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THE PALLAVAS

BY

G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL

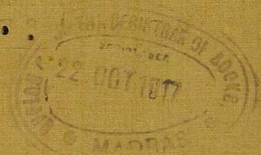
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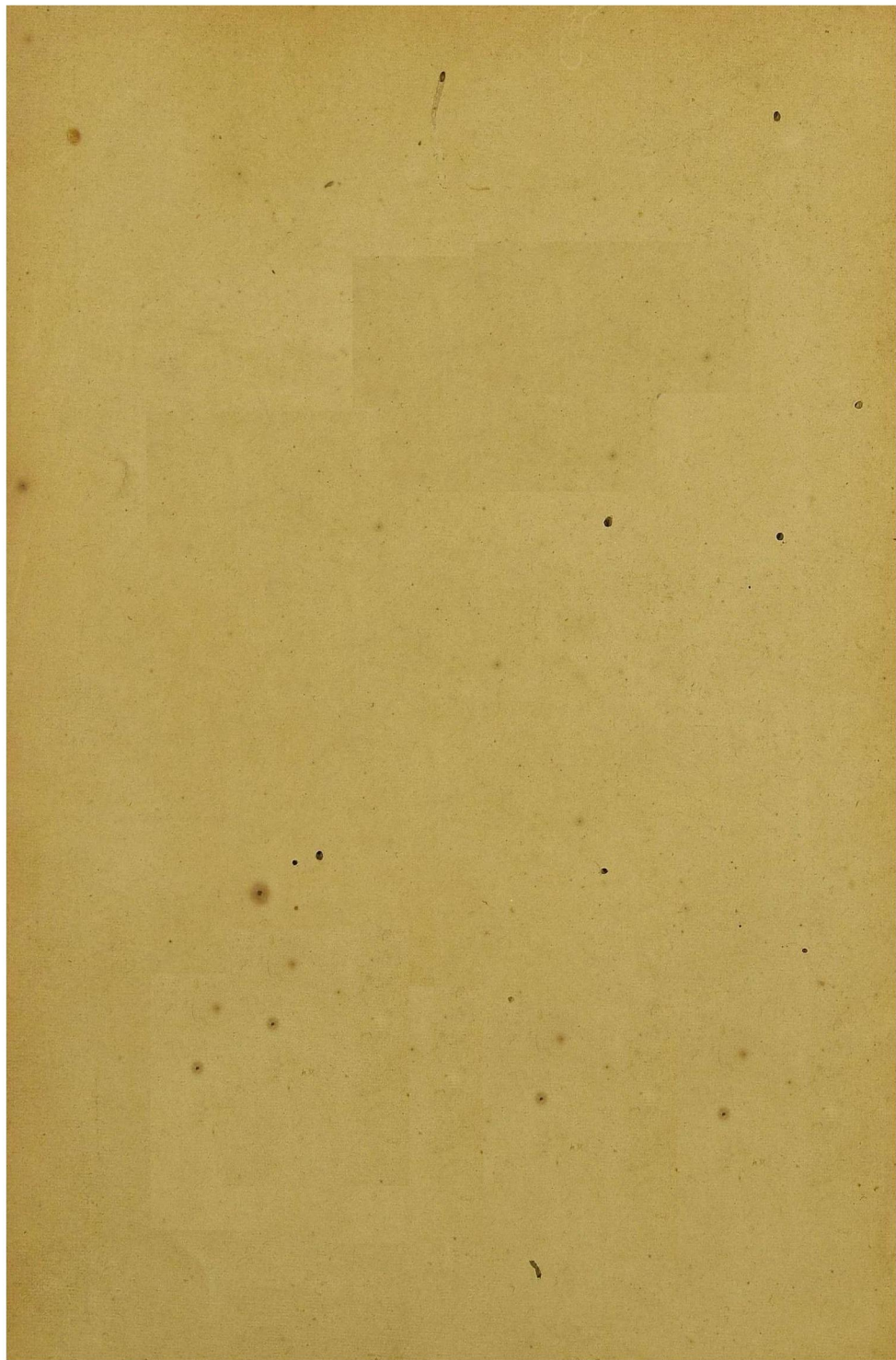
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CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN ORIGIN OF PALLAVA ART.

I do not know if any author has so far attempted to ascertain what kind of art flourished at the time of the first kings of the Pallava dynasty. That is what we shall try to determine in this chapter.

There is a document which is particularly important for a study of the early history of the Pallavas; it is the Viripara plates discovered at Mayidavôlu, a village situated at a distance of 12 miles from Narasaraôpet in the Guntûr district which lies on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇâ.

From his capital, Kâñchîpura, and in the 10th year of the reign of his father whose name is not given, the heir-apparent (Yuva-Mahârâja) Śivaskandavarman, of the Pallava dynasty and of Bhâradvâja Gôtra, sent to the governors of Dhañṇakaḍa an order concerning the village of Viripara, situated in the province of Ândhrâpatha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 84.)

There is no doubt that this prince belongs to the dynasty whose history we are studying, for it is expressly stated that Śivaskandavarman lived at Kâñchi, and was of the family of the Pallavas and of Bhâradvâja Gôtra.

Again, as the plates were discovered in the Guntûr District and the village for which they were engraved was in Ândhrâpatha, and as the order was issued to the officers of Dhañṇakaḍa, that is to say, the town of Amarâvatî, it is certain that the Pallava princes of this period reigned not only over Tonḍai maṇḍalam, that is to say, the province of Kâñchi, but also over the country up to the banks of the Kṛishṇâ which was occupied by the Ândhras and in which was situated the town of Amarâvatî where, in the middle of the 2nd century, King Puḷumâyi II. built the white marble Stûpa, the sculptures of which, almost entirely Roman in workmanship, now adorn the Madras Museum.

The Pallavas have thus succeeded the Ândhras on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ; but how long after and at what epoch?

We shall now show, that, in all probability, the father of Śivaskandavarman of the Pallava dynasty reigned at Amarāvati shortly after Puḷumāyi II. had built the famous Stūpa.

The gift of the village of Viripara bears only the date of the year of the king's reign, however, the alphabet in which it is written would enable us to determine the date if we have any points of comparison.

Fortunately, in this case, we have such points of comparison: The Mayidavōlu plates are written in the same alphabet as the plates found at Koṇḍamūdi (a village situated in the Tenāli Tāluk, Guntūr District). And in its language and its phraseology the Koṇḍamūdi document resembles so much the Kārī inscription of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, and the Nāsik inscription of Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāyi, that there cannot be any great difference of date between them:

« The alphabet of this inscription shows that he must have » lived in the same period as the Pallava prince Śivaskandavarman » who issued the Mayidavōlu plates. Further, the language and » phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nāsik » inscriptions [a still closer resemblance exists between Jaya- » varman's plates and the Kārī inscription No. 19 (*A. S. W. I.* » Vol. IV, p. 112)] of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi (Nos. 4 and 5) » [Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's in *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. XVI, and » Inscriptions from the cave temples of Western India—Kārī] of » Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāyi (No. 3), that Jayavarman's date cannot » have been very distant from that of those two Āndhra Kings. » (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, No. 31, p. 315).

If we bear in mind that it was Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāyi who built the Stūpa at Amarāvati, we may conclude that the Pallava king, father of Śivaskandavarman, who engraved the Mayidavōlu plates, reigned at Amarāvati shortly after Puḷumāyi II.

A strange coincidence indeed: the son of this Puḷumāyi reigned from 177 to 184 A.D., under the name of Śivaskanda which was also the name of the son of the Pallava king.

Is this coincidence something purely accidental? We may believe it is not. In fact it is possible that the Pallava king had married the daughter of Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi and that the "Yuvamahārāja" of the Pallava dynasty received, according to the custom of the Hindus, the name of the Āndhra king who was his grandfather.

Since we are now dealing with suppositions, we shall say a few words here about the theory of the Persian origin of the Pallavas.

The father of Puṣumāyi II. had fought with the Pahlavas, and this same Puṣumāyi had to struggle against the satrap Rudradāman, who, about the year 150 A.D. had for minister a Pahlava called Suvisākha. (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, 257—Junagadh Insc.) Relying upon the analogy of names, certain authors think that these Pahlavas, who fought with the Andhras, succeeded in establishing a kingdom for themselves between the Kṛishṇā and the Pālar and founded the Pallava dynasty.

This theory is subject to variations in its details. For example, we may suppose that the Pahlavas took possession of one part of the Āndhra empire not by conquest but by marriages such as the one that is supposed to have taken place between the father of Śivaskandavarman and the daughter of the Āndhra King of the same name.

Similar marriages between the Āndhras and those of other dynasties have surely taken place; we know that Puṣumāyi II. married the daughter of the satrap Rudradāman, whose minister was a Pahlava.

All these hypotheses are based on the similarity of names: Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman and Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi, Pahlavas and Pallavas; but they are contestable.

All that we can consider as certain is that the Pallava King who reigned at Amarāvati when the Mayidavōlu plates were engraved lived shortly after Puṣumāyi II. who built the Stūpa at Amarāvati; but it is not possible to say exactly how long after.

The Āndhra dynasty came to an end about 236 A.D. There is nothing, however, to prove that the Pallavas did not succeed the Āndhras many years earlier at Amarāvati, and that the prince Śivaskandavarman was not the contemporary of the last Āndhra kings whose kingdom had now become much smaller. In that case, the Mayidavōlu plates may be dated about 200 A.D. If, however, the Pallavas succeeded the Āndhras after 236 A.D. it must have been immediately after, for the resemblance between the Mayidavōlu plates and Jayavarman's plates discovered at Koṇḍamūdi is so close that we cannot suppose that more than a century would have elapsed between Śivaskandavarman and Puṣumāyi II.

We can therefore conclude that the Pallava kings reigned at Amarāvati in the first half of the third century after Christ, that is, about 50 years after the famous Stûpa was built. These kings reigned over a very extensive territory : their empire extended from the banks of the Pâlâr to those of the Kṛishṇâ. They were therefore powerful and glorious.

What about the art in this kingdom? There is no doubt about the answer. Pallava art at the time of Śivaskandavarman cannot be very different from that which flourished at the time when Puḷumâyi II built the Stûpa at Amarāvati.

A visit to the remains that are kept in the Madras Museum is enough to convince one that this art had attained great perfection.

The subjects are Buddhistic, the costumes and the ornaments are Hindu, but their workmanship is European.

But, above all, it is in the representation of the human body that the European influence manifests itself. The hair is curled in the Greek manner, the face is symmetrical, the limbs are sculptured according to the rules of Anatomy with conspicuous muscles, and some of them are dressed in clothes that remind us of the Roman toga.

This Indo-European art was not peculiar only to the banks of the Kṛishṇâ ; it was found throughout India and specially in Gandhâra.

At this epoch, the Roman Empire extended its influence over almost the whole of the civilised world and was also connected with India in various ways.

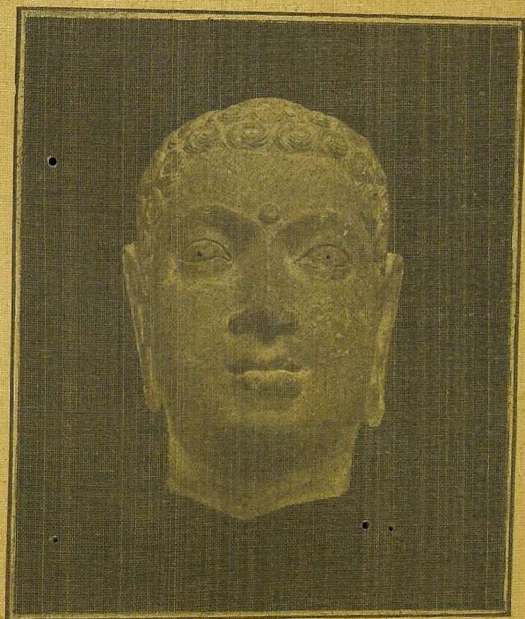
How long did this influence last? There is no doubt that it disappeared from South India in the VII century, whereas it was probably not introduced there before the Christian era. It attained its zenith probably in the II and the III centuries. There is no doubt that in its origin the Pallava art was strongly influenced by the principles of the Latin Art.

In many places on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ, we find sculptured marbles of which the subjects are Buddhistic and the workmanship Roman. These are the bas-reliefs that once adorned the Stûpas or the mutilated images of Buddha. Up to the present they have always been attributed to the Ândhras. This view, I am sure, is not always correct.

The Graeco-Buddhistic art did not certainly disappear with the Ândhra dynasty. It is not likely that the technical methods

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Plate I



Roman head of Buddha
(Discovered by the Author near Bezwada.)

employed by the sculptors who built the Stûpa at Amarâvatî, disappeared completely in the space of a few years. It is almost certain that this art that flourished in the middle of the II century lived on for more than one century and that it was only very slowly that the sculptors abandoned the ancient models and forgot the noble methods that they had been taught by the artists that had come from Rome. To be more precise, I believe that the Indo-Roman art attained its zenith in the II century with the stûpa of Amarâvatî; that throughout the III century, the art used on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ was entirely Indo-Roman; that in the IV century there were still very evident traces of this influence and it was only in the V century that all vestiges of Latin influence disappeared completely.

Indeed, many of the marbles that have been discovered on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ do not date from the time of the Ândhras, but have been sculptured when the Pallava kings reigned over this country.

On the 1st January 1917, I went to Bezvada with the object of visiting the caves of Undavalli. When going about those regions, I luckily discovered the ruins of a Buddhistic temple at Vijiaderparam, a village half a mile to the west of Bezvada. Amongst the remains of the brick walls, there were two heads of Buddha and a trunk dressed in the Roman toga. One of these heads was very beautiful. I bought it from the owner, a temple priest, for two rupees and have it now in my possession.

Plate I represents it. Were it not for the elongated ears and the sign of Buddha on the forehead, one would take it for the face of a Roman of the earliest times. The hair is curly, the eyes have no pupil, the general aspect is Roman, and this image is made of white marble like the antique models of Europe. I think that this work done in India by an Indian is strong proof of the great influence that Latin Art exercised in the early centuries on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ.

I shall not certainly affirm that it was the work of a Pallava sculptor, but we are not sure either that this statue dates from the time of the Ândhras. I believe that even if the sculptors of the time of Śivaskandavarman have not made this head, they had at least the habit of making similar ones.

On my return to Madras, I informed the archaeological Department of the existence of the Buddhistic remains that

had discovered at Bezwada. The other head and the trunk have since been brought over by the Government to the Madras Museum.

Was this Indo-Roman art confined to the banks of the Krishna, or did it extend through the whole Pallava empire? The latter is very probable; the Buddhists at Kāñchīpuram built, in their capital, Stūpas that were perhaps in the same style as those in the north of the Empire. The only researches so far attempted, into the Buddhistic remains at Kāñchī have been made by M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao when on a short visit to the town, and his rapid investigation has been very fruitful in as much as he has discovered, in the last prakāra of the Kāmākshī-dēvī temple, a Roman statue of Buddha which is shown in Fig. I of the article "Bauddha vestiges in Kāñchīpura" by T. A. Gopinatha Rao (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIV, Part DLVII, June 1915). If we compare the head of this statue with that of the one I have found at Bezwada, and the trunk with the one since brought over to the Madras Museum, we shall find that the resemblance between them is complete.

We can therefore conclude by saying, that, at Kāñchīpuram as well as at Amarāvati and Bezwada, the Pallava Art, inspired by Roman models, attained great perfection at the time of those early Pallava kings.

CHAPTER II.

THE VĀYALŪR INSCRIPTION.

The record found at Mayidavôlu is written in Prākṛit. There are also two others of the same kind; but the other Pallava records are in Sanskrit; the former are surely the oldest and can be considered to belong to the III century.

One of these two records (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 2), that of Hīrahaḍagalli, is dated in the 8th year of the reign of Śivaskandavarman, King of Kāñchī, who is of the Pallava dynasty and Bhāradvāja gôtra and who by this document confirms a gift made by his father Bappa-dēva. We may suppose that this Śivaskanda was the person who was "Yuvamahārāja" when the Mayidavôlu gift was made, but we are not quite sure of it.

This record is specially important as it shows the extent of the Pallava empire. These plates (discovered in the Bellary District) mention the province of Sātāhani (Sātāhani-rattha) as forming part of the Pallava kingdom. This province comprised a portion of the Bellary District. Thus, we know that the Pallavas reigned over an empire, which, having Kāñchīpuram for its capital, extended not only along the Coromandel coast up to the mouth of the Krishṇā, but also to the West, in the Deccan, up to the banks of the Tungabhadra river.

Here also the Pallavas had succeeded the Āndhras. The inscription discovered at Myākadoni, in the Bellary district, (*G.O.* No. 99, 29th August 1916.—Report on Epigraphy for 1915-1916) says that King Puḷumāyi II. reigned about 140 A.D. over the province of Sātāvahani-hāra which is none other than Sātāhani-rattha of the Hīrahaḍagalli copper-plates.

We see then that, at first, the Pallava empire extended more in the Deccan than in the Tamil country; there is nothing to prove that it comprised the banks of the Kāvērī; the Trichinopoly region was probably occupied by the Chôlas; on the contrary, we are sure that the Pallavas reigned over the country extending from Bellary to Bezwada, that is to say, over an

important portion of the Āndhra empire. These geographical considerations lead to the probability of the theory that the Pallavas were a Northern dynasty, who, having contracted marriages with the princesses of the Āndhra dynasty, inherited a portion of the Southern part of the Āndhra empire.

The other record was discovered in the District of Guntūr (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143). In the reign of Vijayaskandavarman, Chārudēvi, wife of "Yuvamahārāja" Vijaya-Buddhavarman, a Pallava prince of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, and mother of Buddhyaṅkura, made a gift to the temple of Nārāyana at Dālūra.

The alphabet of these plates resembles that of the Hiraḥaḍagalli plates. However, as the name of the king is not exactly the same, we cannot, with certainty, identify Vijayaskanda with Śivaskanda.

We shall conclude by saying that the three Prākṛit records (those of Mayidavōlu and Hiraḥaḍagalli, and the grant made by Chārudēvi) found in the districts of Guntūr and Bellary, prove that many princes of the Pallava dynasty of Kāñchīpuram—(1) the father of Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman [called Bappadēva in the Hiraḥaḍagalli plates], (2) Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman, (3) Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman, (4) Mahārāja Vijayaskandavarman, (5) Yuvamahārāja Vijaya Buddhavarman, (6) His son Buddhyaṅkura (2 and 3 being perhaps one and the same person)—reigned towards the III century, not only over Tonḍai Maṇḍalam, but also over the lands bordering the Kṛishṇā and Tungabhadra, and so over a great part of the Telugu country.

We know from the inscription on the pillar at Allāhābād that about 340 A.D. the great emperor Samudragupta vanquished Vishṇugōpa, King of Kāñchī.

Certain authors have supposed: (a) that Vishṇugōpa was a Pallava; (b) that Samudragupta advanced as far as Kāñchī (Conjeeveram) in the Tamil country.

I think that the last conclusion is not correct. I believe that Samudragupta never entered the Tamil country but that Vishṇugōpa was, in fact, a Pallava king. We know that the kings of Kāñchī reigned on the banks of the Kṛishṇā; it is, therefore, very likely that events happened as mentioned below: Samudragupta came from the North of India and vanquished

the kings who reigned at Pithāpuram, Mahēndragiri, and Nethū. When they saw him advance to the South of the Gōdāvari, Mantarāja who reigned near the Colair lake, his neighbour, the King of Vengi, Vishnugōpa, King of Kāñchī who reigned on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā and his neighbour Ugrasēna, King of Pālakka, formed a coalition to stop the invader. But he affirms that he was the victor; and until the contrary is proved we have to believe in his words.

Be that as it may, it is probable that Samudragupta did not care to advance more to the South in a country which must have been difficult of access, and so returned to the North.

Let us now examine the Sanskrit records.

Five copper plates :

- 1° Ōṃgōdu No. 1 (*G.O.* No. 99, 29 Aug. 1916, Part II, No. 3),
- 2° Uruvupalli (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V, p. 50),
- 3° Ōṃgōdu No. 2 (*G.O.* No. 99, 29 Aug. 1916, Part II, No. 4),
- 4° Pikira (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 159),
- 5° Māṅgalūr (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 154),

enable us to establish with certainty the following genealogy :

Kumāravishṇu

Skandavarman (I)

Vīravarman

Skandavarman (II)

Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa

Siṃhavarman.

These six princes belonged to the Pallava dynasty and Bhāradvāja gōtra. There is nothing, however, to prove that their capital was Kāñchīpuram. It is also probable that, had Kāñchī been their capital, they would have dated their grants from there. But Skandavarman II. was encamped at Tāmbrāpa when he made the Ōṃgōdu No. 1 grant; Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa was at Palakkada when he made the Uruvupalli grant; Siṃhavarman was at Daśanapuram when he made the Māṅgalūr grant and at Menmatura at the time of the Pikira grant. It is therefore probable that these three sovereigns never reigned at Kāñchīpuram. The geographical position of these towns from which the several

grants have been made is not known; but we know accurately a region which formed one of the provinces of their kingdom. The two Ōṃgōḍu records mention "Karmmā-rāshtra" as forming part of their empire, and this district is often mentioned in the grants made by the Eastern Chālukyas. We know also that the village of Chendalūr (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 233) which is only another name for Chandalūru, a village in the Ongole taluq of the Guntūr district, was situated in this province. Besides, it is also probable that the village of Ōṃgōḍu was adjacent to Santarāvūru where the plates were discovered. Santarāvūru is in the Bāpatla taluq of the Guntūr district.

There is therefore no doubt that the environs of the present town of Ongole watered by the river Gundlakamma was named Karmmā-rāshtra at the time of the ancient Pallavas. There is no other information about these kings except their genealogy.

The word "Yuvamahārāja" preceding the name of Vishṇugōpa shows that he never reigned. He has however made a grant to the village of Uruvupalli in the 11th year of the reign of Siṃhavarman. So, Vishṇugōpa was probably the brother of a king named Siṃhavarman.

The grant of the village of Chūra (*G. O.* No. 920, 4th Aug. 1914, Part II, No. 1) enables us to suppose that the donor Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman was the son of Siṃhavarman and grandson of Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa, though he is called in the Chūra plates "Maharāja" and not "Yuvamahārāja".

An isolated copper plate relating to a grant made at Daśanapuram by the great-grandson of King Śrī-Vīra-Kōrcharvarman, has been discovered at Darśi (Nellūr District) [*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 397]. Be that as it may, we must bear in mind the incontestable fact that a dynasty of six or seven Pallava kings reigned over the Telugu country about the V century of the Christian era.

But what connection had they with the kings of Kāñchīpuram? we do not know it exactly.

We may suppose that the Chōlas occupied Kāñchī for the time being and about the V century drove back the Pallavas to the north of the kingdom.

The existence of a dynasty of Chōla princes in the Telugu country seems to confirm this presumption (*G. O.* No. 518, 18th July 1905, Part II, No. 5).

It is again not improbable that the Pallavas divided themselves into two dynasties, one reigning in the Tamil and the other in the Telugu country.

We know very little about the ancient kings of Kāñchi.

At Chendalûr in the Ongole taluq of the Guntûr district there has been found the record of a grant relating to this same village of Chendalûra in the "Karmâ-râshtra", which contains the following genealogy :

Skandavarman.
|
Kumâravishṇu (I).
|
Buddhavarman.
|
Kumâravishṇu (II).

The last of these was a Pallava king of Kāñchi. As we see from the geographical position of Chendalûr, this king reigned not only at Kāñchi, but also in the Telugu country and over this very "Karmâ-râshtra" which belonged to the Telugu line of kings about whom we have spoken just now.

One is tempted to identify Kumâravishṇu II with the first king of the Telugu dynasty : but the alphabet of the Chendalûr plates, instead of being more archaic, appears to be more developed than that of the Ôṅgôḍu, Uruvupalli, Pikîra, Māṅgaḷûr copper-plates. I shall however propound a theory concerning the Chendalûr plates. The alphabet of this record is very peculiar and does not resemble that of any other documents of this kind; I am therefore led to believe that the Chendalûr plates are a copy of an older one. In that case it would be possible to identify one of the two Kumâravishṇus of the Chendalûr plates with Kumâravishṇu of the Ôṅgôḍu No. 1 plates.

The Udayêndiram copper-plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 142) give the line :

Skandavarman
|
Simhavarman
| 211.72
Skandavarman
|
Nandivarman,

the last being a king of Kāñchi. Unfortunately, this record is

written in characters which are not very ancient; there is no means of knowing if it is a forgery or a copy of a genuine document.

The Jain work called "Lokavibhāga," discovered by M.R.Ry. R. Narasimhachar, is dated Ś. 380 (458 A.D.), the 22nd year of the reign of the Pallava king Simhavarman; this evidence is rather suspicious, and besides it does not say which Simhavarman it was and to what branch of the Pallava family he belonged.

The Penugonda plates (*G.O.* No. 920, 4th Aug. 1914. Part II., No. 4 and *J. R. A. S.* Oct. 1915) mention two Pallava kings Simhavarman and Skandavarman, but the age of these plates is not known.

The Pallavas themselves have attempted to answer the important question who were the ancestors of the Pallavas of the Simhavishnu dynasty. The Kaśakūḍi plates give a few of the names of kings (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Part III. p. 356).

The Vêlûrpalaiyam plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Part V, p. 510) give us more information; but, unfortunately, they do not give us a complete list. On the contrary, this author warns us that the kings he mentions, are only a few among the numerous predecessors of Simhavishnu. These isolated names do not enable us to build up a genealogy.

Moreover this record which is dated in the IX century, not being relatively ancient, we do not know how far we can rely on it.

The Vâyâlûr inscription presents much greater guarantee as it is the most ancient genealogy of this kind. Whereas the Kaśakūḍi and Vêlûrpalaiyam plates are dated during the time of the princes of the dynasty of Nandivarman, the Vâyâlûr inscription is of the time of a prince of the dynasty of Simhavishnu.

Besides, this inscription gives the names of such a large number of kings that it seems to be a complete list of them in the order of their succession.

It is for these two reasons that the Vâyâlûr inscription becomes extremely interesting.

The Vâyâlûr inscription (No. 368 of 1908) is very much damaged: The report on Epigraphy for 1908-09 (*G.O.* No. 536, 28th July 1909—Part II, No. 17, p. 77) speaks of it only in a very summary manner. The order of succession of the predecessors of Simhavishnu is not given in the report, but it is precisely this order that it would be interesting to know.

The report says :

« The pillar in the Vyāghrapuriśvara temple is a very » interesting one on account of the genealogical record which » is engraved on it. The latter begins with the usual mythical » names Brahma, Aṅgiras, Bṛihaspati, Śaṁyu, Bhāradvāja, Drōṇa, » Aśvatthāman, and Pallava. Then, the quasi-historical names » Aśōka, Harigupta, Āryavarman and others are mentioned. » After these, the names of nearly twenty-five kings are registered » whose relations to one another are not specified. The order in » which the known names are mentioned at the end suggests, » however, that these twenty-five are also to be taken in the order » of descent. Among these occur the following which are already » familiar to us from copper-plate inscriptions:—(1) Mahēndra- » varman (once), (2) Karanda (Kalindavarman ?) (once), (3) Viṣṇu- » gōpa (thrice), (4) Kumāravishṇu (twice), (5) Buddhavarman » (twice), (6) Skandavarman (five times), (7) Siṁhavarman (four » times), (8) Viravarman (once), and (9) Nandivarman (once). In » many places the record is damaged and the names are not » legible. If, however, the whole of the inscription is made out, it » will perhaps establish a connection more definite than that » hitherto set forth by the copper-plates between the Pallavas of » the Prākṛit records, those of the Sanskr̥it records, and those of » the Siṁhavishṇu line. The Amarāvati pillar epigraph (which is » evidently a copy of some older record) gives a list of early » Pallava Kings some of whom also occur in the Vāyalūr inscrip- » tion. After mentioning the twenty-five names above referred to, » the latter introduces Siṁhavishṇu for the first time. From him » were descended apparently in the order of father and son, » Mahēndravarmān I, Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahēndravarmān II, » and Paramēśvaravarman I. His son was Rājasiṁha 'the (very) » king of lions on the high mountain (viz.) the prosperous Pallava » family'..... ».

Seeing the importance of the Vāyalūr inscription for a history of the Pallavas, I went over there with the object of studying it myself on the spot.

It is engraved on a cubical pillar of the Pallava style and runs round it in the form of a helix. It begins with the well-known series of names : Brahma, Aṅgiras, Bṛihaspati, Śaṁyu, Bhāradvāja, Drōṇa, Aśvatthāman, Pallava, Aśōka, Harigupta

Āryavarman, and then two or three names hardly legible, and then Kāḷinda, Byāmalla, [E]kamalla.

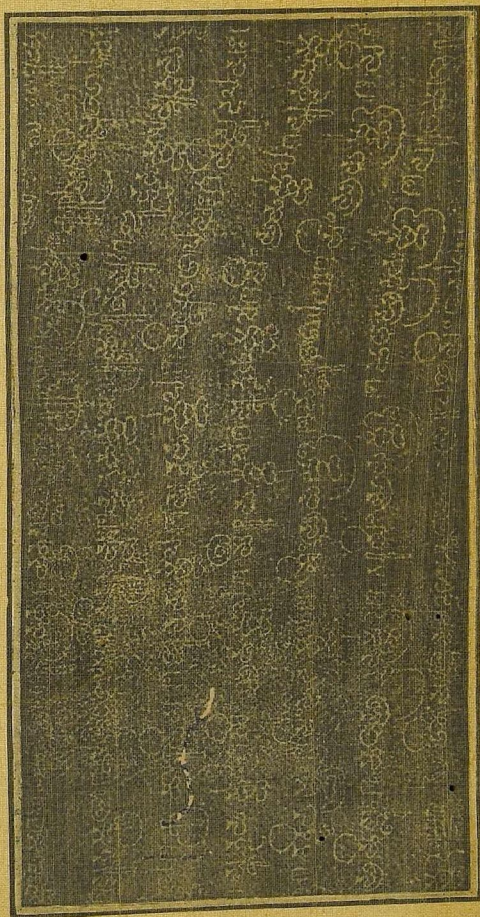
After this last name begins a series of 36 names. The estimate of this part of the inscription is given in *Plate II*.

1. Vimala
2. Koṅkaṇika
3. Kālabhartṛi
4. Chūtapallava
5. Virakūṛcha
6. Chandravarman
7. Karāḷa
8. Viṣṇugōpa
9. Skandamūla
10. Kāṇagōpa
11. Virakūṛcha
12. Skandavarman
13. Kumāravishṇu
14. Buddhavarman
15. Skandavarman
16. Kumāravishṇu
17. Buddhavarman
18. Skandavarman
19. Viṣṇugōpa
20. Viṣṇudāsa
21. Skandavarman
22. Siṃhavarman
23. Viravarman
24. Skandavarman
25. Siṃhavarman
26. Skandavarman
27. Nandivarman (I)
28. Siṃhavarman
29. Siṃhavarman
30. Viṣṇugōpa
31. Siṃhavarman
32. Siṃhavishṇu
33. Mahēndravarman (I)
34. Narasiṃhavarman (I)
35. Mahēndravarman (II)
36. Paramēśvaravarman (I).

A fact of very great importance is that in the legendary series of ancestors of the kings belonging to the dynasty of

25

Plate II.



The Vāyalar inscription.

Siṃhavishṇu there are personages called Āryavarman and Koṅkaṇika, names that are surely of Western Gaṅga origin.

The Penugonḍa plates (*G. O. No. 920, 4th Aug. 1914, Part II, No. 4, p. 83*) which are the only authentic records that we have about the ancient W. Gaṅgas give the dynasty :

Koṅkaṇivarman

Mādhava

Āryavarman

Siṃhavarman.

The presence of names of Gaṅga origin in the legendary portion of the list of Pallavas goes to confirm the fact that those kings had political relations with the Pallavas as is shown by the Penugonḍa plates : (Āryavarman and Siṃhavarman were crowned by Pallava kings).

Let us now compare the Vāyalūr inscription with the Kaśākūḍi plates.

The series of names is the same up to Pallava.

Between Pallava and Siṃhavishṇu the list of names given in the Kaśākūḍi plates is rather short. However, as at Vāyalūr, we read : Aśōka, Kāṇagōpa, Skandavarman, Vishṇugōpa, Virakūṛcha, Siṃhavarman. Kalindavarman of Kaśākūḍi is probably none other than Kāḷinda of Vāyalūr.

If we compare the Vāyalūr inscription with that of Amarāvati (*S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 25*) which, we know, is not an ancient one, we find little resemblance between them.

On the contrary, the Vāyalūr inscription exactly coincides with that of Vēlūrpālaiyam. The Vāyalūr list is complete; but in the Vāyalūr plates, we have many "et cætera" in place of names.

After a few names which are all of them found in the Vāyalūr list—Aśōka, Kāḷabhartri, Chūtapallava,—the coincidence becomes complete :

Vēlūrpālaiyam.

Virakūṛcha

Skandaśishya

Kumāravishṇu

Buddhavarman

Vāyalūr.

(11) Virakūṛcha

(12) Skandavarman.

(13) Kumāravishṇu

(14) Buddhavarman

The Vêlûrpâlayam plates say that (11) Virakûrcha was the first who "grasped the complete insignia of royalty", that is to say, that his predecessors were not kings and that Virakûrcha was the first Pallava king.

In fact, with these four kings we enter into the domain of history leaving the series of legendary names behind.

The existence of a king called Virakûrcha is proved by the plate discovered at Darśi (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 397). The existence of a king of the name of Skandaśishya is established by the Tirukkalukkuṇṇam inscription. [*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 277].

This king is identified by the Vāyalûr inscription with (No. 12) Skandavarman. This identification admits of no doubt since in both the inscriptions he is mentioned as the son of Virakûrcha, and father of Kumâravishṇu and grand-father of Buddhavarman.

It is to be noted that the name Skandavarman given in the Vāyalûr inscription to the second Pallava king (Virakûrcha being the first) is also the most ancient name known to history. In fact, the donor of the Mayidavôlu plates is called "Yuvamahârâja" Śivaskandavarman; the donor of the Hîrahaḍagalli plates goes under the name of Śiva-Skandavarman; and the names Skandavarman and Buddhavarman figure in the grant of Chârudêvi that has been found in the Guntûr district (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143).

The list :

Skandavarman
Kumâravishṇu
Buddhavarman

is the same as the one found in the genealogy given in the Chendalûr plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, No. 23, p. 233) which we have supposed to be a copy of an ancient record; so we have to note that the Vêlûrpâlayam and the Vāyalûr records place them among the earliest kings.

Let us now conclude by saying that with (11) Virakûrcha we deal no more with the legendary series of descendants of Pallava but with the historic line of kings,

What makes the coincidence existing between the Vāyalūr and Vēlūrpālaiyam records interesting is that the latter gives an important information :

« (V. 6)... *Virakūcha*, of celebrated name, who simultaneously with (the hand of) the daughter of the chief of serpents grasped also the complete insignia of royalty and became famous.»

We have already concluded from this passage that Virakūcha was the first Pallava king.

Here we have to make a remark : the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates together with the Vāyalūr inscription lead us to think that, in the Pallava family, there existed the following tradition which was probably perpetuated from century to century. "The earliest Pallavas were not kings, and they were alien to South India. One of them married the daughter of one of the kings of that country and thus became a king himself. Skandavarman was a son born of this marriage."

Is it not strange that this tradition coincides exactly with the theory that we have propounded in the preceding Chapter ?

A Pallava married the daughter of the Āndhra King Śiva-Skanda and thus became the first king of the Pallava dynasty. The son born of this union was Śiva-Skandavarman.

We should not rely too much on the order of succession of the kings given in the Vāyalūr inscription after (11) Virakūcha. It has to be noted, however, that among the early kings we find (19) Vishṇugōpa who must be identified with Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchī who was the adversary of Samudragupta about the year 339 A.D.

But, from which king does the order of succession given in the Vāyalūr inscription become trustworthy ? I believe it is from (23) Viravarman. In fact, if we compare the Vāyalūr series with the genealogies given in the undermentioned plates :

Ōṃgōdu No. 1 [O., 1]
Uruvupalli [Ur.]
Ōṃgōdu No. 2 [O., 2]
Pikīra [P.]
Māṅgalūr [M.]
Chūra [C.]
Udayendiram [Ud.]

we obtain the following table in which the numbers indicate those of the Vāyalūr list :

		Approximative dates : A. D.
(23)	Vijayarman.....	422
	[O., 1] [Ur.] [O., 2] [P.] [M.]	
(24)	Skandavarman.....	450
	[O., 1] [Ud.] [Ur.] [O., 2] [P.] [M.] [C.]	
(25)	Siṃhavarman	Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa... 478
	[Ud.] [Ur.]	[Ur.] [O., 2] [P.] [M.] [C.]
(26)	Skandavarman	(29) Siṃhavarman..... 506
	[Ud.]	[O., 2] [P.] [M.] [C.]
(27)	Nandivarman	(30) Viṣṇugōpa..... 534
	[Ud.]	[C.]
(28)	Siṃhavarman	(31) Siṃhavarman..... 562
		(32) Siṃhavishṇu..... 590

I think that the Vāyalūr record is extremely important on account of the series :

- (24) Skandavarman
- (25) Siṃhavarman
- • (26) Skandavarman
- (27) Nandivarman

which exactly coincides with the genealogy given in the Udayendīram plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 142). We have already said, that, the alphabet of these plates not being ancient, we cannot say how far they can be trusted. The deciphering of the Vāyalūr inscription has shown that this genealogy is quite right and that the Udayendīram plates are a true copy of an earlier record.

The succession list :

- (24) Siṃhavarman
- (30) Viṣṇugōpa
- (31) Siṃhavarman
- (32) Siṃhavishṇu

unites the dynasty of Simhavishṇu with that of Viṣṇugōpa of the Chūra plates, (*G. O. No. 920, 4th Aug. 1914, Part. II., No. 1.*)

The Uruvupalli plates prove that (25) Simhavarman was the brother of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa and that both of them were the sons of (24) Skandavarman and grandsons of (23) Viravarman.

It is probable that (24) Skandavarman did not reign at Kāñchī, since the Ōṃgōdu No. 1 plates are dated from Tāmbrāpa camp.

It is also probable that his son (25) Simhavarman resumed possession of Kāñchī and confided to his brother Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa the government of the Northern provinces (Guntūr and Nellore Districts) in which were situated Palakkada, Daśanapura and Mānmātura as well as the districts of Veṅgorāshtra, Muṇḍarāshtra and Karmārāshtra. Viṣṇugōpa was never crowned and always remained a subordinate of his brother; that is why he is called Yuvamahārāja.

His son (29) Simhavarman became independent.

So there were two dynasties simultaneously: in fact, when (30) Viṣṇugōpa reigned at Palakkada (Chūra plates), (27) Nandivarman reigned at Kāñchī.

It is probable that (31) Simhavarman or (32) Simhavishṇu took possession of Kāñchī.

Simhavishṇu is then a descendant of the dynasty that reigned at Palakkada. That is why the Vāyalūr inscription gives first the names of the kings of the dynasty of (27) Nandivarman of Kāñchī, and then of those of the dynasty of Palakkada.

Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa is not mentioned in the Vāyalūr list as he was never crowned king.

In the preceding table, we have given in the margin the approximate dates of the predecessors of Simhavishṇu. Starting from Simhavishṇu who lived at the end of the VI century, about 590 A.D., we have given to each generation an average duration of 28 years.

This calculation seems to be correct, for we find, that, according to it, (25) Simhavarman must have lived in 470 A.D. And if we can depend on what is said in the "Lokavibhāga" discovered by M. R. Ry. R. Narasiṃhachar, there seems to have been a king of that name in Ś. 380, i.e. 458 A.D.

Dr. Fleet has assigned the date of about 500 A.D., to the Penugonḍa plates, which is the date we give to (26) Skandavarman, son of (25) Siṃhavarman who crowned king Mādhava II *alias* Siṃhavarman.

The name Siṃhavarman given to a king of the western Gaṅga dynasty shows that Āryavarman who had been crowned by the Pallava King (25) Siṃhavarman had married his daughter and his son Mādhava II. received the name of his grandfather, the Pallava king Siṃhavarman.

The Vāyalūr inscription enables us to believe that the Penugonḍa plates belong to about 500 A.D.

In the Vāyalūr list, the predecessor of Siṃhavishṇu is called Siṃhavarman, and this name is engraved very clearly. This is a remarkable fact, since it confirms what is stated in verse 10 of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates.

« Then from the king named Siṃhavarman, who wiped off » the pride of (his) enemies, was born the victorious Siṃhavishṇu » whose prowess was widely known on earth. »

If we admit : 1° the identity of (19) Viṣṇugōpa with the adversary of Samudragupta in A. D. 338—and, 2° the identity of (21) Skandavarman with Skandavarman (I), of the Ōṃgōḍu No. 1 plates, we obtain the following chronology :

Vāyalūr	{	Viṣṇugōpa.....	A. D. 338
		Viṣṇudāsa (Kumāravishṇu) ..	„ 366
		Skandavarman (I).....	„ 394
Ōṃgōḍu No. 1.	{	Viravarman.....	„ 422
		Skandavarman (II).....	„ 450
Chūra	{	(Y. M.) Viṣṇugōpa.....	„ 478
		Siṃhavarman.....	„ 506
Vāyalūr	{	Viṣṇugōpa.....	„ 534
		Siṃhavarman.....	„ 562
		Siṃhavishṇu.....	„ 590
		Mahādravarman I.....	„ 618
		Narasiṃhavarman I.....	„ 646

It is not necessary, in conclusion, to say what a flood of light the deciphering of the Vāyalūr inscription has thrown on the history of the early Pallavas: the importance of the inscription is naturally very great as it gives us the most ancient and complete list of kings.

CHAPTER III.

TELUGU ORIGIN OF THE MAHĒNDRAVARMAN STYLE.

The deciphering of the Vāyalūr inscription has led us to think that the genealogy of the predecessors of Simhavishṇu stood thus:

- (29) Simhavarman
- |
- (30) Vishṇugōpa
- |
- (31) Simhavarman
- |
- (32) Simhavishṇu.

It is certain that the father of Simhavishṇu was (31) Simhavarman who seems to have been so named after his grandfather, (29) Simhavarman. Again we have admitted the identification of (30) Vishṇugōpa with the one who granted the Chūra plates, from Palakkada. It is also highly probable that (29) Simhavarman, the donor of the No. 2 Ōṅgōdu, Pikira and Māṅgaḷūr plates was not king of Kāñchi but reigned in the districts of Nellore and Guntūr. From this we have to conclude that the direct ancestors of Simhavishṇu and Mahēndravarman lived perhaps in the Telugu country. We shall now proceed to show the importance of this detail.

When, last year, I wrote the first volume of "Pallava Antiquities", I was struck by the fact that king Mahēndra-Vikrama whose inscriptions I copied at Pallāvaram (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I, Plate XXI, A.) and at Trichinopoly (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I, Plate XXIII.) and who in all probability cut the caves containing these inscriptions had many surnames; such as Chivibhundunḍu, Nilvilōnayyambu, Ventulavittu, Paṣarambu, etc., which seem to be all of Telugu origin. Those who have studied the inscriptions at Trichinopoly (Archæological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1903-4, p. 271) and at Pallāvaram (*G. O.*, No. 538, 28th July 1909—Part II, No. 14, p. 75), have mentioned this fact, but they have not drawn any conclusion from it.

I believe that Mahēndravarman I. had names of Telugu origin because he or his father perhaps reigned over the Telugu country.

Now the following important question presents itself: What was at the time of the Pallavas the line of demarcation between the Tamil and the Telugu countries?

Epigraphy has furnished an answer to this question:

« It is worthy of note that the earlier inscriptions at Tondama-nād, Kālahasti, Guḍimallam, Tirupati, Tiruchchānūr and Yōgi-Mallavaram in the North Arcot district are in Tamil, though the prevailing language is at present Telugu. The same was the case at Nellore in the 12th and 13th centuries. We may, therefore, conclude that the tract comprising these villages and the southern portion of the Nellore district was originally Tamil country and the change of language into Telugu probably began during Vijayanagara times. » (*G. O.*, Nos. 678, 679, 12th Aug. 1914, p. 7).

From the above, it follows, that at the time of the Pallavas the region now forming the Nellore district served as the frontier between the Tamil and the Telugu countries.

We have therefore to conclude that we find Telugu names in the caves of Mahēndra because either Sīṁhavishṇu or Mahēndra himself reigned over the country lying to the north of the modern town of Nellore. In Vol. I. of 'Pallava Antiquities' I have said that in the Tamil country there is not a single antiquity which could with certainty be attributed to the time anterior to that of Mahēndra; I have therefore been led to think that it was this king who, by his own initiative, spread in the Tamil country a taste for sculpture in general and rock-cut temples in particular.

But whence did Mahēndravarman himself get this taste for temples sculptured in rocks?

The reply can be easily found if we take the two preceding propositions together. As Mahēndra reigned in the Telugu country it was probably in the banks of the Kṛishṇā that he acquired a taste for rock-cut temples; and so the Pallava Art of the time of Mahēndravarman had its origin in the Telugu country.

It is but a hypothesis, but a hypothesis that can be verified by studying the art that flourished in the VI century on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. It is certain that this art existed: There are rock-cut temples at Bezwada and at Mogulrazapuram on the northern

bank of the Kṛishṇā; and on the southern bank there are the temples of Sittanavasal and Undavalli. It must however be admitted that this art has remained quite unknown up to the present: only, the Undavalli temple has been described not very distinctly but in such a manner that it is impossible to form a correct idea of the style of those sculptures.

For these reasons I thought it necessary to go and see the caves on the banks of the Kṛishṇā and particularly the temple of Anantaśayana at Undavalli.

We know that this temple does not contain any very ancient inscription and that the age of this monument can be ascertained only from its architectural style.

And the authors who have handled this subject hold such different opinions that it is very difficult to arrive at a decision on this matter.

Sir Walter Elliot (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 80) was struck by the resemblance they bore to the sculptures at Mahābalipuram; but there he speaks only of the general impression; this author does not seem to have made a minute study of these monuments; at all events, he gives no arguments in support of his thesis.

Mr. Sewell (*List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 77) is of opinion that it is the work of the Chālukyas. And M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri who visited these caves on the 20th and the 28th December 1908 says very correctly that it does not seem to be the work of the Chālukyas, because, not a single cave is known to have been dug by them (*G. O.*, No. 538, 28th July 1909, Part I, No. 13, p. 74).

He remarks a resemblance with the Pallava sculptures: « The ornamental designs on the tops of four of the niches in this » hall resemble very much those on the "Rathas" at Mahābalipuram. »

M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri remarks, however, certain points of resemblance with the caves of Orissa and thinks that the temple at Undavalli « might have com » into existence in the » Ândhra period. »

Thus we see that the opinions of the various authors differ much. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri attributes these sculptures to the Ândhra period, i.e., the I or II century of the Christian era; Mr. R. Sewell, on the contrary, dates them in the VII or the VIII century. From this we may conclude that a general impression will not do for fixing the age of these sculptures and that only a

most attentive study of the minutest details of ornamentation can lead to any adequate result.

In 1912 I visited the caves of Bādāmi which are the works of the ancient Chālukyas. I examined the style of these temples very attentively and have given my impressions about them in my book (*Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, Tome I, Architecture, ps. 173, 174, 175 and Pl. CLVIII, B). The style of these caves differs entirely from the Pallava style and there is no resemblance between them. Again, the old theory that the Chalukyan artists were the authors of the Pallava temples cannot at all be admitted and I do not believe that anybody will dream of maintaining it to-day.

It was not without curiosity that I visited the Undavalli caves. What was the style of these sculptures and what did they resemble? The Āndhra or the Chālukya or the Pallava style?

What was my surprise when I stood before those sculptures at Undavalli! *The Undavalli sculptures belong entirely and even in the minutest details to the style of Mahēndravarman.*

We have given a description of this style in Chapter II, Vol. I of "*Pallava Antiquities*"; and the resemblance between the caves of Mahēndra and those at Undavalli is so complete that there is no difference to be pointed out.

The plans are the same. The principal cave at Undavalli is a four-storied one. The ground-floor and the top floor remain all unfinished. The last story but one where the image of Anantaśayana (Vishṇu lying on a serpent) is placed, is also left unfinished. There is thus but one story that has been completed. Here the plan is very simple: they are three caves of Mahēndra placed beside one another.

The middle cave is almost in the same plan as the rock-cut temple at Pallāvaram (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I, Plāte XX). The right and the left caves have the same plan as the Maṇḍagapattu cave (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 56) and the left cave at Māmandūr.

Besides, there are many other caves in this very rock at Undavalli; they are almost all of them in ruins but their plan is easily ascertained. It is the very simple one used in all the temples cut in the rock during the time of Mahēndra.

The pillars belong to the well-known type represented in Plates IX, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XIX, XXI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX of Vol. I, of "*Pallava Antiquities*". They are square in

section and adorned with lotus flowers as at Mahēndravādi and Dalavānūr. The Dvārapālas resemble neither those of the temples of Rājasimha nor those of Mahābalipuram. They are like those found in the caves of Mahēndra. Some of them have their hand raised in sign of adoration as at Tirukkalukkunṇam (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I, Plate XXVI), at Singavaram, at Māmandūr and at Dalavānūr (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I, Plate XVI, B). But most of them rest it on a club with the same pose that we have noticed at Trichinopoly (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I., Pl. XXII), at Vallam (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I., Pl. VIII) and at other places: Dalavānūr, Mandagapattu, Tirukkalukkunṇam, Māmandūr, Siyamangalam, etc.

The niches are ornamented with a very special kind of framework that we have noticed at Dalavānūr (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I., Pl. XVI,) and at Siyamangalam (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I., Pl. XVIII) and which we have called 'double-arched tiruvatchi' (Torana).

The shrines are empty—as elsewhere in most of the temples of Mahēndra—but there exist on the right side of the temple at Undavalli certain niches that contain lingams.

At Undavalli we find kūḍus with the head of Gandharva resembling those seen in the Pallava temples (vide the kūḍus of Dalavānūr represented in *Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I, Pl. XVI, A.)

The floors of these temples are ornamented outside with pavilions resembling those at Mahābalipuram; they are the "Karnakūḍu" and the "Śālai" like those represented in Fig. 23 of our work on "Dravidian Architecture."

Besides, the small niches, mentioned above, which are found to the right of the façade, are but small "Rathas". They exactly resemble the small shrine seen in the middle of the bas-relief, "Bhagiratha's penance," at Mahābalipuram. The style of architecture is identically the same.

All the authors that have spoken of the temple at Undavalli have believed that it was dedicated to Viṣṇu; it is not so. No doubt the Viṣṇu cult occupies a predominant place there but there are also many shrines dedicated to Śiva. We have already said that the small "Rathas" to the right of the façade contain lingams.

The principal image in the temple is indeed that of Anantaśayana; but this image is found also in the temples of Śiva.

At Mahābalipuram in particular, the bas-relief representing Viṣṇu lying on the serpent is not in a temple of Viṣṇu. It is

found in the cave near the light house which was undoubtedly dedicated to Śiva; god Anantaśayana is represented in the same form both at Undavalli and Mahābalipuram. Unfortunately at Undavalli almost the whole of the body of the god has disappeared; it may be due either to the wear and tear of time or to the iconoclastic work of the Mussulmans. The image we now find there, is a rough figure made of cement. However, a close examination of it shows that at one time the god had his arm stretched out as at Mahābalipuram and Singavaram.

In short, the caves of Undavalli differ completely from those of Bādāmi and resemble much those of the Pallavas.

However they are not exactly like those of Mahābalipuram: Nowhere do we see the squatting lions supporting the pillars [we have said that these squatting lions should have been an invention of the artists of the epoch of Narasimhavarman I.]; the Dvārapālas at Undavalli do not resemble those of Mahābalipuram.

On the contrary, the sculptures of Undavalli very much resemble those of the caves of Mahēndra.

- (a) The plan of the caves is the same.
- (b) The pillars have cubical parts ornamented with lotus flowers.
- (c) The doors and the niches have a kind of framework which is different from the 'doubled-arched tiruvatchi'.
- (d) The Dvarapālas have the same pose.

In short, the caves of Undavalli belong to the style of Mahēndra.

We have said above, that, during many centuries, many generations of Pallava kings had reigned over the country near the banks of the Kṛishṇā in the districts of Guntūr and Nellore. We have also observed that the caves of Trichinopoly and Pallavaram contain the surnames of Mahēndra which are all of Telugu origin and we have supposed that Mahēndravarmaṇ I reigned over the Telugu country and imported into the Tamil country the art that existed on the banks of the Kṛishṇā.

Undavalli is in the Guntūr taluq of the Guntūr district. The caves are situated on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā. In the absence of any inscription enabling us to know the origin of these caves, we might suppose that they are the work of the Pallavas who reigned over this country before it was conquered by the Chālukyas.

Well, that is not my opinion.

I do not think that the caves of Undavalli were dug by the Pallavas. On closely examining the sculptures, I have made a discovery which I believe will prove to be of great importance in ascertaining the origin of these temples.

On the cubical portion forming the foot of two of the pillars I have found the image of lions (Fig. 1).

At the foot of another pillar I have observed the image of a vase.

It is true that these lions resemble very much those of Śiyamangalam, an image of which is given in Vol. I. of *Pallava Antiquities* (Pl. XIX).

Lastly certain coins bearing the images of a lion and a vase have been attributed to the Pallavas. (vide Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India*, Plate facing p. 1).

It would therefore be possible to use this argument to affirm that the caves of Undavalli are the work of the Pallavas.

My opinion, which is quite different, is that the *Caves of Undavalli are the work of the Vishnukundins.*

There is no doubt that this dynasty reigned on the banks of the Godavary and the Kṛishṇā before that country was conquered by the Chālukyas. The village of Peruvāḍaka in the district of Pṛāki-rāshṭra, which belonged to the Vishnukundins at the time when Indravarman granted the Rāmatirtham plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, No. 17, p. 133), passed into the hands of the Chālukyan king Vishṇuvardhana I. while he was still a vassal of Pulakēśin II. (Timmapuram plates—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 317).

The Vishnukundins were therefore the predecessors of the Chālukyas in the Vengi country. One of their capitals was Lenduḷūru (Dendulūru in the Ellore taluq). The cradle of this family was probably Vinukonḍa in the Kṛishṇā district. They were fervent worshippers of the god at Śrīparvata (Śrīśailam) in the Kurnool district.

As it is certain that the Eastern Chālukyas reigned in the Guntūr district when Sarvalôkāśrāya granted the village of Chandālūr in 673 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, No. 24), we may affirm



Fig. 1.
A lion (simha) at
Undavalli.

that the Vishnukundins reigned before this epoch, probably towards the end of the VI century.

From our point of view, the Chikkula plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, No. 25, p. 195) are very interesting.

1° The seal represents a lion exactly like the one we have remarked at Undavalli. The Chikkula seal is represented in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., to face page 244. This seal is analogous to the Râmatirtham plates which M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri has described as follows :

« An advancing lion or tiger with its left fore-paw raised, its neck erect, mouth wide open and the tail swung over the back so as to end in a loop. (*G. O.*, No. 538, 28th July 1909). »

It must be noted that coins bearing a lion and a vase are found on the banks of the Godavary and the Kṛishṇâ; and I am convinced that they do not belong to the Pallavas but to the Vishnukundins.

2° The village gifted away by these plates is Rêgonṇam which is situated to the south-east of the village of Râvirêva on the bank of the Kṛishṇâ : « Rêgonṇam, which was south-east of the village of Rêvirêva on the bank of the Kṛishṇâ benna, i.e., the river Kṛishṇâ. »

So it is beyond all doubt that the Vishnukundins reigned on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ.

3° The following genealogy is found in these plates :

Mâdhavavarman

Vikramêndravarman I.

Indrabhattarakavarman

Vikramêndravarman II.

We know also that the mother of Vikramêndravarman I. belonged to the family of Vākātakas. Indeed, it has been said of Vikramêndravarman I. that his « birth was embellished by the two families of the Vishnukundins and Vākātakas. »

On the other hand, a donation of the Vishnukundins discovered in 1914 (No. 7 of Appendix A., *G. O.* No. 920, 4th Aug. 1914—Part II, No. 35) shows that the name Vikramêndra is a corrupted form of Vikramahêndra.

If we remember, then, that in the Śīyamaṅgalam cave there is the image of a lion resembling the one found in the seal of the Chikkula plates, that the Undavalli sculptures resemble those of the Pallava caves, that Undavalli stands on the banks of the Kṛishṇā where the Vishṇukunḍins had reigned, and that the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I. at Trichinopoly and at Pallāvaram contain Telugu epithets, we shall be struck with these coincidences.

But there is another point of coincidence. Among the Pallava kings that have reigned before Śimhaviśṇu, there is not one named Mahēndra. It would appear that this name was not hereditary in the Pallava family and that Mahēndravarman I. was really the first king of that name.

The account given of the Vāyalūr inscription in the report on Epigraphy for 1908-09 mentions Mahēndravarman (once) among the 25 predecessors of Śimhaviśṇu. Now that the Vāyalūr inscription is completely deciphered, it is manifest that that name is not there, but we find the name (6) Chandravarman. Perhaps it is the ending "ndravarman" that led to the reading [Mahē]ndravarman.

In the Trichinopoly and Pallāvaram inscriptions this king is called Mahēndra-Vikrama. But then, there were Vishṇukunḍin kings who bore the name of Vikramahēndra.

In my opinion, these coincidences can all be explained in a very simple manner: The Pallavas at the end of the VI century reigned in the districts of Nellore and Guntūr; their neighbours were the Vishṇukunḍins who reigned on the banks of the Kṛishṇā; Śimhaviśṇu married probably the daughter of a Vishṇukunḍin king named Vikramahēndra and gave his son the name of his grand-father, Mahēndravikrama.

We know that Vikramēndravarman I. was the son of a Vākātaka princess; and the inscriptions of the Vākātaka kings are found engraved in the caves of Ajanta. It is probable that it was owing to their Vākātaka origin that the Vishṇukunḍins had the idea of digging caves on the banks of the Kṛishṇā—caves that we see even now at Bezvada, Mogulrazapuram, Undavalli and Sittanagaram. The Pallava king Mahēndravarman I, who was the grand-son of a Vishṇukunḍin king, having had many occasions to admire those caves that had been dug by his relatives, had similar ones cut on the rock around Kāñchīpuram.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DYNASTY OF SIMHAVISHNU.

§ I.—The Vêlûrpâlayam plates coupled with the Vâyalûr inscription inform us that Simhavishnu was the son of (31) Simhavarman.

The Vêlûrpâlayam plates say of Simhavishnu :

« He quickly seized the country of the Chôlas embellished by
» the daughter of Kavira (*i.e.* the river Kâvêri), whose ornaments
» are the forests of paddy (fields) and where (are found) brilliant
» groves of areca (palms).»

From this it would appear that the Chôla country did not belong to the Pallavas before Simhavishnu and that it was he who conquered it.

This military operation was perhaps difficult, for it seems that all the southern kings opposed it: the Kâśâkuḍi plates say, indeed, that Simhavishnu vanquished « The Malaya, Kaḷabhra,
» Mâlava, Chôla and Pândya (kings), the Simhala (king) who was
» proud of the strength of his arms, and the Kêraḷas.»

§ II.—Mahêndravarmān I is the first king about whom we have precise information.

It is probable that Mahendra gained a victory at Pullalûra [according to the Kâśâkuḍi plates]. It is thought that this town can be identified with Pullalûr (Chingleput District—Conjeeveram taluk) which is at a distance of 15 miles north of Kâñchî. No one knows for certain who was his adversary; it is supposed it was Pulakêśin II.

The Aihole inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 11) praises Pulakêśin thus :

(V. 29) « He caused the splendour of the lord of the
» Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured
» by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of
» Kâñchîpura.

(V. 30) « When straightway he strove to conquer the Chôlas, » the Kâvêri, who has the darting corps for her tremulous eyes, had » her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants » whose rutting-juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact » with the ocean.

(V. 31) « There he caused great prosperity to the Chôlas, » Kêralas and Pândyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar- » frost—the army of the Pallavas.»

We have said in the preceding chapter that the country lying between the towns of Ellore and Guntûr probably formed part of the kingdom of Mahêndra.

Again, it is certain, that, in the middle of the VII century, this country belonged to the Châlukyās.

It is, therefore, likely that Pulakêśin II conquered it about 610 A.D., i.e., at the beginning of the reign of Mahêndravarman I.

The latter, thus dispossessed of the northern provinces of his kingdom, lived in the Tamil country during the latter part of his reign and it was then he encouraged the arts of that country as we shall presently show.

In Pallava Antiquities (Vol. I. p. 40), we have admitted with V. Venkayya (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 277) that Mahêndra who was first a Jain, was converted to the Siva cult by saint Appar (Sêkkiâr's Periapurânam, Madras, 1870); we have also said, though without any positive proof, yet, owing to our general conviction, that it was Mahêndravarman I. who was the author of the rock-cut temples that we have described in Chapter II. of the aforesaid book.

In the course of this year (1916-17) we have learnt much more about Mahêndravarman I.

In "*Pallava Antiquities*" Vol. I., I have spoken about the right side cave at Mâmandûr (ps. 53, 54, 55.). Judging from the style of Architecture, I have attributed this cave to Mahêndravarman I. and have described the inscription found there in the following terms: « Mr. E. Hultzsch who mentions this inscription » (No. 38—*G. O.*, No. 424, 20th April 1888), declares that it is » "illegible". However, one important remark has to be made » here: the alphabet is identically the same as that of Mahêndra- » vâdi. Pl. XXVII, B. is a photograph of a small part of the » inscription which will enable us to judge of the form of the » characters.»

So then, relying on :

- 1° the style of architecture,
- 2° the palæography of the inscriptions,

I concluded that this cave must be attributed to Mahēndra-varman I.

When I examined the inscription, it seemed to me that, though it was very much damaged, it would perhaps be possible to make something out of it.

Mr. Hultzsch, when he copied it, did not understand it, but that is not a reason why it should be abandoned for ever.

I believed that a more attentive study of it might enable us to obtain some interesting information.

So, in January 1917, I went to Māmandūr to copy the inscription.

This labour was well rewarded :

In the midst of many incomprehensible phrases I read the words : " Mattaviḷāsādipadamprahasana " (see Pl. III, A). I did not understand their meaning; but I was at once struck with the name Mattaviḷāsa which is a name of Mahēndravarmān I. that I have seen engraved in the caves of Trichinopoly and Pallāvaram (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 39); and I was glad to have discovered a new proof of what I had asserted in attributing the Māmandūr cave to Mahēndravarmān I.

I sent a copy of the Māmandūr inscription to M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao requesting him to tell me what he made out of it.

A few days after, I received from him an article which he had published in February, 1917 in the " Madras Christian College Magazine " which mentioned the following important discovery :

" Paṇḍit T. Gaṇapati Śāstri," the curator of Śāṅskṛit Manuscripts, Travancore, has very recently discovered a manuscript called " Mattaviḷāsa-prahasana ".

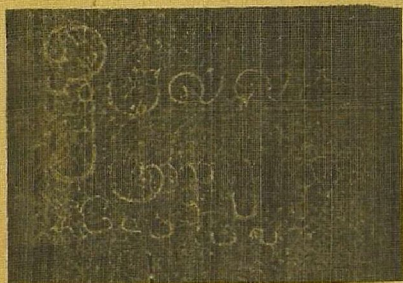
What is very remarkable is that the author of this Śāṅskṛit poem is a king named Mahēndravarmān. It is specified that this king belonged to the dynasty of the Pallavas of Kāñchi, that he was the son of Siṁhavishṇu, and that he had the surnames of : Avānibhājana, Mattaviḷāsa, Gaṇabhara, Śatrumalla.

As soon as I received this communication I replied to M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao by a letter dated 12th April informing him that I was very pleased with the discovery he brought to the notice of the public and that, in my opinion, the

A.
Māmandūr
cave inse.



B
Kûram
Siva temple
inscription.



C.
Kāuchipuram
Aīrāvātēśvara
temple inse.



words that I had read at the end of the 6th line of the Māmandūr inscription seemed to confirm the fact that the poet king Mahēndravarman I. was the author of the earliest rock-cut temples. Besides, as the musical inscription at Kuḍumiyāmalai (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 226) is written in an alphabet resembling that of Trichinopoly (*Pall. Ant.*, Vol I, Pl. XXIII), we may suppose that Mahēndravarman I. was also a musician.

Mr. Gopinatha Rao in his reply dated 19th April said :

« No doubt the discovery of the burlesque Mattavilāsa-
» prahasana is important ; but what is more important is the
» mention of this work very definitely in the mutilated inscription
» of Māmaṇḍūr.....The musical composition discovered and
» copied for the Epigraphist's office by me [at Kuḍumiyāmalai],
» is not a composition of Mahēndravarman though it belongs no
» doubt to the same period. It was composed by one Rudrāchārya.
» No doubt in the Annual Report Venkayya says :

» The inscription was apparently engraved at the instance of
» an unnamed king, who was a disciple of a certain Rudrāchārya
» and who composed these "svaras" for the benefit of his pupils.
» We may only suspect if the unnamed king be not Mahēndra-
» varman, but cannot be sure of it.

And in a letter dated 28th April, he added :

« The [Māmaṇḍūr] inscription seems to refer to "svaras" and
» "varṇas" of Music,—is your surmise that the Kuḍumiyāmalai
» Musical record was engraved at the instance of Mahēndra going
» to be true?—talks of *Kavis* (poets), mentions Vālmiki and the
» Matavilāsaprahasana. As suspected by you, the record perhaps
» gives a panegyric on the literary and musical talents of the
» Pallava king Mahēndravarman.»

The village of Mahēndramaṅgalam in the subdivision of Māmaṇḍūrpparril mentioned in the inscription No. 41 of 1890 on the store-room (northern wall) of the Vardhamāna Temple at Tirupparuttikkunṇu (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, No. 15, p. 115) has certainly been named after Mahēndravarman I.

The tank at Māmaṇḍūr was named Citramēga, probably after a "biruda" of Mahēndra.

The discovery of the similarity of architectural style existing between the caves of Mahēndra and those at Undavali and the other discovery that in the Māmaṇḍūr cave there is mention of Mattavilāsaprahasana,—these two discoveries taken along with

others enable us to conclude that King Mahêndravarman I. is one of the greatest figures in the history of Tamilian civilisation.

1° From a military point of view, he has checked at Pullatûr the invasion of the Châlukyas.

2° As for religion, he has given a new impulse to Saivism.

3° As for the arts, being himself a royal artist, he has glorified poetry and music.

4° As for the plastic art, he has transported the taste for rock-cut temples from the banks of the Kṛishnâ to those of the Pâlar and the Kâvêri.

5° As for the administration, he built the tanks at Mahêndravâdi, Mâmandûr, and probably also at Dalavânûr.

Mahêndravarman I. has opened a new era whose apotheosis we shall see in the reign of his son Narasimhavarman the Great.

§ III.—In 640, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang stayed at Kânchîpuram and it is probable that this year falls within the reign of Narasimhavarman I. The chronology of the Châlukyas says indeed that it was about 642 that this king took possession of Vâtâpi (Bâdâmi).

The Kûram plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol I., p. 152) give us information about this event. They say first that Narasimhavarman I. vanquished Pulakêsin in the battles of Pariyala, Maṇimaṅgala, Śuramâra, etc. Probably Maṇimaṅgala is nothing but Maniman-galam (Saidapet taluk, Chingleput district) which is at a distance of 20 miles from Kânchî. In that case it would appear that the Tamil country was invaded a second time by the same Châlukyan king. For the second time Pulakêsin II. was repulsed by the Pallavas. The glorious Châlukyan emperor who had vanquished Harsha Vardhana and whose friendship had been sought by the king of Persia was thoroughly routed and his capital Vâtâpi was destroyed.

In regard to this last point, all documents (Kûram, Kâśâkuḍi, Udayendîyam, etc.) agree. The Vêlûrpâlayam plates add also a detail: Narasimhavarman (I) « took (from his enemies) the pillar » of victory standing in the centre of (the town of) Vâtâpi » (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, part v., p. 511). This fact is confirmed by the inscription at Bâdâmi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol IX) the alphabet of which is the same as that of the Pallavas and which mentions Narasimhavishṇu alias Mahâmallâ as also a commemorative column (Jayastambha).

Speaking of Narasimhavarman I., the Kāśākuḍi plates say :
« Who surpassed the glory of the valour of Rāma by (his) conquest of Lankā »

This event is confirmed by the Chronicles of Ceylon (Translation of the Mahāvamsa by Wijesinha) and it took place after 642 A.D., because, according to these chronicles, the Singhalese prince Mānavamma aided Narasimha in repulsing Vallabha (Pulakēsin) and the two expeditions to Ceylon took place only after that.

It was perhaps during these expeditions that Narasimha vanquished the Chōlas, Keralas, Kaḷabhras and Paṇḍyas as mentioned in the Kūram plates.

It is probable that the navy took part in the conquest of Ceylon, for the Mahāvamsa says that Mānavamma crossed the sea in ships.

We may suppose that the port of Māmallapuram served as the naval station for the Pallava fleet. Even now Mahābalipuram serves as a landmark for all vessels.

In the first volume of *Pallava Antiquities* I have proved that the monuments at Mahābalipuram do not belong to the style of Mahēndra, that this town did not probably exist before the time of Narasimhavarman I., and that it is this king that founded it and gave it the name of Mahāmallapuram after his own name of Māmalla and began the cutting of the "Fathas" and "Caves" there.

I am convinced that in the year 650 A.D., the sculpturing of the rocks of Mahābalipuram was being executed.

The second expedition to Ceylon was crowned with success; the Pallava army conquered Ceylon; and Mānavamma cut off the head of King Hattha-datta II.

In what year was Ceylon conquered? Since we know that after the capture of Bādāmi there were two expeditions to this island, this conquest probably took place several years after 642 A.D., and I would put it after 650 A.D.

The chronology of Mahāvamsa affirms that the death of Hattha-datta and the coronation of Mānavamma took place in 691 A.D. What value are we to attach to this information?

I think we may affirm that for the X century (900 A.D. — 1000 A.D.) the chronology of Mahāvamsa is very correct but on condition that the dates are all reduced by 24 years.

Does this rule apply to the VII century? If we take away 24 years from 691, we get 667, *i.e.*, 17 years more than 650.

We have said that Ceylon was conquered perhaps after 650, but it appears that it was less than 17 years after that date.

I think that the following hypotheses may be admitted :

1° Ceylon was conquered about 660 A.D., at the end of the reign of Narasimhavarman I.

2° The chronology of Mahāvamsa is accurate enough provided we reduce the dates by nearly a quarter of a century.

We shall have occasion later on to utilise this result.

§ IV.—The reign of Mahēndravarmā II, was probably short and uneventful. The Kūram plates, dated in the time of his son, only say that his reign was prosperous and that he was a legislator « who thoroughly enforced the sacred law of the castes and the orders ».

§ V.—The Kūram plates give a long description of the military exploits of Paramēśvaravarman I. and also mention the name of his royal adversary: « He made Vikramāditya, whose » army consisted of several lakhs, take to flight, covered only » by a rag ».

On the other hand the Udyēndiram plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 371) give us the name of the battle: « Paramēśvaravarman, who defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of » Peruvāṇallūr ».

An extremely important detail, which, in my opinion, has not so far been noted well, is the date of the conflict between Paramēśvaravarman I. (called Ugradāṇḍa and Lokāditya in the inscriptions of the Kāñāsanātha temple at Kāñchipuram, *S.I.I.*, Vol. I.) and Vikramāditya I. (Kāraṇasika).

From 1910, we have been in possession of a document which gives this date with great certitude;—I mean the Gadval plates. This grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 22, p. 101) has been made when Vikramāditya I. was encamped in the Chōḷa kingdom on the southern bank of the Kāvērī.

Besides, they bear the date of the year of the reign and of the Śaka era. The exact date is incontestably 674 A.D.

We shall now proceed to determine a second point of very great importance.

Mr. Hultzscl who edited these plates has said :

« When Vikramāditya made this grant, his army had invaded » the Chôlikavishaya, i.e. the Chôla province, and was encamped » in Uragakura on the southern bank of the Kâvêri river (l. 25 f.). » In sending me the impressions, Mr. Venkayya drew my attention » to the fact that Uragakura is mentioned in Kâlidâsa's » Raghuvamśa (vi. 59) as the capital of the Pândya king, and » proposed to identify it with the ancient Chôla capital Uraiyûr » near Trichinopoly; I rather think that Uragakura, "the snake- » city" is a poetical equivalent of Nâgapattanam (now Nega- » patam) ».

But, I believe that Mr. Hultzscl is entirely mistaken.

In connection with this subject I have made a discovery which appears to me to be decisive: I have spotted the village of Peruvallanallûr where was fought the battle between Paramêśvaravarman I. and Vikramāditya. This village is in the Trichinopoly Taluk of the district of the same name, on the left bank of the Kâvêri, and at a distance of 10 miles north-west of Trichinopoly.

I am of opinion that it is not possible to doubt that the town of Uragakuram where Vikramāditya I. was encamped is any other place than Uraiyur (Trichinopoly).

In the inscription of Râjasiṅha found at the base of the Vimāna of Kailâsanâtha temple at Kâñchîpuram (S.I.I., Vol. I. p. 13) Paramêśvara is named « Ugradaṇḍa the destroyer of the city of Raṇarasika ». It is to be noted that in the Gadval plates the surname of "Raṇarasika" is given to Vikramāditya. But which is the town designated by the words « the city of Raṇarasika » ?

I do not think it could be Pādami, for, in that case, Paramêśvara would not have failed to assume, as his grand-father, the title of "Vâtâpiṇḍa".

I believe that "the town of Raṇarasika" is Uragakuram (Uraiyur).

The Gadval grant which was made when Vikramāditya was encamped at Trichinopoly gives us a detailed description which is very life-like of the third invasion of the Châlukyas into the Tamil country.

The Pallavas are called there "The family of Māmalla" (verse 5).

How did Paramēśvaravarman I. succeed in repulsing the Chālukyas?

(The Kēndūr plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, No. 29, p. 205) tell us that the Chālukyas had to contend against the Pāṇḍyas, the Chōlas, the Kēraḷas, the Kaḷabhras and the kings of Kavēra, Pārasika, Siṃhaḷa. It is therefore probable that all the people of the south combined together against the invaders. The aforesaid plates themselves say that there was a confederation of three kings.) One of these was perhaps the king of Kāñchī. Maṇavammā, the king of Siṃhaḷa, was probably another.) The Mahāvamsa says that this king reigned 35 years. We have said that he ascended the throne about 660 A.D. So he must have surely reigned in 674 A.D. He had been Minister to Narasiṃhavarman I. and he was perhaps attached to Paramēśvaravarman I. by ties of friendship. If our suppositions are correct, by 674 A.D., only 14 years would have passed since he ascended the throne with the aid of the Pallavas. And at a time when the latter were in danger it was his duty to act according to the dictates of the simplest feelings of gratefulness.

The third king that entered the coalition against the Chālukyas was probably the king of the Pāṇḍyas. We shall refer to this question again when we examine the history of the Pāṇḍyas later on.

It is certain that Paramēśvaravarman lived some time after the defeat of Vikramāditya, for the Kūram plates are posterior to this event, but unfortunately they are not dated.

The object of the Kūram record (*S.S.I.*, Vol. I., p. 154) is a gift made to the temple of Śiva called Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara which had been built at Kūram by Vidyāvinīta-Pallava.

There is a temple of Śiva near Kūram. The Epigraphical Department have copied an inscription of Nandivarman Maharāja found in this temple (No. 38 of 1900); the writing seems to belong to the IX century, but they have not found any inscription which could be attributed to the epoch of Paramēśvaravarman I.

When I visited this place, I discovered an inscription which has not been mentioned by any one till now. I do not know how it has escaped investigation so long, seeing that it is well preserved and the letters are all cut fair and deep. This inscription which is reproduced in Plate III, is the following:

Text :

ஸ்ரீ ப ல் ல வ
ம ன் ன ன்

Śrī-Pallava-Mārāsan.

The name of the king is not given, but the alphabet employed leaves no doubt as to the antiquity of the inscription. The letters 'Śrī' and 'va', in particular, are so formed that we may say that the inscription belongs to the VII century.

So, the Śiva temple at Kūram is certainly the Vidyāvinita-Pallava-Paramēśvara temple mentioned in the plates, but alas! in what a dilapidated condition! No doubt the adjoining maṇḍapam has been rebuilt with the old stones. As for the sanctuary itself, only the ground-work remains, which, however, enables us to know two important facts :

1° The temple was apsidal in form as the Sāhadēvaratha at Mahābalipuram.

2° The entrance into the sanctuary was set towards the west which is a peculiarity frequently seen in Pallava temples; almost all the temples of Mahābalipuram and many of the Pallava temples at Kāñchipuram face the west.

The discovery of the temple of Paramēśvara at Kūram is important from two points of view :

1° It is interesting to identify the temple that was the object of the Kūram grant.

2° This temple is in ruins; however, what remains of it constitutes the most ancient monument in South India which is known to have been built of stones placed one above another.

§ VI.—In Chapter I of *Pallava Antiquities* we have spoken about the son of Paramēśvaravarman I, Narasiṃhavarman II, surnamed Rājasimha. He is perhaps the only Pallava king who had a long and peaceful reign. He does not seem to have done any thing else during his reign except loading the Śivite priests with favours and building the temples mentioned above, the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchipuram, the Shore temple at Mahābalipuram and the Panamalai temple. To this list we may add the Airāvateśvara temple at Kāñchipuram. This temple with its rearing lions, the image of Sōmāskanda and the prismatic liṅgam

presents all the characteristics of the style of Râjasimha. Mr. A. Rea, relying upon its general aspect, has attributed this temple to the Pallavas. However, Epigraphy has as yet furnished no proof that will allow us to classify this temple definitively among the works of the reign of Râjasimha.

This temple whose Pallava origin is doubted has never been visited, however, by the officers of Epigraphical Department. When, in January 1917, I went to Mâmandûr, I stopped at Kâñchipuram and visited all the temples there hoping to make some discovery.

The temple of Airâvatêśvara stands amidst a group of houses found opposite to the entrance of Kakhêśvara temple.

On examining this monument, I found all round the base of the temple some inscriptions which are very much damaged. One part is written in Tamil and the other in Grantha.

To the right of the entrance and at the base of the temple I found a fragment of an inscription and copied it as its importance cannot be questioned: the name नरसिंह Narasimha is written very clearly (vide Pl. III, C.).

§ VII.—Parmêśvaravarman II, son of Râjasimha, is probably the author of Vaikuñtha Perumal temple at Kâñchipuram.

The temple of Virattânêśvara at Tiruvâdi contains an inscription (No. 56 of 1903) belonging to the reign of Paramêśvara-Pôttaraiyar. In p. 72 of "*Pallava Antiquities*" Vol. I., I have spoken about the resemblance between the Vimâna of the Tiruvâdi temple and that of the Kailâsanâtha temple at Kâñchipuram. Therefore, we must perhaps attribute the Śiva temple at Tiruvâdi to King Paramêśvaravarman II. However, this temple seems to have been repaired many times (we know, from inscription 35 of 1903, that it was done during the reign of Nripatuṅga).

The Tiruvâdi inscription is dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Paramêśvaravarman. It is probable that his reign was short.

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CHAPTER V.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF NANDIVARMAN.

§ 1.—The Ganga-Pallava theory.

In 1887, there lived in India a gentleman who has rendered eminent service to the history of the Pallavas and whose name must not therefore be forgotten: It was Mr. J. Delafon, who was a Magistrate at Pondicherry. He discovered at Bâhûr (near Pondicherry) the plates of Nripatunga and at Kâśakûḍi the plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

These two important discoveries are not due to chance; they are the happy result of the active and disinterested researches of a savant who studied the history and the languages of India for a long time.

Mr. Vinson, Professor in the School of Oriental Languages, Paris, has given the complete text, Sanskrit and Tamil, of the Bâhûr plates, in an article that forms part of the memoirs published by the above School for the Congress of Orientalists held in 1905. However, the works that are published in French are generally ignored by the scholars of India.

So, the Bâhûr grant came to be known only by a short summary of it given by Mr. Hultzsch in his article No 23, page 180 in Vol. IV. of *Epigraphia Indica*.

The text was republished a few days ago, but without translation, in Part V, Vol. II of *S.I.I.*, p. 514.

This text is incomplete: it is the work of a Pandit who lived at Pondicherry at the time of Mr. Delafon, and in many places the transcription is defective.

I thought it necessary to give the readers of this book the translation of the Bâhûr plates. So, I requested M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao to translate for me the Sanskrit portion of the text as published in Vol. II of *S.I.I.*, and he has been good enough to send me the following version of it:

THE BÂHUR INSCRIPTION.

Text.

(Please retain the text as it appears in Part V, Vol. II. of *South Indian Inscriptions*, with Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri's footnotes also. In addition to these, please add the following):—

1. For निष्ठ in l. 1 of verse 1, read निष्ठ.
2. The words बन्धुकात्तान् in l. 1 of verse 11, is an incorrect reading of the passage by the original transcriber, the Paṇḍit. As it is, the passage is not clear.
3. For खण्डानि in l. 2 of the same verse, read कण्डानि.
4. For कलावान् समरे, I propose to read कलावत्समरे, in the battle of Kalāva or Kalāpa, a place which requires identification.
5. For सराज्यश्रीः in l. 2 of verse 16, read सराज्यश्री. The river Arichit is the same as the Ariśilāru. It is usual for the final *t* of Saṅskṛit words being read in Tamiḷ countries as *l*. This custom is still retained in its entirety and often in a ridiculous manner in the Malabar country. For example, in almost all Tamiḷ inscriptions it will be found that the phrase *chandrādityaval* written as *chandrādityaval*. In Malayāḷam, words like *tasmāt* is pronounced as *tasmāl*; *kēchit*, *kiñchit*, as *kēchil* and *kiñchil* respectively. On this analogy we may argue that the Tamiḷ name Ariśil or Arichil was Saṅskṛitised into Arichit. It must be remembered that almost all the battles between the Pallavas and the allied armies of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas, were fought in the vicinity of Kumbhakōṇam, near which is also the river Ariśilāru.
6. For देववत् in l. 1 of verse 20, read देववत्. It is only then the passage makes any sense.
7. For आथवा in l. 2 of verse 20, read अथवा.
8. For द्विशापतेः in l. 2 of verse 20, read द्विशापतिः.
9. For प्रात्रयं in l. 1 of verse 21, read प्रातत्रयं.
10. For राकरत्वेन in l. 2 of verse 27, read रकरत्वेन; and
11. For धर्मस्य in l. 2 of verse 29, read धर्मस्य.

Translation.

- Verse 1.—Mañ Madhusūdana, whose lotus-feet are rubbed by the *kirtas* of the *dēvas*, who is the cause of the destruction of the Rākshasas who are dreaded by all the worlds, who is eternal and whose eyes resemble the petals of the lotus, give you prosperity.
- V. 2.—.....From his naval rose the lotus flower which is the origin of every (created) thing; from it came Brahmā.
- V. 3.—From the lord of the world, the four-faced (Brahmā), was born Aṅgiras. From him, Bṛhaspati, the minister of Śakra (Indra), the destroyer of (the *asura*) Vala.
- V. 4.—From him Saṁyu; from him was born Bharadvāja. From him the great archer Drōṇa, who was as powerful in battle as Indra.
- V. 5.—(Then) came into existence from Drōṇa Aśvatthāman of great power who was well-versed in the use of all weapons and who was a (partial) incarnation of Pinākin (Śiva).
- V. 6.—From Aśvatthāma was born the king named Pallava. He protected every one, from the cultivators up to the kings, in the Navakhaṇḍa (the nine divisions of the earth?).
- V. 7.—In his lineage were born the host (of kings), Vimala, Koṅkaṇika etc., before whom the wives of the enemies bowed, whose commands were obeyed by other kings also, who were most dear (to their subjects?) and who were ever attended by the sound '*jaya*' (be ye victorious.)
- Vv 8-9.—After Vimala and others, having ruled the earth which is girdled by the four oceans, by their prowess had gone to heaven in celestial chariots (*vimānas*), there lived the king Dantivarman, who was equal to Indra (in his power), who was an intense devotee of Muradvish (= Murāri, Viṣṇu), who was powerful and who was worshipped by their crowns by (other) kings.
- V. 10.—This sovereign, on account of his ruling the earth even in this Kaliyuga with justice and of his pouring gifts, shone like Indra.
- V. 11.—(This verse is incorrect. It appears to convey the following idea in it. Nandivarman cut his enemies' heads which resembled parcels of food offered to their souls

which were preparing to pay a visit to the house of Yama).

- V. 12.—From Nandivarman was born the powerful Nandivarman, who, singly and unaided, took the earth in battle.
- V. 13.—Just as Lakshmī was (the wife) of Muradvish (Vishṇu), the queen named Śaṅkhā, who was born in the Rāshtrakūta family, was the wife of Nandivarman.
- V. 14.—Śaṅkhā, the queen of the king, who resembled the earth in forbearance, who was kind to the people like a mother, was resplendent as Lakshmī incarnate.
- V. 15.—Nripatungaśrī who was esteemed for his high birth, who was lord of the three worlds, who was resplendent as the rising sun and who was victorious in the battle of Kalāva (?) was born of that queen who had intelligence, beauty, learning etc.
- V. 16.—The army (of the Pallavas) which on a former occasion sustained defeat in the hands of the Pāṇḍya, was, by the grace of this king (i.e., by being led by him), able to burn down the hosts of the enemies together with the prosperity of their kingdoms, on the bank of the river Arichit.
- V. 17.—This illustrious king named Nripatunga though he was young (in age) was not only famous in this, but also in the other worlds, as Rāma was.¹
- V. 18.—Mārttāṇḍa of Vēśālī who was born in the race of Kuru and who was solicitous in protecting his subjects, was bound by obligation to this king (Nripatunga.)
- Vv. 19-20.—He was great in the world like the moon ; in majesty etc., he resembled the ocean ; he was an asylum to the world (the people) inasmuch as he afforded protection (to it) like the sun. Therefore it is but right that there should be similarity between his body and name.² Or, he is certainly a king because it is quite patent at sight (?)

1. Just as Rāma, even as a boy, had conquered Rākshasas for Visvāmītra and become famous in this world and was held as an object of praise even by gods, Nripatunga became famous as a boy-warrior and king even in the world of gods.

2. He is named Mārttāṇḍa (meaning the sun) ; he exerts his energy in protecting the country ; in this act he resembles the sun which sustains life on the earth by its warmth and energy. So, Mārttāṇḍa of the Vēśālī family and of the race of Kuru is akin in name and action to the sun. Here the reading has been slightly altered ; instead of *dēvat*, I am inclined to read *dēhavat* which makes sense.

Vv. 21-23.—He, who was increasing (the prosperity of) the Kuru race, having petitioned Nripatuṅga and duly obtained permission through the Secretary (ājñapti), granted to the *vidyāsthāna* the three villages, namely, Chētupākkam, Viḷāṅgādirēphāntam (i.e., Viḷāṅgāttūr) and Iṟaiṇṇālaichchēri situated in his province (Vēśālipāḍi).

Vv. 24-29.—Just as Dūrjati (Śiva) bore on one of his *jatas* (the river) Gaṅgā who was descending with a large number of waves, similarly the river of learning consisting of fourteen *gunas* (or divisions of knowledge) was spreading round the abode of the residents of the Bāhu-village: because it is the abode of learned men, it is called a *vidyāsthāna*.

This king, having given them (the learned men of Bāhūr) by his *ājñapti* the villages to the extent marked by the circumambulation of an elephant, freed from all taxes and protected thereby, honored himself.

The minister of the king Śrī Tuṅgavarman, who has reverential awe for the commands (of the king), who is of a charitable disposition, who is held in regard by the lord of the three worlds (perhaps this refers to the king), who is famous like Brihaspati (the minister of the lord of the celestials Indra), exhorts the future kings to protect this charity (made by him).

V. 30.—Dāśaya, the servant of the *vidyāsthāna* of the resident of Bāhu and who is himself learned in the principles of the *śāstras*, wrote this eulogistic document.

[TAMIL PORTION, LEFT UNTRANSLATED.]

V. 31.—“If equal merit accrues to both the giver of a charity and its protector, then do you protect it.”—so saying, the king Nripatuṅgavarman, by bowing lowly his head which bears on it the feet of Mukunda (Vishṇu), exhorts future kings.

V. 32.—The goldsmith Nripatuṅga, who was an ornament to the family of Uditōdita, who was well-versed in all *śāstras* and who was an hereditary servant of the Pallavas wrote this document.

The Bāhūr plates were discovered at a time when the Epigraphy of South India was yet unborn. The dynasty: Danti-

Nandi-Nṛipatuṅga, was quite new. No sooner had a few stone inscriptions been copied than Mr. Hultzsch tried to reconcile the new records with that of Bāhūr.

Owing to an unlucky chance, there was, among the discoveries that were made first, the Kīl-Muttugūr inscription which Mr. Hultzsch has published with the following remark (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 177):

« The inscription is dated in the eighteenth year of the reign of the king, the Victorious Narasimhavarman. The same name occurs among the Pallava kings of Kāñchī. But the two centre figures of the bas-relief below the inscription make it impossible to attribute this record to the Pallava Dynasty, whose crest was a bull and whose banner bore a club. The elephant appears at the top of three stone inscriptions of the Western Gaṅga dynasty which have been published by Mr. Kikel, and the goose (haṁsa) is said to have been the device on the banner of the mythical Gaṅga king Koṅkaṇi.»

In editing the two inscriptions of Nṛipatuṅga found at Ambūr (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 180), Mr. Hultzsch has said :

« Besides, the Bāhūr plates mention among Nṛipatuṅga-varman's remote ancestors Koṅkaṇika. This name seems to be a reminiscence of Koṅkaṇi, who is believed to have been the ancestor of the Western Gaṅgas.»

And again (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182):

« The Kīl-Muttugūr inscription of the latter (Narasimhavarman) bears, however, the emblems of the W. Gaṅga kings and its alphabet is more archaic than that of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Nṛipatuṅga. If it is kept in mind that the Bāhūr plates represent the latter [Nṛipatuṅga] as a descendant not only of Pallava, but also of Koṅkaṇi, the ancestor of the Western Gaṅga kings, we are driven to the conclusion that the old dynasty of the Pallavas of Kāñchī came to an end with Nandivarman, the opponent of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya II; that Narasimhavarman, a Pallava by name, but Western Gaṅga by descent, succeeded them; that two of his successors, Dantivarman and Nandivarman, were the contemporaries of the Rāshtrakūta kings Gōvinda III. and Amoghavarsha I; and that Nandivarman's son, Nṛipatuṅgavarman or Nṛipatuṅga-Vikramavarman, who ruled over North Arcot,

» Tanjore and Trichinopoly, discarded the emblems of the Western
» Gaṅgas and adopted those of the Pallavas.»

The Gaṅga-Pallava theory that has been imagined by Mr. Hultzsch is very simple; it can be summarised in a few words:

Nṛipatuṅga is not a descendant of Naṇḍivarman Pallavamalla; he is not a Pallava; he has usurped this title; the name Koṅkaṇika, found in the genealogy given in the Bāhūr plates, proves that he is a descendant, not of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, but of certain chiefs of Western Gaṅga origin.

The whole of the Gaṅga-Pallava theory is, therefore, based on the word Koṅkaṇika. Was this name quite enough to justify the creation of a new dynasty?

Mr. Hultzsch has made a supposition, a hypothesis, based on a very weak argument, which cannot be admitted unless confirmed by other discoveries; and until this is done, it must remain what it really is, *viz.*, a simple conjecture.

The inscriptions dated during the reigns of kings like Dantivarman (*e.g.*, inscription No. 80 of 1898), Nandivarman (*e.g.*, No. 72 of 1898), Nṛipatuṅga (*e.g.*, No. 81 of 1898), ought to be classed among the Pallava inscriptions up to the time when the Gaṅga origin of Nṛipatuṅga and his ancestors is proved in an irrefutable manner.

Mr. Hultzsch has not had the discretion to do so. In his report on Epigraphy for 1897 (*G.O.*, Nos. 1093-1096, 29th Aug. 1898) inscription No. 304 of 1897 of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman—17th year—is classed under the head of “Gaṅga-Pallava”.

So, even when there is not sufficient evidence to confirm this imprudent theory, it has received official sanction.

The Gaṅga-Pallava dynasty was ranked with the great Pallava, Chôḷa and Pāṇḍya dynasties.

For that, and that alone, Mr. Hultzsch deserved to be reproached.

He had every right to imagine that Nṛipatuṅga was of Gaṅga origin and write in the “Epigraphia Indica” the sentences we have quoted.

But he had no right to put during 6 years (from 1897 to 1904) a great number of inscriptions in the Gaṅga-Pallava category, as if the existence of this dynasty had been completely established.

First of all, it must be proved:

- 1° that Nripatuṅga was actually descended from a king named Koṅkaṇika ;
- 2° that the above Koṅkaṇika was no other than the Gaṅga king Koṅkaṇi ;
- 3° that Nripatuṅga was not also a descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

M. Hultzsch seems to have thought such proofs useless : similarity of names, vague suppositions, unfounded identifications based on imaginary genealogies, all these have formed a respectable whole for enabling him to consider the Gaṅga origin of Nripatuṅga as something conclusively proved.

It was not necessary, since then, to prove the Gaṅga-Pallava theory ; the hypothesis of Mr. Hultzsch need not be confirmed by other discoveries : *it was true by supposition.*

So, we have to lay much stress on the fact that "*the Gaṅga-Pallava theory has been admitted without any demonstration.*"

We have so far examined "The Hultzsch theory." We shall now enter into the second stage and examine what we may call "The Venkayya theory."

In editing the inscription of Dantivarman found at Triplicane, V. Venkayya has written (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, No. 29, p. 291) :

« The inscription.....is dated during the reign of King » Dantivarman-Mahārāja, who was "the ornament of the Pallava » family " and belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gôtra. There is thus no » doubt that he belonged to the Pallava dynasty.»

In his report on Epigraphy for 1905-06 (*G. O.* No. 492, 2nd July, 1906) V. Venkayya mentions inscription No. 541 of 1905 dated during the « reign of Dantivarman of the Pallavatilaka » family, which sprang from the Bhāradvāja-gôtra : « From other » inscriptions we know that the queen of a certain Nandippôttaraiyaṇ of the Pallavatilaka family lived as late as the time of » the Gaṅga-Pallava king Nripatuṅga and the reign of the Chôla » king Rāja Kesarivarman (Annual Report for 1900-01, paragraph » 10). Consequently, the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram seem » to have continued in some form or other long after the defeat of » Nandivarman Pallavamalla by the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya II., when they apparently ceased to be the dominant » power in Southern India. The political relationship of the » Pallavas to the Gaṅga-Pallavas, who gradually took their place, » is not known.»

So V. Venkayya lays down a principle: « When, in an inscription, a king is said to belong to the Pallava dynasty—there is no doubt that he belonged to the Pallava dynasty. »

Applying this principle, V. Venkayya affirms that kings like Dantivarman of Triplicane and Tiruvellārai and Nandippōttaraiyaṇ “ of Pallavatilaka family ” are really Pallavas, and that, therefore, the Pallava dynasty has continued to exist after the death of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

If V. Venkayya had been logical, he would have carried his conclusions further. In the Bāhūr plates, it is distinctly stated that Danti, his son Nandi and his grandson Nripatuṅga are all descended from the Pallavas and belong to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

If here V. Venkayya had applied the principle laid down by him, he would have said of Nripatuṅga: « There is thus no doubt that he belonged to the Pallava dynasty. »

But V. Venkayya could not agree to it. The name Koṅkanika found in the genealogy given in the Bāhūr plates has been considered by Mr. Hultzsch as positive proof of the Gaṅga origin of Nripatuṅga. It is not therefore possible to doubt it. The descendants of Nandivarman Pallavamalla could not therefore be identified with the ancestors of Nripatuṅga; there were therefore two different dynasties reigning at the same time.

Then, V. Venkayya created a new theory founded on the following principles:

1° The Pallava dynasty existed after Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Dantivarman of Triplicane and Nandippōttaraiyaṇ are their representatives. They differ from the “ Gaṅga-Pallavas ” by their epithets “ Pōttaraiyaṇ, ” “ pōtavarman ” [pōta in Saṅskrit and pōttu in Tamil mean ‘ the sprout (of a plant) ’ and are thus synonymous with pallava, “ a sprout ”— *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 341]. “ Pallava-kula-tilaka ”: “ The title Pallava-Kulatilakā of the former (Dantivarman) which occurs in the Triplicane inscription might have furnished the family name Pallavatilakakula of his successors, which must have been invented in order to distinguish them from the rising Gaṅga-Pallavas (*G. O.* No. 492—2nd July 1906). ”

2° At the same time there existed a dynasty of chiefs of Gaṅga origin, such as Narasimhavarman of Kīl-Muttugūr, Danti, Nandi and Nripatuṅga of Bāhūr. These chiefs have succeeded

by degrees in supplanting the true Pallavas. They are distinguished by the prefix "Vijaya" or the suffix "Vikramavarman".

When V. Venkayya enunciated this theory, there was but one person who strongly protested against it.

In an article published in April 1907 in the "*Christian College Magazine*" under the heading "The Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas"—M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State, Trevandram, has enunciated the following propositions :

1° The Gaṅga origin of Nripatuṅga which « has been treated » as a sort of axiomatic truth by later epigraphists (p. 1) » is a wrong supposition.

2° There existed but one dynasty, that of the Pallavas; the descendants of Nandivarman Pallavamalla must be identified with the ancestors of Nripatuṅga.

3° Dantivarman, the grand-father of Nripatuṅga is the son of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

The last hypothesis is very remarkable. M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao was the first to affirm that Pallavamalla was the father of Dantivarman. So the genealogy of the Pallavas stands thus :

Nandivarman Pallavamalla
|
Dantivarman
|
Nandivarman
|
Nripatuṅga

However, no one cared for what was said by M. R. Ry. Gōpinātha Rao. V. Venkayya continued to maintain his own opinion, and the public, relying on the authority of the Government Epigraphist, continued to believe in Gaṅga-Pallavas.

This was in 1907. Ten years have rolled on since and new discoveries have only confirmed in a striking manner the theory of M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

1° Although we possess a large number of documents, we have not as yet found any proof of Nripatuṅga being related to Narasimhavarman of Kīl-Muttuṅgar or to the Gaṅgas.

2° In none of the numerous known inscriptions has it been possible to find the least trace of any internal struggle enabling

us to believe that the Gaṅga-Pallavas supplanted the descendants of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. There has been no civil war, no revolution, no dissension in the Pallava Kingdom.

3° The inscriptions of the Pallavas and the so-called Gaṅga-Pallavas are found scattered all over the country, and it must be admitted that these two different dynasties reigned over the same country at the same time :

« There would be an insuperable difficulty in locating these » two contemporary dynasties in proper geographical regions. » (The Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas—p. 8) ».

4° It has been proved that Nṛipatuṅga had the name that marks his Pallava origin : « The ending “pōttaraiyar” which is » applied to [Nṛipatuṅgappōttaraiyar of the Valuvūr inscription » No. 68 of 1908] without the characteristic prefix Kō-viśaiya, » makes it suspicious if we could include his name among the » Gaṅga-Pallavas (*G.O.* No 538, 28th July 1909). »

Moreover, the discovery of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates has shown (*G.O.* No. 832, 28th July 1911) that the descendants of Nandivarman Pallavamalla had the prefix Kō-vijaya and the suffix Vikramavarman added to their names.

The same Vēlūrpālaiyam plates have proved the following genealogy in an incontestable manner :

Nandivarman-Pallavamalla

|
Dantivarman

|
Kō-vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.

If we bear in mind, that, in 1907, i.e., 4 years before the discovery of these plates, M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao had affirmed that Dantivarman was the son of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, we shall see the barrenness of the Gaṅga-Pallava theory and the fecundity of the theory propounded by M. R. Ry. Gopinatha Rao.

And still, up to this time, it has been possible to doubt it, as the conclusive argument in favour of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's theory has not been found. What was, in fact, the origin and basis of the Gaṅga-Pallava theory ? It was the name Koṅkaṇika in the genealogy given in the Bāhūr plates.

Mr. Hultzsch said, and V. Venkayya repeated with him, « Nṛipatuṅga is not a Pallava ; he is a Gaṅga because he is » descended from Koṅkaṇika ». That was the only reason. M.R.Ry.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao said that that reason was good for nothing ; he gathered proofs to try to demolish the Gaṅga-Pallava theory, but its supporters retorted, « Nṛpatuṅga is not a Pallava ; he is descended from Koṅkaṇika. »

In publishing the Vêlûrpâlaiyam plates in Part V of Vol. II of *S. I. I.* that appeared only a few days ago (Madras, 1917), M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri says of the theory of M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao that it « connects the names in the Bâhûr » plates with those of the Vêlûrpâlaiyam plates, and suggests » that Vijaya Nṛpatuṅgavarman of the former was apparently » the son of Nandivarman III of the latter » (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part V, No. 98, p. 505).

Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri then says distinctively : « Against this, the **only** objection is the ancestry which, in the » one case includes the clear Western Gaṅga name (or surname) » Koṅkaṇika, while in the other it does not. »

To-day (June 1917) this objection does not exist any more : the deciphering of the Vâyalûr inscription has cleared all doubt.

We have said in Chapter II of this book that the Vâyalûr inscription gives us a complete genealogy of the ancestors of Narasiṃhavarman II (Râjasimha).

After Pallava, Aśoka, Harigupta, Āryavarman and some others, we have the following series : Kâlinda, Byāmalla, [E]kamaḷla, Vimala, Koṅkaṇika, Kâlābhartṛi, Chûtapallava, Virakûrcha.

We have reproduced in Pl. II the estampage of this part of the inscription.

We have said that the presence of names of Western Gaṅga origin, such as, Āryavarman and Koṅkaṇika, in a genealogy of the Pallavas engraved on stone in the VII century, shows the political relations and perhaps also the bonds of affinity that existed between the Western Gaṅgas and the Pallavas in the VI century of the Christian era. The Penugonḍa plates (*G. O.*, No. 920, 4th Aug. 1914, Part II, No. 4, p. 86) confirm this hypothesis, as they say that the grandson of Koṅkaṇivarman who was called Āryavarman was installed on the throne by the Pallava king Siṃhavarman and that perhaps he married the daughter of this Pallava king since we see that his son was named Siṃhavarman. The son of Siṃhavarman, alias Madhava II, was Koṅkaṇivarman II alias Avinîta [Śringēri plates—Mysore Archæological Report for 1916, p. 33.]

62

Approximate
dates:

Genealogy of the W. Gangas.

A. D.

- 420 Koṅkaṇivarman (I).
|
450 Mādhava (I).
|
480 Āryavarman (installed on the throne by Siṃhavarman,
a Pallava king).
|
510 Siṃhavarman alias Mādhava (II) (installed by Skanda-
varman Pallava). (Penugonḍa plates).
|
540 Koṅkaṇivarman (II) alias Avinita
[Śringēri plates—Mysore Report for 1916, p. 33.]
| [E.C. 10, Mālūr 72.]
580 Druvinīta
(Muḷbāgal plates—Mysore Report for 1916, p. 44.)
[Gummareḍḍipura plates—Mysore Report for 1912
dated the 40th year.]

We have proved with the help of the Vāyalūr inscription that the names Vimala and Koṅkaṇika existed in the Pallava genealogy from the VII century.

The presence of these names in the Bāhūr genealogy goes only to confirm the purely Pallava origin of Nṛipatuṅga.

Thus then, from the moment that the Vāyalūr inscription was deciphered, the Gaṅga-Pallavas ceased to exist; full light has been thrown on the dynasty of Nṛipatuṅga; the truth is seen to be clear and simple, and it can be summed up in the following words: M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao was right in affirming that—

- 1° in the VIII and the IX centuries there existed but one dynasty, that of the Pallavas;
- 2° the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates coupled with those of Bāhūr give us the following genealogy:

Nandivarman (Pallavamalla).

|
Dantivarman

|
Nandivarman (donor of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates).

|
Nṛipatuṅga (donor of the Bāhūr plates).

§ 2. Chronology.

Let us first determine the duration of each reign. This question presents no difficulties in regard to Dantivarman and Nripatuṅga.

The inscription (No. 262 of 1904) at Tiruchchāpūr is dated in the 51st year of Dantivarman. That implies a long reign and we shall admit that Dantivarman reigned little more than 51 years.

It is certain that Nripatuṅga reigned 26 years, for the inscriptions of this king, which are very numerous, do not go beyond the 26th year.

The question is not so simple in the case of the two other kings. We know, as a matter of fact, that both of them bear the name of Nandivarman.

How to distinguish the one Nandi from the other? and how long did each of them reign?

I hold a very definite opinion on this subject. I shall now proceed to prove my proposition, which is quite different from what has been imagined till now. I am the first to enunciate it and I strongly affirm it as I am quite convinced of it.

Nandivarman Ballavamalla reigned 62 years. His grandson reigned for about 24 years.

My demonstration is based on the Tandantōttam plates.

In the 58th year of his reign, a king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman has made this grant (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Part V, No. 99, p. 517).

These plates have been, till now, attributed to the king that granted the Vêlûrpālaiyam plates, viz., to the son of Danti. My opinion is quite the reverse.

The donor of the Tandantōttam plates is Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Here are my reasons for thinking so :

1° *From the palæographic point of view :*

(a) If the donor of the Tandantōttam plates were the same as the donor of the Vêlûrpālaiyam plates, as the first is dated in the 58th year and the second in the 6th year, the alphabet of the Vêlûrpālaiyam plates must be more archaic : but it is just the reverse : *The alphabet of the Tandantōttam plates is more archaic than that of the Vêlûrpālaiyam plates.*

In the Sanskrit portion of the Tandantōttam plates, the letters, â, kha, ga, da, dha, na, ya, va, śa, sa, hā, nā, mu, tē, to,

show signs of archaism, when compared with the corresponding letters in the Vêlûrpālaiyam plates.

It is the same case with the Tamil letters : ña, ta, na, ya, la, tâ, nâ, yî, mû, lai, ko, to.

It must therefore be admitted that the Nandi of the Tanḍantōttam plates was a predecessor of the Nandi of the Vêlûrpālaiyam plates.

(b) If, instead of examining the letters separately, we observe the general aspect of the writing, we shall find that the Tanḍantōttam plates remind us of the Kâśâkuḍi plates, whereas the Vêlûrpālaiyam plates resemble those of Hastimalla found at Udayendiram. For example, vertical lines predominate in the Tanḍantōttam plates; besides that, the secondary *i* is almost circular; on the contrary, the vertical lines are scarcely visible in the Vêlûrpālaiyam plates and the secondary *i* is semi-circular.

(c) If, instead of comparing the plates, we view them individually, we are led to the following considerations :

If we suppose that the Tanḍantōttam plates were dated in the 58th year of the reign of the son of Danti, they would evidently belong to the end of the IX century.

We know, in fact, that Danti was vanquished about 804 A.D. by Govinda III (*G. O.* No. 919, 29th July 1912, p. 59, Part II, No. 7). Granting that this date falls at the end of Danti's reign and that he died in 805, the 58th year of the reign of his son would be $805 + 58 = 863$.

So, if we admit that the Tanḍantōttam plates are dated in the reign of Nandi, son of Danti, they would be dated 863 or some years after, i.e., at the end of the IX century. There would then be a difference of 50 years between them and the plates of Bânâ King Hastimalla (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Part III, plate facing p. 385.)

Any one who has a look at the Tanḍantōttam plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Plate XVIII) will, I think, admit that *the alphabet of the Tanḍantōttam plates is much too archaic to be attributed to the second half of the IX Century (about 870).*

I think that these plates are one century older and belong to the second half of the VIII century (about 775).

2° A reign of more than half a century is rare in history; and there is no room to doubt that the inscription (No. 10 of 1895) at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai dated in the 50th year of the reign of

Nandippôttaraśar belongs to the same reign as the Taṇḍantôttam plates which are dated in the 58th year of the reign of Nandi.

If then this king was the son of Danti, it must be admitted that the Pañchapāṇḍavamalai inscription belongs to the second half of the IX Century. I think it is absolutely impossible to do so. The alphabet of this inscription is archaic : for example, in the latter half of the IX century, the letter *va* began with a curve ; in the Pañchapāṇḍavamalai inscription there is no curve (Vide Plate : *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IV).

3° From the genealogical point of view, we know that there was only one Pallava prince who was called Hiraṇyavarman. The inscription (No. 37 of 1888) on the wall of the southern verandah in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumâl temple at Kāñchipuram leads us to believe, and the Kâśâkuḍi plates say very clearly, that this prince was the father of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

And the Taṇḍantôttam plates say distinctly that Nandivarman, the donor, is the son of Hiraṇyavarman.

There is therefore no room for any doubt. Nandivarman, son of Hiraṇyavarman, who, in the 58th year of his reign, made the Taṇḍantôttam grant is no other than Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

4° When Nandivarman Pallavamalla granted, by the Kâśâkuḍi plates, the village of Koḍukolli, it received the new name of Ēkadhiramaṅgalam ; from this we may conclude that Pallavamalla was surnamed Ēkadhîra.

And Nandi, the donor of the Taṇḍantôttam plates, is designated in verse 4 of these plates by the surname Ēkadhîra.

M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri says : " Dantivarman mentioned in No. 88 of Appendix C from Tiruvellārai is reported to have belonged to the Brahma, kshatra family and to have been entitled Pallava-Mahârāja. Evidently, the double name Dantinandivarman has to be understood in the sense of Nandivarman, son of Dantivarman.....The title Pallava-Mahârāja borne by him, may point to the fact that he was a Pallava king, and perhaps identical with Nandippôttaraiyar of the Tiruchchennambûṇḍi inscription, (No. 283 of 1901), " who was victorious at Tellāru."

This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the inscriptions of the victor of Tellāru are written in an alphabet which is not

archaic enough to be attributed to the epoch of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

Besides, the Nandikkalambagam gives a description of the victor of Tellāru which cannot apply to Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

And M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, relying upon the fact that a certain Kāduvetti-Tamilappêraraiyan was a contemporary of both the victor of Tellāru and Nripatūṅga, concluded, as early as 1907 (Madras Christian College Magazine April 1907, page 8), that the former (Nandi) was the father of the latter (Nripatūṅga).

It is therefore probable that the Victor of Tellāru was the son of Dantivarman and the father of Nripatūṅga.

As, on the other hand, we do not know of any inscription of this king dated after the 22nd year of his reign, we may conclude :

1° Nandivarman Pallavamalla reigned 62 years.

2° Nandivarman Tellārreṇḍa reigned only a little more than 22 years.

As I am convinced that the Gāḍimallam inscription (No. 229 of 1903) is dated in the 23rd year of the reign of this latter king, [the alphabet of this inscription mostly resembles that of the inscription No. 228 of 1903 dated during the reign of Nripatūṅga] I think we can give him a reign of about 24 years.

The inscription of Tiruvallam (No. 76 of 1889) being dated in the 62nd year of the reign of Nandi, we come to the conclusion that Nandivarman Pallavamalla reigned 62 years.

We have now determined the duration of the reigns :

Nandi-Ekadhira-Pallavamalla : 62 years.

Dantivarman : 51 years.

Nandi-Tellārreṇḍa : 24 years.

Nripatūṅga : 26 years.

It would be desirable to know approximately when these kings reigned.

We can at once say for certain that they have reigned after the VII and before the IX Century.

1° *Pallavamalla began to reign after the VII century.*

In the preceding chapter, we have established, in an irrefutable manner, the fact that Paramêśvaravarman I. repulsed the Chālukyas in A. D. 674. Here we have a correct date. And

between this and the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla there have passed away :

- (a) the end of the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I ;
- (b) the whole of the reign of Narasiṃhavārman II. (Rājasimha), which was probably long enough ;
- (c) the reign of Paramēśvaravarman II., which was probably short.

I think these events must have taken 40 years, and so I conclude that it is unlikely that Nandivarman Pallavamalla began to reign before 716 or 717.

2° *Nripatunga's reign came to an end before 900.*

(a) Inscription No. 28 of 1903 is dated in the 24th year of the reign of Nripatunga, during the reign of his feudatory, the Bāṇa king Vāṇavijjādhara ; and the inscription No. 223 of 1903 is dated during the reign of the son of the Bāṇa king and in the Śaka year 820, *i.e.* 898 A.D. We must therefore conclude that the 24th year of Nripatunga's reign is anterior to 898 and that the 26th and last year is before 900.

(b) Inscription No. 735 of 1905 at Grāmam assures us that the Chōla king Parāntaka I. began his reign in the first half of 907. (*G.O.* No. 492, 2nd July 1906, p. 68).

The year 906 is therefore the last year of the reign of his father Āditya I. But the Tirukkalukkuṇṇam (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 277) and the Brahmadeśam (No. 230 of 1915) inscriptions are dated in the 27th year of a king called Rājakēsarivarman, who must unquestionably be Āditya I., for he is the only king named Rājakēsari who was able to reign so long before Rāja-rāja. It is thus certain that Āditya I. ascended the throne about 880.

This king, who was surnamed Tonḍaimānārrūr-Tuṇḍiṇa-Uḍaiyār gave his donations, in the North Arcot District, in the 21st and the 22nd years of his reign (*G.O.* No. 503, 27th June 1907, p. 71, part II, No. 29.) There is no doubt that this king was Āditya I, for an error that had been made in the donation was rectified during the reign of his son Parāntaka I.

It is thus established that the Pallava empire was conquered by Āditya I. before the 21st year of his reign, *i.e.*, before 900 A.D.

So, it is between 717 and 900 that we must put the four reigns: Nandi, 62 years; Danti, 51 years; Nandi, 24 years; Nripatunga, 26 years.

The length of these four reigns put together gives a period of $62 + 51 + 24 + 26 = 163$ years, and from 715 to 900 there are 185 years.

I therefore consider the following result as something certain :
The coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla

		took place between	717 & 737.
do.	Dantivarman	do.	779 & 799.
do.	Nandi of Tellāru	do.	830 & 850.
do.	Nripatuṅga	do.	854 & 874.

These figures are confirmed by the following two facts which we shall prove later on :

1° Nandivarman Pallavamalla was vanquished by the Chālukyas about 741.

2° Dantivarman was vanquished by the Rāshtrakūṭas about 803.

If we now take the average of the two dates in which these kings might possibly have been crowned, we find that :

Nandivarman Pallavamalla	was crowned in cir. A.D.	727.
Dantivarman	do.	do. 789.
Nandi of Tellāru	do.	do. 840.
Nripatuṅga	do.	do. 864.

These figures may be considered to be approximately correct, allowing for an error of 10 years, more or less. This result must be considered sufficient.

I believe, however, that these 10 years can be taken away from the figures I have given above. I give below the reasons that have led me to this conclusion :

1° The Ambūr inscriptions (Nos. 7 and 8 of 1896—Vide also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 182 & 183) which are dated in the 26th and last year of the reign of Nripatuṅga mention Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar as a contemporary of this king.

It is probable that this Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar is no other than Prithivīpati I. whose last known date is 879. If we admit that the 26th year of Nripatuṅga almost coincides with this epoch, we must admit that Nripatuṅga ascended the throne about 854, which is 10 years before the approximate date we have given to it.

2° Inscription No. 222 of 1911, dated in the second year of Rājakesarivarman and found at Tirunāgēśvaram in the Tanjore

district, has been attributed by M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri to Āditya I.

Inscriptions Nos. 101, 104, 105, 127, 130 and 133 of 1914 have been admitted by Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai (*G.O.* No. 1260, 25th Aug. 1915, p. 72, Appendix F.) to be "earlier than 907 A.D." and attributed by M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri to Āditya I. (*Part II*, No. 20, p. 96, of the same Report).

These inscriptions are dated in the 5th, 6th, and 7th years of his reign and are engraved in the temple at Tiruverumbur in the Trichinopoly district.

If, then, we admit that these inscriptions are dated during the reign of Āditya I., we must also admit that this king was from the very beginning of his reign, *i.e.*, in 882 (2nd year of his reign) and 885 (5th year of his reign) the supreme lord of the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

But we must also bear in mind that Nṛipatuṅga reigned at Kaṇḍiyūr, near Tanjore, in the 21st year of his reign (insc. No. 17 of 1895) and that in the 22nd year he reigned at Lālguḍi (insc. No. 83 of 1892) and at Kōviladi (insc. Nos. 300 and 301 of 1901) which are situated not far from Tiruverumbur near Trichinopoly.

Thus then, the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly formed the kingdom of Nṛipatuṅga at the end of his reign and of Āditya at the beginning of the reign of the latter.

My impression is that Āditya I. began to reign after the death of Nṛipatuṅga who ceased to reign about 880. He should therefore have ascended the throne in 854, *i.e.*, 10 years before the approximate date (864) we have fixed for it.

3° The Udayendiram and the Kāśākuḍi plates which are dated in the 21st and the 22nd year respectively of the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla do not mention the Chālukyan invasion that took place about 741. We may therefore conclude that those years of that king's reign are anterior to this event, and that Nandivarman Pallavamalla began to reign before 719-720.

For these reasons, I think that the approximate dates we have settled must be reduced by 10 years and I therefore fix the following chronology:

Nandivarman-Pallavamalla:	from 717 to 779 A.D.
Dantivarman:	" 779 to 830 "
Nandi of Tellāru:	" 830 to 854 "
Nṛipatuṅga:	" 854 to 880 "

§ 3. The History of the Pāṇdyas.

We have said that, about 741, during the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, there was a Chālukyan invasion and that about 803, king Dantivarman became a tributary of the Rāshtrakūtas.

Apart from these two events, I believe that most of the wars that the Pallavas had to wage were against the Pāṇdyas; so, in writing the history of the Pallavas we must speak of the Pāṇdyas.

We shall begin the history of the Pāṇdyas by putting the genealogy of Vēlvikuḍi by the side of that of the two Śīnnamaṇūr as shown below :

Vēlvikuḍi grant [Report for 1908]	1) Kaṇḍuṅḍon		} Smaller Śīnnamaṇūr [Report for 1907]
	2) Māṇavarman Avaniśulāmaṇi		
	3) Śēliyaṇ Śēndaṇ—1) Jyāntavarman		
	4) Arikēsarīn —2) Arikēsarīn Māṇavarman Māṇavarman		
	5) Kōchchadaiaṇ		} Bigger Śīnnamaṇūr plates. [Report for 1907]
	6) Ter Māraṇ—1) Arikēsarīn Rājasimha Parāṇkuṣaṇ		
	7) Jātīla —2) Jātīla Parantāka		
		3) Rājasimha	
		4) Varaguṇa	
		5) Māra, Ēkavīra Srivallabha Parachakrakōlāhala	

The first king that seems to be a little known to fame is No. 4 Arikēsarīn Māṇavarman.

The Vēlvikuḍi plates say: « He overcame the ocean-like » army of Vilvēli at the battle of Nelvēli and conquered the army » of the king of Kēraḷa »; and the Tiruttonḍattogai of Sundara-mūrti Nāyaṇār (verse 8) mentions a king named « Neḍumāraṇ, who was victorious in the battle of Nelvēli, » who was first a Jain,

was afterwards converted to Śivism by Tiruñāṇasambandar and became one of the 63 devotees. If therefore this saintly king is identified with No. 4 Māṇavarman, he will be the contemporary of Sambandar.

The latter was a contemporary (Periyapurānam—p. 318) of Śiṛuttōṇḍa - Nāyaṇar who conquered Vātāpi with Narasiṃhavarman I. King No. 4, Māṇavarman would therefore have lived about 650.

His son, No. 5 Kōchchaḍaiyan would have lived about 675.

The Vēlvikuḍi plates say of him : « He destroyed at Marudūr » the ocean-like army and at the great city of Maṅgalapuram » the Mahāratha was overcome and destroyed.» This victory at Marudūr, this ocean of enemies, this “Mahāratha”, what are all these ?

We have said just now that Kōchchaḍaiyan lived probably about 675. Strange coincidence ! It is precisely in 674 that Vikramāditya I. was encamped at Uragapuram, i.e., at Trichinopoly. And the Kēndūr plates (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, No 29, p. 205) say that Vikramāditya I. fought with the Pāṇḍyas ; we have also supposed that the Pāṇḍya king was one of the three confederates who gained the victory at Peruvaṇallūr. The “Mahāratha” will then be the Chālukyan king.

The son of Kōchchaḍaiyan was Rājasimha. Here we find a new coincidence : we have supposed that Kōchchaḍaiyan and Paramēśvaravarman I. were friends allied together against Vikramāditya. The son of Kōchchaḍaiyan and the son of Paramēśvaravarman I. both bore the same name of Rājasimha. This can be explained by supposing that the Pallava prince Rājasimha (who was a lion to his enemies, probably the Chālukyas) fought under the orders of his father, Paramēśvaravarman I., on the side of Kōchchaḍaiyan ; Kōchchaḍaiyan married the daughter of Rājasimha and the son of the Pāṇḍya king was given the name of his grandfather, the Pallava king.

There again we shall find a new coincidence :

The Udayendiram plates (*S.I.I.* Vol. II, part III, p. 376.) say that Nandivarman Pallavamalla faced a great danger. He was attacked by the Pallava prince Chitramāya and other princes among whom was the Pāṇḍya king who fought the battle of Maṇṇikuḍi. Nandivarman Pallavamalla repulsed his enemies in the battle of Śaṅkaragrāma.

Since Pallavamalla seems to have been an usurper, it is probable that Chitramāya was no other than the heir to Paramēśvaravarman II., who had called his relative Rājasimha Pāṇḍya to help him.

As Kōchchadaian lived at the end of the VII century, his son Rājasimha lived in the first half of the VIII century at the time when Nandivarman Pallavamalla usurped the throne.

Let us now examine the Vēlvikuḍi plates; from the Tamil portion, we learn that the son of Kōchchadaian gained a victory at Maṇṇikuṛichchi (perhaps Maṇṇaikuḍi) over the Pallavas; and the Saṁskṛit portion says that Rājasimha « defeated in battle King Pallavamalla ». Here, there is no room for any doubt, as the name of the king is stated clearly.

Again, the “bigger” plates of Śiṇṇamaṇūr say that Māvarman Arikēśarin Parāṅkusa subdued the Pallavas at Saṁkara-maṅgai, a village which has been identified by V. Venkayya with Saṁkaragrāma.

These events took place in the first half of the VIII century. It is also natural to identify Jatila Parāntaka, son of Arikēśarin Parāṅkusa Rājasimha, with Māraṇjadaiyan Parāntaka of the inscriptions (Nos. 453 and 454 of 1906) found in the Āṇaimalai cave which give 769-70 as the exact date of this king.

This identification is justified by the fact that the poet who composed the Āṇaimalai verses was called Māraṅgari, alias, Madhurakavi Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyan, exactly as the « Ājñapti » who composed the Vēlvikuḍi record. Both of them lived at Karavandapura: We may therefore conclude with V. Venkayya that these two personages are but one and the same.

Jatila - Parantāka according to the Vēlvikuḍi plates « conquered the Kāḍava in battle at Pennāgaḍam on the southern bank of the Kāvēri; the Āyavēl and the Kuṛumbas at the battle of Nāttukkuṛumbu.»

We know that the Pallavas were also called Kāḍavas.

Jatila is probably the donor of the Madras Museum Plates, the king mentioned in the Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam and the Trivandram Museum stone inscriptions (according to M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao) and the donor of the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇūr plates, whose name must have been mentioned in the missing plates.

In the bigger plates of Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr, we find no details either about the son of Jatila called Rājasimha (who was named after his grandfather) or about his grandson Varaguna.

The son of Varaguna was Śrīmāra Parachakrakolāhala. The Sanskrit portion of Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates say that he vanquished Māyā-Pāṇḍya, the Kēraḷa, the king of Śimhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha. The Tamil portion says that he was victorious at Kuṇṇūr, at Śiṅgaḷam, at Viliṇam and that he repulsed the Gaṅgas, the Pallavas, the Chōḷas, the Kālīṅgas, the Māgadhas who attacked him at Kuḍamūḷku.

V. Venkayya has written: « At any rate the mention of a Pāṇḍya prince as an enemy of the reigning king implies the existence of conflicting interests in the family. » We have also remarked that the Singhalese are mentioned among the enemies of Śrīmāra. The king of Ceylon joining Māyā-Pāṇḍya enables us to make an identification :

In chapter LI of Mahāwamsa (Translation of Wijesinha) it is said (No. 27): « Now, it came to pass that at that very time a prince of the royal family of Paṇḍu was come hither, having formed a design to overthrow that kingdom because he had been ill-treated by his king. »

Sena II., king of Ceylon, allied himself with the rebel Pāṇḍya prince and began to lay siege to the town of Madura.

The king of Pāṇḍyas (No. 38) « fled from the field of battle on the back of an elephant, and gave up his life in the wrong place, and his queen also died with him at the same time. »

According to Mahāwamsa, the king Sena II reigned from 866 to 901.

Here, we have to speak again about the chronology of Mahāwamsa.

The Chōḷas had to wage wars frequently with the kings of Ceylon and invaded that country several times.

And we know the exact dates of two of these invasions :

1° Parantaka I. invaded Ceylon a little before the 37th year of his reign (Tiruppalāṭurai inser.), about 943.

2° Rājarāja conquered the island about 1002.

These invasions are of course mentioned in the Mahāwamsa, the first under the reign of Udaya III. and the second under the reign of Mahinda V.

But to make the dates given in the Mahāwamsa agree with

the correct ones, we must reduce the numbers of the Singhalese chronology by 24 years.

Besides, when we spoke of the invasion of Ceylon by Nara-simhavarman I., we saw that the dates coincided, when we took away a little more than a quarter of a century from those given in the Mahāwamsa.

Subject to this condition, we may safely depend upon the Mahāwamsa chronology and admit that Sena II. reigned from 841 to 876 and that the Pāṇḍya king who was dethroned by his relative was probably Śrīmāra Parachakrakolāhala.

We must here note a new coincidence. The Siṅṇamaṇūr plates say that Śrīmāra encountered the Pallavas in the battle of Kuḍamūḱku.

There is no doubt that in the time of the ancient Pāṇḍyas, in the IX century, the town of Kumbhakōṇam was called Kuḍamūḱku; in the inscription of Māraṇḍaiyaṇ-Pāṇḍya (No. 13 of 1908) in the Nāgēsvara temple at Kumbhakōṇam, this town is called Tiruḱkuḍamūḱku.

And we have also learnt from the Bāhūr plates, that, in the first eight years of his reign, *i.e.*, from 854 to 863, if our chronology be correct, Nṛipatuṅga gained a victory over the Pāṇḍyas on the banks of the river Ariḱhit which M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has identified with Ariḱilāru that runs near Kumbhakōṇam.

We have said that Śrīmāra was a contemporary of Sena II who reigned from 841 to 876 and that the first eight years of Nṛipatuṅga's reign fall between 854 and 863.

We may therefore suppose that the Pallava Nṛipatuṅga profited by the invasion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom by the Singhalese, to march against Śrīmāra who was defeated at Kumbhakōṇam. The alliance of Nṛipatuṅga and Sena II. seems to be confirmed by the Bāhūr plates which say that Nṛipatuṅga's fame had spread beyond the seas as that of Rāma.

The Singhalese chronicles say that the Pāṇḍya king was slain. It was perhaps about 860.

In the foregoing pages we have tried to show the importance of a knowledge of Pāṇḍya history for the proper understanding of that of the Pallavas.

THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

The father of "Yuvamaharaja" Sivaskandavarman (cir. A.D. 200) Mayidavolu.

Hirahadagalli.

Sivaskandavarman
(King of Kāñchi)

Vijaya-Skandavarman
(King of Kāñchi)

Guptar district.

Skandavarman
Kumāraviśṭhu (I)
Buddhavarman
Kumāraviśṭhu (II)
(King of Kāñchi)

Chondalur.

Viśṇugōpa (cir. A.D. 338) (king of Kāñchi) Allahābād Pillar insc.
Kumāraviśṭhu (cir. A.D. 366)
Skandavarman (cir. A.D. 394)
Viravarman (cir. A.D. 422)
Skandavarman (cir. A.D. 450)

Skandavarman (cir. A.D. 506)
Nandivarman I. (cir. A.D. 534)
(king of Kāñchi)

Yuvamaharaja (cir. A.D. 502)
Sinhavarman (cir. A.D. 506)
Viśṇugōpavarman (cir. A.D. 534)
(king of Palakkada)
Sinhavarman (cir. A.D. 562).

Sinhaviśṭhu (cir. A.D. 590)
Mahēndravarmān I. (cir. A.D. 618)
Narasinhavarman I. (cir. A.D. 646)
Mahēndravarmān II. (cir. A.D. 660)
Paramēśvaravarman I. (cir. A.D. 674)
Narasinhavarman II. (cir. A.D. 700)
Paramēśvaravarman II. (cir. A.D. 715)

Bhṛmavarman
Buddhavarman
Kṛṭṭavarman
Govindavarman
Hiranyavarman
Nandivarman II. (cir. A.D. 742)
Dantivarman (cir. A.D. 800)
Nandivarman III (cir. A.D. 840)
Nripatatunga (cir. A.D. 875)

Aparājita (end of the IX century).

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CHAPTER VI.

ESSAY ON THE HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF NANDIVARMAN.

§ 1. Nandivarman Pallavamalla (about A. D. 717-779).

When Paramêśvaravarman II. died, the succession was probably disputed. There was perhaps an heir belonging to the dynasty of Simhavishnu who is called "Chitramāya" in the Udayêndiram plates. There was, however, at this time, a Pallava prince, called Hiranyavarman who claimed to be a descendant of a brother of Simhavishnu and had great power in the kingdom. He was supported by some nobles: one of his friends was the "Muttaraiyan", a vassal of the Pallavas, who governed the principality of Tanjore which served as a buffer state between the Pallava and the Pândya territories (*vide*: Some insc. of the Muttaraiyars by T. A. Gopinatha Rao—Journal of the S. I. Association—July 1911.)

Another friend of Hiranyavarman was Udayachandra who governed Vilvala (probably Villivalam) on the banks of the Vêgavatî, not far from Kâñchîpuram. (Udayêndiram plates).

Hiranyavarman succeeded in having his own son Nandi, then a minor, crowned at Kâñchî. (*G.O.*, No. 492, 2nd July 1906, p. 61).

Chitramāya, however, managed to obtain the help of many kings among whom were Râjasimha (Têr Mâraṇ), king of the Pândyas who was related to him, and perhaps also the king of the Malavas (father-in-law of Râjasimha) and the king of the Western Gaṅgas, a relation of Râjasimha Pândya.

The Pândyas were overthrown at Śankaramangai and Maṇṇaikudi (Maṇṇikuṇṇichehi) which is probably Maṇṇi near Tiruvisalur and Idavai (not far from Kumḥhakōṇam).

The other enemies were beaten back in all directions up to the confines of the Eastern Châlukyan kingdom in which Vishṇurâja (Vishṇuvardhana III) was reigning (A.D. 709 to 746).

About 741, Vikramāditya II. (733 to 746) led the fourth Châlukyan invasion to "Tuṇḍâka," (Tuṇḍai-Maṇḍalam).

In the Këndûr plates (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, No. 29, p. 205), the Châlukyās say that Vikramāditya II. « beat and put to flight, at » the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king named » Nandipōtavārman, took possession of particular musical instru- » ments, called *Katūmukhavāditra* and *Samudraghōsha*, the *Khat- » vāṅga-dhvaja*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated ele- » phants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the » brilliancy of the multitude of their rays, who entered, without » destroying it, the city of *Kāñchī*, which was, as it were, a girdle » adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced » Brāhmanas and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted » liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to » the stone temples of *Rājasimhēsvara* and other gods, which had » been caused to be built by *Narasimhapōtavārman*, who distressed » Pāṇḍya, Chōla, Kērala, Kalabhra and other kings. »

The last phrase seems to show that the Pāṇḍyas joined the Pallavas.

The donations made to the Kailāsanatha temple at Kāñchī- puram by Vikramāditya II. are confirmed by an inscription caused to be cut in this temple by this king (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III, No. 48, p. 359.)

That Nandivarman Pallavamalla reigned for a long time is confirmed by five documents :

- 47th year : inscription No. 55 of 1887 at Viriñjipuram.
- 50th year : „ No. 10 of 1895 at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai.
- 52nd year : „ No. 27 of 1887 at Śadupperi.
- 58th year : Tāṇḍantōttam copper plates.
- 62nd year : inscription No. 76 of 1889 at Tiruvallam.

The last inscription mentions that the Bāna king Mavali Vanarayar was a vassal of the Pallavas. •

§ 2. Dantivarman (about A. D. 779-830).

The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Part V, p. 511) tell us that Nandivarman Pallavamalla had for wife Rēvā, « who, like » (the river) Rēvā, had (her) birth from a great king (or, from a » high mountain) »; and it was of her that Dantivarman was born. The name Danti seems to be of Rāshtrakūta origin; and Rēvā was probably the daughter of a Rāshtrakūta king named Danti.

This will explain the political relations that subsisted at this period between the Pallavas and the Râshtrakûtas.

In 780—probably at the beginning of the reign of Dantivarman—the king of Kâñchî helped Gôvinda II. in his struggle against Dhruva. The latter succeeded however in dethroning his brother. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III., No. 17 p. 104).

There is no doubt that at this epoch the Pallava kings reigned not only in Kâñchî, but also over the region on the banks of the Kâvēri up to the modern Pudukôtta State. In fact, in the 5th year of his reign, donations have been made at Kunnândârkoil (Pudukotta) (No. 348 of 1914) and at Tiruvellarai (near Trichinopoly) (No. 541 of 1905).

Inscriptions were engraved in the 6th year at Tondur, near Gingee (No. 283 of 1916), and in the 7th (No. 80 of 1898), 9th (No. 74 of 1898) and 10th years (No. 51 of 1898) of his reign at Uttaramallur (Chingleput district.)

The inscriptions at Triplicane (Madras) [No. 234 of 1903—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII., No. 29, p. 291], and at Kûram (No. 35 of 1900) near Kâñchî are dated in the 12th year of his reign.

In the 16th year, Dantivarman was still reigning in the Muttaraiyar kingdom, for we see that Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ declared himself a vassal in two of the Malaiyaḍipatti inscriptions (Nos. III and IV, p. 23—Some inscriptions of the Muttaraiyars—*Journal of S. I. Association*—July 1911.)

Inscription No. 61 of 1892 at Uttaramallûr is dated in the 21st year of his reign, *i.e.*, in 800 according to our chronology.

It is about this time that Govinda III, « having conquered Dantiga, who ruled over Kâñchî, » forced Dantivarman to pay him tribute (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI., p. 127).

It is probable that this event considerably weakened the power of the Pallavas. It is, in fact, very remarkable that there is no inscription dated between the 21st and the 49th years of the reign of Danti 800-828.

We have two inscriptions dated at the end of Danti's reign. In the 49th year of his reign, a grant was made to Gudimallam (No. 226 of 1903) when the Bâna king Vijayâditya was the vassal of the Pallavas; and the Tiruchchânûr inscription is dated in the 51st year (No. 262 of 1904).

It is remarkable that no inscription dated at the end of Danti's reign has been found in the southern portion of the

Pallava empire and particularly in the Tanjore and the Trichinopoly districts.

The name of Danti is not mentioned in any of the monuments found on the banks of the Kāvêri, for a period of 35 years, *i.e.*, from the 16th year (Malaiyaḍipatti) to the end of his reign.

This period extends from 795 to 830 and it is strange that not a single donation was made during this time. We shall now proceed to make a remark :

A dozen inscriptions have been found :

No. 17 of 1907	No. 364 of 1907	No. 84 of 1910
No. 51 of 1895	No. 358 of 1907	No. 105 of 1905
No. 414 of 1904	No. 13 of 1908	No. 690 of 1905
No. 413 of 1904	No. 10 of 1899	

which seem to prove that the southern part of the Pallava kingdom was occupied by the Pāṇdyas, from the 4th to the 16th year of the reign of a Pāṇḍya king called Māraṇḍaiyaṇ; it appears to have been a military occupation.

It is impossible to suppose that this occupation took place during the reign of the Pallava kings that succeeded Dantivarman, for, from the beginning of the reign of Nandi of Tellāru to the advent of the Chōla king Parantaka, we have a series of inscriptions that will not allow us to suppose that the Pāṇḍya invasion took place at this epoch.

There are, in fact, inscriptions in the Tanjore and the Trichinopoly districts dated in the 6th (Tiruvellaṇai), 10th (Tillasthānam), 12th (Sendalai), 18th (Kōvilāḍi and Tiruchcheṇṇambūḍi), 22nd (Tiruppalāttuṇai) years of the reign of Nandi, son of Danti; in the 7th (Nārthāmalai), 18th (Kōvilāḍi), 21st (Kaṇḍiyūr), 22nd (Lālūḍi and Kōvilāḍi) years of the reign of Nṛipatuṅga; in the 2nd, 5th, 6th, 7th (Tiruverumbur) years of the Chōla king, Āditya.

We cannot, therefore, possibly suppose that the Pāṇdyas occupied the banks of the Kāvêri after the reign of Dantivarman.

So, we think that this occupation took place at the end of Danti's reign, about 825; and it is precisely this date that we have given to Varaguṇa when we studied the history of the Pāṇdyas. It would therefore appear that king Māraṇḍaiyaṇ whose inscriptions are found on the banks of the Kāvêri is Varaguṇa « who united Chōla and Tondā to Mādura » [Prinsep's lists made from Hālāśya-Mahātmyam and Tiruvilāiyāḍal Purānam].

Perhaps, it was the same Varaguna that during the reign of Sena I, i.e., from 821 to 841 (the Mahāvamsa dates being reduced by 25 years) conquered Ceylon.

Be that as it may, the inscriptions enable us to give a history of the invasion of the Pallava kingdom.

The attack began with an expedition into Idavai (insc. No. 690 of 1905) « in the Chôla country » which can be identified with the town of the same name in the Manni-nâdu (*S.I.I.* Vol II., part V, Introduction, page 23), i.e., in the same nâdu as Tiruvisâlûr where there is an inscription (No. 17 of 1907) of Varaguna-Mahârâja. And the Trichinopoly and the Ambâsamudram inscriptions tell us that Varaguna destroyed Vembil which is probably Tiruvisâlur that was originally called Vêmbarrâr.

All the Chôla country was conquered ; for, the inscriptions found at Tillasthânam (No. 51 of 1895) and at Trichinopoly (No. 414 of 1904) that are dated in the reign of Mârañjadaiyaṇ mention Varaguna.

All these inscriptions being dated in the 4th year, it is probable that the campaign was conducted at that time.

Other inscriptions :

4th + ? year at Trichinopoly (No. 413 of 1904),

6th year at Âdutuṛai (No. 364 of 1907),

8th year at Âdutuṛai (No. 358 of 1907),

8th year at Kumbhakôṇam (No. 13 of 1908),

10th year at Śendalai (No. 10 of 1899),

13th year at Tiruvellârai (No. 84 of 1910),

prove that the occupation of Pallava territory was durable.

The Śendalai inscription, methinks, is specially important for fixing the date of Varaguna. We see that Vidêlvidugu Muttaraiyaṇ lived in the 16th year of the reign of Dantivarman (Malaiyaḍippaṇ inscriptions) and that he made a donation at Niyaman (Śendalai) in the tenth year of Mârañjadaiyaṇ's reign.

That shows well that the invasion of Varaguna Pândya took place in the reign of Dantivarman.

The Ambâsamudram inscription which is dated in the 16th year of the reign of Varaguna Mahârâja (No 105 of 1905) is the latest in date concerning the occupation of Pallava territory. It says, that, at this period, Varaguna was encamped in the town

of Araiśūr which is situated in the Tonḍai-nāḍu, on the banks of the Pennar.

At this time the Pāṇdyas had overrun half the Pallava empire and probably were preparing to march on Kāñchipuram.

Who was the Pallava king that repulsed the invader? We shall now try to discover it.

§ 3. Nandi of Tellāru (about 830-854).

The mother of Nandi, son of Danti, was a Kadamba princess named Aggaḷanimmati. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates that contain this information add that he had to fight for the throne of his father: « (V. 20). This (Nandivarman), puffed up with the » prowess of his arms, acquired the prosperity of the (Pallava) » kingdom, not easy for others to obtain, by killing (his) enemies » on the battle-field ». There is here perhaps an allusion to the battle of Tellāru which was fought within the first ten years of his reign, since the Tillasthānam inscription (No. 52 of 1895) dated in the 10th year gives Nandi the title of Tellārreṇḍa.

Who was the enemy with whom he fought this battle? Very probably, it was the Pāṇdyas. The poem Nandikkalambagam, the hero of which is Tellārreṇḍa, tells us, in verse 64, that he was victorious on the banks of the Vaigai (river in Madura) [*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVII, page 172].

The town of Tellāru is undoubtedly the village of Tellār which was once the capital of Tellārrupparru (insc. No. 73 of 1908) and now forms part of the Wandiwash tāluq of the North Arcot district. The existence of this town during the Pallava period has been proved in Pallava Antiquities Vol. I. page 69: I have, in fact, found in this place numerous remains of temples built in the Pallava style.

Is it rational to suppose that the Pāṇdyas advanced as far as Tellār which is only at a distance of 30 miles south of Kāñchipuram?

It is, on the contrary, very probable, if we admit that, at the end of Danti's reign, the southern portion of the Pallava empire was invaded by the Pāṇdyas. We know that at the end of this occupation, Varaguṇa was encamped at Araiśūr which is situated on the Pennar river in Tonḍai-maṇḍalam (Ambāsamudram insc., No. 105 of 1905).

We may suppose, that, at the accession of Nandi, Varaguṇa tried to seize the rest of the Pallava empire and marched on Kāñchi. Nandi stopped the invader at Tellār, inflicted many defeats on him, notably at Palaiyāru (Nandikkalambagam, verse 31) alias Palaiyārai near Kumbhakōṇam and pursued him up to the banks of the Vaigai.

This glorious campaign in which Nandi earned the surname of Tellārreṇḍa enabled him to reign peacefully not only at Kāñchi, (insc. No. 12 of 1895) but also on the banks of the Kāvêri.

In the country round Tanjore and Trichinopoly, we find some inscriptions of the victor of Tellāru, in the 10th year of his reign, at Tillasthānam (No. 52 of 1895), in the 12th year, at Śendalai (No. 11 of 1899), in the 18th year, at Kōvilāḍi (No. 283 of 1901), and in the 22nd year, at Tiruppalātturai (No. 180 of 1907).

The Vêlūrpālaiyam plates tell us that he reigned in the Nāyar region (Saidapet tāluk- Chingleput district).

More in the north, he reigned at Gudimallam where the Bāna king Vikramāditya was his vassal : (insc. No. 229 of 1903 and No. 1, a of 1890—*S.I.I.* Vol III., No. 42, page 93).

His reign was also rich in poets. We have already referred to Nandikkalambagam ; there were also other works :

« It was probably during the reign of this Pallava king that » the poet Perundēvaṇār, the author of a Tamil poem entitled » Bārataveṇbā, flourished, because in the invocatory verses of the » Uttiyōgaparvam of this poem, he refers to his patron as the » Pallava king " who conquered his enemies at Tellāru ".....

« The invocatory verses prefixed to the Tamil works Puṛa- » nāṇūru, Aganāṇūru, Nārriṇai, Kuṇḍogai and Aiṅḡuṇūru are » believed to have been composed by the same Perundēvaṇār » (G.O. Nos. 922, 923, 19th Aug. 1899, p. 6).

§ 4. Nripatuṅga (about 854-880).

The Sāhūr plates give us a minute account of the birth of this king. Nandivarman (III) had married Saṅkha, a princess of the Rāshtrakūta family, and their son was Nripatuṅga. This name having been borne by the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha I. who reigned from 815 to 879, there is little doubt that Śaṅkhā was the daughter of Amōghavarsha I. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 181).

The Bâhûr plates tell us that Nṛipatuṅga was young when he came to the throne and that the beginning of his reign was glorious, for, he overcame the Pāṇdyas on the banks of the Arichit.

We have already spoken about this event. M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has identified this river with the Ariśil which is only another name for the Araśil (Vide *S.I.I.* Vol. II, p. 52); and the Araśil or the Araśileiyāru is but the well-known Arsalar that flows eastwards near Kumbhakōṇam and falls into the sea at Karikal.

We have already said that the adversary of Nṛipatuṅga was Māravarman Parachakrakolahala who encountered the Pallavas at Kudamukku (Kumbhakonam), on the banks of the Arichit (Ariśil).

The Bâhûr plates compare the glory of Nṛipatuṅga to that of Râma which calls to our mind the island of Ceylon; we have already mentioned that Sena II. and Mâyâ-Pāṇdyā were allied with Nṛipatuṅga and that it was at the end of this campaign (about 861) that Madura was taken.

The Bâhûr plates belong to the 8th year of his reign, and, if our chronology is correct, their date must be about 862 shortly after the capture of Madura.

Nṛipatuṅga seems to have been a peaceful and glorious king, as a great many inscriptions dated during his reign are found scattered all over the Pallava kingdom from Tiruvālaṅgaḍu (Nos. 460 and 461 of 1905) and Tiruvorriyūr (No. 162 of 1912) in the north, to Kaṇḍiyūr (No. 17 of 1895), Kōvilāḍi (Nos. 303, 301 and 300 of 1901) and Lālgudi (No. 84 of 1892) in the south. Besides this, the Gudimallam (No. 228 of 1903) and the Nārthāmalai (No. 365 of 1904) inscriptions show that the Bāna king [Vidyādhara] in the north and the Muttaraiyan king [Sattam-Pāliyili] in the south were his vassals, so that Nṛipatuṅga's domination extended from the river Swarnamukhi in the north to the Southern Vellaur in the south, i.e., from Kālakastī to Pudukōtta.

Again, as these inscriptions are dated at the beginning as well as at the end of his reign, we have to conclude, that, during all the 26 years of his reign, the glory of Nṛipatuṅga was never eclipsed.

§ 5. Aparājita.

We have a dozen inscriptions in which Aparājita is mentioned; he was a Pallava king, since, in inscriptions Nos. 159 and 190 of 1912, we find the title "Pōttaraiyar" affixed to his name.

These inscriptions are dated between the 3rd and the 19th year of his reign.

They are :

3rd year	No. 351 of 1908 at Māṅgāḍu,
4th year	No. 158 of 1912 at Tiruvorriyūr,
4th year	No. 161 of 1912 at Tiruvorriyūr,
4th year	No. 31 of 1912 at Satyavēdu,
5th year	No. 32 of 1912 at Satyavēdu,
6th year	No. 190 of 1912 at Tiruvorriyūr,
7th year	No. 163 of 1912 at Tiruvorriyūr,
8th year	No. 159 of 1912 at Tiruvorriyūr,
12th year	No. 180 of 1912 at Tiruvorriyūr,
18th year	No. 435 of 1905 at Tiruttani,
18th year	No. 433 of 1905 at Tiruttani.

There is also an inscription dated in the reign of Tribhuvana-vira-dēva found at Uttaramallur which refers to the 19th year of the reign of Aparājita.

We may add here that the village of Ukkal (near Māmaṇḍūr) bore the name of Aparājita-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam (*S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 2).

We know with certitude of two events that took place in the reign of Aparājita :

1° *The battle of Śrīpuṇambiya* (Tiruppirambiyam).

The Udayendiram plates tell us that the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna fought at Śrīpuṇambiya with king Aparājita and his ally, the western Gaṅga Prithvipati I. (*G. O.* No. 492, 2nd July 1906—Part II, No. 9, p. 64). The latter was slain in that battle.

As the last inscription of the reign of Prithvipati I. is dated 879, it must be admitted that the battle of Śrīpuṇambiya took place after this date, *i.e.*, after 879.

Varaguna has been identified with a Pāṇḍya king of that name who ascended the throne in 862-63 (insc. No. 705 of 1905).

The Chôlas were perhaps the allies of Varaguna, for, inscription No. 337 of 1912 seems to mention the Pāṇdyas and the Chôlas as the enemies of the Western Gaṅga Priduvayya.

2° *The downfall of the Pallavas and the conquest of Āditya.*

The Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates say (Verse 49) that the Chôla king Āditya I. defeated the Pallava king Aparājita in battle and took possession of his kingdom (*G. O.* No. 492, 2nd July 1906, p. 65).

Inscriptions Nos. 286 and 287 of 1911 seem to show that, in this campaign, Āditya, had as his ally the Chêra king Sthānu-Ravi (*G. O.* No. 919, 29th July 1912, Part II., No. 11, p. 61).

We have said above that Tonḍai-Maṇḍalam was conquered before the 21st year of the reign of Āditya, i.e., before 900. A.D. (*G. O.* No. 503, 27th July 1907—Part II., No. 29, page 71).

It is therefore incontestable that Aparājita lived at the end of the IX century and that he was the last king of the Pallava dynasty.

There is another interesting question : °What place does Aparājita hold in the Pallava genealogy ?

There are two theories concerning this subject :

1° V. Venkayya (*G. O.* No. 492, 2nd July 1906, Part II., No. 9, page 64) has supposed that Aparājita was the son of Nripatuṅga.

In that case we must admit that Nripatuṅga was killed in the battle of Śrīpurambiya and that his son who was present at the battle succeeded to the throne and assumed at the same time the title of Aparājita (the unconquered.)

The provinces of Tanjore and Trichinopoly would have remained in the possession of the Chôla prince, who, at the battle of Śrīpurambiya, was crowned king of Chôlas under the name of Āditya I.

But Tonḍai-Maṇḍalam continued to belong to Aparājita who reigned there for about 20 years from 880 to 900 A.D., and it was only in the 20th year of his reign and that of Āditya that the latter succeeded in taking it with the help of the Chêras.

In support of this theory, we may point out that the inscriptions of Aparājita are found only in the northern parts of the Tamil country, at Maṅgāḍu, Tiruvorriyūr, Satyavēdu, Tiruttani, Uttaramallūr, and none are known to exist in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly regions.

On the contrary, we know from inscriptions No. 222 of 1911 (2nd year—at Tirunâgêsvaram) and Nos. 101, 104, 105, 127, 130, 133 of 1914 (5th, 6th and 7th years—at Tiruverumbur) that Âditya I. held sway on the banks of the Kâvêri in A.D. 882, 885, 886, 887. On the other hand, « It is not possible to explain why Tiruvorriyûr, in which so many Gaṅga-Pallava epigraphs have been discovered, should not contain any record belonging to the reign of Râjakêsarivarman (Aditya I). Perhaps, the northern corner of Tonḍai-Maṇḍalam in which Tiruvorriyûr is situated had not yet been completely brought under subjection by him..... » (*G.O.* No. 961, 2nd Aug. 1913. Part II. No. 18, p. 94). »

It must, however, be noted that the Tiruvorriyûr temple contains 6 inscriptions dated in the 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 12th years of the reign of Aparâjita while there is none belonging to Âditya.

2° M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao (the Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas—*Madras Christian College Magazine*—April 1907) has put forth the theory that the name Aparâjita was but a pseudonym of Nṛipatuṅga.

In favour of this, we may say that in case Aparâjita was no other than Nṛipatuṅga there would have been only one battle, that of Śrīpurambiya.

If, on the contrary, Aparâjita is supposed to be the son of Nṛipatuṅga, there must have been two conflicts: 1° the battle of Śrīpurambiya about the year 880 where Aparâjita would have defeated the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa; 2° the conquest of Tonḍai by Âditya about the year 899 in which Aparâjita would have been himself defeated.

It is to be hoped that new discoveries would be made that might go to confirm one or other of these two hypotheses.

CONCLUSION.

In the preceding pages, we have tried to increase our knowledge of the history of the Pallavas.

No doubt, there are still many points that are obscure, many details that must be stated with precision, but I am convinced that the main facts are, after all, known to us.

1° *The Pallavas before Simhavishnu.*

A large number of copper plates (Mayidavôlu, Chendalûr, Ôngôdu, Udayêndiram, Chûra, etc.) have proved the ancientness of the Pallava family; but these records mention isolated dynasties which it was difficult to connect with one another; and the relationship existing between these kings and the dynasty of Simhavishnu was completely ignored. The Vâyalûr inscription has given us the key to most of these mysteries.

We have assumed that the first Pallava who became king owed his position to his marrying the daughter of the Andhrâ king towards the end of the 2nd century of the Christian Era.

The Vâyalûr inscription seems to indicate that kings Skandavarman - Kumâravishnu - Buddhavarman, whose names have been revealed to us by the Chendalûr plates, must have reigned before Vishnugôpa, the adversary of Samudragupta, about 339 A.D.

The Udayêndiram plates give us the genealogy: Skanda—Simha—Skanda—Nandi; but these plates have been looked upon with suspicion. It was not known if they were a copy of an authentic record or a forgery committed by an impostor.

The Vâyalûr inscription that has given us an absolutely identical pedigree has proved the authenticity of the Udayêndiram genealogy.

Besides, the discovery, in the Vâyalûr inscription, of the series, Vîra-Skanda-Simha, which is identical with Uruvupalli genealogy, proves that Simhavarman who reigned at the time of the Uruvupalli grant was but the grandfather of Nandi of the Udayêndiram plates.

Lastly, the Vâyalûr inscription, in which we find the series Simhavarman - Vishnugôpa - Simhavarman - Simhavishnu, is the

first record that gives a correct list of the names of the immediate predecessors of *Simhavishṇu*.

The deciphering of the *Vāyalūr* inscription has given us results which are of capital importance for the history of the predecessors of *Simhavishṇu*.

2° *The dynasty of Simhavishṇu.*

The important discovery made in the State of Travancore of the work called « *Mattavilāsa prahasana* », and the reference to this comedy in the *Māmaṇḍūr* inscription have thrown much light on this portion of history.

There is no longer any room to doubt that it was *Mahēndra-varman I.*, son of *Simhavishṇu*, that cut the caves of *Māmaṇḍūr*, *Vallam*, *Dalavānūr*, *Śiyamangalam*, *Mahēndravādi*, *Pallāvaram*, *Trichinopoly*.

So, we now possess very precise information about the saintly king *Mahēndra-varman I.*, poet, musician, architect and administrator, who introduced in South India the art that obtained on the banks of the *Kṛishṇā* and gave a new impulse to religion and literature in the Tamil country.

In « *Pallava Antiquities* » Vol. I, I have asserted, that, to determine the age of the sculptured rocks of *Mahābalipuram*, it is absolutely necessary to study the whole of the *Pallava* art.

In making this study, I have shown that the style of the « *rathas* » and caves of *Mahābalipuram* belongs to the stage of transition from the style of *Mahēndra* to that of *Rājasimha*; there remained however a doubt: Was the *Mahēndra* of *Trichinopoly* and *Pallāvaram* the same as *Mahēndra-varman I.*, son of *Simhavishṇu*?

Now that all doubts on this point have been cleared, we can definitely attribute to *Narasimhavarman I.* most of the sculptures in the rock at *Mahābalipuram*.

These works that were continued during the reign of *Paramēśvaravarman I.*, were probably suspended at the time of the *Chālukyan* invasion which took place in 674, when *Vikramāditya I.*, was encamped at *Uragapuram* (*Trichinopoly*).

3° *The dynasty of Nandivarman.*

There was no history of the *Pallavas* for the VIII and the IX centuries. The one name « *Koṅkanika* » found in the *Bāhūr*

ates had led the historians completely astray. M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao was the only one that understood the question clearly: he had affirmed that the Gaṅga-Pallava theory was quite wrong.

The defenders of that theory, however, could still argue that the name Koṅkaṇika found among the names of the ancestors of Nṛipatuṅga seemed to prove that he was not a descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla but of the princes of the Western Gaṅga family.

The deciphering of the Vāyalūr inscription has completely elucidated the question.

This inscription, which is dated in the VII century and during the reign of a king belonging to the dynasty of Śimhaviṣṇu, mentions Vimala, Koṅkaṇika among the ancestors of the Pallavas.

So, the Vāyalūr inscription has removed all doubts and the genealogy of the last Pallava kings now stands established in a definite manner.

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