

THE LATER PANDYAS

(1371 — 1759 A. D.)



Paper Presented by

N. SETHURAMAN, B. Sc., D. M. I. T.

Director, Raman & Raman Private Limited,

Nageswaran North Street, — Kumbakonam-612 001. — Tamil Nadu.



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The Later Pandyas

(1371-1759)

(N. Sethuraman, B.Sc., D.M.I.T.)

The extreme south of the Indian Peninsula was the Pandya Kingdom. The ancient Pandyan Royal dynasty existed from before the Christian era. The earliest epigraphical reference to the Pandyas is found in the inscriptions of Ashoka the great. During the Sangam age the Pandyas had contacts with different parts of the world including China in the east and the Roman empire in the west. In the middle of the 3rd century the Kalabaras captured the Pandyan Capital Madhurai (the present Madurai in Tamil Nadu) and established their supremacy throughout the region. In the middle of the 6th century, the Pandya king Kadunkon overthrew the Kalabaras and established the first Pandyan empire. In the beginning of the 10th century the Pandyas were subdued by the Cholas. Raja Raja Chola the great (985-1014) made the Pandyan Kingdom a province of the Chola empire and it was called Raja Raja Pandi-Nadu. The Pandyas struggled on for two centuries and in 1219 Maravarman Sundara Pandya I defeated the Cholas and laid the foundation for the second Pandyan empire. The Cholas disappeared around 1279. The Pandyan banner with the two fish emblem flew in Kerala, Ceylon, Chola Mandalam and also in certain southern parts of the Telugu country. They were at their zenith in the 14th century. Successive Muhammadan invasions from Delhi (1311, 1318, 1323 and 1327) and the Madurai Sultanate (1323-71) made the Pandyas weak and powerless. The Vijayanagar prince Kampana (son of Bukka disciple of the great sage Sankaracharya Vidyaranya) captured Madurai and brought the entire Tamil Nadu under his control. The Madurai Sultanate disappeared from the scene. The Vijayanagar empire exercised its authority throughout South India. However they did not do any harm to the Pandyas and allowed them to rule freely a small tract of land near Tirunelveli south of Madurai. Politically Pandyas were no match to Vijayanagar and also to the near by Kerala Kingdom.

Pandya Kulodaya the Sanskrit poem¹ introduces the historical kings upto Kaliyugaraman alias Jatavarman Vira Pandya 1297-1342 and his nephew Kodandarama² alias Jatavarman Sundara Pandya 1304-1319. During the 14th century the Pandyan kingdom was occupied by the Muhammadans. They were driven out by the Vijayanagar Prince Kampana in 1371. This episode is completely omitted in Pandya Kulodaya. The poet skips over half a century and describes the kings who ruled prior to and after the reign of Tenkasi Parakrama the builder of the famous

Tenkasi Temple.³ He ruled from 1422 to 1463. Thus the making of the later Pandyas starts with the predecessors of Tenkasi Parakrama. The poet says that in the family of the Pandyas and several years after the rule of Kodandarama alias Sundara Pandya (1304-1319) a great king called Kanaka Parakrama ruled. His sister's son was Abirama Vira Pandya. His son was Abirama Kulasekara. After his reign Srivallabha ruled followed by Vira Pandya whose successor was Tenkasi Parakrama (1422-63). The predecessors of Parakrama are not far away. They must have existed after 1371 when the Muhammadans were driven out from Madurai which fact is carefully left out in the poem.

(Kanaka?) Parakrama (1357-1372)

A record (30/1896) which comes from Cholapuram near Nagercoil belongs to Parakrama Pandya. The data are saka 1293 month Makara Year 15 corresponding to January 1372 A.D. the date when the Muhammandan rule was wiped out by Vijayanagar. Kielhorn consulted the data of his other records and said that he came to the throne between the 5th February 1357 and the 9th January 1358 and ruled till 1372 (E.I.IX Page 218). Probably he was Kanaka Parakrama since some of the princes discussed below figure in the Poem Pandya Kulodaya.

Jatilavarman Parakrama (1367-1387)

A record which comes from Kuttalam near Tenkasi (408/1917) belongs to Jatilavarman Parakrama Pandya. The data are saka 1309 year 20 day 279 corresponding to 1387 A.D. The record states that Parakrama repaired the temple from the foundation to the pinnacle (*upanati stapi pariyantam*) and also the central shrine Ardhamandapa and Mahamandapa. His other records are not known. For the present we can safely conclude that Parakrama ruled from 1367 to 1387.

Maravarman Vira Pandya (1371-1396)

Another record 422/1917 which comes from the above temple belongs to Maravarman Vira Pandya of birth star Jayshta. He calls Parakrama who repaired the Kuttalam temple elder brother.⁴ The record supplies the date Year 23, Rishaba, Sukla Panchami, Pushya and Wednesday. The date of the record must fall after 1387 when the temple was repaired. The data perfectly agree with 5th May 1394. Since his other records are not known we can tentatively conclude that he ruled from 1371 to 1396. Most probably he was the son of the sister of (Kanaka?) Parakrama who ruled from 1357 to 1372.

Jatilavarman Kulasekara (1395-1411)

According to the poem the son of Vira Pandya must be Kulasekara. Karivalam Vanda Nallur record 27/1908 of Jatilavarman Kulasekara quotes Saka 1324 Year 7. His Ilanji record 528/1911 (in which Maravarman is a mistake for Jatilavarman) states that he built the Subramanya temple from the foundation to the pinnacle. The data are Saka 1331 year 14. His Kuttalam record 453/1918 is dated Saka 1333. The available data indicate that Kulasekara ruled from 1395 to 1411.

Maravarman Srivallabha (1402-1444)

The son of Kulasekara, according to the poem was Srivallabha. Records bearing the name Maravarman Srivallabha of this period are tabulated in Table-I of the Appendix portion. He ruled from 1402 to 1444. His surname was Ahavaraman and his birth star was Purattati. His Attanallur record contains the Tamil Prasasti Jayamadandaiyum which is a verbatim copy of an earlier Srivallabha of 1101 A. D. (See page 112 of Medieval Pandyas - N. Sethuraman.) Srivallabha covered the Rameswaram Temple with copper. This is confirmed by the Pudukkottai copper plates which we shall see somewhere below.

Jatilavarman Parakrama (1401-1434)

Two records of the Table I coming from Ilangi and Devadanam inform us that Srivallabha had an elder brother called Parakrama Pandya and his 30th year is quoted. Devadanam record 246/1941 belongs to Jatilavarman Parakrama year 33, Mithuna Su 9, Tuesday, Chithirai. The data agree with 15th June 1414 yielding his first year in 1401. Probably he should be the elder brother of Srivallabha. Since his other records are not known we can surmise for the present that Parakrama ruled from 1401 to 1434. This Parakrama is not mentioned in the poem Pandya-kulodaya.

Maravarman Vira Pandya (1421-1446)

Pandya Kulodaya states that Vira Pandya was the son of Srivallabha. Inscriptions of Vira Pandya of this period are available. They are tabulated in Table-II. His cyrastic title was Maravarman. He ruled from 1421 to 1446. He was called Tirunelveli Perumal and also Kaliyugaraman. However his record is not available in the Tirunelveli temple. His birth star was Ardra.

During this period a coin by name Kaliyuga Raman panam was in circulation. This Coin is mentioned in the Tiruchendur record 28 of 1912 dated Kollam 621 corresponding to 1445 A. D. This date prompted the scholars that the coin was issued by Vira Pandya of accession 1421. The surmise no longer holds good. Tirukolur record 723/1963 is dated Kollam 589 Purattasi equivalent to September 1413 A. D. It also mentions Kaliyuga Raman panam. It means that prior to 1413 there was some other king with the surname Kaliyugaraman and he should have minted the coins. Jatavarman Vira Pandya alias Kaliyugaraman ruled from 1297 to 1342. He founded a village called Kaliyugarma Chaturvedhi Mangalam in his name near Sri Rangam. It was he who issued these coins. (N. Sethuraman - Pandiyar Varalaru Tamil-page 156).

Maravarman Vikrama Pandya (1404-1445)

During this period there was another prince by name Maravarman Vikrama Pandya. However the poem Pandya Kulodaya is silent about him. Tiruchendur record 27/1912 belongs to Maravarman Vikrama Pandya Year 13. It records gift of lands to a temple and also to a Brahmana of Mangalamkurichi. The next record

28/1912 also belongs to him dated Kollam 621 corresponding to 1445 A. D. It refers to the above transactions and states further that the temple for which the lands were gifted was called Nakkira Deva. The Brahmana who figures in the previous record also figures here. In the record the king bears the surname Ranarangaraman Perumal

A record 612/1902 which comes from Tirupunavasal belongs to Vikrama Pandya Saka 1339 Year 14, Makara, Sukla Panchami, Wednesday, and Uttirattati. The data regularly correspond to 12th January 1418. This yields his accession in 1404. The available materials indicate that Maravarman Vikrama alias Ranarangaraman ruled from 1404 to 1445. His relationship with the other Pandyan princes is not known.

Tenkasi Parakrama (1422-1463)

Pandya Kulodaya states that Jatilavarman Parakrama Pandya the founder of the capital Tenkasi and the builder of the famous Tenkasi Viswanatha temple was the successor to Maravarman Vira Pandya alias Kaliyugaraman of accession 1421. The relationship is not known. Parakrama came to the throne in 1422. His Tamil prasasti begins with the introduction 'pamisai vanitai.' His birth star was Mirgasira

The Tenkasi inscription of Parakrama says that God Viswanatha having appeared in the dream of the king Parakrama Pandya deva was pleased to express His desire thus: "Our temple (Sivalaya) in the Uttara Kasi (Northern Kasi-Benares) is in ruins (jirana). We desire that a temple (alaya) for us should be built under the name Dakshina Kasi on the northern bank of the river Chitra". Upon this Parakrama founded the city Tenkasi (Dakshina Kasi) and built the Sivalaya called Viswanatha temple.⁵ While the inscription informs us in a polite style, the poem Pandya Kulodaya (the manuscript of which was found in Lahore Museum, Pakistan and later transferred to the Punjab University) tells the historic truth point blank.

The poem says that one evening as the Pandya king was sitting on his throne after performing his religious routine, he saw a brahmana who was coming (ajihanam) from Kasi along with his wife and two children. Marking with sacred ash (bhasma prasadam) the forehead of the king who was an ocean of immense compassion, the brahmana told something in secret to his sons and then gave to the king a large fruit. He then said to the king "(Oh King) our entire wealth has been plundered by the Muslims (Tuluskas) and our beautiful residence has been rased to the ground. Build, therefore for me, a charming house (kantam nisantam) on the banks of the Dabara river". Then He disappeared.

The king assured himself thus about the noble brahmana - "to be sure it is Siva (Isa) the ocean of compassion Himself who had come to me accompanied by Parvati, the daughter of Mount Himavan and their two sons the elephant faced Ganesa and Skanda".

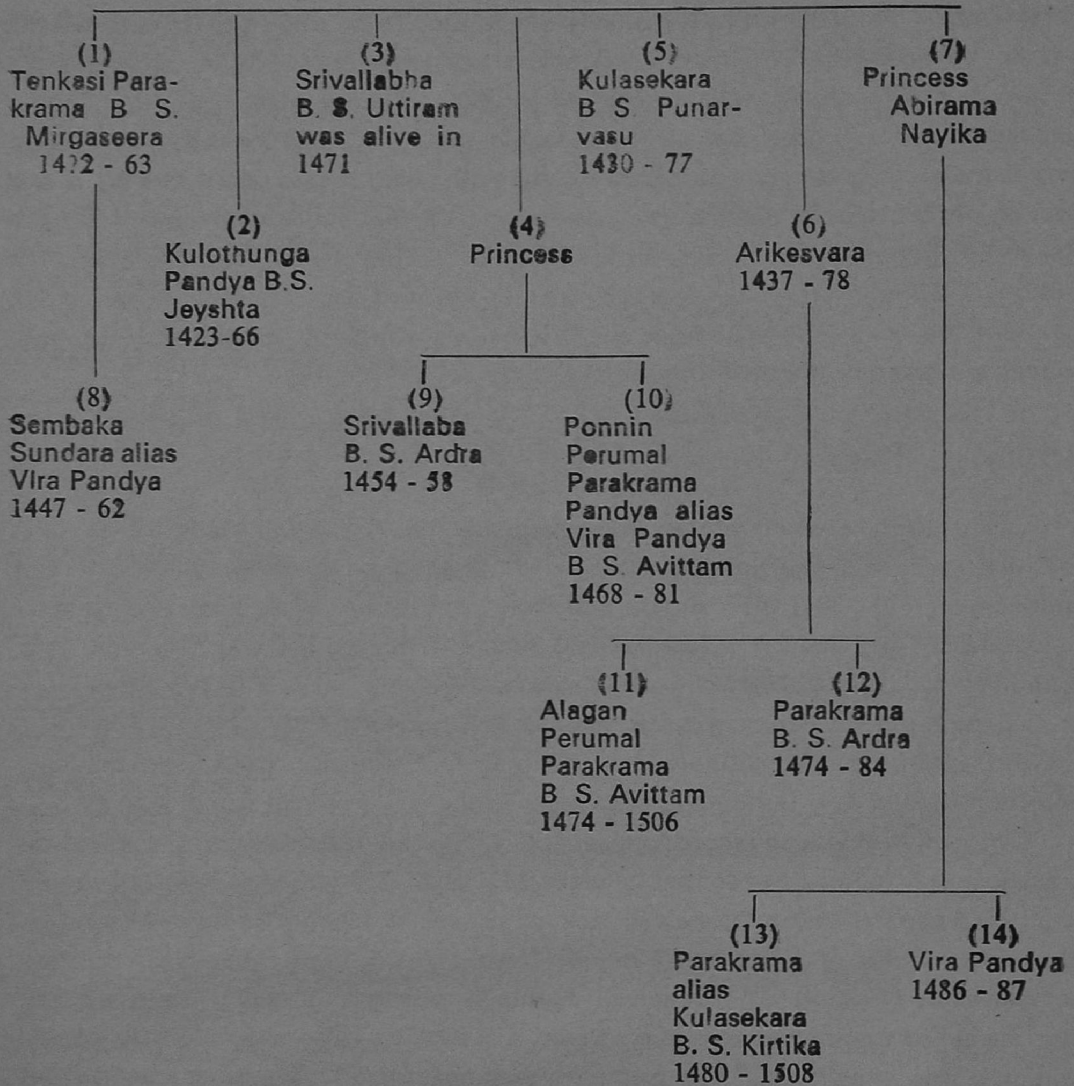
The fact remains that when the Kasi Viswanatha temple on the banks of river Ganga was demolished by the Muslims, Parakrama Pandya founded the city Dhakshina Kasi and built the Viswanatha temple there. Incidentally many brahmanas who came from the river Ganga regions figure in the Tenkasi inscriptions of Parakrama.⁶ Probably they sought assylum in the south when the Benares temple was destroyed by the Muslims. Parakrama started the construction of the temple in 1446 A. D. Sivalinga was consecrated in 1447. The foundation for the Gopura was laid in 1457. In the year 1463 Parakrama died. The rest of the construction was completed by his younger brother Alagan Perumal Kulasekara. The dates and doings of Tenkasi Parakrama and the reigns of his successors upto 1508 are discussed (by me) in the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India volume nine edition 1982 and there is no need for repetition here. However in order to maintain the continuity of the present article the genealogy and the dates of these princes are given in the next page.

Tirunelveli Perumal (Lord of Tirunelveli)

Prior to the coming of the Muhammadans the Tirunelveli town was more or less the second capital of the Pandyas. When the Madurai Sultanate was established (1323-1371) the Pandyas withdrew from Tirunelveli and went to the northern side of TamilNadu. The last Pandyan record of this period which comes from Tirunelveli belongs to Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya II⁷ dated 1321. After wards for two centuries no Pandyan record appears in Tirunelveli. Many Pandya kings of the 15th, 16th centuries call themselves Tirunelveli Perumals. But except the lone record of Maravarman Sundara Pandya alisa Tirunelveli Perumal dated 1545 (S. I. I. V 408) no other Pandyan record appears till 1759, the last date of the Pandyan dynasty. It is curious to see that between 1321 and 1759 only one Pandyan record dated 1545 appears in the Tirunelveli temple. There is reason for this. Tirunelveli was under Kerala and later the Madurai Nayaks ruled there. Pandyas satisfied themselves by boasting as Tirunelveli Perumals whereas in reality it was not so. Pandyas called themselves as "who revived the past". This was an empty boast. Politically they were weak. The past glory was not revived. However they revived the past in the matter copying the prasastis of their ancestors who existed in the 12th and 13th centuries. For example Maravarman Srivallabha of accession 1402 copied the Tamil Prasasti Jayamadandaiyum of Sadaiyavarman Srivallabha of accession 1101. Most of the princes of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries adopted the Bhuvaneka Vira Prasasti of Maravarman Vikrama Pandya of accession 1250 and his brother Sadaiyavarman Sundara Pandya of accession 1250. The Prasasti also is in corrupt form without relevance to any event.⁸

TENKASI PARAKRAMA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

B. S. = Birth Star.



No. 13 Parakrama alias Kulasekara and No. 14 Vira Pandya are the heroes of the Sanskrit poem Pandya Kuiodaya.

The Pandyas who at that time ruled a few taluks, with the high sounding title Tribhuvana Chakravarti were defeated by the Kerala kings who established their authority in and around Tirunelveli. Their records are available in Tirunelveli, Tenkasi and extend up to Kanyakumari the extreme south of the peninsula. Between 1508 and 1534 no Pandyan record appears. They were overrun by the Kerala kings.⁹ The condition of this ancient dynasty was very pathetic. They sought the help of the then Vijayanagar emperor Achutadeva Raya.

Achuta Deva Raya

A record which comes from Kanchipuram belongs to Achuta and it is dated November 1529. It states that Achuta defeated the Kerala king, collected tributes from him and planted a pillar of Victory on the banks of river Tambarabarani. During the campaign Achuta helped the Pandyas and also married a Pandyan princess.¹⁰ The event is to be placed around 1529.

In his poem Achutarayabhudayam the poet Regunatha Kavi informs us that when the emperor having heard that the king of Tiruvadi (King of Kerala) did not pay the tributes for some years resolved to teach him a lesson. A large expedition was fitted up and was personally commanded by the emperor. He stayed at Sri Rangam (part of modern Trichirappally) and sent his brother-in-law (Tirumala) son of Salagaraja, implored him to entrust to him the charge of bringing the Tiruvadi (Kerala king) to his sense. The Kerala king was defeated on the banks of Tambaraparani and the Vijayanagar general took him prisoner. The Kerala king came to Sri Rangam and Achuta treated him with great consideration and his life was spared.¹¹ It was at this time Achuta should have married the daughter of the Pandya King. We must know the Pandya king whose daughter married Achuta.

Jatilavarman Srivallabha who revived the past (1534-1545)

During this period a certain Srivallabha Pandya styled himself as he who revived the past (*iranda kalam edutta*) appears on the scene. His records are tabulated in Table III. He came to the throne in 1534. In the records he calls himself Jatilavarman Srivallabha alias Kulasekara and Kodandarama son of Ahavarama. His rule extends upto 1545. His birth star was Aswathi. He is also called Tirunelveli Perumal. (Darukapuram 583 of 1915). His grantha prasasti begins with Bhuvanekevira. A coin issued by Achutadeva Raya was found in Krishnapuram (about 40 kilometers west of Sri Rangam). On the obverse the legend Ahavarama in the character of the 16th century Tamil is written. On the reverse Achuta's favourite Gandaberunda bird appears. These facts prove that Achuta married the daughter of Ahavarama Pandya and on this occasion he issued the coins bearing the name Ahavarama in honour of his father-in-law. Achuta did not go to the southern war front. He was camping at Sri Rangam. Probably the marriage should have taken place at Sri Rangam and fittingly the Ahavarama Pandya coin is found west of Sri Rangam. Obviously the above Srivallabha alias Kulasekara alias Kodandarama son of Ahavarama should be the brother of the Pandyan princess who married Achuta. The matrimonial alliance prompted Srivallabha to adopt the high sounding title "he who revived the past" (*iranda-kalam-edutta*).

Maravarman Parakrama (1506-1536)

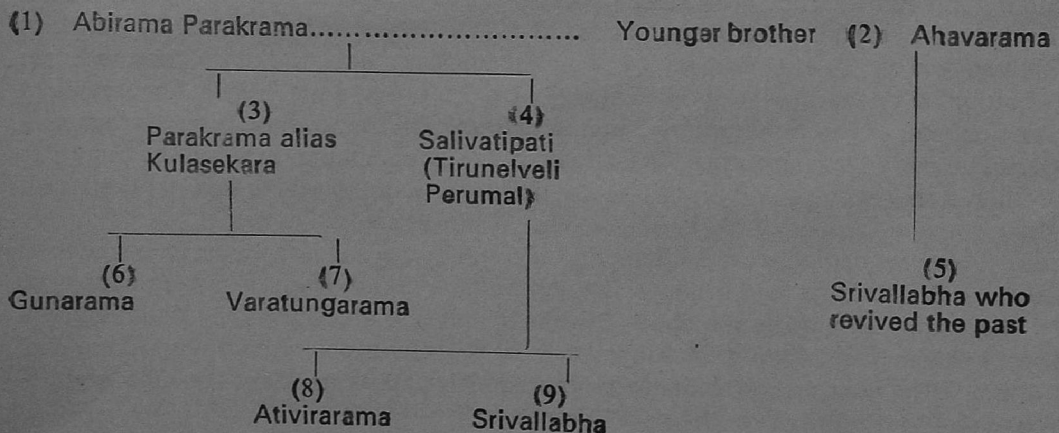
During this period there were two princes called Maravarman Parakrama Pandya and Sundara Pandya. The Vallanad Agaram record 4 of 1916 belongs to Maravarman Parakrama Year 30, Saka 1457, Panguni, Su 5, Rohini and Sunday. The data agree with 26th March 1536. This yields his initial year in 1506. However till 1536 his records do not appear obviously because of the Keralaa occupation of this territory. After getting help from Achuta Devaraya, Parakrama appears on the scene. His relationship with the later kings is not known.

Maravarman Sundara Pandya (1531-1555)

After the revival of the Pandyas another prince by name Maravarman Sundara Pandya appears. His records are tabulated in Table IV. He ruled from 1531 to 1555. His birth star was Hasta (See Table IV). In his Tirunelveli record dated 1545 (S. I. I. V 408) he is called by the royal title Tirunelveli Perumal, born in Pushya evidently the accession star which made him the king. The same record states that his birth star was Hasta. (Elsewhere we have discussed this record. Between 1321 and 1759 which was the last date the Pandyas, this is the only Pandyan record found in the Tirunelveli temple)

Abirama and Ahavarama

The Pudukkottai copper plates of Srivallabha alias Varatunga Rama dated 1583 supply valuable information about the later Pandyas.¹² A comparative study (a most difficult task) of these plates with the inscriptions of the later Pandyas discovered upto this date throws new light in our venture. The charter states that in the family of the Pandyas two great kings were born namely Srivallabha and Manabarana. The former gilded the Rameswaram temple with copper and the latter founded the Tenkasi City and built the Viswanatha temple. It is clear that those two kings were Maravarman Srivallabha of accession 1402 and Tenkasi Parakrama of accession 1422. The copper plates further state that in the family of these kings, two brothers namely Abirama Parakrama and Ahavarama were born. According to the copper plates the genealogy of the descendants of these two kings is as follows :



We have already seen No. 5 Srivallabha son of Ahavarama. He ruled from 1534 to 1545. His birth star was Aswati. He was called "he who revived the past". His sister married Achuta Devaraya.

Let us see Nos. 3 & 4 the two sons of Abirama. In the inscriptions the elder brother is called Jatilavarman Parakrama alias Kulasekara, Viravenbamalai, Tirunelveli Perumal son of Abirama Parakrama. In certain records he is called Viravenbamalai alias Tirunelveli Perumal Kulasekara Deva son of Abirama Parakrama Pandya Deva. His records are many. For the purpose of our research certain records alone are given in Table - V. He ruled from 1543 to 1551. His birth star was Aswati.¹³ His records are found in and around Tenkasi. Though he is called in different ways in the inscriptions, his father's name Abirama Parakrama and the accession date 1543 help us in identifying his records.

In the village Ilavelangal near Kovilpatti taluk nine hero stones with inscriptions on them are found. These stones each of about four feet in height depict series of conflicts between two opposing warriors. One of these warriors is represented with a high slaping top knot, fighting on foot with bow and arrows having a shield in the left arm for protection. The enemy appears as a royal warrior wearing a crown and riding on horse back. A shield, a sword and a lance form his armour. Most of the inscriptions dated saka 1469, Kilaka (corresponding to 1547) record the death of some Maravar soldiers of Kundiyaikkottai who fought on the side of Tirunelveli Perumal alias Vettumperumal against the army of a certain Vengala Raja when the latter rose in revolt against his overlord. They state that Tirunelveli Perumal was camping at Ilavelangal. At that time some of the Maravar soldiers are stated to have died after piercing the horses of the opponent (Kudirai kurti pattan). The scene of the battle might have been the field where the hero stones are found. The ruling king in about this time was Parakrama alias Kulasekara alias Tirunelveli Perumal of accession 1543. Evidently he should have conducted the successful campaign.¹⁴ The episode of the revolt of Vengala Raja also called Kannadian Kalskam (revolt by the Kannadikas) is also described in the Tamil folk poem Ivar Rajakkal Katai (story of the five Rajas) - (Vanamamalai - Madurai Kamaraj University).

Inscriptions of No. 4 the second son of Abirama are many. He bears the same name of his elder brother i.e. Parakrama Pandya alias Kulasekara Deva, Tirunelveli Perumal. Sometimes the epithets Viravenbamalai, Darmaperumal are also added. Viravenbamalai means garland of verses in Tamil in Venba meters praising the heroic deeds of the king. His records are found around Tenkasi and Srivilliputtur. For the purpose of our research some of his records are tabulated in Table VI. He came to the throne in 1551 and his records are available upto 1563. In all his records he gives the name of his father Abirama Parakrama.

Princes Nos. 8 & 9

Before investigating Gunarama No. 6 and Varatungarama No. 7 let us see Nos. 8 & 9. Inscriptions bearing the name Jatilavarman Alagan Perumal Ativira-

rama alias Srivallabha Deva son of Darmaperumal Kulasekara who was the son of Abirama Parakrama are available. The dates of many records bearing this name are given in the pages 118 to 121 of A.R. Ep. 1918. Certain records point out the accession in 1563 and some in 1564. The former set of records shows that the first year of the king falls in the month Mina and also in the subsequent solar months in 1563. The latter set of records indicates that the first year falls in the month Mina and the subsequent solar months in 1564. (The backward calculations are extremely difficult. In order to minimise the difficulty I have suggested the above method which is enough for the present. Records which contain imperfect data are not considered). Thus we see two princes with the same name Alagan Perumal Ativirarama alias Srivallabha of accession 1563 and 1564 respectively. As we shall see below they were brothers.

Alagan Perumal Ativirarama alias Srivallabha (1563 - 1583)

He was born in the Punarvasu star.¹⁵ He built the Kulasekaramudaiyar Shiva Temple and the goddess shrine Kualvayamoli Nachiyar temple at Tenkasi¹⁶ in 1568. He was a great Tamil scholar. He translated the sanskrit poem Neishadam into elegant Tamil called Naidadham. He wrote in Tamil Kurma Purana and Kasi Kandan. The Pudukkottai copper plates state that he was no more in 1583 which was his 21st regnal year.¹⁷ His younger brother was Srivallabha whom we have already seen.

Alagan Perumal Ativirarama Alias Srivallabha II (1564 - 1606)

The Srivilliputtur copper plates state that Abirama Parakrama had a son called Parakrama.¹⁸ In the saka year 1474 current (1551 A.D.) cyclic year Virodhakrit his son Abirama formed a village called Parakrama Pandypura in the name of his father. This information prompts us to identify Abirama with Srivallabha the second son of Parakrama of accession 1551.

The Tenkasi Gopuram record¹⁹ states that Alagan Sivala-vel (Srivallabha) was crowned in 1564 Chithirai.

The Dalavay Agraharam plates of Ativirarama²⁰ state that Abirama's son was Parakrama. His son was Srivallabha also called Abirama and Ativirarama. The charter was issued in Saka 1517 wrong for 1518 cyclic year Durmukhi Simha, Su 12, Monday the 33rd Year of the king. The date corresponds to 23rd August 1596. Backward calculation proves that Simha of 1564 was the first year of the king. All put together. It is very clear and we can safely conclude that Alagan Perumal Ativirarama Srivallabha of accession 1564 was the second son of Parakrama. He was also called Abirama. He was the younger brother of Alagan Perumal Ativirarama Srivallabha of accession 1563. He issued the Srivilliputtur charter. The highest regnal year of the elder is 21 corresponding to 1583 and that of the younger is 42 corresponding to 1606 A.D.²¹

The above Srivilliputtur charter states that the birth star of Ativirarama Srivallabha of accession 1564 was Dhanishta. This is also confirmed by his

Tenkasi record 484/1917. The data are Saka 1519 current cyclic year Durmukhi month Mina. The record is dated 1597 Mina the 34th Year of the king. Mina 1563 is the 0th year and the first year falls in Mina 1564. This proves that the record belongs to the younger brother and the high regnal year also confirms our surmise. Tenkasi record S. I. I. XXVI 543 confirms that the birth star of younger Ativirarama was Dhanishta. Tenkasi record 501/1917 states that in 1566 Ativirarama of accession 1564 built the Srivallabha Vinnagar Perumal Vishnu Temple in Tenkasi.

In all their inscriptions the two brothers Nos. 8 & 9 are called Alagan Perumal Ativirarama alias Srivallabha. Sometimes the names of their father and grand father are also given. In order to identify the brothers of same name the following method will be useful.

The highest regnal year for the elder is 21. Therefore records with regnal years 22 and above can be assigned to the younger. In the case of the records in which the regnal years are 21 and below the astronomical data are to be worked out and the equivalent christian dates are to be found. With the help of the regnal years we can do the backward calculations and find whether the initial year was 1563 or 1564. These dates will help us in assigning the record either to the elder or younger. Records in which the Saka years and cyclic years are quoted, sufficient care is to be taken to verify whether the quoted Saka year is current or expired. Where the data are imperfect, the record should be rejected as far as the date portion is concerned. The contents of the records can be taken into consideration for the study of social, economic and art history. The birth star of the elder Ativirarama was Punarvasu and that of the younger Ativirarama was Dhanishta. In certain records the younger brother is also called Ativirarama Srivallabha alias Ablrama.

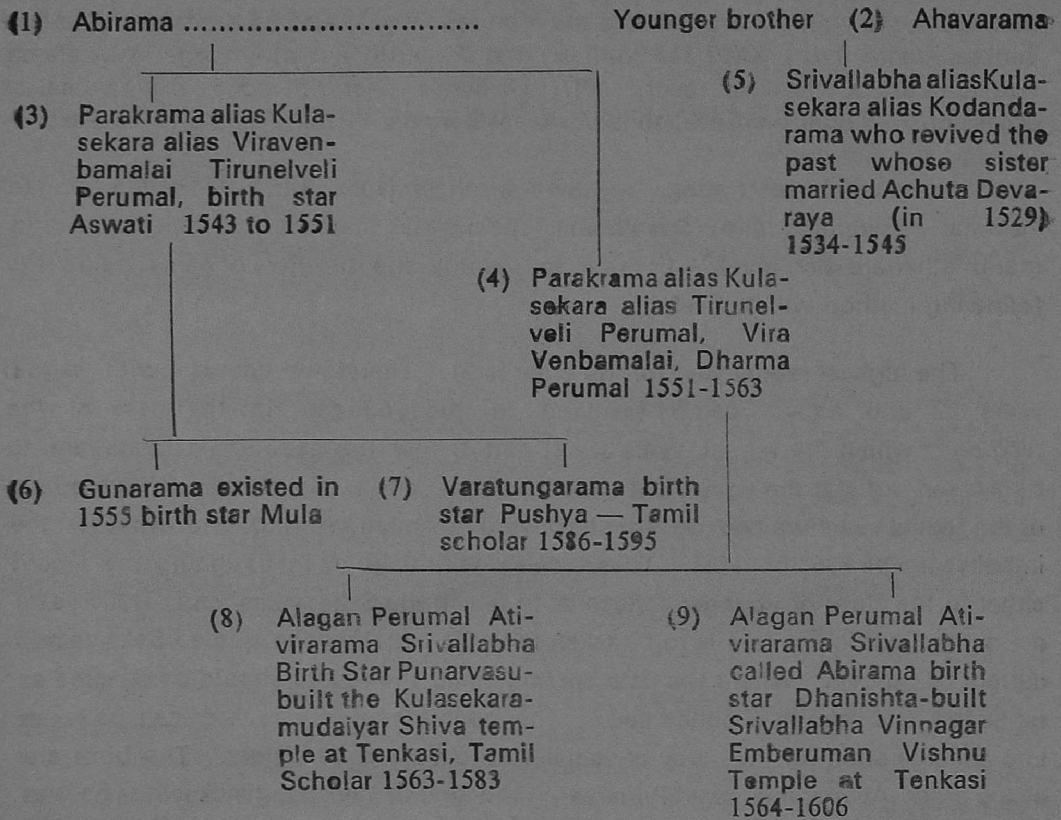
Gunarama No-6

It seems that Gunarama did not aspire for the throne. Because his inscriptions are not available. His existence in 1555 is quoted by the Tenkasi record 538/1917. It says that the birth star of Gunarama was Mula.

Varatungarama No-7

His records are tabulated in Table VII. He is called Abirama Varatungarama alias Vira Pandya. In certain records he is called Abiraman Sundareswara Varatungarama. He came to the throne in 1586 and ruled till 1593. He participated in the administration prior to his accession also. His birth star was Pushya. He was the author of the Tamil poems Brahmottara Kandam and Kokkokam (Kama Sutra - sex).

With the help of the above data we can construct the genealogy of the 16th century Pandya kings as follows :



The decendants of the above princes are not known. Certain princes rarely appear till 1759. But we are not in a position to construct the chronology and genealogy. Let us see those kings.

Record Village	Name of the King and other Data	Date
T.A.S. VI Page 147 Tenkasi	Varaguna Srivallabha alias Kulasekara Dikshitar who performed yaga-Saka 1537	1615
T.A.S. VI Page 148 Sembur Vadagarai	Srivala Maran Varguna Raman alias Pandya Kulasekara Somaijiyar Saka 1538 Year 3	1616
597/1915 Sayamalai	Srivala Maran Varaguna alias Kulasekara Dikshita Saka 1563 Year 23 + some year	1641

Record/ Village	DATA	Date
268/1908 Karivalam Vandanallur	Srivala Maravan Gunarama alias Pandva Kulasekara Dikshitar Saka 1574 current, Year 37	1651
T.A.S. VI Page 149 Kuttalam	Srivala Varagunarama Pandya, Kulasekara Devadikshitar who revived the past Kollam 930	1754
T.A.S. VI Page 151 Kuttalam	Srivala Varaguna Rama Pandya Kulasekara Devadikshitar who revived the past Kollam 935 Karthika	1759

Most probably the first four records belong to the same king of accession 1613. The princes bear the brahmin title Somajiyar and Dikshatar. According to Dharma Sastras it is permitted to a kshatriya to request brahmanas to perform yagas in his name - and the king can style himself Dikshitar or Somajiyar. Recently the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology discovered two copper plates of the last king.²² Unfortunately the date portion is wrong.

Politically the later Pandyas were very weak. They ruled in accordance with the wishes of Vijayanagar or Nayaka rulers. Some of their copper plates contain the figure of Varahamurti the emblem of Vijayanagar. In their last days they were completely overrun by the Kerala kings.

Later Pandyas paid their attention in the construction of temples, new annexures and mandapas in the temples. They made huge grants to many temples for festivals and offerings. They founded large number of new brahmin colonies and gifted lands and money to the brahmanas for reciting vedas, adhyayanas and reading puranas, panchangas (calendar) etc. in the temples. They also encouraged poets and some princes were scholars. In course of time too much grants and charities reduced their wealth. The dynasty gradually got diluted in the thin air and disappeared after 1759. The descendants of the contemporary Ramanathapuram Sethupatis, Travancore and Cochin kings, Pudukkottai Thondamans, the Thanjavur Maratas etc. exist even to-day. Of course as per the Indian Constitution they do not have any right to rule. We can see the members of these royal families which continue to exist generation after generation. Unfortunately we are not able to trace the descendants of the glorious Pandyas who existed from the days of Mahabarata.

Case study of the Srivilliputtur Records of A. R. Ep. 1926
(After 1371 A. D.)

Record No.	King	Date
574	Grant by Lakkana Danda Nayaka of Vijayanagar	Around 1425
572	Devaraya - Vijayanagar Saumya - Mentions Mavali Vanadhi Rayar of Alagarkoil	1429
529	Parakrama alias Srivallabha Saka 1356	1434
521	Maravarman Srivallabha Year 32	1434
575	Narasimha Udaiyar - Vijayanagar Saka 1375	1453
577	Mavali Vanadhi Raya Saka 1375 (Capital Alagarkoil near Madurai - vasal of Vijayanagar)	1453
567	Pandya-name lost - Saka 1394	1472
563	Kulasekara brother of Tenkasi Parakrama Saka 1395	1473
573	Mavali Vanadhi Raya Saka 1398	1476
565	Alagan Perumal Parakrama Saka 1403	1481
540	Kerala King Udayamartandavarman Kollam 709 Adi	1534
561	Kulasekara who revived the past Saka 1458 (His sister married Achuta Deva Raya in 1529)	July 1536
580	Parakrama Pandya Saka 1468	1546
537	Maravarman Sundara Pandya Saka 1469	1547
585	Vijayanagar Saka 1471	1549
571	Sadasiva Raya Vijayanager Saka 1472	1550
586	Madurai Virappa Nayaka - Sukla	1569
592	Ativira Rama I (Punarvasu) built Sri Krishna temple for the merit of Virappa Nayaka Saka 1493	1571
593	Madurai Virappa Nayaka made grants to the above Krishna temple	1575
-	After 1571 the records of Madurai Nayaks alone appear	

Srivilliputtur is situated about ninety kilometers north east of the later Pandyan capital city Tenkasi. The dates of the above table show the course of events in the history of the later Pandyas. When Vijayanagar exercised its authority the later Pandyas were also allowed to rule freely in Srivilliputtur. After 1453 the records of the later Pandyas and Mavali Vanadhi Rayas are also found. This shows that both accepted the suzerainty of Vijayanagar and within themselves they were on cordial terms. The sanskrit poem Pancya Kulodaya confirms that the later Pandyas and Mavali Vanadhi Rayas were friends. (Pandya Kulodaya page Lxxiii).

In 1534 Kerala king Udayamartandavarman occupied Srivilliputtur. Two years later he was driven out by Srivallabha (the brother-in-law of Vijayanagar emperor Achuta Devaraya). After this date the records of later Pandyas and Vijayanagar appear. There was close relationship between them. The same friendship continued during the reigns of Madurai Nayaks as evident by the record of Ativira Rama I who in 1571 built a Krishna temple in honour of Virappa Nayaka. Pudukkottai copper Plates dated 1583 state that Ativirarama II and Varatungarama were on friendly terms with Madurai Nayaks. The charter describes how Ativirarama II and Varatungarama sent their armies to help the Madurai Nayak when the latter was engaged in battles. In short the latter Pandyas were always on cordial terms with Vijayanagar and Madurai Nayaks.

Table - I

Maravarman Srivallabha 1402-1444
Alias Ahavarama - Birth Star Purattati

Record Village	Data	Date
459/1917 Kuttalam	Saka 1351 Mesha Srivallabha alias Ahavaraman	Mesha 1429
461/1917 Kuttalam	Saka 1355, Rishaba	Rishaba 1433
462/1917 Kuttalam	Saka 1353 Tula	Tula 1431
468/1917 Kuttalam	Year 42, Rishaba, Su 2, Monday Mirgasira	18-5-1444
529/1911 Ilanjai	Year 33, Mesha 1, ba 13, Purattati, Sunday (elder brother Parakrama neglected the services of the temple)	27-4-1435
243/1921 Devadanam	31, Kumba 26, Su 1, Friday Purattati - (called Ahavarama born in Purattati. The transaction of the 30th year of elder brother Parakrama Pandya is quoted)	20-2-1433
247/1941 Devadanam	Year 16, Kartikai 28, ba 2 Thursday, Mirgasira	25-11-1417
426/1916 Attanallur	Year 37, Kumba 26, Su 1, Friday Purattati - Prasasti Jayamadandaiyum Birth star Putattati - special service called Srivallaban Sandhi (see photograph of the record and the discussions in page 112 - Medieval Pandyas - by N. Sethuraman. The data given in the report are wrong. Correct data are given here after seeing the photograph.)	14-2-1439

Table - II

**Maravarman Vira Pandya alias Kaliyug Raman alias Tirunelveli
Perumal**

1421-1446 - Birth Star Ardra

Record/ Village	Data	Date
452/1917 Kutialam	Saka 1368 Mesha 15, Chaturtthasi, Hasta, Sunday	10—4—1446
88/1905 Uttarakosa Mangai	Year 27, also called Tirunelveli Perumal alias Kaliyuga Rama	1438
178/1895 Sri Vaikuntam	Saka 1361, Year 19, Adi 31 - birth star Ardra - also called Tirunelveli Perumal	29—7—1439
172/1895 S. I. I. V - 736 Sri Vaikuntam	Year 20, Saka 1363, Vaikasi 31	Vaikasi 1441

Table - III

Jatilavarman Srivallabha alias Tirunelveli Perumal (Iranda-
kalam edutta) who revived the past and who was the son of
Ahavarama 1534—1545 (also see A. R. Ep. 1526 - 27 - Page - 99)

Record/Village	DATA	Date
S. I. I. V - 764 Tenkasi	Perumal Srivallabha, Saka 1459 Year 3 Hevilambi, Vrichika, 29th ba 11 Wednesday mistake for Tuesday Swathi - Bhuvaneka Viran Prasasthi	26—11—1537
567/1915 Darukapuram	Saka 1563, Year 7, Pilava, 27th Avani, Birth star of the king was Aswathi (Data are imperfect)	August 1541
583/1915 Darukapuram	Also called Jatilavarman Tirunelveli Perumal born in Aswati Saka 1457, Manmatha, Kartigai 23, Su 12 Monday Swati	22—11—1535
T. A. S. VI Page 47 Srivilliputtur	Also called Kulasekara Deva who revived the past - Saka 1457, Manmatha	1535
524/1926 Srivilliputtur	Also called Kulasekara who revived the past Saka 1456, Jaya, Ani 16 etc.	June 1534

Record Village	Data	Date
561/1926 Srivilliputtur	Also called Kulasekara Deva alias Kodandarma Saka 1458	1536
T. A. S. VI Page 48 Vasudevanallur	Jatilavarman Srivallabha Saka 1459 Year 3	1537
525/1909 Tenkasi	Saka 1457, Manmatha also called Kulasekara - Bhuvanekaviran Prasasthi	1535
650/1917 Kdayanallur	Also called Kulasekara Saka 1456	1534
662/1917 & 663/1917 Panpuli	Srivallabha Saka 1466' Kumba	1545 Feb
370/1951 Vasudevanallur	Saka 1459 Year 3	1537

Table -IV

Maravarman Sundara Pandya alias Tirvnelveli Perumal, birth star Hasta and accession star Pushya - 1531 - 1555

Record/Village	data etc.	Date
18/1912 Kayattar	Saka 1461, Year 8	1539
19/1912 Kayattar	Saka 1459 Year 6	1537
S. I. I. V 735 Gankaikondan	Saka 1477 Year 24 (mentions Ranarangarama naliur)	1555
S. I. I. V 733 Gankaikondan	Year 2 opposite 8, Tai. The king has the Royal title Tirunelveli Perumal. His birth star is Hasta. (Correct data are given in Indian Antiquary 1913 page 169 - Record 169/1895)	1541 January
537/1926 Srivilliputtur	Saka 1469 Year 17	1547
S. I. I. V 408 Tirunelveli	Year 14 - called by Royal title Tirunelveli Perumal born in Pushya evidently accession star - which made him the king and also quotes the birth star Hasta.	1545

Table - V

Parakrama Pandya alias Kulasekara alias Viravenbamalai
Tirunelveli Perumal son of Abirama Parakrama 1543-1551

Record/Village	DATA	Date
T. A. S. XV M Sembur Vadagarai	Saka 1471 - Tula etc. Birth star Aswati Tirunelveli Perumal	1549
T. A. S. XV O	Saka 1472, Mithuna etc. Year 7 Tirunelveli Perumal Birth Star Aswati	1550 Mithuna
277/1908 Karivalam Vandanallur	Saka 1469 Year 5 birth star Aswati	1547
532/1909 Tenkasi	Saka 1473 Year 8	1551
525/1917 Tenkasi	Saka 1469 Year 5	1547
532/1917 Tenkasi	Saka 1470 Year 6	1548
450/1917 Kuttalam	Saka 1474 current, cyclic year Virothikrit Year 8	1551

His records are many, sample cases alone are given here.

Table - VI

Second son of Abirama Parakrama, called Parakrama Pandya
alias Kulasekara Tirunelveliperumal - also called
Viravenbamalai Dharmaperumal 1551-1563

Record/Village	Data and other details	Date
527/1909 Tenkasi	Saka 1485 Year 12	1563
546/1917 Tenkasi	Saka 1484 Year 12 mentions son Alagan Perumal Ativirarama	1562
515/1917 Tenkasi	1485 Year 13	1563
560/1917 561/1917 Tenkasi	Saka 1481 Year 9	1559

511/1917 Tenkasi	Saka 1481 also called Dharmaperumal	1559
530/1917 Tenkasi	Saka 1480 called Dharmperumal Year 8	1558

His records are many. Sample cases alone are given here.

Table - VII

Varatungarama alias Abirama Sundaresvara alias Vira Pandya
1586 - 1595 Birth Star Pushya

Record/Village	DATA	Date
275/1908 Karivalam Vanda Nallur	Abirama Varatungarama alias Vira Pandya Saka 1517 Manmatha Year 10	1595
272/1908 Karivalam Vanda Nallur	Abirama Varatungarama alias Vira Pandya Saka 1511 current Sarvadhari Year 2	1578
590/1917 Tankasi	Abirama Sundara Varatungarama Saka 1510	1588
605/1917 Tenkasi	Abirama Sundara Varatunga Rama alias Vira Pandya Saka 1512 Vikrita Year 4	1590
Pudukkottai Copper Plates T. A. S. VI Page - 83	Saka 1505	1583
354/1950 Vasudevanallur	Varatungarama Saka 1512 Year 4	1590
Dalavay Agraharam Plates of Varatungarama T. A. S. VI Page 126	Abirama Sunderesvara Varatunga Rama Vira Pandya Saka 1510 Birth star Pushya (See A. R. Ep 1929 - 27 Page 99 Birth Star Pushya is confirmed by Srivilliputur record)	1588

Foot Note

1. Pandya Kulodaya - Published by Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu - Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies - Punjab University Hoshiarpur - Edited by Dr. K. V. Sarma.
2. Two Jatavarman Sundara Pandyas of Accession 1303 and 1304-N. Sethuraman- Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India - Volume 10 - Edition 1983.
3. Tenkasi Parakrama Pandya And his successors - N. Sethuraman - Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India - Volume - 9 - Edition 1982.
4. A. R. E. P. 1918 Part II Page 158 Para 55 - The surmise of the report needs revision since it identifies this Vira Pandya with another Vira Pandya who came to the throne in 1421. The reports itself says that it is impossible.
5. Trivancore Archaeological Series VI Page - 98.
6. Tenkasi A. R. Ep. 569 of 1917 dated 1466; Also see A. R. Ep 1918 Page 158 para 56.
7. Tirunelveli 122/1894; Kielhorn Ep. Ind. VI Page 312.
8. N. Sethuraman - Medieval Pandyas Page 112; A. R. Ep. 1909 page 85 para 33.
9. A. R. Ep. 1918 page 172 - para 81.
10. S. I. I. VII 52 and 53. Also see A. R. Ep. 1937-38 - Page 105
11. T. A. S. V Page - 55.
12. T. A. S. III - Pages 44 and 83; Certain surmises made by Gopinatha Rao in 1913 are revised in the present paper in the context of later discoveries of new inscriptions.
13. See Table V; A. R. Ep. 1918 page 160 para 60. The report - in the confused research conditions in 1918 - identifies this prince as the second son, Accession date 1543 and the birth star Aswati are triumph cards which help us in identifying this prince, as the elder son
14. A. R. Ep. 1939-40 to 1942-43 Page 253.
15. T. A. S. III - Page 278; Dharukapuram 577 of 1915; Tenkasi 490 of 1917; Tenkasi S. I. I. V - 765.
16. Tenkasi S. I. I. V - 765
17. T. A. S. VI page 83; The charter clearly states that Ativirarama of accession 1563 was no more in 1583; But Gopinatha Rao did not agree with the statement. He believed that Ativirarama lived even after 1583. At that time, in 1913, Gopinatha Rao did not have enough source materials to identify two Ativirarama Pandyas of accession 1563 and 1564.
18. T.A.S. VI Page - 113

19. T.A.S. VI Page 105 - No. VIII: Tenkasi S.I.I. XXVI - 539
20. T.A.S. VI Page 133
21. Kuttalam 405 of 1917 Saka 1527 Year 42. There are cases where the engraver has given high regnal year indicating 1563 as the accession date. The similarity of the names has confused the engraver and he could have put wrong regnal year. The fact remains that Ativirarama I of accession of 1563 was no more in 1583. Records of same name beyond 1583 cannot indicate 1563 as the accession date.
22. I am thankful to Shri Natana Kasinathan the Director of Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology who was kind enough to send to me the transcripts of the records.