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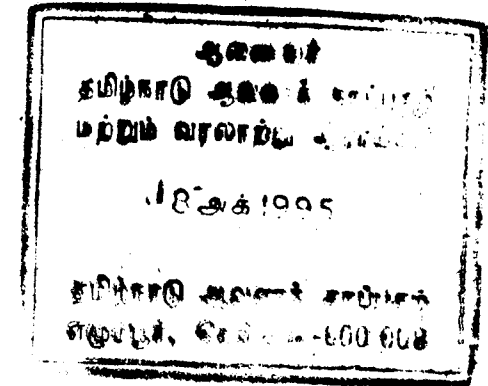
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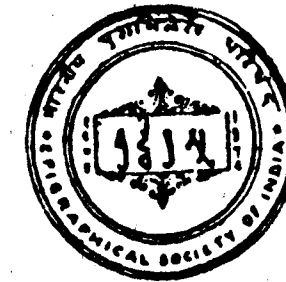
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which had been under Portuguese occupation since 1512 A.D. Very likely it belonged to the old fortress of Ponda like the early three 'Ādil Shāhī inscriptions which were also lying in the same fortress before they were removed to Velha Goa.¹⁷

In short, the present inscription is an important record which throws light on the history of the territory of Goa under the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom and also furnishes not only important information in the political field but also the building activities during the period.

Notes :-

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II (Bombay, 1896), pp. 559, 565, 577 ; C. F. Saldanha, *A Short history of Goa*, Bombay, 1952, pp. 19-21 ; S. Rajagopalan, *Old Goa*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 3-4.
2. Saldanha, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
3. H. K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* (New Delhi 1965), pp. 218-19.
4. Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II (Kapur, 1984), pp. 12-14 ; Dr. P. M. Joshi, "The 'Ādil Shāhis and the Baridis" - *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I, (Hyderabad, 1975), pp. 500-503 ; Nayeem, *External relations to the Bijapur Kingdom* (Hyderabad, 1974), pp. 213-15.
5. Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 14 ; Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-05 ; Nayeem, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-17.
6. Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-22 ; Nayeem, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-22.
7. Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 42 ; Nayeem, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25 ; Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-34.
8. Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-70 ; Nayeem, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32.
9. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII (Oxford 1908), pp. 266-67 ; Rajagopalan, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.
10. *A.R.Ep.*, 1983-84, No. D. 69. It was in 1982 that Shri G. C. Chawley, the then Dy. Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Museums, Velha Goa, now Superintending Archaeologist, Bhubaneswar Circle, Bhubaneswar, Orissa, brought to my notice this inscription. I am thankful to him for this information. The inscription was later copied by me.
11. *Ibid.*, 1963-64, Nos D, 61-63 ; *Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1965, pp. 39-48, pls. XIII, XIV (a) and (b).
12. Qur'ān, Chapter LXI, part of verse 13.
13. Qur'ān, Chapter XII, part of verse 64.
14. These verses called *Nād-i-Ālī* are recited by the Shi'a Muslims to get out of misery. They are often engraved on small copper plates and used as charms for children.
15. 'Alī Tabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-M'āthir* (Hyderabad, 1936), p. 588 ; D. C. Verma, *History of Bijapur* (N. Delhi, 1974), p. 91.
16. Ponda is situated about ten kilometres to the south east of Velha Goa.
17. *EIAPS*, 1965, p. 42.

8. THE HOYSALAS IN PANDIMANDALAM

N. Sethuraman

Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III—the most powerful and mighty Chōḷa emperor ruled from 1178 to 1217 A.D. After the death of Kulōttuṅga the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Sundara I invaded the Chōḷa Country and subdued the then Chōḷa king Rāja Rāja III. This was the starting point for the downfall of the Chōḷa empire.

In the initial stages, the Pāṇḍyas were partly successful because their speedy march was retarded by the interference of the Hoysaḷas who not only fished in the troubled waters of the Tamil Nadu politics but also took advantage of the then situation in their favour by exercising their influence in the Chōḷa country and also extending their sway in the Pāṇḍya country. As a result the Pāṇḍyas were forced to accept the authority of the Hoysaḷas whose influence in the Pāṇḍyan country was well established for twenty years. Later the wheel of fortune turned when Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (of accession 1250 A.D.) killed the powerful Hoysaḷa king Virasōmēśvara in the Kaṇṇaṇūr battle of 1262 A.D. The Hoysaḷas were subdued. The acceleration of the Pāṇḍyas gains momentum. The Chōḷas disappear. The Pāṇḍyas become all the more powerful in Tamil Nadu, southern areas of the Telugu country, Kēraḷa and Ceylon. This is the brief history of Tamil Nadu in the 13th century. How far the Hoysaḷas were successful in exercising their authority in the Pāṇḍyan Country? This is the object of the article.

Kielhorn surmised that Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III came to the throne between the 6th and the 8th July, 1178 A.D. In my book "The Chōḷas" I followed in the footsteps of Kielhorn, applied the Indian calendar system and surmised that the king came to the throne between the 12th and the 15th July, 1178 A.D. The accession dates proposed by Kielhorn and myself fall in the month Kaṛṇāṭaka in the year 1178 A.D. However later discoveries of inscriptions prove that the king came to the throne in the month Mithuna in 1178 A.D. This is evident from twenty three records which are consulted in Appendix I of this article. Reverse calculations show that Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III came to the throne either on 17th or 18th June, 1178 A.D. The dates correspond to the days of Ārdrā or Puṇaṣvasu in the month Mithuna. One of them is his accession star. A record coming from Kachanam (162 of 1926—see Appendix I) is in the 40th year of Kulōttuṅga. It is dated Wednesday the 14th June, 1217 A.D. A record which comes from Tiruvaraṅkuḷam (Pd. 176) is in the 40th year of Kulōttuṅga and it is dated 3rd day of the month Kaṛṇāṭaka. The data correspond to Thursday the 29th June, 1217 A.D.

Two records of Kulōttuṅga coming from Uṭṭatūr (489 of 1912) and Tirukkachūr (282 of 1909) are in year 40 corresponding to 1217–1218 A.D. Since his records in year 41 are not available we can infer that he was no more prior to June 1218 A.D. His

successor Rājarāja III came to the throne in June 1216 A.D. Two of his records coming from Tiruviḍaimarudūr (143 of 1895) and Tiruturaipūṇḍi (471 of 1912) are in year 2 and they refer to the events which happened in the days of his predecessor Kulōttuṅga. Rājarāja's Chāpalapalle record (34 of 1976–77) is in year 15 solar day 15th of the month Tai Śaka 1152 corresponding to 9th January 1231 A.D. The record states that in the 39th year of Kulōttuṅga a brahmin colony was created and it was expanded in the next year which was the second year of Rājarāja. We should note here that the record does not state that the next year was the 40th year of Kulōttuṅga but it was the second year of Rājarāja. The dates of these three records point out that Kulōttuṅga died in the later part of the second year of Rājarāja, say early 1218 A.D.

A record which comes from Tiruviḍaivāśal (24 of 1918) is in the 40th year of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa. The other data are Rishabha, ba 5, Mūla and Wednesday. The report equated the data to 26th April, 1217 A.D. and assigned the record to Kulōttuṅga III. But the date falls in the 39th year and not in the 40th year. Internal evidence shows that this record does not belong to Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III. The record mentions a village called Virudarāja-bhayaṅkara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahma-dēya* in Engaṇāḍu, a subdivision of Arumōḷi-dēvavaḷaṇāḍu. Records coming from Enkan, state that up to the 3rd year of Vikrama Chōḷa corresponding to 1121 A.D. Engaṇāḍu was situated in Arumōḷi-dēvavaḷaṇāḍu. Later from the 5th year of Vikrama Chōḷa corresponding to 1123 A.D. Engaṇāḍu was included in the sub-division of Kulōttuṅga

chōḷa-vāḷaṇāḍu. The same territorial divisions, continue to appear in the days of the later kings Rājādhirāja II, Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III. The Tiruviḍaivāśal record of Kulōttuṅga, year 40, states that Engaṇāḍu was situated in Arumōḷi-dēva-vaḷaṇāḍu. This clearly shows that Kulōttuṅga of this record was the predecessor to Vikrama Chōḷa evidently his father Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I who ruled from 1070 to 1123 A.D. It does not belong to Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III. [For further details please refer to the Tiruviḍaivāśal and Enkan records in the Nannilam inscriptions Volumes I and III published by the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology.]

Rājarāja became the Chōḷa monarch.¹ He ruled till 1260 A.D. The contemporary senior Pāṇḍya king was Jaṭāvarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara I of *Pūviṇ kiḷatti* introduction (1190–1224 A.D.) He crowned his successor Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I whose accession date was June 1216 A.D. Since the senior king Kulaśēkhara was aged and old, Sundara took up the responsibility of expanding the Pāṇḍyan Empire. The Tamil *Prasasti* of Sundara begins with *Pūmaruviya tirumaḍandaiyum* etc.² Sundara ruled till 1244 A.D.

The first successful campaign of Sundara is graphically described in the *Prasastis* of his earlier records. A record which comes from Srivilliputtūr³ is in his 2nd year, day 350, corresponding to June 1218 A.D. It contains his *Prasasti* "Pūmaruviya". The *Prasasti* portion states that Sundara invaded the Chōḷa country, burnt Uḡaiyūr and Thaṇjāvūr. While he was pleased to be seated on the throne called *Maḷavarayan* put up in the palace at Āyirattaḷi alias

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Amaravathy in Kīlār-Kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu in Chōḷa maṇḍalam-Sundara exempted taxes on certain temple lands belonging to the Srīvilliputtūr temple. Āyirattaḷi referred to here is to be identified with Kaṇḍiyūr near Thaṇjāvūr.⁴ Further details of the campaign are narrated in the 3rd, 5th and 7th year records.⁵ They state that "in order to reduce the authority of the Chōḷa in the Kāvēri land and to raise the power of the Pāṇḍyas-Sundara spread horses and fierce elephants over the Chōḷa country. Sundara burnt Thaṇjai (Thaṇjāvūr) Uṟandai (Uṟaiyūr) – destroyed and demolished scores of high towers, theatres, palaces and halls. He defeated the Chōḷa and gave part of the (Chōḷa) land to the Bāṇa. Sundara performed the anointment of heroes (*virābhishēka*) in the "abishēka-maṇḍapa of the Chōḷa palace at Āyirattaḷi". He went to the sacred city Puliyūr (Chidambaram) and he was pleased to worship Lord Poṇṇambala (Naṭarāja). After the victorious campaign Sundara returned to Poṇṇamarāvathy. At this stage the Chōḷa who lost his crown and country came to Poṇṇamarāvathy with his son, and relatives and prostrated before Sundara. The Chōḷa said "your name is the name of my son". On hearing this Sundara was pleased to give back the jewelled crown and the Chōḷa country to the Chōḷa with a royal letter marked by the fish seal of the Pāṇḍyas".

In view of this victorious campaign Sundara adopted the title *śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa* (who took the Chōḷa country) or *śōṇāḍu-vaḷaṅgiya* (who presented the Chōḷa country). There are some important points in the narration of the historical events recorded

in the inscriptions. The Srīvilliputtūr record of Sundara dated June 1218 A.D. stops with his occupation of the Chōḷa city Āyirattaḷi in Kīlār-Kūṟṟam in Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu. The titles *śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa* or *vaḷaṅgiya* are absent. The anointment of heroes and victors at Āyirattaḷi is not told. The visit of Sundara to Chidambaram is not mentioned.⁶ Records engraved in the earlier period of his 3rd year-up to 8th December 1218 D.A. do not contain the titles *śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa* or *vaḷaṅgiya*.⁷ His Jambukēśvaram record⁸ states that in his 3rd year Sundara performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Āyirattaḷi. His visit to Chidambaram is not told. Records engraved in the later part of his 3rd year contain the pithet *śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa* of *śōṇāḍu-vaḷaṅgiya*.⁹ Records engraved in the subsequent years contain the epithets and also mention Āyirattaḷi, anointment, the visit to Chidambaram and the Poṇṇamarāvathy episode. The sequence of the transactions chronologically recorded prompt us to surmise as follows :

- In June 1218 A.D. Sundara invaded the Chōḷa country and occupied the Chōḷa city Āyirattaḷi near Thaṇjāvūr in Kīlār-Kūṟṟam in Nittavinōḍavaḷanāḍu.
- Sundara was in the occupation of the city for a few months. After performing the anointment of victors and heroes in the abishēka-maṇḍapa of the Chōḷa palace at Āyirattaḷi, Sundara proceeded to Chidambaram to worship Lord Naṭarāja.
- In the first quarter of 1219 A.D. Sundara returned to Poṇṇamarā-

vathy. The Chōḷa king came to Poṇṇamarāvathy and surrendered. Sundara Pāṇḍya was pleased to give back the crown and the Chōḷa country to the Chōḷa king.

The Chōḷa king who sustained defeat at the hands of Sundara was evidently Rājarāja III. This was the first campaign of Sundara and it was successfully completed in 1219 A.D. The anointment of Sundara at Āyirattaḷi is mentioned in his records upto year 11.

A record which comes from Tirukkāṭṭuppalḷi near Thaṇjāvūr belongs to Sundara and it is in year 7 corresponding to 1223 A.D. It contains his epithet "who presented the Chōḷa country" (*śōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgiya*). It states that the image of goddess Aḷagamar Maṅgai was consecrated and a stone temple was built for the goddess¹⁰. Tirukkāṭṭuppalḷi is within eight kilometers of Āyirattaḷi mentioned above. A record which comes from Chidambaram belongs to Rājarāja year 9 day 31 corresponding to July-August 1224 A.D. It gives a detailed account for the acquisition of plots of lands by purchase and exchange from certain individuals by royal order for maintaining a flower garden named after Sundara Pāṇḍya (*Sundara Pāṇḍyan tirunandavaṇam*).¹¹ Two records which come from Tiruppaṅgaḷi, Trichy district in Chōḷamaṇḍalam belong to Sundara Pāṇḍya year 9 corresponding to 1225 A.D. They refer to *Sundara Pāṇḍyan sandhi* a service in the temple instituted by the king. It is said that while issuing the order king Sundara was pleased to be seated on the throne called *Maḷavarāyan* put up in the palace at Tiruvaraṅgam (Śrī Raṅgam).¹² Another record which comes from the

same village Tiruppaṅgaḷi belongs to Rāja rāja year 11 and it is dated 21st December 1226 A.D. The record registers sale of land to one Maḷavarāyan a *maṇḍala mudali* an officer of Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva.¹³ The above records show that up to the end of 1226 A.D. the relationship between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas was cordial. Rājarāja accepted the authority of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Later there was strain in the relationship between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas. This time it was disastrous to the Chōḷa king Rājarāja. Sundara invaded the Chōḷa country, defeated Rājarāja and occupied the Chōḷa capital Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram alias Paḷayāṅrai. Sundara celebrated his victory by performing the anointment of victors and heroes in the Chōḷa palace at Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram. This place is to be identified with Paḷayāṅrai now a small village about six kilometers south of Kumbakōṇam.

Victorious Sundara adopted the title "who took and presented the Chōḷa country and performed the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram". This title appears for the first time in his Jambukēśvaram record¹⁴ year 11 Month Mēsha corresponding to April 1227 A.D. It is evident that Sundara completed his second successful campaign in 1227 A.D. and this time he performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram. His records after the 11th year refer to the Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram episode.

For ought we know from the course of these events is this. The first successful campaign of Sundara was in 1219 A.D. when

he performed the anointment of victors and heroes in the palace at Āyirattaḷi near Thaṇjāvūr. The second campaign was in 1227 A.D. and this time Sundara performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram *alias* Paḷayārai the Chōḷa capital (south of modern Kumbakōṇam). In his Tirunelveli record Sundara describes these two campaigns in detail. The *Praśasti* is in full form. It narrates the events as follows : (*S.I.I.* vol. V. No. 431, year 21)

1. Line 6 — states that Sundara burnt Uṛaiyūr, Thaṇjāvūr and performed the anointment of victors and heroes in the Chōḷa palace at Āyirattaḷi.
2. Lines 9 to 11 describe the Poṇṇamarāvathy episode. It is said that the Chōḷa who lost his crown and the country came to Poṇṇamarāvathy with his son and prostrated before Sundara. The glorius Sundara Pāṇḍya was pleased to give back the crown and the Chōḷa country to the Chōḷa king.
3. Lines 13 to 21 state that the Chōḷa who on the former occasion surrendered to Sundara and got back the crown - refused to pay tributes. Sundara Pāṇḍya invaded the Chōḷa country, defeated the Chōḷa king and performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram.

The campaigns of the Pāṇḍyas could have been more disastrous to the Chōḷa but for the help the latter received from

the Hoysalas. Baḷḷāḷa and his son Vīra Narasimha II rendered timely help to the Chōḷa king. A record which comes from Nāgamaṅgala Lalankeṛe (Karnāṭaka) belongs to the Hoysala king Baḷḷāḷa. It is dated 31st January 1219 A.D. In this record Baḷḷāḷa assumes the title establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom and a lion to the elephant Pāṇḍya.¹⁵ A record which comes from Karnāṭaka is dated 1222 A.D. and it states that Narasimha (son of Baḷḷāḷa) was marching towards Śrī Rāṅgam.¹⁶ In the Gattavāḍi record dated 1222 A.D., Narasimha assumes the title establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom and protector of the Pāṇḍya family.¹⁷ In the Harihar inscription dated 1224 A.D. the Hoysala king Vīra Narasimha is called the uprooter of the Makara kingdom and the establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom.¹⁸ An inscription which comes from Gōkarṇam, Pudukkottai district is in the 10th year of Rāja Rāja and it is dated 1226 A.D. In this record the servant of Sōmaḷādēvī the wife of Vīra Narasimha makes a grant to the temple. The record states that Sōmaḷādēvī was the mother of Pōsaḷa Vīra Sōmēśvara.¹⁹ The Hoysala records stand testimony to the help rendered by them to the Chōḷas. In spite of this help poor Rāja Rāja Chōḷa sustained defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍyas. In order to strengthen the hands of the Chōḷas and to meet any emergency the Hoysalas stationed their generals and the army at Kāñchipuram.²⁰

In the year 1230 A.D. Sundara Pāṇḍya launched his third campaign. This time he captured Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram, the Chōḷa capital and occupied the Chōḷa royal seat for nine months. Rāja Rāja fled towards north to seek help from the

Hoysalas. On the way at a place called Teḷḷāru, the Pallava (Kāḍava) chieftain Kopperuṇḅiṅga captured Rāja Rāja and imprisoned him in the Sēndamaṅgalam fort. Rāja Rāja appealed to the Hoysalas who not only defeated and subdued the Pallavas but also released and established Rāja Rāja on his throne. This happened early 1231 A.D. We get the complete picture of the above events from the records of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas and also from the Sanskrit Text *Gadyakarnāṃṛita*.

Two records which come from Tiruk-kaḷakkuḍi (Ramnad district) belong to Sundara Pāṇḍya.²¹ They state that certain lands were made tax free to the temple. The first record is in the 14th year day 328 corresponding to April 1230 A.D. The record states that while issuing the order king Sundara Pāṇḍya was pleased to be seated on the throne called *Paḷḷippiḍam Maḷavarāyaṇ* placed in the Rāja Rājanmaṇḍapa, the palace at Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram in Kulōttuṅga Chōḷavaḷanāḍu in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam. Another record is in year 15 and it is dated some date later than June 1230 A.D. This record also states that while issuing the order the king was in the same palace at Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram. Incidentally a fragmentary record which comes from Tiruchchulī dated Śaka 1152 corresponding to 1230 A.D. refers to the defeat of Jananātha (the Chōḷa) at the hands of Sundara Pāṇḍya (419 of 1914).

A record which comes from Śrīvilliputtūr belongs to Sundara.²² It is in year 15, day 273 corresponding to February 1231 A.D. The record registers the grants made by the king to several temples. The record further states that while issuing the orders, the king was pleased to be seated

on his throne put up in his palace at Madurai. The dates of these records and the contents indicate that Sundara defeated the Chōḷa king Rāja Rāja and occupied Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram in April 1230 A.D. Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram was Paḷayārai which is now a small village six kilometers south of modern Kumbakonam. He continued occupying the city till the end of 1230 A.D. Early 1231 A.D. he retired to Madurai.

The Vāyalūr inscription is in five verses. They state that Kopperuṇḅiṅga the Kāḍava chieftain defeated the Chōḷa king at Teḷḷāru and imprisoned him.²³ The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rāja Rāja is in year 16 which begins in June 1231 A.D. The record states that Kopperuṇḅiṅga captured and imprisoned Rāja Rāja. Having heard this news, the Hoysala king Vīranarasimha started from Dvārasamudra and camped at Pāchūr. He sent his two generals Appaṇṇa Daṇṇaka and Gōpayya Daṇṇaka who defeated Kopperuṇḅiṅga and released Rāja Rāja. The Hoysalas established Rāja Rāja on the Chōḷa throne. After this successful campaign the two generals proceeded to Chidambaram and offered their prayers to Lord Naṭarāja.²⁴ Incidentally in the Chidambaram record of Rāja Rāja year 17 dated 8th August 1232 A.D. the two generals Appaṇṇa and Gōpayya figure making some grants to the temple.²⁵ Two records of Vīranarasimha dated 1232 A.D. and 1233 A.D. respectively are also available in Śrī Rāṅgam.²⁶

The course of the events is very clear. Sundara was in the occupation of the Chōḷa capital Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram²⁷ in the period April–December 1230. Naturally Rāja Rāja left the capital and fled to the north where Kopperuṇḅiṅga captured and

imprisoned him in the Sēndamaṅgalam fort. The Hoysaḷas defeated Kōpperuñj-iṅga and released Rājarāja. This should have happened prior to February 1231 A.D. when we see Sundara on his Madurai throne. In the subsequent years 1232 and 1233 A.D. the victorious Hoysaḷas firmly established their positions in the Chōḷa country.

Māḷavarmaṇ Vikrama Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1218 A.D. and ruled till 1232 A.D. Most probably he too should have assisted his senior contemporary Sundara Pāṇḍya in the latter's campaigns against the Chōḷas. This is evident from records.

A record (S.I.I. XVII 635) of Vikrama Pāṇḍya is available at Śrīnivāsanallūr north of Tiruchirappalli in Chōḷamaṇḍalam. In his Tamil *praśasti tirumagaḷ jayamagaḷ* Vikrama claims to have collected tributes from the Chōḷas. Paḷāyaṇai *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa-chōḷapuram was the capital of the Chōḷas. The city Kumbakōnam is situated about ten kilometers north of Paḷāyaṇai. A record (257 of 1911 A.D.) which comes from the Nāgēśvara temple, Kumbakōnam is in year 22 of the Rājarāja dated 1238 A.D. While referring to the boundaries of the lands gifted to the temple, the record mentions a village called Vikrama Pāṇḍya Nallūr. In the history of the Chōḷas, this is the first time we see a village in the name of a Pāṇḍya king in Chōḷamaṇḍalam and that too very near to the traditional capital of the Chōḷas. The village Vikrama Pāṇḍya Nallūr was probably founded by Sundara Pāṇḍya when he occupied the Chōḷa capital in the period April-December 1230 A.D. Today the village is called Vikrama Pāṇḍi and is situated about 20 kilometers south east of Paḷāyaṇai.

The Sanskrit text "*Gadyakarṇāmṛita*" of Sakala Vidyā Chakravartin Kalakalabha narrates the historical events in detail. The manuscripts were discovered in Mysore and reported in Mysore Archaeological Report 1924 A.D. Though the text was quoted by many scholars a critical study of the text was undertaken by S. Janaki under the guidance of late V. Raghavan, the well known Sanskrit scholar. The book was published in 1981 by the Kuppuswami Sastri research Institute, Madras. The following passages are reproduced from the book edited by S. Janaki.

The Sanskrit Text *Gadyakarṇāmṛita* is in two parts. The first part is mythological and it narrates the historical events in the purāṇic style. Here Lord Śiva states that Kumāra (Subrahmaṇya son of Śiva) and Paraśurāma (the pupil of Lord Śiva) fought with each other. Finally due to the curse, Paraśurāma was born as the Pāṇḍya king Māḷavarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya I. Lord Kumāra was born as the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. The purāṇic style is not hostile towards the Pāṇḍyas. In the purāṇic treatment, the text narrates in excellent terms of how Vīra Sōmēśvara, after coronation, extended his sway in the Pāṇḍya country. This shows that the text was written when the Hoysaḷas have established a firm footing in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The puranic treatment reflects the historical events which we shall see later.

The historical account of the text begins with the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Narasimha II (1220-39 A.D.). Narasimha wanted to celebrate the marriage and the crowning of his son Vīra Sōmēśvara. He sent emissaries to all corners to find a

suitable bride for the prince. At this juncture a Chōḷa messenger entered in hot haste—the court of Narasimha. The messenger first conveyed the love and respect of his master Rājarāja to Narasimha and then the following message from the Chōḷa king.²⁸

"All the *Sāmantas* have joined together under the leadership of the Pāṇḍyan king and have risen in revolts. They are many in number and are attacking me from all directions. I am all alone and have to fight single handed. My friend Narasimha should come for my rescue."

On hearing this news, Narasimha postponed the marriage and the anointment of his son Vīra Sōmēśvara. After consulting the ministers and officers Narasimha and Vīra Sōmēśvara started from the capital Dvārasamudram. The Hoysaḷa army entered Mahēndramaṅgalam—Atamankōṭṭai in the modern Dharmapuri. The Hoysaḷa army was engaged in war with the local chieftain Adikamān—Viḍukāḍaḷagiya Perumāḷ.

Narasimha tarried at Mahēndramaṅgalam for sometime. During this interval he heard the ill-fated news from secret messengers that Rājarāja, defeated in a battle by the Pāṇḍyan king, was coming out with his retinue from the Chōḷa country to reach his friend Narasimha. The messenger further said that on the way Rājarāja and his party were mercilessly and unexpectedly attacked by Kaḍava (Pallava) king. In the battle that ensued the victorious Pallavas captured alive the Chōḷa king and dragged him to his capital Jayantamaṅgalam.

On hearing the above sad news Narasimha acted swiftly. He waged a fierce

battle against the local chieftain Adikamān and despatched him to the other world. Narasimha and his son Vīra Sōmēśvara proceeded towards the south and camped on the banks of Kāvēri near Śrīraṅgam. The Hoysaḷa emperor sent his generals in all directions to crush the revolting chieftains. The generals carried out the orders of the emperor in every letter and spirit. Kopperuñjīga was defeated. Rājarāja was released and established on his throne. The powerful Pāṇḍya king was made to pay tributes to the Hoysaḷa emperor.

The above narrations of the text related to the historical events agree with the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa inscriptions. Records reveal that in the period April to December 1240 A.D. Sundara Pāṇḍya occupied the Chōḷa capital. Rājarāja who fled to the north was captured and imprisoned by Kopperuñjīga. The Hoysaḷas released Rājarāja. This happened sometime before February 1231 A.D. when Sundara retired to Madurai. The entire episode is told in the text and also in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājarāja year 16 engraved sometime after June 1231 A.D. Chidambaram and Śrīraṅgam records confirm that the Hoysaḷas firmly established their positions in the Chōḷa country in the years 1232 and 1233 A.D.

Gadyakarṇāmṛita proceeds further and states what happened after the release of Rāja Rāja. It states that after the victorious campaign Narasimha left for Kāñchipuram to worship Lord Varadarāja and to arrange for the marriage of his son Sōmēśvara with Princess Dēvikā of the Chāḷukyan family. Unfortunately the manuscript abruptly breaks off here. However the first part of the text which is in purāṇic treatment

gives the clue. It is said that Lord Subrahmanya son of Siva and Paraśurāma the pupil of Siva quarrelled with each other. Subrahmanya was born as Sōmēśvara and Paraśurāma the Pāṇḍya king Sundara Pāṇḍya. The purāṇic treatment is presented in such a beautiful manner so that one can easily infer that although in the initial stages the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas were fighting with each other later they were on friendly terms²⁰. In short *Gadyakarṇāmṛita* intends to state that after his marriage and coronation Vira Sōmēśvara fought with the Pāṇḍyas, defeated them and later in due course both the royal houses became friendly. As we shall see below the inscriptions of the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas also point out to the same conclusion.

Record/Village	Year and data	Date/A.D.
6/1938 Jambukēśvaram	Year 6, Dhanus, śu 3, Friday and Uttirāḍam	10th December 1238 A.D.
176/1914 Ratnagiri	Year 21, Mēsha, śu 13 Sunday and Hasta	13th April 1253 A.D.
28/1891 Tiruvānaikkā	Year 21, Mēsha, ba 10 Tuesday and Śadayam	14th April 1254 A.D.
118/1937 Jambukēśvaram	Year 22, Kumbha, ba 6 Saturday and Svāti	30th June 1255 A.D.
72/1895 Tirumaḷavāḍi	Year 23, Makara, śu 6, Wednesday and Rēvati	5th January 1256 A.D.

On the basis of 28/1891 star Śadayam in Mēsha of 1233 A.D. falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 6th April 1233 A.D. On the basis of 176/1914, the star Hasta in Mēsha of 1233 A.D. falls

Even before his coronation Vira Sōmēśvara associated himself with his father in the administration of the kingdom. This is evident from Hoysala records and *Gadyakarṇāmṛita*. From *Gadyakarṇāmṛita* it is clear that Vira Sōmēśvara was crowned. Records of Vira Sōmēśvara are available in the Tamil country. They supply the astronomical data coupled with the regnal years. We shall consult those records and find the accession date. The Ataman-kōṭṭai record 204/1910 belongs to Vira Sōmēśvara. The data are regnal year 17, cyclic year Sādhāraṇa which falls in 1250 A.D. Evidently the reign commences after Mēsha Sankrānti of 1233 A.D. i.e. after 25th March 1233 A.D. On the basis of this clue the records of Vira Sōmēśvara and their dates are tabulated below.

in the first regnal year. The star was current on 23rd April 1233 A.D.

6th April 1233 A.D. = Regnal year Zero
23rd April 1233 A.D. = Regnal year Zero

Vira Sōmēśvara came to the throne between the 7th and the 23rd of April 1233 A.D. He could have married Dēvikā sometime before this date. An undated record which comes from Kāñchīpuram Aruḷāla Perumāḷ temple is in grantha verse. It states that king Sōmēśvara was a descendant of the family of the Yadus and that Dēvikā born of Chāḷukyan family was his chief queen. Records of Sōmēśvara upto year 29 are known²¹. His rule came to an end in 1262 A.D.

Vira Sōmēśvara ruled from 1233 to 1262 A.D. During this period nine Pāṇḍya kings existed. The dates of those kings are furnished below²².

1. Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I came from 1216 to 1218 A.D. His natal star was Avittam.
2. Māḡavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1218 A.D. His records begin with the Tamil *prasasti tirumagaḷ jayamagaḷ*. His rule extended upto year 1232 A.D.
3. Jaṭavarman Kulasekara II of *pūtala vanitai* introduction ruled from 1238 to 1255 A.D.
4. Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II of *pūmalar tiruvum* introduction ruled from 1238 to 1255 A.D.
5. Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya I ruled from 1241 to 1251 A.D.
6. Māḡavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya II came to the throne in 1250 A.D. His Tamil *Prasasti* begins with

tirumalar mādu. His Grantha *Prasasti* begins with *samasta bhuvanēka vira*. He was called "bhuvanēka vira". He ruled till 1266 A.D.

7. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1250 A.D. His grantha *Prasasti* begins with *samasta jagadādhāra*. The Tamil *prasasti* begins with *pūmalar vaḷar*. His natal star was Mūla. His Tiruveṅkāḍu record is in year 32 (481 of 1918). A record of his successor Māḡavarman Kulasekara I (of accession 1268 A.D.) comes from Idaiyattūr village, Pudukottai district. It is in year 16 dated 23rd April 1234 A.D. It states that in accordance with the royal letter received from Nāyanār Sundara Pāṇḍya a service in the names of Nāyanār Sundara Pāṇḍya was instituted in the temple²⁴. Evidently Sundara was alive in 1284 A.D. We can safely surmise that he ruled from 1250 to 1284 A.D.

8. Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1253 A.D. His natal star was Śadayam. His records engraved in the 10th and the subsequent years contain his epithet, "who took Koṅgu, Ceylon, destroyed the fierce Telugu Chōḷas, defeated the Chōḷas and the Pallavas and who was pleased to perform the anointment of victors at Puliyūr (Chidambaram)". His records in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, Chōḷamaṇḍalam and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam

are available. Alagapuri record (103 of 1924 A.D.) of Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara I (of accession 1268 A.D.) year 15 registers gift of land for the welfare of Vīra Pāṇḍya-dēva. Evidently Vīra Pāṇḍya ruled till 1283 A.D.

9. Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II came to the throne in 1254 A.D. His records from year to 3 to 11 contain the Tamil Praśasti *tiru valar mulai*. His records upto year 11 corresponding to 1265 A.D. are to be identified³⁴.

Pāṇḍyan inscriptions state that Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II of accession 1237 A.D. Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II of accession 1238 A.D., Māṇavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya II of accession 1250 A.D. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I of accession 1250 A.D. and one of the Vīra Pāṇḍyas were brothers. The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya* confirms this but calls the last brother Rāja Rāja Pāṇḍya³⁵. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya killed Virasōmēśvara in 1262 A.D. After this event he brought the whole of Koṅgu under the sway of the Pāṇḍyas. A record which comes from Śrī Raṅgam belongs to Sundara and it is in grantha verse. It states as follows:—³⁷

1. Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya was elder brother and Sundara was younger.
2. After defeating the Hoysaḷas, Sundara appointed his younger brother Vīra Pāṇḍya the viceroy of Koṅgana rājya (*Koṅgaṇa rājya nātham*) evidently Koṅgumaṇḍalam.

The record bears no date. Since Kulaśekhara the elder brother (of accession 1237 A.D.) was alive in 1266 A.D. the record should have been engraved around or prior to this date. Koṅgu came under the Pāṇḍyas in 1262 A.D. Naturally Sundara could have appointed his youngest brother Vīra Pāṇḍya the viceroy of Koṅgu sometime after 1262 A.D. In other words the younger brother Vīra Pāṇḍya should have started ruling in Koṅgu between 1262 and 1265 A.D. In this period there was a Vīra Pāṇḍya in Koṅgu with the title Rājakesarivarman³⁸. He came to the throne in 1266 A.D.

In the regular Madurai family, Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II of *tiru valar mulai* introduction came to the throne in 1254 A.D. His records upto year 11 alone are found. His records beyond the 11th year are absent. It means that his rule came to an end in 1265 A.D., whereas Rājakesarivarman Vīra Pāṇḍya rules at Koṅgu from 1266 to 1286 A.D. Inscriptions state that Vīra of Koṅgu of this period was the younger brother of Sundara. The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya* states that the younger brother was Rāja Rāja Pāṇḍya which name synchronises with Rājakesarivarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of Koṅgu. All put together we can surmise that Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1254 A.D. was the younger brother of Sundara. He was in the Madurai line till 1265 A.D. Later he began ruling Koṅgu with the new name Rājakesarivarman Vīra Pāṇḍya and ruled from 1266 to 1286 A.D. This surmise will open new avenues in the identification of the Koṅgu Pāṇḍyas who in reality come from the Madurai house only. Since this is beyond the scope of this article, I leave it for future research and proceed to the main issue viz. the Hoysaḷa invasion in the Pāṇḍya country.

A record which comes from Basaralu (Mandya) in Karṇāṭaka belongs to Narasimha. It is dated 3rd April 1234 A.D. The record describes Narasimha the establisher of the Chōḷa king and a *garuḍa* to the serpent, the Pāṇḍya king³⁹. A record which comes from Haranshalli (Karṇāṭaka) dated 1234 A.D. states that Narasimha camped in that year at a place called Ravitadanakuppa in order to lead a victorious campaign against the Pāṇḍya king. The record further makes a derogatory poetical reference to the Pāṇḍyan king that the roaring ocean advised him to give up everything and live in peace as a servant of Narasimha⁴⁰. A record which comes from Kṛishṇarājapēṭ-Gōvīndanahalli (Karṇāṭaka) is dated 6th May 1236 A.D. It states that Sōmēśvara conquered the Pāṇḍya country and went upto Rāmēśvaram. He granted villages to his two able generals Bhōgayya and Mallaya who in their turn granted them to brāhmaṇas in the presence of Śrī Rāmanātha at Sētu (Rāmēśvaram). The record states that Sōmēśvara was at that time living in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam which he acquired by his strength and valour⁴¹. The above records from Karṇāṭaka furnish a broad picture of the events from 1234 A.D. to 1236 A.D. They prompt us to surmise that during this period Sōmēśvara penetrated deep into the Pāṇḍyan country and went upto Rāmēśvaram. Now let us see what the Pāṇḍyan records state.

A record which comes from Ilaiyāṅkuḍi (Paramakudi Taluk, Ramnad district) is in the 20th year of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and it is dated 1235–36 A.D. The record refers to the levy imposed, formerly, on the residents of the village towards the blackmail to be paid to the Hoysaḷa general *Mahāpradhāni* Bhōgayya - daṇḍanāyaka for immunity against his plundering raids⁴².

Another record which comes from Chaturvēdimaṇḍalam (Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnad district) also belongs to Māṇavarman Sundara I, year 21 and it is dated February 1237 A.D. The record states that a portion of the income of that territory was assigned by the Pāṇḍya king to the Hoysaḷas⁴³. Tiruppattūr (Ramnad) record of Māṇavarman Sundara I, year 22 is dated 14th March 1239 A.D. The record states that during the troubled days of the Hoysaḷa invasion some of the local unsocial elements, had broken into and stolen away the money from the temple treasury and also killed some brāhmaṇas. The criminals were punished⁴⁴.

Vayalōkam record (Pudukkottai district) of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II of accession 1237 A.D. is in year 2 and it is dated 1239 A.D. This record also mentions the invasion of the Kannadiars in the former days and the Hoysaḷa king Vallāḷa - dēvan evidently Vīra Sōmēśvara⁴⁵. An undated record which comes from Tirunelveli Śrī Nelliappar temple is in Kanarese. It records gift of money for two lamps to the temple by Vāmaṇṇa the brother-in-law of Vardana Daṇḍāyaka, the Śrīkaraṇa of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara dēva rāja⁴⁶.

The above records clearly prove that in 1234 A.D. Vīra Sōmēśvara penetrated into the Pāṇḍyan territory and by 1236 A.D. firmly established himself in the Pāṇḍyan country. Later records of the Pāṇḍya kings reflect their acceptance of the authority of Virasōmēśvara and also the friendship which gradually developed between the two royal houses. Let us see those records.

A record which comes from the Tilakēśvara temple, Dēvipaṭṭaṇam (Ramnad district)

belongs to Māṇavarman Sundara II. It is in year 4 corresponding to 1242 A.D. The record refers to the works allotted to the officers and priests of the temple Bhōgīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyanār which the king was pleased to construct.⁴⁷ The name Bhōgīśvaram reminds us the name of Bhōgayya Daṇḍanāyaka the powerful army general of Vira Sōmēśvara. In all probability the temple was built in honour of this Karṇāṭaka general. We have already seen this general in the Kannaḍa records gifting villages to brāhmaṇas in 1236 A.D. in the presence of Rāmanātha at Sētu (Rāmēśvaram). Another records which comes from the same place Dēvipaṭṭaṇam belongs to Jaṭavarman Vikrama I of accession 1241 A.D. It is in year 4 dated 1245 A.D. The record states that the Bhōgīśvaram Uḍaiyār temple is situated in Bhōgīśvaram on the sea shore Sētu Mūlam.⁴⁸ Probably the Tilakēśvara temple where the records are found was the same Bhōgīśvaram Uḍaiyār temple. Dēvipaṭṭaṇam, where the temple is situated is on the Sētu sea shore and very near to Rāmēśvaram island. A record which comes from Tirumayam (Pudukottai district) belongs to Māṇavarman Sundara II, year 7, dated 7th May 1245 A.D. The record refers to the settlement of disputes between the Vaishṇavites and Saivites. The members of the great assembly met in the presence of Appaṇṇa Daṇḍāyaka brother-in-law of Ravidēva Daṇḍāyaka the army general of Hoysaḷa king Svasti Śrī Pratāpa Chakravarti Pōsaḷa Vira Sōmēśvara to whom this territory belonged.⁴⁹

The Sanskrit poem *Rukmaṇikalyāṇa* states that Sōmēśvara married Bijjaḷa a Pāṇḍyan princess and Sōmēśvara's son Narasimha III married Padmamma, the

daughter of a brother of Bijjaḷa (Narasimha III married the daughter of his uncle).⁵⁰ We have no means of knowing the Pāṇḍya king whose daughter was Bijjaḷa and in turn who was her brother. Incidentally two records coming from Kaḷḷikuḍi, Tirumangalam Taluk, Madurai district (263 and 261 of 1963-64) engraved in the reigns of Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya I (1268-1318 A.D.) and Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III (1303-1323 A.D.) mention a village called Padmadaladēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. These information prove that the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas became friendly and entered into matrimonial alliance also. In their records the Pāṇḍyas affectionately call Vira Sōmēśvara as 'Māmaḍi' (Uncle). A record which comes from Tirunelvēli Nellaiyappar temple is in the 10th year of Māṇavarman Sundara II. It is dated 1248 A.D. The record states that the king constructed a new village "Pōsaḷa Vira Sōmidēva chaturvēdimaṅgalam" in the name of Māmaḍi Vira Sōmēśvara.⁵¹ (The village exists even today under the name Morapanāḍu).

Two records which come from Madurai Minākshī Sundarēśvara temple belong to Jaṭavarman Vikrama I year 4 corresponding to 1245 A.D. They state that certain lands were granted to brāhmaṇas and the Tiruvēḍaḡam temple as gōśālaīmaḍapuram by Māmaḍi Vira Sōmēśvara. In turn Vikrama makes an oral order remitting the taxes on the lands and specifies how the institutions are to be maintained.⁵²

A record which comes from Aḷagarkōyil (Madurai) belongs to Niśsankapratāpa Chakravartin Vira Sōmēśvaradēva year 10, corresponding to 1243 A.D. The record begins with his usual grantha *Prasasti*

"*Samasta bhuvanāśraya*". It registers the gift of the village Tirukkōṭṭiyūr as *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* for offerings and worship in the temple of Aḷagar during the services instituted by Sōmēśvara.⁵³ Another record which comes from the same temple belongs to Māṇavarman Sundara II year 11 corresponding to 1249 A.D. It records the royal order issued remitting at the request of Māmaḍi the taxes of the village Tirukkōṭṭiyūr for offerings and other expenses of the service called "*Pōsaḷa Vira Sōmidēva-sandhi*" instituted by Māmaḍi Vira Sōmēśvara.⁵⁴

Aḷagarkōyil and Madurai records are important in many respects. In the history of the Pāṇḍyas, this is the first Karṇāṭaka king who exercises his authority in the Pāṇḍyan capital Madurai. The Pāṇḍyan princes not only accept the orders of the Karṇāṭaka king but also direct their officers of how the orders of the Karṇāṭaka king are to be followed.

The harbour city Koṅkkai situated (near Tiruchendūr) on the east coast of the Tirunelveli district was a world famous naval centre. The sea port was also known for trade in pearls obtained from the nearby shallow waters of the sea. Ships from distant countries like Rome, Arabia, Java and China came here for pearl trading. Koṅkkai port was famous for a long time before the beginning of the Christian era. Koṅkkai pearls attracted naval merchants and also ambassadors from many foreign countries to the Pāṇḍyan court. Two inscriptions which come from the Sōmanāthēśvara temple in Āttūr, an hamlet of the port city Koṅkkai are very interesting. The former belongs to Māṇavarman

Sundara Pāṇḍya II year 13 corresponding to 1251 A.D. It records the remission of *poṇvari* taxes except the taxes on pearl fishery.⁵⁵ The other record belongs to Virasōmēśvara and it begins with his *Prasasti* "*Samastabhuvanāśraya* etc." In the record Virasōmēśvara confirms the above order of the Pāṇḍyan king and his famous military commander Kēśava daṇḍanāyaka figures as a signatory.⁵⁶

A record which comes from Śrīraṅgam belongs to Virasōmēśvara.⁵⁷ The date portion is damaged and incomplete. This record reproduces the royal order of Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya I who made certain grants in his 4th year corresponding to 1245 A.D. This is an unique inscription. The record of a Pāṇḍya king appears in full text in the record of Virasōmēśvara. This shows how much Virasōmēśvara exercised his authority over the Pāṇḍyan princes.

The cordial relationship between the two royal houses did not last long. It was politics in any age and in any country. Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas are no exceptions. There was serious rift in their friendship, Māṇavarman Vikrama II of accession 1250 A.D. claims in his 2nd year records, of having subdued the Hoysaḷas. (*Karnāṭa-kari kalpa - kaṇṇirava* - lion to the Karṇāṭaka elephant). Jaṭavarman Sundara I (of accession 1250 A.D.) claims in his 7th year records of having driven out the Karṇāṭaka king (*karnāṭa-rāja-vidrāvaṇa*). In spite of these claims the records of Sōmēśvara continue to appear south of Tiruchchirāpaḷli. Two records which come from Ālatūr and Sembattūr in Pudukkōttai state⁵⁸ belong to Sōmēśvara year 23, corresponding to 1255 A.D. A record which comes from Ratnagiri⁵⁹

(west of Trichchirāpaḷli) is also in his 23rd year. The last record of Sōmēśvara is in year 29 corresponding to 1262 A.D. and it comes from Tiruvāṣī⁶¹. In his Śrī Raṅgam record Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I claims to have killed Sōmēśvara⁶². Probably Sōmēśvara lost his life in 1262 A.D. in the Kaṇṇanūr battle.

Vira Narasimha (1224 A.D.) constructed the city Kaṇṇanūr about twenty kilometers north of Tiruchchirāpaḷli and it was the capital of the Hoysaḷas. In the year 1235 A.D. the Kaṇṇanūr Hoysaḷēśvara Śiva temple was built by Virasōmēśvara. After the demise of Virasōmēśvara (1262 A.D.) Kaṇṇanūr was occupied by the Pāṇḍyas.

In the year 1311 A.D., Mālik Kāfur invaded Tamil Nadu and plundered the temples and cities. Two years later Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara the Kēraḷa king invaded Tamil Nadu and occupied the city Kaṇṇanūr. The Pāṇḍyas sought the help of the Kākatīyas who in 1317 A.D. drove out the Kēraḷa king.

In the year 1319 A.D. Khusru Khān the general of Alāuddīn Khilji (Delhi) attacked Śrī Raṅgam. He was driven out by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The third Muhammadan invasion was in 1324 A.D. when the invaders captured Madurai and established the Madurai Sultanate. During their reign they converted the Kaṇṇanūr Hoysaḷēśvara temple into a mosque. In the year 1371 A.D. Kampaṇṇa, the Vijayanagara prince drove out the Muhammadans from Madurai and established orderly government. He reconstructed the Kaṇṇanūr Śiva temple. A record (162 of 1936-37)

which comes from this temple is dated 1372 A.D. It states that the Hoysaḷēśvara temple which had been converted into a mosque by Tulukkar (Muhammadans) was reconstructed by Kampaṇṇa Uḍaiyār in the course of his victorious campaign. The temple exists even today.

In the grantha *Prasasti* of his second year record Mājavarmaṇ Vikrama Pāṇḍya II of accession 1250 A.D. states that he is the *garuḍa* to the serpent in the form of Gaṇḍa Gōpāla, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Nellur, Kāḷahasti and Kāñchīpuram⁶³. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (of accession 1250 A.D.) states that he is the blazing fire to the forest represented by Vira Gaṇḍa Gōpāla. Later in 1256 A.D. Sundara killed Vira Gaṇḍa Gōpāla⁶⁴. Jaṭāvarman Vira Pāṇḍya of accession 1253 A.D. claims in his 10th year record that he destroyed the fierce *Vaḍugas* (Telugu Chōḷas) and their hill station Kāḷahasti⁶⁵. (*koḍu vaḍuku, koḍu aḷittu*) Jaṭāvarman Vira Pāṇḍya of accession 1254 A.D. states in his Tamil *prasasti* (*tiru vaḷar mulai*) dated 1256 A.D. that he defeated the Telugu Chōḷas in order to establish orderly government in that country⁶⁶. All the above four princess treat the Telugu Chōḷa kings as their staunch enemies. Vikrama made the first attempt and defeated the Telugu Chōḷas in 1252 A.D. Later in 1256 A.D. all the four princes invaded the territory of the Telugu Chōḷas. The Telugu Chōḷa prince Vira Gaṇḍa Gōpāla was killed. In commemoration of this victory Sundara Pāṇḍya performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Nellūr.

Why should the Pāṇḍya princes invade the Telugu Chōḷa country? What was the

reason for the enmity between the Pāṇḍyas and the Telugu Chōḷas? A record coming from Kāñchīpuram throws light on this vital issue⁶⁷. The record belongs to Rāja Rāja Chōḷa III, year 21, dated Wednesday the 13th August 1236 A.D. It states that the Telugu Chōḷa prince Madurāntaka Pottappi Chōḷan, Tirukalatti Dēvan *alias* Gaṇḍa Gōpālan gifted the village Kukuḷam situated in Vaḍa Payir Kōṭṭam, a district of Jayangoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam, for worship and offerings to the God Aḷagar (Vishṇu) at Tirumālirunchōlai near Madurai in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. The above services were called *Gaṇḍa Gōpālan sandhi* in the name of the Telugu Chōḷa prince.

The record belongs to Rāja Rāja Chōḷa III dated 1236 A.D. His chief the Telugu Chōḷa prince Gaṇḍa Gōpāla appears in this record. He gifted a village near Kāñchīpuram to the Aḷagar temple at Madurai. The gift was intended for conducting the services called *Gaṇḍa Gōpālan sandhi* in the name of the Telugu Chōḷa prince in the Aḷagar Kōyil temple, Madurai. (The Pāṇḍyan capital city Madurai is approximately 400 kilometers south of Kāñchīpuram). We have already seen that the Hoysaḷa king Virasōmēśvara firmly established himself in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam in the period 1234 to 1251 A.D. In 1236 A.D. when Virasōmēśvara was in Madurai, the Telugu Chōḷa prince makes grants to the temple at Aḷagar Kōyil near Madurai for conducting services in his name. This proves that the Telugu Chōḷas who were the subordinates of Rāja Rāja Chōḷa also helped the Hoysaḷa king Virasōmēśvara in defeating the Pāṇḍyan kings. This should have irritated the Pāṇḍyan princes.

Naturally in 1256 A.D. they took revenge, defeated the Telugu Chōḷas and also killed Vira Gaṇḍa Gōpāla one of the princes of the Telugu Chōḷa family.

In the year 1884 A.D. Sir Walter Elliot brought out his outstanding book "*Coins of Southern India*". In page 152 under serial number 148 he refers to a Pāṇḍyan coin. The photograph is also published. On the obverse the figure of the boar (*varāha*) under sun and moon appears. The figures of Chakra and Śaṅgu (of Lord Vishṇu) are also engraved. On the reverse the Pāṇḍyan emblem, two fishes and a sceptre in the middle appear. The legend Sundara Pāṇḍyan in the 13th century Tamil script is written above the fish emblem. Elliot assigned this coin to the Chōḷa Chāḷukya period in which the relationship between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas was no cordial. Elliot thought that the Chāḷukyas and the Pāṇḍyas should have been on friendly terms because their common enemy was the Chōḷa. Therefore he came to the conclusion that the said coin was the result of the friendly relationship between the Chāḷukyas whose emblem was the boar (*varāha*) and the Pāṇḍyas whose emblem was the two fishes. In his book "*SOUTH INDIAN COINS*" (page 169) Desikachari also assigned this coin to the Chāḷukyan and Pāṇḍyan friendly relationship period. However, there is no historical evidence to prove the surmises made by Elliot and Desikachari.

In 1981 the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology brought out their book "*TAMIL COINS*". A sketch of this coin and photographs are published in one

of the last few pages, The coin is discussed in the pages 88 to 90. The editor assigns this coin to Sundara Pāṇḍya, the enemy of Rājādhirāja Chōḷa who ruled from 1041 to 1054 A.D. In his *Prasasti* dated 1044 A.D. the Chōḷa king states that he drove out Sundara Pāṇḍya. Naturally this should have happened prior to 1044 A.D. Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya was the younger brother of Rājādhirāja. He was ruling at Madurai from 1021 to 1052 A.D. Therefore Sundara Pāṇḍya, the enemy of the Chōḷas, could not have ruled from Madurai. He was the son of Śrī Vallabha who ruled from 1012 to 1029 A.D. This Sundara Pāṇḍya was hiding in a remote place in Tirunelveli district and later around or prior to 1044 A.D. he was driven out by Rājādhirāja.⁶⁶ The period falls in the first or second quarter of the 11th century, whereas the Tamil name Sundara Pāṇḍyan written on the coin is in the characters of the 13th century.

In order to support his surmise (guess ?) the editor of the 'Tamil Coins' refers to the Chōḷapuram inscription No. 44/1896 (*T.A.S.*, VI, p. 8). The records belongs to Jaṭavarman Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya, year 11, corresponding to 1032 A.D. The inscription states that Sarvalōkāśya Śrī Viṣṇu-vardhana Mahārāja *alias* Vijayāditya Vikki Aṇṇan made some grants to the temple. The editor of the 'Tamil Coins' identifies this Chāḷukyan prince with the son of the Western Chāḷukya king Sōmēśvara, the staunch enemy of Chōḷas. The editor came to the conclusion that the presence of the Chāḷukya as a friend in the Pāṇḍya region was significant with reference to the above coin. His own statement is against his surmise. We must remember here that Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya was the second son

of Rājendra Chōḷa. Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya was the younger brother of Rājādhirāja who defeated Sundara Pāṇḍya. The Chāḷukyan prince figures in the inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya (the Chōḷa prince) and not in the inscription of the Pāṇḍya. The presence of the Chāḷukyan prince in the inscription of Chōḷa Pāṇḍya should open our eyes in understanding the history of the Chōḷas in a better way. The Chāḷukyan prince belongs to the Vēṅgi country of the Eastern Chāḷukyan royal house. He was the father of the future Kulōttunga Chōḷa I (for further details please refer to 'The Chōḷas-Mathematics reconstructs the chronology'-edition 1977 written by the writer).

I repeat again. The surmise made by the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology is totally wrong. It states that the Western Chāḷukyas and the Pāṇḍyas were on good terms because the Chōḷas were their enemies. In view of their mutual friendly relations, the Pāṇḍyas and the Western Chāḷukyas issued the above coin. The department states further that the Western Chalukyan prince appears as a friend in the Chōḷa record! How? This question is more than enough to show that the surmise made in the Tamil Coins is wrong. The Eastern Chāḷukyan prince appears in the Chōḷa record and the editor of Tamil Coins is unable to identify him.

Let us see the said coin. On the obverse the emblem of the boar appears. The boar-*varāha*-is the emblem of the Karṇāṭaka kings. This was adopted by the Kanarese speaking kings-whether they were Chāḷukyas, Hoysaḷas or Vijayanagaras. On the reverse the coin bears the fish emblem of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai.

The emblems of the two fishes and the *varāha* prove that the coin should have been issued at a time when the Pāṇḍyan and the Karṇāṭaka royal houses were on friendly terms. The legend Sundara Pāṇḍyan written on the coin is in the characters of the 13th century Tamil script. Evidently during this period a Pāṇḍyan prince called Sundara Pāṇḍya and a Karṇāṭaka (king the Hoysaḷas should have been on friendly terms. When we discussed the presence of the Hoysaḷas in Pāṇḍimandalam we found that Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-1244 A.D.) was the enemy of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1238-1255 A.D.) was on friendly terms with the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. He calls the Hoysaḷa king 'Māmaḡi' (uncle). Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I of accession 1250 A.D. killed Vīra Sōmēśvara in 1262 A.D. The above facts show that Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II alone was on friendly terms with the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara who in the period 1234 to 1251 A.D. firmly established himself at Madurai, the capital city of the Pāṇḍyas.

The historical events prove and confirm that the above said *varāha* coin was issued by Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II who accepted the authority of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. The customary emblem of the Karṇāṭaka king is the boar (*varāha*) and naturally it appears in the Pāṇḍyan coin. Therefore we can easily conclude that the above said coin was issued in the period 1238 to 1251 A.D. When Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II and the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara were on cordial terms.⁶⁷ The *varāha* coin is referred to in the following Pāṇḍyan inscriptions.

1. Mylapaṭṭi Pd. 350 - Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I year II dated 1261 A.D. It mentions *varāha-panam*.
2. Tiruvēṭpūr Pd. 357 - Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I year 15 - dated 1265 A.D. mentions *varāha - poṇ* (gold coin).
3. Vaitukōvil Pd. 476 - Jaṭavarman Sundara II year 2 dated 1279 A.D.
4. Perambūr Pd. 479 - Sundara Pāṇḍya II year 6 (1283 A.D.)
5. Tiruveṅkivāśal Pd. 480 - Jaṭavarman Sundara II year 7 dated 1284 A.D.
6. Perambūr Pd. 484 - Jaṭavarman Sundara year lost.
7. Nandalūr - Andhra - Jaṭavarman Sundara II year 13 dated 1290 A.D.
8. Perumāṇḍu Pd. 525 - Sundara Pāṇḍya II year 14 dated 1291 A.D.
9. Śrīraṅgam *S.I.I.* Vol. XXIV, 210 - Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya III year 10 dated 1307 A.D.
10. Koḍiyakkāḍu - *S.I.I.* Vol. XVII, 554 Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya year 5 dated 1319 A.D.

The *varāha* coin was in use in the Chōḷa country also. A record which comes from Pañchanadikuḷam, Tirutturaipundi Taluk belongs to Rājendra Chōḷa III year 18 corresponding to 1264 A.D. It mentions the coin *varāhan Paṇam*.⁷⁰

Villiputturār is the author of the Tamil poem *Villi Bhāratam* (story of Mahābhārata in Tamil). He was born in Saṅgiyūr near Tirukkōvilūr (in South Arcot district). The poet says that his parton was Varapati

Āṭkoṇḍāṇ a Koṅgar chief. In the words of the poet the Chief did not fall a victim to the great flood of the Kannaḍa language but patronised the Tamil poets and established Tamil Saṅgam (academy) which was like the fourth Tamil Saṅgam (after the three Tamil Saṅgams which existed at Madurai prior to the second century): The poet states that his patron the Koṅgar chief crowned the Chōḷa king who was then ruling the earth and defeated the enemy Pāṇḍya. He says in present tense that the Chōḷa is ruling this world¹. These facts prompt us to infer that the poem was written prior to 1279 A.D., when the last Chōḷa king Rājendra Chōḷa III died.

Koṅgar chieftains ruled in the Tiru-kkōvilūr area. Their land was adjacent to Karṇāṭaka. In the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III (1178 - 1217 A.D.) a Gaṅga chief called Siyagaṅga of the Kolar area north west of Tirukkōvilūr, patronised the Tamil poets. During his period the Tamil poet Pavarandi wrote the Tamil grammar *Naṇṇūl*². The chief who was the patron of the poet Villiputturār was most likely a later member of the Gaṅga (Koṅgar?) family and probably existed in the 13th century when the Hoysalas, Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were ruling in different parts of the Tamil country.

While describing the Mahā Bhārata war, the poet says that the Pāṇḍya the enemy of the Chōḷa also participated in the war on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas. Though the Pāṇḍya put up stiff resistance, he was killed by Aśvathāma, son of Drōṇa³.

The Chōḷa whose royal elephant drank the water of the Ganges and who ruled the Vañchi (Karūr), Madurai and Puhār entered the battlefield. He defeated and killed many kings belonging to the side of the Kauravas. The Chōḷa defeated Aśvathama also. The poet exclaims and states, "who can defeat the Chola he who wears on his head the sacred feet of Lord Siva; he whose Manu Dharma rule reaches the eight corners of the world; and who has the tiger flag"⁴.

The poet refers to important historical facts. Puhār also called Kāvēri Pūmpaṭṭiṇam was the traditional capital of the Chōḷas. It was Rājendra Chōḷa I (1012 - 1044 A.D.) who brought the Ganges water. Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III (1178 - 1217 A.D.) had the epithet "he who took Karūr (Vañchi) and Madurai" Rāja Rāja Chōḷa I (985 - 1014 A.D.) and Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III were called "*Siva Pāda Sakhara*" (he who wears on his head the sacred feet of Lord Siva). The Tamil *Prasastis* of the Chōḷa kings state that their *Manu Dharma* rule reaches the corners of the eight directions. The poet attributes all these tributes to the Chōḷa king who was victorious in the *Mahābhārata* war. He has soft corner for the Chōḷa. In short the poet likes the Chōḷa king. On the contrary he shows his contempt towards the Pāṇḍya, who in the words of the poet was killed by Aśvathāma in the *Mahābhārata* war.

The poet says that Kunti dēvi went to her son Karṇa and requested him to come to the side of the Pāṇḍavas (in the chaste Tamil verse of the poet). Karṇa not only refused but said firmly,

"Oh mother - I should be grateful and carry out my duty to my master Rāja Rājan who fed me; This is the only way for my future fame, Karma (duty) and Dharma (virtue).

The poet indirectly refers to the treachery of the Pallava chief Kopperuñjiṅga who imprisoned his overlord Rāja Rāja Chōḷa III. It was the poet who calls Duryōdhana "Rāja Rājan". Karṇa refused to join the enemies of his master Rāja Rājan i.e. Duryōdhana, whereas Kopperuñjiṅga went to the side of the Pāṇḍyas the enemy of the Chōḷa and later imprisoned his own overlord Rāja Rāja Chōḷa. The poet Villiputturār tactfully brings out the treacherous act of Kopperuñjiṅga and he does this through the words of Karṇa who calls his master "Rāja Rājan".

The above points prompt us to infer that the poem was written probably in the last quarter of the 13th century when Rājendra III the last Chōḷa king was ruling.

(It is said that most of the Tamil verses of the Ādi Parvam of *Villi Bhāratam* look like the translation of the six cantos of the Sanskrit Ādi Parvam of *Bala Bhārata* written by the poet Agastya Bhaṭṭa who was patronised in the Kākatiya

court in the last half of the century. The other chapters of *Villi Bhāratam* are the independent writings of the poet Villiputturār. For further details please refer to *Villi Bhāratam* by V.M. Gopala Krishnamachariar edn. 1976).

Appendix — 1

In 1906 the German scholar Kielhorn consulted the records of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III and surmised that the king came to the throne between the 6th and the 8th July 1178 A.D. (Ep. Ind. vol. IX). In 1977 A.D. vide my book "The Chōḷas Mathematics reconstructs the chronology" I relied on the data consulted by Kielhorn, applied the Indian calendar system and surmised that Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III came to the throne between the 12th and the 15th July 1178 A.D. The accession dates proposed by Kielhorn and myself fall in the month Karṇāṭaka in the year 1178 A.D.

Later discoveries of inscriptions point out that the king came to the throne in the month Mithuna in 1178 A.D. and not Karṇāṭaka. This is an important date and its value can be realised when we fix the last date of the king. Before proceeding further let us see the records which produce the dates in the months Mithuna and Karṇāṭaka.

TABLE 1

Kulōttuṅga Chōla III

Records which produce dates in the months Mithuna and Kaṛkaṭaka

Serial	Record No. Village	Regnal year and data	Date
1.	67/1898 Uttaramallūr	37, Mithuna, śu 9, Hasta Sunday	7th June 1215 A.D.
2.	396/1923 Tiruppulivaṇam	— do —	— do —
3.	557/1902 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai	35, Mithuna, 8th day Anurādhā, Sunday	2nd June 1213 A.D.
4.	131/1896 Kaṭapēri	16, Mithuna 10th day, Chaturthi mistake for Chaturdaśī, Mūlam, Saturday.	4th June 1194 A.D.
5.	361/1919 Kāñchipuram	34, Mithuna 24th day Monday, Śrāvaṇa	18th June 1212 A.D.
6.	317/1927 Koṭukkai	38, Mithuna ba 5, Śadayam Monday.	6th June 1216 A.D.
7.	487/1922 Avarani	15, Mithuna śu mistake for ba 10, Rēvatī Thursday	27th May 1193 A.D.
8.	57, 58, and 60 of 1914 Tiruvaikāvūr	33, Mithuna, ba 9 Rēvatī, Monday.	6th June 1211 A.D.
9.	76/1936-37 Śriraṅgam	7, Mithuna, ba 12, Kārtikai, Tuesday.	28th May 1185 A.D.
10.	36/1920 Tirumaṇjavāḍi	36, Mithuna ba 14, Rōhiṇī, Sunday	8th June 1214 A.D.
11.	313/1902 Tiruveṇṇainallūr	17, Mithuna ba 13, Rōhiṇī, Thursday.	8th June 1195 A.D.
12.	72/1930-31 Paṇḍanallūr	39, Mithuna ba 15, Mrigaśīra, Monday.	5th June 1217 A.D.

Serial	Record No. Village	Regnal year and data	Date
13.	297/1927 Kumbakōṇam	18, Mithuna, śu 2, Punarvasu, Sunday	11th June 1195 A.D.
14.	162/1926 Kachanam	40, Mithuna, śu 8 Hasta, Wednesday.	14th June 1217 A.D.
15.	118/1896 Tiruveṇkāḍu	8, Kaṛkaṭaka, śu 10 Anurādhā Monday.	8th July 1185 A.D.
16.	393/1907 Maruthuvakūḍi	10, Kaṛkaṭaka, śu 12, Mūlam Saturday.	18th July 1187 A.D.
17.	505/1918 Tiruveṇkāḍu	26, Kaṛkaṭaka, śu 13, Uttirāḍam, Wednesday.	23rd July 1203 A.D.
18.	81/1925 Kiḷaiyūr	15, Kaṛkaṭaka, ba 1 Avittam Monday.	27th July 1192 A.D.
19.	453/1919 Kāñchipuram	30, Kaṛkaṭaka 22, Aśvati Wednesday.	18th July 1207 A.D.
20.	346/1919 Kāñchipuram	35, Kaṛkaṭaka 5, Prathama Pushya, Sunday.	1st July 1212 A.D.
21.	584/1904 Kaḷaperumbūr	25, Kaṛkaṭaka, śu, 5 mistake for śu 4, Uttiram Wednesday	24th July 1202 A.D.
22.	75/1925 Kiḷaiyūr	23, Kaṛkaṭaka, śu 5, Hasta, Monday.	17th July 1200 A.D.
23.	85/1925 Kiḷaiyūr	9, Kaṛkaṭaka, śu 12 Mūla, Monday.	30th June 1186 A.D.

The above 23 records produce the dates in the month either Mithuna or Kaṛkaṭaka in the respective regnal year. In order to find the correct accession date we must apply the Indian calendar system for the reverse calculation. In this process the

star and the month quoted in each date are taken back to the initial year 1178 A.D., and the corresponding date (either in Mithuna or Kaṛkaṭaka is found. Those dates are tabulated below,

TABLE 2

Stars and their dates in Mithuna or Kaṛkaṭaka in 1178 A.D.
the accession year of the king

Star and its month in 1178	0th regnal year	1st regnal year
As per record serial No. 1 Hasta in Mithuna in 1178 falls in the regnal year 0. The star was current on	27th May	
Similarly as per record 2 Hasta in Mithuna falls in the 0th year. The date corresponds to	27th May	
As per record 3, Anurādhā in Mithuna falls in the 0th year. The date corresponds to	31st May	
As per record 4, Mūlam in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	2nd June	
As per record 5, Sravaṇa in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	5th June	
As per record 6, Śadayam in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	8th June	
As per record 7, Rēvatī in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	11th June	
As per record 8, Rēvatī in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	11th June	
As per record 9, Kārttikai in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	14th June	
As per record 10, Rōhiṇī in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	15th June	
As per record 11, Rōhiṇī in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	15th June	
As per record 12, Mṛgaśīrā in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	16th June	
As per record 13, Punarvasu in Mithuna falls in the first year		18th June

Star and its month in 1178	0th regnal year	1st regnal year
As per record 14, Hasta in Mithuna belongs to first year		23rd June
As per record 15, Anurādhā in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		27th June
As per record 16, Mūlam in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		29th June
As per record 17, Uttirāḍam in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		2nd July
As per record 18, Aviṭṭam in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		4th July
As per record 19, Aśvati in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		9th July
As per record 20, Pushya in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		16th July
As per record 21, Uttiram in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		20th July
As per record 22, Hasta in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		21st July
As per record 23, Mūla in Kaṛkaṭaka belongs to first year		27th July

Table 2 shows that

- (1) The king came to the throne in 1178 A.D.
- (2) upto 16th June his regnal year was "0". It means that he was not crowned till that date.
- (3) We do not know whether 17th June belongs to the 0th year or first year.
- (4) 18th June and the later dates fall in the first year.

Thus it is evident that Kulōttuṅga-chōja III came to the throne on either 17th or 18th June in 1178 A.D. They correspond to the days of stars Ārdrā and Punarvasu in the month Mithuna. Evidently one of them is his accession star. The table also proves that the king could not have been crowned in Kaṛkaṭaka because this month falls in the first year. (In the year 1178 A.D. Kaṛkaṭaka covers the period 26th June to 27th July).

Incidentally we must also know how Kielhorn in 1906 (and myself in 1977) suggested Kaṛkaṭaka, the accession month. The problem arose from the date of the Rāmagiri record (644 of 1904). The data are year 6, Kaṛkaṭaka, ba 12, Thursday and Rōhiṇī. Kielhorn equated the data to Thursday, the 5th July 1184 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, vol. p. 264). On the basis of this date he surmised that 5th July 1178 A.D. was the 0th year and the king should have been crowned either on 6th or on a later date. I applied the Indian calendar system. I surmised that Rōhiṇī in Kaṛkaṭaka in 1178 A.D. was the 0th year. The date was 12th July. This result does not agree with the 23rd records of the tables 1 and 2. These records clearly point out that Mithuna was the accession month and no date in Kaṛkaṭaka could be in the 0th year. In the Rāmagiri record the *tithi* was ba 11. This single record cannot tilt the general results obtained from the 23 records of the above tables. The Rāmagiri record mentions the name of the king as Vira Rājendra. The village Rāmagiri is north of Madras

nearer to Nellore. A record which comes from Kṛishṇapaṭam in the Nellore district belongs to Vira Rājendra Chōḷadēva. (Rangachari-Nellore district record number 190A). The record quotes Śaka year 1178, regnal year 13, Makara, su 13, Rōhiṇī and Saturday. The data agree with 30th December 1256 A.D. The initial year of this king falls in 1244 A.D. This is also confirmed by the Nellore district Yepilaguṇṭa record of the same king year 9, cyclic year Paridhāvi, Śaka 1174, Phālguna, 15th day of the dark fortnight, Friday corresponding to 28th February 1253 A.D. It mentions the eclipse of the sun which happened on the next day (Rangachari Nellore inscriptions, No. 799). The data of the Rāmagiri record agree with the initial year 1244 A.D. and produce the date Thursday, the 8th July 1249 A.D. It is evident, that Vira Rājendra of the Rāmagiri record was a later king of accession 1244 A.D. and not Kullōtuṅgachōḷa III. The records of Vira Rājendra of accession 1244 A.D. are tabulated below in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Records of Vira Rājendra of accession 1244 A.D.

Record and village	Year, data and other information	Date
551 of 1912 Tirunirmalai Madras	Year 2, Simha, śu 2, Hasta, Friday	25th Aug. 1245 A.D.
560 of 1912 Tirunirmalai Madras	Year 3, Simha, śu 10 mistake for 15, Avittam, Monday	30th July 1246 A.D.

Record and village	Year, data and other information	Date
545/1912 Tirunirmalai Madras	Year 4, Mina, su 12, Magha, Sunday	8th March 1248 A.D.
513 of 1913 Tanniyālattūr near Madras	Year 5, Rishabha, su 3, Punarvasu, Sunday	16th May 1249 A.D.
644 of 1904 Rāmagiri	Year 6, Kaṛkaṭaka, ba 12, Thursday and Rōhiṇī	8th July 1249 A.D.
651 of 1904 Rāmagiri	— do —	— do —
331 of 1928-29 Tiruppālaivaṇam near Madras	Year 6, Kaṇṇi, ba 7, Rōhiṇī, Tuesday	31st Aug. 1249 A.D.
Rangachari 799 Yepilaguṇṭa, Nellore district	Śaka, 1174, cyclic year Paridhāvi year 9, Phālguna, 15th day of dark fortnight, Friday (next day there was solar eclipse and it is mentioned in the record)	28th Feb. 1253 A.D.
540 of 1912 Tirunirmalai, Madras	Year 12, Mēsha, śu 13, mistake for su 7, Monday, Punarpūṣam	31st April 1256 A.D.
Rangachari 190A Kṛishṇapaṭam, Nellore district	Śaka 1178, year 13, Makara, śu 13 Rōhiṇī and Saturday-Tamil record- registers grants to the temple of Manumasidhēśvara	30th Dec. 1256 A.D.
580 of 1907 Nandalūru, Chittoor district	Śaka 1179, cyclic year Piṅgala, year 13, Mēsha Sankrānti. Registers the order of Manumasidhi son of late Tirukkkāla Dēva Mahārāja (<i>S.I.I.</i> vol. XXIII, 580) Grantha, Telugu and Tamil	25th March 1257 A.D.

Record and village	Year, data and other information	Date
Rangachari 236 Punjulūrupāḍu, Nellore district	Saka 1185, year 20, Tulā, śu 10 mistake for ba 8, Friday, Magha	26th Oct. 1263 A.D.
546 of 1912 Tirunirmalai, Madras	Year 34, Mēsha, śu 5, Wednesday, Mṛigaśīrā	30th March 1278 A.D.
556 of 1912 Tirunirmalai, Madras	Year 34, Rishabha, śu 3, Punarpūṣam, Wednesday	25th May 1278 A.D.
558 of 1912 Tirunirmalai, Madras	— do —	— do —

Four records supply the Saka years. One record supplies the date of the solar month. The records indicate that Vira Rājendra came to the throne in the middle of 1244 A.D. On the basis of 556 of 1912 Punarvasu in Rishabha in 1244 A.D. falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 12th May. On the basis of the Rāmagiri records Rōhiṇi in Kaṭṭaka in 1244 A.D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 2nd July. Vira Rājendra Chōla came to the throne between the 13th May and the 2nd July 1244 A.D.

In the Tiruppālaivanam record 331 of 1928-29 of Vira Rājendra dated 1249 A.D. an individual by name Vaḷaiyamalaḡiyāṇ Oḡḡiraṣan the chief of Kullōtūṅachōḷan Payyūr figures as a donor. He figures in the same temple record 333 of 1928-29 of Rājarāja III, year 28, dated 1244 A.D. He figures in the Tiruvōḡḡiyūr record 108 of

Vira Rājendra year 9, dated 1253 A.D. and also in the Rāmagiri records dated 1249 A.D. (table 3).

(Madras) Nūkkānpālayam, Saidapet taluk record 207 of 1961-62 belongs to Vira Rājendra, year 10, dated 1254 A.D. The donor and the recipient who figure in this record also figure in the same temple records 208 and 209 of 1961-62 of Vijaya Gaṇḍa Gōpāla, year 16, corresponding to 1266 A.D.

In all his records the king is called Tribhuvana Chakravarti Vira Rājendra or Vira Rājendradēva or Vira Rājendra Chōladēva. His records are many. They are found in the districts of Kurnool, Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittoor, Chingleput and Madras. The usual imperial Chōla title Rājakēsari or Parakēsari is absent. Many chieftains and officers bearing the names

like Pañchanadi Vāṇaṇ Nīla Gaṅgarayan or Aruṇagiri Perumāḷ Nīla Gaṅgarayan etc., who figure in the records of Kopperuṅ jinga of accession 1243 A.D., Vijaya Gaṇḍa Gōpāla of accession 1250 A.D., Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1250 A.D., and Māḡavarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya of accession 1268 A.D. also figure in the records of Vira Rājendra of accession 1244 A.D. (for further details please see the index-Rangachari: Also see *A.R. Ep.*, 1932-33, p. 75).

Nandalūr record (580 of 1907) of Vira Rājendra Chōla (Table 3) is dated 25th March 1257 A.D. It traces the genealogy of the Telugu Chōla chiefs from the days of Dayabhima. The last member of this family was Manumasidhi *alias* Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḷan ruling from Vikrama-siṅgapura. He figures in the record as a feudatory of Vira Rājendra. It is said that Tikkanṇipa (Tirukkālādēva Mahārāja) the father of Manumasidhi defeated the Hoysala king Vira Sōmēśvara. Manumasidhi, himself a great warrior and also a loyal feudatory of Vira Rājendra Chōla conquered a chieftain called Vijaya on the banks of Gōḍāvari in order to secure the friendship of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. The record further states that Manumasidhi renewed an earlier grant of the village Kōlūru to brāhmaṇas for the merit of his father Tirukkālādēva Mahārāja (*A. R. Ep.*, 1908 pp. 70 to 72).

Manumasidhi was a loyal chief of Vira Rājendra Chōla. In turn, Vira Rājendra also had great regards to the family of Manumasidhi. This is evident from the Krishṇapaṭam record of Vira Rājendra and dated 1256 A.D. The record refers to the grants made to the temple of Manumasidhēśvara standing in the name of the grandfather of the present chief Manumasidhi.

Manumasidhi patronised the Telugu poet Tikka Sōmayājin who composed the poem *Nirvachanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu*. In the poem the poet refers to the defeat of the Hoysala king Vira Sōmēśvara at the hands of Tikkanṇipa. It is said that Manumasidhi was first ousted by his cousins from the kingdom. Through the intervention of the poet, the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati took up the cause of Manumasidhi, defeated the enemies and restored his dominion to him. The dates and the information supplied by the records and the poem prompt us to infer that Vira Rājendra, Manumasidhi and the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati were on cordial and friendly terms.

Internal evidence helps us in assigning the following records found in and around the city of Madras to Vira Rājendra of accession 1244 A.D.

TABLE 4

Record	Place	Regnal year
108 of 1912	Tiruvoggyūr	9
548 of 1912	Tirunirmalai	10
25 of 1911	Tirumajisai	10
2 of 1911	Tirumajisai	16
557 of 1912	Tirunirmalai	33
318 of 1911	Māḍambākkam	36
323 of 1911	— do —	36

(Madras) Māḍambākkam records 318 and 323 of 1911 of Vira Rājendra are in year 36 corresponding to 1280 A.D. Probably that was his last date. Incidentally a record (183 of 1905) coming from Tripurāntakam, Kurnool district is in Telugu, dated Śaka 1213, corresponding to 1291 A.D. It states that Mummaḍi Nāyūḍu the lord of Ammangallu city gifted cows to the temple. Two umbrellas called Vira Rājendra Chōla-gōḍagallu were also gifted to the temple.

Kulōttuṅgachōla III of accession 1178 A.D. was also called Vira Rājendra. His records should not be confused with those of later Vira Rājendra of accession 1244 A.D. Rāmagiri record of Vira Rājendra of accession 1244 A.D. misled Kielhorn who assigned it to Kulōttuṅga III of accession 1178 A.D. In my book 'The Chōlas, edition

1977' I too did the same mistake which is now rectified. The painstaking exercise not only shows the correct accession date of Kulōttuṅgachōla III but also brings to light the hitherto unknown Telugu Chōla king Vira Rājendra of accession 1244 A.D.

Quoting Krishnapaṭam record, the report *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64 states that Parakēsarivarmaṇ Rājendra Chōla III of accession 1246 A.D. had another accession date 1244 A.D. with the name Vira Rājendra. In the light of the above discussions and discoveries the surmise made by the report does not hold good. The Telugu Chōla king Vira Rājendra of accession 1244 A.D. is a separate identity and it is left to future researchers to make further study about the activities of this prince.

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Notes :

1. For the dates of Rājārāja III please see N. Sethuraman "The Chōlas" edition 1977.
2. For the dates of Jaṭavarmaṇ Kulaśekhara I and Māravarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya I please see N. Sethuraman "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas" edition, 1978.
3. Śrīvilliputtūr 549/1926 Māravarmaṇ Sundara I year 2 day 350.
4. Kaṇḍiyūr *S.I.I.*, vol. V. 578 and 579.
5. Kaṇṇanūr Pd. 250-year 3, Ponnamarāvathy Pd. 256-year 5 and Tirupparaṅkuṇḍram *S.I.I.*, vol. IV. 372, year 7 ; all the records state the events in the Tamil *Prasasti*.
6. Śrīvilliputtūr 549/1926. I have read this inscription *in situ*.
7. Kunnakuḍi 411/1955 ; Nārtāmalai Pd. 503 ; Kunnakuḍi 305/1956 ; Kuḍumiānmalai Pd. 248, dated 8th December 1218 – all are in year 3 without epithets.
8. 47/1937-38 ; *A.R.Ep.* 1937-38 p. 94.
9. Kuḍumiānmalai Pd. 249 ; Kaṇṇanūr Pd. 250 ; Muttuvirappuram 42 and 48 of 1945 – all are in year 3 with the epithet who took the Chōla country. Tirupālaikuḍi 322/1928 year 3 – who presented the Chōla country.
10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1 – Māra Sundara I, year 7.
11. 172/1961-62 ; *A.R.Ep.* 1961-62, p. 14.
12. 160 and 161 of 1938-39.
13. 158/1938-39 ; *A.R.Ep.* 1938-39 p. 79.
14. 30/1937-38 year 11 Mēsha, Naivāśai Pd. 277 year 12 ; Perichikōil 71/1924 year 15 ; Tirumalai 10 and 13 of 1924 – both in year 17 – All refer to anointment at Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram.
15. *E.C.*, Vol. VII, edition 1979, p. 37 and 471.
16. *E.I.*, Vol. VII, p. 162 and note 10.
17. *E.C.*, Vol. III, edition 1974 – Nj. 321, p. 385 and 751.
18. *E.I.*, Vol. VII, p. 162 and note 11.
19. *S.I.I.*, vol. VII, No. 1043.
20. D.C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, p. 100.
21. 78/1916 year 14 day 328 ; 79/1916 year 15.
22. 541/1926 year 15 day 273.

23. 418/1922 *S.I.I.* vol. XII, No. 128 ; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII, p. 180 and 181.
24. Tiruvēndipuram 142/1902 ; E. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 160 to 163.
25. 310/1958-59 ; *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, p. 17.
26. *S.I.I.* vol. XXIII, 259 and 260.
27. Kulōttuṅgachōja III died in 1217 A.D. But two records of Sundara, Iraṇiyūr 9/1926 year 15 and Perichikōil 72/1924 year 16-both dated 1231 and 1232 A.D. respectively indicate that Sundara gave the crown and the Chōja country to Kulōttuṅgachōja in 1230 A.D. which is impossible. These two records are in the characters of 15th century. They are fake and spurious. Please see the translation given for 9/1926 and 72/1924. The corrupt language of the inscription is face apparent. The title Māṇavarman is given to 'Tribuvana Chakravarti' Kulōttuṅga III-For further details see N. Sethuraman-'*The Chōjas*'-p. 158 to 167
28. S. Janaki-'*Gadyakarṇāṃṛita*' p. 68 to 71.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
30. Kāñchipuram 602/1989.
31. Tiruvāṣi near Śrīraṅgam 34 of 1898 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. IV, 435-Vira Sōmēśvara year 29.
32. For the dates of the Pāṇḍyan princes please refer to N. Sethuraman-'*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*' and '*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*'. *J.E.S.I.*, vol. 14.
33. N. Sethuraman 'Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya II of accession 1237'-South India History Congress Madurai-1980.
34. Iḍaiyattūr Pd. 394-Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara who took every country year 16, Mēsha 30, Pūrva paksha Saptami, Sunday and Pūṣam.
35. N. Sethuraman-'*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*'-last chapter. 'Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍyas of accession 1253 and 1254 A.D.-Also a paper on the same title presented by N. Sethuraman in the Epigraphical Society of India annual conference held at Calcutta in February 1981.
36. N. Sethuraman-'*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*' ; K. V. Sarma-'*Pāṇḍyakulōdaya*' edition 1981 published by Sanskrit Research Institute-Punjab University.
37. Śrīraṅgam *S.I.I.* vol. XXIV, No. 197-H. K. Narasimhaswamy wrongly interprets line 17 of the verse and states that Sundara was the elder brother of Kulaśekhara. In support of his surmise he quotes *A.R.Ep.*, 1914 part II para 19 which correctly states that Kulaśekhara was the elder brother (*annāvi*) of Sundara.
38. Coimbatore district, Vijayamaṅgalam 544/1905 ; Kielhorn-'*Ep. Ind.*', vol. IX, p. 225-Rājakesarivarman Vira Pāṇḍya Śaka 1202 regnal year 15, month Tūlā, aparapaksha, Monday and star Uttiram.
39. *E.C.* vol. VII, edition 1979-Md. 29, pp. 211 and 566.
40. *E.C.* Old edition, vol. V, Ak 123. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, p. 78.

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41. *E.C.* vol. VI, edition 1977-Krishnarājapēṭ-Gōvindanahalli-No. 39, p. 23 and 447.
42. 295/1949-50-*A.R.Ep.*, 1949-50, p. 9.
43. 308/1928 *A.R.Ep.* 1927-28 wrongly assigns this to Māra Sundara II whose highest regnal year is 17 only.
44. 170/1936.
45. Tamil text Pd. 548.
46. 15/1912.
47. *S.I.I.*, vol. VIII, 404.
48. *Ibid.*, 403.
49. Pd. 340-*A.R.Ep.*, 387/1906.
50. S. Janaki-Gadyakarṇāṃṛita, p. 27 and 65.
51. *S.I.I.* vol. V, No. 448.
52. 188 and 190 of 1943-44.
53. 292/1929-30.
54. 291/1929-30.
55. 326/1961-62.
56. 432 of 1929-30.
57. 433 of 1929-30.
58. *S.I.I.*, vol. XXIV, No. 261.
59. Pd. 666 and 667.
60. 132/1892-*S.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 550.
61. *S.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 435 Vira Sōmēśvara year 29.
62. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 1 to 17.
63. N. Sethuraman-'*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*'.
64. *Ibid.*
65. N. Sethuraman-'*The Medieval Pāṇḍyas*'.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Kāñchipuram 621 of 1919.
68. N. Sethuraman-'*Chōjas, Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*'-Chōja Ganga-'*Chōja Laṅkāśvara-Chōja Kērala*' by N. Sethuraman, published by the Place Names Society of India, Mysore.

- N. Sethuraman. "Chōja Pāṇḍyas"-article in the Tamil Magazine *Kalvettu* No. 12, published by the Tamil Nadu State department of Archaeology.
69. A. Padmavathy, Epigraphist, Tamil Nadu State department of Archaeology correctly identifies the Pāṇḍya king with Māḡavarman Sundara II. She says that the coin was issued when Sundara and Vira Sōmēśvara were on cordial terms. See her paper "A Pāṇḍya Coin" presented in the Numismatic Conference held at Madras in February 1988.
70. Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology Tiruturaipūṇḍi inscription No. 1976/169.
71. First *parvam* introduction, vol. 18 and 19. *Ippuvi āḡum vaḡavaṇukku muḡikavittu vaḡuditevvatch-chezḡavaṇ.*
72. P. 401-*The Chōḡas* by K.A.N. Sastri (1975).
73. 17th day battle vv. 107 to 119.
74. 17th day battle vv. 65 to 68 and 120 to 134.
75. *Uḡyōga Parvam* v. 255.

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