

EARLY CHOLAS

Mathematics Reconstructs

The Chronology



N. Sethuraman

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(Front cover and jacket - Seal of the Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Chola
S. I. I. III 128 - Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore)

**This book is dedicated to
LORD NAGESWARA and His consort of the NAGESWARA TEMPLE
KUMBAKONAM**

INTRODUCTION

In the wake of my previous books, "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" and "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology", I am now releasing this book "Early Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".

Reconstruction of the dates of the Early Chola Kings is not easy. Most of their inscriptions which contain the astronomical data, introduce the kings as Parakesarivarman or Rajakesarivarman only. This creates serious difficulties in identifying the kings. Kielhorn fixed the accession date of Parakesarivarman Parantaka I as A. D. 907 and Rajakesarivarman Raja Raja I as A. D. 985. Krishna Sastri surmised that Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola came to the throne in 969/70. But this initial date does not agree with most of Uttama's records. K. V. Subramania Iyer surmised that Aditya I came to the throne in 871. The accession dates of Gandaratitya, Sundara Chola, Arinjaya and Aditya II were guessed by scholars from some historical events. When I went through the records of the Early Cholas, I found them very confusing. However, I felt that unless the date of Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola is established, it would be difficult to fix the dates of the other kings.

One fine morning in September 1978, I was on my routine visit to the Nageswara Temple, Kumbakonam, for regular worship. By chance I happened to come upon a new inscription which threw light on the date of accession of Uttama Chola.* The record makes a reference to a solar eclipse with necessary astronomical data, enabling me to find the accession date of Uttama Chola unambiguously. This spurred me on to examine the inscriptions in other Chola temples. I visited the temples at Thiruverumbur, Udayarkudi, Pullamangai, Nirpalani, Koil Thevarayanpettai, Konerirajapuram, Thiruppirambiam, Tiruvarur, Thanjavur and some others. This helped me to check up the archaeological reports against the actual inscriptions and to eliminate possible oversight and casual error in the records. It further helped me to arrive at the correct accession dates of the other Chola Kings. (For example the reader is requested to please read the pages 63 and 64. It was a thrilling experience. Personal visit to the Udayarkudi temple helped me in finding the accession date of Aditya II who took the head of Vira Pandya.)

* Please refer to page 12 and "Note" in page 23.

My grateful thanks are due to Sri K. G. Krishnan the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore and his staff for helping me to see the impressions and other records wherever necessary. I am also thankful to them for supplying me the required photographs.

My thanks are also due to my wife Lalitha but for whose co-operation this work would not have been completed.

Before concluding, I should like to express that it has given me a great deal of pleasure and almost the thrill of adventure in carrying out this essentially epigraphical research, which I hope will be helpful to those who are interested in the further pursuit and investigation in Epigraphy.

Since I got the first clue for the dates of the Early Chola Kings from an inscription in the Nageswara Temple at Kumbakonam, I worshipfully dedicate this book to Lord Sri Nageswara and His consort by whose grace I was able to carry out this piece of research.

15th January 1980
Kumbakonam.

N. SETHURAMAN.

Abbreviations

- 1) Indian Ephemeris by Swamikkannu Pillai is followed for astronomical calculations.
- 2) Su di = Su = Sukla Paksha (Bright Fortnight).
- 3) Ba di = Ba = Bahula Paksha (Dark Fortnight).
- 4) S. I. I. = South Indian Inscriptions Volumes.
- 5) A.R.E. = Archaeological Report on Epigraphy.
- 6) T.A.S. = Travancore Archaeological Series.
- 7) E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
- 8) I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
- 9) Pd = Pudukkottah state Inscriptions.

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ADDITION

This refers to pages 75 and 76. The full text of the Sivakasi grant is discussed in "Ten Pandyan Copper Plates" published by "The Tamil Varalatu Kazhagam". Lines 76 and 77 introduce¹ an Officer by name Rajasimha of Madura alias Tamil Peraraiyan. (ஶ்ரீதிகழ் மதிள் கூடல் ராஜசிங்கன் என்னும் தமிழ்ப் பேரகையன்). Probably the officer borrowed the surname Rajasimha from Vira Pandya's predecessor Rajasimha.

The editors of Tamil Varalatu Kazhagam surmise that Vira Pandya of the Sivakasi grant was the same king who was killed by Rajadhi Raja Chola I (1018-1054) eldest son of Rajendra Chola I (1012-1043). The surmise is not convincing.

In the year 1021 Rajendra built a palace at Madura and established his second son as Chola Pandya. From 1021 to 1068 the Chola princes ruled from Madura as Chola Pandyas². Rajadhi Raja killed Vira Pandya in 1044. Vira Pandya's Sivakasi grant is in year 3 and he claims to have been crowned at Madura. Therefore Vira Pandya who was killed by Rajadhi Raja could not have been crowned in Madura and he cannot be equated to Vira Pandya of the Sivakasi grant. Vira Pandya of the Sivakasi grant and Vira Pandya who was killed by Rajadhi Raja were different identities.

Vira Pandya of the Sivakasi grant was probably the same king who came to the throne in 939 and he was crowned in Madura. (vide pages 75 and 76 of this book). Later he adopted the title "who took the head of the Chola"

Please compare Ambasamudram records 298/1916 (S. I. I. XIV 36) of Maran Sadaiyan and 101/1905 (S. I. I. XIV 95) of Vira Pandya. The Tiruppottudaiya Mahadeva temple was in brick structure in the 35th year of Maran Sadaiyan (Varaguna I or II). Later in the 12th year of Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola, the architect Achariya Manabaranan Sendan built the temple of stone. The architect borrows the surname Manabarana. Probably Manabarana was the predecessor of Vira Pandya and the architect lived in the former's reign also. If this is so then Manabarana the predecessor of Vira Pandya might be the father of the latter and the surmise agrees with the Sivakasi grant.

Pallimadam records S. I. I. XIV Page 51 foot note 2 and the same page record S. I. I. XIV 80 indicate the presence of the same officer Kanayarpalli Tennavan Uttaramantiri of the Sivakasi grant in the record of Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola.

Vira Pandya who was killed by Rajadhi Raja was ruling Tirunelveli area and he was probably the son of Jatavarman Udaiyar Srivallaba contemporary of Rajendra I (1012-1043). This can be inferred from Rajendra's Tiruvisalur record

No. 46/1907 year 3, Srivallaba's records S. I. I. XIV 214 and 239. Srivallaba's record S. I. I. XIV 239 mentions three officers by names Vira Pandya Muvendavelan, Sundara Pandya Muvendavelan and Manabarana Uttara Mantiri. Probably the Officers borrowed the surnames from their overlords Vira Pandya, Sundara Pandya and Manabarana the sons of Srivallaba. Vira Pandya and Manabarana were killed by Rajadhi Raja and Sundara Pandya was driven to Mullaiyur vide Rajadhi Raja's records S. I. I. XVII 312 year 26, Pennadam 244/1928/29 year 26, S. I. I. VIII 675 year 27 and S. I. I. XVII 231 year 27. (Record No. S. I. I. XIV 160 belongs to Jajavarman Sundara Chola Pandya³ year 16 corresponding to 1037. In this record an officer by name Vira Pandyan solai figures).

1. Page 193 "Ten Pandyan Copper Plates".
2. Pages 46 to 49, "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology"
- 3) Younger brother of Rajadhi Raja.

CORRECTIONS

Page	Location	Error	Correction
19	Line 7	Accordially	Accordingly
19	Last para	S. I. I. I. III 137	S. I. I. III 137
58	Last para	quen	queen
64	Line 3	take	taken
67	Line 1	969	960
78	Line 3	Tiru Mahadeva Mangalam	Ten Mahadeva Mangalam
87	Line 23	belong	belongs
103	Column 5	954	954
	Line 5		
124	Line 7	plates states	plates state

Early Cholas

Chola kings who ruled from A. D. 850 to 985 are called the early Cholas. They were namely Vijayalaya, Aditya I, Parantaka I, Gandaraditya, Arinjaya, Sundara Chola, Aditya II and Uttama Chola. The history of these kings is known. The records of these kings are also available.

The dates of Aditya I, Parantaka I and Uttama Chola are known. The dates of other kings were *guessed*. The astronomical data found in the records of these kings were not properly worked out. For example the records of Aditya II who took the head of Vira Pandya contain astronomical data. But these records escaped the attention of the researchers.

Most of the early Chola records introduce the kings as Rajakesarivarman or Parakesarivarman only. This creates difficulty in identifying the kings.

In the year 1977, I published my book "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". In 1978, I published my book "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology". In these books I applied the Indian calendar system and identified the kings. The essence of this system is this. Suppose a king ascends the throne on a day of Revathi, in the Sukla Paksha, of the month Makara. Then his second regnal year commences in the next year from the day of Revathi in the Sukla Paksha, of the month Makara. I have explained this theory in page 3 of my book "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" and also in the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, Volume V 1978. The same method is applied in this book and it helps us to find the correct dates of the kings. The revised dates throw new light. The episode of Vira Pandya "who took the head of the Chola" and the Dig Vijaya of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III are interpreted from a new angle. The exact accession date of Raja Raja the Great is also found.

Parakesarivarman Vijayalaya Chola

"In the illustrious family of the Cholas was born Vijayalaya of praise-worthy prowess, whose footstool was battered by the diadems in the rush for precedence of kings desirous of prostrating.

He, the light of the Solar race, took possession of the town Tanchapuri (i. e. Tanjore) which was picturesque to the sight, was as beautiful as Alaka (the chief town of Kubera) had reached the sky (by its high turrets) and the white-wash of (whose) mansions (appeared like) the scented cosmetic (applied to the body), just as he would seize (by the hand) his own wife who has beautiful eyes, graceful curls, a cloth covering (her body), and sandal paste as (white as) lime, in order to sport with her.

Having next consecrated (there) (the image of) Nisumbhasudani whose lotus-feet are worshipped by gods and demons, (he) by the grace of that (goddess) bore just (as easily) as a garland (the weight of) the (whole) earth resplendent with (her) garment of the four oceans".

Thus the Tiruvalankadu copper plates¹ of Rajendra I introduce Parakesarivarman Vijayalaya the founder of the Chola kingdom. A record from Vira Cholahapuram² of Tirukkoyilur Taluk is in the 3rd year of Vijayalaya. It introduces the king as "Parakesarivarman who took Thanjai"³

The accession date of Vijayalaya is not known. His son Aditya came to the throne in 871 A. D. which we shall see in the next chapter. Uttama Chola son of Gandaratitya refers to a grant made in the 22nd year of Vijayalaya⁴. On this basis it is surmised that Vijayalaya came to the throne in 850 or sometime after 850. This surmise holds good and it will remain so till something turns up in the future discoveries.

Foot Notes :—

1. S. I. I. III page 418 Verses 44 to 46.
2. 51/1935-36. This is a hero stone. Now this is preserved in Madras Museum.
3. A. R. E. 1935-36 page 72.
4. Madras Museum plates of Uttama S. I. I. III page 267.

Rajakesarivarman Aditya Chola I

Takkolam record¹ No. 5/1897 belongs to Rajakesari year 24. The record belongs to Aditya I and this is an accepted fact and it needs no further explanation. The record quotes solar eclipse in the month Aani. We have two dates as follows:

1. 7th June 894 :- This date makes June 870 the Oth year and June 871 the first year.
2. 28th May 895 :- This date makes June 871 the Oth year and June 872 the first year.

Therefore Rajakesari Aditya I came to the throne either in 871 or in 872.

Thiruppalanam record² No. 123/1895 :- This record belongs to Rajakesari year 17. The record states that the queen Solapperumanadigal Deviyar Tennavan Mahadeviyar gifted gold to the temple to burn a perpetual lamp.

Thiruppalanam record³ No. 123A/1895 :- This record is found on the same wall. The record belongs to Parakesari and it is in year 10. It registers the gift made by Tennavan Mahadeviyar wife of Ko-Rajakesari⁴. The reference to the presence of the same queen confirms that the former record 123/1895 belongs to Rajakesari Aditya. The latter record 123A/1895 belongs to Parantaka⁵.

Record No. 123/1895 belonging to Rajakesari Aditya quotes year 17, month Kumbha, Revathi and Sunday. The data agree with 18th February 888. As per this record Revathi in Kumbha of 888 falls in the 17th year. Accordingly Revathi in Kumbha of 871 falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 29th January.

Tirumalavadi record⁶ No. 14/1920 :- The record belongs to Rajakesari. It mentions Illango Pichchiar, daughter of Valla Varaiyar⁷, the senior queen of Solapperuman Adaigal. The record belongs to Aditya I. The data are year 27, Tula, Saturday and Bharani. The data agree with

15th October 897. Accordingly Bharani in Tula of 871 falls in the first year. The star was current on 3rd October.

29—1—871 = 0th year

3—10—871 = 1st year.

King Rajakesari Aditya I ascended the throne between the 30th January and the 3rd October 871 A. D.

Let us see the Takkolam record. As per this record either 7th June 894 or 28th May 895 falls in the 24th year. On these dates New Moon was current and there was solar eclipse. Accordingly New Moon in Aani of 871 belongs to either the 0th year or the first year. New Moon in Aani of 871 falls on 21st June. Therefore 21st June 871 belongs to either the 0th year or the first year. To sum up we can surmise as follows :—

1. Aditya came to the throne between the 30th January and the 3rd October 871.
2. He could have ascended the throne prior to 21st June or on some date after 21st June.
3. For all practical purposes we can surmise that Aditya ascended the throne in the second quarter of 871.

Aditya's son Parantaka came to the throne early 907. Probably Aditya's rule came to an end in 908. Because in his third year corresponding to 909, Parantaka claims to have taken Madura⁹. This claim is not attributed to Aditya. Therefore we can safely surmise that Aditya was no more in 909 or probably his rule came to an end in 908.

Aditya I died at Tondaman Perarrur (தொண்டைமான் பேரற்றூர்) The dutiful son Parantaka built a Shiva temple on the mortal remains of Aditya. The temple was called Pallippadai Vagisvara Pandita Bhattarar Sri Kodandaramesvaramagiya Aditya Grihattu Alwar” (பள்ளிப்படைவாகீஸ்வர பண்டித படாரர் ஸ்ரீ கோதண்டராமேஸ்வரமாகிய ஆதித்ய கிரகத்து ஆள்வார்)⁹. Kodandarama was another surname of Aditya. The temple exists even to-day at Tondamanad about ten kilometers from Khalahasti in Chittoor district. Tirumalpuram record No. 286/1906 belongs to Uttama Chola year 14. He calls Aditya as “Tondaiman Arrur Thunjina Devar”. (தொண்டைமான் ஆற்றூர் துஞ்சின தேவர்)¹⁰. (Lord who died at Tondaiman Arrur.)

GIST

Rajakesarivarman Aditya I came to the throne between the 30th January and the 3rd October 871 A. D. (He could have ascended the throne prior to or later than 21st June). His rule came to an end in 908.

Foot Notes:—

1. S. I. I. V. 1368; K. V. Subramania Iyer E. I. XIX No. 12.
2. S. I. I. V. 684; சோழப் பெருமான்கள் தேவியார் தென்னவன் மஹாதேவியார்.
3. S. I. I. V. 685;
4. கோஇராஜகேசரி பன்மர் தேவியார் தென்னவன் மஹாதேவியார்.
5. See early Chola Art page 154 by Padma Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam; 166/1928 and 123A/1895 are similar, 123/1895 was available on the temple wall. But when the impressions were taken for the second time in 1928, record No. 123/1895 escaped the attention of the copyist. See pages 20 to 21 of A. R. E. 1927-28 and compare them with S. I. I. V. 684.
6. S. I. I. XIII 323.
7. E. I. XXVI page 233; Also see page 114 of "The Colas" edition 1975. The senior queen Illango Pichchiar was the daughter of Rashtrakuta king Krishna II who is referred to in the record as Valla Varaiyar. A. R. E. 1920 page 102 para 19 assigns the Tirumalavadi record No. 14/1920 to Raja Raja I; This surmise is wrong. The Central shrine of the Tirumalavadi temple contains early Chola records Nos. 1 to 18 of 1920. These records are later copies of early Cholas. No. 14 is one among them. This is evident from the same temple records Nos. 92/1895 and 91/1895 found on the south wall of the central shrine. The former record is published in S. I. I. V 652. The record belongs to Raja Raja year 28 corresponding to 1013. The record states that Raja Raja ordered for rebuilding the existing temple of stone. The king further ordered that at the time of reconstruction the old inscriptions were to be copied in a book and should be re-engraved on the walls of the new stone temple. Raja Raja died in 1014. His son Rajendra fulfilled the wishes of his father and completed the reconstruction of the central shrine. When the reconstruction was completed, Rajendra re-engraved the early Chola inscriptions. He did this in 1025. This is evident from record No 91/1895 of Rajendra year 14 day 70. This record is published in S. I. I. V 651. Therefore records 1 to 18 of 1920 of this temple belong to early Cholas, but re-engraved by Rajendra in 1025. In the circumstances 14/1920 is to be assigned to Aditya I only.
8. Tiruppalanam 157/1928; Tirukkodikaval 11/1931; Vrinchipuram 57/1887; All are in year 3.
9. Parantaka's Tondamanad record No. 230/1903 year 34. Please refer to S. I. I. VIII 529. Also see pages 93 and 233 Early Chola Temples by Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam.
10. Tirumalpuram S. I. I. III 142 lines 21 and 22. Also see para 30 page 71 of A. R. E. 1907,

Parakesarivarman Parantaka Chola I

Parantaka's records are numerous. The records introduce the king as Parakesarivarman or Parakesarivarman who took Madura or Parakesarivarman who took Madura and Illam¹.

Kielhorn fixed the accession date² of Parantaka between the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907. His calculations are reproduced below.

Tirukkoyilur Taluk Gramam record No. 735/1905:- The record introduces the king as Ko-Parakesarivarman who took Madura. The record belongs to Parantaka. The data of the record are year 36, Kaliyuga year 4044, day 1477037 of the Kaliyuga, month Makara, Saturday and star Revathi.

Since the day of Kaliyuga is given, Kielhorn rightly surmised³ that the quoted Kaliyuga year 4044 was the current year. He equated the data to 14th January 943.

Kuram record No. 34/1900 belongs to Parantaka. The record introduces the king as Parakesarivarman who took Madura and Ceylon. The data of the record are year 40, Karkataka, *Saturday night* ba 9 and Rohini⁴. The data agree for the night of 25th July 946. To sum up

36th year = 14—1—943

40th year = 25—7—946

Therefore Kielhorn surmised that Parantaka ascended the throne between the 15th January and the 25th July 907. For necessary deductions Kielhorn applied the Christian calendar system. We shall apply the Indian calendar system and consult some more records.

Analmalai record⁵ No. 63/1905 belongs to Parantaka. The record introduces the king as Parakesarivarman who took Madura. The data are year 33, month Karkataka, Solar Eclipse, Friday and star Asylesha. The data perfectly agree with 19th July 939.

Udaiyarkudi record No. 597/1920 belongs to Parakesarivarman who took Madura. The data are year 37, Mesha, Friday and Visaka. The data agree with 21st April 943.

As per the Gramam record Revathi in Makara of 943 falls in the 36th year. Therefore Revathi in Makara at the end of 906 or early 907 belongs to Oth year, The star was current on 26th December 906.

As per the Kuram record Rohini in Karkataka of 946 falls in the 40th year. Therefore Rohini in Karkataka of 907 falls in the first year. The star was current on 8th July.

As per the Anaimalai record Asylesha in Karkataka of 939 falls in the 33rd year. Therefore Asylesha in Karkataka of 907 falls in the first year. The star was current on 12th July.

As per the Udaiyarkudi record Visaka in Mesha of 943 falls in the 37th year. Therefore Visaka in Mesha of 907 belongs to the first year. The star was current on 3rd April.

$$26-12-906 = \text{Oth year}$$

$$8-7-907 = \text{1st year}$$

$$12-7-907 = \text{1st year}$$

$$3-4-907 = \text{1st year}$$

Parakesarivarman Parantaka I ascended the throne between the 27th December 906 and the 3rd April A. D. 907. Parantaka's records upto year 48 are found. Andhra Pradesh, Chittur District, Punganur record No. 200/1931-32 belongs to Parakesarivarman who took Madura. The record is in Kannada language and the regnal year is engraved as forty-eight in words*. Thus we can safely surmise that Parantaka's rule extended upto 954.

GIST

Parakesarivarman Parantaka Chola I, who took Madura and Ceylon ascended the throne between the 27th December 906 and the 3rd April 907. His rule extended upto 954.

Rajaditya

Rajaditya was the first son of Parantaka I. Rajaditya had the surname Kodandarama. His records are not identified. Rajaditya is known

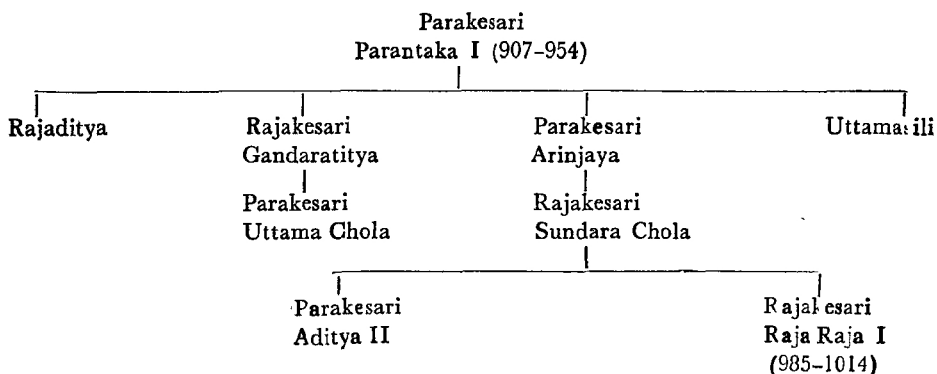
from the records of Parantaka, Rashtrakuta king Krishna III and the later Chola kings. History of Rajaditya is known. Since his records are not identified, we are unable to fix his accession date. Therefore there is no separate chapter for this king ⁸.

Foot Notes :—

1. Ceylon.
2. E. I. Vol. IX page 217.
3. E. I. Vol. VIII page 261.
4. E. I. VII page 1 : மதுரை கொண்டு ஈழம் புகுந்த கோப்பரகேசரிபன்மற்குயாண்டு நாற்பதாவது இவ்வாட்டை (கற்) கடக நாயற்று அபர பஷத்துச் சனிக்கிழமையும் நவமியும் பெற்ற உரோகினி நாள் இராட்டை³². S. I. I. VII 35.
5. S. I. I. III page 239.
6. A. R. E. 1931-32 page 49 para 11.
7. For further details about this king please refer to page 129 "The Colas" by K. A. N. Also please refer to page 235 Early Chola Temples by Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam.
8. The aim of the book is to bring out new findings only. Therefore the known historical events are not discussed in this book.

Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola

In the later part of the 9th century King Parakesari Vijayalaya established the Chola Empire. He was succeeded by his son Rajakesari Aditya who came to the throne in 871. His son Parakesari Parantaka I ruled¹ from 907 to 954. The genealogy of the Chola kings from Parantaka I to Raja Raja I is as follows².



Rajaditya and Uttamasili died³ in the life time of their father Parantaka I. After the death of Parantaka his son Rajakesari Gandaratitya ruled the kingdom. His brother Parakesari Arinjaya succeeded him. After the death of Arinjaya his son Rajakesari Sundara Chola became the king. He crowned his son Aditya II who was assassinated⁴ in the life time of Sundara Chola himself. Sundara Chola crowned Gandaratitya's son Parakesari Uttama Chola and died after a few years.

Parakesari Uttama Chola alias Madhurantaka⁵ was the son of Gandaratitya and the queen Sembiyan Madeviyar. Uttama's records are available upto his 16th year. He was succeeded by Sundara Chola's son Rajakesari Raja Raja I who came to the throne⁶ in July 985. The accession date of Uttama Chola is still under dispute. S. I. I. Vol. III part III page 284 surmises that Uttama came to the throne in the year 969-70. But the same volume page 262 surmises that Uttama came to the throne in 971. Scholars were not definite about the exact accession date of Uttama. They surmised that Uttama would have come to the throne either in 969 or in 970 or in 971.

When did Uttama come to the throne? This vital question is still unanswered. South Indian Inscriptions Volume XIX was published in the year 1970. The volume contains the inscriptions of Parakesarivarmans. Some of the records furnish astronomical data. The report suggested the equivalent dates and assigned them to Uttama Chola. They are tabulated below.

Records of Parakesarivarman assigned to Uttama Chola by S. I. I. Vol. XIX

TABLE-1.

Record No.	Regnal year	Suggested date	Corresponding first year
16	2	17th October 969	October 968
27	2	12th April 969	April 968
58	3	18th January 972	January 970
63	3	13th March 973	March 971
95	4	22nd April 975	April 972
131	5	16th June 975	June 971
204	8	30th January 979	January 972
222	9	7th June 979	June 971
312	12	16th February 980	February 969
323	13	9th June 982	June 970
342	14	6th October 984	October 971
370	15	10th August 985	August 971

The above table is self explanatory. The first year of Uttama covers the period April 968 to April 972. The first year of the king contains 48 months. This is impossible. As per 16 and 27 the 2nd year falls in 969 whereas according to 58 and 63 the 3rd year falls in January 972 and March 973. As per 222 the 9th year falls in June 979 whereas according to 312 the 12th year falls in February 980. Within eight months the 9th year has changed to the 12th year.

Something is wrong somewhere. All the above records mention the name of the king as Parakesarivarman only. Between 954 and 985 there were three Parakesarivarmans namely Arinjaya, Aditya II and Uttama Chola. The records of these three kings were mixed up and hence the anomalies in the above table. The astronomical data were worked out in such a way so as to get the dates in or around the reign of Uttama but the regnal years do not sail with the main current. It is evident that only some

of the records belong to Uttama and the rest belong to Arinjaya and Aditya II. We shall investigate these records later. We have to find the correct accession date of Uttama Chola. This requires a patient study and careful scrutiny of the earlier surmises in the context of other records.

Tiruvidaimarudur record No, 265/1907:- This record belongs to UttamaChola. The full text is published in S. I. I. III.138 page 284. The record was read and translated as follows:

“.....ஸ்வஸ்தியூ கலியுக வருஷம் நாலாயிரத்தென்பத் (துமுன்று
உத்தம சோழ) ராகிய கோப்பர கேசரிபந்ம்ற்றற்கு
யாண்டு ய (௩) ஆவது.....”

“Hail! Prosperity! In the 13th year of (the reign) of Uttama Chola alias king Parakesarivarma corresponding to the Kaliyuga year four thousand and eighty three.,.....”

The equation needs a careful construction. The Kaliyuga year 4083 is quoted in words and there is no problem. The report considered that Kaliyuga year 4083 was the current year corresponding to 981-82. The Tamil numerals for the regnal year appear as ௩ (௩) i. e., 1 (3). But the English translation mentions the doubtful regnal year as 13 (i. e., 13 definite). The report deducted 12 from Kaliyuga 4083 current year and surmised that Uttama's first year fell in Kaliyuga 4071 current year and therefore he came to the throne in 969-70. Till date this surmise and calculation are followed.

Actually the Kaliyuga year 4083 quoted in the Tiruvidaimarudur record is not the current year. It is the expired Kaliyuga year corresponding to 982-83. This is evident from Uyyakkondan Tirumalai record No. 456/1908. This record belongs to Uttama. The text is published in S. I. I. III. 135 page 282. It runs as follows :

“Hail prosperity! Saka year 901, Kaliyuga 4080, the Glorious Uttama Choladeva alias King Parakesarietc.”

Here Uttama Chola equates Saka 901 to Kaliyuga 4080. Let us see his equation.

Saka 901 = Kaliyuga 4080

Saka 901 = A. D. 979-80

Therefore Kaliyuga 4080 = A. D. 979-80

It means that the quoted Kaliyuga is the expired year only and it is not the current year.' Similarly in the Tiruvudaimarudur record Kaliyuga 4083 must be equal to Saka 904 corresponding to A. D. 982-83. Thus in the Tiruvudaimarudur record the quoted Kaliyuga 4083 is the expired year only. The regnal year mentioned in this record is doubtfully restored as ட (௩) i. e., 1 (3). In the 10th century paleaography, it is very difficult to distinguish the Tamil numerals 2 and 3. Sometimes they will look alike. If the record is damaged then the position will be worse. The regnal year doubtfully read as 1 (3) could also be read as 1 (2). In the result, in the Tiruvudaimarudur record,

- 1) the quoted Kaliyuga 4083 is the expired year only and it corresponds to 982-83.
- 2) the regnal year may be 13 or 12. If the regnal year is 13, then the king came to the throne in 970-71. If the regnal year is 12, then the king came to the throne in 971-72.
- 3) In other words the king Uttama's first year falls,
 - a) either in 970-71 (Kaliyuga 4071 expired)
 - b) or in 971-972 (Kaliyuga 4072 expired)

We have to find the exact first year and also the shortest interval of the accession date. This problem of fixing the exact accession date is not yet solved. But the recent discovery of an inscription by the author solves this problem. The inscription is found on the north wall of the central shrine of the Kumbakonam Nageswara Temple. In the year 1908 three inscriptions of this temple were copied.⁸ Again in the year 1911 thirty eight inscriptions were copied.⁹ According to the report the north wall of the central shrine contains twelve records only.¹⁰ But one inscription was covered by lime coating and it escaped the attention of the then copyist. In the year 1978 when the students of the Kumbakonam Government College for Men cleaned the central shrine, the hidden inscription was brought to light. I read the inscription. This inscription is a new discovery of 1978. It is engraved on the left side of Brahma i. e., on the western portion of Brahma's niche. The photograph of this inscription is published opposite to page 16. It reads as follows :-

1) ஸ்வஸ்திபுரீ கோப்பரகே

2) சரிபந்மர்க்கி யாண்டுப்பத்தாவ

- 3) து இவ்வாண்டு வடகரைப்பாம்பூர் நாட்டுத் தேவத
- 4) ாநம் திருக் குடமுக்கில் திருக்கீழ் கோட்டத்து பரம
- 5) ஸ்வாமிக்கு இவ்வாட்டை மேஷ நாயற்று விசாமுக்கி
- 6) முமெய் பெற்ற பரணி நானு ஸலரிய க்ரஹணத்தின்
- 7) போதி நால் (ன்) அம்பலவன் பழுவூர் நக்கநான விக்கி
- 8) ரம சோழ மாராயன் திரு நொந்தா விளக்கு +
- 9) ஒன்றிநு க்குவைச்ச ஆடு (சு)ய் m தொண்
- 10) னூற்று ஆறு.....

“Hail: Prosperity! The Tenth year (of the reign) of Glorious Koparakesarivarman. In this year—for the God of Tirukkilkottam in Kudamukku the Devadana of Pambur Nadu on the Northern Bank—on a day of Bharani which corresponded to a Thursday in the Month Mesha on which day Solar Eclipse occurred—Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan gifted Ninety six sheep for the perpetual lamp.....”

The record is in the Tenth year (in words) of Parakesarivarman. It quotes a Solar Eclipse which occurred on a Thursday in the month Mesha when star Bharani was current. On this date the donor Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan gifted ninety six sheep to the temple for burning a perpeceual lamp¹¹. On the grounds of paleaography the record belongs to the 10th century. The data perfectly agree with Thursday the 7th April 981. Bharani commenced at °21. New Moon ended at °33. The Solar Eclipse occurred between 11–15 A. M. and 2 P. M. A Solar Eclipse of this type (Mesha, Thursday and Bharani) rarely occurs.

In the history of the Cholas, from 850 to 1279 the date 7th April 981 alone suits the Solar Eclipse with the combination of Mesha, Bharani and Thursday. The record belongs to Uttama Chola. It is in his 10th year. This makes April 971 the Oth year. In other words Uttama came to the throne between April 971 and April 972 corresponding to Kaliyuga 4072 expired. The internal evidence of this record also confirms that it belongs to Uttama Chola only. In this record the donor's name is mentioned as Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan. The Chief's name is Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan but his surname is Vikrama Sola Marayan. In the reign of Uttama the Chief was honoured with the title Vikrma Sola Maharajan or Marayan. Later in the reign of Raja Raja, the same Chief was called Raja Raja Pallavarayan.¹² The records in which

Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan figures are tabulated below. His surname mentioned in the respective record is also given.

The Chief Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan Figures

TABLE-2

Record No.	Village	King	Regnal year	Christian year	Surname
352/1925	Palankoil	Uttama	6	977	Vikrama Sola Marayan
New record	Kumbakonam	"	10	981	"
170/1929	Govindaputhur	"	10	981	"
169/1929	"	"	12	983	"
165, 166 &					
167/1929	"	"	13	984	"
164/1929	"	"	14	985	Vikrama Sola Maharajan
172/1929	"	"	14	985	"
168/1929	"	Raja Raja I	3	3rd Oct. 987	"
175/1929	"	"	5	990	Raja Raja Pallavarayan
160/1929	"	"	7	26th Sep. 991	"
163/1929	"	"	7	992	"

The records of Uttama Chola mention the name of the king as Parakesarivarman only. But the internal evidence proves that they belong to Uttama Chola. Similarly in the records of Raja Raja the king's name is mentioned as Rajakesari or Rajarajakesari only. But the internal evidence proves that they belong to Raja Raja I.

The Chief Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan figures in Uttama's records¹³ dated 977 to 985. Palankoil record 352/1925 is published in S. I. I. XIX 169. The record belongs to Uttama Chola year 6. The first line states that three officers met the king Uttama Chola when the latter was present in his palace at Kanchipuram. The king received representations from the chiefs and issued orders assigning certain lands to the temple of Tiruppalankolur and issued further orders for arranging necessary irrigational facilities for these lands.

The three Chiefs who met the king Uttama Chola were Ulaban Gandaratitan Minavan Muvendavelan, Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan and Vikrama Sola Brahmadrirajan. Line 2 states that Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan got intuition by knowledge and so he represented to the king. This proves that the chief Vikrama Sola Marayan was a learned scholar. Since the names of two chiefs are prefixed by the name Vikrama Sola, it is evident that Uttama Chola had the surname Vikrama Chola.

In the newly discovered Kumbakonam record of Uttama, dated 7th April 981, it is said that Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan gifted ninety six sheep to the temple.

Govindaputhur Records of 1929

Record No. 170 (S. I. I. XIX 272) belongs to Uttama year 10 corresponding to 981. The record states that Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan built the stone temple of Vijayamangalam (i. e. modern Govindaputhur). Record No. 169 (S. I. I. XIX 314) of Uttama dated 983 states that Vikrama Sola Marayan who built the stone temple gifted sheep to the temple. Record No. 165 (S. I. I. XIX 332) of Uttama dated 984 is incomplete. However the available portion states that Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan who built of stone the Sri Vimana of the temple hails from Kuvalalam (modern Kolar in Mysore state). It is said that the chief is attached to Uttama Chola's Perundaram (Secretariat). Records 166 and 167 (S. I. I. XIX 333 and 334) of Uttama dated 984 refer to the gifts made by the two wives of Vikrama Sola Marayan.

Thus we come to know that the Chief Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan hailed from Kolar. He settled at Vijayamangalam the modern Govindaputhur. In the year 981 he built the stone temple. Again in the year 984 he built of stone the Sri Vimana (tower on the central shrine).

Record No. 164 is published in S. I. I. XIX. 357. The report states, "This is a bilingual record in Sanskrit and Tamil, stating that Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan of Kuvalalam (Kolar) who was a nobleman of the king's council and who had obtained the title Vikrama sola Maharajan after the surname of his over-lord, built the temple of Vijayamangalattu-Mahadeva with stone at Periya Srivanavanmahadevi-Chathurvedhimangalam.....etc.,

In the Sanskrit portion with which the inscription begins, the donor is said to have been a member of the fourth caste and a personification of all the good qualities, with whose valour the king was greatly pleased and conferred on him the title "Vikrama Chola Maharaja". The inscription from line 42 to 83 which is in continuation of the above is in smaller and also ornate style of writing and is faulty throughout. It purports to register an order issued in the 7th year of Rajarajadeva by the same donor (herein called Rajaraja-Pallavarayan who built the stone temple of Vijayamangalam) while he was camping at Sri Vijayamangalm.....etc."

Record No. 168 belongs to Raja Raja dated 3rd October 987. In this record the Chief figures as Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Maharajan only. In the later records Nos. 175, 160 and 163 of Raja Raja dated 990, 991 and 992 respectively the chief is surnamed as Raja Raja Pallavarayan.

To sum up

Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan came from Kolar and settled at Vijayamangalam. From 977 to 985 he had the surname Vikrama sola Marayan (or Maharajan). When Raja Raja came to the throne in 985 the chief is called as Vikrama Sola Marayan only. In the reign of Raja Raja, i. e. as on 3rd October 987 the Chief is still called Vikrama Sola Maharajan. In the years 990, 991 and 992 i. e. in the reign of Raja Raja the Chief is called Raja Raja Pallavarayan. The surname Raja Raja is borrowed from his over-lord Raja Raja.

From the above facts we conclude that the newly discovered Kumbakonam record belongs to Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola since,

- a) it is dated 7th April 981, the 10th year of his reign,
- b) the Chief Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikrama Sola Marayan also figures in this record.

As per the Kumbakonam record Uttama came to the throne between April 971 and April 972 corresponding to the Kaliyuga year 4072 expired. This information clears the doubts of the Tiruvidadaimarudur record in which the quoted Kaliyuga year 4083 was also found as the expired year corresponding to 982-983. Its regnal year, doubtfully read as ①(1) i. e. 1 (3) is to be read as ①(2) i. e. 1 (2) only. In other words,



Kumbakonam record of Parakesarivarman
year 10, Mesha, Thursday, Bharani and
solar eclipse - New Discovery by the author.

(Please refer to pages 12 and 23)



Kumbakonam Record No. 240/1911
Regnal year is 6 only

(Please refer to pages 19, 55 and 55)

4083 Kaliyuga expired = 982-983 = 12th year of Uttama

4072 Kaliyuga expired = 971-972 = The first year of Uttama

Therefore Uttama came to the throne in 971-972 only and this date is established by the Kumbakonam record.

S. I. I. XIX Records of Table-1.

Let us see the records of Table-1. Records 16, 27, 58 and 63 indicate that the first year commenced prior to March 971 which is impossible. Either they do not belong to Uttama or they require scrutiny. We shall do it now.

Record No. 16:- This is Udaiyarkudi record No. 558/1920. The data are year 2, Tula, Sunday and Jeyshta. The report suggests 17th October 969. It was the day of Mula and not Jeyshta. The correct date is Sunday the 13th October 972. The record belongs to Uttama. Accordingly Jeyshta in Tula of 971 falls in the first year. The star was current on 27th September.

Record No. 27:- This is Tiruvilakkudi record No. 136/1926. The data are year 2, Mesha, Tiruvonam (Savana) and Sunday. The report suggests 12th April 969. It was Monday and not Sunday. The date is not convincing. However the data perfectly agree with 30th March 973. The record mentions Karikala Chola Terinja Kaikola regiment called after Aditya II. The record belongs to Uttama only. As per this record Savana in Mesha of 971 belongs to the 0th year. The star was current on 20th April. Uttama came to the throne after 20th April 971.

Record No. 58:- This is Udaiyarkudi record No. 556/1920. The data are year 3, Makara, Thursday and Avittam (Sravishta). The report suggests 18th January 972. It was a day of Savana and not Sravishta. In the L. D. S. Ephemeris page 346 there is a printing mistake. For the day 18th January 972, instead of 22.89 it is printed as 23.89. The next day also is printed as 23.89. This misled the editor. The record belongs to some other Parakesarivarman.¹⁴

Record No. 63:- This is Pullamangai record No. 549/1921. The data are year 3, Mina, Tuesday and Avittam (Sravishta). The report suggests 13th March 973. The suggested date, is intrinsically wrong. It was Thursday and not Tuesday. Star Mirgaseera was current and not Sravishta. The data do not produce any date in 974. The record belongs to some other Parakesarivarman.¹⁵

Record No. 95 :- This is Kumbakonam record No. 245/1911. The data are year 4, Mesha, Navami, Thursday and Magha. The data perfectly agree with the reported date 22nd April 975. (There is no other suitable date between 950 and 985). The date is authentic since the Thithi is also given. The record mentions Gandaratitya Terinja Kaikola regiment. The engraver is named Pirantakan Ari The record belongs to Uttama Chola only. As per this record Magha in Mesha of 971 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 7th April.

The data of the newly discovered Kumbakonam record are year 10, Mesha, Bharani, Thursday, and Solar Eclipse. They correspond to 7th April 981. Accordingly Bharani in Mesha of 971 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 30th March. So far we have found that,

As per Kumbakonam new record, 30—3—971 = 0th year.

As per record No. 95 7—4—971 = 0th year.

As per record No. 27 20—4—971 = 0th year.

As per record No. 16 27—9—971 = 1st year.

King Uttama Chola came to the throne between the 21st April and the 27th September 971.

Record No. 131 :- This is Kumbakonam record No. 234A/1911. The text is published in page 66 of S. I. I. XIX. There are slight mistakes in the text. I verified the inscription which is found on the base of the north wall of the central shrine of the Nageswara temple Kumbakonam. The correct text runs as follows.

“ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கோப்பரகே சரிபந்மர்க்கு யாண்டு ௫-ஆவது
இவ்வாண்டாநித் திங்கள் மதி நாட்பக்கம் பஞ்சமிநாள்
மூலத்து கிழல்மை வெள்ளி பொழுது முன்கோள்குறி
இதுவாண்டிது திங்களிது பக்கம் இது பொழுது திதுபருவமாக...”

The record belongs to Parakesari year 5. The astronomical data are given in the form of a poetical phrase. We can come across such phrases in many Chola records¹⁶ of the 10th century. The translation is as follows :-

“Hail Prosperity! The 5th year of Parakesarivarman. In this year, month Aani, by the side of Full Moon day, Panchami day, Mula day, Friday (day time). Thus said, the former data phrase is this - in this year, this is by the side of Full Moon - and this is the Parva (Full Moon)

The data as per the poetical phrase are,

(1) Year 5, (2) Month Aani, (3) Full Moon side, (4) Panchami, (5) Mula, (6) Friday, (7) Again repeated and confirmed that this is Full Moon.

In the month Aani the star Mula will combine with Full Moon which is also called as Panchadasi. Panchami is a mistake for Panchadasi i. e. Full Moon. Accordingly the data fairly agree with 28th May 975. On this day star Mula was current. But Full Moon expired at 79 of the previous day. The date is not convincing. The record belongs to some other Parakesarivarman.¹⁷

Record No. 204 :- This is Kumbakonam record No. 229/1911. The text is published in S. I. I. III. 131. The data are year 8, Kumbha, Thursday and Avittam (Sravishta) The data perfectly agree with the reported date 30th January 979. Accordingly Avittam in Kumbha of 972 falls in the first year. The star was current on 16th February. The record belongs to Uttama only.

Record No. 222 :- This is Tiruppalathurai record No. 177/1902. The data are year 9, Mithuna, Saturday and Chitra. The data agree with the reported date 7th June 979. Accordingly Chitra in Mithuna of 971 falls in the first year. The star was current on 6th June.

Record No. 312 :- This is Tiruvillakkudi record No. 112/1926. The data are year 12, Kumbha, Monday and Tiruvonam (Sravana). The report suggests 16th February 980. This date does not agree with the initial year 971. The data agree with 12th February 983. On this day Sravana commenced at 9.30 A. M. The record states that the members of the big assembly met in the hall of the temple and conducted the business. Probably they did it after 9.30 A. M. (We come across such instances in the Chola and Pandyan records.)¹⁸ Accordingly Sravana in Kumbha of 972 falls in the first year. The star was current on 15th February.

Record No. 323 :- This is Kumbakonam record No. 240/1911. The text is published in S. I. I. I. III. 137. The report read மதினாள் பங்கம் as பதினாள் பங்கம் and surmised that it was the 18th solar day. The report considered the regnal year as (௮௩): It is doubtfully read as (13). The report suggested the date 9th June 982. This makes June 970 the first

year which is impossible. Further the suggested date was the 17th Solar day and not the 18th. This prompted me to verify the inscription.

Actually the regnal year is engraved in the fashion of the English letter "M" with a loop on its right top. This symbol is the 10th century Tamil numeral for 6. The data do not agree for Uttama. The record belongs to some other Parakesarivarman.¹⁹ The photograph of this inscription is published opposite to page 16.

Record No. 342:- This is Tiruvidaimarudhur record No. 194/1907. The data are year 14, Tula, Monday and Sadaiyam. The report suggests 6th October 984. On this day Sravishta ends and Sadaiyam begins at .97 of the day. It means that the quoted star commences 30 minutes before sun rise of Tuesday. The suggested date is not convincing.

Record No. 370:- This is Tirumeyjanam record No. 312/1910. The data are year 15, Simha, Monday and Kirtika. The data perfectly agree with the reported date 10th August 985. The record belongs to Uttama. Accordingly Kirtika in Simha of 971 falls in the first year. The star was current on 15th August.

Thus in the Table 1 except the records Nos. 58, 63, 131, 323 and 342 all other records belong to Uttama Chola only.

As per Kumbakonam New record		30—3—971 = 0th year
As per S. I. I. XIX	95	7—4—971 = 0th year
Do.	27	20—4—971 = 0th year
Do.	222	6—6—971 = 1st year
Do.	370	15—8—971 = 1st year
Do.	16	27—9—971 = 1st year
Do.	312	15—2—972 = 1st year
Do.	204	16—2—972 = 1st year

The main curve of the initial year is in order.

King Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola ascended the throne between the 21st April and the 6th June 971. The following records are assigned to Uttama and they have definite dates,

Record No.	Regnal year	Date
S. I. I. XIX 16	2	13-10-972
-Do- 27	2	30- 3-973
-Do- 95	4	22- 4-975
-Do- 204	8	30- 1-979
-Do- 222	9	7- 6-979
Kumbakonam New Record	10	7- 4-981
S. I. I. XIX 312	12	12- 2-983
-Do- 370	15	10- 8-985

GIST

Uttama Chola ascended the throne between the 21st April and the 6th June 971. His records upto year 16 are available. So his rule extended upto the middle of 987. Raja Raja I came to the throne in July 985. Naturally as a senior king Uttama himself crowned Raja Raja. This is confirmed by the Tiruvalangadu plates which state that Madhuranthaka made Raja Raja heir apparent. (Madhuranthaka is Uttama himself). Uttama and Raja Raja ruled jointly for two years.²⁰

Foot Notes :—

1. E. I. IX, page 217 and A. R. E. 1931-32 page 49 para 11. Also refer to the last chapter.
2. "The Colas" by K. A. N. Sastry page 142. (edition 1975)
3. In the year 949 Rajaditya was Killed in the Takkolam battle. Please refer to pages 50 to 53 of E. I. VI. Regarding Uttamasili's death please refer to page 90 E. I. XXVIII.
4. Udaiyarkudi record No. 577/1920 of Raja Raja I year 2. Also please refer to E. I. XXI pages 165 to 170.
5. See Uttama's records S. I. I. III 144 to 150.
6. Kielhorn :— E. I. IX, page 217; Also see page 3 "The Cholas" by the author.
7. See pages 2, 27, 28, 29 and 53 of "An Indian Ephemeris" volume I, part I by Swamikkannu Pillai. Sometimes Parantaka's Gramam record No. 735/1905 (E. I. VIII page 261) is compared. No doubt in this record Parantaka quotes

Kaliyuga 4044 and it is the current year only because Parantaka himself clarifies it by mentioning the 1477037th day of Kaliyuga. Similarly Uttama clarifies the Kaliyuga 4080 as the expired year by quoting the equivalent Saka year 901. The inference obtained from Uttama's Uyyakkondan Tirumalai record is to be applied to his Tiruvidaimarudur record also.

8. 13 to 15 of 1908.
9. 223 to 260 of 1911.
10. 223 to 224 of 1911.
11. The ghee obtained from sheep milk is used to burn the lamp.
12. In the Tamil portions the Chief is called Vikrama Sola Marayan. In the Grantha (Sanskrit) portion he is called Vikrama Sola Maharajan. Marayan in Tamil is the equivalent of Maharajan in Grantha. Please refer to A. R. E. 1928-29 page 74 para 29.
13. Vikrama Sola Marayan figures in Parakesarivarman's (evidently Uttama Chola's) Tiruvadi record No. S. I. I. XIX. 307 year 12. He figures as Vikrama Sola Marayan in Rajakesari's evidently Raja Raja's Tiruvamattur record No. S. I. I. VIII. 721 (405/1903) regnal year 3. He figures as Raja Raja Pallavarayan in Raja Raja's Kuhur record No. 290/1917 regnal year 7 corresponding to 992.
14. It belongs to Arinjaya, dated 17th January 956.
15. It belongs to Arinjaya, dated 11th March 956.
16. S. I. I. VIII. 612 and 636; S. I. I. XIX 162 lines 8 and 9; S. I. I. III. 137.
17. Panchadasi is Full Moon, the 15th day from New Moon. The engraver was ignorant of the technical term. His ignorance cannot alter the law of the Solar system. The report S. I. I. XIX. 131 changes the week day and star in order to satisfy Panchami and suggests 16th June 975 which was Wednesday and a day of star Magha. The corrections are not acceptable. The law of nature is clear that in the month Aani star Mula will combine with Panchadasi i. e. Full Moon. See page 189 of " The Cholas " by the author. Also refer to Robert Sewell page 135 of E. I. X. Also please refer to page 58 " An Indian Ephemeris Volume I part I. " Full Moon or Panchadasi with its associated star of the month is the most important festival day in all the temples. Aani Mula day is a festival day and it is dedicated to Karaikkal Ammaiyar. The data of record No. S. I. I. XIX 131 agree for Aditya II. We shall discuss this in the chapter Aditya II.
18. Please refer to page 216 of E. I. IV. Kielhorn worked out the data of the record of Rajadhi Raja I. He said that it was certainly the night. Also please refer to A. R. E. 1919, page 95, para 15. Also please refer to page 206 foot note 3, " The Imperial Pandyas " by the Author. Also refer to Kielhorn No. 38 page 24. E. I. VI. Sometimes when the members of the big assembly meet they quote the star which is current at the time of the meeting.

19. The data are in the poetical phrase. They are year 6, month Aani, star Mula, Full Moon and Friday. The data agree with 4th June 953. The record belongs to Arinjaya who came to the throne in 953. Please refer to the chapter Parakesarivarman Arinjaya Chola.
20. Tiruvarur record No. S. I. I. XIII. No. 1 (570/1904) belongs to Rajakesarivarman evidently Raja Raja I year 2 day 30 corresponding to August 986. The record states that Sembiyan Madeviyar made offerings to the temple for the welfare of Uttama Chola (உத்தம சோழ தேவர்க்காக). Tanjore District, Tiruppurambiyam inscription No. 338/1927 belongs to Raja Raja year 3 corresponding to 988. It records the gift of a silver pot by Udaiapirattiyar, mother of Sri Gandan Madhurantaka alias Uttama Chola, on behalf of her son, to the temple. It is evident that Uttama was alive in the 3rd year (988) of Raja Raja I. We will quote this in the chapter "The Judgement".

Note :—

This chapter, "Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola" is the reproduction of my paper submitted in the Fifth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, held at Bangalore in February 1979. The newly discovered Kumbakonam record of Uttama Chola was copied by the Epigraphic department. Dr. C. R. Srinivasan, Superintending Epigraphist of the Chief Epigraphist office, Mysore, visited Kumbakonam in April 1979 and copied the record. The inscription will be published in A. R. E. 1979.

Rajakesarivarman Gandaratitya Chola

Parantaka's reign came to an end in 954. Uttama Chola came to the throne in 971. Within this interval of seventeen years we have to accommodate the reigns of the following four kings.

- 1) Rajakesari Gandaratitya Chola
- 2) Parakesari Arinjaya Chola
- 3) Rajakesari Sundara Chola
- 4) Parakesari Aditya II alias Aditya Karikala Chola

Parantaka's eldest son was Rajaditya. In the year 949, the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III alias Kannara Deva advanced towards the Chola country. A fierce battle between the Cholas and the Rashtrakuta king took place at Takkolam.¹ In the battle field, Parantaka's first son Rajaditya was killed by the Rashtrakuta Ganga Chieftain Bhutuga.

Solapuram record No. 428/1902 is dated Saka 871 corresponding to 949-50. The record states that Krishna III entered the Thondai Mandalam after killing Rajaditya.²

In page 50 of E. I. VI. J. F. Fleet has discussed the Atakur record of Krishna III and Bhutuga. The record is dated Saka 872 Saumya corresponding to 950-51. The record states that when Krishna defeated the Cholas at Takkolam, Bhutuga the Ganga Chieftain killed Rajaditya. Thus it is evident that Rajaditya was killed in the year 949. In the Chola records Rajaditya is described as "Aanaimel Thunjinar" (ஆனமைல் துஞ்சினர்) which means that he died on the back of an elephant.³

Rajaditya died in 949. His father Parantaka was still alive. Parantaka crowned his second son Gandaratitya. Naturally Gandaratitya could have come to the throne in 950 or later.

Gandaratitya's records are available. But all his records introduce the king as Rajakesarivarman only. Similarly Sundara Chola's records and certain records of Raja Raja I introduce the kings as Rajakesarivarman

only. The records of these three Rajakesarivarmans are to be distinguished on the basis of the internal evidence and the astronomical data are to be worked out satisfying the following conditions.

- 1) The dates must justify the contents of the records.
- 2) The dates must sail with the main flow of the regnal years.
- 3) Under no circumstances the regnal year is to be corrected.
- 4) The dates are to be worked out on the basis of the Indian calendar system.

Tiruverumbur Pipilesvara temple records of 1892 and 1914

Many records of this temple belong to the 10th century Rajakesarivarmans namely Gandaratitya, Sundara Chola and Raja Raja I. The records of this temple were copied in the years 1892 and 1914.

Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam has discussed the records of this temple in the pages 114 to 122 of his "Early Chola Art - Part I". I reproduce below the observations of Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam.

"Tiruverumbur is about five miles (8.05 km.) east of Tiruchy. The temple has a romantic setting with a beautiful natural scenery overlooking the hill on which the temple stands. It is surrounded by a rich tract of paddy and plantain.

This temple is of great antiquity. The legends say that Indra and other Devas in the form of ants worshipped the Lord of the place and gained their salvation. Also Karan, brother of Trisiras, the great eponymous hero of Tiruchy, assumed the form of an ant, adored the Lord and attained His grace. Besides, Lakshmi, Agni, Muruga and Agastya are said to have worshipped the Lord and gained their salvation.

This place has many names — Tiruverumbiyur, Brahmapuram, Lakshmipuram, Madhuvanapuram, Ratnakutam, Kumarapuram, Pipilivaram and Ten-Kailasam. It is said that in a quarrel between Adisesha and Vayu, a few bits of the Himalayas were blown off and one of them is the hill in this place. Hence it bears the name of Ten Kailasam which occurs in a few inscriptions of this place.

The existence of this temple on the hill (Erumbiyur Malaiyan, the Lord of the hill of Erumbiyur) in the seventh century A. D., is attested by the

Devaram hymns of the Tamil saint Appar. How far earlier the temple was in existence, we are unable to know for want of evidence. Next, after a gap of more than two centuries, we come to the days of Aditya I.

There is conflicting and even confusing evidence regarding the origin of the present temple in the early Chola period and it is difficult to unravel the tangled skein of the chronology of the numerous Rajakesari inscriptions of this place.

There are twentyone inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman with dates ranging from the 3rd to the 19th years which can be identified only on the basis of internal evidence and the paleographical features of the inscriptions.

The earlier Government Epigraphists who copied the inscriptions and prepared the report in 1914 held the view that the records of the 5th, 6th and 7th years whose characters are early and which have pulli marks on consonants should be assigned to Aditya I. And the astronomical details furnished by these inscriptions enabled them to assign somewhat satisfactory dates within the limits of the reign of Aditya I.

But they created a hurdle for themselves by suggesting that, if an inscription referred to the deity as Erumbiyur Alvar, it should be deemed pre-Parantaka I, but if it bore the name of Tirukkailasam Udaiyar, it should be considered to belong to Parantaka I or his successors. A wrong premise leads to an absurd conclusion. When there are various names to a deity, a particular name preferred depends on the whim, fancy or predilections of the donor. On the above assumption of the Government Epigraphists, the inscription of Rajaendra I (100 of 1914) which refers to the deity as Tiruverembur Udaiya Mahadeva has to be ascribed to a period before Parantaka I, and similarly an inscription of the 18th year of Rajakesari (Aditya I) (119 of 1914) in which the deity is described as Sri Kailasattu Mahadeva should be placed later than Parantaka I. Hence this hypothesis has to be abandoned.

Now to the next point. There are two persons who claim the honour of constructing (or rebuilding) this temple in the early Chola days. An inscription of the 19th year of Rajakesarivarman (118 of 1914, No. 287 of S. I. I. XIII) mentions that a lady named Tattan Sendi, the wife of a member of the Alunganam (the Executive Committee of the village in-charge of the administration) of Sri Kantha Chathurvedhimangalam

(Tiruverumbur) made an endowment for a lamp and offerings to the God Aditta Bhattarar in the temple on the hill which she had built. The relevant text of the inscription is this: "ivvur tirumalaimel Adittabhattararkku nan eduppitta tiruk-koyil devarkku tiruvamudukkum, tiruvilakkukkum, neyya-mudukkumaga, vaitta nilamavadu". The other is Velan Viranarayanan alias Sembiyan Vedi Velan who, in inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman (3rd year-129 of 1914, 5th year-103 of 1914 and 7th year-112 of 1914) claims to have built the Sri-Vimana of Sri Tiruverumbur Alvar.

All the twenty-one inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman are on the main walls of the temple. The particulars that they furnish are not sufficient for their proper identification. Some of them were assigned by the earlier Government Epigraphist (1914 Epi. Report) to Aditya I (104, 105, 127, 130, 131, 132 and 133 of 1914) merely on the basis of the paleographical features or on the astronomical particulars furnished by the inscriptions, and some others on the mere juxtaposition of the epigraphs on the walls of the temple. It was argued that if they were adjacent, they should relate to successive rulers. But the classification of these epigraphs on any one criterion proves unsatisfactory. Hence, a full consideration and assessment of all the relevant factors is necessary for a proper and fairly satisfactory solution and identification. There are ten Rajakesari inscriptions with regnal years ranging from the fourth to the seventh and some of them may belong to Aditya I. The earliest of these is one of the fourth year of Rajakesarivarman (114 of 1914), excluding one of his 3rd year belonging to Sembiyan Vedi Velan. It refers to a gift of 15 kalanju of gold for a lamp and for the supply of a pot of water every day to the temple of Tiruk-Kailayattu Mahadeva at Sri Kantha Chathurvedhimangalam, and this was assigned to a king later than Parantaka I on account of the mention of the name of the deity as Tirukkailayattu Mahadeva. The untenability of this theory has already been pointed out. This record in my opinion should be assigned to Aditya I. So this temple should have come into existence some time before the fourth year of Aditya I. To him also may be assigned the following inscriptions-132 and 133 of the 5th year, and 127 and 130 of the 6th year, on the basis of palaeographic considerations, i. e., the presence of pullis on the consonants. There are three other Rajakesari inscriptions, one of the 18th year (119 of 1914) and two of the 19th year (118 and 110 of 1914), all of which are on the west wall of the garbhagriha and which, on account of their high regnal years, can be safely and definitely assigned to Aditya I.

We have already mentioned the inscription of the 19th year of Rajakesarivarman (A. D. 890) (Aditya I) which refers to the erection of the temple of Aditya Bhattarar and an endowment for a lamp and offerings to this deity by a lady, Tattan sendi.

An inscription of the 18th year of Rajakesarivarman (119 of 1914) relates to a gift of a lamp to Tenkailayattu Mahadevar. Because of the mention of this name of the deity it has been argued that it should be assigned to a king later than Parantaka I and so it should belong to Sundara Chola. This theory has already been refuted, and the high regnal year would suit Aditya I, not Sundara Chola.

The other inscription of the 19th year of Rajakesarivarman (110 of 1914) mentions a gift of land for a lamp to the temple of Mahadeva on the hill. Again the strange argument has been advanced that, because in continuation of this inscription is engraved an inscription of Parantaka I, it should be a record of Parantaka I's predecessor, viz., Aditya I. The reason assigned is not sound, but the conclusion is. Its high regnal year is sufficient justification for assigning it to Aditya I.

Next, in order, we have a group of eight inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman. All of them relate to endowments made by a single person. These inscriptions form an integral unit covering a compact period from the third to the seventh year of a single ruler. This donor is Velan Vira Narayanan alias Sembian Vedi Velan.

In some of these inscriptions, he claims to have constructed the Sri-Vimana of Tiruverumbiyur Alvar "ittiruverumbiyur alvar Sri Vimanam eduppitta". In addition to the construction of the temple on the hill, he is credited with a large number of gifts for various services to the temple and the locality. They are for the maintenance of singers of Devaram with musical instruments, feeding of Brahmans well versed in the Vedas in the feeding house (chatram) in the premises of the temple on the hill, provision of quarters for the temple servants near the temple (madavilagam), digging of a channel to irrigate the temple lands, provision to keep the village tank in good repair by deepening it by dredging operations every year, and the provision of a jivitam (land gift for maintenance) to the watchman of the temple of Tiruverumbiyur. He was a rich and pious man who enjoyed a lot of power and influence in the Chola court. He seems to have obtained a special royal order (Sri Mukkam) to dig a channel from the village tank to

provide irrigation facilities to the temple lands ("ich-Chembiyan Vēḍi Velar Srimukham Kunarandukalli Vaitta Kiliyur Vaikkal"). (129 of 1914 and No. 51 of S. I. I. XIII).

In spite of clear indications that they are gifts by one donor during the period of a single ruler, G. V. S. Rao distributes these inscriptions among various rulers, Gandaraditya, Sundara Chola and Raja Raja I, separated by an interval of forty years, on what seem to me insufficient and unsound grounds. Discussing inscription No. 103 of 1914, he states that this donor figures as the builder of the Sri Vimana, and that inscription No. 104 of 1914 makes mention of a channel called Uttama Sili Vaikkal, evidently after a son of Parantaka I, and that all these records (of this donor) have to be assigned to a successor of his, either Gandaraditya or Parantaka II Sundara Chola, both of whom are Rajakesarivarmans, " as against the view expressed in M. E. R. 1915, II, 20 referring them all to Aditya I on the basis of astronomical details contained in them. It is quite likely that these details would yield alternate equivalents for dates later than Parantaka II ". (Vide S. I. I. XIII, No. 110).

Again about an inscription of the 7th year of Rajakesarivarma (102 of 1914- No. 163 of S. I. I. XIII), he opines that " this is probably a record of the reign of Raja Raja I " without assigning reasons; and of another of the same seventh year (104 of 1914-No. 164 of S. I. I. XIII), he states :

" Among the boundaries of the land is mentioned a hamlet forming part of Uttamasili Chathurvedhimangalam, a village named after prince Uttamasili, son of Parantaka I. The details of the date agree for A. D. 991, January 15, Thursday, and thus the inscription may be assigned to Raja Raja I ". The two other inscriptions of the 7th year of Rajakesari (105 and 112 of 1914; S. I. I. XIII Nos. 165-166) are also assigned to Raja Raja I. Assuming that the Sri Vimana was built only in the days of Raja Raja I by the said Sembiyan Velar, let us study its implications. The very fact that all the records of Rajakesarivarma (Aditya I) from his 3rd to the 19th years are found on the walls of the garbhagriha, and they are original inscriptions-not copies-indicates the existence of the garbhagriha from the days of Aditya I. Though the term Vimana in Chola epigraphy connotes both the garbhagriha and the super structure over it, we have to take the Sri Vimana of Sembiyan Velar's inscription as the building of the superstructure only. Further if the garbhagriha portion was a construction

of the days of Sundara Chola or Raja Raja I, we cannot explain the existence of earlier original inscriptions of Aditya I and Parantaka I on its walls.

There is one way of solving this puzzle and deciding this knotty question; one point is clear that all the eight inscriptions of the donor should be attributed to one ruler. He may be Aditya I or Gandaratitya.

At Koyiladi, there is an inscription of the 3rd year of a Rajakesarivarman (281 of 1901) in which this chief sembiyan Vedi Velan claims to have built the Siva temple there of stone and to have made some endowments to that deity. Strangely enough, the Koyiladi temple which Sembiyan Vedi Velan claims to have built is also a foundation of Aditya I's days. And, as in the case of Tiruverumbur, he should have made vast improvements to complete the building programme of an earlier age.

The real difficulty in assigning Velan Viranarayanan alias Sembiyan Vedi Velan to the days of Aditya I is the assumption of the name of Vira Narayana, a surname of Parantaka I, by the donor as part of his full name and the mention of the existence of a channel and a village named after Uttamasilli, a son of Parantaka I.

This will lead us to the inevitable conclusion that this chief should be assigned to the post-Parantaka age, closer to that of Parantaka I than to that of Sundara Chola or Raja Raja I. So I consulted D. C. Sircar, the then Government Epigraphist for India, and he was kind enough to reply as follows :-

"A careful consideration of the palaeography of Tiruverumbur and Koyiladi inscriptions you have cited in your letter shows that none of them can be assigned to the period of Aditya I. They are all of the post-Aditya period and some of them (112 of 1914, 279 and 281 of 1901) show comparatively later features in palaeography than the rest, in that none of these inscriptions has pullis marked on the letters".

As these inscriptions cannot be assigned to Aditya I, they have to be attributed to Gandaratitya, the son and successor of Parantaka I.

It has to be presumed that the temple on the hill was originally constructed by Tattan Sendi on or before the 4th year of Aditya (114 of 1914; 5 yr. 132 and 133 of 1914; 6 yr. 130 of 1914; 18 yr. 119 of 1914; 19 yr. 118 and 110 of 1914), that she made, to the temple that she had built

already, an endowment in the 19th year of Aditya I, and that Sembiyah Vedi Velan made extensive additions to the temple and gifts to this deity in the early days of Gandaratiya. The name of this deity Aditta Bhattarar also reinforces the conclusion that this temple is a foundation of the days of Aditya I.

Owing to the above considerations, I am unable to agree with the view of Neelakanta Sastri that this chief who built the Pipilisavara temple of Tiruverumbiyur was a feudatory of Sundara Chola, (The Colas, 2nd Edition, page 706). There are four inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from his 26th to his 36th year. One of them refers to the consecration of Uma Bhattariyar of Tiruverumbiyur Alvar in Sri Kantha Chaturvedimangalam. The practice of building separate shrines for the Goddess was not in vogue in the early Chola period. (Rajendra I is said to have built a shrine for the Goddess at Gangaikonda Solapuram. This was generally prevalent only from the days of Kulottunga I). We may hazard the guess that it might be the consecration of a metallic image of the Goddess. Such images of the Goddess called Bhogesvari are found installed in early Chola temples and kept in the Ardha Mandapas of these temples."

My Observations

I visited the Tiruverumbur Pipilesvaram temple and read the inscriptions. The observations made by Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam are correct. The central shrine inscriptions which contain astronomical data are in the character of the 10th century only.

The fact remains that the temple is mentioned in the Devaram poems of the 6th and the 7th centuries. Perhaps it was in brick structure. In the reign of Aditya I the temple was built of granite. In the reign of Parantaka I the Bronze Image of Uma (Bogiswari) was put up in the temple.

One Velan Viranarayanan Sembian Vedi Velan built the Sri Vimana (superstructure of the central shrine) of granite stone. He figures in the records of post Parantaka Rajakesari or Rajakesaris. Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam identifies the king as a single Rajakesari namely Gandaratiya. Now let us see how Mathematics and sound Logic identify the Rajakesaris.

Velan Viranarayanan alias Sembiyan Vedi Velan figure!

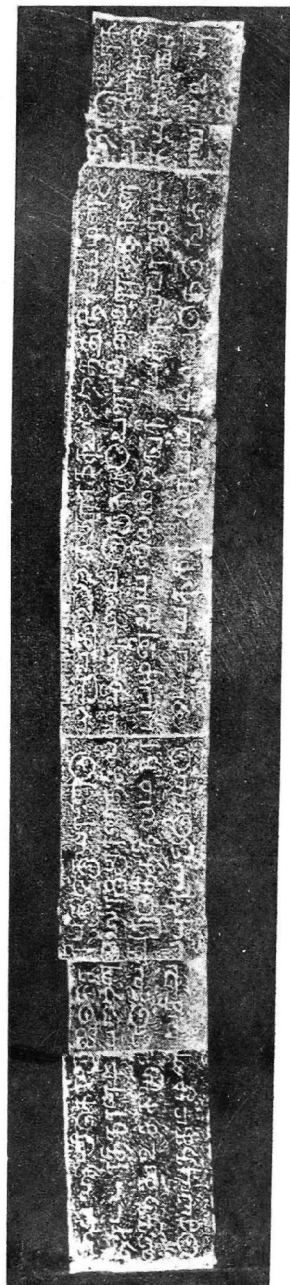
Tiruverumbur records of 1914

Records of Rajakesari.

No.	Year	Details regarding the donor Sembiyan Vedi Velan
129	3	Builder of Sri Vimana-gifts made by him to sing Tiruppadiyam
123	3	Gifted lands to the temple
103	5	Built a choultry on the hill to feed 15 Brahmans (திருமலை மேல் வைச்ச சத்திரத்தில்)
131	6	Formation of colony around the temple (Madavilagam) by the donor.
102	7	Gifted lands to dig a channel.
104	7	Sale of land to the donor who is called builder of Sri Vimana
105	7	Donor gets the right to levy tax
112	7	The donor builder of Sri Vimana made endowments to keep a watchman in the temple.

In all the above records of Rajakesari, the donor is Velan Viranarayanan alias Sembiyan Vedi Velan. He built of stone the Sri Vimana of the temple and this fact is mentioned in the records Nos. 129, 104 and 112. The donor figures in the records of Rajakesarivarman from the year 3 to year 7. The records are post Parantaka. Rajakesarivarman of these records may be Gandaratitya or Sundara Chola or both and the donor may figure in the records of a single king or both the kings. Let us see the truth through Mathematics and Logic.

Record No. 102/1914 (S. I. I. XIII 163):- The data are year 7, Karkataka, Friday and Tiruvonam (Sravana)⁴. The data agree with Friday the 25th July 956. This makes Sravana in Karkataka of 950 the first year. The star was current on 3rd July 950. The record belongs to Gandaratitya. He came to the throne prior to July 950. In this record Sembiyan Vedi Velan figures as the donor. Evidently in the reign of Gandaratitya, the donor Sembiyan Vedi Velan built of stone the Sri Vimana of the temple and this is confirmed by record No. 129. Rajakesari Gandaratitya came to the throne prior to 3rd July 950. On the basis of this fact let us see some more records.



Nirpalani Record No. Pd 30 - Rajakesari year 10.
The inscription is in the character of A. D. 1300

(Please refer to the pages 35 and 36)

Record No. 103/1914 year 5 of Rajakesari, evidently Gandaratitya, corresponding to 954/955 states that Sembian Vedi Velan constructed a choultry on the hill (திருமலை மேல் வைச்ச சத்திரத்தில்). He made endowments to feed 15 Brahmins in this choultry. Therefore if this choultry is mentioned in any record we can conclude that the subject record was engraved after 954/955.

Record No. 130/1914:- The record belongs to Rajakesari. It states that grants were made to the choultry on the hill to feed a Brahman (daily) well versed in Vedas (வேதம் வல்ல பிராமணன் உண்ணபரிசு). Since the choultry is mentioned, the record should be dated later than 954/55. The data are year 6, Makara, Tuesday and Ardra. The data perfectly agree with 9th January 955. The record belongs to Gandaratitya. Accordingly Ardra in Makara of 950 belongs to the first year. The star was current on 5th January.

Tiruchchendurai record No. 303/1903 (S. I. I. VIII 612) :— The record belongs to Rajakesari year 6. An officer by name Paradhaya Kandan Viranarayanan figures. Viranarayanan is the surname of Parantaka I. Therefore this is a post Parantaka record. The data are given in the form of poetical phrase. It runs as follows.

“கோவிராஜ கேசரி பன்மற்கு யாண்டு சூ வது பருவமானி மதிநாள் பக்கம் பஞ்சமி
நாள் முலங்கிழமை வெள்ளிபோது முன்கோள்குறி இது நாளிது பருவமாக.....etc”

We have discussed this poetical phrase in the chapter “Uttama Chola”. The correct reading is as follows.

- பருவமானி மதிநாள் பக்கம்; It means Aani month Full Moon.
- பஞ்சமி (Panchami) is a mistake for “பஞ்சதசி” (Panchadasa).
- Star Mula and Friday.

The Law of the solar system is clear that Panchadasa (Full Moon) will combine with Mula in the month Aani. Accordingly the data are year 6, Aani, Full Moon (Panchadasa) Mula and Friday. The data perfectly agree with Friday 8th June 955. This makes Mula in Aani of 950 the first year. The star was current on 3rd June. The record belongs to Gandaratitya. He ascended the throne prior to 3rd June 950.

Koyiladi Dhivyajaneswara Temple records

Record No. 281/1901 (S. I. I. VII 501) belongs to Ko-Rajakesari year 3. The record states that Sembiyan Vedi Velan who had constructed the stone temple ⁷ purchased some lands from the village assembly and agreed to conduct offerings to God. This proves that the stone temple was constructed prior to the third year of Rajakesari. Since Sembiyan Vedi Velan figures the record belongs to Gandaratitya only.

Record No. 279/1901 (S. I. I. VII 499) belongs to Rajakesari year lost. The record (lines 56 to 64) states that Sembiyan Vedi Velan who had constructed the stone temple made some gifts. The record evidently belongs to Gandaratitya. The regnal year may be 3 or more than three. The data are month Dhanus, Monday and Kartigai. The data perfectly agree with 19th December 953. This proves that the regnal year is to be restored as 4 only.⁸ Accordingly Kartigai in Dhanus of 949 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 6th December.

Tirukkoilur Taluk Perangiyar record No. 211/1906 (S. I. I. XIII 83) :- The record belongs to Rajakesari year 4, Mithuna, Su 7, Thursday and Hasta. The report S. I. I. XIII 83 suggests 13th June 989 and assigns this record to Raja Raja I. Star Hasta commenced after 12.30 p. m. But the record states that the village assembly met in the Noon (பகல் பெருங்குறி சபை கோயிலில் கூடி இருந்து). The date suggested by the report is not convincing. However the data perfectly agree with 21st June 953. The record belongs to Gandaratitya. Accordingly Hasta in Mithuna of 950 falls in the first year. The star was current on 28th May 950. Gandaratitya came to the throne prior to 28th May 950.

As per 279/1901 ... 6-12-949 = 0th year

As per 130/1914 ... 5-1-950 = 1st year

As per 211/1906 ... 28-5-950 = 1st year

As per 303/1903 ... 3-6-950 = 1st year

As per 102/1914 ... 3-7-950 = 1st year

The king came to the throne between the 7th December 949 and the 5th January 950. Normally the South Indian Kings did not ascend the throne in the month of Dhanus. They would ascend the throne in the period from Makara to Karkataka⁹. In the year 949-50 Makara commenced on 22nd December 949. Gandaratitya could have ascended the throne

either on this date or on a later date. Thus we can safely surmise that Gandaratitya ascended the throne between the 23rd December 949 and the 5th January 950. The following records are assigned to Gandaratitya and they have definite dates.

Rajakesari Gandaratitya

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Christian date
211/1906	Perangiyur	4	12—6—953
279/1901	Koyiladi	(4)	19—12—953
130/1914	Tiruverumbur	6	9—1—955
303/1903	Tiruchchendurai	6	8—6—955
102/1914	Tiruverumbur	7	25—7—956

Gandaratitya was alive in 956. For the present we shall stop at this stage. For obvious reasons we shall discuss the last years of Gandaratitya in the next chapter.

Since Gandaratitya came to the throne in January 950, his elder brother Rajaditya would have died on some date in 949.

Allur, Palur, and Nirpalani Records

1) Allur record No. 366/1903 (S. I. I. VIII 676) belongs to Rajakesari year 5. The record mentions Lunar Eclipse in the month of Kanni. Star and weekday are not available.

2) Palur records Nos. 346 and 348/1918 belong to Rajakesari year 5. The records state that Mahimalaya Irukkuvelar alias Pirantakan Virasolan made grants on the day of Lunar Eclipse in the month Kanni.

3) Nirpalani record No. Pd 30 belongs to Rajakesari year 10. The record states that Mahimalaya Irukkuvelar alias Pirantakan Virasolan made grants on the day of Uttirattathi in the month Kanni when Lunar Eclipse occurred.

These three records are discussed by A. S. Ramanatha Iyer in *Epigraphia Indica* Volume XXVI No. 8. Padma Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam has also made his elaborate comments in page 18 of *Early Chola Temples*. I do not make any comment on the surmise of the elderly scholar.

Allur and Palur records do not supply the star. If they belong to Gandaratitya then the date is 15th September 954. Nirpalani record does not produce a date in the 10th year of Gandaratitya. So scholars suggested correcting the regnal year 10 as 6 and equated the data to 4th September 955. I am not convinced of this correction. I went to the temple and read the Nirpalani inscription. *The record is engraved on the north wall of the Mandapa in front of the central shrine.* It is in the character of early 14th century. It is engraved below the inscription (Pd 413) of Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya I year 34 dated 5th September 1301. Nirpalani record of Rajakesari is a later copy. It cannot be relied upon. It was re-engraved 350 years later. It is a doubtful record. It is better to reject the Nirpalani record,

Foot Notes :—

1. E. I. Vol. VI pages 50 to 53,
2. Hultzsch. E. I. VII. Page 194,
3. Tiruvidaïmarudur S. I. I. V. 720 Rajakesari year 10 ; Tiruvellarai S. I. I. XIX 196 and S. I. I. III. 132 of Parakesarivarman year 10.
4. S. I. I. XIII 163 assigns this to Raja Raja. How ! It keeps silent in suggesting a date. The record belongs to Gandaratitya only.
5. S. I. I. XIII 110.
6. See A. R. E. 1915 page 72. Swamikkannu Pillai suggested several dates between 870 and 900. The full text of 130/1914 is published in S. I. I. XIII 139. This report suggests Gandaratitya or Sundara Chola. The record belongs to Gandaratitya only and it is dated 9th January 955. Record No. 101/1914 (S. I. I. XIII 162) of this temple created confusion among the scholars. The record belongs to Rajakesari year 7, Makara, Tuesday and Ardra. Scholars suggested many dates from 866 to 896 and assigned this record to Aditya I. See Rangacharya page 1597. Also see Indian Ephemeris Volume III by L. D. S. Also please refer to page 72 of A. R. E. 1915. The report S. I. I. XIII suggests Gandaratitya dated 9th January 955. It means that his first year falls between January 948 and January 949 and he came to the throne prior to the death of Rajaditya. The date contradicts historicity. We must see the contents of the record. The record refers to the grants made to the choultry on the hill. This choultry was built in 954/55. Therefore Rajakesari year 7 of this record is a later king. The data perfectly agree with 19th January 992. The record belongs to Rajakesari Raja Raja and thus the confusion created by 101/1914 is settled.
7. திருப்புத்துறை ஆள்வார்க்குத் திருக்கற்றளி எடுப்பித்த செம்பியன்வெதி வேளான்.
8. Early Chola Art Part I page 145. Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam correctly assigns the records 281 and 279/1901 to Gandaratitya.
9. See "The Cholas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" and "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" by the author,

Last years of Gandaratitya

Gandaratitya came to the throne between the 23rd December 949 and the 5th January 950. He was alive in 956. We shall find his last days.

Arinjaya was the younger brother of Gandaratitya. Naturally Gandaratitya would address Arinjaya as a junior king. This is evident from certain inscriptions in which Arinjaya figures as Pillaiar (Junior Prince) Arikulakesari Deva. The records in which Prince Arikulakesari Deva figures are tabulated below.

Pillaiar (Junior Prince) Arikulakesari Deva figures. (Records of Rajakesarivarman)

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Details
570/1908 (S. I. I. III. 111)	Tiruppalathurai	8	Tappildharam Pallavarayan Officer of Pillaiar Arikulakesari Deva made grant.
176/1907	Tirupparrurai	8	An Officer of Pillaiyar Arikulakesari Deva made grants.
574/1908 (S. I. I. III. 112)	Tiruppalathurai ¹	9	The village assembly members state that they purchased lands from the Officer of Alwar Arikulakesari Deva.
215/1911	Tirunageswaram	9	Arinjagaippirattiyar daughter of Prince Arikulakesari Deva made grants to the temple. It is said that she is the wife of a Bana chieftain.

All the above records are to be assigned to a single Rajakesarivarman evidently Gandaratitya. This requires some explanation.

Record No. 570/1908 :- This belongs to Rajakesarivarman yeas 8. The record states that Tappildharam Pallavarayan alias Kilmathur. Paruvuran the officer of pillaiar (Junior prince) Arikulakesari Deva made some grants. Here Rajakesari addresses Arikulakesari evidently Arinjaya as a Junior prince. It means that Rajakesari of this record is Gandaratitya only. The date of the record is 957.

Record No. 176/1907:- This belongs to Rajakesari year 8 evidently Gandaratitya and he addresses his younger brother as pillalar (Junior prince). The date of the record is 957.

Record No. 574/1908:- The record belongs to Rajakesari year 9. The contents of the record are slightly different. In this record the members of the village assembly state that they purchased some lands from Tappil dharam Pallavarayan alias Kilmathur Paruvuran the officer of Alwar Arikulakesari Deva. Alwar is a respectable term attributed to the king. Here the members of the village assembly address Arinjaya as Alwar. The respect is shown by the assembly members and not by the king evidently Gandaratitya. Being the elder brother there is no need for Gandaratitya to address his younger brother as Alwar. As far as the members of the village assembly are concerned Arinjaya occupies a high position. Therefore the members used the respectable word Alwar.² The date of the record is 958 (It is to be noted here that the records 570 and 574 of 1908 are engraved on same wall of the temple)

Record No. 215/1911:- This belongs to Rajakesari year 9. The record states that Arinjagaipprattiyar queen of the Bana chieftain, daughter of pillalar Arikulakesari Deva, made grants to the temple. This record also is to be assigned to Gandaratitya.³ Another record of this temple⁴ belongs to Raja Raja year 14 corresponding to 999. This record states that certain lands were purchased for the temple from the funds formerly deposited by Arinjagaipprattiyar the queen of Bana chieftain, daughter of Arikulakesari Deva. (The sequence of the transaction is this. In the 9th year of Gandaratitya (in 958) Arinjagaipprattiyar deposited some funds in the temple. The amount was utilised in the 14th year of Raja Raja (in 999) to purchase some lands for the temple).

Thus we surmise that all the above records belong to Gandaratitya and he was alive in 957 and 958.

There is reason to believe that he could have *lived upto 974*, but not as a king. Probably he adopted religious life.

Udaiyarkudi record No. 540/1920:- This record is published in S. I. I. XIX. No. 11. The text runs as follows:-

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்திபுரீ கோப்பரகேசரிவன்மர்க்குயாண்டு உ ஆவது மேற்
- 2) கெழுந்தருளின தேவர் கண்டராதித்த தேவர் தேவியார் மழவரை

- 3) யர் மகனார் பராந்தகன் மாதேவடிகளான செம்பியன்மாதே
 4) வியார்பூர் வீரநாராயண சதுர்வேதி மங்கலத்துத் திருவனந்தஸவரத்தாள
 5) வாரக்கு வைத்த நொந்தா விளக்கு க-க்கு வைத்த ஆடு கூயிசு தகர் க (?)

“Hail Prosperity! In the 2nd year of Ko-Parakesarivarman, Sembian Madeviyar alias Parantakan Madevadigalar, daughter of Malavarayar, queen of Gandaratitya Devar *who was pleased to go to the west*, gifted perpetual lamp and 96 sheep to the God Tiru Anantisvarthihalwar (of the temple situated) in Viranarayana Chathurvedbi Mangalam”.

The record belongs to Parakesarivarman year 2. It states that Sembian Madeviyar gifted a lamp and 96 sheep to the temple. Sembian Madeviyar is introduced as the daughter of Malavarayar. She is the queen of Gandaratitya Devar *who was pleased to go to the west*. (மேற்கெழுத்தருளிய தேவர்) This phrase is not fully understood⁵. This much is definite that in the 2nd year of Parakesarivarman of this record Gandaratitya was not dead. He had gone to the west (to Malabar?). The phrase “who was pleased to go to the west” implies that he was alive. Probably he ceases to be a king. If this is so then Parakesarivarman of this record cannot be Arinjaya whose 2nd year falls in 954 when Gandaratitya was also ruling and Parantaka I breathed his last. (Aringaya came to the throne in 953. Please refer to the relevant chapter.)

Parakesarivarman of this record is either Aditya Karikala II or Uttama Chola. Because in their 2nd years 961 and 972 respectively Gandaratitya could have ceased to be a king. (Aditya II came to the throne in 960. Please refer to the relevant chapter.) I identify Parakesarivarman of this record as Uttama Chola because Sembian Madeviyar figures in this record. She is the mother of Uttama and she figures in many records of Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola.⁶

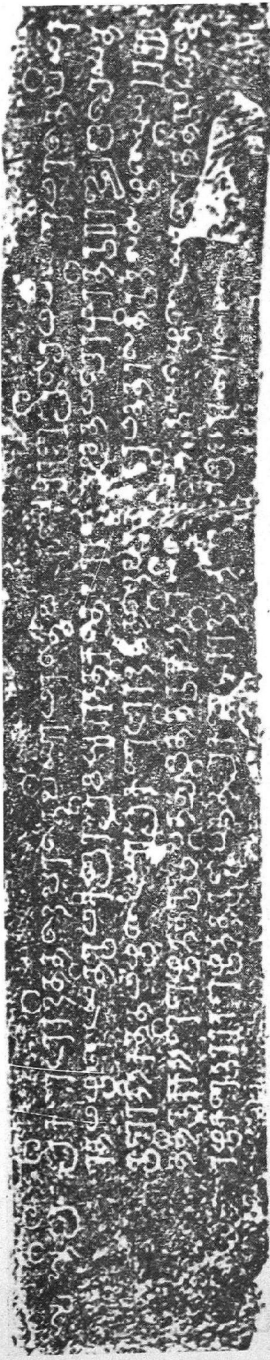
The above Udaiyarkudi record is in the 2nd year of Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola corresponding to 972. In that year Uttama mentions his father Gandaratitya as “Gandaratitya Devar who was pleased to go to the west”. It means that Gandaratitya ceased to be a king but he was alive. Probably he adopted religious life. We must also remember here that in the year 972 Sundara Chola was also ruling as the senior king. (Please refer to the relevant Chapter)

Gandaratitya adopted religious life. He was alive in 972. Could it be so? Let us see some records of Uttama Chola.

Konerirajapuram is a small village about twenty kilometers east of Kumbakonam. The ancient name of this village was Tiru-nallam (திருநல்லம்). It is mentioned in the Thevaram poems of the 6th century.

Konerirajapuram Umamaheswara temple record No. S. I. I. III. 151 :- The record belongs to Uttama Chola. It registers the grants made in the 3rd, 7th and the 8th years of Uttama to the temple of Tirunallamudaiyar. It further states that Sembiyan Madeviyar converted the existing temple as a stone temple and called it as Gandaratiteswaram in the name of her husband. She laid out the temple garden and called it as Gandaratitya Nandavanam. This happened in the beginning of the 3rd year of Uttama corresponding to 973. (யாண்டு முன்னுலகு முதலாக)

On the south wall of the central shrine of the temple a panel with group of sculptures is found. Below this panel two inscriptions are engraved (S. I. I. III. 146 and 147). The records mention the names of the persons who figure in the sculptures. The photograph of the sculptures is published opposite to page 296 of S. I. I. III. On the extreme right a devotee worshipping a Shiva Linga figures. The record (S. I. I. III. 146) states that this is Gandaratitya Devar worshipping Lord Tirunallamudaiyar in the temple built of stone by Sembiyan Madeviyar in the name of her husband Gandaratitya Devar when her son Uttama Chola was ruling. The figure of Gandaratitya is portrayed as a devotee of Shiva. He is dressing the Linga with a sacred cloth. He does not look like a king. But being a Kshatriya he has sacred thread. His head is shaven. He is not a Sanyasi or saint because a Sanyasi or a Saint will not have sacred thread. He looks like an ardent devotee. To the left of Gandaratitya a woman is sitting. The record (S. I. I. III. 147) states that it is Sembiyan Madeviyar mother of Uttama Chola. She appears in a sitting posture. She is facing Gandaratitya and worshipping Lord Shiva. She has bangles in her hands. She has hair dress befitting to the dignity of a queen. She has flowers on her head. She is also having ear-rings and necklace. She looks like a "Sumangali" (சுமங்கலி) i. e., a woman whose husband is alive. She does not look like a widow. The sculptures should have been put up when the temple was built in 973. Sembiyan Madeviyar put up the image of her husband in the posture of worshipping Lord Shiva. She put her own figure in the posture of worshipping Lord Shiva and also her husband. Had she been a widow, she would not have had flowers on her head. When she had made her portrait as a "Sumangali" along with the figure of her husband, it means that



Konerirajapuram panel and record No. S. I. I. III 146 — Please refer to pages 40 & 41
Photographs Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India Mysore.

Gandaratitya was alive. Thus we may not be far wrong if we surmise that Gandaratitya was alive in 973 and probably he opted religious life.

To the left of Sembiyan Madeviyar an officer is standing with a Chauvri (fan) in his right hand and a tool in his left hand. The record (S. I. I. III. 147) states that this is Alatturudaiyan Sattan Gunapattan alias Haracharana Sekaran who built the stone temple (engineer) and he was honoured with the title Rajakesari Muvenda Velan. We must note here that the officer was not given the title Parakesari Muvenda Velan even though Parakesari Uttama was the then ruling king. The officer is honoured with the title Rajakesari Muvenda Velan so called after Rajakesari Sundara Chola who was also ruling in 973. To the left of the officer appears a royal attendant with an umberella.

S. I. I. III. No. 146

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கண்டராதித்த தேவர் தேவியார் மாதே வடிகளாரான ஸ்ரீ செம்பியன் மாதேவியா
- 2) ஸ்ரீ தம்முடைய திருமகனர் ஸ்ரீ மதுராந்தக தேவரான ஸ்ரீ உத்தம சோழர் திருவிராஜ்யஞ் செய்த
- 3) ஸ்ரீ ருளா நிற்கத் தம்முடையார் ஸ்ரீ கண்டராதித்த தேவர் திருநாமத்தால் திரு நல்ல முடையார்க்கு
- 4) த் திருக்கற்றளி எழுந்தருளி வித்து இத்திருக்கற்றளியிலேய் திரு நல்லமுடையாரைத் திருவடித் தொ
- 5) முகின்றாராக எழுந்தருளுவித்த ஸ்ரீ கண்டராதித்த தேவர் இவர் . உ . உ

“Hail! Prosperity! Madevadigalar alias the glorious Sembiyan Madeviyar queen of Gandaratitya Devar constructed in the sacred name of her husband (viz) the glorious Gandaratitya Deva, a stone temple to the Lord (viz the God) of Tirunallam (at the time) when her illustrious son i. e. the glorious Madhurantaka Deva alias Glorious Uttama Chola was graciously ruling. This is the image of the glorious Gandaratitya Devar which was caused to be made in this sacred temple in the posture of worshipping the sacred feet of the Lord (viz the God) of Tirunallam ”.

S. I. I. III. 147

- 1) ஸ்ரீமதுராந்தக
- 2) கதேவரான உத்தமசோழ
- 3) ரைத் திருவயிறு வாய்த்த
- 4) உடைய பிராட்டியார் திருக்கற்ற
- 5) ளி எழுப்பித்த ஆலத்தூ ருடை

- 6) யான் சாத்தன் குணபத்தனா
- 7) ஹரசரண சேகரன் இவர்
- 8) பட்டங்கட்டின பேர்
- 9) ராஜகேசரி முவே
- 10) ந்த வேளாரிவர்

“Hail! Prosperity! This is Sattan Gunabattan alias Haracharana Sekaran of Alattur who built the stone temple of Udiapirattiyar who had obtained in her womb the glorious Madhurantaka Deva alias Uttama Chola. The title with which he was honoured in his office was Rajakesari Muvenda Velan”.

Gandaratitya figures as a devotee in the 9th Volume of the Tamil Tirumurai (திருமுறை) poems which are in twelve volumes. The ninth volume is called Tiruvisaippa (திருவிசைப்பா). Gandaratitya composed eleven poems on Lord Nataraja of Chidambaram. In the poems he describes himself as Koli Vendan Thanjaiyar Kon⁸ Gandaratitan (கோழி வேந்தன் தஞ்சையர்கோன் கண்டராதித்தன்) which means Gandaratittan king of Uraiyur and Thanjavur.

Recently a Vattalettu inscription (B 214/1976-77 unpublished) was found in the western Ghats on a rock called Sundakkay Muttur, near Coimbatore. The record runs as follows:-

Tamil

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ இராசகேசரிப்
- 2) பெருவழி

Vattalettu

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோ இராசகேசரிப்
- 2) பெருவழி திருநிழலு மன்னு
- 3) யிருஞ் சிறந்த
- 4) கைப்ப ஒரு நிழல் வெண்டி
- 5) ங்களன் லி (று மெ)? இரு நிழல்.....
- 6)வாழியர் கோச்சோழன் வளங்
- 7) காவிரி நாடன் கோழியர் கோக்கண்ட
- 8) ன்

The record states that it is “Rajakesari Trunk Road (ராஜகேசரி பெருவழிச்சாலை). At the end of the record It is engraved as Kocholan

Valan-Kaveri Nadan Koliyar Ko-Gandan (வளக்காவிரி நாடன் கோழிர் கோக்கண்டன்). It means, "King Cholan Lord of fertile Kaveri Nadu-King Gandan of Uraiyur" evidently Gandaratitya.⁹ Gandaratitya was also called as Gandan.¹⁰ The record is found west of the Chola country and this reminds us the phrase Gandaratitya who was pleased to go to the west.

GIST

Gandaratitya came to the throne between the 23rd December 949 and the 5th January 950. His rule extended upto 958.

Perhaps he opted religious life¹¹ and went on pilgrimage. Probably he was alive in 974 as a devotee. There is no harm in extending the life of Gandaratitya as a devotee. Let us wait and see the future discoveries of source materials supporting this surmise.

Foot Notes :—

1. Record No. 574/1908 was first published in S. I. I. III 112. The regnal year was mentioned as 8. Later S. I. I. XIII 194 states that in the original impression the regnal year is found as 9 only and not 8. Also see Tiruppalatturai wrong for Trupparrurai 176/1907 Rajakesari year 8.
2. Please refer to page 248 of S. I. I. III; Also see page 142 of "The Colas", by K A N. Sastri.
3. See page 176, Early Chola Art Part one by Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam. He assigns record No. 215/1911 to Sundara Chola. Arikulakesari Deva is the father of Sundara Chola. I doubt whether the son Sundara Chola will address his father as Pillaiar i. e. Junior Prince.
4. 218/1911. However in page 134 of his Early Chola Temples Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam assigned the record No. 215/1911 to Gandaratitya.
5. Early Chola Temples by Sri Balasubramaniam. Please note the observations made by the author in foot note No. 21 of page 75. He says, "we must have an open mind". Also please refer to E. I. XXVI page 84,
6. S. I. I. III 144, 146, 147, 148, 149 and 151 etc. Like this there are many records; Also see some of Uttama's records in S. I. I. XIX,

7. “கண்டராதித்யன் என்னும் திருநாமத்தால் திருக்கற்றளியாகச் செய்வித்தருளி.”
It was a brick temple. Sembian Madeviyar made it a stone temple.
“நந்தவனம் ஸ்ரீ கண்டராதித்யன்” It means the Garden by name Gandaratityan.
8. சீரால் மல்கு தில்லைச் செம்பொன்
அம்பலத் தாடி தன்னைக்
காரார் சேரலக் கோழிவேந்தன்
தஞ்சையர் கோன் கலந்த
ஆரா இன்சொற் கண்டராதித்தன்
அருந் தமிழ்மாலை வல்லார்
பேரா உலகில் பெருமை யோடும்
பேர் இன்பம் எய்துவரே
9. When the Vattalettu record (B 214/1976-77) was discovered some scholars in a haste wrote in the news papers that the record belonged to Raja Raja! This created a stir among the researches, Later the mistake was found. The record does not belong to Raja Raja. It belongs to Gandaratitya only.
10. Gandaratitya was also called as Sri Gandan. See S. I. I. XIX 379, 381, 382; S. I. I. VII 411; A. R. E. 250/1923, A. R. E. 338/1927. Also see page 10, “Tenolal” — Issue No. 10 of 1976 published by Kodumudi (கொடுமுடி) Shanmugap Pragatham. In this journal record No. B 214/1976-77 is published in full text.
11. “It must not be forgotten that Hindu Kings were enjoined by their religious authorities to retire from active work even while still in possession of all their faculties and devote themselves to asceticism and preparation for the next life. Some of them may have done so. We require to know a good deal more before we can dogmatize on this subject” — Robert Sewell, Indian Antiquary 1915 page 173.

Rajakesarivarman Sundara Chola

Gandaratitya ascended the throne between the 23rd December 949 and the 5th January 950. His younger brother was Parakesari Arinjaya. We shall see the dates of Arinjaya in another chapter. Arinjaya's son was Rajakesari Sundara Chola.

In the chapter Rajakesarivarman Gandaratitya Chola we discussed the Tiruverumbur records of Rajakesarivarman. One Viranarayanan alias Sembiyan Vedi Velan figures in the records of Gandaratitya. It is said that he built of stone the Sri Vimana of the temple. Let us see some more records in which Sembiyan Vedi Velan figures,

Tiruverumbur records.

Record No. 105/1914 :- This can be found in the table vide page 32 ante. The record is published in full text in S. I. I. XIII 165. It belongs to Rajakesari. The record states that Viranarayanan alias Sembiyan Vedi Velan who built the Sri Vimana of stone, got some rights to levy certain taxes. The data are year 7, Simha, Saturday, and Rohini. The data perfectly agree with 15th August 963. The record belongs to Sundara Chola. Accordingly Rohini in Simha of 957 falls in the first year. The star was current on 20th August. (It is evident that the chief Sembiyan Vedi Velan continued to live in the reign of Sundara Chola.)

Record No. 133/1914 :- The record belongs to Rajakesari. Line 19 states that the record is to be engraved on the Sri Vimana. The data are year 5, Mithuna, Wednesday and Swati. The data perfectly agree with 29th May 961. Accordingly Swati in Mithuna of 957 falls in the first year. The star was current on 10th June. The record belongs to Sundara Chola.

Record No. 127/1914 :- The record belongs to Rajakesari. This record and No. 101/1892 are identical. The record states that the village assembly met in the Thiru Chitra Kuta hall of the temple and transacted the business. It is said that grants were made to feed a Brahman (daily) in the choultry on the hill (திருமலைமேல் சத்திரத்தில்). One Balasiriyana Madhavan Subramanyan gifted lands for this purpose. The data are year 6,

Makara, Tuesday and Swati. The data agree with 20th January 963. This date requires some explanation. The calendar in the last days of Makara in 963 was as follows.

Makara 27 Monday 19th January Star 15.98 (Swati)

Makara 28 Tuesday 20th January

Makara 29 Wednesday 21st January Star 16.07 (Visaka)

The above calendar reveals that on 20th January star Swati expired 28 minutes before sun rise. Normally the day is to be called the day of Visaka. But the next day also is the day of Visaka. Probably the composer equated the day 20th January as the day of Swati itself since the star was current before sun rise i. e. even at dawn.

The problem is this. Two dates are to be called in the name of one star. Either 20th and 21st January are to be called the days of Visaka or the dates 19th and 20th January are to be called the days of Swati. The local Panchanga and sun rise probably prompted the composer to connect 20th January to the day of Swati even though it expired at dawn, when there was light, just before sun rise.

Swati in Makara of 963 falls in the 6th year. Accordingly Swati in Makara of 957 or at the end of 956 belongs to the 0th year. The star was current on 28th December 956.

Record No. 104/1914:— The record belongs to Rajakesari. Vide table, page 32 ante Sembiyan Vedi Velan figures in this record. He is called the builder of Sri Vimana. The data of this record are year 7, Makara, Thursday and Mula. The data agree with 14th January 964. The record belongs to Sundara Chola. Accordingly Mula in Makara of 957 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 1st January.

Kamarasavalli record No. 74/1914:— The record belongs to Rajakesari. The donor is one Balasiriyar Bhattan Silan Kuttan. The data are year 5, Makara, Friday and Punarvasu. The data agree with 4th January 961. The record belongs to Sundara Chola. Accordingly Punarvasu in Makara of 957 falls in the first year. The star was current on 17th January.

Tiruppalatturai record No. 171/1907:- The record belongs to Rajakesari. The record states that the members of the big assembly met in the day time and conducted the transactions. The data are year 5, Mithuna, Tuesday any Chittirai. The data agree with 28th May 961. The record belongs to Sundara Chola. Accordingly Chitra in Mithuna of 957 falls in the first year. The star was current on 9th June 957.

Koyiladi Deviyajaneswara Temple record No. 280/1901:- The record belongs to Rajakesari. The data are year 12, Kumbha, Tuesday and Hasta. The data perfectly agree with 18th February 968. Accordingly Hasta in Kumbha of 957 falls in the first year. The star was current on 31st January.

As per 127/1914 ... 28—12—956 = 0th year

As per 104/1914 ... 1—1—957 = 0th year

As per 74/1914 ... 17—1—957 = 1st year

As per 280/1901 ... 31—1—957 = 1st year

As per 171/1907 ... 9—6—957 = 1st year

As per 133/1914 ... 10—6—957 = 1st year

As per 105/1914 ... 20—8—957 = 1st year

King Rajakesari Sundara Chola ascended the throne between the 2nd and the 17th January 957 A. D.

GIST

Rajakesari Sundara Chola ascended the throne between the 2nd and the 17th January 957. The following records are assigned to him and they have definite dates.

Record No.	Regnal year	Date
74/1914	5	4—1—961
171/1907	5	28—5—961
133/1914	5	29—5—961
127/1914	6	20—1—968
105/1914	7	15—8—968
104/1914	7	14—1—964
280/1901	12	18—2—968

Sundara Chola was known as "Madhurai Konda Rajakesari". (Rajakesari who took Madura). His records with this title are available upto year 17. It means that he was alive in 973. He could have lived some more time. We shall discuss this in the next chapter.

Foot Notes:—

1. S. I. I. XIII 165 suggests Raja Raja. How? The report does not suggest a date.
2. S. I. I. XIII 114 The record is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine. It is evident that in this context Sri Vimana means central shrine.
3. 101/1892 is published in S. I. I IV 549; 127/1914 is published in S. I. I. XIII 138. Both are same. Today the Thiru Chitra Kuta hall and the choultry mentioned in the records are in ruins. They can be found on the western slope of the hill.
4. S. I. I. XIII 164 suggests 15th January 991, the reign of Raja Raja. Since the regnal year is 7, it makes January 985 the first year of Raja Raja whereas he came to the throne in July 985. The date suggested by the report is not convincing. The record does not belong to Raja Raja. There is a date 1st January 957 the reign of Gandaratitya. This makes Mula in Makara of 950 the 0th year. The star was current on 17th January 950. It means that Gandaratitya did not ascend the throne till 17th January 950. But we have found that he came to the throne prior to 5th January 950. Therefore the record does not belong to Gandaratitya. It belongs to Sundara Chola only. Here the Indian Calendar system alone helps us in identifying the king and also in suggesting the correct date.
5. S. I. I. XIII 109.
6. S. I. I. XIII 106.
7. S. I. I. VII 500.

Last years of Sundara Chola

Sundara Chola came to the throne between the 2nd and the 17th January 957. We shall find how long he was alive.

Sundara Chola's records are available. His records introduce the king as Rajakesari or Rajakesari who took Madura. The historical events related to his period are discussed by many scholars and they need no repetition here. His records upto year 17 are identified.¹ It is certain that he was alive in 973.

Two records of Koil Tevarayan Pettai (Tanjore District) which belong to Sundara Chola are really interesting. They are discussed below.

Record² No. 237/1923:— The record belongs to Rajakesari year 17, It registers an agreement made by certain individuals to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple for the money they received in the 12th, 14th and 17th years of Madhurai Konda Maharayar (Maharayar who took Madura)³.

Record⁴ No. 230/1923:— This record is also engraved on the same wall. It belongs to Rajakesari who took Madura year 17 evidently Sundara Chola. Lines 18 and 19 register the gifts made in the Nineteenth year (in words) of Madurai Konda Marayar (i. e. Maharayar).

Who is this Maharayar who took Madura? S. I. I. XIII. 272 observes "it is however not known that he (Sundara Chola) had a reign of 19 years; neither is it clear how that later regnal year could be referred to here except by mistake". It is clear that S. I. I. XIII accepts that Madurai Konda Maharayar is Sundara Chola himself. But the report is unable to explain the reason for mentioning the 19th year grant in the 17th year record. Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam explains this anomaly like this.⁵ "There is another inscription of the 17th year of Rajakesarivarman (230 of 1923) which records an agreement given by three servants of the temple to supply ghee for a perpetual lamp and for the provision of paddy for persons bringing water from the Kaveri for the sacred bath of the deity, in return for various gifts of sheep, cows, and money received previously. This is a record probably of Sundara Chola. The inaccuracy in the name of the ruler and the absence of a chronological sequence of the rulers cited in the text are real

obstacles to the proper understanding of the course of events narrated in this record. After starting with the 17th year of Rajakesari, whom we have identified with Sundara Chola, there is mention of the 17th year of Kodanamarayar, then the 17th year of Rajakesari and the 19th year of Madiraikonda Marayar. The editor of the South Indian Inscriptions (S. I. I XIII, 277) holds that the reading Kodanamarayar is meant evidently for Madiraikonda-Marayar and the 19th year of Madiraikonda Marayar should refer to Sundara Chola himself, and he is faced with the consequent difficulty that a grant of the king's 19th year is quoted in a record of his 17th year and so he remarks :- "It is however not known that he had a reign of 19 years; neither is it clear how that later regnal year could be referred to here except by some mistake". It seems to me that there is a way of explaining it to make some sense. The first record cites the 17th year of Kodanamarayar. This term as it is makes no sense and can be taken as Kodandamarayar which is a surname of Aditya I, instead of as Madiraikonda Marayar as the editor suggests. This is a better emendation than the one proposed by the editor. The third item of the 19th year of Madiraikonda Marayar might be assigned to Parantaka I because he had this title to his credit instead of to Sundara which causes the confusion of the 19th year grant being quoted in a 17th year record. Thus interpreted, the position will be that in an inscription of the 17th year of Rajakesari who is likely to be Sundara Chola, there are quoted two grants of Aditya I, first one of the 17th year of Kodandarama, and another of the 17th year of Rajakesari, and both of them can be assigned to Aditya I. The third one of the 19th year of Madiraikonda Marayar relates to a grant of Parantaka I".

Well, this is one way of explaining the anomaly. We can interpret the record in a different way also. Before proceeding further let us discuss about "Marayar". Parthivendra Varman who took the head of Vira Pandya was a contemporary of Sundara Chola. He was ruling in Thondal Mandalam consisting of the present North Arcot and Chittur Districts. Tiruvidandai (Chengleput Taluk) record No. 264/1910 belongs to Raja Marayar who took the head of Vira Pandya. The regnal year is 8. This Raja Marayar is evidently Parthivendra Varman himself. Therefore Marayar is the title applied to the ruling king also.

If this is so then we can apply the same argument to Koil Tevarayan Pettai record. Then how to explain the 19th year grant which is mentioned in the 17th year record? Let us see some more records.

Tirunedungulam record No. 682/1909 belongs to a Rajakesari. The regnal year is engraved as 3 in figure and six in words! How to explain this! The order issued in the 3rd year was engraved in the 6th year. There was a delay of three years in engraving the order on the temple wall.

Tenneri record⁷ No. 199/1901 belongs to Raja Raja year 11. Line 7 registers the grant made by Sembian Madeviyar in the 10th year of the king. Line 10 registers the grant made by Sembian Madeviyar in the 12th year of the king⁸. The sequence of the transactions is this. In the 10th year of Raja Raja, Sembian Madeviyar made some grants. In the 11th year the order was passed and sent to the village. The village assembly engraved the record in the 12th year in which year Sembian Madeviyar made some more grants and this was included in the record. We come across instances where if any order is engraved belatedly, then, the grants made in the later years are also included in the earlier record. We shall see some examples.

1. Leyden grant of Raja Raja⁹. This is the copper plate grant of Raja Raja year 21, But the order was not engraved in the life time of Raja Raja. It was done so by his son Rajendra I. Actually Leyden grant of Raja Raja itself states that Madurantaka issued the copper plate registering the 21st year grant of his father Raja Raja. The seal of these copper plates belong to Rajendra only and not to Raja Raja.

2. Tiruvalankadu copper plates¹⁰ of Rajendra I:- The Sanskrit and Tamil portions of the grant are dated year 6. But they describe the historical events which took place after the 10th year of the king! It means that the order was issued in the 6th year of the king. After 4 years it was engraved on copper. By this time Rajendra attained some victories. These were also included in the copper plate.

3. Karandal copper plates of Rajendra I No. 57/1949-50:- The record is dated year 8. But it mentions the historical events which took place in the later years of the king. It means that the order was issued in the 8th year. After some years it was engraved on copper¹¹.

In the light of the above records let us see Koil Tevarayan Pettai record No. 230/1923. The record belongs to Rajakesari year 17. Lines 18 and 19 mentions the grants made in the 19th year of Marayar who took Madura.

The record belongs to Sundara Chola year 17 corresponding to 973. It was engraved on the wall in the 19th year. While doing so the grants made in his 19th year were also included in the record. Marayar who took Madura is Sundara Chola himself. His 19th year corresponds to 975.

Sundara Chola's rule extended upto 973. He could have also lived upto 975. (There is no harm in extending the life of Sundara Chola and it will not do any damage to the Chronology. Anyway let us keep the date 975 under reserve till something turns up in the future)¹².

Tiruvorriyur record No. 246/1912:- The text of the record¹³ runs as follows :

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்தியூ மதிரை கொண்ட கோவிராசகே
- 2) சரிபன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு ஐஞ்சாவது உடையார்
- 3) உத்தம சோழ தேவருடன் வந்த
- 4) கலெசி பெருந்தரத்துச் சிங்கமய்யன் மகன்
- 5) கடுத்தலை நாகமய்யன் திருவொற்றியூர்
- 6) மகாதேவர்க்கு ஆசந்திராதரமும் ஒரு நந்தா
- 7) வீளக்கெரிப்பதற்கு வைத்த சாவா மூவா பேரா
- 8) ஓ தொண்ணூறு ஈழவிளக்கு ஒன்று இது பந்மா
- 9) கேஸ்வரகைடி.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the fifth year of the reign of Ko-Rajakesari-varman who took Madura, Kaduttalai Nagamaiyyan son of Singamaiyyan, a Kalesi of Perundaram who had accompanied Udaiyar Uttama Chola Deva, gave ninety sheep which neither die nor grow old, for burning one perpetual lamp as long as the moon and the stars endure, and one Ila (Ceylon) lamp to the temple of Mahadeva of Tiruvorriyur. This shall be under the protection of the assembly of Mahesvaras”.

The record belongs to Sundara Chola and it is dated 961. It mentions the visit of Udaiyar Uttama Chola Deva to the temple. This proves that Uttama was a grown up prince in 961. Udaiyar is either a respectable term or a regal title. Uttama came to the throne in 971. But in 961, Sundara Chola calls Uttama as Udaiyar Uttama Chola. As far as Sundara is concerned Uttama was his step elder brother. Therefore Sundara attributes the respectable term “Udaiyar” to Uttama. In the following records the word Udaiyar is attributed to the local chieftains also.

Pudukkottai Kudumliyanmalai record No. Pd. 22 belongs to a Rajakesari (probably Gandaratitya) year 3. It refers to the grant made by (the Chief) Udaiyar Mahimalaya Irukkuvelar. This Chief was never a Chola King. But he is addressed by a respectable term Udaiyar.

Allur record¹⁴ No. 173/1903 belongs to a Parakesari (probably Arinjaya) year 4. It refers to the grant made by (a Chief) Udaiyar Vira Chola Ilango Velan. Here the donor is not a king. He is a Chief. But the respectable word Udaiyar is attributed to him.

Tiruchchendurai record¹⁵ No. 302/1903 belongs to a Rajakesari (Probably Gandaratitya) year 2. It refers to the grant made by the Chief Udaiyar Vira Chola Ilango Velan. The same temple record No. 315/1903 mentions a chief Udaiyar Sembiyan Ilango Velan.

Therefore the word Udaiyar is to be understood in the light of the context of the record. It is a respectable word. It is also a regal title. In the Tiruvorriyur record Sundara states "Udaiyar Uttama Chola Devar". The date of the record is 961. Here the word "Udaiyar" is to be understood as a mark of respect only. It is not a regal title because Uttama came to the throne in 971. Thus it is evident that in 961 Uttama was a grown up Prince. We will find supporting evidence when we discuss Arinjaya. The Tiruvorriyur record of Sundara Chola will be again quoted when we discuss Rashtrakuta king Krishna III.

Sundara Chola died in the golden Palace of Kanchipuram. In the Chola records he is referred to as "Devar who died in the golden palace" (பொன் மாளிகைத் துஞ்சின தேவர்)¹⁶.

Sundara Chola had two sons namely Aditya II and Raja Raja I. Sundara's daughter was Kundavaiyar. In the year 1010 Raja Raja built the Raja Rajeswaram temple at Thanjavur. In the year 1014, Kundavaiyar set up the images of her father "Pon Maligai Thunjina Devar" (evidently Sundara Chola) and also the image of her mother (தம்மை Thammai) Vanavan Madevi.¹⁷ The said images are not available to-day.

Foot Notes :—

1. Tirumalpuram S. I. I. III. 117 and 118 ; Chittoor district Nemali 149/1942-48; A. R. E. 1989-48 page 286 para 27 ; Chintamani 18/1938-84 : Allur record 877/1908 ; Tirumalavadi 2/1920.
2. S. I. I. XIII 278.
3. கோவி ராஜ கோசரிபன்மற்கு யாண்டு யிள ஆவது ராஜகோசரி சதுர் வேதி மங்கலத்து திருச்சேலூர் மகாதேவர்க்கு மதிரை கொண்ட மஹாராயர்க்கு யிச மாண்டு.....etc." Lines 18 and 19 state..... மதிரை கொண்ட மாராயற்குயாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது...
4. S. I. I. XIII. 272.
5. Page 180 Early Chola Art Part one.
6. Tiruvadandai S. I. I. III. 186 ; A. R. E. 1911 page 68 para 19 ; Uttaramallur record No. S. I. I. III. 152, Ko-Parthivendra Maharaya who took the head of Virā Pandya year 2.
7. S. I. I. VII. 411.
8. யாண்டு யிள வதில் தேவற்கு அமுது செய்யக் குடுத்த செப்புப் பரிகலம்.
9. E. I. XXII page 218.
10. S. I. I. III page 884.
11. A. R. E. 1949-50 page 4.
12. Incidentally S. I. I. XIII assigns the records 288 (119/1914) and 284 (155/1914) of Rajakesarivarman year 18 to Sundara Chola. The date falls in 974.
13. S. I. I. III 115. Also see pages 146 and 147 of The Colas by K. A. N. Sastri. He interprets the record in a round about way. The record was engraved in the fifth year of Sundara Chola only.
14. S. I. I. VIII 687.
15. S. I. I. VIII 611.
16. The Gold n Palace at Kanchipuram is mentioned in Tirumalpuram record S. I. I. III. 142 ; Also refer to Raja Raja's records Tiruvidaimarudur S. I. I. V. 728 ; Tiruvenkadu S. I. I. V. 980.
17. Raja Raja's Tanjore record 75/1888 (S. I. I. II. No. 6). Also see page 42 "Middle Chola Temples" by Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam.

Parakesarivarman Arinjaya Chola

Parakesarivarman Arinjaya was the younger brother of Gandaratitya. Arinjaya's son was Rajakesari Sundara Chola.

Gandaratitya came to the throne in January 950. Sundara Chola came to the throne in January 957. Therefore Arinjaya could have ascended the throne between 950 and 957.

Between 950 and 985 there were three Parakesarivarmans namely Arinjaya, Aditya II and Uttama Chola. The records of these kings are available. But they introduce the kings as Parakesarivarman only. Some of the records contain astronomical data. The data are to be worked out satisfying the Indian calendar system and the internal evidence. Under no circumstances the regnal years are to be corrected.

We have already identified some of the records of Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola. We shall now consult some more records of Parakesarivarman and try to identify Arinjaya.

Record No. S. I. I. XIX. 323 :- This is Kumbakonam record No. 240/1911. It is found on the west wall of the central shrine (left of the Ardhanari Niche) of the Nageswara temple Kumbakonam. It was copied in the year 1911. It was published in the year 1920 in S. I. I. III. 137. According to this report the text runs as follows:-

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கோப்பரகே
- 2) சரிபன்மர்க்கியாண்டு (யுக) ஆ
- 3) வது இவ்வாண்டானநி (த்தி)
- 4) ந்கள் பதினென்பக்கம்
- 5) பினுன் முல்லம் வெள்ளி போ
- 6) து இவ்வாண்டு இத்திங்கள்
- 7) இது பொழுது திது பருவம் (பா)
- 8) ம்பூர் நாட்டுத் தேவதான.....
- 9) கில் முன் கோ.....ன் பாலாவனத்து
- 10) இவ்வூர் மூலபருடைப் பெருமக்களோம் ஸ்ரீ உத்தமசோழ
- 11) ர் நம்பிராட்டியார்.....ரயர் மகளார் வீரநாராய
- 12) னியார் திருக்கீழ்க்கோட்டத்துப் பெருமாளுக்கு... etc”

The record belongs to Parakesarivarman. He states that Virā Narayaniyar the queen of Sri Uttama Cholar gifted lands to the temple. The members of the big assembly registered the lands and fixed the boundaries. The editor Krishna Sastri identified Parakesarivarman of this record as Uttama Chola because the queen of Uttama is mentioned in the record. This was accepted by all scholars.

Krishna Sastri translated the data as year (13), month Aani, Second (dark) fortnight, 18th Solar day and Friday. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai suggested the date¹ 9th June 982.

I verified the date. 9th June 982 was the 17th Solar day of Aani and not the 18th. The error prompted me to verify the inscription in person.

Kumbakonam is my home town. I went to the Nageswara temple and read the inscription. To my great surprise the text is different from S. I. I. III. 137. The photograph of this inscription is published opposite to page 16. It runs as follows :-

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்திபூநீ கோப்பரகே
- 2) சரிபன்மர்க்கியாண்டு M ஆ
- 3) வது இவ்வாண்டானதி
- 4) ங்கள் மதினுள்பட்க்கம் வ
- 5) பிளுள் முல்லம் வெள்ளி போ
- 6) து இவ்வாண்டு இது திங்கள்
- 7) மிது பொழுதிது பருவமாக.....etc

The other details are same as per S. I. I. III. 137. The record belongs to Parakesarivarman. The regnal year is not 13. It is engraved in the fashion of the English letter "M" with a loop on its right top. This is the 10th century Tamil numeral for 6 (and it was misread as 13). The data are as follows :-

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1) இவ்வாண்டானதிங்கள் | = This year Aani month |
| 2) மதினுள் பட்க்கம் | = By the side of Full Moon |
| 3) வபிளுள் (உவாவின் நாள்) | = Full Moon |
| 4) முல்லம் | = Star Mulam |
| 5) வெள்ளி போது | = Friday (day time) |
| 6) இவ்வாண்டு | = this year |
| 7) இது திங்கள் மிது பொழுதிது பருவமாக | = This is full Moon time alias Parva. (In Sanskrit Parva means Full Moon or New Moon). |

The data are in Poetical form. Such a poem can be found when star Mula and Full Moon combine on a Friday in the month Aani². The phrases repeat four times confirming Full Moon. Accordingly the data are year 6, month Aani, Full Moon, Friday and Star Mula. The data perfectly agree with 4th June 958. Full Moon was current upto .34 of the day and star Mula was current upto .58 of the day. It means that Full moon was current upto 2 p. m. Star Mula was current upto 7.45 p. m. It was a grand festival day in all Shiva temples³.

The record belongs to Parakesarivarman Arinjaya. Mula in Aani of 958 falls in the 6th year. Therefore Mula in Aani of 953 falls in the first year. It was current on 31st May. Arinjaya came to the throne prior to 31st May 953.

The internal evidence also proves that the record belongs to Arinjaya only. Parakesarivarman to whom the record belongs states that Sri Uttama Cholar Nam Pirattiyar Viranarayanaiyar daughter of - Rayar gifted lands to the temple. (..... ராயர் மகளார் ஸ்ரீ உத்தம சோழர் தம்பிராட்டியார் வீர நாராயணியார்)

If Viranarayanaiyar is the queen of the Parakesarivarman of this record then the latter will state "Nam Piraiyattir" only (தம்பிராட்டியார்). But Parakesarivarman refers to "Uttama Cholar Nam Pirattiyar Viranarayanaiyar". It means that Parakesarivarman to whom the record belongs and Uttama Chola the husband of Viranarayanaiyar are different identities⁴. In any Tamil record if the king of the record mentions the queen as "Nam Pirattiyar" then it means that she is his queen. If the king of the record mentions somebody's Nam Pirattiyar then it means that the queen is the wife of that somebody; That somebody and the king of the record are different persons. This is an important interpretation in Tamil records. Any slip in the interpretation will yield dangerous result.

The record is dated 4th June 958. Parakesarivarman mentions Uttama Chola. It is evident that Parakesarivarman of this record is Arinjaya. Again he mentions the wife of Uttama Chola. It means that Uttama was not a child⁵ in 958. He was a grown up prince and he had a wife also! But Uttama came to the throne in 971. Therefore in 958, Arinjaya simply mentions as "Uttama Cholar" only. No regal title is given. Even the respectable word Devar is absent. Uttama was the son of Gandaratitaya the elder brother of Arinjaya. Therefore Arinjaya has taken the liberty of mentioning his "step son" simply as "Uttama Cholar" only.

Udaiyarkudi record No 556/1920 :- The record belongs to Parakesari-varman. The recrd mentions the village as Vira Narayana Chathurvedhi Mangalam⁶ the surname of Parantaka I. It is evident that the record is post Parantaka⁷. The data⁸ are year 3, Makara, Thursday and Avittam (Sravishta). The data perfectly agree with 17th January 956 Accordingly Avittam in Makara of 953 falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 18th January.

Pullamangai record⁹ No. 549/1921 :- The record belongs to Parakesari-varman, The data are year 3, Mina, Tuesday and Avittam (Sravishta). The data agree with 11th March 956. Accordingly Avittam in Mina of 953 falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 14th March.

As per 556/1920 18-1-953 = Oth year

As per 549/1921 14-3-953 = Oth year

As per 240/1911 31-5-953 = 1st year

King Parakesarivarman Arinjaya Chola came to the throne between the 15th March and the 31st May 953. The following records are assigned to Arinjaya and they have definite dates.

Record No.	Regnal year	Date
556/1920	3	17-1-956
549/1921	3	11-1-956
240/1911	6	4-6-958

Last years of Arinjaya :

It is generally believed that Arinjaya did not rule more than two or three years¹⁰. Inscriptions prove that he ruled for a longer time.

Kumbakonam record¹¹ No. 234/1911 :- The record belongs to Parakesarivarman year eight, It registers the grant made to the temple by the queen of Uttama Chola. Line 10 states that Uttama Cholar Nam Pirattiyar (ஸ்ரீ உத்தம சோழர் நம்பிராட்டியார்) granted certain lands to the temple to burn a perpetual lamp.

In his eighth year Parakesarivarman of this record mentions the quen of Uttama. He does not attribute any regal title to Uttama. Even the

respectable word Devar is absent. It is evident that Arinjaya alone could have had that privilege towards Uttama because Arinjaya was the step father of Uttama¹⁹. The record belongs to Arinjaya only. The record is dated 960.

Tiruvankadu Record No. 486/1918 (S. I. I. XIX 206):- The record belongs to Parakesarivarman year 8. The record mentions grants made to the temple by Minavan Mahadeviyar queen of Uttama Chola (உத்தம சோழர் தேவியார் மீனவன் மஹாதேவியார்). No respectable word like Sri, Udayar or Devar is attributed to Uttama. It is evident that the record belongs to Arinjaya and it is dated 960. Arinjaya mentions Uttama's another wife Minavan Mahadeviyar.

Arinjaya's rule, came to an end probably in 960. This date gets support in the next chapter where we shall find the accession date of Aditya II as 960.

Arinjaya died in 960. His mortal remains were buried at Melpadi. Later, Raja Raja I built a Pallippadai temple (memorial temple) on the mortal remains of Arinjaya. The temple was called Arinjagal Iswaramudaiyar. In the inscription the temple is called Arinjagal Iswaramudaiyar in Arrur situated on the banks of river Niva¹⁹. Arrur mentioned here is the hamlet of Melpadi itself. (Melpadi is about 25 kilometers south west of Chittoor in Andhra Pradesh).

In the Chola inscriptions Arinjaya is referred to as "Arrur Thunjina Devar" (ஆற்றூர் துஞ்சின தேவர் - who died at Arrur). The temple exists even to-day at Melpadi under the name Choliswara temple.

GIST

Parakesarivarman Arinjaya Chola ascended the throne between the 15th March and the 31st May 953. At that time Parantaka I was alive. Rajakesari Gandaratitya was running his 4th regnal year.

Arinjaya's records appear from his 2nd regnal year¹⁴ corresponding to 954 when Parantaka died. Rajakesari Gandaratitya became the senior king. Naturally his younger brother Arinjaya adopted the alternate title Parakesarivarman.

In the year 958 and 960 Arinjaya mentions Uttama and the latter's two wives. Therefore Uttama was a grown up prince in 958. In the last Chapter we found that Sundara chola also mentioned Uttama in 961. Arinjaya's rule came to an end in 960.

Foot Notes :—

1. A. R. E. 1912 page 65 para 10; here also the report identifies the king Parakesari-varman as Uttama Chola.
2. The report S. I. I. III. 137 wrongly read the text. It read மதிஞரூபக்கம் which is Full Moon as பதினென்பக்கம் which means 18th Solar day. The wall does not contain the phrase for 18th Solar day.
3. Aani Mula festival day is dedicated to Karaikal Ammaiyar (காரைக்கால் அம்மையார்).
4. Please compare this with Tenneri record No. S. I. I. VII. 411 where Raja Rajakesari mentions "Gandaratiya Devar Nam Pirattiyar Sembiyan Madeviyar". Raja Rajakesari is Raja Raja I and it is evident from his title "he who destroyed Kalam at Salai". Also see Tiruvalanjuli record No. S. I. I. VIII. 237. In this record Rajendra I mentions Raja Raja Devar Nam Pirattiyar Dantisakti Vitankiyar. Like this there are many examples in Tamil records.
5. Some scholars surmised that Uttama was a child in 958. See page 152 of "The Colas" by K. A. N. Mathematics proves that Uttama was a grown up prince in 958 and he had two wives. Please refer to Parantaka's Kilappaluvur record 241/1926 year 22. Also see A. R. E. 1925-26 page 102 para 16. Gandaratitya was a prince in 928. Naturally his son Uttama was a grown up prince in 958 and 960.
6. S. I. I. XIX. 58.
7. The villages Udaiyarkudi and Kattumannarkoil were once in the complex of the city Viranarayana Chathurvedhi Mangalam founded by Parantaka I. Viranarayana was the surname of Parantaka. Near this village Parantaka dug a very big lake and called it in his name as "Viranarayanam lake". To-day the lake exists and it irrigates 12,000 acres of lands. It is the same Viranam lake from which, in the recent years, attempts were made to bring the water to the city of Madras.
8. See page 17 ante the chapter "Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola".
9. S. I. I. XIX 68. See page 17 ante.
10. See page 149 of "The Colas" by K. A. N. But in page 62, of The Early Chola Art Part I Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam opines that Arinjaya could have ruled for 9 years.
11. S. I. I. XIX 205.
12. உத்தம சோழனின் சிறற்பா அறிஞ்சய சோழன்.
13. S. R. Balasubramaniam Early Chola Temples pages 214 to 216; Melpadi record S. I. I. III. 17 of Raja Raja year 29, lines 10 to 12, state "ஆற்றார் தஞ்சின தேவர்க்குப் பள்ளிப்படையாக உடையார் ஸ்ரீராஜ ராஜ தேவர் எடுப்பித்தருளின திருவறிஞ்சல்வரது மகாதேவற்கு
14. When the senior king crowns the junior, the records of the latter will appear from the 2nd year only. Junior will not issue the order from his first year. However there is an exceptional case and there is a reason. Vira Pandya of Pandyan civil war was the son of Parakrama Pandya who was killed in 1166. In the year 1170 the Ceylon Generals made Vira Pandya the king of Madura. Vira Pandya was not crowned by his father Parakrama. Therefore in the year of his coronation Vira Pandya issued the order in his name. (See page 18 of T. A. S. Volume II)

Parakesarivarman Aditya Karikala Chola II

Parakesarivarman Aditya Karikala Chola II was the son of Sundara Chola. Tiruvalankadu copper plates of Rajendra I state that Aditya killed the Pandya king.¹ It is said that Aditya deposited the head of the Pandya in the capital (Madurai?). The Pandya king who was killed by Aditya was Vira Pandya. This is evident from the Leyden grant of Raja Raja I. Aditya adopted the title as "he who took the head of the Pandya" or "who took the head of Vira Pandya". His records are available with these titles.

The date of Aditya II is still under dispute. Neelakanta Sastri surmised that Sundara Chola and his son Aditya came to the throne² in 956. It is doubtful whether father and son would ascend the throne in the same year. Aditya's record with the title "who took the head of Pandya" are available upto year 5 only. There was another king by name Parthivendra Varman with the title who took the head of Vira Pandya. His records are available upto year 15. Sastri identified Aditya and Parthivendra Varman as the same king³. His arguments are based on adjusting the dates of certain historical events. He made his surmise in 1935. He did what best he could do in the research work based on the then available source materials.

Aditya's records with the title who took the head of the Pandya are available upto year 5. He was murdered in the life time of his father Sundara Chola. Aditya's successor was Uttama Chola. Scholars thought that Uttama came to the throne in 969-70. Therefore they surmised that Aditya would have come to the throne in⁴ 966.

S. I. I. XIX, 231 suggests that Aditya came to the throne in 956. The same volume in page VII states that Aitya killed Vira Pandya sometime before 960. Vira Pandya's records are available⁵ upto year 20. Therefore Vira Pandya should have come to the throne prior to 940. But S. I. I. XIV, 79 states that Vira Pandya came to the throne in 946. It means that he was alive in 966 and was no more in 967. Aditya killed Vira Pandya. He claims this in his second year. If this is so, then Aditya should have come to the throne in 966!

According to S. I. I. XIX Aditya came to the throne in 956 and he killed Vira Pandya sometime before 960. But according to S. I. I. XIV Vira Pandya was killed in 967 and Aditya came to the throne in 966! When did Aditya come to the throne?

Did Aditya come to the throne in 956? or

Did he come to the throne in 966?

The confusion exists even to-day. There is reason for this. *Aditya's date was suggested on the basis of Vira Pandya's date. But Vira Pandya's date itself is under dispute.* His Ambasamudram record⁷ quotes year 12 and Solar Eclipse in the month Mithuna (Star and week day are not available). The Solar Eclipse occurred on two dates as follows :-

1) 18th June 950

2) 9th June 959

If 18th June 950 falls in the 12th year of Vira Pandya then he came to the throne in 938. His 20th year falls in 958 when he was killed by Aditya whose initial date would then fall in 956. Because in his 2nd year Aditya states that he killed Vira Pandya.

If 9th June 959 falls in the 12th year of Vira Pandya then he came to the throne in 947. His 20th year falls in 967 when he was killed by Aditya. If this is so then Aditya would have come to the throne in 966,

The dates of Vira Pandya are discussed in page 37 of Epigraphia Indica XXV and in page 89 of Epigraphia Indica XXVIII. In the former volume A. S. Ramanatha Iyer and in the latter Volume Venkatramayya suggested two initial dates either 939 or 946. No conclusive result could be determined. Each date has its own merits and demerits. The articles are interesting and the reader is requested to please refer to them for academic interest.

Finally in page 90 of E. I. XXVIII Venkatramayya states "The position occupied by Solan Talai Konda Vira Pandya (Vira Pandya who took the head of Chola) in the Pandyan genealogy still remains undetermined". Therefore the date of Aditya II is also under dispute.

Venkata Subba Iyer suggested that the second year of Aditya fell after 959 A. D. He said that a chief by name Irungolakon alias Pagal Vipparagandan figured in a record dated Kali 4060 corresponding to 959-60. The same chief figures in the second year record of Aditya II. In the first

instance the chief was independent. In the second case he was a feudatory under Aditya. Therefore Venkata Subba Iyer rightly surmised that the second year of Aditya fell after Kali 4060 i. e. after 959-60. Iyer's arguments are very interesting and they can be found in *Epigraphia Indica* Volume XXVIII page 269.

Aditya's records with the title Parakesarivarman, Parakesarivarman "who took the head of the Pandya" or "Vira Pandya" are available. Some of these records contain astronomical data. Unfortunately till date the data were not worked out. We shall do it now. Three of his Udaiyarkudi records with the title who took the head of the Pandya contain astronomical data. They are tabulated below.

Aditya Karikala II alias Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya.

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Astronomical data
588/1920	Udaiyarkudi	3	Kanni, Tuesday and Uttira Ashada (?)
619/1920	-do-	4	Vrichika, Wednesday and Sravishta
610/1920	-do-	4	Makara, Monday and Kirtika

The Tamil months Kanni, Vrichika and Makara corresponding to September, November and December (or) January fall in the years 3, 4. and 4, *It means that they are in the continuous flow of a Main Current.* We have seen that Sundara Chola came to the throne in 957. Therefore Aditya's dates satisfying the astronomical data of his records and the main flow of the current of the regnal years must fall between 957 and 971 when Uttama came to the throne.

I worked out the dates. The data of 588/1920 gave me troubles. I could not get a satisfactory date in relation to the other two records which supplied the dates in 963 only. I was unable to reconcile with the data of 588/1920.

I went to Udaiyarkudi and read the inscription in person. Record No. 588/1920 is engraved on the north wall of the central shrine of the Anantisvaraswami temple. *To my great surprise I found that the star quoted in*

the inscription was *Uttirattathi i. e. Uttra Badrapada*. It is not *Uttira Ashada* as reported in *A. R. E.* This solved my problem and also the problem of *Aditya II*. I have taken an estempege of the record. The photograph of the impression is published opposite to this page. The data of the other two records agree with the report. Accordingly the correct dates of the record are worked out below⁸.

Record No. 588/1920:— The correct data are year 3, Kanni, *Uttirattathi* and Tuesday. The data perfectly agree with 16th September 962. Accordingly *Uttirattathi* in Kanni of 960 falls in the first year. The star was current on 8th September.

Record No. 619/1920:— The data are year 4, *Vrichika*, Wednesday and *Sravishta*. The data perfectly agree with 28th October 963. Accordingly *Sravishta* in *Vrichika* of 960 falls in the first year. The star was current on 30th October.

Record No. 610/1920:— The data are year 4, Makara, Monday and *Kirtika*. The data perfectly agree with 28th December 963. Accordingly *Kirtika* in Makara at the end of 959 or beginning of 960 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 10th January 960.

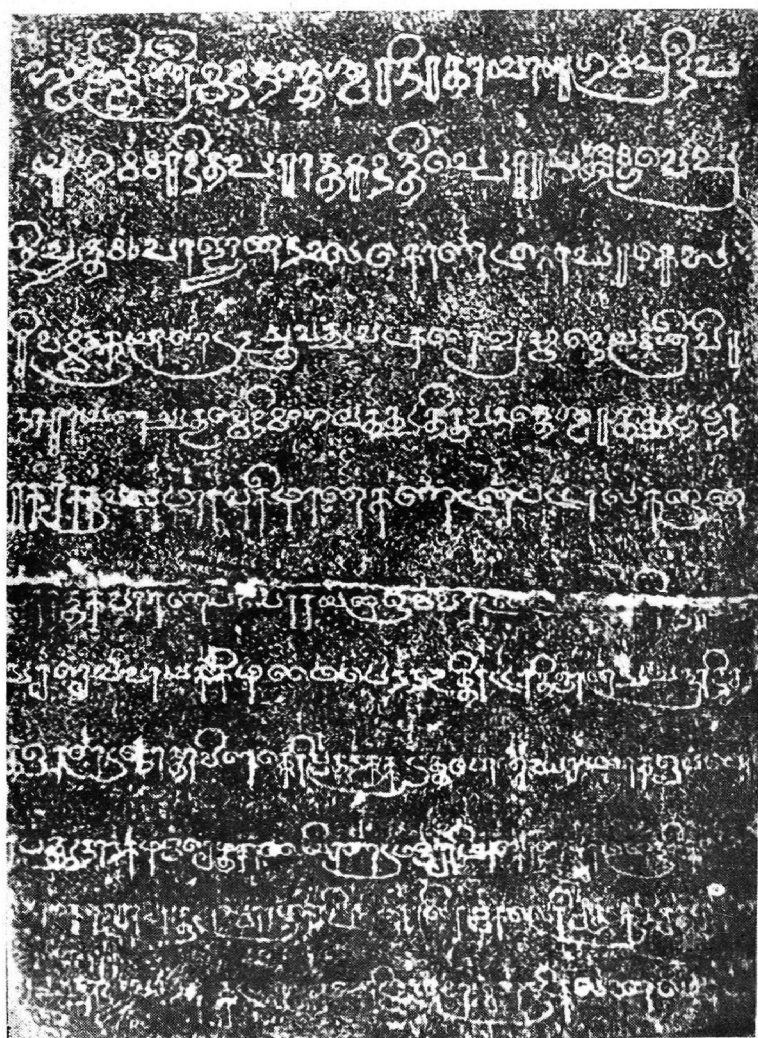
As per 610/1920 10—1—960 = 0th year

As per 588/1920 8—9—960 = 1st year

As per 619/1920 30—10—960 = 1st year

Parakesarivarman Aditya Karikala who took the head of the Pandya ascended the throne between the 11th January and the 8th September 960. In the same period Arinjaya died which we have seen in the last chapter. After the death of his father, Sundara Chola crowned his son Aditya II. This happened in the middle of 960.

Kumbakonam record No. 234A/1911:— This is published in S. I. I. XIX 131. Vide page 18 ante we have discussed this record. The record belongs to Parakesarivarman. The data are year 5, month Aani, Full Moon, Mula and Friday. The data perfectly agree with 16th June 965. The record belongs to Aditya II. Accordingly Mula in Aani of 960 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 11th June 960.



Udaiyarkudi record No. 588/1920
 Parakesarivarman who took the head of the
 Pandya year 3,
 Kanni, Tuesday and uttirattathi.

(Please refer to the pages 63 and 64)
 (Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India Mysore)

Parakesarivarman Aditya Karikala II came to the throne between the 12th June and the 8th September 960.¹⁰ The following records belong to Aditya II and they have definite dates.

Record No.	Regnal year	Christian date
588/1920	3	16— 9—962
619/1920	4	28—10—963
610/1220	4	28—12—963
234A/1911	5	16— 6—965

Tiruvidaïmarudhur records of 1907 :

Record No. 260 belongs to Rajakesarivarman year 9. It refers to the laying out of the formation of Sembaga Garden by Tiruvenkattu Pichchan.

Record No. 249 belongs to Parakesarivaman who took the head of the Pandya. The year is lost. It records the gift of land for maintaining the Sembaga Garden laid out by Tirnvenkattu Pichchan.

It is evident that the former record belongs to Sundara Chola and it is dated year 965. The latter belongs to Aditya II and the provenance of the records prove that Aditya's record is also dated 965. The year lost is to be restored as 5.

Last years of Aditya :

Aditya's records are identified upto year 5 corresponding to 965. He was alive in June 965. Probably he was no more after June 965. (He was murdered. We shall discuss this in another chapter).

Aditya came to the throne in the middle of 960. After his death Uttama came to the throne in the middle of 971. This proves that Aditya could not have had regnal years more than 11. But Parthivendra Varman who took the head of the Pandya has regnal years¹¹ 12, 13 and 15. Mathematics proves that Aditya Karikala II and Parthivendra Varman were different kings. They are not to be identified as same king.

GIST

Parakesarivanman Aditya Karikala Chola II who took the head of Vira Pandya ascended the throne between the 12th June and the 8th September 960. He was no more after 965.

Foot Notes :—

- 1) S. I. I. III pages 387 and 420
- 2) E. I. Vol XXII page 256 verses 27 and 28
- 3) Page 149 The Colas by K. A. N. edition 1975
- 4) Pages 148 and 149 The Colas by K. A. N. edition 1975.
- 5) Page 127 Early Chola Temples by Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam
- 6) Vira Pandya who took the head of Chola சோழன் தலைகொண்ட வீரபாண்டியர். S. I. I. XIV 95 (Ambasamudram 101/1905).
- 7) S. I. I. XIV 95
- 8) The dates are obtained in the years 962, 963 and 963 only. No other dates are possible between 957 and 971 satisfying the flow of regnal years and the Indian calendar system.
- 9) This record mentions Thanjavur Kurram-Karralippirattiyar Velam. She figures in Uttama Chola's record No. S. I. I. XIX 95 dated 22nd April 975. Also see S. I. I. XIX 131.
- 10) This agrees with the customs of the Cholas. Some Chola kings ascended the throne in June or July.
- 11) S. I. I. III Pages 368 to 375. Also see Chengleput district Parandur record No. 75/1923 year 15.

Vira Pandya

Aditya II came to the throne in the middle of 960. His second year records introduce the king as "Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya".¹ The title regularly appears upto his fifth year.

It is evident that Aditya killed Vira Pandya sometime before 960. Vira Pandya's records are available upto year 20. Therefore he could have come to the throne prior to 940 only. We shall see below how Aditya's accession date settles the date of Vira Pandya.

Vira Pandya also claims to have taken the head of the Chola.² This we shall discuss later. His records upto year 20 appear with the title "who took the head of the Chola." In the last chapter we discussed Vira Pandya's Ambasamudram record³ which quotes year 12 and Solar Eclipse in the month of Mithuna. There were two dates. One was in 950 and the other was in 959. In the light of Aditya's date, the 12th year of Vira Pandya is to be equated to 950 only. Accordingly the Eclipse occurred 18th June 950.

Vira Pandya's 12th year corresponds to 18th June 950. We do not know whether it is the end of the 12th year or the beginning of the 12th year. Let us take it as the beginning of the 12th year. Later we shall find the surmise agreeing with the historical events.

Beginning of the 12th year	= June 950
Beginning of the 1st year	= June 939
Beginning of the 20th year	= June 958
End of the 20th year and beginning of the 21st year }	= June 959

Thus second quarter of 939 is the accession date of Vira Pandya and 959 is his closing year. Let us leave him here for the present and consult the records of Sundara Chola and Aditya II.

Leyden grant of Raja Raja states⁴ that at the city named Chevura, Parantaka (i. e. Sundara Chola who was Parantaka II) had the quarters filled with heaps of sharp and pointed arrows sent forth from his beautiful bow and caused to flow manifold rivers of blood springing from the high mountains i. e. the enemies' elephants cut asunder by (his) sharp sword,

Leyden grant further states that "Sundara Chola's first son Aditya Karikala, the young boy, the light of the family of Manu, played sportively in battle with Vira Pandya, just as lion's cub does with a rutting mad elephant".

Sundara Chola fought a battle at Chevur (செவ்வூர்) against the Pandya. His son Aditya who was a young boy also fought against Vira Pandya. It means that father and son participated in the same campaign.

Rajendra I's Karandai plates⁷ mention the battle of Chevur adding that Vira Pandya was defeated and forced to climb the peaks of Sahayadri mountains for refuge. Tiruvalankadu plates⁸ of Rajendra I state that Aditya killed the Pandya and deposited the latter's head in the capital. (Madura?).

From the above descriptions we can conclude that Sundara Chola waged war against Vira Pandya. His son Aditya as an young prince (before accession) participated in the campaign.

At Chevur Sundara Chola defeated Vira Pandya who fled to the mountains. Thus Sundara Chola captured the Pandya country. Madura, the traditional capital of the Pandyas came under his control. Aditya the young Prince chased Vira Pandya and killed him. He deposited the head of Vira Pandya in the capital (Madura). This is a hyperbolic description. What it really means is the victory of Aditya who killed Vira Pandya in the battle. Aditya celebrated his victory in the capital evidently Madura. Because of these victorious campaigns Sundara Chola adopted the titles "who took Madura" and "Madhurantaka".

Pudukkottah state Kodumbalur record No. Pd. 82 belongs to Sundara Chola. It introduces the king as "Udaiyar Madhurantakan Sundara Chola". The regnal year is lost.

Anbil copper plates of Sundara Chola is in year 4 corresponding to 960. The record describes the genealogy of early Chola kings. While describing Parantaka I the record states, that he (Parantaka I) reduced Madura. In the stone records, Parantaka has the title who took Madura.

While describing Sundara Chola, the Anbil plates state that he (Sundara) possessed multitude of good qualities which belonged to his grand father (Parantaka I). Perhaps the record means the success of Sundara Chola against the Pandyas and the capture of Madura⁹. Sundara Cholas

fifth year records introduce him as "Rajakesari who took Madura"¹⁰. Thus we can surmise that Sundara Chola defeated Vira Pandya and captured Madura in 960. In the same year Aditya (before June 960) killed Vira Pandya and celebrated the victory in the capital (Madura).

Aditya's records appear from his second year only. Fittingly he adopts the title who took the head of the Pandya or Vira Pandya.

Sundara's 7th year records state that he drove the Pandya into the forest¹¹. It means the same 960 Madura campaign. In the light of these facts we can surmise as follows :-

Vira Pandya (who took the head of the Chola) ascended the throne prior to June 939. The beginning of his 12th year falls in June 950 when Solar Eclipse occurred. His records are available upto year 20. His 20th year ends prior to June 959. Early 960 he was defeated by Sundara Chola and was driven to the mountain. In the same year Aditya the young prince killed Vira Pandya.

Aditya came to the throne after June 960. Prior to this date he was an young prince. Therefore Leyden grant rightly states that Aditya the young boy played like a lion's cub with the rutting elephant Vira Pandya.

Thus the dates of Vira Pandya and Aditya II are settled in accordance with the historical events. This settlement confirms that Vira Pandya came to the throne in 939 and ruled till 960 when he was killed by Aditya II.

Vira Pandya (who took the head of the Chola) came to the throne in the second quarter of 939. This date solves many problems of the historical events related to Vira Pandya and Parantaka I.

Suchindram records of Vira Pandya

Travancore Archaeological series Volume III Part I Page 67 onwards

Inscriptions of Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola are found in the Kailasa temple Suchindram near Travancore. The records are tabulated below.

Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola

A. R. E. No.	Record No. T. A. S.	Regnal year	Date
	22	7	945-46
	25	8	946-47
	26	10	948-49
	24	14	952-53
65/1896	23	19	956-57

Inscriptions of Parakesarivarman Parantaka I are found in Kanyakumari and Suchindram. The records are published in T. A. S. volume I page 237 onwards. The records of Parantaka are tabulated below:

Parakesarivarman alias Parantaka I.

Record No. A. R. E.	Record No. T. A. S.	Village	Regnal year	Date
	A	Kanyakumari	31	937
81/1896	B	Suchindram	34	940
82/1896		-do-	40 (Kumba)	946 (Feb)

From the dates of the above records of Vira Pandya and Parantaka we can surmise as follows:-

Parantaka's records dated 937, 940 and 946 are found at Suchindram in Travancore State. Vira Pandya's records appear from 946 and continue²⁸ upto 957. It is evident that Travancore area was in the hands of Parantaka till February 946. Later, prior to June 946 Vira Pandya occupied Travancore state, drove out the Chola and established his authority. He continued to hold it till his death. The above surmise is supported from Vira Pandya's Anaiyur record.

Anaiyur is a small village in Tirumangalam Taluk near Madura. Alravatasvamin temple of this village contains three records of Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola. Record No. 336/1961-62 of this temple belongs to Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola. It is in year 10 day 260 corresponding to 949. The record registers the grants made

by the king to the temple. The king Vira Pandya is stated to have secured the kingdom through the grace of God and to have issued the order from the royal seat Virakeralan put up in the Palace called Manabaranan Tirumaligal in Mangalyapuram. The other two records¹³ are also in year 10 corresponding to 949. Thus it is evident that Vira Pandya got back Travancore area in 946 and captured Madura because his record dated 949 is found near Madura. The royal seat Virakeralan implies that Vira Pandya had the surname "Virakerala". Though a Pandya he belongs to the Kerala stock also¹⁴.

Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola:

Vira Pandya adopts the title who took the head of the Chola. The title appears from his 6th year record corresponding to 944-45. The record is found at Tirunelveli. It is evident that he killed a Chola around 944-45. The Chola was Uttamasili¹⁵ the last son of Parantaka I. In the year 946 Vira Pandya gained further success, drove out the Chola from Travancore and finally established his authority in the traditional Pandyan capital Madura. He was safe in Madura till 959. Sundara Chola drove out Vira Pandya to the forest and captured Madura. In the next year 960 Aditya II killed Vira Pandya.

Vira Pandya's records found in Pandi Mandalam are tabulated below. It will be found that from 946 his records are found near Madura evidently confirming his rule from the traditional Pandyan capital Madura.

Vira Pandya's records found in Pandi Mandalam

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Date
163/1894 (S. I. I. V. 455) }	Tirunelveli	6	944-45
420/1914	Pallimadam (Aruppukkottai)	7	945-46
421/1914	Pallimadam	8	946-47
87/1907	Ambasamudram	8	946-47
424/1914	Pallimadam	9	947-48
429/1914	-do-	9	947-48
625 and 627 of 1926	Kilmathur near Madura	9	947-48
624/1926	-do-	10	948-49
388 and 389 of 1961-62	Anaiyur	10	949
336/1961-62	Anaiyur	10 day 260	949

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Date
160/1894 (S.I.I.V. 452)	Tirunelveli	11	949-50
428/1914	Pallimadam	12	950-51
18/1927	Vijayanarayanam (Madurai)	12	951
426/1914	Pallimadam	13	952
548/1926	Srivilliputhur	14	953
238/1982-83	Perungulam	15	954
288/1982-88	-do-	15	954
159/1894 (S. I. I. V. 451)	Tirunelveli	16	954-55
161/1894 (S. I. I. V. 452)	Tirunelveli	18	956-57
474/1909	Edirkottai	19	958
449/1959	Suchindram	19	958
450/1959	Suchindram	19	958
101/1905	Ambasamudram	20	958-59

Parantaka I came to the throne between the 27th December 906 and the 3rd April 907. He invaded the Pandya country and captured Madura as early as his third year¹⁶ corresponding to 909. The conquest and the subjugation of the Pandya country were in stages. His earliest record found in Pandya country¹⁷ is in year 20 corresponding to 926. His first campaign was a raid. The second one was a full fledged invasion of the Pandya country and also Ceylon. The invasion took place prior to 921. This is evident from his Tiruppurambiyam record¹⁸ year 16 corresponding to 922 which introduces the king as "Parakesarivarman who took Madura and Illam". The then contemporary Pandya king was Rajasimha who received help from Ceylon. Parantaka wiped out the Ceylon Army and defeated Rajasimha who fled to Ceylon. Later Rajasimha returned to Kerala and spent the evening of his life there. Parantaka's earliest record in the Pandya country is in year 20 corresponding to 926. Therefore around 926 Rajasimha's rule should have come to an end in the Pandya country. Parantaka became the master of the entire Pandi Mandalam and also Kerala¹⁹.

Anaimalai rock inscription²⁰ found near Madura belongs to Parantaka and it is dated 19th July 939. We have already seen his Suchindram records dated 937 to 946. Tirunelveli District Kutralam records of Parantaka range from 20th to 36th regnal year (926 to 942)²¹. Thus we surmise that Parantaka raided Madura in 909. He subjugated the Pandya

country around 921 and defeated the then contemporary Pandya ruler Rajasimha. The Pandya country was under the control of Parantaka till 946.

Vira Pandya the successor of Rajasimha came to the throne in the second quarter of 939. In the year 944-45 he waged war against Parantaka and killed the latter's son Uttamasili. Around 946 Vira Pandya succeeded in wiping out the Chola rule from the Pandya country. He captured Madura and continued to rule from there till 959. In the next year 960 Sundara Chola captured Madura. Aditya killed Vira Pandya. Thus ends the story of the great soldier prince Vira Pandya.

Cholantaka

Vira Pandya had the surname Cholantaka i. e. God of death to the Chola²¹. The village modern Solavandan on the banks of river Vaikai near Madura was called Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam so named after Vira Pandya. The present villages Kuruvitturai, Solavandan and Tenkarai were once within the complex of the big city Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam²².

Tenkarai is a village near Solavandan. The Mulasthaneswara Shiva temple of this village contains many records of the Medieval and Imperial Pandyas. The records mention the temple as Mulasthanamudaiyar Shiva temple. In front of the central shrine there is a Mandapa in which there are several pillars. Two of these pillars contain the inscriptions²³ of Raja Raja I year 17 corresponding to 1002. One is in Grantha and the other one is in Tamil. The former refers to the grants made to the Vishnu temple "Madhubid" in the village of Tenur alias Jananatha Chathurvedhi Mangalam. The latter registers the grant made to the Vishnu temple, Naduvil Sri Koil Sri Virakerala Dewar at Jananatha Chathurvedhi Mangalam. The two pillars belonged to two Vishnu temples which in the later years went into ruins. The pillars of the ruined temple were erected in the Shiva temple. (The Vishnu temples which went into ruins do not exist to-day.)

It is evident that a temple by name Virakerala Dewar existed prior to 1002. Probably it was built by Vira Pandya in his surname Virakerala²⁴. The city was called Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam. In his reign Raja Raja changed the name as Jananatha Chathurvedhi Mangalam in his surname.

Vira Pandya was also called as "Satrubhayankara" i. e. terror to his enemy²⁶. Vira Pandya encouraged scholars in Tamil and fine arts. This is evident from his Kilmathur record²⁷. The record states that Vira Pandya's officer was an expert in Vedas, Puranas, Patanjala Mudal Panuvai etc.; (மறைபொருள் தரிசனம் ஆறும், தமிழ்கள் மூன்றும், வரிசையில் அமைந்த வடநூல் வகையும், நீதி நூலையும், மேதகு புராணமும், பாதஞ்சல முதற் பனுவற் பயன்களும் மெய்மை உணர்ந்து.....விரபான்.....)

Accession dates of Parantaka and Vira Pandya :

We discussed the historical events in the reigns of Parantaka and Vira Pandya. The true picture of the events helps us to reduce the interval of the accession dates of Parantaka and Vira Pandya.

Parantaka came to the throne between the 27th December 906 and the 3rd April 907. His Suchindram record No. 82/1896 quotes year 40 and month Kumba. The date should be either Kumba of 946 or Kumba of 947.

Vira Pandya's earliest record at Suchindram is in year 7. It should be later than Parantaka's record. His Ambasamudram record is in year 12 corresponding to 18th June 950. This makes June 946 the 8th year of Vira Pandya. But Vira Pandya's Suchindram record is in year 7. Therefore its date is prior to June 946 say April-May 946. If this is so then Parantaka's record should be dated Kumba 946.

The sequence is this. Parantaka had his hold at Suchindram till Kumba (January-February) 946. Later Vira Pandya drove out the Chola and engraved his 7th year record dated April or May 946.

Kumba 946 belongs to Parantaka's 40th year. Therefore Kumba (February) 906 belongs to his first year. Parantaka I came to the throne between the 27th December 906 and February 907.

For Vira Pandya, June 946 belongs to his 8th year. His 7th year ends, some time prior to this date. Therefore February 946 belongs to his 7th year.

June 946 = 8th year

February 946 = 7th year

Vira Pandya came to the throne between February and June 939.

Some food for thought :

The reader is requested to refer to the pages 15 and 16 of A. R. E. 1960-61. It is suggested that Vira Pandya of the Sivakasi copper plates was probably the same Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola. Manabaranana was the father of Vira Pandya of the Sivakasi grant. Vira Pandya's mother is said to be a Kerala Princess. It is interesting to note that the Ambasamudram record No. S. I. I. XIV 77 belonging to Sadaiya Maran (Raja Simha?) year lost mentions "Manabaranan Podiyil". Curiously in the Anaiyur record (336/1961-62) Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola mentions his royal seat Vira Keralan and the palace hall *Manabaranan Tirumaligai* situated in Mangalyapuram. The city Mangalyapuram was probably the same Mangalapuram founded by Sendan a 7th Century Pandya king (A. R. E. 1961-62 page 14). The Anaiyur record of Vira Pandya is found in Tirumangalam Taluk very near to Madura. Probably the present Tirumangalam itself might be the said Mangalapuram or Mangalyapuram.

The report suggests that Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola was probably a Maran Sadaiyan. The surmise made by the report is convincing.

The report (1960-61) while identifying Vira Pandya of the Sivakasi copper plates with Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola, also suggests that prior to his sixth year Vira Pandya's records were engraved in the name of Maran Sadaiyan. The report substantiates this surmise by quoting Suchindram record (T. A. S. Vol. IV No. 28 page 117) of Maran Sadaiyan year 2+1. In this record an officer by name Iyakkan Chelvan alias Uttaramantrin of Kanaiyarpalli figures. The same officer figures in the Sivakasi Grant of Vira Pandya year 2+1. The suggestion of the report gains support from the following records also.

Tiruppathur record S. I. I. XIV No. 5 belongs to Maran Sadaiyan year 4+1 day 593 corresponding to (say) year 6 day 228. In the Grantha portion of the record an officer by name Tennavan Pallavadipa alias Maran Aditya figures. In the Tamil portion he is called Tennavan Pallavaraylan alias Maran Achan. The same officer figures in the Ambasamudram record (S. I. I. XIV 79) of Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola year 7.

In his sixth year Vira Pandya adopted the title "who took the head of the Chola". Probably he killed the Chola sometime after the 228th day

of his sixth year provided if we equate Maran Sadaiyan of the Tiruppathur record to Vira Pandya himself.

The sequence is this. Vira Pandya was probably a Maran Sadaiyan. Upto his sixth year he engraved his records as Maran Sadaiyan only. He killed the Chola in the last quarter of his sixth year from which date his records appear with the title "who took the head of the Chola".

At any rate the above observations require deep study and further scrutiny. I trust the future will do it.

Foot notes :—

1. Uyyakkondan Thirumalai record No. S. I. I. III. 199 year 2 of Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya. Kirakkalur 1976/74 of the Tirutturaippundi inscriptions published by Tamil Nadu Government Archaeological Department belongs to Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya year 2; Also Tirumalam record No. 801/1906 year 2.
2. S. I. I. XIV. 95 and Salaigramam 84/1946-47.
3. S. I. I. XIV.
4. S. I. I. XIV. 95.
5. E. I. XXII page 256.
6. Chevur is to be located near Sankaranayinarcoil and Tenkasi. Sankaranayinarcoil Taluk Malayadikkurichi record No. 858/1959-60 belongs to Maran Chendan of the 7th century. It states that the rock temple was carved by the headman of Sevir. A. R. E. 1959-60 page 24.
7. C. P. 57/1949-50 (V. V. 24 and 25).
8. S. I. I. III. page 420 verses 67 and 68.
9. E. I. XV page 68; Anbil plates state that Parantaka I was called Vira Chola. They state that Sundara Chola also had the same qualities of Parantaka I. North Arcot District Vrinchipuram record No. 185/1989-40 is in Sanskrit and Grantha verse. It belongs to Sundara Chola. It is in three verses in praise of the sword of the king herein called Vira Chola.
10. Pd. 82; S. I. I. III. pages 251 to 254; Page 152 The Colas by K. A. N. edition 1975.
11. Tirukkalittattai 291/1908 year 7; same temple 308/1908.
12. I assign the 7th year record of Vira Pandya, prior to June 946. I assign the 40th year record of Parantaka to around April/May 946.
13. 888 and 889 of 1961-62; I am thankful to my well wisher Sri Muththukkonar, President Historical Research association Madura who brought to my notice record No. 888/1961-62. He suggested me investigating this record. His timely suggestion helped me to solve the problems of the historical events related to Vira Pandya and Parantaka.

14. Records of Rajadhi Raja I and Kulothunga III mention Vira Keralan as a Pandya king.
15. E. I. XXVIII page 90. The surmise made in the report is reasonable. Uttamasili son of Parantaka figures in Parantaka's Kuttralam record No. 448/1917 year 24. He was in the Pandya Country in 980. See foot note 2 page 90 of E. I. XXVIII.
16. Tiruppalanam 157/1928 year 8; Tirukkodikaval 11/1981 year 8.
17. Tiruttangal 557/1922 year 20; 142/1981 year 20. Kuttralam 444/1917 year 20; The same temple records 438, 439 441 to 448 and 445 to 448 of 1917 belong to Parantaka ranging from year 21 to 86.
18. 881/1927 year 16; Also see Tirupparkkadal record S. I. I. III 99 year 12 corresponding to 918. It mentions the war with Pandya and Ceylon king.
19. Please refer to pages 121 to 125. "The Colas" edition 1975. Sastri has discussed in detail Parantaka's Madura and Ceylon campaign. Also see pages 72 and 78 The Pandya Kingdom by Sastri.
20. S. I. I. III. 106 (68/1905) year 88.
21. See 17 above.
22. S. I. I. XIV. 79; page 92 The Pandya kingdom by Sastri; A. R. E. 1910 page 96.
23. See Kuruvitturai records 818 to 829 of 1908; Solavandan records 78 to 82 of 1905; Tenkarai records 5 to 14 of 1894 and 121 to 189 of 1910; Also see the records of these villages in S. I. I. V. and S. I. I. XIV; The report A. R. E. 1909 page 80 surmises that Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam was so named after Jatavarman Srivallabha, a later king, contemporary of Kulothunga I. This surmise is to be revised. In his Vijayanarayanam record No. S. I. I. XIV. 229, this Srivallabha, in his 11th year, refers to an order made in the 81st year of Kulothunga I. This proves that Srivallabha was a subordinate under Kulothunga. So Srivallabha does not deserve the title Cholantaka. Srivallabha came to the throne around 1100. Lines 5 to 7 of the Kuruvitturai record No. S. I. I. XIV 229 reveal that the New Vishnu temple was built in the 2nd year of Srivallabha in the hamlet called Kulasekaramangalam named after his predecessor. The record states that Kulasekaramangalam is situated in Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam. This proves that Cholantaka Chathurvedhi Mangalam was in existence prior to the reign of Srivallabha.
24. Tenkarai 182/1910 Raja Raja year 17 in grantha; 184/1910 Raja Raja year 17 in Tamil.
25. Vide page 71 ante; His Anaiyur record No. 386/1961-62 mentions the royal seat Virakeralan. Also see page 88, Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India 1962-65.
26. S. I. I. XIV 91.
27. S. I. I. XIV 87

Raja Raja the Great

"We predict the birth of Vasudeva Maha Vishnu as king Raja Raja when he will measure the earth",¹ thus states a Sanskrit inscription² in three verses engraved on a rock near Tiru Mahadeva Mangalam-a fitting introduction for the chapter.

Leyden grants state,³ "the heroic Raja Raja, the light of the Chola race, whose footstool⁴ was licked by the glittering crests of all kings, bore the heavy burden of the earth on his arm which was surpassing the lustre of the body of Sesha, the Lord of Serpents".

Rajendra's Tiruvalankadu plates state,⁵ "Sundara Chola's son Arunmolivarman was born like another Murari (Vishnu) supporting on his two arms long like Parasa (weapon) the glorious Goddess Sri Lakshmi who closely embraced the whole of his body⁶ and bearing on the palms of his hands the Sanka and Chakra in the form of the auspicious marks."

After describing the reigns of Sundara Chola, and Aditya II the Tiruvalankadu plates further state "though requested by the subjects (to occupy the Chola throne), in order to destroy the persistently blinding darkness of the powerful Kali (age), Arunmolivarman who understood the essence of royal conduct, desired not the kingdom for himself even in (his) mind, while his paternal uncle coveted his (i. e. Arunmolivarman's) dominions.

Having ascertained by the marks (on his body) that Arunmoli was the lotus-eyed (Vishnu) himself, the able protector of the three worlds that had incarnated (on earth), Madhurantaka installed him in the office of heir-apparent and (himself) bore the burden of (ruling) the earth.

Applying (his) mind to (the devotion of) Sarva (Siva), utilising (his) wealth in the act of performing His worship, (employing) all (his) retinue in the construction of houses (i. e. temples) for Him, and directing (his) subjects to (regularly) perform His festive processions, (showing his) wrath (only) in the killing of enemies and (distributing his) riches among Virtuous Brahmanas, that king (Madhurantaka) bore on (his) broad shoulder, the (weight of the) earth.

Arunmolivarman was himself then installed in the administration of the kingdom (as if) to wash away the stain of the earth caused by the Kāl (-age) of his body (bathed by the water during the ceremony of installation) and the ends of the quarters heavily roared with the tumultuous sounds of the war-drums, rows of bells and bugles, kettle drums, tambourines and conches.

Surely the milky ocean formed itself into a circle in the shape of (his) white parasol in the sky and came to see his (own) daughter Sri (Lakshmi) resting on the chest of this (king)."

It is evident that Madhurantaka Uttama Chola crowned Raja Raja. We have already seen that Uttama's reign extended upto the middle of 987. Raja Raja came to the throne in 985. This date agrees with the copper plates.

History of Raja Raja is known. Many scholars have written about this king "one of the few Greats" of the world. In the words of the Tiruvalangadu plates "the king-a pile of matchless prosperity, majesty, learning, strength of arm, prowess, heroism and courage".-was Raja Raja the Great.

In this chapter I am not going to discuss Raja Raja's reign and his achievements which are well known. I will discuss the accession date of the king and certain other interesting points which are better explained in the context of the discovery of his exact accession date.

Arunmolivarman⁸ adopted the Chola royal name Rajakesarivarman Raja Raja Deva. His records are many. His Tamil prasasthi begins with "Tirumagal Pola". etc. Some of his records introduce him as Rajaraja kesarivarman or Rajarajakesarivarman who destroyed the Kalam at Salai. His earlier records introduce him as Rajakesarivarman only.

Kielhorn determined the accession date⁹ of Raja Raja between the 25th June and the 25th July 985. He consulted ten records of Raja Raja and arrived at the accession date. Later discoveries of inscriptions agree with this date. Let us discuss few of his calculations and see how he arrived at this date.

Karnataka state, Sri Rangapatam Taluk, Balmuri village Agastyeswara temple record No. 5/1895 belongs to Raja Raja. The date are year twenty eight (In words), Saka Varsha 934, Cyclic year Parthiva,

Uttarayana Sankranti in the month Pausa. Kielhorn equated the data¹⁰ to Sunday the 23rd December 1012. Uttarayana Sankranti took place after 12.37 p. m.

23rd December 1012 was the 28th year of the king. Therefore he came to the throne between December 984 and December 985. This is an important date which paves the way for arriving at the correct dates of the data found in Raja Raja's records.

North Arcot District Tiruvallam record No. S. I. I. III. 49:- The record belongs to Rajarajakesari evidently Raja Raja I. The data are year 7, month Aippasi, Full Moon, Revathi and Eclipse of the Moon at the equinox. Kielhorn equated¹¹ the data to Saturday the 26th September 991. This makes September 985 the first year.

The above dates confirm that Raja Raja ascended the throne between December 984 and September 985.

Suchindram record¹² No. 71/1896:- The record belongs to Rajarajakesarivarman evidently Raja Raja. The record states "இராசராசகேசரி வன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு பத்தும், யாண்டு துடங்கின கர்க்கடக நாயற்று".....etc."

It means, "In the tenth year of Rajarajakesarivarman in the month Karkataka with which this year began.....etc."

The record states that the 10th year of Raja Raja commenced in Karkataka. His accession was found between December 984 and September 985. Therefore his 10th year begins in Karkataka of 994. It further means that his first year commences in Karkataka 985. Kielhorn rightly caught this point¹³ and surmised that Raja Raja ascended the throne on some day in Karkataka of 985 I. c. on some day between the 25th June and the 25th July 985.

Kielhorn's finding was a major discovery. Robert Sewell consulted certain records and surmised that Raja Raja came to the throne between the 25th June and the 12th July 985.

We shall now consult some more records and find the exact accession date. For necessary deductions the Indian calendar system alone is applied.

Konerirajapuram record No. 624/1909:- The record belongs to Raja Raja. The data are year 26, month Karkataka, ba 14, Punarvasu and Wednesday. Robert Sewell equated the data¹⁴, to 12th July 1010. Accordingly star Punarvasu in Karkataka of 985 falls in the first year. The star was current on Saturday the 18th July.

Udaiyarkudi record No. 599/1920:- The record belongs to Rajakesarivarman. It is a post Parantaka record. The data are year 3 month Karkataka, Ardra and Saturday. The data do not agree for Rajakesari Gandaratitya or Rajakesari Sundara Chola. The record mentions a donor from Vadavur of Pandi Nadu. The record belongs to Raja Raja. The data perfectly agree with 14th July 988. Accordingly Ardra in Karkataka of 985 falls in the 0th year. The star was current on Friday the 17th July.

As per 599/1920.....17—7—985=0th year

As per 624/1909.....18—7—985=1st year

Rajakesarivarman Raja Raja the Great ascended the throne on Saturday the 18th July 985 when star Punarvasu was current in Apra Paksha (Dark Fortnight)

Raja Raja's accession star was Punarvasu¹⁵. He was known as an ardent devotee of Lord Shiva. He had the surname "Sivapatha Sekara". At his request, Nambi Andar Nambi collected the Thevaram poems and classified them into eleven volumes¹⁶ called "Tirumurai" (திருமுறை).

Raja Raja's accession star was Punarvasu which is the natal star of Sri Rama. We shall now see Raja Raja as a devotee of Sri Rama also.

The modern Kilaiyur alias Theralandur is a small village west of Mayavaram in Tanjore District. This is the birth place of the Tamil Poet Kamban. In this village there are two temples. The Shiva temple called Vedapurisvara is situated east of the village and it is west facing. The Vishnu (Sri Krishna) temple is in the west and it is east facing.

The Vedapurisvara temple is mentioned in the Thevaram hymns. Jana Sambandar (6th century) composed eleven poems praising the Lord (Shiva) of the temple. He says,

".....அழுக்கை மறையோர்
மறவாது எழமாமடம் மன்னினையே"

In his poem Sambandar mentions the temple as Mamadam (மாமடம்). The village is called Tiru Alundai (திருஅலுந்தை). The village is said to be a Brahmin colony.

The Vishnu temple is mentioned in the Vaishnavite poems Nalayira Dhivya Prabandam (நாலாயிரத் திவ்யப் பிரபந்தம் 4000 sacred Hymns). Tirumangai Alwar states,

“ஆமருவி நிரைமேய்ந்த அமரர் கோமான்”.

He says, “Lord of Devas, who is by the side of the grazing cow”. The reference is to Sri Krishna. Even to-day the God (Vishnu) is called Aamaruvi Appan (ஆமருவி அப்பன் i. e. Sri Krishna)

The inscriptions of the Shiva temple were copied¹⁷ in the year 1925. The walls of the central shrine, the Mandapa and the Goddess shrine mention the name of the village as Tiruvalundur, a Brahmadeya (Brahmin colony). The God is called Tirumadam Udaiyar (திருமடம் உடையார்). These names agree with Thevaram Poems. The records belong to Kulothunga I, Kulothunga II, Raja Raja II, Kulothunga III and Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya II.

Two records¹⁸ belonging to Raja Raja I and Raja Raja II mention a Shiva temple Tiruvagnisvarathu Mahadeva which temple does not exist to-day.

Six pillars¹⁹ of this temple contain the inscriptions belonging to Uttama Chola, Raja Raja I and Rajendra I. They refer to the grants made to the temple of Sri Krishna of the same village. Evidently the pillars do not belong to the Shiva temple in which they are found to-day. Originally they were in the Vishnu (Sri Krishna) temple. During a later renovation the pillars of the Vishnu temple were erected in the Shiva temple.

The fifth pillar contains the inscription²⁰ of Raja Raja. It is in year 18 corresponding to 1003. It contains his Prasasthi “Tirumagal Pola”. It registers the grants made for the supply of ghee to the image of “Tirukkadavudaiya Emberuman Neyamuduseydan (திருக்கடவுடைய எம்பெருமான் நெய் அமுதுசெய்தான்.....Sri Krishna) on the day of Punarvasu every month. The star of Sri Krishna is Rohini. But Raja Raja made grants for services to be conducted every month on the day of Punarvasu. Because the accession star of Raja Raja was Punarvasu. Sri Krishna and Sri Rama are the incarnations of Lord Vishnu. Fittingly Raja Raja selected the star Punarvasu.

Tanjore District Alangudi record¹ No. 498/1920 belongs to Raja Raja year 9 corresponding to 994. The record registers the grants made to the temple of Raghava Perumal (Sri Rama) the sacred Vishnu temple situated in the village. The said Rama temple does not exist to-day.

Tanjore District Ammangudi record No. 238/1927:- The record belongs to Raja Raja year 9 corresponding to 994. It registers the grants made to the temple of Ramadeva Perumal (Sri Rama temple).

Tanjore District Tirumeyanam record No. 322/1910:- The record belongs to Raja Raja year 24 corresponding to 1009. It registers the gift of land to the temple of Lakshmi Raghava Perumal of Tirunarayana Vinnagar. While making the grants the members of the village assembly met in front of the temple of Semparisvarathu Mahadevar.² Raja Raja's Tiruvenkadu³ record states,

“திரு அவதாரம் செய்தருளின ஐப்பசித் திங்கள்
சதயத் திருநாள்”.....

It is evident that Raja Raja was born in the month Alppasi on a day of Sadaiyam (Satabhisaj). Many of his records mention festivals and offerings in the temples on the day of his natal star Sadaiyam. Raja Raja's records are available upto year 29. His rule extended upto 1014.

Ennayiram Alagiya Narasimha Perumal temple record No. 341/1917 belongs to Rajendra I year 30 corresponding to July 1041. The record registers the grants made for conducting festivals of Chittirai Sadaiyam called after Raja Raja and Masi Punarpusam for Raghava Chakravartin in the temple of Raja Raja Vinnagar Alwar.

Rajendra wanted to celebrate the first festival of the year in the name of his father. So he arranged a festival on the day of Sadaiyam the natal star of his father in Chittirai which is the first month of the Tamil Solar year. Raja Raja came to the throne on a day of Punarpusam in the month Karkataka. But Rajendra arranged a festival on a day of Punarpusam in the month Masi. Why? There is a reason for this. Normally in most of the years, in the month Masi, star Punarvasu (Punarpusam) will combine either with Sukla Ekadasi or Sukla Dvadasi (Su 11 or Su 12)

- 1) Su 11 in Masi is called Jaya Ekadasi.
- 2) Su 11 with Punarvasu is called Vijaya.
- 3) Su 12 combined with Punarvasu is called Maha Dvadasi and Jayanti.

4) Su 12 in Masi is called Narasimha Dvadasi.

Punarvasu in Masi combining either with Su 11 or Su 12 gives the meaning of Jaya or Vijaya or Jayanti. Raja Raja was also called as Jayankondan (who took victory). Therefore Rajendra arranged festival on the day of Punarvasu in Masi. Star Punarvasu is also the natal star of Sri Rama. Fittingly Rajendra arranged such a grand festival for the image of Sri Rama in memory of his father Raja Raja.

(From the stone records²⁴ of this temple we come to know that the name of the village was Raja Raja Chathurvedhi Mangalam and the temple was called Raja Raja Vinnagar Alwar (Vishnu temple). The earliest record of this temple belongs to Rajendra. A Vijayanagar record²⁵ dated January 1545 states that the temple which was built by Rajendra Chola had become dilapidated and hence it was repaired.)

Tanjore Big temple :

The Tanjore Raja Rajeswaram temple was built by Raja Raja. Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam²⁶ has discussed in detail the architecture, beauty and the salient features of the temple. The temple contains sculptures of the Karnas (dance poses) which depict Bharata Natya Sastra in stone. Dr. Miss Padma Subrahmainam²⁷ has made extensive research on these Karnas.

From the stone records²⁸ we come to know that Raja Raja handed over the stupi for the final consecration on the 275th day of his 25th regnal year. His 25th regnal year commences on a day of Punarvasu in Aparā Paksha in the month Karkataka of 1009. The star was current on 22nd July 1009. The day 275 falls on 22nd April 1010 on which day star Punarvasu was current !

The consecration of the stupi (Kumbabisheka) was conducted on Saturday the 22nd April 1010 when star Punarvasu was current. (Punarvasu is selected because it is the accession star of Raja Raja)

Leyden grant²⁹ :

We shall discuss the details of the grant later. The grant was issued on the 92nd day of the 21st year of Raja Raja. His 21st year commences

on the day of Punarvasu in Karkataka of 1005. The star was current on 8th July. The 92nd day falls on 7th October 1005.

Mara Vijayothungavarman the contemporary king of Sri Vijaya,⁹⁰ who was born in the Sailendra family obtained permission from Raja Raja to construct a Buddhist Vihara at Nagappattinam. Raja Raja gave permission. Vijayothungavarman built the Vihara and called it as Chulamani Vihara in the name of his father. The great king Raja Raja gifted forty villages for the maintenance of the Vihara. It took more than nine years to construct the Vihara. When the Vihara was completed Raja Raja was no more. His illustrious son Rajendra confirmed his father's grant and engraved it on copper. The grant as it states is to be termed as Anaimangalam copper plates because it registers the gift of Anaimangalam and other villages. The grant was made by Raja Raja on 7th October 1005. He died in 1014. Later when the construction of the Vihara was completed, Rajendra engraved the grant on copper. Actually the grant contains the seal of Rajendra only.

The date on which Rajendra confirmed the grant is not given. But it must have been engraved immediately after the death of Raja Raja. Probably it was engraved in the 3rd year of Rajendra. This can be inferred from Nagappattinam Kayarohanaswami temple records⁹¹ of Rajendra. They are in his 3rd year. The records state that an agent of the king of Sri Vijaya presented Jewel set and precious stones to the silver image of Nagai Alagar in Tirukkaronam temple of Nagappattinam. The name of the agent of Sri Vijaya is Nimalan Agathiswaran. The presents from the king of Sri Vijaya were precious stones like Pachchai Maragatham (Emerald) Manikkam (Ruby), China Kanakam (Gold from China) and many more jewels. The agent made presents to the temple in the 3rd year of Rajendra. He could have also come to Nagappattinam to participate in the obsequies ceremonies of late Raja Raja and to convey the condolence of Sri Vijaya king to the Cholas. At this time Rajendra should have confirmed his father's grant and presented the copper plate to the agent of Sri Vijaya. These famous copper plates are to-day kept in the Museum of the Leyden University Holland and hence the name "Leyden grant"!

It is a privilege and pleasure to write pages after pages about Raja Raja the Great. But want of space prevents me. Many scholars have written about Raja Raja. Therefore I do not want repetition here. The scope of this book is to write new findings only and it is done.

Foot notes :—

1. This is a reference to Thiru Vikrama Avatar of Lord Vishnu who measured the earth and heaven by His feet. Similarly for the first time Raja Raja the Great introduced the Land Survey. The record registers the historical truth in the form of a prediction like inscription.
2. Polur Taluk Ten Mahadeva Mangalam record No. 50/1933-34. It states that Raja Raja's minister Jayanta was the incarnation of Vakpati (Brihaspati). Raja Raja founded a city in his name on the Trisula hill.
3. E. I. XXII pages 256 and 257.
4. In the Chola seal a footstool can be found at the bottom.
5. S. I. I. III page 420.
6. Raja Raja's Tamil Prasasthi begins with Tirumagal Pola etc; "திருமகள் போல பெருநிலச் செல்வியும் தனக்கே உரிமை பூண்டமை எனக் கொள". It means that Sri Lakshmi and Goddess of earth (Bhudevi) belonged to Raja Raja (since he was like Lord Vishnu whose consorts are Sri Lakshmi and Bhudevi.)
7. For the details of the reign of Raja Raja I. Please refer to "The Cholas" by K. A. N.
8. Raja Raja's Tirumalai record year 21 introduces the king as "அகில புரியும் புன்ற பொன்னி ஆறுடைய கோழன் அருமொழி..." Solan Arumoli who possesses the river Ponni (Kauveri) whose waters are full of waves. S. I. I, Tamil and Sanskrit Volume I page 95.
9. E. I. IX page 217.
10. E. I. IV page 68.
11. E. I. IV page 66; Eclipse at the equinox means the Eclipse on the first day of the Solar month. In Tamil it reads அப்பரித் திங்கள் பெண்ணமரையும் இரேவதியும் பெற்ற விஷுவில். (Aippasi Vishu means Alppasi Sankaranti i. e. the first solar day of Aippasi.)
12. E. I. V. page 44 record No. C.
13. E. I. VI page 20.
14. E. I. XI page 241.
15. Raja Raja is described as the incarnation of Vishnu. Lord Rama was the incarnation of Vishnu. Lord Rama's natal star was Punarvasu. Raja Raja's accession star was also Punarvasu.
16. Later in the reign of Kulothunga II Sekilar wrote Peria Puranam which became the 12th volume of Tirumurai.
17. Kilaiyur records 73 to 99 of 1925.
18. 98 and 78/1925.
19. 91 to 96 of 1925.
20. 95/1925.
21. The record is found on a pillar in the Shiva temple; The pillar belongs to Sri Rama temple which does not exist to-day.
22. The famous Parittiyur bronze of Sri Rama may be this one. (பருத்தியூர் இராமர்).
23. S. I. I. V. 979.
24. 330 to 351 of 1917.
25. 334/1917.
26. Middle Chola Temple by Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam.
27. Dr. Miss Padma Subrahmanyam, Gayatri, 6, Fourth Main Road Gandhi Nagar, Madras.
28. S. I. I. II No. 1.
29. E. I. XXII No. 34 page 213.
30. Java and Sumatra.
31. 161 to 164 of 1956-57; A. R. E. 1956-57 page 15.

The Judgement

- 1) "ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கோ ராஜகேசரிவர்மர்க்கு யாண்டு உ-ஆவது வடகரை பிரம்மதேயம் ஸ்ரீ வீரநாராயண சதுர் வேதி மங்கலத்துப் பெருங்குறிப் பெருமக்களுக்கு சக்கர வர்த்தி ஸ்ரீமுகம் பாண்டியனைத் தலைகொண்ட கரிகால சோழனைக் கொன்றுத் தோகிகளான சோமன்..... தம்பி
- 2) ரவிதாஸனான பஞ்சவன் பிரஹ்மாதிராஜனும் இவன் தம்பி பரமேஸ்வரன் ஆன இரு முடிச் சோழ பிரஹ்மாதிராஜனும் இவர்கள் உடப்பிறந்த மகையனாரானும் இவர்கள் தம்பிமாறும் இவர்கள் மக்களிடும் இவர் பிரஹ்மணிமார் பேராலும் இ.....ரமத்தும்.....etc; etc;

"Hail! Prosperity! In the second year of the reign of king Rajakesarivarman, the order of the Emperor addressed to the members of the Great Assembly of Sri Viranarayana Chathurvedhi Mangalam a Brahmadeya on the northern bank.

"Soman.....his younger brother Ravidasan alias Panchavan Brahmadhirājan and his younger brother Parameswaran alias Irumudichchola Brahmadhirajan have been guilty of treason as they murdered Karikala Chola who took the head of the Pandya".

The above is the introductory portion of the Udayarkudi record No. 577/1920. The full text is published in Epigraphia Indica Volume XXI page 165. K. A. Neelakanta Sastri edited the record.

The record is in the 2nd year of Rajakesarivarman, It mentions the murder of Karikala Chola who took the head of the Pandya. The only Rajakesarivarman whose second year falls after the death of Karikala (Aditya II) is Raja Raja. The record belong to Raja Raja.

The inscription opens by stating that in the second year of Kō-Rajakesarivarman, a letter (Srimukham) was sent by the Emperor to the Great assembly of Viranarayana-Chathurvedhimangalam. The letter recounts that Soman.....and his younger brothers Ravidasa and Paramesvara had been found guilty of treason (drikikal-ana) for their murder of Karikala Chola "who took the head of the Pandya" the properties of these three persons and their relatives specified were to be taken over by Brahma-Srirajan of Kottaiyur and Chandrasekhara-bhatta of Pulla-

h Mangalam, the assembly were to arrange, in co-operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order. In accordance with this letter, the lands of Revadasa (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his Udappirandan Malaiyanuran), Revadasa's son and his mother, situated in the western pidagai of Viranarayana-Chathurvedhthmangalam were bought from the assembly by Bharatan alias Vyalagajamallan. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement two vell and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses, and the price paid was 112 kalanju of gold. In the month of Mesha in this year, on a Sunday which was a Purattadi day, Bharatan endowed the land for the purposes of maintaining a water shed, and feeding Brahmins and Sivayohins in the temple.

It is evident that Raja Raja found the culprits and punished them. The astronomical data Mesha, Sunday and Purattathi do not produce a date in the 2nd year of Raja Raja. But they agree for 15th April 988 which falls in the third year. So Sastri said that the regnal year 2 quoted in the record was to be understood as the expired year and not the current year. He made this suggestion because at a later stage, based on this date, Sastri surmised that Uttama Chola had a hand in the murder of Aditya. In his monumental work "The Colas" (page 157) Sastri States,

"Sundara Cola's last days appear to have been clouded by a domestic tragedy. An inscription from Udayarkudi dated in the second year of Rajakesari records the measures taken by the Sabha of Sri Viranarayana Chathurvedhimangalam under orders from the king for the confiscation and sale of the properties of some persons who were liable for treason as they had murdered 'Karikala Cola who took the head of the Pandya'. This record clearly shows that Aditya II fell a victim to assassination. The only possible kings to whom this Rajakesari record can be assigned are Sundara Cola himself, and Aditya's younger brother, Rajaraja, who succeeded Uttama Cola, a Parakesari. But the early regnal year rules out Sundara Cola as we cannot suppose that Aditya, whose inscriptions range at least up to the fifth year, began to reign before his father. Therefore the inscription is doubtless a record of Rajaraja's regin. If this inference is accepted—the palaeography and the astronomical data of the record support this view—then it follows that the murder of Aditya II remained unavenged throughout the sixteen years in which Uttama Cola ruled, Sundara Cola himself having either died of a broken heart soon after the murder or after

having found the natural course of justice obstructed by a powerful conspiracy. It seems impossible under the circumstances to acquit Uttama Cola of a part in the conspiracy that resulted in the foul murder of the heir apparent. Uttama coveted the throne and was not satisfied with the subordinate role assigned to princes of the blood in the administration of the kingdom; as representing a senior branch of the royal family, he perhaps convinced himself that the throne was his by right, and that his cousin and his children were usurpers. He formed a party of his own, and brought about the murder of Aditya II, and having done so, he forced the hands of Sundara Cola to make him heir apparent, and as there was no help for it, Sundara had to acquiesce in what he could not avert. The Tiruvalankadu plates seem to gloss over the story on purpose and make statements which though enigmatic in themselves, are fairly suggestive of the true course of events, *when read together with the datum furnished by the Udaiyarkudi inscription*".

Sastri wrote this in 1935. As on that date it was surmised that Uttama came to the throne in 969-70. Since his records are available upto year 16 the last year of his reign was considered as 986.

Aditya was murdered in the reign of Sundara Chola. The murderers were not found and punished in the reigns of Sundara and Uttama. They were punished in the reign of Raja Raja. This was the surmise of Sastri and it prompted him to impeach Uttama Chola.

Sastri states that the astronomical data of the Udaiyarkudi record support the view. How? The data do not produce a date in the 2nd year of Raja Raja. In Epigraphia Indica XXI page 167 it was Sastri who suggested correcting the regnal year 2 as 3. But in "The Colas", he says that the astronomical data agree! We must not correct the regnal year¹. The regnal year is connected to historicity. The data are connected to Astronomy. If the data do not agree then we must leave them and follow the regnal year. For example instead of correcting the regnal year, we can also quote a suitable date in the 2nd year of Raja Raja. The data are year 2 Mesha, Sunday and Purattadi. We surmise that Mesha is a mistake for Mithuna. Accordingly the data agree with 19th June 987. Again we will say that Mesha is a mistake for Simha or Kanya and we get two dates namely 22nd August 986 and 19th September 986 both falling in the second year of Raja Raja. Instead of correcting the year, we correct the month!

Sastri corrected the regnal year and suggested the date in 988. We correct the month and find the dates in 986 or 987. Who is correct? In the matter of correction, ours is not less better than Sastri.

For example the following records of Raja Raja are wrong in astronomical data.

- 1) Kandamangalam No. 356/1917.
- 2) Tiruvandarkoil No. 362/1917.
- 3) Pullamangai No. 557/1921. (The quoted Lunar Eclipse occurred in Mithuna and not in Rishaba as said in the inscription)
- 4) Tirukkadaiyur No. 242/1925.
- 5) Sembian Mahadevi No. 493/1925.

The dates suggested for the above records in the respective reports reveal that the astronomical data are intrinsically wrong. Similarly in the Udaiyarkudi record the astronomical data are wrong. We must follow the regnal year only. The problems which normally arise due to the wrong details of astronomical data are clearly dealt with by Sastri himself in page 123 of "The Pandya Kingdom." Humorously he remarked, "one almost gets the feeling that ignorance at least of astronomy is bliss".

In the Udaiyarkudi record the data are year 2, Mesha, Purattadi and Sunday. The date is expected to fall between the 23rd March and the 21st April 987. We do not get a suitable date. The star was current on 29th March but it was a Tuesday. Why should we correct the data? Indiscriminate correction is dangerous. As far as the Udaiyarkudi record is concerned it is better and justifiable to rely on the Regnal year and the month Mesha alone. Accordingly the date of the record is April 987.

Sastri's suggestion to consider the 2nd regnal year as the expired year is against the very fundamental of the Epigraphical research. The record states யாண்டு ௨-ஆவது year 2 Avadhu. The term Avadhu clearly indicates that it is the current year and not an expired year.

The date of Udaiyarkudi record is April 987 when Uttama was running his 16th regnal year. In April 987 when Raja Raja punished the murderers, Uttama was the senior king. Naturally Raja Raja would have punished the criminals with the consent of Uttama. In other words the criminals were punished in the reign of Uttama himself. He was really a Uttama (Good man).

The wrong calculations in the dates prompted Sastri to impeach Uttama. Otherwise there is not a single record to prove that Uttama had a hand in the murder of Aditya. As a matter of fact Raja Raja named his son as Madhurantaka who had the surnames Uttama Chola and Vikrama Chola.³ Later this son adopted the Chola royal name Rajendra I. Tiruvalankadu plates state,

“Aditya disappeared owing to his desire to see heaven. Though his subjects, with a view to dispel the blinding darkness caused by the powerful Kali (Sin), entreated Arumolivarma, he, versed in the Dharma of the Shastra, did not desire the kingdom for himself even inwardly as long as his paternal uncle coveted his own country”.

In page 158 of “The Colas” Sastri interpreted like this:- “The sun of Aditya had set; the darkness of sin prevailed; the people wanted Arumoli to dispel it; but Uttama’s cupidity triumphed, because of Arumoli’s restraint. Arumoli was not a coward; nor was he lacking in political ability or legal right. Anxious to avoid a civil war, he accepted a compromise, and agreed to wait for his turn until after Uttama’s desire to be king had found satisfaction; it was apparently part of the compromise that Uttama was to be succeeded not by his children, but by Arumoli and in the words, again, of the Tiruvalankadu plates:

“Having noticed by the marks (on his body) that Arumoli was the very Vishnu, protector of the three worlds, descended (on earth), Madhurantaka installed him in the position of yuvaraja, and (himself) bore the burden of (ruling) the earth”.

We find accordingly Madhurantakan Gandaradittan, who must have been a son of Madhurantaka Uttama Cola, occupying high office under Rajaraja when he came to power and loyally assisting him in the administration of the country. *If this reading of the story of Uttama Cola’s accession is correct*, Uttama Cola furnishes an instance, by no means unique in history, of selfish and perverse offspring born of parents distinguished for piety and right-mindedness; and his rash and bloody self-seeking stands out in striking contrast to the true nobility and statesmanship of the future Rajaraja.”

Sastri interprets the reading as if there was enmity between Uttama and Raja Raja. What is the reading? What is the meaning? Uttama Chola was the real claimant for the throne and Rajendra’s Tiruvalankadu plates rightly state that it is Uttama’s own country. And so he became the king.

He himself made Raja Raja heir apparent. Uttama did not crown his son Madhurantaka Gandaratiya whom we shall see in the next chapter. We must appreciate the generosity of Uttama. The Tiruvalankadu record states,⁴

"Applying (his) mind to (the devotion of) Sarva (Siva), utilising (his) wealth in the act of performing His worship, (employing) all (his) retinue in the construction of houses (i. e. temples) for Him, and directing (his) subjects to (regularly) perform His festive processions, (showing his) wrath (only) in the killing of enemies and (distributing his) riches among virtuous Brahmanas, that king (Madhurantaka) bore on (his) broad shoulder, the (weight of the) earth."

The record states that after making Raja Raja heir apparent, Uttama engaged himself in Shiva Dharma. There are scores of records in which Raja Raja praises Uttama. Sembian Madeviyar the mother of Uttama was very much respected by Raja Raja. She lived in the reign of Raja Raja and was alive⁵ till 1001. While describing her, Raja Raja says,

".....செம்பியன் மாதேவியார் கண்டன் மதுராந்தக தேவரான ஸ்ரீ உத்தம சோழ தேவரைத் திருவயிறு வாய்த்த உடைய பிராட்டியார்."

"Sembian Madeviyar who obtained in her sacred womb Gandan Madhurantakan Uttama Chola Deva."⁶ The womb of Sembian Madeviyar was sacred because, Uttama Chola Deva was her son! Thus states Raja Raja! When Raja Raja shows such a great respect to Uttama, why should the historians and the epigraphical researchers postulate a theory of enmity between Uttama and Raja Raja? We should accept Raja Raja and acquit Uttama Chola. The latter's share in the murder of Aditya Karikala is a pure imagination born out of wrong interpretation of the language of the numerals 1. e; Mathematics.⁷

Aditya's records upto year 5 are found. Probably he was no more after 965. He was murdered in the later half of 965 or early 966.

Sundara Chola ruled from 957 to 973 (975?). Uttama ruled from 971 to the middle of 987.

Those who murdered Aditya were punished in April 987. It took 22 years to find the culprits. Why was there such a long delay? The Udaiyarkudi record gives the answer. It states that the culprits were "Drohins", It is not difficult to meet an enemy in the battle field. But it

is extremely difficult to identify the traitor. The traitor behaves like a friend but acts like an enemy. The traitors mentioned in the record were Brahmin officers who were closely associated with the Chola family. One was Ravidasan alias Panchavan Brahmadhirajan. Udaiyarkudi record No. 547/1920 belongs to Parantaka I and it is in year 38 corresponding to 944. In this record a lady by name Nili, daughter of Kesava Bhatta and wife of Ravidasa Kramavittan figures. Probably this Ravidasa was an earlier member of the family of Ravidasa alias Panchavan Brahmadhirajan. The Brahmin officers were closely associated with the Chola family. Who would believe that such close Brahmins would turn out traitors? Probably this was the reason for the delay in finding the culprits. We should not immediately conclude here that all the Brahmins were bad. Few unsocial elements are not many. As a matter of fact, when the properties of the culprits were sold, the buyer endowed them to feed the Brahmins in the temple. This proves that not all the Brahmins were bad. They were always respected. Traitors are there in all societies, communities and religion. They are individuals of bad character. They do not represent the good society. They are punished in the same way in which the criminals are to be punished.

Sembiyan Mahadevi record S. I. I. XIX No. 405 belongs to Uttama year 16. It refers to the grants made for offerings to the God on the day of Kettal the natal star of Sembiyan Madeviyar in Chittirai month. The data in the 16th year of Uttama fall on 19th April 987. In the third year record of Raja Raja (988) Sembiyan Madeviyar made gifts to the Tirup-purambiyam temple for the merit of her son Uttama Chola. It is evident that Uttama was alive in 988. At any rate when the traitors were punished in April 987, Uttama Chola and Raja Raja were the then ruling kings. Raja Raja punished the culprits after obtaining permission from the then senior king Uttama. The theory of "*Uttama's share in the murder of Karikala Chola*" postulated some forty five years ago based on the then scanty materials is to be dropped.¹⁰ I close this discussion with the statement of Robert Sewell who in page 165 of the Indian Antiquary XLIV 1915 wrote thus: "Deductions put forward or statements confidently made by an author who is recognised as an authority on the subject may, if these are perhaps based on insufficient evidence, have the unfortunate result of seriously clouding the issue and raising great difficulties for the student in after years. An assertion so made is apt to be accepted as an historic truth."

The earliest records found in the Kandallisvara temple, Tenneri (Chingleput district) belong to Raja Raja.¹¹ A record of his eleventh year corresponding to 996 states that the name of the village was Uttama Chola Chathurvedhi Mangalam. The name of God was "Uttama Chola Eswarattu Alwar" (உத்தம சோழ ஈஸ்வரத்து ஆள்வார்). It is evident that Raja Raja founded a town in the name of Uttama Chola and also built a temple in Uttama's name. This proves the respect and gratitude shown by Raja Raja to his predecessor Uttama Chola. When Raja Raja was ever grateful to Uttama, why should the 20th century historians and epigraphists speculate enmity between the two great kings? It is better to follow in the foot steps of Raja Raja the Great.

Foot notes

1. Read pages 72 to 76 of "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" by the Author.
2. Please see the dates suggested in the respective reports.
3. Tiruvalankadu plates S. I. I. III page 422 verses 87 and 90; page 424 verse 11⁸.
4. S. I. I. III page 420 verse 71.
5. Raja Raja's records; Koil Tevarayan Pettai 263/1923 year 12; Tirukkodikaval 19/1980-81 year 13 refers to the order from Sembiyan Madeviyar; Tirumangalam 251/1929-30 year 15. Tiruvakkarai 200/1904 year 16. In these records Sembiyan Madeviyar figures. She was alive till 1001.
6. Tenneri S. I. I. VII 411; S. I. I. XVII 222; S. I. I. XIII Nos. 14, 72, 144, 170 and 882. And many more records of Raja Raja.
7. In the Tiruvidaimarudur record of Uttama Chola the Kaliyuga 4083 was taken as current year instead of expired year. In the Udaiyarkudi record of Raja Raja, regnal year 2 was corrected as 8. In the Kumbakonam record No. 240/1911 the regnal year 6 was read as 13 and Full Moon was read as 18th Solar day and thus Arinjaya's record was assigned to Uttama.
8. See A. R. E. 1909 page 83 para 28. A Brahmin widow was the concubine of a member of the managing body of the temple. Maravarman Kulasekara I (1268-1312) punished them; See Tirukkachchur record No. 315/1909. It belongs to Jatavarman Sundara Pandya III dated 16th February 1317. The record states that the king punished certain Brahmins who became robbers.
9. Tiruppurambiyam 388/1917 of Raja Raja year 3 corresponding to 988. It records the gift of silver pot by Udaiyapirattiyar mother of Sri Gandan Madhurantaka alias Uttama Chola on behalf of her son to the temple.
10. I have great respect to Sastri. He is my invisible Guru. But for his monumental work "The Cholas" we cannot understand the cholas better. The readers are requested not to postulate a theory that I am hostile towards Sastri. I am placing my arguments in favour of historic truth. I am sure, had he lived longer, Sastri would have revised his surmise, in the light of the reconstruction of the dates of early Cholas.
11. Tenneri Kandallisvara temple records of Raja Raja. S. I. I. VII 411 year 11 S. I. I. VII 414 year 12. Same Volume Nos. 418 and 412 in the regnal years 17 and 20.

Madurantakan Gandaratittan

Madurantakan Gandaratittan figures as an influential and powerful officer in the records of Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola and Rajakesarivarman Raja Raja I. The name Madurantakan Gandaratittan means that he is Gandaratittan, son of Madurantaka. It is generally believed that he was the son of Uttama Chola. The surmise seems to be reasonable. Madurantakan Gandaratittan never ascended the throne. He figures in the following records of Parakesarivarman evidently Uttama and Rajakesarivarman Raja Raja.

Records in which Madurantakan Gandaratittan figures.

Record No.	Village	King	Regnal year	Christian year
S. I. I. V. 1405	Karuttangudi	Parakesari (Uttama)	10	981
S. I. I. XIX 341	Tirumalpuram	Parakesari (Uttama)	14	985
285/1906	-Do-	Raja Raja	3	988
292A/1906	-Do-	-Do-	3	988
294/1906	-Do-	-Do-	3	988
295/1906	-Do-	-Do-	3	988
283/1906	-Do-	-Do-	4	989
268/1906	-Do-	-Do-	6	991
S. I. I. III. 49	Tiruvallam	-Do-	7	Sep 991
218/1921	Tiruvallam	-Do-	7	992
282/1906	Tirumalpuram	-Do-	12	997

Madurantakan Gandaratittan was looking after the temples. The Tirumalpuram record of Raja Raja year 4 states that Madurantakan Gandaratittan formed a committee of five men to enquire into the affairs of the Agatisvara temple at Tirumalpuram as the temple lands had been misappropriated and offerings reduced to two nalis of rice. Madurantakan Gandaratittan fined the men who were in-charge of the store room (The latter information is stated in the 12th year record of the same temple). Tiruvallam record of Raja Raja year 7 runs as follows.¹

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கோராஜ ராஜகேஸரி பன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு எ ஆவது படுஞ்சுக் கோட்டத்து மீயாறு நாட்டு திக்காலி வல்லத்துத் திருத்திக்காலி ஆழ்வாரை இவ்வாட்டை அப்பசித்
- 2) திங்கள் பெளர்ணமாளிபும் இரேவதியும் பெற்ற விஷுவில் சோம கிரஹணத்தி னுன்று மதுராந்தகன் கண்டராதித்தனார் ஆழ்வாரை ஸைஸ்ரகஸசம் ஆட்டுவிக்கவ
- 3) ந்து திருவடி தொழுது நிற்க ஆழ்வார்க்
- 4) குக் காட்டுகின்ற திருவமுர்தும் இருநாழியரி
- 5) சித் திருவமுர்தாய் கறியமுர்து நெய் அமுர்
- 6) தும் தயிரமுர்தும் இன்றியேய் நொந்தா
- 7) விளக்கும் ஆலஸ்யமாயிருக்கக் கண்டு இத்தி
- 8) ருக் கோயில் சிவப்பிராமணரையும் திக்காலிவல்
- 9) லத்து ஸபையோரையும் அழைத்து இத்தேவ
- 10) ருடைய ஆயமும் வ்யயமும் திருவாணக்கும் திருவோ
- 11) லைக்கும் உரியவண்ணஞ் சொல்லுகவென்று வினவசிவ
- 12) பிராமணரும் திக்காலி வல்லத்து ஸபையோரும் சொல்.....

“Hail! Prosperity! In the 7th year of the reign of king Raja Raja Kesarivarman-On the day of an Eclipse of the moon at the equinox which corresponded to the day of Revathi and to the Full-Moon thithi of the month of Aippasi in this year-Madurantakan Gandaratittanar came in order to perform Abisheka with one thousand pots of water to the God Tiruttikkali Alwar at Tikkali Vallam in Miyaru-nadu a sub division of Paduvur Kottam and worshipped the holy feet of God. While he stood in the temple he observed that the offerings presented to the Alwar were reduced to two nalis of rice, that the offerings of vegetables, the offerings of ghee and offerings of curd had ceased and that the perpetual lamps were neglected. He called for the Siva Brahmanas of this sacred temple and the members of the assembly of Tikkali Vallam and asked...“state the revenue and expenditure of this temple in accordance with the royal order and the royal letter.” “The Siva Brahmanas and the members of the assembly of Tikkali Vallam said.....”

The record belongs to Raja Raja and it is dated 26th September 991. The contents of the record are self explanatory. The rest of the information is found in another record (No. 218/1921) of the same temple. It is in year 7 of Raja Raja. It registers the details of expenditure for 74 Kalanju of gold levied as fine from the Siva Brahmanas for misappropriating the temple lands and 7 Kalanju and 5 Manjadi which Madurantakan Gandaratittanar gave to make up the deficit,

The same temple record No. 227/1921 belongs to Rajendra year 4 corresponding to October 1915. It states that when the temple accounts were audited, the scale of the expenditure of the temple was fixed in conformity with the inscription engraved on stone by Madurantakan Gandaratittanar in the 7th year of Raja Raja Deva. Such was Madurantakan Gandaratittan son of Uttama Chola!

(How we wish the Hindu Religious Endowment Board department of the present days read the old inscriptions and recover the properties of the temple! Our ancestors did. Should we not?).

Foot Note:-

1. S. I. I. III 49

Rashtrakuta King Krishna III

Krishna's empire extended from the river Narmadha in the north to the Thondai Mandalam in the south, and from Karnataka in the west to the Andhra in the east. His records are numerous and they are found in the present Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra, and the northern districts of Tamil Nadu. In his reign Krishna III was the master of the Deccan and the south. In the Kannada records he is called Kannara Deva Krishna or Akalavarsha or Vallabha. In the Tamil records he is introduced as Kannara Deva, or Vallabha or Kannara Deva who took Kachchl (Kanchi-puram) and Thanjai (Thanjavur). His records upto year 28 are available.¹

Lakshminarayana Rao surmised² that the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III came to the throne between the 23rd February and the 23rd December 939. We shall see the accession date of Krishna.

Deoli plates³ of Krishna :- The plates belong to Krishna III. The record is dated Saka 862 expired, Cyclic year Sarvarin, month Visaka, and ba 5. The data correspond to 30th April 940. The regnal year is not given. From the contents of the record it is evident that the plates were issued soon after his accession. He came to the throne prior to April 940.

Tirukkoilur Taluk Padur record No. 281/1936-37:- The record belongs to Knnara Deva evidently Krishna III. The data are year 26, Vrichika, ba 3, Wednesday and Mirgasira. The data correspond to 26th October 964. Accordingly Vrichika of 938 falls in the Oth year and Vrichika of 939 falls in the first year.

Vrichika (October) of 938 = Oth year

Vrichika (October) of 939 = 1st year

Bellary Taluk Kollagallu record No. 236/1913:- The record⁴ belongs to Khottiga. It is dated⁵ 17th February 967. In this record Khottiga states that Krishna is no more. From the provenance of the record it is evident that the inscription was engraved immediately after the demise of Krishna. But Krishna's last regnal year so far found is 28. If this is so then,

Krishna's 28th year = February 967

Krishna's 9th year = February 939

Therefore Krishna III came to the throne between February and October 939. In other words he came to the throne in the first quarter of 939.

Records of Krishna III

Found in Thondai Mandalam (Tamil Nadu)

(North Arcot, South Arcot, Chengleput Districts and Pondichery state)

Star Marked records contain the epithet who took Kachchi and Thanjai.

TABLE 1

Record No. (1)	Village (2)	Regnal year (3)	Christian year (4)
875/1909	Siddalingamadam*	5	948
81/1942	Peruvayal*	7	945
86/1900	Kuram*	15	958
86/1942	Vasur	—	958
846/1901	Solapuram	—	958
25/1898	Ukkal	16	954
28/1908	Tiruvadi	16	954
199/1906	Perangiyur*	17	955
862/1902	Tirunamanallur	17	955
169/1894	Tirukkalukkundram	17	955
410/1929	Ponnur	17	955
25/1905	Kilur	18	956
870/1909	Siddalingamadam*	18	956
89/1898	Uttaramallur*	18	956
177/1912	Tiruvorriyur*	18	956
441/1888	Jambai	18	956
269/1902	Kilur	19	957
866/1902	Tirunamanallur*	19	957
170/1894	Tirukkalukkundram	19	957
178/1912	Tiruvorriyur*	19	957
282/1902	Kilur	20	958
15/1905	Kilur	20	958
22/1905	Kilur	20	958
270/1910	Tiruvadandai*	20	958

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
181/1912	Tiruvorriyur*	20	958
218/1987	Karadi	20	958
268/1902	Kilur	21	959
742/1905	Gramam	22	960
179/1912	Tiruvorriyur*	22	960
867/1908	Vayalur	22	960
175/1902	Bahur	22	960
176/1902	Bahur	22	960
188/1944	Vyasapuram	22	960
110/1906	Jambai	23	961
118/1906	Jambai	23	961
266/1902	Kilur	23	961
41/1898	Uttaramallur	23	961
197/1958	Kalinjur	23	961
442/1988	Jambai	23	961
526/1921	Emepperur	23	961
295/1912	Kuranganimuttam* (Rock cave)	24	962
266A/1902	Kilur	24	962
116/1906	Jambai	24	962
267/1902	Kilur	24	962
885/1909	Siddalingamadam	24	962
58/1986	Melvalar	24	962
748/1905	Gramam	25	963
77/1898	Uttaramallur*	25	963
269/1989	Kappalur*	25	963
272/1989	Kappalur*	25	963
274/1989	Kappalur*	25	963
182/1942	Sanikkavadi*	25	963
10/1887	Vellore (Bavaji hill)	26	964
112/1906	Jambai	26	964
270/1902	Kilur	26	964
172/1902	Bahur	26	964
19/1984	Chintamani	26	964
242/1989	Puduppalayam	26	964
281/1987	Padur	26	26th Octo 964

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2/1897	Takkolam*	27	965
101/1900	Tiruvottur*	27	965
188/1902	Bahur	27	965
18/1945	Vidaiyur	27	965
125/1906	Jambai	28	966
864/1902	Tirunamanallur	28	966
19/1945	Vidaiyur	28	966
184/1944	Vyasapuram	28	966
159/1921	Kavanur	28	966

Krishna's records are available in the Thondai Mandalam of Tamil Nadu upto year 28 corresponding to 966. Except the two records dated 943 and 945, the other records range from 954 to 966. His records upto year 966 are also available in the adjoining Chittoor District.⁶ His records in Bellary, Andhra and Deccan are numerous.

Certain salient features of Krishna's records are also to be noted. Though a Rashtrakuta king, his records in Tamil Nadu are in Tamil Language only. They maintain the same names of the territorial divisions as found in the Chola records. His contributions to the temples are many. A record from Sanikkavadi, North Arcot District, belongs to Krishna and it is dated 963. It contains Krishna's Tamil Prasasthi "Tirumagal Muyanga Sirmagal Villanga" (திருமகள் முயங்க சீர்மகள் விளங்க) perhaps a fore runner for the Prasasthis of the Chola kings. This record states that Krishna built a big hall (Ambalam) so that it would become famous in the world as the mansion of Vishwakarma. A record⁷ from Mandakalatur (North Arcot) states that Krishna provided amenities in the Mandapa at Poliyur (Polur). The big Mandapa was constructed (by a setti) in which provisions were made for lights during nights, water during summer and fire wood during winter. From his numerous records it is evident that he did not act like a conqueror but served the people of the occupied country.

Krishna probably kept his army in the Thondai Mandalam. North Arcot District, Polur Taluk, Vasur record No. 86/1942 is dated Saka 875 corresponding to 953-54. It records the grant made to the temple by a body guard of Kannara Deva Chakravarti evidently Krishna. In the Solapuram record No. 346/1901 (E. I. VII pp 195) dated 953, a feudatory

of Krishna, by name Kannara Deva Prithivigangarayar figures. These two records are assigned to Krishna even though his name does not appear in the record. But the internal evidence supports the surmise.

It is to be noted here that the dates of Krishna's records fall in the reigns of Parantaka I, Gandaratitya, Arinjaya, Sundara Chola and Aditya II.

Krishna's invasion of the South:

Parantaka I ruled from 907 to 954. His records from Chittoor (Andhra) in the north to Kanyakumari the southern tip of the Peninsula are available. His empire extended from Chittoor to Kanyakumari, a very vast area ruled by Parantaka. His records found in Chittoor district and the northern area of Thondai Mandalam are tabulated below.

Records of Parantaka
TABLE 2
(North of Thondai Mandalam)

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	Christian year
260/1904	Tiruchchanur	29	985
263/1904	Tiruchchanur	32	988
61/1907	Kattamachchi	31	987
225/1908	Gudimallam	32	988
280/1908	Tondamanadu (Kalahasti)	34	940
449/1905	Tirutanni	34	940
149/1916	Kilvidi (Arakonam)	41	947
200/1982	Vanamaladinne (Chittoor District)	48	954

Parantaka's records are numerous. In the proper Thondai Mandalam⁹ his records up to 41st regnal year are found. They are many. For want of space, the records are not tabulated here. The fact remains that his records in the Thondai Mandalam cease to appear after 948. At last a single record appears in Chittoor District and it is dated 954.

Before discussing Krishna's invasion of the south, we must see the pattern of how the records of Krishna and the Cholas appear in Thondai Mandalam. The records are tabulated below.

**Records of Krishna III and the Cholas appearing
simultaneously in Thondai Mandalam**

TABLE 3

Record No. (1)	Village (2)	King (3)	Regnal year (4)	Christian year (5)
252/1987	Cholavandipuram	Gandaratitya	2	951
211/1906	Perangiyur	Gandaratitya	4	21st June 958
86/1942	Vasur	(Krishna)		958
28/1908	Tiruvadi	Krishna	16	954
25/1898	Ukkal	Krishna	16	954
200/1982	Vanamaladinne (Punganur)	Parantaka I	48	994
862/1902	Tirunamanallur	Krishna	17	955
425/1908	Tiruvamattur	Arinjaya	8	956
69/1900	Siyyamangalam	Arinjaya	8	956
399/1959	Meyyur	Sundara Chola	8	959
179/1912	Tiruvorriyur	Krishna	22	960
246/1912	Tiruvorriyur	Sundara Chola	5	961
52/1986	Melavalur	Sundara Chola	5	961
215/1911	Velacheri (Madras)	Sundara Chola	5	961
442/1938	Jambai	Krishna	28	961
12/1896	Karikkal	Sundara Chola	5	961
270/1989	Kappalur	Sundara Chola	6	962
58/1986	Melavalur	Krishna	24	962
882/1905	Kaverippakkam	Sundara Chola	6	962
380/1988	Sirupakkam	Aditya II	3	963
399/1988	Meyyur	Aditya II	3	963
471/1902	Tiruvannamalai	Aditya II	3	963
269/1989	Kappalur	Krishna	25	963
272/1989	Kappalur	Krishna	25	963
274/1989	Kappalur	Krishna	25	963
51/1984	Ten Maha Deva Mangalam (Polur)	Sundara Chola	7	963
359/1909	Tayanur	Aditya II	3	963
82/1898	Ukkal	Aditya II	4	964
70/1900	Siyyamangalam	Aditya II	4	964

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
786/1905	Gramam	Aditya II	4	964
748/1905	Gramam	Krishna	25	964
860/1909	Tayanur	Aditya II	4	964
861/1909	Tayanur	Aditya II	4	964
183/1902	Bahur	Krishna	27	965
173/1902	Bahur	Aditya II	5	965
266/1989	Kappalur	Aditya II	5	965
267/1989	Kappalur	Aditya II	5	965
248/1987	Timmichchur	Aditya II	5	965
282/1916	Tondur (Gingee)	Aditya II	5	965
203/1906	Perangiyur	Aditya II	5	965

The records in the Tables 1, 2 and 3 reveal certain interesting features.

1) After 940 Parantaka's records are absent in Chittoor district. Probably he lost this area to Krishna. Because Krishna's two records dated 943 and 945 are found in Siddalingamadam and Peruvayal respectively. They introduce the king as Kannaradeva who took Kachchi and Thanjai. We shall discuss this epithet later. However the records prove that Krishna had made inroad in the south around 943 and 945. The Cholas resisted Krishna's thrust and established their authority in the Thondal Mandalam. This is evident from the absence of Krishna's records after 945. It is also to be noted here that this was the same period when Vira Pandya killed Uttamasili the last son of Parantaka. This proves that when he was engaged in resisting the invasion of Krishna, Parantaka lost his grip in Pandi Mandalam in the south. Vira Pandya utilised the best opportunity and captured Madura. Parantaka's position was delicate. Which part of the empire could he save? He lost Pandi Mandalam and it remained so (till Sundara Chola captured Madura in 960 when Aditya II killed Vira Pandya).

2) Between 945 and 953, the records of Krishna do not appear in Thondal Mandalam.

3) After 948, Parantaka's records are not found in Thondal Mandalam. But the records of Gandaratitya are found till 953. Parantaka's records upto year 46 are available in Tanjore District. His Kandiyur record No. 15/1895 (S. I. I. V. 570) is in year 46. Probably he retired from active part and made Gandaratitya to look after the affairs.

4) In the year 953 a body guard of Krishna made grants to the temple at Vasur. It proves that Krishna was keeping his army here. But his records till 953 are absent. We know that Parantaka's son Rajaditya was killed in 949. Gandaratitya came to the throne in 950. His records in Thondai Mandalam are few but they are available upto 953. Probably during the period 950 to 953 there was some sort of uncertainty in this area. Krishna kept his army in 953.

5) From 954 Krishna's records regularly appear in Thondai Mandalam. His record dated 954 is found in Tiruvadi (modern Panruti) the southern part of Thondai Mandalam. Another record dated 954 is found at Ukkal. In the same year 954 Parantaka's record appears in Vanamaladinne near Punganur in Chittoor district. This place is about 300 kilometers north of Tiruvadi where Krishna's record is found. The pattern proves that the uncertainty was settled. The Cholas and Krishna entered into some sort of friendship or understanding. Each recognised the other. More so, the Cholas accepted Krishna's authority which we shall see below.

6) Parantaka died in 954 when Gandaratitya and Arinjaya were ruling. Krishna's records regularly appear and as the years advance his records are more in number.

7) From 954 to 959 Krishna's records and Chola records are found. The Chief Gandaratitya Pallavarayan who figures in 425/1903 of Parakesarivarman year 3 also figures in the same temple record No. 426/1903 dated Saka 879 corresponding to 957. The former belongs to Arinjaya. Incidentally the same Chief figures in Krishna's Kilur record No. 266/1902 dated 961. The Chief Mummudi Chola Siya Gangarayar who figures in 69/1900 of Parakesarivarman year 3 also figures in the same temple record No. 70/1900 of Aditya II year 4. It is evident that Parakesarivarman is Arinjaya.

8) From 959 to 966 the records of Krishna, Sundara Chola and Aditya II appear simultaneously and they are very close. Some of them are of same dates found in the same temples. Krishna died prior to February 967.

9) From 959 to 966 the provenance of the records shows a remarkable pattern. Records of Krishna, Sundara Chola and Aditya II are found in the same area, of the same year and in some cases in the same temples of the same villages. This proves that Krishna and the Cholas

were on cordial terms. The Cholas were the local rulers. Krishna came from North. In the circumstances we can surmise that the Cholas accepted the suzerainty of Krishna and in turn the latter offered friendship. In this period there was no animosity between Krishna and the Cholas. Aditya's records are more. It does not mean that Sundara Chola was overlooked. Aditya was the beloved son of Sundara. When Krishna offered friendship to Aditya then it means that the former treated Sundara also in the same manner.

10) In the light of the above observations let us see some important records of Krishna.

Solapuram record No. 428/1902 :- This record is found engraved on a rock near a pond called KallanguTTai near Solapuram in the Vellore Taluk of North Arcot District. The record is edited by Hultzsch in E. I. Vol. VII page 194. The object of the record was to record the construction of the pond near which it is found and which was called Kallinangai pond in memory of a woman Kallinangal. The text runs as follows :-

- 1) ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ யாண்டு இரண்டு சகவருஷம் எண்ணுற்று எழுபத்து ஒன்று
- 2) சக்கரவர்த்தி கன்னரதேவவல்லபன் ராஜாதித்தரை எறிந்து தொண்டை மண்டலம் புருந்த
- 3) வாண்டு.....etc.....etc.....

"Hail! Prosperity! year two -the Saka year eight hundred and seventy one-the year in which the emperor Kannaradeva Vallabha having pierced Rajaditya entered the Thondai Mandalam...etc".

The record quotes Saka 871 corresponding to 949-50. The record states that it was the year in which Krishna entered Thondai Mandalam after piercing Rajaditya. In the beginning of the record year 2 is quoted. It was a puzzle. Scholars thought that it was the second regnal year of some king. The king could not be identified. But a careful reading can also prompt us to interpret it in a different way without doing any damage to the contents.

Suppose Rajaditya was killed between January and March 949. Then it was Saka 870. Suppose the present record was engraved between January and March 950. This date falls in Saka 871 the second year after the death of Rajaditya. On this basis we can interpret the record as follows:-

"The year in which Kannara Deva Vallabha entered Thondal Mandalam, after having pierced Rajaditya, is Saka 871 and it is the second year after the demise of Rajaditya". Thus the death of Rajaditya occurred in the first quarter of 949 and it was mentioned in the first quarter of 950. This agrees with the Tiruvalankadu plates which state that Rajaditya defeated Krishna and went to the heavens. It means that though Rajaditya was killed in 949, Krishna met stiff resistance from the Cholas. Krishna was able to enter Thondal Mandalam in the next year 950 only.

At any rate the fact remains that Krishna entered Thondal Mandalam in 950. However we do not see his records from 950 to 953. Probably the Cholas resisted and arrested the advance of Krishna. This was the period of uncertainty. Between 950 and 953 we see only two records of Gandaraditya. In the year 953 the body guard of Krishna figures in a record.

This uncertainty was settled by Parantaka himself. He realised the futile exercise of meeting two enemies at one and the same time. In the south Vira Pandya was there. In the north Krishna was pressing. If the Cholas were to exist and expand the empire as done before, then they had to consolidate their position in the south. Vira Pandya killed Uttamasila son of Parantaka. Krishna's Chieftain killed Rajaditya the eldest son of Parantaka. *Krishna or Vira Pandya?* The two powerful enemies were to be dealt with. This was a serious problem for Parantaka who decided that unless the northern frontier was free from enmity, the Cholas could not hold the south also. Diplomacy alone could keep the northern frontier free from danger and the south could be dealt with at a later stage.

Parantaka's wisdom and fore thought reflect in the later stages of the Cholas which we shall see soon. Parantaka came into terms with Krishna who probably extended his friendly hands. Thus we see that in 954 Krishna's record is found in the southern part of Thondal Mandalam and Parantaka's record is found in Chittoor district about 300 kilometers north of the place where Krishna's record is found.

Parantaka should have advised his sons to adopt a policy of tolerance and friendship towards the northerners so that the Cholas could expand their territory at least in the south. Parantaka's wisdom or fore thought was this. "*The foreign policy towards the north should be based on diplomacy and tactics. Hasty offensive approach was dangerous*". This policy yielded useful

results in the reigns of Sundara Chola and Aditya II. This we shall discuss now in the light of Krishna's Kharhad plates.

Kharhad plates¹⁰:— These copper plates were issued by Krishna. The data are Saka 880 expired, Cyclic year Kalayukta, month Phalguna, ba 13, and Wednesday corresponding¹¹ to 9th March 959. The record states,¹² as follows:—

“Having, with the intention of subduing the southern region, uprooted the race of the Cholas; given their land to his own dependents, and made the lords of great countries, viz the Cheranma, the Pandya and others, along with the Simhala, his tributaries, he (Krishna) erected a high column at Ramesvara, which was the image (as it were) of the sprout of the creeper in the shape of his glory!”

In the record Krishna states, “Be it known to you that, while my glorious and victorious army is encamped at Melpadi for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the southern region for my dependents, of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces, and of erecting temples of *Kalapriya*, *Gandamartanda*, *Krishnesvara*, etc., eight hundred and eighty years of the era of the Saka king having elapsed, on Wednesday, the thirteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Phalguna of the (Cyclic) year Kalayukta,—I have granted the village named Kankem, one of the Kalli group of twelve (villages), situated in the district (Vishaya) of Karahata, along with the rows of trees in it, the assessment in grain and gold, the flaws in measurement, the inflictions of fate, and all the produce, to Gaganasiva, a great ascetic, versed in all Sivasiddhantas, the pupil of the preceptor Isanasiva, who is the head of the establishment of Valkalesvara in Karahata and is an emigrant from the Karanjakheta group (of villages), for the purpose of providing seats and clothes to all ascetics, as promised on the Karttiki (i. e. the full-moon tithi of Karttika),—(the grant) to be respected (i. e. not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure”.

Krishna states that he defeated the Cholas, Cheras, Pandya and the king of Ceylon. He planted a pillar of victory at Rameswaram. His statement should be true. But we do not find any of his records in Chola Mandalam, Chera country and Pandi Mandalam. His statement is not a boast. He could have made an adventurous *Dig Vijya* and could have gone to Ceylon. Such an adventure we see in the case of Rajendra I who made

the *Dig Vijya* upto the Ganges and conducted raids in Maleya and Sumatra. Similarly Krishna too could have conducted an adventurous campaign upto Ceylon. The Mahavamsa, the Ceylon Chronicle, records the following in the reign of Mahinda IV A. D. 956 to 972.

“The Vallabha king sent a force to Nagadipa to subdue this our country. The Ruler hearing this, the king sent thither the senapati Sena by name, to whom he had made over an army, to fight with the troops of the Vallabha king. The senapati betook himself thither, fought with the troops of this (Vallabha) king, defeated them and remained master of the battle-field. As the kings with the Vallabha (king) at their head, were unable to vanquish our king, they made a friendly treaty with the ruler of Lanka. In this way the fame of the king penetrated to Jambudipa, spreading over Lanka and crossing the ocean”.¹³

The Ceylon Chronicle clearly states that the enemy was Vallabha. Probably it refers to Krishna who is called as Vallabha in his records. The chronicle mentions that Vallabha was the head of the other kings. Who were they? Probably they were the Chola kings. Because Ceylon kings and Cholas were always at war. The Pandyas were on cordial terms with Ceylon and they would not have joined Krishna. The Cholas alone could have joined Krishna. This surmise is supported by later events.

As on 9th March 959 at Melpadi Krishna was distributing the countries which he conquered to his dependents and friends. It is certain that Krishna's southern campaign (or raid) was over early 959. Krishna claims to have subdued the Pandya. The Pandya was Vira Pandya who was in his 20th regnal year. Probably Krishna's raid is the reason for the absence of the 21st year record of Vira Pandya.

From 959 to 966 (till the end of Krishna's reign) we find that the records of the Cholas and Krishna appear side by side in Thondai Mandalam. They are found in the same villages and in the same years (Table 3). If the Cholas were not on friendly terms with Krishna then Krishna's records and the Chola records cannot appear in the above pattern. In the proper Chola Mandalam the Cholas continued to rule as before. Thus it is evident that from 959 the friendship between Krishna and the Cholas was at its zenith. Arinjaya's end came in 960. He died at Arrur a hamlet of Melpadi. At this time there was friendship between Krishna and the

Cholas. Therefore Arinjaya should have met his natural death when he visited Melpadi. He could not have died in any battle as surmised by some scholars.

In 959 Krishna divastated the southern region. This gave an opportunity to Sundara Chola and his son Aditya to settle their accounts with Vira Pandya. There was no danger from the north. Krishna was friendly. Sundara and Aditya were free to make their attempt in the south and they really succeeded. In 960 Sundara captured Madura and drove out Vira Pandya to the forest. Aditya followed Vira Pandya and killed him. From 960 to 966 we find that the records of Sundara and Aditya appear along with Krishna's records confirming our surmise that there was no danger from the north when the Cholas were victorious in the south.

Krishna says that he distributed the countries which he conquered to his dependents. The Cholas were among his dependants or rather friends. There was another king by name Parthivendra Varman. Perhaps he was also blessed by Krishna and was allowed to rule certain areas of Thondai Mandalam. This Parthivendra Varman was not hostile towards the Cholas. We shall see him in the next chapter.

Krishna's Epithet

Krishna has the Epithet "who took Kachchi and Thanjal". This cannot be brushed aside as a boast even though his records are not found in Chola Mandalam for which Thanjavur was the capital. We have to interpret it in the context of the then history and the victories of Krishna.

Kanchipuram was the traditional capital of the Pallavas who disappeared around 900. Later it became the second capital of the Cholas. Thanjavur was the Chief capital of the Cholas. Krishna's records are available around Kanchipuram. His records are absent in Thanjavur district. But he adopts the title "who took Kanchipuram and Thanjavur". The title means that he conquered the traditional Pallava region Thondai Mandalam and defeated the Cholas. For example Sundara Chola adopts the title "who took Madura". But his records are not available in Pandi Mandalam. Rajendra I adopts the title "who took the Ganges" (Gangaikondan). But his records are not found there. He made a raid in the north. He raided Kadaram (Maleya) and adopted the title "who took Kadaram" (Kadaram Kondan). The army General Annan Pallavarayan of Rajadhi Raja II (1166-80) raided Ceylon in 1176. Rajadhi Raja adopted the title who

took Ceylon but he never ruled there. Kulothunga III (1178-1218) raided Ceylon and adopted the title "who took Ceylon". But he never ruled there. These titles are to be understood and interpreted in the context of the course of events and the pattern of records found in the regions. Therefore Krishna's epithet is to be accepted. He defeated the Cholas and ruled in Thondai Mandalam.

The Cholas were friendly with Krishna till the latter's death. The policy of diplomacy towards the north was continued by the Cholas and we shall see it soon.

Krishna was long remembered in the Chola country. Tiruvandar Koil record No. 359/1917 belongs to Raja Raja year 5 corresponding to 990. The record refers to an earlier grant made by Kannaradeva in his 28th year. Tiruppanamur record No. 155/1939-40 belongs to Raja Raja and it quotes the grants made in the 25th year of Krishna.

Tiruppulivanam record No. 396/1923 belongs to Kulothunga III year 37 and it is dated 7th June 1215. It records an agreement by the assembly to conduct certain festivals as of old in the temple of Tiruppulivanam and to burn lamps in all the days of the festivals. Of those lamps which were intended to be burnt through out the year, four were endowed in the 14th year of Aparajita Vikrama Varman, one in the 18th year of Kannaradeva "who took Kachchi and Thanjai" two in the 13th year of Parantaka I, and one in the 14th year of Kulothunga III (Total 8 lamps). Kulothunga accepts the title of Krishna. As such we should also accept the title and interpret it in the light of the facts and truth. (Record No 396/1923/ and S. I. I. VI. 350 are similar)

Kanchipuram

The Nolamba Chieftain Polachora calls himself lord of Kanchi. In the Kambaduru record "dated February 966, Polachora adopts the title "who took Kanchi". In the undated record of Krishnapalle "Polachora's son boasts of having defeated the Cholas.

The date February 966 falls in the closing year of Krishna. It is evident from the record that the Nolamba Chieftain had made inroad in the Chola country. But it was only a raid or a local skirmish.

In the last quarter of 965 Aditya II was murdered. In the year 966 Nolamba king raided the Chola country. In February 967 Krishna was no

more. Sundara Chola realised the danger and acted quickly. Early 968 Sundara advanced towards Kanchipuram and occupied it. This is evident from a record¹⁶ found in the Svetaranyesvara temple of Madhurantakam. The record belongs to Rajakesarivarman who took Madura evidently Sundara Chola. The regnal year is 12 and day 130 corresponding to June 968. The record states that tax free lands were gifted to the temple for long life and victory of the king. The victory was achieved and the Cholas occupied Kanchipuram. Around 974 Sundara Chola died at Kanchipuram. In the Chola records Sundara Chola is called "Devar who died in the golden Palace" (பொன் மாளிகைத் துஞ்சின தேவர்). The golden palace was at Kanchipuram where Sundara Chola breathed his last.¹⁷ Kanchipuram city was in the hands of the Cholas for another three hundred years.

Records of Krishna and the Cholas-A study.

The Kharhad plates of Krishna is dated 9th March 959. The record states that Krishna was camping at Melpadi and it was his intention to construct three temples for Kalapriya, Gandamartanda and Krishneswara. Kaverippakkam is about 30 kilometers east of Melpadi. Record No 382/1905 belonging to Rajakesarivarman is found in the Sundara Varada Raja Perumal Vishnu temple. It is in year 6. It mentions a gift made by a merchant of the village Kirttimarttanda Kalapriyam. The temple is called Kirttimarttanda Kalapriyadeva. It is evident that the record belongs to Sundara Chola. The name of God is called after Krishna III whose surname was Kirttimarttanda. The temple was built by Krishna himself and it was called Kalapriyadeva in accordance with the Kharhad plate. But to-day the said temple does not exist. Or probably it is the same Sundara Varada Raja Perumal Vishnu temple itself. In the later period after several centuries the Shiva temple would have been converted into a Vishnu temple.

Puduppalayam record No. 242/1939 belongs to Krishna. It is in year 26 corresponding to 964. The record mentions the donor Paramaiyan who is called the officer of Vira Chola (Vira Chola Adhikari).¹⁸ Vira Chola mentioned here is Sundara Chola. This is evident from Vrinchipuram record No. 185/1940. The record belongs to Sundara Chola. It is in Sanskrit verse and describes Sundara as Vira Chola.

Kappalur records of 1938-39:- Kappalur is a small village in the Polur Taluk of North Arcot District. The Tirukkameswara temple of this

village contains many ancient inscriptions. From these inscriptions we come to know that the Shiva temple is in existence from the times of the Pallavas. Record No. 270 belongs to Sundara Chola and it is in year 6 corresponding to 962. Krishna's records (269, 272 and 274) are in year 25 corresponding to 963-64. Aditya II's records (248, 266 & 267) are in year 5 corresponding to 964-65. Aditya's inscriptions refer to a Vishnu temple Kaliyatitta-Vinnagar Emberuman built by him. This proves that Sundara Chola and his son Aditya were getting on smoothly with Krishna and Aditya built a Vishnu temple also (Record No. 265 of Raja Raja I dated 1006 mentions Kaliyatitta Emberuman Vishnu temple. A. R. E. 1938-39 page 76 para 13, correctly surmises that the Vishnu temple Kaliyatitta Vinnagar was built by Aditya II).

Manakkuppam record No. 269/1937 belongs to Rajakesari year 16. It mentions a donor by name Kirttimartanda Peraraiyan. Kirttimartanda was the surname of Krishna¹⁹. The record belongs to Sundara Chola and it is dated 972. Even though Krishna was no more Sundara Chola still maintains the surname Kirttimartanda for the donor. This shows Sundara's respect to Krishna.

Tiruvorriyur record No. 246/1912 belongs to Rajakesari who took Madura evidently Sundara Chola. The record is in year 5 corresponding to 961. The record states that Nagamaiyyan son of Singamaiyyan of Kalesi Perundaram, who accompanied Udaiyar Uttama Chola Devar gifted Sheep and a Ceylon lamp to the temple²⁰. When Krishna had his authority in Thondai Mandalam, Sundara Chola engraved his record at Tiruvorriyur. Even Uttama Chola visited the temple. This proves that the Cholas were on cordial terms with Krishna. The Ceylon lamp was probably brought from Ceylon when Krishna and the Cholas raided Ceylon in 959.

Siyamangalam record No. 70A/1900 belongs to Krishna year 22 corresponding to 960. The record states that Akkayi Devi daughter of Krishna visited the temple and made certain grants to the temple.²¹ Krishna's Tiruvorriyur record (No 179/1912) year 22 Corresponding to 960 states that Krishna's mother made gifts to the temple.

Siyamangalam record No. 69/1900 belongs to Parakesarivarman year 3. The record states that Mummudi Chola Siya Gangarayar was the Chief of Palakundra Kottam. The same Chief figures as a donor in the same temple record No. 70/1900 belonging to Aditya II year 4 corresponding

to 964. It is evident²² that the former record belongs to Arinjaya. The Chief borrowed the surname Mummudi Chola the title of Gandaratitya²³. The date of the former record is 956.

Tiruvamathur record²⁴ No. 425/1903 belongs to Parakesari year 3. One Parabhumikan Mallan alias Gandaratitya Pallavarayan gifted ten gold coins to put up a perpetual lamp. The same temple record²⁵ No. 426/1903 is dated Saka 879 corresponding to A. D. 957. The record states that the above individual gifted twenty gold coins to the temple to burn two perpetual lamps for the merit of his daughter. It is evident that the former record belongs to Parakesari Arinjaya and it is dated 956. The Chief borrowed the surname Gandaratitya from the name of the Chola king Gandaratitya. Incidentally the same chief figures in Krishna's Kilur records (266 and 266A/1902) dated 961 and 962 respectively. Here also the chief gifted lamps to the temple.

Tiruvannamalai record No. 475/1902 belongs to Krishna. The regnal year is lost. It records the gift of twenty cows for curd-bhath (தயிர் அமுது) to God. In the same temple the records of Aditya II year 3 and 4 are found.²⁶

The Mulasthanamudaiyar Shiva temple at Bahur (Pondichery) was built of stone by Krishna.²⁷ A record (S. I. I. VII 811) of Krishna found in this temple is in year 27 corresponding to 965. It states that the big assembly met in the temple hall. After many arguments, the members unanimously signed and made some grants to the temple. (வினாப் போர்க்கி ஒத்தெழுத் திட்டு குடுத்த பரிசு). Krishna was a true follower of Democracy.

Chaturanana Pandita :

Rajaditya was the first son of Parantaka I. Rajaditya's Kerala General was Vellan Kumaran. The General figures in the following records of Parantaka.

Parantaka I's records
Kerala General Vellan Kumaran figures

Record No.	Place	Regnal year	A. D. year	Details
739/1905	Gramam	29	935	Vellan Kumaran, the Kerala General of Rajaditya gifted sheep to the temple of Mulasthanam Udaiyar
735/1905	Gramam	36	948	Vellan Kumaran, the Kerala General of Rajaditya built of stone the Aatrurtali Mahadeva temple

Dr. V. Raghavan correctly identified Vellan Kumaran as Chaturanana Pandita²⁰, the donor figuring in Kannaradeva's (Krishna's), Tiruvorriyur Record No. 181/1912. The record is in the 20th year of Krishna corresponding to 958/959. In the record the General is called as Vallaba and it is said that he hailed from Kerala country. The record states that Vallaba came to the Chola country and rose to the position of a General under Rajaditya. But when Rajaditya was attacked by the Rashtrakutas at Takkolam, the Kerala General was not by his side. On his return to Chola country the General came to know the tragic death of Rajaditya in the battle field. He would have desired to lay down his life for his master or with him but fate willed otherwise and he was stricken with deep grief for his absence and failure to die with his master which were unworthy of himself, his family and his master. He therefore renounced worldly life and went to the Ganges. Having bathed in the celestial river he wandered back to the South and reached Tiruvorriyur which was famous for its religious and spiritual association. There he entered a cave called after Niranjana Guru, the head of affairs, at Tiruvorriyur. He attained spiritual enlightenment there and emerged as a Siddha (Saint). Assuming the spiritual name Chaturanana Pandita, the ex-General Vallaba, began to administer the Math and the affairs of the temple.

In the 20th year of Kannaradeva, the conqueror of Kanchi and Thanjai, Chaturanana Pandita made some grants to the temple for the conduct of worship on the days of Avittam in which he was born.

From the above facts it is clear that the faithful Kerala General of Rajaditya felt sorry for his absence in the Takkollam battle. After becoming a Saint, he still remembers his master and expresses his sorrow. We must note here that the date of the record is 958/959, the period in which Krishna made his sojourn in the south. Chaturanana Pandita, the ex-General of Rajaditya, expresses his deep sorrow for the tragic demise of his master Rajaditya. He does this in the record of Krishna. It means that Krishna himself has allowed Chaturanana Pandita to express the latter's sorrow in the former's record.

In the year 950 when Krishna entered the Thondai Mandalam, he said that he entered the track after piercing Rajaditya. But in 958/959 when Krishna was on his southern campaign, Chaturanana Pandita expresses his deep sorrow in Krishna's record. It means that Krishna himself felt sorry for the death of Rajaditya. He indirectly shows this

through Chaturanana Pandita. Thus it is evident that in 958/959 Krishna was friendly with the Cholas. This friendship extended till 967, the last day of Krishna.

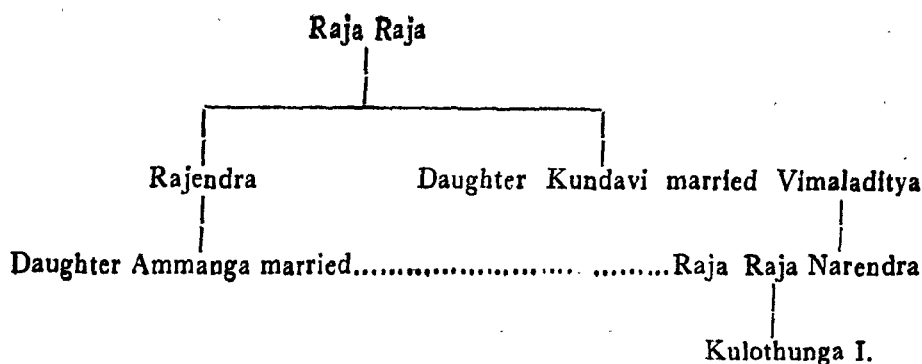
Scores of examples can be quoted. Tables 1 and 3 are self explanatory. Krishna's contributions to the south are great. Though a northerner, in the south he identified himself as the son of the soil. The Cholas too respected him. Elsewhere we have also seen that Krishna introduced his Tamil Prasasthi. In the words of Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam "It is a matter of great significance that the victor Kannaradeva was no less Zealous than the vanquished Parantaka Deva I in honouring the Gods of the temples of the land".⁹⁰

Wisdom of Parantaka :

Parantaka advised his sons to exhibit diplomacy towards the north. A hostile enemy from the north is dangerous for the very existence of the Chola empire. At any rate the Cholas must have friends in the north. This policy of Parantaka was followed by his successors Sundara Chola, Aditya II, Uttama Chola and Raja Raja.

In his reign, Krishna captured Venki and made one Danarnava his feudatory.⁹⁰ Danarnava was friendly with Krishna. After the demise of Krishna (in 967) troubles started in Venki. Danarnava killed his enemy Amma (970) and became master of the land. Later Amma's brother-in-law Bhima killed Danarnava, drove out the latter's wife and children and occupied the Venki throne. The widow (wife of late Danarnava) and her two children sought assylum in the Chola country. This happened around 973 when Sundara Chola was in his closing year and Uttama was running his 3rd year. The widowed mother and the children were brought up in Tiruvaiyaru in Tanjore district. They were under the protection of Uttama Chola whose reign came to an end in 987.

Raja Raja came to the throne in 985. The sons of late Danarnava were young princes. Their names were Saktivarman and Vimaladitya. Raja Raja gave his daughter Kundavi in marriage to Vimaladitya. Around 1001 Raja Raja invaded Venki and killed Bhima. Saktivarman was installed on the throne. After the demise of Saktivarman his younger brother Vimaladitya occupied the Venki throne. Vimaladitya's son Raja Raja Narendra married his uncle Rajendra I's daughter Ammanga. The pair got a son who in the later years became Kulothunga I.



This matrimonial alliance paved the way for the expansion of the Chola empire upto Thungabadra and Godavari. It remained so till 1173 the last year of Raja Raja II.

It was Parantaka I who was responsible for adopting a policy of diplomacy towards the north. This was further improved by Raja Raja and later by his son Rajendra. The Chola banner flew in the north for two hundred years. The wisdom and fore-thought of Parantaka yielded fruitful results for his successors.

Foot Notes :—

- 1) 364/1902; 125/1906; 159/1921
- 2) E. I. XXI page 262
- 3) E. I. V. page 188. They were found in a well in Deoli about 15 kilometers south west of Wardha near Nagpur
- 4) E. I. XXI No. 40 page 260
- 5) The record mentions the consecration of the image of Kartikeya on Sunday, Sukla Shashti month Phalguna in the year Kshaya, Saka 889. The data agree with Sunday 17th February 967. Sukla Shashti the auspicious thithi for Kartikeya commenced at 10 p. m. when the image of Kartikeya was installed in the temple. The record describes Lord Kartikeya and the description agrees with the traditional Skanda Purana. It is to be noted here that the image of God was installed in the night.
- 6) Nemali 153/1943 year 22 and 150/1943 year 28 and many more records.
- 7) Sanikkavadi A. R. E. 1939 to 43 page 235 para 23
- 8) 127/1942 year lost.

- 9) Tiruvamattur 419/1903; Tirumalpuram 813/1906; Tirukkoilur Taluk Karadi 221/1937; all are in year 41.
- 10) E. I. IV page 278 edited by Bhandarkar. The copper plates were found in the year 1895 when an old and dilapidated house was demolished in the village Kharhad in Satara district of Bombay Province. Also see pages 56 and 58 of E. I. XXXII.
- 11) On that day star Satabhishaj was current. In the words of Kielhorn it was an auspicious day called "Varuni" E. I. IV. page 279.
- 12) E. I. IV page 289 verse 35 and page 290 line 56.
- 13) Page 154 "The Colas" by K. A. N. E. Z. I. page 29 ff
- 14) Kambadur 93/1913. The data are Saka 887, Krodhana, Phalguna.
- 15) Krshnapalle record of Vira Mahendra 325/1912; A. R. E. 1913 page 91 para 14.
- 16) Madhurantakam 396/1922
- 17) The Golden Palace at Kanchipuram is mentioned in Tirumalpuram record S. I. I. III. 142. Also see S. I. I. II. No. 6; Raja Raja's Tiruvidaïmarudur record S. I. I. V. 723; Raja Raja's Tiruvenkadu record S. I. I. V. 980.
- 18) A. R. E. 1938-39 page 92
- 19) A. R. E. 1986-37 page 67 para 20
- 20) S. I. I. III. 115:- "உடையார் உத்தமசோழ தேவருடன் வந்த கலெசி பெருந்தரத்து சிங்கமய்யன். Also see page 52 ante.
- 21) S. I. I. VII 75. Also see page 14 of A. R. E. 1956-57
- 22) Compare Siyamangalam records S. I. I. VII 73 and 74
- 23) Timmichchur record 252/1986-87 belongs to Gandaratitya Mummudichola year 2; Also see Tiruvenkadu 444/1918; A. R. E. 1986-87 page 68 para 22.
- 24 and 25) compare S. I. I. III 95 and S. I. I. VIII 742.
- 26) Tiruvannamalai records: Aditya S. I. I. VIII 57 and 59; Krishna S. I. I. VIII 63
- 27) Page 286 Early Chola Temples by Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam
- 28) E. I. XXVII No. 47; Also please refer to pages 26 to 31 of The Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India Volume V edition 1978.
- 29) Early Chola Temples page 251.
- 30) The historical events mentioned here are known facts. Please refer to "The Colas" by K. A. N. Sastri.

Parthivendra Varman

Parthivendra Varman or Parthivendrathipathi Varman was a contemporary of Sundara Chola and Aditya II. He was ruling in Thondai Mandalam. His records are available¹ upto year 13. A single record² of the 15th year is also found.

Parthivendra Varman also claims of having taken the head of the Pandya or Vira Pandya. The title appears from his 2nd year records. Vira Pandya was killed in 960. If this is the second year of Parthivendra then he came to the throne in 959. But in Thondai Mandalam none can rule without the consent of Krishna III. In the Kharhad plates dated 9th March 959, Krishna states that he distributed the country which he conquered to his friends. One of the friends was Parthivendra and his accession in 959 confirms this. The Ceylon Chronicle states that when Krishna invaded Ceylon, other kings also accompanied him. Probably Parthivendra also would have accompanied Krishna in the latter's Dig Vijaya. Fittingly in March 959, while he was camping at Melpadi, Krishna made Parthivendra another subordinate king in Thondai Mandalam.

Parthivendra's area of operation was limited. His records are available in North Arcot and Chingleput districts only. He was put up on the throne in 959. His records are available upto year 15. His rule extended upto 973. Parthivendra was friendly with the Cholas. His records are not hostile towards the Cholas.

To which family does Parthivendra belong? He was not a Chola Prince. But from the name we can only infer that probably he belonged to the local Pallava stock. Since he was helpful to Krishna, the latter made him the king. Some of the records of Parthivendra mention the grants made by the kings of North India.³ This proves that Parthivendra came to the throne with the help of Krishna only.

Probably Krishna would have advised Parthivendra to join the Cholas when the latter invaded Madura in 960. Because Parthivendra also claims of having taken the head of Vira Pandya. To sum up we can surmise as follows:-

Early 959 Krishna conducted a Dig Vijaya in the south and went upto Ceylon. In this campaign the Cholas and Parthivendra joined Krishna. In turn, Krishna allowed the Cholas to rule their traditional country as before. He made Parthivendra a local king of Thondai Mandalam. In the year 960 Sundara Chola and Aditya invaded Madura. They got help from Krishna in the sense that Parthivendra joined the Cholas. Vira Pandya was killed in the battle field. The victory is claimed by Parthivendra and Aditya II. Parthivendra's rule came to an end in 974.

Anbil plates state⁵ that Arinjaya married a Vaidumba Princess (Daughter of a Vaidumba king who was considered as an incarnation of Lord Shiva). Their son was Sundara Chola. Curiously the Vaidumba Chieftains and officers figure in many records of Krishna, Aditya II and Parthivendra. This proves that all were on cordial terms.

Uttaramallur Record No. 88/1898 (S. I. I. III 152) belongs to Parthivendra Maharaya who took the head of Vira Pandya. The regnal year is 2. The title Maharaya is attributed to the King.

North Arcot District Cheyyar Taluk Brahmadeśam record No. 223/1915 belongs to Maharaja who took the head of Vira Pandya. The record belongs to Parthivendravarman.⁶ The regnal year is 2.

Tiruvadandai record No. 264/1910 belongs to Rajamarayar who took the head of Vira Pandya. The regnal year is 8. This record also belongs to Parthivendravarman⁷.

From the above records we come to know that Parthivendravarman had the titles Maharaja, or Rajamarayar. "Marayar" in Tamil is the equivalent of "Maharaja" in Sanskrit.

Takkolam record No. 14/1897 (S. I. I. III 73) belongs to Parthivendra year 4. The record states that a Brahman Officer by name Kcsavaiyan alias Pallavan Brahmadhirajan gifted ninety six sheep to burn a perpetual lamp before goddess Durga. The name "*Pallavan Brahmadhirajan*" confirms that the Officer's overlord is a "*Pallava*" evidently Parthivendravarman.

Tiruttani Division, Harischandarapuram alias Kartramotturu inscription No. 197/1942-43 belongs to Parthivendravarman year 10. It records the gift of land after purchase as *erippatti* by Paradaya Narayanan Amudan of Kuladipamangalam⁸, a Brahmadeya, situated on the South bank

of the Sonadu. The donar is described as a *Kanmi of Pallava Marayar* and is stated to have obtained for his livelihood (Jivitam) the village of Kattukkumundur in Menmalai Palaiyanur Nadu a sub division of Manniyur Kottam.

An individual belonging to the Chola country settled in a village in the Thondaimandalam. This area was ruled by Parthivendravarman. The individual received the village for his livelihood. It is said that the individual is the Kanmi (Officer or Servant) of Pallava Marayar. The title Marayar belongs to Parthivendravarman. The individual figures in the record of Parthivendravarman. These facts prove that Pallava Marayar mentioned in the record is Parthivendra himself. If this inference is correct, then it is evident that Parthivendravarman belongs to the local Pallava stock.

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Parthivendravarman was ruling in Thondaimandalam. He was put up on the throne by Krishna III. Parthivendra came to the throne in March 959. He was a contemporary of Aditya II. He assisted Aditya in the latter's Madura Campaign. In the year 960 Aditya and Parthivendra killed Vira Pandya. Like Aditya Parthivendra also adopted the title "who took the head of Vira Pandya". Parthivendra belonged to the local Pallava stock and he was also called as "Pallava Marayar". His records upto year 15 are available. Probably his rule came to an end in 974.

Note:—

V. Venkata Subba Ayyar has discussed the "Two Tamil inscriptions from Punganur", in E. I. XXVIII No. 43. His discussions are very useful and thought provoking. He has consulted a record which mentions saka year 889 corresponding to A. D. 967. Ayyar correctly places the 12th and 13th regnal years of Parthivendra after 967 A. D.

Foot Notes:—

- 1) S. I. I. III pages 323 to 375. "The Colas" Volume I by Neelakanta Sastri pages 457 to 466 edition 1935.
- 2) Chengleput district Parandur record No. 75/1923 year 15

- 3) Tirumalpuram No. 267/1906 of Parthivendra year 3 records the building of the temple and enclosing verandah by the Virata king Anayaman alias Paramandalatitya. The same temple record No. 324/1906 mentions an earlier grant made by Virata king.
- 4) Takkolam record S. I. I. III 173 of Parthivendra year 4 corresponds to 968. It mentions an individual Madurantaka Kaduttalai Manradi. Madurantaka is assignable to Sundara Chola. Thus an officer of Sundara figures in Parthivendra's record. His Uttaramallur record S. I. I III 193 year 11 mentions his wife Villavan Madeviyar probably a Chera princess. Krishna also states that he subdued the Chera.
- 5) E. I. XV page 68 verse 24
- 6) A. R. E. 1916 page 149 para 78.
- 7) A. R. E. 1911 page 91
- 8) A. R. E. 1939-40 to 1942-43 page 273 para 112.
- 9) Please refer to Tirutturaippoondi Inscriptions published by Tamilnadu Government Archaeological Department. Kirakkalur records 1976/64 and 1976/68 belong to Parakesarivarman who took the head of vira Pandya evidently Aditya II. The records are dated year 2 and 3 respectively. They mention the name of the village as Kuladipamangalam, a Brahmadeya in Arvala Kurram.

Dates of Early Cholas

King	Accession Date	Last year	Page reference
Parakesari Vijayalaya	After 850	After 871	2
Rajakesari Aditya I	30th January - 3rd October 871	908	5
Parakesari Parantaka I	27th December 906 - February 907	954	7 & 74
Rajaditya	—	was killed in 949 in the Takkolam battle	85
Rajakesari Gandaratitya	23rd December 949 - 5th January 950	As a king upto 958 As a devotee upto 974	43
Parakesari Arinjaya	15th March - 31st May 953	960	59
Rajakesari Sundara Chola (also called as Parantaka II)	2nd - 17th January 957	973 (973?)	47 & 52
Parakesari Aditya Karikala (Aditya II)	12th June - 8th September 960	965	65
Parakesari Uttama Chola	21st April - 6th June 971	988	21 & 93
Rajakesari Raja Raja I	18th July 985 (Accession star Punarvasu)	1014	81 & 83

Contemporary Kings :—

1) Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola came to the throne between February and June 939. In the year 960 he was killed by Aditya II (Pages 67, 69 and 74)

2) Rashtrakuta king Krishna III came to the throne between February and October 939. He died prior to February 967 (Pages 98 and 99)

3) Parthivendravarman who took the head of the Pandya came to the throne in March 959. His rule extended upto 974 (page 121)

Some Anomalies :—

Leyden grants of Raja Raja state that after the death of Parantaka I, his son Rajaditya became the lord of the earth. But we have found that Rajaditya died in 949 and Parantaka continued to rule upto 954. The

incorrectness of the statement in the Leyden grant is pointed out by many scholars.¹

While referring to the sons of Sundara Chola the Thiruvallankadu plates (of Rajendra I) mention Arunmolivarman (the future Raja Raja) in the first place and Aditya Karikala in the second place. As a matter of fact Aditya Karikala was the elder brother and Arunmolivarman was the younger brother. Again the Thiruvallankadu plates states that *Sundara Chola of great prowess went to the heaven; after him his son Aditya ruled the earth*. The statement is incorrect. Stone records prove that Sundara ruled from 957 to 974. Aditya was murdered in 965, in the life time of Sundara himself.

We come across such a kind of incorrectness in a later Chola record also. Pallavarayan Pettai record No. 433/1924 belongs to Rajadhi Raja II year 8 corresponding to 1173. The record states that when Periyadevar Raja Raja II died, his sons were one and two years old and they were brought up in Raja Rajapuram Palace. Since the sons were not of proper age Rajadhi Raja II was crowned. Records prove that Raja Raja II ruled from 1146 to 1172. Rajadhi Raja II was crowned in 1166. It is evident that Raja Raja II did not die before 1166 the accession date of Rajadhi Raja II.

The statement in Pallavarayan Pettai record is incorrect. The date of the record is 1173. As far as the record is concerned Raja Raja II was no more. The intention of the composer was to refer to Raja Raja as "late Periyadevar Raja Raja". Instead, he engraved the passage in a wrong manner. The phrase in line 7 of the record reads *Periyadevar thunji Arulip pillaikalukku onrum irandum tirunakshatiramakaiyal*". It means that "Periyadevar (Raja Raja) died and his sons were one and two years old". It is the mistake of the engraver. It should read as "*thunji arulia periyadevar pillaikalukku onrum irandum tirunakshatiramakaiyal*". It will mean that, "the sons of late Raja Raja were one and two years old." In 1173, (the date of the record) Raja Raja was no more and the record should address him as a "late king".

When a record is incorrect, the error is to be understood and rectified with the aid of other records. The above three records are such examples. Otherwise the construction of the Chronology will suffer and the truth cannot be found.

Foot Note:-

- 1) K. V. Subramania Iyer pages 82-83 of E. I. XIX and page 219 of E. I. XXII
- 2) S. I. I. III pages 419 and 420
- 3) Page 129 "The Cholas" - Mathematics Reconstructs the "Chronology" by N. Sethuraman. Also see pages 263 to 271, "Later Chola Temples" by Padma Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam. I am deeply indebted to Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam.

APPENDIX

Tillaisthanam record No. 26/1895 (S. I. I. V. 583) belongs to Parakesarivarman year 8. The record states that the servant of the queen of the Pandya King Manabarana gifted thirty gold coins to the temple for burning a perpetual lamp. (ஸ்வஸ்திபுரீ கோப்பரகேசரி பன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு அ ஆவது திருநெய்த்தானத்து மகாதேவர்க்குப் பாண்டியனார் மாண்புரண தேவியார் கிழவன்..... etc.)

The record probably belongs to Parantaka I year 8 corresponding to 914. If this is so, then the Pandya king Manabarana is to be equated to the father of Vira Pandya who took the head of the Chola. Manabarana the father of Vira Pandya is to be identified as Rajasimha. This information may please be transferred to pages 75 and 76. _

Parantaka's first Madura Campaign was in 909. His second Campaign was prior to 921. Probably around 914 there was some sort of cordial relationship between Rajasimha and Parantaka. This surmise may please be transferred to para one page 72.



N. SETHURAMAN

Born on 3rd November 1930, Mr. N. Sethuraman comes from a distinguished Kumbakonam family. He is a Science Graduate of Madras University and the holder of a Diploma in Automobile Engineering. In the year 1962 he went to England and specialised in diesel Engines. Now the Director of Raman & Raman Private Ltd., he is keenly interested in Epigraphical Research. His earlier books "The Cholas — Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" and "The Imperial Pandyas — Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology" embody the results of his research in the history of the Cholas and the Pandyas. In addition, his contribution includes the following :—

(1) "The Regnal year" — Paper presented before the Fourth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Madras in January 1978. (2) "Parakesari-varman Uttama Chola" — Paper presented before the Fifth Annual Congress Epigraphical Society of India held at Bangalore in February 1979. (3) "Dates of Medieval Pandyas and Some of Their Temples" and "Jatilavarman Arikesari Parakrama Pandya and The Date of The Tenkasi Viswanatha Temple" — presented before the International Seminar held at Varanasi in December 1979.

The veteran scholar Padma Sri S. R. Balasubramaniam writes thus. "The recent phenomenon of interest is the entry of a businessman into the field of Archaeology. N. Sethuraman of Raman & Raman Kumbakonam, started with the study of the Pallavarayanpettai inscription and has made valuable contribution to Indian History, packing into a brief span of six months what most professionals do not achieve in a life time..... So, I welcome the emergence of this new star in the field of South Indian History and Epigraphy — N. Sethuraman a businessman of standing from Kumbakonam." (pages XVI and 18. "Later Chola Temples").

Ad