

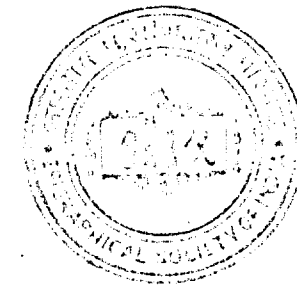
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தமிழ்நாடு ஆவணக் கல்வியியல்
மத்திய வரலாற்று ஆய்விதழ்
12 ஆக 1995
தமிழ்நாடு ஆவணக் கல்வியியல்
எழுத்து, சென்னை-600 098

JOURNAL
OF THE
EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA



VOLUME TWELVE ; 1995

180/95

3 JATAVARMAN RAJA RAJAN SUNDARA PANDYA

N. Sethuraman

The extreme south of the Indian peninsula was the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Madurai was its capital. In the middle of the 13th century the Pāṇḍyas rose to power. The entire Tamil country, Kerala and part of Ceylon were brought under the banner of the Pāṇḍyas. In the beginning of the 14th century the Pāṇḍyas were at their zenith. The country was rich and prosperous. This attracted the Muhammadan invaders from the north.

The successive Muhammadan invasions in 1311, 1319 and 1324 A.D., eclipsed the name and fame of the Pāṇḍyan empire which gradually declined down. The Muhammadans occupied Madurai and established the Madurai Sultanate. In the year 1371 A.D., the Vijayanagara prince Kampaṇa came to the rescue of the Tamil kings, drove out the Muhammadans and restored orderly government in the Tamil country. The Pāṇḍyas retired to the south and existed till the middle of the 17th century.

The above is the brief history of the Pāṇḍyas of the south. The object of this article is to investigate an important historical event of the 14th century. It is generally believed that a Pāṇḍyan prince killed his father and joined the Muhammadan invaders. The present research reveals a different picture. Records show that the Pāṇḍyan prince, even though, at the initial stage, joined the Muhammadan invaders, later realised his fault and

came back to his house. He did not kill his father.

In this connection, before proceeding further, I would like to refer to an important information about the names of the Pāṇḍyan princes. In the course of seven hundred years (1000 to 1700 A.D.) scores of Pāṇḍya kings existed. They had only six names often repeated. They are Kulasekhara, Sundara, Vira, Vikrama, Srivallabha and Parākrama. These are the royal (*abhiśhēka*) names bestowed on the princes at the time of anointment. They had the dynastic titles either *Māgavarman* or *Jatāvamaṇ*. Princes with same or different royal names and with same or different titles rule jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reigns is common. Brothers and their relatives may also have the same anointed names. The princes are identified by their epithets, *prasastis*, titles, surnames, birth star, accession dates and other internal and external evidence. The personal names bestowed on the princes at the time of their birth would be different. Records introduce the anointed (royal) names only. For further details I request the reader to please refer to my books *Medieval Pāṇḍyas* and *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKARA PANDYA I

The most celebrated Pāṇḍyan king of the 13th century was Māgavarman Kulasekhara Pāṇḍya¹. He came to the throne between the 23rd June and the 12th July

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1251 A.D. His Tamil *prasasti* begins with "Ter polum alkul". He had the epithet "emmanḍalamum koṇḍaruḷiya" (who took every country). His birth star was Mūla. His records with highest regnal years 44 and 47 corresponding to 1312 and 1315 A.D. are available.² As we shall see below Kulaśekhara was alive in 1318 A.D. also.

FIRST SON

Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya was the first son of Kulaśekhara.³ He came to the throne between the 16th May and the 5th June 1297 A.D. His rule extended upto 1342 A.D. Vira Pāṇḍya had the surname *Kaliyugarāmaṇ*. The fourth *prākāra* walls of the Śrīraṅgam temple were built by him and they are called "*Kaliyugarāmaṇ tirumadil*". A record which comes from Śrīraṅgam belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya.⁴ It is in year 21, corresponding to 1318 A.D. The record states that Kulaśekhara, father of Vira Pāṇḍya, instituted a service called "*Kulaśekharaṇ - sandhi*" in his name in the temple. In order to meet the expenses he gifted the village Chittiravalli *alias* Kēraḷa - Chaturvēdimāṅgalaṁ to the temple. The royal letter, (*tirumugam*) from Kulaśekhara granting the village was received by the son Vira Pāṇḍya and he gave effect to it (*ayyaṇ tirumugappaḍiyil nāmun tandu*). This clearly shows that Kulaśekhara was alive in 1318 A.D. (The village Chittiravalli was also called Kēraḷa - Chaturvēdimāṅgalaṁ. This surname was probably given by the Kēraḷa king Ravi-varmaṇ Kulaśekhara, who occupied this territory in the period 1313 to 1317 A.D.).

Another record⁵ which comes from Kaṇkuḍi belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya year 22, month Vṛiśchika, *pūrva pakṣa pañchami*, Uttirāḍam and Monday. The date regularly corresponds to 30th October 1318 A.D. It states that upto that time the tank was dry and the lands fell fallow. They were repaired and assigned to the temple. The chieftains (*mudalis*) and the personal officers (*uḍankūṭṭam*) of Perumāḷ Kulaśekhara dēva and the chieftain Vija-yālayadēva made the necessary settlement. This again confirms that Kulaśekhara was alive in 1318 A.D. Probably that was his last date.

SECOND SON

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was the second son of Kulaśekhara. He came to the throne between the 17th March and the 27th April 1303 A.D. He had the epithet "emmanḍalamum koṇḍaruḷiya". (who took every country). His rule extended upto 1325 A.D.

During this period there was another prince also called Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāmaṇ. His birth star was Pushya. The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya kulodaya* states that Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāmaṇ was the son of the sister of Vira Pāṇḍya *alias* Kaliyugarāmaṇ. Evidently he was the grandson of Kulaśekhara by a daughter. Sundara *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāmaṇ came to the throne in 1304 and ruled till 1319 A.D. The family tree is given below.⁶

JATAVARMANA RAJA RAJAN SUNDARA PANDYA

Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya
Māgavarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya
of birth star Mūla 1268-1318

Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya
alias Kaliyugarāmaṇ
1297-1342

Jaṭavarman
Sundara Pāṇḍya
1303-1325

Daughter

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya
alias Kōḍaṇḍarāmaṇ of birth
star Pushya 1304-1319.

FATHER AND SONS

A record which comes from Nallūr (near Vṛiddhāchalam) belongs to Māgavarman Kulaśekhara.⁷ It states that prince Sundara Pāṇḍya set up the image of god Vira Pāṇḍīsvaram Uḍaiyār in the name of his elder brother Vira Pāṇḍya. He also set up the image of goddess Dēśa-mikka Peruma Nāchchiyār in the name of the queen of Vira Pāṇḍya. This record clearly shows that the brothers were on cordial terms. Sundara showed great respect to his elder brother.

Eight records which come from Śrī Vaikuṇṭham are engraved on the same wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the Viṣṇu temple.⁸ Four belong to Kulaśekhara. They are dated 1300 to 1305 A.D. The records state that Kulaśekhara gifted lands to the temple for the formation of a garden called *seraṇal venḍaṇ tirunandavaṇam*. The image of goddess Vaikuṇṭha Valliyār (Lakshmi) was also set up. Provision was made for services in the month of Māsi on the day of Mūla, the natal star of the king. A *maṇḍapa* called *Kulaśekharaṇ tirumandapam* was also built.

One record belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya and it is dated 1300 A.D. The record states that the prince made gifts to the temple for conducting a service called *Vira Pāṇḍyaṇ - sandhi* in his name. Three records belong to his younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya. They are dated 1304, 1309 and 1316 A.D. The record states that Sundara arranged a special service called *Sundara Pāṇḍyaṇ - sandhi* in his name in the temple. The compound wall was constructed by him and it was called *Sundara Pāṇḍyaṇ tirumadil*. The front tower called *Sundara Pāṇḍyaṇ gōpuram* was also built by him. In all these records a pious devotee called Tēvar Pirāṇ Tatar figures. He met Kulaśekhara and his sons on several occasions and obtained grants for the renovation and general repairs of the temple. The above records prove that the father and his two sons were getting on happily. There was no quarrel among them. All of them contributed services in the temples and thus served the people.

Mālīk Kāfur invaded Tamil Nadu in April 1311 A.D. (which we shall see somewhere below). This was a great shock

to Kulaśekhara who fell sick. The faithful son Sundara Pāṇḍya arranged special services in the Viṣṇu temple for the welfare of his father. The services were to be conducted every month on the day of Mūla, the natal star of his father.⁸ Thanks to his prayers, Kulaśekhara lived till 1318 A.D.

In the year 1313 A.D. Kēraja king Ravivarman Kulaśekhara and his co-regent Kēraja Vira Pāṇḍyan occupied Tiruchchirappalli and the northern areas of Tamil Nadu.¹⁰ The Pāṇḍya brothers Vira and Sundara appealed to the Kākatīyas. The Kākatīya king Pratāpa Rudra readily responded. In the year 1317 A.D. his generals drove out the Kēraja prince from Tamil Nadu.¹¹ Vira Pāṇḍya, and Sundara Pāṇḍya were grateful to the Kākatīya general Muppiḍi Nāyaka in whose name they arranged special services in the Vṛiddhāchalam temple.¹²

For ought we know is this. Kulaśekhara and his two sons Vira and Sundara were on cordial terms. There was no animosity in the family. The brothers were ever united. This we shall again refer to when we study the narrations of the Muhammadan historians. During this period there were some more Pāṇḍyan princes. Here we are concerned with the activities of three contemporary princes only. We shall see them below.

JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA PANDYA

Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya¹³ came to the throne in 1315 A.D. His Sōlapuram record¹⁴ equates his eighth regnal year to Śaka 1244 confirming his accession in 1315 A.D. A record which comes from

Ariyūr is in the 7th year of the king and it mentions a coin called *vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ paṇam*.¹⁵ Another record which comes from Nagar is in his fourth year and introduces him as Parākrama Pāṇḍya *alias vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ*.¹⁶ Evidently Parākrama adopted this title in 1318-19 A.D. *Vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ* means "he who cut the way through, by his sword." This high sounding title clearly indicates his success in some crucial battle. Incidentally Khusru Khān the general of Delhi Sultān Kutabdin Mubārak Shāh, invaded Tamil Nadu in 1318-19 A.D. but he was severely beaten back.¹⁷ Probably Parākrama took a leading role in defeating the Muhammadan invader and adopted the title *vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ*. The phrase *vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ* is a fixed point in the history of the Pāṇḍyas. It has depth and historicity. If we find this phrase in any record we can immediately conclude that the record was engraved after 1319 A.D.

A record which comes from Madurai Minākshī Amman temple is in two verses. It praises the valour and heroic adventure of the Pāṇḍya king "*vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ*" evidently Parākrama Pāṇḍya.¹⁸ The *Tiruppaṇi-vivaram* (chronicle of the Madurai temple) says¹⁹ that the west *gōpura* of the Madurai Minākshī Amman temple was built by Parākrama Pāṇḍya in 1323 A.D. The *Tiruppaṇi-mālai* (another chronicle) also states that the *gōpura* was built by him.²⁰ The record of Parākrama is found on the wall of the west *gōpura*.²¹ It states that Parākrama *alias Vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ* fled to Kāḷaiyār-kōyil near Madurai. The Muhammadan invaders captured Madurai and established the Madurai Sultanate.²² Parākrama was captured and

sent to Delhi. However he escaped and returned to Tamil Nadu. This is evident from a record which comes from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. It belongs to Māgavarman Kulaśekhara II (of accession 1311 A.D.) year 20, month Vaikāśi corresponding to 1331 A.D. It states that Śrī Parākrama Pāṇḍya *dēvar alias Para Rāja Rāman alias vaiyam toḷa nīṅga perumāl* gifted cows to the temple.²³ The fact remains that Parākrama lived till 1334 A.D.

JATAVARMAN SRIVALLABHA

Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha²⁴ came to the throne between the 23rd June and the 31st August 1308 A.D. He had the surname Akavarāman. A coin called *Akavarāman paṇam* was current in this period. He ruled till 134 A.D. A record which comes from Dhurvāsapuram²⁵ is in his 33rd year. It is dated Monday the 5th February 1341 A.D. and mentions the coin *vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ* called after Parākrama of accession 1315 A.D. A record which comes from Tirukkalar is in the 25th year of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha²⁶ It is dated Saturday the 27th March 1333 A.D. The record states,²⁷

"..... in those days when Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēva came with the Muhammadans (tulukkar) the local chieftain, his brothers and the devotees were killed and the country was devastated due to rioting and floods....."

This information clearly shows that a prince called Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya existed prior to 1333 A.D. and he joined the Muhammadan invaders who for the first time came to Tamil Nadu in 1311 A.D. We shall see the relevant sources and identify this prince.

RAJA RAJAN SUNDARA PANDYA

The records of Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya are tabulated in Appendix I. He bears the title *Jaṭavarman*. His Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record²⁸ year 14 mentions the coin *vāḷal vaḷi tiṇḍāṇ* which title was adopted by Parākrama in 1319 A.D. This shows that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne after 1305 A.D. His existence prior to 1333 A.D. is confirmed by Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha. On the basis of this information the astronomical data of his records are applied to the period 1305 to 1333 A.D. The dates indicate that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 5th February and the 30th March 1310 A.D. He existed till 1332. In 1333, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha states that in those days Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya joined the Muhammadan invaders.²⁹

AMIR KHUSRU

Amir Khusru was the court poet of the Delhi Sultan Alāudin Khilji. Khusru also served as a captain in the army. He was a contemporary of the events which he graphically describes in his poems. He says that Alāudin Khilji sent his general Mālīk Kāfur to conquer the kingdoms in South India. Mālīk Kāfur conducted two campaigns. In the first one he defeated the Kākatīyas. In the second campaign he went upto Madura the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. Khusru who was a witness to the campaigns narrates the events in detail and also gives the dates in Hijira calendar. His narrations are tabulated below.³⁰

INVASION OF SOUTH INDIA BY MALIK KAFUR

(In the Hijira calendar the day of the lunar month begins at sunset.
This is taken into account in the following dates)

Events	Hijira Date A. H.	Date in A. D.
1) Mālik Kāfur left Delhi	24th Jamadal, Akkir, 710	18-11-1310
2) Mālik Kāfur arrived at Dēvagiri and got support	Thursday, 13th Ramzan, 710	4-2-1311
3) He left Dēvagiri on	17th Ramzan, 710	8-2-1311
4) Mālik Kāfur arrived at Bandri	5 days later	13-2-1311
5) Mālik Kāfur left Bandri	Sunday 23rd, Ramzan, 710	14-2-1311
6) Mālik Kāfur arrived Dvārasamudram	5th Shawal, 710	25-2-1311
7) Vira Ballāja surrendered and made over his treasures to Mālik Kāfur	Friday 6th, Shāwal, 710	26-2-1311
8) Mālik Kāfur left Dvārasamudra for Tamil Nadu	Wednesday, 18th Shāwal, 710	10-3-1311
9) Mālik Kāfur plundered and massacred at Birdhul (Viradhavalam at Tiruchchirapalli). He destroyed Kandūr (Thanjāvar Kaṇḍi-yūr). He destroyed the golden temple at Brahmastpuri. He broke the idol, collected vast treasures. He destroyed the temples at Birdhul	13th Zilkada, 710	4-4-1311
10) He arrived at Kham	Thursday 17th, Zilkada, 710	8-4-1311
11) Mālik Kāfur arrived at the gates of Madura, the city belonging to Sundara Pāṇḍya's brother	Five days later	13-4-1311
12) Vira Pāṇḍya fled with his queens; Mālik Kāfur plundered the city and the palace; burnt the temple Jagmari (Chokkar the Siva temple). left Madura on	Sunday 4th, Zilhijja, 710	25-4-1311

Events	Hijira Date A. H.	Date in A. D.
13) Mālik Kāfur returned with the booty; arrived at Delhi and presented himself before Alāudin Khilji on	Monday 4th, Jumades Sani, 711	18-10-1311

The above table is self explanatory. Amir Khusru says that Mālik Kāfur arrived at Bandri on 13th February 1311 A.D. (item No. 4 of the above table). There Mālik stayed to make enquiries respecting the countries in advance when he was informed that the two Rais of Mabhar (kings of Tanil Nadu), eldest named Bir Pandya (Vira Pāṇḍya) and the youngest named Sundara Pāṇḍya who had upto that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions and that Ballala Deo (the Hoysala king Vira Ballāja) the Rai of Dvārasamudram on learning this fact, marched for the purpose of sacking their two cities and plundering the merchants; but on hearing of the advance of the Muhammadan army, he returned to his own country.

Amir Khusru says that the eldest brother Vira Pāṇḍya and the youngest brother Sundara Pāṇḍya advanced against each other. We must carefully read his statement. The mention of eldest brother and youngest brother clearly shows that there should have been minimum three brothers. We know that Vira Pāṇḍya of accession 1297 A.D. and his younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1303 A.D. were on cordial terms. In the words of Khusru the youngest Sundara Pāṇḍya fought with the eldest Vira Pāṇḍya. This proves that there should have been a third brother

also called Sundara Pāṇḍya and he advanced against Vira Pāṇḍya. The battle should have been fought in the last quarter of 1310 A.D. and the Hoysala king Vira Ballāja also participated in some form. When Ballāja came to know the advance of the Muhammadan army, he immediately returned to his capital prior to 13th February 1311 A.D. on which date Mālik Kāfur arrived at Bandri and heard the above news.

Here we have two information. The first one is about the third (youngest) brother also called Sundara Pāṇḍya. The second information is the battle in the South around third quarter of 1310 A.D. The fight was among the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysala king also took part in some form. Now let us see what the Hoysala records state about these events.

HOYSALA RECORD

A record which comes from the Rishi gōpura of the Kāñchīpuram Kāmākshī-anman temple is in two verses.³⁰ It states that Ballāja restored the Pallava king Rāṅganātha alias Rājagaṇḍa Gōpāla alias Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla to the throne at Kāñchīpuram, defeated the Chōla and a Pāṇḍya and honoured the two Pāṇḍyas. The record further states that Ballāja married the daughter of the Pallava.

The Pallava king Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla came to the throne in 1291 A.D. His record in year 21 corresponding to 1311-

12 A.D. is also found on the same wall.²² Evidently he should have been restored to the throne sometime before 1311 say in 1310 A.D. and his daughter married Ballāḷa. During this period Ballāḷa honoured two Pāṇḍyas and defeated a third Pāṇḍya. The two Pāṇḍyas were Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya of accession 1297 A.D. and his younger brother Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1303 A.D. The third Pāṇḍyan prince who was defeated by Ballāḷa is evidently the youngest Sundara Pāṇḍya, who in the words of Amir Khusru, advanced towards his eldest brother Vira Pāṇḍya. The Chōḷa who was defeated by Ballāḷa was probably a Telugu Chōḷa chieftain.

A record²³ which comes from Viriñchipuram west of Kāñchipuram throws light on the circumstances under which the Pallava could have lost his throne. The record belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya, year 12, month Aippasi corresponding to October 1308 A.D. It states that the chief Kulaśekhara Saṁbuvarāya made grants to the temple for celebrating a festival called *Andalil vengāṇ tirunāl* in his name. The chief claims to be victorious at a place called Andalil which is located in the vicinity of Viriñchipuram west of Kāñchipuram. He makes this claim in the record of Vira Pāṇḍya. Probably Vira Pāṇḍya assisted by his chief Kulaśekhara Saṁbuvarāya should have defeated the Pallava chief Raṅganātha *alias* Vijayaṅḍa Gōpāla. The Pallava lost his throne at Kāñchi. Later in 1310 A.D. Ballāḷa married the daughter of the Pallava chief. On this auspicious occasion Ballāḷa honoured his friends Vira Pāṇḍya and the younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya and with their influence and friendship helped his father-

in-law to mount the throne at Kāñchi. Ballāḷa also defeated the youngest brother Sundara Pāṇḍya who advanced against the eldest brother Vira Pāṇḍya.

Vira Pāṇḍya was grateful to Ballāḷa. In February 1311 A.D. when Mālik Kāfur attacked the Hoysala kingdom, Vira Pāṇḍya sent an army of horse and soldiers to assist Ballāḷa.²⁴ In spite of this help Ballāḷa was defeated. After conquering the Hoysalas, Mālik Kāfur invaded Tamil Nadu in April 1311 A.D., plundered the cities Tiruchirappalli and returned to Delhi in October of the same year.

The youngest Sundara Pāṇḍya who fought with the eldest Vira Pāṇḍya and who was also defeated by the Hoysala king Ballāḷa in 1310 A.D. was evidently Jaṭavarman Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1310 A.D. who in the words of Jaṭavarman Srivallabha joined Muhammadan invaders when they came to Tamil Nadu in April 1311 A.D. We shall now see further information in the accounts of Wassaf.

WASSAF

About this time Sultān Uljitu was ruling in Persia. Tehran was its capital. Wassaf was a popular poet in the Persian court. He started writing his work in 1300 A.D. In June 1312 A.D. he completed the first four volumes and presented them to the Sultān who was much pleased and rewarded Wassaf. In the fourth volume Wassaf refers to the Pāṇḍyan princes and the campaign of Mālik Kāfur. Wassaf states²⁵ that Kulaśekhara had two sons. The first son was Sundara Pāṇḍya and he was the legitimate son. The second

son was Vira Pāṇḍya whose mother was the concubine of Kulaśekhara. As Vira Pāṇḍya was very shrewd and intelligent Kulaśekhara anointed him successor rejecting the claim of the legitimate son Sundara Pāṇḍya who being enraged at this supersession, killed his father in a moment of rashness and undutifulness towards the close of the year 709 H (1310 A.D.) and placed the crown on his head in the city of Mardi (Madurai). Upon this, in the middle of the year 710 H (1310 A.D.) his brother Vira Pāṇḍya assisted by the son of the daughter of Kulaśekhara advanced against Sundara Pāṇḍya who trembling and alarmed fled from his own country and took refuge in the court of Alāudin Khilji at Delhi.

Wassaf's account does not agree with the inscriptions and also Amir Khusru. All the Pāṇḍyan princes were legal heirs as evidenced by the dynastic title Jaṭavarman. Kulaśekhara was not killed in 1310 A.D. He lived till 1318 A.D. It was Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya, the youngest brother who joined the Muhammadan invaders. This information coupled with gossip, rumours and accounts of doubtful accuracy reached Persia and Wassaf thought that a friend of the Muhammadans was the legitimate son and the enemy of the Muhammadans was the illegitimate son. Wassaf did not come to India. He says that he has written the account based on the oral statements gathered from his trustworthy friends. Those friends were the officers and attendants of the Persian ambassador in the court of Alāudin Khilji. They were in Delhi when Mālik Kāfur returned after the campaign of South India. Alāudin Khilji who was

not on cordial terms with the Sultan of Persia killed the ambassador and ill-treated his officers and attendants. Those who escaped the torture and miseries fled to Persia. They informed Wassaf about the campaign of Mālik Kāfur and also the hearsay stories about the Pāṇḍyan princes. In the circumstances Wassaf doubted the very story which he heard. For he says,

"While I was engaged in writing this passage, one of my friends said to me: The kings of Hind are celebrated for their penetration and wisdom; why then did Kales Dewar, during his lifetime nominate his younger and illegitimate son as his successor; to the rejection of the elder, who was of pure blood, by which he introduced distraction into a kingdom which had been adored like a bride".

This clearly proves that Wassaf suspected it as a rumour. He is very cautious in his assessment of the picture. There is reason for this. After the ruthless campaign of the south, Mālik Kāfur (who in the words of Wassaf was a very Saturn) returned to Delhi in October 1311 A.D. Wassaf refers to this campaign and the Pāṇḍyan princes in his fourth volume which he presented to his sultan in June 1312 A.D. The information which he gathered within an interval of eight months got twisted and this prompted Wassaf to doubt the truth behind the story.

At any rate the fact remains that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya, the youngest prince, was a rebel in the Pāṇḍyan house and in the year 1311 A.D., he joined the Muhammadan invaders. Circumstances prompt us to surmise that Rāja Rājan

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Sundara Pāṇḍya was the last son of Kulaśekhara, probably by a second queen or he could be the son of Kulaśekhara's younger brother who is referred to in the Tirukkāḍaiyūr record discussed below.

TIRUKKADAIYŪR RECORD

A record which comes from Tirukkāḍaiyūr (Thanjavur district) belongs to Kulaśekhara²⁶. It is in his 34th year dated Sunday the 10th September 1301 A.D. The record registers a joint resolution of the brāhmaṇas of two *brahmadēyas* and the Vellāḷa farmers of the adjoining villages to set apart 10 veli of lands for burning 108 perpetual lamps in the temple of Kālākāla Dēvar for the welfare of the king Kulaśekhara. The occasion for this gift is stated to be that their prayer to the god was answered by way of the king having resumed for himself the administration of the *nāḍu* (country) from his younger brother (*tiruttambī*), and thus having enabled them to return to their own homes from other regions to which they had fled owing to the disturbed state of the country, for a long time, and where they had to suffer great privation and miseries.

The story is very clear. Kulaśekhara entrusted the administration of the country to his younger brother in whose reign the people suffered a lot and fled to the other areas. They prayed to god and also appealed to Kulaśekhara to take the administration in his hands. Kulaśekhara readily obliged the people and brought the country under his direct rule. Naturally the younger brother should have been disappointed and embittered by frustrations. The date was 1301 A.D. Jātavarman Rāja Rājan Sundara

Pāṇḍya could be the son of that frustrated younger brother of Kulaśekhara and in order to take revenge he could have advanced against Vira Pāṇḍya in 1310 A.D. This is only a reasonable assumption. The younger brother of Kulaśekhara should also be a Māgavarman. Curiously two records belonging to a Māgavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya coming from Vriḍhāchalam and Acharapākkam point out the existence of Vikrama Pāṇḍya in this period. The former²⁷ quotes year 3, Makara, Pūrva Paksha, Trayōdaśī, Pushya and Monday corresponding to 23rd January 1301 A.D. The latter²⁸ quotes year 3, Mīna, Aparā Paksha, Ēkādaśī, Śrāvaṇa and Monday corresponding to 6th March 1301 A.D. The dates indicate his accession in 1298 A.D. and his existence upto 1301 A.D. Probably he could be the younger brother of Kulaśekhara. The dates point out his anointment a year after the accession of Vira. Why should Kulaśekhara crown his son Vira in 1297 A.D. and his own younger brother Vikrama in 1298 A.D.? could it be the reason for the bad administration of Vikrama? There is some lacuna in this and we are unable to answer it at present. Except the astronomical date we have no other means to confirm the existence of Māgavarman Vikrama of accession 1298 A.D. Curiously the astronomical date of these two records do not agree with the dates of other known Māgavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍyas²⁹ of accession 1218, 1250, 1322 and 1377 A.D. The Pāṇḍyas exercised their authority in the northern areas of the Tamil country in the period 1251 to 1371 A.D. and strangely the date of the Vriḍhāchalam record produce the date 23rd January 1301 A.D. only. Thus astronomy

is the only and lone plus point in our favour in proposing the existence of this Vikrama in 1298 to 1301 A.D. and in the present state of our knowledge and acquaintance of the source materials, we are obliged to assume that Māgavarman Vikrama of accession 1298 A.D. could be the younger brother of Kulaśekhara.

However it is difficult to say definitely, whether he was the son of Kulaśekhara or the son of his younger brother, Rāja Rājan

Sundara Pāṇḍya, the youngest in the family, who fought with his eldest brother Vira and joined the Muhammadan invaders in 1311 A.D. There was another Muhammadan invasion (Khusru Khān) in 1319 A.D. but this time they were beaten back. Rāja Rājan Sundara should have realised his mistake and returned to his brothers. Probably this was the reason for the appearance of his records from 1321 A.D. only. He was alive in 1332 A.D. His fate is not known.

APPENDIX I

JATAVARMAN RAJA RAJAN SUNDARA PANDYA

Village and Record	Year and Data	Date
Ādanūr Pd. 424	12, Mēsha, ba 13, Friday and (Uttirattādi) (See Tamil text)	27th March 1321 A.D.
Neyvāsal Pd. 351	12, Mēsha, śu 13 mistake for 14, Chitra and Sunday	27th April 1321 A.D.
Kunnāṇḍārkōyil Pd. 353	12, Mithuna, śu 1, Pushya and Friday	26th June 1321 A.D.
Kalappal 334/19 5	12, Tula, ba 3 mistake for śu 14, Monday, Uttirattādi	5th October 1321 A.D.
Malaiadipatti Pd. 520	Year 12	1321-22 A.D.
Ādanūr Pd. 354	Year 12	1321-22 A.D.
Pd. 355	Year 12	1321-22 A.D.
Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 265	13, Simha, ba 8, Rōhiṇi and Friday (first set of data)	6th August 1322 A.D.
—do—	13, Kanni, śu, Viśākha and Wednesday (second set of data)	15th September 1322 A.D.

Village and Record	Year and Date	Date
Kōyil Tirumalam 248 / 1917	13, Kumbha, śu 3, Sadayam mistake for Rēvati, Wednesday	9th February 1323 A.D.
Ādanūr Pd. 356	13, Kārttigai	November 1322 A.D.
Iraniyūr 11 / 1926	13	1322-23 A.D.
Vēlānguḍi 504 / 1959	14, Vaikāśi	May 1323 A.D.
Tiruvarāṅkuḷam Pd. 487	14, Vaikāśi—mentions the coin <i>vaḷḷi</i> <i>vaḷi tiṇḍān paṇam</i> called after Parākrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1315 A.D.	May 1323 A.D.
Tiruvarāṅkuḷam Pd. 488	14, Āṇi	June 1323 A.D.
Kalappal S.I.I. Vol. VIII, No. 268	23, Tula, śu 3, Mūla and Friday	23rd October 1322 A.D.
Kunnakkūḍi 42 / 1909	lost	

On the basis of 248 of 1917 Rēvati in Kumbha of 1310 A.D. falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 4th February. On the basis of Pd. 424 Uttirattādi in Mēsha of 1310 A.D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 30th March. Jaṭavarman Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 5th February and the 30th March 1310 A.D.

The record from Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 265 supplies two sets of date in the same 13th year. This is a fixed point. The *tithi* quoted in Pd. 424 helps us in correcting the *tithi* in Pd. 351. Corrections

are suggested in 334 of 1925 and 248 of 1917 following the law of astronomy. The errors in the astronomical data in a few records are due to the troublesome period after the Muhammadan invasions. Internal evidence justify the initial date 1310 A.D.

Elsewhere vide my book *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas* (edition 1971) I surmised that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne in 1313 A.D. I made further research and I am fully convinced of the revised date 1310 A.D. which correctly fits into the accounts of Amir Khusru and the records of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa. The revision

does not make any harm or damage to the methodology of my earlier surmises. In fact the revision helps us in understanding the history of this period in a better way.

The investigation of the Pāṇḍyan records is so difficult that it took seven years for me in finding the correct accession year of this prince.

APPENDIX II

A) An individual by name Maiykkun Dēvan Sokkanāyanār Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla figures in the following records. The villages mentioned below are within a radius of 3 kilometers.

Village and record	King	Year
Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 265	Rāja Rājan Sundara, Year 13	1322 A.D.
Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 268	Rāja Rājan Sundara, Year 23	1322 A.D.
Tirukkalar S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 247	Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha, Year 25	1333 A.D.
Tirumakkōttai 260 and 267 of 1917	Māgavarman Kulasekhara II, Year 22, Karkataka, śu 1, Thursday, Pushya	20th July 1335 A.D.
Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 262	Māgavarman Kulasekhara II, Year 23	1337 A.D.
Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 267	Māgavarman Kulasekhara II, Year 23	1337 A.D.

B) An individual by name Che'llappillai, alias, Parākrama Pāṇḍya Amarakōṇār figures in the records Pd. 351, 354 and 355 of Appendix I of Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya. He is evidently the officer of Jaṭavarman Parākrama of accession 1315 A.D. and he figures in the records dated in 1321-22 A.D. of Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya. The records state that the cultivating tenancy right of the *devadana* lands lying in the village Arasamaṇavāla

Nallūr was conferred on Parākrama Pāṇḍya Amarakōṇār who in turn agreed to spend the income from the lands for services in the Śiva temple Vaḍapulum Uḷaiyār and also to conduct special services called *Amarakōṇ-sandhi* in his name in the temple. It is said that the grant was also recorded on copper.

C) Pd. 353 (Appendix I) dated 1321 A.D. states that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya

gifted 101 gold coins as endowment to the Śiva temple Tīru Kuṅṅakuṭi Uṭaiya Nāyaṇār. The interest accrued was to be utilised for performing sacred services in the temple and also for conducting a special service called *Rāja Rājan Sundara Paṇḍya-sandhi* in his name in the temple. It is said that the grant was also recorded on copper. The other record (Appendix I) also registers similar grants by the king or by his officers to various temples. D) Kalappal record 334 of 1925 (cf Appendix I) of Rāja Rājan Sundara is dated 1321 A.D. In this record a chief by name Sokka Nāyaṇār Parākrama Paṇḍya Maḷavarāyar figures. Evidently he is an officer of Parākrama of accession 1315 A.D. and he figures in the record of Rāja Rājan Sundara.

Notes :

1. Kielhorn - *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 227; Sewell - *I.A.*, 1915 p. 198; N. Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pandyas*, p. 98.
2. Tirukkalakkuṭi *ARSIE.*, 1916 No. 106, Year 44; and Valliyūr *Ibid.*, 1915 No. 600, Year 47.
3. N. Sethuraman - Two Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍyas of accession 1303 and 1304 A.D. *JESI*, Vol. X.
4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 221.
5. Kaṅkudi (near Tiruchchirappalli) *ARSIE.*, 1913; No. 38 I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Pamesh, Director of Epigraphy who was kind enough to send me the transcript of the record.
6. *As in 3 above.*
7. Naḷūr (near Vīḍhāchalam) *ARSIE.*, 1941 No. 156 *Ibid.*, 1939 - 42, p. 249.
8. *A.R.J.E.*, 1959-60, p. 25.
9. Ramnad district Tirumal Uṇḍan Kōṭṭal record *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 51 Jaṭavarman Sundara, Year 9.
10. N. Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pandyas*, p. 136.

11. Jambukēśvaram *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 430 and Śiṭ Raṅgam *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 283 - *tiruvāṇi kuṇḍramu Vira Paṇḍi ninnī, malayōḷa tiruvāṇi Kulāśekhara ninnī.*
12. Vīḍhāchalam *ARSIE.*, 1918, No. 72 Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍya of accession 1303 A.D. Year 14.
13. Robert Sewell - *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 264 and N. Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pandyas*, p. 152.
14. Solapuram *ARSIE.*, 1909, No. 407.
15. Ariyūr - Pd. No. 622 - Jaṭavarman Parākrama Year. 7.
16. Tirukkovilur taluk - Nagar *ARSIE.*, 1910, No. 303.
17. Elliot and Dowson - *History of India as told by the Muhammadan historians* 1871 edition - Part III, pages 214, 215 and 219.
18. Madurai *ARSIE.*, 1915, No. 7.
19. & 20. D. Devakanjari - *Madurai through the ages*, 1972 edition p. 222; *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 138; *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 4.
21. Madurai *ARSIE.*, 1905, No. 58.
22. Devakanjari - *Madurai through the ages*, p. 160.
23. Tiruvāṇṇāmalai *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 73.
24. N. Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pandyas*, p. 156.
25. Dhuvāsapuram - Pd. No. 638. Jaṭavarman Śivallabha, Year 33, Kumbha, Hasta and Mondray.
26. Thanjavūr district Tirukkaḷar *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 267, Year 25, Mēsha, Pūrva Pakṣa Ēkādaśī, Makha and Saturday.
27. *Ibid.*, II, 16 to 20.
28. Tiruvarunkulam Pd. No. 487 Jaṭavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Paṇḍya, Year 14 month Vairāṣi; *ARSIE.*, 1914 No. 255 is the same.
29. Elliot and Dowson Part III pp. 69 and 585. Also see N. Sethuraman, *The Imperial Pandyas*, p. 176 to 178.
30. Kāñchīpuram *ARSIE.*, 1954-55; No. 312, *Ibid.*, 1954-55 p. 16.
31. *ARSIE.*, 1943-55, p. 16; *Inscriptions of Nellore district*, part II - Nellore records Nos. 60 and 71.
32. Kāñchīpuram *ARSIE.*, 1954-55, No. 310.
33. Vīḷāchīpuram *ARSIE.*, 1940, No. 180 read with the same temple record, *Ibid.*, No. 178 of Vīra Paṇḍya, Year 14. Also see *Ibid.*, 1939-43, p. 250, para 55.

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34. Elliot and Dowson, Part III p. 49-50.
35. *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 25 and 49 to 54.
36. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXI, Part I, No. 46.
37. Viidhachalan (Māgavarman Vikrama) *ARSIE*, 1918, No. 82.
38. Achcharapakkam Māgavarman Vikrama *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 465.
39. (a) Māgavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya I of accession 1218 A.D. - see N. Sethuraman, *Medieval Pāṇḍyas*, p. 173.
- (b) Māgavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya II of accession 1250 A.D. - see N. Sethuraman, *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas* p. 50.
- (c) The date of *ARSIE.*, 1905 dated Śaka 1200, and *Ibid.*, 1933; No. 14. Indicate the existence of Māgavarman Vikrama III of accession 1282 A.D.
- (d) The date of *ARSIE.*, 1929; No. 286 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 916 and Tamil Nadu State Archaeology, Nanniam Taluk, Tirupparaiyūr 198 / 1978 agree with Māgavarman Vikrama V *alias* Rājakkal Nāyan of accession 1322 A.D.
- (e) Māgavarman Vikrama VI of accession 1347 A.D. - see N. Sethuraman - *Five Pāṇḍya Kings of the 14th century* - paper presented in the 1984 Epigraphical Conference held at Aurangabad.