is called Poṇ Parappiṇa-perumāḷ (who covered the temple with gold).	17th Jan. 1347 A.D.

On the basis of 119 1944 the star Rēvatī in Makara of 1347 falls in the 17th year. Accordingly Rēvatī in Makara of 1330 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 24th January. On the basis of 137/1902 star Rēvatī in Kaṇṇaṭaka of 1339 falls in the 10th year. Accordingly Rēvatī in Kaṇṇaṭaka of 1330 falls in the regnal year one. The star was current on 7th July.

24th January 1330 ≡ Regnal year Zero.
7th July 1330 ≡ Regnal year One.

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 25th January and the 7th July 1330 A. D. His reign upto 1347 A. D.

is known. Only seven records with astronomical data are available. The other records of this king are identified with the help of internal evidence. This we shall see below under discussion.

Discussion

Tāramaṅgalam record 25/1900 of the table is dated 1335. The record states that lands were sold to the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Brāhmaṇ* colony Śrī Lakshmaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam which was founded by Nalluḍai Appar. This colony was under construction by Nalluḍai Appar in 1316 and 1317 A. D. This is evident from Tāramaṅgalam record 24/1900 and 23/1900 discussed in Appendices III and II of my

paper "Two Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of accession 1303 and 1304"-presented in the 9th annual conference of the Epigraphical Society of India held in March 1983 at Gorakhpur.

Tiruvēndipuram record 137/1902 of the table is dated 1339. The record registers the settlement made by the villagers of Sōḷakulavalli Nallūr. The chief Uḍaiyār *alias* Puttuḷāṇ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar was pleased to be present in the meeting. Certain villages were assigned to the temple. Puttuḷāṇ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar founded a new *Brāhmin* colony called "Puttuḷāṇ *Brāhma-dēśam*" in his name. The villages and the *Brāhmin* colony were declared tax free in accordance with the royal letters received from Perumāḷ Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva, Perumāḷ Vikrama Pāṇḍyadēva and Perumāḷ Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva. The internal evidence supplies the following information.

The *Brāhmin* colony Puttuḷāṇ *Brāhma-dēśam* was founded in 1339. This is important and it will be referred to somewhere below. The royal letters were received from three kings namely Sundara Pāṇḍya of this record, Māḡavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1337 and Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1337. The three kings figure in 1339 (the date of this record) in the chronological order. They were contemporaries. In this record one of the signatories is Śaṅkaramakēśari Mūvēndavēḷāṇ and he figures in 406/1921 year 6 corresponding to 1347 discussed under Māḡavarman Vīra II of accession 1341.

The village Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram is within a few kilometers from the village Tiruvēndipuram. A record which comes from

Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram is in the 14th year of Kōṇērinmaikoḇḇāṇ.⁴ The proper record belongs to the Tiruvēndipuram Viṣṇu temple. Since the lands mentioned in the transactions are in the village Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram, the record is engraved on the walls of the Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram Śiva Temple. The record refers to the service called *Sundara Pāṇḍyan sandhi* instituted in the name of the king. The record mentions the *Brāhmin* colony Puttuḷāṇ *Brāhma-dēśam* situated in the village Tiruvēndipuram. We have already seen that this *brāhmin* colony was founded in 1339 by Puttuḷāṇ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar Villavarayar. Evidently this record belongs to Jaṭavarman Sundara year 14⁴ corresponding to 1344. The record states that in the 13th year of the king (i. e., 1343) the chief Puttuḷāṇ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar villavarayar granted 30 *vēḷis* of lands to the Tiruvēndipuram Viṣṇu Temple. Lands were also granted for those who worked for forming the garden called *ulagamunḇḇāṇ tirunandavanam* called after Lord Kṛiṣṇa. The income from the lands was to be utilised as follows :

- a) For offerings to the image (of god) called *kōyil poṇ mēymda perumāl* set up by the king in his name in the Tiruvēndipuram Viṣṇu temple.
- b) For the service called *Sundara Pāṇḍyan sandhi* instituted in the Tiruvēndipuram Viṣṇu temple in the name of the king.

It is evident that Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1339 was also called "*kōil poṇ mēymda perumāl*" i. e., "the king who gilded the temple". Probably he would have gilded the Tiruvēndipuram Viṣṇu temple. The garden is mentioned in the

records of Māḡavarman Vīra I and II discussed below.

The Rishivaṅḇḇiyam record 119/1944 dated 1347 (listed in the table) rightly calls the king "*poṇ paḇappiṇṇa perumāl*" Lord or king who gilded the temple.⁵

The above chief Puttuḷāṇ Tiruvaraṅgachelvarvillavarayar figures in the records of the contemporary kings Māḡavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I of accession 1334, Māḡavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1337 and Māḡavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II of accession 1341. We shall see those records below.

- 1) The above chief figures in the record of Māḡavarman Vikrama dated 1340. This is Tiruvēndipuram record⁶ No. 143/1902 and it is discussed under Māḡavarman Vikrama.
- 2) A record which comes⁷ from Tiruvēndipuram belongs to Māḡavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I or II year 10 corresponding to 1344 or 1351. The record refers to the agreement made with Uḍaiyār Puttuḷāṇ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar *alias* villavarayar.
- 3) Another record⁸ which also comes from Tiruvēndipuram belongs to Māḡavarman Vīra I or II year 15 corresponding to 1349 or 1356. The record states that *ulagamunḇḇāṇ tiruttoppu* the garden called after Lord Kṛiṣṇa was founded by Puttuḷāṇ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar *alias* villavarayar. We have already seen that in 1343 the same chief was constructing this garden.

- 4) A record⁹ (151/1904) which comes from Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram belongs to Sundara year 14 corresponding to 1344. The record states that Milaiyaṇ Kīḷāṇ Aḷagiya Tiruchirraṇḇalam Uḍaiyāṇ Maṇḇir Kuṇikkum Perumāṇ *alias* Abimāna tuṅga Pallavarayaṇ of Mēyūr made grants to the temple for conducting a service called *paḷiyil puḇaḷaṇāṇ* i. e., "became famous in removing the bad name"-probably in the surname of the king. A signatory by name Kaṇṇamaṅḇalam Uḍaiyāṇ figures. The two individuals of this record figure in the records of Māḡavarman Vikrama of accession 1337 and the two Māḡavarman Vīra Pāṇḍyas of accession 1334 and 1341. This we shall see in the records discussed under those kings.

Kāḷaiyār Kōyil records

Record No. 583/1902 (listed in the table) belongs to Jaṭavarman Sundara and it states¹⁰ that Naṅḇuḇaiḇḇāṇ Āvuḇaiyāṇ Peruṅkaruṇaiyāḷaṇ, a merchant of the city Śrīvallabhanperunteruvu, institutes (*kaṭṭukiṇṇa*) a service called *Peruṅkaruṇaiyāḷaṇ sandhi* in his name in the temple. The word *kaṭṭukiṇṇa* is in present tense. I have restored the regnal year as 10 after consulting the following records. The date of the present record is 10th December 1339.

Another record¹¹ of the same temple belongs to Jaṭavarman Sundara year 10 Māḇḇaḷi 24th day. It refers to the *Peruṅkaruṇaiyāḷaṇ - sandhi* instituted (*kaṭṭiṇṇa*) by the same individual. The word "*kaṭṭiṇṇa*" is in past tense. This is justified by the

data which agree with 21st December 1339 which date is later than 10th December of the previous record.

Record No. 584/1902 of the same temple (listed in the table)¹³ is in year 10. The record refers to *Peruṅkaruṇaiyāṇ sandhi* instituted (*kaṭṭiṇa* - in past tense) by the same individual. The date of the record is 19th December 1339.

Record No. 581-A/1802 of the same temple (listed in the table)¹⁴ is in year 11. The record refers to the service *Peruṅkaruṇaiyāṇ sandhi* instituted (*kaṭṭiṇa*) in past tense by the same individual. The date falls on 6th December 1340.

Satisfying the internal evidence the data of the above four records do not supply dates in the reign of any other

known Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. The data agree for Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1323 only.

Note : Kāḷāyār Kōyil is approximately 60 kilometer east of Madura. The record of Sundara dated 1339 and 1340 are found in Kāḷāiyar Kōyil when the Muhammadan Sultans were ruling in Madura. The Pāṇḍya records indicate that the Pāṇḍyas were slowly moving towards Madura.

JATAVARMAN VIRA PANDYA 1337 - 1378

Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya ruled from 1337 to 1378. He figures in the Tiruvēndipuram record No. 137/1902 (dated 1339) discussed under Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330. The records of Vira Pāṇḍya are tabulated below.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
69/1924 Perichikōyil	40, Śaka 1298, Mithuṇa 22, Puṇarvasu, Monday mistake for Tuesday.	17th June 1376 A.D.
81/1940 Tiruvattiyūr	13, Kanni, śu. 9, Tiruvōṇam and Monday.	21st Sep. 1349 A.D.
Pd 431 Neivāśal	42, Dhanus, ba. 12, Aṇurādha and Friday.	17th Dec. 1378 A.D.

In the first record the title Jaṭavarman or Māgarvarman is absent. The other two records supply the title Jaṭavarman.

On the basis of the Neivāśal record star Aṇurādha in Dhanus of 1378 falls in the 42nd year. Accordingly, Aṇurādha in Dhanus of 1336 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 2nd

December. On the basis of the Perichikōyil record star Puṇarvasu in Mithuṇa of 1376 falls in the 40th year. Accordingly Aṇurādha in Dhanus of 1336 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 2nd December. On the basis of the Perichikōil record star Puṇarvasu in Mithuṇa of 1376 falls in the 40th year. Accordin-

gly star Puṇarvasu in Mithuṇa of 1337 falls in the first year. The star was current on 1st June.

2nd December 1336=Regnal year Zero.

1st June 1337=Regnal year One.

Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 3rd December 1336 and the 1st June 1337. The Tamil kings never ascend the throne in the month December which falls in the inauspicious month Mārgaḷi. In the circumstances we can surmise that Jaṭavarman Vira came to the throne in the first quarter of 1337. His rule upto 1378 is known. His other records can be identified provided the texts of all the Pāṇḍya records are published.

MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA PANDYA 1337-1343

Māgarvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 20th May and the 15th August 1337. In the year 1340, his chief Abhimānatuṅga Pallavarayaṇ caused the image of Sri Varāha to be set up at the sacred entrance of the Tiruvēndipuram Viṣṇu temple. This Varāha is praised in the Vaishṇavite Chronicles of the later period. The reign of Vikrama is known upto 1343. The records of Māgarvarman Vikrama are tabulated below. Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330, Māgarvarman Vira I of accession 1334, Jaṭavarman Vira of accession 1337 and Māgarvarman Vira II of accession 1341 are the then contemporary princes. They are referred to in the discussion.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
143/1902 Tiruvēndipuram	3, Makara, śu. 4, mistake for su. 14, Puṇar-pūṣam and Friday (see-discussion)	14th Jan. 1340 A.D.
124/1904 Tirthanagari	4, Kumbha, śu. 3, mistake for ba. 3, Sunday and Uttiram (see discussion)	4th Feb. 1931 A.D.
104/1944 Tiruvēndipuram	4, Rishabha, ba. 5, Uttirāḍam and Sunday.	6th May 1341 A.D.
120/1896 Tiruveṅkāḍu	5, Dhanus, śu. Rēvatī and Sunday (see discussion)	16th Dec. 1341 A.D.
410/1909 Siddaliṅgamaḍam	6, Kanni śu. 1, Hasta and Sunday.	1st Sep. 1342 A.D.
252/1256 Tiruvēndipuram	7, Siṃha, ba. 4, Rēvatī and Sunday (see discussion)	10th Aug. 1343 A.D.

On the basis of 104/1944 star Uttirādam in Rishabha of 1341 falls in the 4th year. Accordingly star Uttirādam in Rishabha of 1337 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 19th May. On the basis of 252/1956 star Rēvatī in Simha of 1343 falls in the 7th year. Accordingly star Rēvatī in Simha of 1337 falls in the first year. The star was current on 15th August.

19th May 1337 = Regnal year Zero.
15th August 1337 = Regnal year One

Māvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 20th May and the 15th August 1337. His rule upto 1343 is known.

Discussion

1. Tirthanagari record 124/1904 (listed in the table) of Vikrama is dated 4th February 1341. The record¹⁴ registers the gift of 20 mā of lands by Tāmandai Vēlān Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Uḍaiyān Tennavarāyaṇ of Peruṅganūr in Pañchavan Mādēvipuram in Kuvalaiya nāḍu in Rāja Rāja - Vaḷanāḍu to the *kaṅkūṇikaraṇattār* of the temple Tiruttinainagar Uḍaiyār as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*. A record¹⁵ which comes from this temple belongs to Māvarman Vira I or II of accession 1334 or 1341, year 9. It is dated either 1343 or 1350. It refers to the 20 mā of lands formerly given as *ti-unāmattukkāṇi* by the above individual Tāmandai Tennavarāyaṇ of Peruṅganūr.
2. Tiruvēndipuram record 143/1902 of Vikrama (listed in the table) is dated 14th January 1340. The record mentions several grants. One of them was

meant for conducting services to the image of Śrī Varāha which image was caused to be set up by Milaiyaṇ Kilāṇ Maṇṇil Kuṇikkum Perumāṇ *alias* Abimāna Tuṅga Pallavarayar of Mēyūr, a hamlet of Sōḷakulavallinallūr of Paṭṭaṇ pakkā nāḍu in Naḍuvil-nāḍu *alias* Rāja Rāja - Vaḷanāḍu.¹⁶ The record repeats two times that the donor caused the image of Śrī Varāha Nāyaṇār to be set up at the sacred entrance (*tiruvāsappāḍiyil*) of the temple. The donor purchased some lands and agreed to burn lamps before Śrī Varāha and also supply oil. Incidentally the record also refers to the grants made by Puttālāṇ Villavarayar who figures in the records discussed under Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330.

A record¹⁷ which comes from Tiruvaḍi belongs to Māvarman Vikrama. It is in year 3 corresponding to 1340. The record states that the chief Milaiyaṇ Kilāṇ Maṇṇil Kuṇikkum Perumāṇ *alias* Abimānatuṅga Pallavarayar of Mēyūr formed a garden in his name and gifted it to the Tiruvāḍi temple. Another record¹⁸ of this temple is the order of the same chief and it refers to the same garden formed by him.

The village Tiruvēndipuram is about 20 kilometers east of Tiruvaḍi. A record¹⁹ which comes from Tiruvēndipuram belongs to Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya II. It is in year 4 corresponding to 1345. It states that Milaiyaṇ Kilāṇ Maṇṇil Kuṇikkum Perumāṇ *alias* Dipattarayaṇ of Mēyūr caused the image of Śrī Varāha to be set up at the sacred entrance (*tiruvāsappāḍiyil*) of the temple. Here the donor is called Dipattarayaṇ instead of Abimānatuṅga

Pallavarayaṇ.²⁰ Dipattarayaṇ is a title. It means "Officer for lights" (in the temple). The record states that the actual consecration of the image of Śrī Varāha was done (*pratiṣṭhāi paṇṇiṇa*) by Bhāradvāji Aḍiyārkkū Meyyāṇ *alias* Siṅgapperumāḷ of Arumbhākkam.²¹

3. Tiruvēṅkāḍu record²² No. 120,1896 of Vikrama (listed in the table) is dated 1341. In this record the same chief Milaiyaṇ Kilāṇ Maṇṇil Kuṇikkum Perumāṇ *alias* Dipattarayaṇ of Mēyūr figures with his full address. He makes grants for burning lamps in the temple.

The same chief figures in the Chidambaram record²³ of Māvarman Vira I or II year 9 corresponding to 1343 or 1350. Again the same chief figures in the Tiruvaḍi record 406/1921 dated 1347 listed and discussed under Māvarman Vira II.

4. Tiruvēndipuram record 252/1956 of Māvarman Vikrama (listed in the table) is dated 10th August 1343. It states that Periyadēvan Amarakōṇ inherited lands from his father-in-law Nāyakaperumāṇ as *śridhana* when the latter died. Amarakōṇ did not pay the tax dues accrued on these lands from the 17th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya to the 6th and 7th year of Vikrama. So Amarakōṇ sold some lands and paid part payment in 1343. Tiruvēndipuram record 249/1956 dated 1347 is discussed under Māvarman Vira II. It repeats the same story.²⁴ It states that Amarakōṇ sold some more lands and cleared the dues.

Sundara whose 17th year is quoted is Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya²⁵ of accession 1318. The above transactions reveal

that Amarakōṇ did not pay the taxes accrued on the lands from 1335. In the year 1343 in the reign of Māvarman Vikrama he sold some lands and made part payment. Again in 1347 in the reign of Māvarman Vira II he sold some more lands and cleared the dues.

- 5 Discussions 1 to 4 prove that Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1310, Māvarman Vikrama of accession 1337, Māvarman Vira I of accession 1334 and Māvarman Vira II of accession 1341 were contemporaries.

A record²⁶ which comes from the village Vikravāṇḍi (South Arcot district) introduces the king as Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rāja Nārāyaṇ Vikrama Pāṇḍya. Probably Vikrama defeated the then local chieftain Sakalalōka Chakravarthi Rāja Nārāyaṇ Sambuvarāya and adopted his title. The village "Vikravāṇḍi" is a corrupt name of Vikrama Pāṇḍi or Vikrama Pāṇḍya-puram.

TWO MĀVARMAN VIRA PANDYAS OF ACCESSION 1334 AND 1341

Swamikkannu Pillai surmised that Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya came to the throne in 1334. He further surmised that no other king of this name existed in the 13th or 14th century. His conclusion was that there was only one Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya²⁷ and that king came to the throne in 1334.²⁸

The clue which points out the accession date is found in the Kōvilūr record Pd. 450 engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Bālapuriśvara temple. The record belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya. The title Māvarman is absent. The other data

are; year 34, month Āṇi, 8th solar day; and star Makha. The week day is absent. The date is²⁸ certainly 4th June 1367. It was 8th day in the Tamil month Āṇi and star Makha was current upto 8.45 A. M. The record indicates that 1334 was the accession year of the king. On the basis of this record Pillai consulted some more records and surmised that Vira Pāṇḍya was a Māṇavarman and he came to the throne in 1334. However certain dates suggested by Pillai are not satisfactory.

Another record Pd 451 is found on the same south wall of the central shrine of the Kōvilūr Bālapuriśvara temple. The record belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya. The title Māṇavarman is absent. The data are; year 33, month Vaikāśi 29th solar day, Wednesday and star Viśākā. Pillai correctly equated the date to Wednesday the 24th May 1374. It was 29th Vaikāśi and the star was current upto 6-30 P.M. The record indicates that 1341 was the accession year of the king. But Pillai said that the regnal year mentioned in the record was probably a mistake²⁹ for 40. This suggestion is not acceptable.

Pd 450 does not supply the week day. It is taken as the foundation to establish the existence of Māṇavarman Vira Pāṇḍya of accession 1334. Pd 451 is engraved on the same wall and it supplies the week day. But Pillai corrected the regnal year in this record. Why should we accept a record in which the week day is absent and correct the record in which the week day is quoted?

As a matter of fact both the records supply the regnal year, solar month,

solar day and star. In the second record week day is also quoted. In the circumstances we have to acknowledge the two records Pd 450 and 451 as genuine and perfect in all respects and accept that two kings by name Vira Pāṇḍya existed. The senior came to the throne in 1334 and the junior in 1341. As we shall see below both had the same title Māṇavarman. We shall consult those records which were consulted by Pillai and also the records of recent discoveries. We shall rely on the internal evidence and establish the existence of the two kings.

MARAVARMAN VIRA PANDYA I 1331-1367

Māṇavarman Vira Pāṇḍya I came to the throne between the 25th January and the 7th June 1334. His surname was Kaliyugarāman (?). His reign upto 1367 is known. The records of this king are discussed below.

1. Record No. 481/1916 is found on the Nambantattai rock in the village Pāppākuḍi in Tirunelveli district. The data are restored as year 2 [2] Kaṇṇakaṭaka 2 [2] śu. 14, Saturday and Uttirām a mistake for Uttirāḍam. Swamikkannu Pillai said that the reading was doubtful³⁰ in many cases. Anyway he suggested two dates either 5th July 1354 which was 8th Kaṇṇakaṭaka or 19th July 1354 which was 22nd Kaṇṇakaṭaka, ba. 14 and Puṇarvasu. The regnal year does not admit 1334 as the accession date. The data are technically imperfect and they were restored from the damaged portions. The record belongs to a later Pāṇḍya of the 15th or 16th century. Because in 1354 Māṇavarman Vira could not have influenced his authority south of Madura where the Sultans were ruling at that time.

2. Record No. 422/1917 comes from Kuttālam (In Tirunelveli district). The data are; year 23, Rishabha, śu 5, Wednesday and Pushya. Pillai suggested³¹ 24th May 1357 and also 12th May 1445. The internal evidence proves that this Māṇavarman Vira Pāṇḍya existed in the 15th century.³² This record should also be

rejected.

Pillai assigned the above two records³³ to Māṇavarman Vira I of accession 1334. I have given the reasons for rejecting them. Records which are assigned to Māṇavarman Vira Pāṇḍya I (of accession 1334) are tabulated below.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
227/1916 Seṅgamal	11, Kaṇṇakaṭaka, śu. 7, Saturday and Svāti (Vaiśya and Vāṇṇiya merchants of 18 districts constructed <i>Alaṅkāra-maṣṭha</i> for Dharma Dhavaḷa Kūtar.	17th July 1344 A.D.
360/1938 Kuñjiram	14, Tulā, śu. 11, Monday and Sadayam.	15th Oct. 1347 A.D.
578/1902 Kāḷaiyārkoṇḍil	14, Makara, ba. 5, Hasta and Sunday.	20th Jan. 1348 A.D.
346/1925 Kilvāram	21, Tulā, ba 13, mistake for ba. 11 or 12 Uttirām and Monday.	13th Oct. 1354 A.D.
Pd 450 Kōvilūr	34, Āṇi 8, Makha (The king is called Vira Pāṇḍya. The title Māṇavarman is absent).	4th June 1367 A.D.

On the basis of 57P/1902 star Hasta in Makara of 1348 falls in the 14th year. Accordingly Hasta in Makara of 1334 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 24th January. On the basis of Pd 450 star Makha in Āṇi of 1367 falls in the 34th year. Accordingly Makha in Āṇi of 1334 falls in the first year. The star was current on 7th June.

24th January 1334 = Regnal year Zero.

7th June 1334 = Regnal year One.

Māṇavarman Vira Pāṇḍya I came to the throne between the 25th January and the 7th June 1334. His reign upto 1367 is known.

A record which comes from Idaiyar³⁴ indicate that Kaliyugarāman was the surname of Māṇavarman Vira Pāṇḍya. Since there were two kings of the same name Māṇavarman Vira Pāṇḍya, we are not in a position to identify the king who had the surname Kaliyugarāman. For the present we shall accept the report³⁵ and assign the surname Kaliyugarāman to Māṇavarman Vira Pāṇḍya I of accession 1334. This surmise will not do any damage or harm in the construction of the chronology. However if fresh evidence comes up in the future, the surmise is also to be revised in favour of that evidence.

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known. The data of Kīlvāram record also produces a date in the reign of Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya II of accession 1341. 12th September 1371 Vira Pāṇḍya mentions the success of the Vijayanagara prince Kāṁpaṇa uḍaiyār who established orderly government after destroying the Muhammadans. Vira Pāṇḍya refers to this historical event in the record which comes from Tirukkallakkuḍi south of Madura. The records assigned to Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya are tabulated below.

MARAVARMAN VIRA PANDYA II 1341-1388

Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya II came to the throne between 8th May and 12th June 1341. He ruled till 1388. On Friday, the

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
386/1913 Erumbūr	5, Simha, śu. 8, Saturday and Aṇurādhā.	6th Aug. 1345 A.D.
406/1921 Tiruvaḍi	6, Miṇa, śu. 4, Saturday and Rōhiṇi (Jaṭavarman mistake for Māravarman-see discussion).	17th Mar. 1347 A.D.
249/1956 Tiruvēndipuram	7, Kanni, śu. 14, Wednesday and Uttirāḍam mistake for Uttirattādi (see discussion)	19th Sept. 1347 A.D.
160/1906 Elavanāśūr	7, Tula, ba, Friday and Svāti	5th Oct. 1347 A.D.
281/1921 Attur	10, Kanni, śu. 2, Uttiram and Friday	3rd Sept. 1350 A.D.
277/1910 Tiruvīḍandai	10, Tulā, śu. 1, Sunday and Svāti.	3rd Oct. 1350 A.D.
57/1903 Tiruvaḍi	14, Miṇa, ba. 1, Saturday and Hasta.	28th Feb. 1355 A.D.
6/1922 Tiruvāmāttūr	15, Vriśchika, śu. 5, Monday and Uttirattādi mistake for Uttirāḍam.	9th Nov. 1355 A.D.
395/1909 Siddhaliṅgamaḍam	15, Dhanus, ba. 8, Saturday and Hasta.	26th Dec. 1355 A.D.
316/1925 Kīlvāram	21, Tulā, ba. 13, mistake for ba. 11 or 12 Uttiram and Monday.	25th Oct. 1351 A.D.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
483/1963 Tiruvādavūr	25, Rishabha, ba. 6, Tiruvōṇam and Friday.	1st May 1366 A.D.
27 A/1903 Tittaguḍi	24, Mēsha, śu. 4, Wednesday and Rōhiṇi.	26th Mar. 1365 A.D.
64/1916 Tirukkallakuḍi	33, Kanni, śu. 3, Friday and Svāti (Refers to the success of the Vijayanagara prince Kāṁpaṇa-uḍaiyār see discussion)	12th Sept. 1371 A.D.
Pd 451 Kōvilūr	33, Vaikāśi 29, Wednesday and Viśākha (king is called Virā Pāṇḍya; title Māravarman is absent)	24th May 1374 A.D.
Pd 453	44, Mithuṇa, ba, Thursday, Rōhiṇi.	16th June 1384 A.D.

On the basis of 483/1963 Tiruvōṇam in Rishabha of 1366 falls in the 25th year. Accordingly Tiruvōṇam in Rishabha of 1341 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 7th May. On the basis of Pd 453 Rōhiṇi in Mithuṇa of 1384 falls in the 44th year. Accordingly Rōhiṇi in Mithuṇa of 1341 falls in the first year. The star was current on 12th June.

7th May 1341=Regnal year Zero.

12th June 1341=Regnal year One.

Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya II came to the throne between the 8th May and the 12th June 1341. Adanūr record Pd 454 belongs to Māravarman Vira year 47. Probably his rule extended upto 1388. (The record mentions *vāḷai vaḷi tirandāṇ paṇam* - a coin called after the surname of Jaṭavarman Parākrama of accession 1315).

Discussion

1. Tiruvēndipuram record 252/1956 is listed under Māravarman Vikrama. It is

in year 7 dated 10th August 1343. It states that Periyadēvaṇ Amarakōṇ inherited lands from his father-in-law Nāyaka-perumāṇ as *Sridhana* after the latter's death. Amarakōṇ did not pay the dues accrued on these lands from the 17th year of Perumāḷ Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva i.e. from 1335 (the 17th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1318) to the 6th year and also the 7th year of Vikrama. Therefore Amarakōṇ sold some lands to pay the dues.

Tiruvēndipuram 249/1956 listed in the table belongs to Māravarman Vira II dated 19th September 1347. It repeats the above story and states that Amarakōṇ sold some more lands and cleared the dues."

2. Tiruvaḍi record 406/1921 listed in the table is dated 1347. It introduces the king as Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya. I got the transcript from the office of the Chief Epigraphist and studied the text. The internal evidence reveals that the title

Jaṭavarman is a mistake for Māvarman²². In this record the chief Mēyūr Miḷaiyaṅ Kiḷāṅ Maṅḡi Kuṇikkum Perumāṅ *alias* Dīpattarayan of Sōlakulavallinallūr of Paṭṭaṅ Pakka-nādu in Naḍuvil-nādu *alias* Rāja Rāja Vaḷa-nādu figures. Two signatories Kaṇṇamaṅgalamuḍaiyaṅ Teṇṇavarayan and Siṅṅāru Poygai Kiḷāṅ Vēḷāṅ Tiruvalaṅḡuḷi - uḍaiyaṅ *alias* Saṅkarama Kēsari-mūvēndavēḷāṅ also figure.

The chief Dīpattarayan with his full address and name figures in the records of Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330 and Māvarman Vikrama of accession 1337. We have discussed those records under Sundara and Vikrama. The same chief figures in the Tiruvēndipuram record 93/1943-44 of Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya year 4 discussed under Māvarman Vikrama foot notes 6 to 8. Again the chief figures in the Chidambaram record of 320/1913 of Māvarman Vira year 9.

Among the two signatories, the chief Kaṇṇamaṅgalam - uḍaiyaṅ figures in the Tirukkaṇḍiśvaram record 151/1904 of Jaṭavarman Sundara year 14 corresponding to 1344.

The other signatory Saṅkaramakēsari-mūvēndavēḷāṅ figures in the Tiruvēndipuram record 137/1902 of Jaṭavarman Sundara dated 1339. For further details please refer to the discussions made under Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330 and Māvarman Vikrama of accession 1337.

The chief Puttuḷāṅ Vīḷavarayan figures in the records of Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330, Māvarman Vikrama of accession 1337 and the two Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍyas of accession 1334 and 1341.

We have discussed this under Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330.

The Muhammadan invaders captured Madura and ruled there from 1323 to 1371. This is evident from *Madurai Tala Varalaru* and *Sihānikar Varalaru* discussed below. The Pāṇḍyas put up stiff resistance. From the year 1339 they started moving towards Madura. This is evident from Kāḷaiyārkōyil records dated 1339 and 1340 discussed under Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330.

Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya of accession 1297 ruled till 1342. His Tiruppattūr record 120/1908 is dated 16th June 1342. The record states that the Muhammadans who occupied the temple were driven out. From this date the Pāṇḍyas gradually start moving towards Madura. The following records confirm this surmise.

Sakkōttai is a village in the Tiruppattūr taluk of Ramnad district. In the inscriptions the village is called Sāykkalūr and the Śiva temple is called Virasēkari Śvaram uḍaiyār. Three records which come from this temple attract our attention.

The first record (102/1946) belongs to Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya I of accession 1334. It is dated year 14 Mārgaḷi first solar day corresponding to 28th November 1347. The record states that the chief Daṅmaṅ Kampaṅ *alias* Daṅmarāyaṅ made grants to the temple and also for providing offerings to the deity Vikrama Vijaya Piḷḷaiyār (Vināyaka) set up in the temple by Alaṅkāra bhāṭṭaṅ.

The second record (40/1947) belongs to some king year 9 Mārgaḷi 8. In view of the internal evidence this is to be

assigned to Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya II of accession 1341. The date of the record is 4th November 1349. The record refers to the deity Vikrama Vijaya Piḷḷaiyār set up in the temple by Alaṅkāra bhāṭṭaṅ.

The third record (105/1946) belongs to Māvarman Kulaśekhara II of accession 1314 year 37 corresponding to 1351. The record refers to the grants made by the village assembly for providing offerings to the deity Vikrama Vijaya Piḷḷaiyār set up in the temple by Alaṅkāra bhāṭṭaṅ.

In the last chapter we have seen the Kāḷaiyārkōyil record (578/1902) dated 1348 of Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya I. Tiruvāda-vūr record (483/1963) listed in the table belongs to Māvarman Vira II and it is dated 1366. This village is east of Madura.

The village Tirukkallakuḍi (Ramnad district) is very near to Madura. Record No. 64/1916 of this village is dated Friday the 12th September 1371. In this record Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya states²³ that the Vijayanagara prince Kampaṅa-uḍaiyār drove out the Muhammadans and established orderly Government. This agrees with the historical event. The earliest records of Vira Kampaṅa found in Ramnad district come from Tiruppullāṅi²⁴ and they are dated July 1371 and September 1371. *Madurai Sthānikar Varalaru*²⁵ states that Kampaṅa drove out the Muhammadans

and captured Madura in the Kaliyuga year 4472 corresponding to Śaka year 1293. The date falls in 1371.

*Madurai Tala Varalaru*²⁶ which is a prose introduction to *Madurai Tiruppaṇi-mālai* states that Kampaṅa - uḍaiyār drove out the Muhammadan invaders and restored the worship in the Madurai temple after purificatory ceremonies. The poem *Mathurā Vijayam*²⁷ states that Kampaṅa entered Madura after driving out the Muhammadans.

All put together it is a fact that Kampaṅa captured Madura in 1371 and put an end to the Muhammadan rule.²⁸

However there is one obstacle and it can be easily overcome. Coins bearing the Hijira year A. H. 779 corresponding to 1377 A. D., issued by the Sultan were found in Madura²⁹. This shows that the Madurai Sultan continued to live upto 1377. This can be easily explained. According to Manu Dharma the enemy would be killed in the battle. If the enemy surrenders he will be allowed to live peacefully. Following the foot steps of Manu Dharma, Kampaṅa allowed the last Sultan - who probably surrendered in the battlefield to spend the evening of his life in peaceful retirement. The tomb of the last Sultan exists even today on the Tirupparaṅkunṅam hill near Madura.

Notes :

- 1 Tāramaṅgalam S.I.I., Vol. VII, 25.
- 2 Tāramaṅgalam S.I.I., Vol. VII 24 and 23.
- 3 S.I.I., Vol VII, 761. Please refer to E. I. Vol. VIII, page 278. Kielhorn suggested 23rd July 1265. He corrected the regnal year 10 as 9 and surmised that Jaṭavarman Sundara II came to the throne

In 1276. In my book "The Imperial Pāṇḍya" I have proved that there was no Jaṭavarman Sundara with accession date 1276. Jaṭavarman Sundara II came to the throne in 1277.

Also see page 306 of *E. I.*, Vol. XXVII. Venkatasubba Aiyar equates the date to 24th July 1312 and identifies the king with Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1303. Aiyar further states that Vikrama who figures in this record attacked Mālik Kafūr in 1311.

The internal evidence of 137/1902 does not place the kings in 1311. Similarity of the names confused the earlier scholars. The record belongs to Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330 only.

- 4 150/1904 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, 170 assigns this record to Jaṭavarman Sundara I of accession 1251. The internal evidence is against this surmise. The record is to be assigned to Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330 only.
- 5 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1943-45, Part II, para 20 rightly assigns this record to Pāṇḍya king. The arguments advanced by the report are convincing. But the report assigns the record to Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1251 and equates the date to 9th January 1269, the 17th regnal year of the king. It means that the king did not come to the throne till January 1252 whereas his accession date is 1251. The surmise of the report is to be revised in favour of Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1330.
- 6 143/1902 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 767.
- 7 144/1902 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 768.
- 8 145/1902 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 769.
- 9 151/1904 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, 171.
- 10 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 177.
- 11 581 B/1902 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 174.
- 12 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 178.
- 13 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 173.
- 14 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, 144. The report equates the date to 2nd February 1263 after correcting the star Uttiram as Uttirāḍam. The internal evidence is against this surmise. The record belongs to Vikrama of accession 1337 only.
- 15 Tirthanagari 122/1904 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, 142.
- 16 Tiruvēndipuram *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 767
- 17 Tiruvaḍi 52/1903 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 327.
- 18 Tiruvaḍi 53/1903 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 328.
- 19 Tiruvēndipuram 99/1943-44-Māvarman Vira II year 4.
- 20 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1943-45, part II, para 14.
- 21 I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the Chief Epigraphist who kindly supplied me the transcript of the record on my request.
- 22 Tiruveṅkāḍu *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, 985 Māvarman Vikrama year 5.

FIVE PANDYA KINGS OF THE 14TH CENTURY

- 23 Chidambaram 320/1913 Māvarman Vira, year 9.
- 24 *A.R.I.E.*, 1955-56 page 6 last para—It makes a useful surmise.
- 25 I quote here three records of Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1318.
 - a) Nāmakkal 376/1940, year 5, Kaṅkaṭaka 13, ba. 11, Saturday. Rōhiṇī corresponding to 10th July 1322.
 - b) Vañji Nagar near Madurai 291/1973 year 7, Kaṅgi 12, ba. 6. Rōhiṇī and Sunday corresponding to 9th September 1324.
 - c) Siṅṇamaṇṇūr near Madurai-437/1907 year 7, Makara 3, Pūrva-pakṣa, Friday and Mṛgaśīrā corresponding to 28th December 1324.
 - d) All the three records are perfect in data and supply the solar dates also. They produce the above three dates only and confirm the existence of Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1318.
- 26 Vikravāṇḍi 288/1915 regnal year lost.
- 27 *A.R.S.I.E.* 1917, page 92.
- 28 *A.R.S.I.E.* 1918 pages, 112 and 113.
- 29 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1918 Part II, para 55. The king was a contemporary of Teṅkāṣi Parākrama 1422-63.
- 30 *Indian Ephemeris*, Volume I, Part II, page III.
- 31 Iḍaiyār 282/1928-29 Māvarman Vira, year 9.
- 32 *A.R.I.E.*, 1928-29, Part II, para 21.
- 33 *A.R.I.E.*, 1955-56, page 6.
- 34 I am thankful to the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, who supplied me the transcript of the record 406/1921. I compared it with other records and found the truth. Most of the individuals who figure in this record also figure in 151/1904 (*S.I.I.* vol. XVII No. 171) of Jaṭavarman Sundara year 14 corresponding to 1344.
- 35 Mistakes in the titles are not unknown in the Pāṇḍyan records. Such mistakes can be found with the help of internal evidence only. Let us see some records.
 - a) Tirunallār records 110 and 111 of 1969 belong to Jaṭavarman Kulāṣekhara year 22. They mention *vāḷal vāḷi tirandan paṇam* a coin called after Jaṭavarman Parākrama of accession 1315. Evidently Kulāṣekhara mentioned here is Māvarman Kulāṣekhara II of accession 1314 and the title Jaṭavarman is a mistake.
 - b) Vāṇjipuram record 177/1939-40 belongs to Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya Śaka 1239 regnal year 21 dated 5th February 1318. This is Jaṭavarman Vira of accession 1297. Māvarman is a mistake for Jaṭavarman (*A.R.S.I.E.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, page 250).
 - c) Iḷayāttaṅkuḍi 34 and 38 of 1926 introduce the king as Māvarman Vira Pāṇḍya. The data agree with 22nd March 1275 the 22nd year of the king. The title Māvarman is a mistake for Jaṭavarman (Vira I of accession 1253). The record states that the donor Ōmaḷagiyaṇ alias Kaliṅgattariyaṇ set up an image of Lord Viṣṇu. The same donor figures in the same temple record 35/1926 of Māvarman Kulāṣekhara I year 39 corresponding to 1307 and it is said that the donor made some more gifts for services to the same image of Lord Viṣṇu.

- d) Kānūr record 378/1962 belongs to (Jaṭavarman) Kuleśekhara I and it contains the *praśasti* *pūvin kiṭṭi* etc. But in the record the title Māḡavarvan appears instead of Jāṭavarman. Māḡavarman is a mistake for Jaṭavarman.
- 36 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1916, Part II, para 33.
- 37 Tiruppullani records of Vīra Kaṁpaṇa III/1903 (*S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, 397) dated July 1371-106/1903 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 392) September 1371-114/1903 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 400) 22nd October 1374.
- 38 *Sentamī*, Volume V page 141.
- 39 *Sentamī* publication No. 27.
- 40 Sanskrit poem *Mathurā Vijayam* - by Gaṅgādēvī the queen of Vīra Kaṁpaṇa. *The Pāṇḍyan kingdom* edition 1972, K. A. N. Sastri.
- 41 Kaṁpaṇa died sometime after 2nd October 1374. In the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record 573/1902 dated 17th December 1374 Jamunā states that his father Kaṁpaṇa is no more.
- 42 We have coins of the last Sultan of Madura Alāudīn Sikandar Shah dated A.H. 779 corresponding to 1377, Brown, the Coins of India.

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