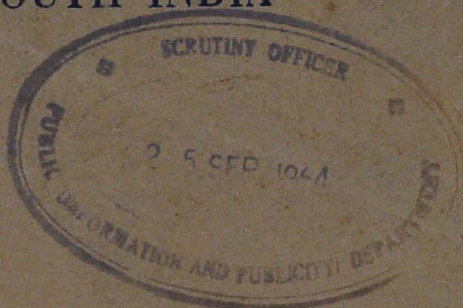


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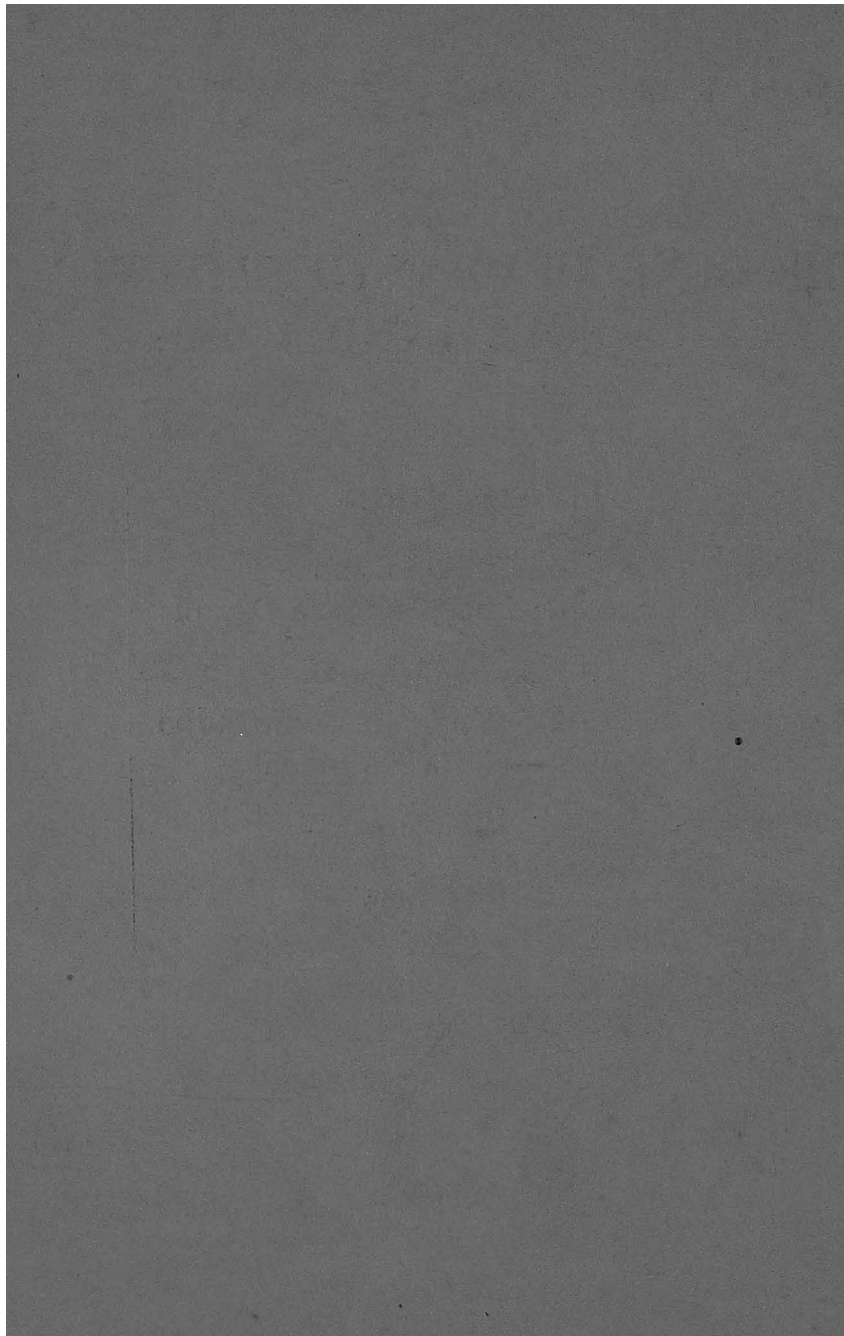
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Paramacharya Swamigal

24th in the Holy line of Paramacharyas of
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19—5—1964



Gurupatham

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ŚAIVISM IN SOUTH INDIA

(A. D. 300 — 1300)

by

Saiva Ilakkia Perarignanar,

Dr. M. Rajamanickam, M.A., L.T., M.O.L., Ph.D.,

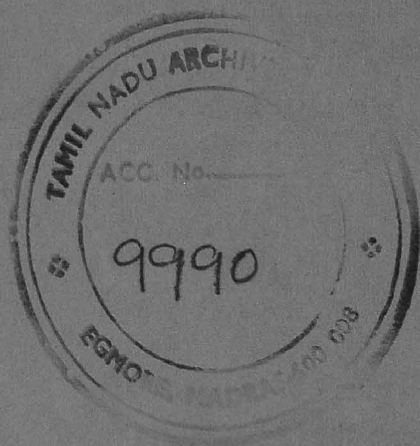
Published under the auspices of
Dharmapuram Adhinam

by

His Holiness

Sri-la-Sri Kailai Subramanya Desika Ganasambandha
Paramacharya Swamigal

25th in the Holy line of Paramacharyas



PREFACE.

The truth that "Saivism" is one of the oldest religions in the world is proved beyond doubt by the archaeological findings at Harappa, Mohenjo-doro, Malta, Crete, Sumer, etc. The word Sivan and its variations such as Sivo etc., are found as names of places, month, city etc., in the West and the North. Dr. Sir, John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India, has very well written about the antiquity of Saivism in his preface to the valuable work entitled "Mohenjo-doro and the Indus Civilisation."

The present book is a thesis submitted by me to the University of Madras in 1950 for Ph. D., degree. I was awarded the degree in 1951. This book contains twelve chapters on Saivism. It covers a long period - from the Sangam age to A. D. 1300. These twelve chapters will clearly reveal how our ancient Tamils regarded and developed Saivism. The informations contained in the book are mainly based on literature and inscriptions.

His Holiness Sri-la-Sri Kailai Subramanya Desika Gnanasambandha Paramacharya Swamigal, 25th in the Holy line of Paramacharyas of

Dharmapuram Adhinam was kind enough to publish this work and present it to the world. His Holiness has visited all the important sacred places of Saivism in India and a great devotee of Siva. Under His Holy Rule the Adhinam has published many valuable books on Saivism. I am greatly indebted to His Holiness for having published this research work. May Lord Siva bless His Holiness with long life and useful service to religion and humanity.

My thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University of Madras for having given permission to publish my thesis in a book form.

M. Rajamanikkam,
Reader in Tamil,
University of Madras.

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His Holiness
25th Gurumahasannidhanam Sri-La-Sri Kailai Subramanya
Desiga Gnanasambanda Paramacharya Swamigal.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ŚAIVISM IN SOUTH INDIA

UNDER THE PALLAVAS OF KĀNCĪ AND THE
IMPERIAL CŌḲAS.

(A. D. 300 - 1300).



I. SOURCES

Though the phrase "South India" generally refers to the extent of land south of the rivers Tungabhadra and Kṛṣṇā, the term is, for our study, taken to connote the ancient Tamiḷagam - that extent of land lying between Vēṅgaḍam in the north and Kumari in the south.

The Pallavas of Kāncī are assigned the period between A. D. 300 to 900¹; and the Imperial Cōḷas from about A. D. 900 - 1300². For a closer study of the subject, a knowledge of the pre-pallava

¹ P. of K. pp. 36 and 146. ² Cōḷas II. P. I. p. 207.

period is indispensable as it gives us a picture of the early form of Śaivism which developed during the later periods.

The main sources for our study are mostly the literature of the periods, the inscriptional evidences found all over the region aforesaid and the ancient monuments. For the pre-Pallava period we have, besides images, the works: the Tolkāppiyam, the Eight Anthologies, Pattuppāṭṭu, Kuṛaḷ, Śilappadikāram and Maṇimekalai.

The Pallavas established their power and ruled over the land lying between the river Kṛṣṇā in the north and Puḍukkōṭṭai in the south. They had Kāñcī as their capital in Tondaimaṇḍalam. Contemporaneously, the Cōlas and the Pāṇḍyas ruled in the south; the Cēras and the Gangas in the west, and the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the north-west of South India. Inscriptions found in the above regions give abundant material for our study. But those of them belonging to the Pallavas are only a few and their information is not much. Never-the-less the evidences to be gathered from the numerous Śiva temples, and the devotional literature that gathered around them are considerable. They are the Tirumandiram, Tēvāram, Tiruvāṣagam, the Śaiva Prabandas of Aiyadigaḷ, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyaṛ, Nakkiradēvar,

Kapiladevar, Paraṇadēvar, and Cēramāṇ Perumāḷ, and those works on Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism and Buddhism. The Nāyaṇmārs belonged to this period, and Śaivism had a revival throughout the Tamil country. The three Śaiva Samayācāryas had sung of 274 temples¹ (பாடல் பெற்ற தலங்கள்), besides mentioning others² (வைப்புத் தலங்கள்) in the Tēvāram. The elaborate arrangements for the conduct of festivals and regular pujas in the temples and the great interest evinced in their upkeep by the founders of these institutions may be said to have given an impetus for the revival of Śaivism. These details are to be gathered from the Tēvāram. There are also other literary works like Nandik-kalambakam and Mattavilāsaprahasanam of the period giving additional material. It appears from the above that, in the religious life of the people. Śaivism began to dominate over Jainism and Buddhism.

The period of the Cōḷas (A. D 900 - 1300) is almost the "Golden Age" in the history of South India. The Cōḷa empire extended to the north as far as the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Tungabhadra, and their inscriptions which are found upto that limit contribute largely to our knowledge. The Cōḷas were traditionally of the Śaiva persuasion. The

¹ Vide Appendix A.

² Vide Appendix B.

numerous Śiva temples raised and endowed by them, those of them sung by the Nāyanmārs, those earlier Cōla temples repaired and rebuilt by them, the inscriptions found in them, the fresco paintings and sculptures of the period give us abundant material for a study of the subject and assess the growth of Śaivism under the Cōlas.

Under literature we have the works of Paṭṭinat-tār, Nambiyāṇḍār Nambi, Ottakkūttar, Śēkkiḷār and Kallāḍar* and Tillai-Ulā of unknown authorship. Though works like Mūvar-Ulā and Kulōttunga Kōvai are panegyrics i. e., mere *prasasti*, they furnish, indirectly, valuable information about the religious atmosphere of the times.

The most valuable Śaiva literature of the Cōla period may be said to be the Periya-Purāṇam. The author of the work is Śēkkiḷār - the chief minister of Kulōttunga II (A. D. 1133 - 1150). Though the work deals with the life and history of the 63 Śaiva saints who lived in the pre-Cōla period, this learned author living in the 12th century was enabled by his exalted official position and wide range of knowledge, to correctly assess the earlier times and the religious spirit that ran

* The Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam of Perumbarrappuliyār-Nambi does not belong to this period - Vide Tamiḷ Poḷil, 14, pp. 81-8.

in the lives of the saints. Further, a few of those Nāyanmārs were of the Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇḍya dynasties, and some were petty kings and chiefs. Being associated with royalties, the author was also eminently fitted to give a correct perspective of their lives and times with reference to the then prevailing deep Śaiva traditions. The author also seems to have visited almost all the temples sung by the Tēvāram hymnists. The Periya-Purāṇam as such, is the result of the strenuous labours of its author, and, the work is full of information concerning Śaivism and its development. The fact that a twelfth-century chief minister of a reigning monarch wrote of the Nāyanmārs, is an additional evidence to show in what esteem the Cōlas and their subjects held those saints of a by-gone period. This bespeaks also volumes for the predominant Śaiva religious atmosphere of the Cōla period.

Cōla inscriptions give further valuable information regarding the numerous temples wherein the images of the Nāyanmārs had been installed, the festivals conducted in their honour the recital, during worship, of the Tēvāram and Tiruvāṣagam composed by them.

The records further speak to the foundation of the several maṭhas of different religious persuasions. The maṭhas were numerous, and

scattered all over the Cōla country. They were presided over by religious gurus of high culture and vast religious learning. Coming from the Pallava period to the Cōla we find the maṭhas more numerous and well organised. There was a simultaneous growth of philosophical literature with a large output.

The growth of Śaiva Siddhānta as the philosophy of South India may be said to begin with the Tirumandiram of Tirumūlar. The Tēvāram hymnists and Māṇikkavāṣagar spread this cult through their devotional songs. In the 12th century, Śekkiḷar in his Periya-Purāṇam exemplified the Śaiva tenets as lived by the 63 saints in their daily lives. These doctrines were, in the next (i. e. thirteenth) century given a concrete form in the twelve sūtras of Śiva-Āṇana-bōdam of Meykaṇḍār. A study of Śiva-Āṇana-bōdam and the other thirteen Siddhānta Śāstras of the period gives us a clear conception of the Śaiva philosophy of the South as grown and developed under the Pallavas and the Imperial Cōlas.

Modern scholarship has done much to unravel the history of Indian Religion. Dr. Bhandarkar's book "Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems" is an early work on the subject. Mr. D. A. Pai's "Monograph on the Religious Sects in India among the Hindus" is instructive. Mr. Gopinatha Rao's "Hindu Iconography" is an

interesting study of the early types. Dr. H. C. Ray's "Dynastic History of Northern India" is very useful for comparative study. It gives the history of the growth of Śaivism in North India during the Cōla period showing thereby that there was a great Śaiva revival all over India. Mr. C. V. Narayana Ayyar's work "Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India" is incomplete. It stops with Mānikkavāṣagar and does not exhaust the literature of the pallavas and ignores their inscriptions. Recent works on the history of the Pallavas and the Cōlas give us only sketchy chapters on the subject. For a student of South Indian History who wants a connected account of Śaivism there is no proper book and one has to go to the original sources for the purpose. A comparative study of Tamil literature with inscriptions of the periods is essential. Monuments are to be used to corroborate the material gathered from the above as a close study of the temples, their style of construction, the images and pictures therein yield very useful information. The student has to go repeatedly to all the places of importance and study the archaeological material in situ and take important photographs. The evidence thus gathered has to be carefully arranged in the light of literary tradition. Much valuable information is thus gained and a true connected picture of Śaiva thought and history is made possible.

II. ŚAIVISM IN THE PRE - PALLAVA PERIOD

The pre - Pallava period is usually considered to have ended before A. D. 300. The pillar inscription of Samudragupta at Allahabad tells that, when he (Samudragupta) invaded the Deccan, Viṣṇugōpa, a Pallava king was reigning at Kāñci.¹ We can fix that period as about A. D. 340 - 350.² By this, it is definitely known that Tondaimandalam, the northern part of Tamiḷagam was under the reign of a dynasty of kings known as Pallavas in the middle part of the fourth century A. D.

Scholars say that Śivaskandavarman, the first Pallava king who issued the first royal charter from Kāñci, belonged to the third century A. D.³ There are others who say that Śivaskandavarman himself is Kumāra viṣṇu who captured Kāñci and his regnal years were about A. D. 325 - 350.⁴ Certain others vary and fix the date of Śivaskandavarman as about A. D. 300 - 325.⁵ Taking all these into consideration, it is proper to conclude that the Pallava rule might have commenced in Tondaimandalam from about A. D. 300.

¹ P of K. Appendix A. No. 7. ² Ibid. p. 33. ³ Ibid. pp. 35-6.

⁴ S. P. H. pp. 9-14 & 22. ⁵ S of S. pp. 164-166 & 247-248.

The Pallavas who conquered Tondaimandalam and began their reign in about A. D. 300 continued to be powerful kings till about A. D. 900, and they fought with Cēras, Cōlas and Pāndyas. These are historical facts. The Pallava empire stretched from the Kṛṣṇā to the Kāviri from about A. D. 575-900.¹ Nothing is mentioned about these Pallavas who established their power and remained in the Tamiḷ country for many centuries, in Tolkāppiyam, the Eight Anthologies, Pattuppāṭṭu and Kuṟaḷ which are considered to be the oldest Tamiḷ works now extant.² Though mention has been made about Kāncī in many places in the two Kāvyaś, Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai, it is worthy to note that nothing is mentioned about even a single Pallava king. Therefore it is clear that these two works belong to the pre-Pallava age.³ Consequently, all the above-mentioned Tamiḷ works may be taken to belong to the period prior to A. D. 300.

TOLKAPPIYAM:

It is found in Tolkāppiyam, the oldest Tamiḷ grammar that Sēyōṇ (Muruga) and Māyōṇ (Viṣṇu) were worshipped by the inhabitants of the hilly region and the forest region respectively.⁴ It is

¹ P of K. pp. 83-85 & 142. ² P. K. p. 19. ³ Prof. V. R. Dikshitar's Int. to S. P., p. 30. ⁴ A. I. s. 5.

also known that the worship of Korravai (Kālī or Durgā) too was in vogue.¹ But no mention is outwardly made in Tolkāppiyam about Śiva. It is said by its commentator that lovers are sometimes separated and the lover leaves his love, among other things, for the chivalrous purpose of protecting images of gods. Pūjas and festivals were conducted in honour of gods. Since these facts are mentioned by Ḥampūraṇar who is the oldest commentator of Tolkappiyam, we come to know that temples were in existence, idols were enshrined therein and they were worshipped and festivals² were held in their honour in this period.

EPITHETS OF ŚIVA :

The name 'Śiva' is not found in the Eight Anthologies and Pattuppāṭṭu. However, that God is mentioned by such phrases as - the rare sage with lowered locks of hair (தாழ்சடை பொலிந்த அருந்தவத்தோன்), the three-eyed Lord (முக்கட் செல்வன்) the Lord with blue throat (கறை மிடற்று அண்ணல்), the Lord with beautiful blue throat (நீலமணி மிடற்று அண்ணல்), the ancient first Lord³ (முதுமுதல்வன்), the Lord having Pārvati who has blue body and jewels as his left part (நீலமேனி வாலிழை பாகத் தொருவன்), one having rain⁴ (cloud) on his head

¹ P, I. s. 59. ² A, I. s. 30 & its commentary. ³ Puṇam vv. 1, 6 55, 91 & 166. ⁴ Aing. Prayer stanza and v. 270.

(மழை தலைவைத்தவர்), Angry God (காய் கடவுள்), the green-eyed Brahmin (பைங்கட் பார்ப்பான்), One who rides the bull (புங்கவம் ஊர்வோன்), the Lord with blue neck (மறுமிடற்று அண்ணல்), One who has water-flow on his head¹ (சலதாரி), the three-eyed Lord (முக்கண்ணான்), the Brahmin with cold locks of hair (நர்ஞ்சடை அந்தணன்), the God under the banyan tree (ஆலமர் செல்வன்), One who has battle-axe² (கணிச்சியோன்).

REFERENCES TO SIVA IN THE ANTHOLOGIES:

References to Siva in the eight Anthologies are as follows:— Siva has long braids of hair;³ wears garlands of 'konrai' on the breast and head;⁴ wears the crescent moon on the braids of hair;⁵ wears the cloud on his head;⁶ wears the Ganges on his head;⁷ has three eyes;⁸ has Vēdas in his mouth; taught them to the Brahmins;⁹ has the mark of poison in his throat;¹⁰ holds axe in his hand;¹¹ holds a begging-bowl made of skull in his hand;¹² has eight hands;¹³ wears tiger's hide as cloth;¹⁴ has pārvatī as half of his body;¹⁵ has a bull

¹ P. Pāḍal 5, LL. 13, 27; 8, ll. 2, 127; 9, l. 6. ² Kali. vv. 2, 38, 81 & 103. ³ Puṇam vv. 1, 55, 166; Kali. v. 38. ⁴ Ibid. v. 1; Ibid. v. 1. ⁵ Ibid. vv. 1, 55, 56; Ibid. v. 103. ⁶ Aing. v. 207. ⁷ Kali. v. 1; P. Pāḍal 9, LL. 1-6. ⁸ Ibid. v. 6, 55; Ibid. v. 2; T. Pāḍai L. 153. ⁹ Ibid. vv. 1, 100; Puṇam. v. 166. ¹⁰ Puṇam. vv. 1, 56; Kali. v. 1; P. Pāḍal 9, L. 7. ¹¹ Ibid. v. 56; Ibid. vv. 2, 101, 103; M. K. l. 455. ¹² Kali. v. 1; L. 12. ¹³ Ibid. v. 1, L. 4. ¹⁴ Ibid. v. 1, L. 11. ¹⁵ Puṇam v. 1; Aing. Prayer; Kali. v. 101, L. 24 and its commentary; T. Pāḍai L. 153.

for his ride and flag; ¹ stays under the banyan tree; ² doer of severe penance; ³ protector of lives; ⁴ The god of destruction is also He. ⁵ A temple was dedicated to Him. ⁶ He was the destroyer of the three towns. ⁷ He smeared the burnt ash of the three cities all over his body. ⁸ Śiva would take many shapes; control and destroy all things and dance in the end. That dance is called "Koḍukottī." After destroying the three cities He would smear, on His body, the burnt ash of the Āsuras, and that dance is called "Pāṇḍurangam." That God would dance after killing the tiger and wearing its skin, with garlands of 'konrai' on his shoulders and the skull of Brahma in his hand. That dance is called "Kāpālam." ⁹ 'Śiva stays on the Himalaya mountain with Umā. Rāvaṇa attempted to uproot the mountain and suffered; ¹⁰ when the Lord Śiva takes upon himself the task of protection, he will assume a certain form and appear before His devotees. ¹¹

¹ Ibid. vv. 1, 56; T. Paḍai LL. 151-152. ² Kali. vv. 81 & 83. S. Paḍai LL. 96-99; T. Paḍai L. 256; Puṇam-Prayer-Verse. ³ Puṇam v. 1. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid. v. 56; Kali. v. 1, L. 6. ⁶ Ibid. v. 6. ⁷ Ibid. v. 55; P. Paḍai, 5, LL. 22-29; Kali. vv. 1, 2, 38; T. Paḍai L. 154. ⁸ Kali. v. 1, L. 8. ⁹ Kali. v. 1, LL. 1-12; Māḍavi performed (the dance) Koḍukottī and Pāṇḍurangam; Silap. k. 6, ll. 40-45. ¹⁰ Ibid. v. 38, LL. 1-5. ¹¹ Ibid. v. 1, L. 16 & its commentary.

REFERENCES FROM SILAPPADIKĀRAM AND MAṆIMĒKALAI:

In the heirarchy of gods, Śiva takes the first place in Śilappadikāram, Maṇimēkalai and Maduraikkāñji, one of the songs of Pattuppāṭṭu.¹ Śiva, Viṣṇu, Baladēva, Muruga and other gods were offered pūjas at the dawn of every day.² Cēraṅ Senguttuvan was born by the grace of Śiva;³ he worshipped Śiva.⁴ A dancer of the Cēra country exhibited in Cēra's court the "Koḍukottī" dance which was played by Śiva.⁵

The word 'Śiva' is not found even in these works; but the word "Śaivism" occurs in Maṇimēkalai. There were many expounders of religions in Vañji; and a Śaiva expounder was one of them. Maṇimēkalai, daughter of Kōvalaṅ went to every one of them and asked them to tell her in detail the doctrines of their religions and the nature of the gods they worshipped. She went to the Śaiva expounder and asked, "what is the nature of your god?", "He stated that the two lights (the sun and the moon), the doer and the five elements constitute the basis from out of which human beings are made by combination.

¹ Śilap, K. 5, LL. 169-172; K. 14, LL. 7-10; Maṇi. K-1, LL. 54-55; M. K. LL. 453-455. ² M. K. LL. 453-460. ³ Śilap. K. 26-LL. 98-99. ⁴ Ibid. LL. 64-65. ⁵ K. 28. LL. 67-75.

of life and body. He who does this is constituted of the Kalas; His nature is to create beings as an act of play; and He destroys them and thus gets rid of their sufferings; and He, besides whom there is none else, such a one is my God. "1

THE WORSHIP OF SEVERAL DIVINITIES:

Muruga worship is given a prominent mention in Tirumurugāruppāḍai and Paripāḍal. He is spoken of as Śiva-Kumāraṇ.² The worship of Koravai was prevalent not only among the hunter class, but also among the city folks.³ Vāsudēva and Balarāma were also worshipped in the Tamil country.⁴ Digambara Jains (Nigranthas) and Buddhists also flourished in cities like Madurai, Kāvrippūmpattinam, Vañji and Kāñci, having built their own monasteries and temples. Of these two religionists, there were also the order of nuns. Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai have much to speak of these two religious sects.

TEMPLES:

Temples of those times were of mud, timber and bricks.⁵ The Madurai Śiva temple had a Hall

¹ K. 27, LL. 86-95; M. H. S. p. 192. ² P. Pāḍal 5, l. 13. 8, ll. 127-8; 9, l. 9 etc. ³ Śilap. K. 23, l. 181. ⁴ Ibid. K. 5, ll. 169-172; K. 11, ll. 7-10; it was prevalent in North India in the first two centuries before Christ. - V. S. M. R. S. pp. 3-5. ⁵ Maṇi. K. 4, ll. 53-9.

of Silver.¹ On the walls of the maṇṭapa within the temple at Tirupparangunram, there were fresco paintings illustrating scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas.² Scholars say that Śiva lingas were then also in worship in the temples at Guḍimallam, Kaḷattūr and Kuḍumiyān-malai. They say that these lingas belonged to the 2nd century B. C.³ Hence it will be appropriate to say that Śiva lingas were in worship in the South Indian temples even before the time of the Pallavas. As Śiva is mentioned as “ஆலமர் செல்வன்” (God seated under banyan tree), in the classic literature,⁴ it is to be inferred that there was the Dakṣiṇāmūrti cult and the figure as such in worship in those early times. Festivals were conducted as Kārttigai-Viḷā, Ādirai-Viḷā and Tai-Viḷā.⁵ Some of the festivals continued for several days. The images of gods were taken in procession on those occasions.⁶ The dance of Māḍavi in Indira Viḷā in Śilappadikāram speaks to the fact that music and dance played an important part on such occasions.⁷ The bhaktas sang devotional hymns in the temples in appropriate pans (பண்) (ragas).⁸ People came round the

¹ Puṇam, v. 58. ² P. Pāḍal 19, ll. 46-53. ³ H. I. II. P. I, pp. 55-7. ⁴ S. A. Pāḍai, l. 97. ⁵ Agam. 41 and 141; P. Pāḍal 11, l. 78; 8, l. 6; Naṟ. 22 & Aing. 84. ⁶ M. K. II. 427-52. ⁷ Śilap. K. 6 ll. 49-66. ⁸ P. Pāḍal 14, ll. 23-4 and 30.

temples in prayerful attitude.¹ They offered prayer thus: "we do not pray for gold, wealth and luxury, but pray for the three things, love, your grace and charitable deeds;² we wish the cessation of the suffering of rebirth;³ we desire only to live at your feet."⁴

NAMES OF ŚIVA ADOPTED BY THE PEOPLE :

The names *Iṛaiyaṇār*, *Rudraṇ*, *Śattinādaṇ*, *Perundēvaṇār*, *Pēreyil-muṇuvalār*, *Veṇbūdi* denote Śiva. *Perundēvaṇār* means *Mahādēva*, the great God. *Pēreyil-muṇuvalār* is the name that indicates Śiva's burning the Tripura with His smile, and *Veṇbūdi* is the name which indicates that Śiva is the wearer of the sacred ash.⁵

BRAHMINS OF THE PERIOD :

Brahmins versed in *Vēdas* are mentioned in many places in the ancient *Tamiḷ* works. They followed six professions, namely, study, teaching, performing sacrifices, officiating as priests in sacrifices, giving charity and receiving charity, *Tolkāppiyam* speaks about the usage of Sanskrit

¹ *Kali*, vv. 82 & 84. ² *P. Pāḍal*, 5, ll. 78-80. ³ *Ibid.* 17, ll. 52-3.

⁴ *Ibid.* 18, ll. 54-6; 21, ll. 68-70. ⁵ *K. T. Int.* pp. 111-2.

words in Tamil and the six kinds of professions mentioned above.¹ Vedic Brahmins as well as those who had renounced the world completely were living in the Tamil country.

The 'Andaṇar Palli', the dwelling place of Brahmin ascetics at Madurai had been built like a mountain-cave. Those Brahmin ascetics taught religious principles to the people.² Brahmins versed in the four Vēdas and their branches of learning were respected by the Tamil kings; they were granted villages and lands as gifts.³ They were found in many places of the Tamil country. Their customs and manners find mention in the ancient classics.⁴ The Tamil kings performed sacrifices (yāgas) with their help. Among them, Palyāgaśalai Mudukuḍumip-peru-Vaḷudi, Rājasūyam-Vēṭṭa-Perunarkilli and Cēraṇ Śenguttuvan deserve mention. The kings gave them riches and gold.⁵ Brahmins were protected when there was an invasion;⁶ they were protected when Madurai was burnt⁷ by Kaṇṇaki. Though the Brahmins were emigrants, the reasons for their being respected in the Tamil country were their learning, high moral character and piety.

¹ T. E. s. 102; T. C. s. 401; P. I. s. 20. ² Kali. 93, LL. 29-36; M. K. l. 474 & its commentary. ³ Puṇam v. 166; P. Paṭṭu No. 2; Vēlvikkuḍi grant. ⁴ P. Paḍai, LL. 297-308; Śilap. K. 10, LL. 142-7. ⁵ Puṇam, v. 367. ⁶ Ibid. v. 9. ⁷ Śilap. K. 21, L. 53.

Some of the Brahmins who came to Tamilagam and were treated with respect by the kings, mastered the Tamil language and were recognised as Tamil poets. About 25 such poets have written verses which have found places in the ancient anthologies, Kapilar, a Brahmin poet was Pāri's dearest friend; Parānar was respected by Cēraṇ Senguttuvan. With the association of such poets and Brahmin ascetics, the Tamil kings performed Vēdic sacrifices. By the association of the Brahmins, the ancient Tamil modes of worship assumed new forms. Muruga became Subrahmanya; Korāvai became Umādēvi; the pre-eminent Śiva became Rudra. Vēdic rites, epic and purāṇic stories came into prevalence.¹

FIRST PLACE TO ŚIVA :

In all places where a number of temples are mentioned in Śilappadikāram, Maṇimēkalai and Maduraikkāṇṇi it could be seen that Śiva Temple has received the first mention.

“பிறவா யாக்கைப் பெரியோன் கோயிலும்
அறுமுகச் செவ்வேள் அணிதிகழ் கோயிலும்
வால்வளை மேனி வாலியோன் கோயிலும்
நீல மேனி நெடியோன் கோயிலும்”.¹

¹ A. D. pp. 109-111; O. E. H. SS. I. pp. 102-3. ² Śilap. K. 5, LL. 169-172.

"The Temple of the Great who has a body that
is not born,
The beautiful temple of six - faced Muruga,
That of Balarāma whose colour is like the
conch - shell,
The temple of the blue - bodied, (Viṣṇu)."

"நுதல்விழி நாட்டத் திறையோன் கோயிலும்
உவணச் சேவல் உயர்த்தோன் நியமமும்
மேழி வலனுயர்த்த வெள்ளை நகரமும்
கோழிச் சேவற் கொடியோன் கோட்டமும்".¹

"The Temple of the Lord with an eye in the
forehead,
The Temple of Him who has flown the eagle flag,
The Temple of the White (Balarāma) who
has a plough - written flag,
The Temple of Him who has a cock -
written flag."

"நுதல்விழி நாட்டத் திறையோன் முதலரப்
பதிவாழ் சதுக்கத்துப் பூதமீ ருக".²

"From the Lord with an eye in the forehead
to the Bhūta of public square."

¹ Ibid. K. 14, LL. 7-10. ² Maṇi. K. 1, LL. 54-55.

The first two are from the mouth of Iṅgō Aḍigal, who was an ardent Jain-saint, and the next is from that of Śattanār, a Buddhist. When we consider the fact that both these poets who were non-Śaivas gave the first place to Śiva, we can understand to a certain extent the important place ascribed to Śaivism in the period of Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai. In addition to that, their wide outlook, which discarded religious differences of these non-Śaivas is revealed. The following lines from Maduraikkāñji also support Śiva occupying the pre-eminent place among the Godheads.

“நீரும் நிலனும் தீயும் வளியும்
மாக விசும்போ டைந்துடன் இயற்றிய
மழுவாள் நெடியோன் தலைவ குக.”

“The Great Lord, who created the water, the earth, the fire, the air and the sky is the foremost God.”

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE:

In those days Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism, Buddhism and other religions lived at comparative peace; they preached their doctrines in a peaceful manner; there was no outward hostility. However,

there was inward intolerance among those who followed the Vēdic religion, for such of the non-Śaiva religions as Buddhism and Jainism. That some of the members of the Vēdic religion used to contradict some of the doctrines of these foreign religions, is revealed by the following poem of Āvūr Mūlangilār :-

"The Vēda consists of four divisions and six branches that are inseparable from the tongue of the Lord Śiva. Buddhists and the votaries of other religions have written works contradictory to Vēdas. In order to bring down their influence, after having learnt their false doctrines which appear to be true, not believing their falsehood as truth and imparting the true knowledge to them in a fitting manner, thou hast been born in the family of those who have performed twentyone sacrifices in all their fulness."

Thus has been praised Kavuniyaṇ - Vinṇaṇ - tāyaṇ the Brahmin of Pūñjāṇūr of the Cōla country by Āvūr Mūlangilār. *

* Puṇam v. 166 & its commentary. Perhaps the intolerance for foreign religions (புறச் சமயங்கள்) which began in the pre-Pallava period, in due course of time, developed into the big religious struggle of the 7th century A. D.

CONCLUSION:

From the foregoing investigations, the following facts are revealed :-

1. There were Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism, Jainism and others in the pre-Pallava Tamiḻ Country. Among them, Śaivism was occupying the first place.

2. There were temples in Tamiḻagam; they were built of such destructible materials as mud, wood etc., idols of Gods were enshrined in the temples and worshipped; festivals were held; the deities were taken in procession on the occasion of festivals; Paintings illustrating Epic and Purāṇic stories had been drawn in the maṇṭapas of temples; music and dance were in vogue in temple worship and processions.

3. Worship of Śiva Linga and Dakṣiṇāmūrti was in vogue in Śiva temples.

4. Learned ascetics of high religious merit remained in Jain maṭhas, Buddhist monasteries and the Āśramas of the Brahmins and preached their respective religious doctrines. There were also Śaiva-ascetics.*

* Naṭṭiṇai, v. 141.

5. The Tamil kings allowed the members of all religions and their teachers to reside in the land. Though there was slight religious intolerance there were no persecutions of the later type.

6. The Tamil kings performed Vedic sacrifices; granted villages and lands to Vedic Brahmins; influence of the Vedic Brahmins increased gradually in the land. The Sanskrit language, the doctrines of the Vedic religion, epic and purāṇic stories began to spread in the country.

7. There was also the Order of Nuns among Buddhists and Jains. *

8. Tirumurugāruppāḍai and Paripāḍal properly deserve to be called 'song-books' or 'prayer-books' on Muruga and Viṣṇu. These may be taken to remind us that there must have existed hymns in those days. Those hymns on 'Tirumāl' and 'Muruga' in Paripāḍal clearly indicate the devotion and piety of the people of those days for their respective God-heads.

9. The people of the pre-Pallava period were having such names as Iraiyaṇār, Veṇbūdi and Perundēvaṇār which belong to Śiva.

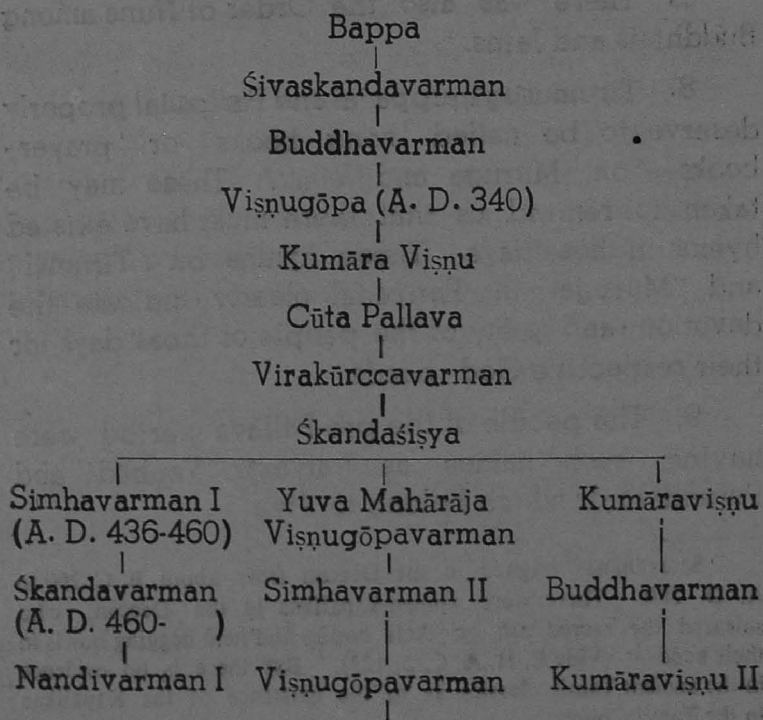
* Sātavāhanas reigned in the Deccan from about B. C. 200 to A. D. 300. There were women-kāpālikas in the Deccan, who smeared the sacred ash on their bodies and held begging bowls in their hands. (Vide E. H. A. C. p. 123). But there is no evidence in the ancient Tamil classics as to the existence of the Kāpālikas in the Tamil Country.

III. ŚAIVISM UNDER THE EARLY PALLAVAS

(A. D. 300 - 600).

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY PALLAVAS:

The Pallava kings who issued their royal records in both the Prakrit and Sanskrit languages may be called the Early Pallavas. The lists of these kings are not uniformly the same but scholars have investigated them and have tentatively drawn the following :-



Simhavarmā III

Simhaviṣṇu (A. D. 575-600)

Mahēndravarmā (A. D. 600-630)¹

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PERIOD :

Of the Pallavas mentioned above it was Viṣṇugōpa of the days of Samudragupta who ruled at Kāñci. Many of his successors issued copper plate grants from several places in the Nellore District, but they do not appear to have ruled at Kāñci.² The Pallava plates tell us that Buddhavarman fought with the ocean-like army of the Cōlas.³ Later on, in about A. D. 575 Simhaviṣṇu defeated the Kaḷabhras, Maḷavas, Cōlas and Pāṇdyas and ruled at Kāñci.⁴ In the middle of the 5th century A. D. the Cōla country was under the rule of the Kaḷabhras.⁵ Kadungōṇ rescued the Pāṇḍya country from the Kaḷabhras in about A. D. 575.⁶ The Kadambas who were the descendants of Mayūraśarma, the foe of the Pallavas attacked the Gangas from Kuntala country. The Pallavas fought the Kadambas in defence of the Gangas.⁷

¹ P of K, pp. 42, 59, 69 & 88. ² S. P. H. p. 18. ³ S. I. I. 2. 98

⁴ S. P. H. pp. 19-20 & 23. ⁵ H. P. L. 2, pp. 384-5 & 389; Cōlas

I, p. 121. ⁶ E. L. 17, p. 306. ⁷ K. K. pp. 31-40; G. T. pp. 11 & 27.

There began to be wars between the pallavas and the Cālukyas of Vātāpi from the beginning of the 6th century A. D.¹ The above historical facts show that there was regular warfare among the various dynasties of the South. This was the situation in the Pallava country from A. D. 300 to 600.

RELIGION DURING THE PERIOD

BUDDHISM:

It is seen from the writings of Buddhadatta of the middle of the 5th century A. D., that Buddhistic temples and monasteries existed in Kāvīrippūm - paṭṭiṇam, Uṛaiyūr, Būdamangālam² and Kāñci.³ An Amarāvati inscription informs us that Simhavarman, a Pallava king of the time, influenced by the Buddhistic teachings raised a statue of Buddha at Amarāvati and embellished it with costly decorations.⁴

JAINISM:

In Kāñci and Pāṭaliputra (Tiruppādirippuliyūr) there were Jain monasteries. The Digambara form of Jainism was prevalent in the Gaṅga country

¹S. I. I. 2. p. 510; G. T. pp. 35-38. ²This is perhaps the Tamil "Bodimangai" of the time of Sambandar. Periya-Purāṇam tells us that the Buddhists here were defeated by Sambandar in religious disputations. ³Colas I, p. 121. ⁴S. I. I. I. 32.

because the Ganga rule was established with the help of Simhanandi, a Digambara Jain Ācārya. As friendly relationship existed between the Gangas and the Pallavas, Jain monks freely spread Jainism in many parts of the Pallava kingdom. Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Simhanandi and Pūjyapāda were the famous Jain teachers. They travelled round the northern and southern kingdoms, defeated the Buddhists in religious disputations and spread Jainism.¹ Vajranandi, the disciple of Pūjyapāda, constituted a Jain Sangham at Madurai in A. D. 470. He and his colleagues rendered services not only to the cause of Jainism but also to literature. This Sangham was mainly responsible for the rapid spread of the Digambara form of Jainism in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.² These Jains must have been responsible for the "Kiḷkanakku."³ Akaḷanka who came after Pūjyapāda went round the Tamiḷnāḍu and preached his religion. During his time, the further fresh batches of Jains from the north migrated to the south and settled in Āṇaimalai, Madurai and Srāvaṇabelgōḷa.⁴ The Jain monastery at Pāṭaliputra was in a highly prosperous condition. Such renowned teachers as Simhasūri and Sarvanandi spread Jainism from

¹ G. T. pp. 191-7. ² A. S. P. p. 227. ³ T. S. p. 23. ⁴ G. T. pp. 197-9; perhaps these were the persons whom Sambandar mentioned in his Padigam as those who neither knew Tamiḷ nor Sanskrit.

there. Mahēndravarmān patronised this monastery in the beginning of the 7th century A. D.¹

VAIṢṆAVISM:

Yuva Mahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarmān mentions himself as 'Parama Bhāgavata', a highly-devoted Vaiṣṇava, in his royal grant.² The Pikira grant issued by his son, Simhavarman II begins with a Viṣṇu prayer.³ Nandivarman's grant mentions him as "Parama Bhāgavata".⁴ The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman II clearly call Simhaviṣṇu as 'Bhaktyārādhitā-Viṣṇu-Simhaviṣṇu'.⁵

When the reign of the Śunga dynasty was founded in Northern India, Vēdic Brahmins revived their influence. The Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata were recast; Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva were placed on equal status; Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were considered to be incarnations of Viṣṇu. Some raised Śiva to a higher level while some others, Viṣṇu. It is in that period that Gītā attained its final shape. Kṛṣṇa was considered to represent the complete incarnation of Viṣṇu. He was called 'Bhagavān'. His stories spread among the masses. His worship was called Bhāgavata religion; and those who

¹A. S. P. pp. 227-230. ²I. A. 5, p. 50. ³E. I. 8. p. 159
⁴E. I. 3. p. 142. ⁵S. I. I. 2. p. 74.

followed it were called 'Bhāgavatas'. The great Gupta Emperors of North India (300-600 A. D.) styled themselves as 'Parama Bhāgavatas'. The Bhāgavata religion spread in their time, throughout the country. The mode of worshipping Lakṣmi along with Nārāyaṇa came into vogue. Purāṇas were written in the time of the Guptas. Big temples were built for Śiva and Viṣṇu by the kings and others, and festivals were held in their honour. The Bhāgavata religion which mostly spread in North India, found its way in the Mahārāṣṭra and Āndhra countries also. During the 6th century A. D. in the reign of Cālukya Maṅgaḷēśa, rock-cut temples were built for Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Cālukyas worshipped Viṣṇu in his Varāha Avatar, and had adopted the Varāha Banner as their royal emblem.¹ It was this Bhāgavata Cult which thus sprang in Northern India and which by slow degrees spread to the south that was followed by the Pallava kings. This could be seen from the fact of their mentioning themselves as 'Parama Bhāgavatas'.

THE ŚAIVA RELIGION

PALLAVAS AND ŚAIVISM - FROM THE PALLAVA RECORDS :

Skanda-śiṣya, one of the early Pallava kings was a benefactor to the Śiva temple at Tirukkajukkuṇṇam.² The Nandi (bull) emblem is found in

¹ M. R. S. I. pp. 31-34. ² E. I. 3, p. 276.

many of the copper plates of the Pallavas. We find Nandi continued as the royal emblem in the plates of the later Pallavas also. We can say from this that Śaivism was the religion of the Pallava State.¹ Most of the plates of this period were issued mainly for granting villages and lands to the Brahmins. Śivaskandavarman performed Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya and Āśvamēdha sacrifices.² These facts, also go to show that many of the Pallavas made arrangements for the settlements of learned Brahmins in many villages, that they were performers of Vēdic sacrifices and that they helped the growth of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism to some extent. Information only to this extent, is available from the early Pallava plates.

ŚAIVISM FROM LITERATURE: AIYAḌIGAL KĀḌAVARKŌṆ:

According to the Periya-Purāṇam, the Pallava king, Aiyāḍigal Kāḍavarkōṇ was a conqueror of many lands. He was a scholar in Tamiḷ and Sanskrit. At an advanced age, he renounced his throne, bestowed it on his son, worshipped in many Śiva temples and sang a single verse on every shrine he visited. This work is known as the "Kṣētra Venbā."³ In Sanskrit Purāṇa, he is

¹ A. S. P. p. 41. ² E. I. 1, p. 5. ³ A. K. N. P. vv. 1-7.

mentioned as 'Simhāṅka', 'Pāda-Simha', and 'Pañca-pāda-Simha'. Again that work gives us that his son was Bhimavarman. In the early Pallava records, it is found that Simhavarman III was the father of Bhimavarman and Simhaviṣṇu. Since it is found that 'Āyaḍigaḷ'¹ is the Tamil rendering of 'Pañca-pāda', scholars are of the opinion that this Nāyaṇār is none other than Simhavarman III.² If this conclusion is correct, he must have lived from about A. D. 550 to 575, as he was the father of Simhaviṣṇu (A. D. 575-600).

The Kōyil-Purāṇam and Cidambara Mānmiyam relate that a certain king called Simhavarman came to the shrine at Cidambaram, bathed in the sacred waters of the temple-tank and had his disease cured and his body turned into a golden colour, and as a result he covered the roof of Śīrāmbalam with gold.³ It is known that after the Pallavas, Parāntaka Cōḷa, in the 10th century A. D. roofed Śīrāmbalam with gold.⁴ Appar of the 7th century A. D. mentions the existence of "Ponṇāmbalam."⁵ The words, 'Tillai' and 'Cidambaram' themselves

¹ That this name was in vogue in Tamiṇpāḍu is revealed from the name of a village Aiyāḍimangalam, a village near Tiruvārūr. "Vide Tiruvārūr, p. 71. ² M. A. A. R., 1925, pp. 9-12. ³ Cidambaram, pp. 25, 27 and 143. ⁴ Tiruvāḷangāḍu plates of Rajendra Cōḷa; Kaṇḍarādittar, v. 18 (9th Tirumuṇḍai). ⁵ Appar, pp. 165 & 6.

are not found in the pre-Pallava works. Therefore, it is clear, that Cidambaram became an important religious centre in the early Pallava period. Three of the names of Simhavarman are found in the list of the early Pallavas. Simhavarman II was a pious Vaiṣṇava devotee. Viṣṇu prayer is found in his royal grants.¹ And, Simhavarman I was the son of Skandaśiṣya who made grants to the Tirukkalukkuṇṇam Śiva temple. It is known also definitely that he ruled from A. D. 436-458.² Nothing has come to light about his religious leanings. Simhavarman III was none other than Aiyāḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōṇ. Only 24 veṇbās are now extant from his work 'the Kṣētra Veṇbā'. A Śiva shrine is mentioned in each of the veṇbā. The first verse of the work speaks about Tillai-Śirāmbalam. From this, it is evident that he considered Tillai superior to the other shrines. If this first verse along with the history of Aiyāḍigaḷ and other evidences are taken into consideration, it is possible that the benefactor who roofed Śirāmbalam with gold might be Simhavarman III.

THE KṢĒTRA VEṆBĀ :

The Śiva shrines mentioned in this work are
 (1) Tillai, (2) Kuḍandai (Kiḷkkōṭṭam), (3) Aiyāru,
 (4) Ārūr, (5) Tirutturutti (Kurālam, Tanjore

¹ E. I. 8, p. 159. ² P. of K. p. 66.

District), (6) Tirukkōdikā, (7) Pāṇḍavāit-ten-Idaivāi (Idaivāi, a Śiva shrine on the southern bank of the river named Pāṇḍavāi), (8) Tiruneḍungalām, (9) Kuḷittanḍalai, (10) Āṇaikkā, (11) Mayilai, (12) Uñjēnai Mākālam, * (13) Vaḷaikuḷam, (14) Śaik-kāḍu, (15) Tiruppāccilāccirāmam, (16) Śīrāmalai, (17) Maḷapāḍi, (18) Āppāḍi, (19) Ēkambam (at Kāñci), (20) Tiruppanandāl, (21) Oṟṟiyūr and (22) Tirukkaḍavūr Mayānam.

NĀYANMĀRS OF THIS EARLIER PERIOD:

Appar lived in the time of Mahēndravarmān. Sambandar was a contemporary of Appar. Many are the Nāyanmārs that were referred to by both of them in their Tēvāram. On an investigation of Appar and Sambandar's Tēvāram and Periya-Purāṇam, we find that some of them were their contemporaries and the others lived prior to them.

* The Śiva temple called 'Mahākālam' is in the city of Ujjain. This is a renowned temple sung by Kālidāsa. Therein is one of the twelve lingas which are considered to be very ancient and holy. The twelve are: (1) Sōmanāth destroyed by Muḥamad of Gazni, (2) Mallikārjuna of Śrī Śaila in the Kurnool district, (3) Mahākāl in Ujjain destroyed by Altamush in A. D. 1235. (4) Ōmkaranāth on the bank of the Narmadā, (5) Amarēśvar in Ujjain, (6) Vaidyanāth in Bengal, (7) Rāmēśvar in South India, (8) Bhīma-śankar at Dākiṇi (Dākṣarāma) near Rajahmundry, (9) Tryambakēśvar near Nasik, (10) Gautamēśa - original site and present fate unknown, (11) Viśvēśvar in Benares, (12) Kēdārnāth in the Himalayas. " - M. R. S. I. p. 59.

The following Nāyanmārs may be said to be anterior to Appar and Sambandar: (1) Kōccengaṇān, (2) Caṇḍiśar, (3) Kaṇṇappar, (4) Śakkiyar, (5) Kaṇampullar, (6) Amarniti, (7) Arivaḷ Tāyar, (8) Puḡaḷttuṇai, (9) Naminandi, and (10) Daṇḍi Aḍigal. But since these names are not found in the ancient Tamil works, it is proper to conclude that all these Nāyanmārs including Kōccengaṇān¹ belonged to the period of the early Pallavas.

From the evidences found in the Periya-Purāṇam and other sources (1) Puḡaḷccōḷar,² (2) his contemporary Eripattar,³ (3) Kūṟṟuvar⁴ (4) Mūrttiyār,⁵ (5) Aiyadigal, (6) Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār,⁶ and (7) Tirumūlar⁷ too appear to belong to the period of the early Pallavas.

LIGHT THROWN ON ŚAIVISM BY THE LIVES OF NĀYANMĀRS.

KŌCCENGAṆĀN:

Kōccengaṇān was born at Cidambaram by Śiva's grace. He might have refined Tillai temple. It is also possible that he might have built houses

¹ Vile Appendix C. ² O. E. H. S. S. I. p. 183. ³ E. N. P. vv. 24-5; 37-48. ⁴ O. E. H. S. S. I. pp. 180-1. ⁵ Ibid. p. 168. ⁶ Sam. N. P. v. 1008 and P. M. T. M. T. pp. 229-230. ⁷ T. M. Int. p. 27; O. E. H. S. S. I. pp. 224, 253 & 275.

for Brahmins and made them reside therein.¹ It is possible to suppose from this that Tillai attained prominence from Kōccenganān's time itself and was renowned as the most precious gem of the temples in the Tamiḷ country.² Tirumangai Ālvār says that Kōccenganān built 70 Śiva temples and worshipped Viṣṇu also.³

CANḌIŚAR:

He was a Brahmin youth and a native of Śēyñālūr. The lingam which was worshipped by Canḍiśar is in the temple of Āppāḍi, near that village.⁴ He attained Śiva's grace by cutting off the leg of his father who knocked down the milkpot kept for pūja. Śiva appeared before him with Umādēvī, placed a 'konrai' floral wreath on his head and blessed him by giving 'Canḍiśappadam',⁵ the status of being by His side always. On this account Canḍiśar is enshrined in a separate shrine in the inner prākāra of every Śiva temple. Temple grants were made in his name only. He was considered as a supervisor and accountant of the possessions of the temple. We can understand

¹ K. C. N. P. vv. 12-16. ² O. E. H. S. S. I. pp. 201-2. ³ N. D. P. Tirunāraiyyūr padigam vv. 1-10; The reason seems to be that there was absolutely no hostility between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. O. E. H. S. S. I. pp. 239-244. ⁴ I visited these two temples on 30-3-49. ⁵ C. N. P. vv. 31-57.

these facts from the copper plates and inscriptions of the Cōla period.¹ He has been sung profusely by Appar and Sambandar.²

KAN̄NAPPAR:

He was a hunter by birth. His extreme devotion prompted him to dig out his eye and fix it on that of Śiva. This made Appar and all other Nāyanmārs respect him. Sambandar, when he visited Kāḷatti, forgot his own self in his worship of Kan̄nappar.³ There was a Śiva Brāhmaṇa to perform pūja in the temple at Kāḷatti hill, according to Āgamic rites.⁴ The temple at Kāḷatti had become an important one on account of Kan̄nappar's devotion and sacrifice.⁵

ŚAKKIYAR:

He was a Veḷḷāla. He went to Kāñci to find out the relative merits of the religions of his time.

¹ S. I. I. IV. 526; S. I. I. I. 84 etc. ² Appar, pp. 74, 75, 99, 110, 165, 265, 350, 385 and 472; Sambandar, pp. 78, 100, 167, 327, 511, and 530. ³ Sam. N. P. v. 1022. ⁴ Kan̄. N. P. vv. 135, 138-140; "the rising tide of Brahmanism which started in the north in the reign of the Guptas, felt itself in the South and did not fail to produce its own effect. The Śaivas, according to the Āgamānta Śaiva Works, flourished at a place called Mantra-Kāḷēśvar situated on (one of) the banks of the Gōḍavarī, and that there were four Śaiva Maṭhas surrounding the temple of Mantra-Kāḷēśvar. The Āgamānta Works have been tentatively referred to the 4th or 5th century of the Christian Era." - M. R. S. I. p. 71. ⁵ I visited this place on 20-3-'49.

He became a Buddhist and made a thorough study of Buddhist works. He came to the conclusion that Śaivism which explains vividly the four matters, namely, Karma (செய்வினை), Ātma, doer (செய்வான்), result of the Karma (செய்வினைப்பயன்) and Pati, the Lord (சேர்ப்பான்) was the best to be followed and undertook linga worship, though he continued the garb of a Buddhist. Daily, before his meal, he used to stand before a lingam and worship it in his mind and throw a small stone as a token of his love.¹ The temple where the lingam which he worshipped is kept, is now called Virattāśam at Kāñci.² He has been sung by Appar.³

KANAMPULLAR:

He went on pilgrimage to Śiva shrines and used to burn lights in these places. Having no money for oil, he cut and gathered the Kaṇam grass and by the sale of it, he purchased oil for the lighting. When the grass was not sold, he burnt the grass itself as a lamp. When the grass was not available, he burnt his own hair and attained Mukti.⁴ He has been sung by Appar.⁵

¹ Śak. N. P. vv. 2-14. It is worthy to remember here that it is a custom found among the Buddhists of Tibet to place a small stone at the feet of Buddha during the time of worship at the close of every prayer song sung. ² I visited the temple on 20-4-'49. ³ Appar. pp. 76 and 423. ⁴ Kaṇam, N. P. vv. 2-7. ⁵ Appar, pp. 76 & 336.

AMARNITIYAR :

He was a Vanika i. e., of the merchant community. He was a native of Palaiyārai. At Nallūr, where a festival took place, he built a maṭha and gave food and clothes to devotees.¹ He was sung by Appar.²

ARIVĀL TĀYAR :

He was a Vellāla; a native of Kaṇamangalam, a neighbouring village of Tirutturaippūṇḍi in the Tanjore District. He daily cooked food and offered it to Śiva. One day, by accident, the food fell down from his hand; and he took up a sickle to cut off his neck. Śiva prevented him.³ The temple worshipped by him exists in Ūṭṭittaṇḍalai.⁴ He was sung by Appar.⁵

PUGAḸTTUṆAIYAR :

He was an Ādi Śaiva. He was a priest in the Śiva temple at Seruviliputtūr, near Kumbakōṇam. Since he continued the worship of Śiva daily without leaving the place even during the time of severe famine, he was given daily 'Paḍikkāsu' - Kāsu, a coin, placed on paḍi, the pīṭha before

¹A. N. P. vv. 4-12. ²Appar, p. 145. ³A. T. N. P. vv. 6-22.

⁴I visited this shrine on 19-2-'49. ⁵Appar, p. 151.

Nandi, until the famine continued.¹ He was sung by Sambandar.²

ERIPATTAR:

He was of Karuvūr; served Śaiva devotees. Since the royal elephant of Pugaḷccōḷar trampled on the flower basket of an Āṇḍār³ of the temple⁴ and pushed him also down, Eripattar cut that elephant and its mahout with his axe. He was praised by the Cōḷa king Pugaḷccōḷar for this act.⁵

PUGAḶCCŌḶAR:

He made excellent arrangements for the performance of pūjas in the Śiva temples of his dominion. Once, his warriors waged a war with Aḍigamāṇ of Tagadūr and brought with them a basket full of heads. Of which, Pugaḷccōḷar spotted one with a small matted lock of hair and thought that his warriors had killed a Śaiva devotee. He shuddered and fell into the fire and died.⁶

¹ P. N. P. vv. 1-6. ² Sambandar, p. 325. ³ Those who cleaned the compound, washed the floor, raised flower gardens and maintained them and kept the temple maṇṭapas clean were called Āṇḍārs. - 350 of 1929; S. I. I. 7-97. Periya-Purāṇam describes in detail how the 'Āṇḍārs' plucked flowers from plants. - vide E. N. P. v. 9. ⁴ I visited this temple on 30-4-'50. ⁵ E. N. P. vv. 6-45. ⁶ P. C. N. P. vv. 8-38.

KŪRRUVA NAYANAR :

He was king of Kaṇḍai. He pronounced the Pañcākṣara the five sacred letters. He performed holy services to Śiva temples.¹ In his time, the Brahmins who dwelt at Tillai had the privilege of crowning the Cōla kings.² Perhaps that privilege commenced from the time of Kōccengaṇaṇ.

NAMINANDI AḌIGAḌ :

He was a Brahmin. Desiring to burn a light at the temple of Tiruvārūr, he went to a house and asked for some oil. The inmates of the house were Jains. They said, "Of what use is light to Śiva who has fire in his hand? If you desire, you may burn a light with water." Naminandi prayed to Śiva and burnt a light with water. The Cōla king who came to know of his greatness, provided the temple with necessary things and made him the manager of the temple. In his time, the festival of "Panguni Uttram" was commenced. The saint who had caste leanings and observed untouchability was apprised by Śiva of the non-existence of such difference amongst His devotees. Nāyaṇār realized that all were Śiva-gaṇas.³ He has been sung by Appar and Sambandar.⁴

¹K. N. P. vv. 1 & 7. ²Ibid. V. 4. ³N. A. P. vv. 7-27. ⁴Appar, pp. 151 and 382; Sambandar, p. 101.

DANḌI ADIGAḌ :

He was born blind. Since the Jains encroached upon the tank-bund area of the Śiva's temple at Tiruvārūr by building Jain temples and monasteries on it, the saint wanted to reconstruct the sacred tank. The Jains mocked at him, a blind man, doing the work. They promised to leave that place once for all, if he got his sight again by Śiva's grace. Daṇḍi by Śiva's grace got his sight in the presence of the Cōḷa king. The Jains quitted the place. The king pulled down the Jain temples and monasteries and reconstructed with the materials the sacred tank.¹

MŪRTTI NĀYAṆĀR :

He was a merchant. The Kaḷabhra king who seized the Pāṇḍya country in his time, favoured Jainism. Mūrtti Nāyaṇār daily prepared and gave sandal paste to the Śiva temple. The king contrived in such a way, that the Nāyaṇār could not get sandalwood. The Kaḷabhra king disrespected Śiva temples. Only after his death, Śaivism raised its head again.

KĀRAIKKĀL AMMAIYĀR :

She belonged to the merchant community of Kāraikkāl.² Her name was Punitavati. From her

¹D. A. P. vv. 4-24. ²M. N. P. vv. 11-25. ³I visited her temple at Kāraikkāl on 6-4-1948.

childhood, she was an ardent devotee of Śiva. At the close of her life, she worshipped the holy shrine at Tiruvālangādu and attained Mōkṣa. She was a Tamiḷ poetess and has sung three poetical works namely, (1) Tiruvālangāṭṭu Mūṭta Tirupadigam, (2) Irattai-maṇi-malai, and (3) Aṟpuda Tiruvandādi.*

TIRUMŪLAR:

In the next section, he will be referred to at length, and his work Tirumandiram.

SOME OTHER DEVOTEES OF THIS PERIOD:

Sundarar has mentioned 63 Nāyaṇmārs and the following have not been mentioned by him individually. They are (1) Nakkiradēva Nāyaṇār, (2) Kapiladēva Nāyaṇār, (3) Paraṇadēva Nāyaṇār, and (4) Kallāḍadēva Nāyaṇār. Their poems have been included in the 11th Tirumuṟai.

NAKKIRADĒVA NĀYAṆĀR:

This Nāyaṇār gives in detail the story of Kaṇṇappar, which is not found in the pre-Pallava literary works. As such, he is one different from the ancient Nakkirar. Since Nakkiradēvar does

* K. A. P. vv. 5-65.

not mention Appar and Sambandar, his date may be assigned to some time prior to that of Appar.¹

Poems sung by him are (1) Kailai-pādi-Kāḷatti-pādi Tiruvandādi, (2) Tiru ĩṅgōimalai seventy, (3) Tiruvalaṅjuḷi Mummaṇikkōvai, (4) Tiruvēḷu-Kūrriṟukkai, (5) Perundēvapāṇi, (6) Kōpapprasādam, (7) Kāreṭṭu, (8) Pōrṟittirukkali Veṇbā, and (9) Tirukkannappadēvar Tirumaṇam.² Nakkiradēvar has sung in praise of the devotion of Kaṇṇappar, Candiśar, Śakkiyar and Kōccenganāṇ. Since the names of several shrines are found in his work, he appears to have visited the shrines at Kāḷatti, Tiru-ĩṅgōimalai, Thiruvallaṅjuḷi and others.

KAPILADĒVA NĀYAṆĀR:

He is the author of three works, namely (1) Śivaperumāṇ Tiruvandādi, (2) Śivaperumāṇ Irattai-maṇi-mālai, and (3) Mūṭṭa Nāyaṇār Tiruvirattai-maṇi-mālai. No Nāyaṇār has been mentioned in these books. Since he has not mentioned even Kaṇṇappar who has been mentioned by all the later Adiyārs, we may take him to belong to the period preceding Kaṇṇappar. His style differs from the style of Puṛaṇāṇūru and other ancient

¹ T. I. V. p. 376. ² Tirumurugārppaḍai has been included in the 11th Tirumuṇai under his name.

works. Again, he has sung such poems as *Andādi* and *Irattai-maṇi-mālai* which were not in vogue in those ancient times. He has sung about *Gaṇēśa* who was not mentioned in olden times. Therefore, he must necessarily belong to the period of the early Pallavas.¹

Many are the *Kṣētras* which *Kapiladēvar* has mentioned. In *Irattai-maṇi-mālai* he has mentioned (1) *Veṅkādu*, (2) *Mudukunram*, (3) *Adigai*, (4) *Oṟṟiyūr*, (5) *Maṛaikkādu*, (6) *Vāimūr*, (7) *Tillai*, (8) *Ārūr*, (9) *Aiyāru*, (10) *Pāṇḍikkoḍumudi*, (11) *Kōvalūr*, and (12) *Śattimurram*.²

The *Kṣētras* he mentioned in *Śivaperumān Tiruvandādi* are (1) *Āvūr*, (2) *Āmāttūr*, (3) *Kūḍal*, (4) *Śirāmalai*, (5) *Naṛaiyūr*, (6) *Vakkarai*, (7) *Kāṇappēr*, (8) *Ākkūr*, (9) *Kurakkukkā*, (10) *Gōkaṇṇam*, (11) *Kurṟālam*, (12) *Paḷaṇam*, (13) *Pugalūr*, (14) *Kaḷandai*, (15) *Talaiyālangādu* and (16) *Śengunṟūr*.³

It is worthy to note that the names of shrines found in *Irattai-maṇi-mālai* do not find a place in *Andādi*. We understand that these 28 shrines must have been prominent in his time. If we

¹ *Tamiḷ Poṭil*, Vol. 15, page 15 f. n. ² vv. 2, 5, 12, 15, 16, 17, 24, 26, 30, 33, 34 & 37. ³ vv. 13, 15, 29, 42, 45, 46, 51, 58, 67, 79, 80, 85, 88, 90, 93 and 95.

consider the fact that he has sung of every shrine in a separate verse, he might be taken to have visited every one of these places.

VINĀYAKA WORSHIP :

Kapiladēva Nāyaṇār has sung 20 verses in praise of Vināyaka. It has already been told that Vināyaka worship does not find any mention in the literature of the pre-Pallava period. Perhaps, the word 'Mūṭṭa-Piḷḷaiyār' in Kapiladēva Nāyaṇār's time, indicated Vināyaka. It means Śiva's eldest son, Gaṇapati. Mūṭṭa-Piḷḷaiyār is also called 'Gaṇapati' in the sense that he is the head of the gaṇas, and 'Vighnēśvara' means the Lord who removes all obstacles. The sect which worships him as the sole Lord is called 'Gaṇapatiyam'. It can be said that the worship of this deity came into vogue about the 5th century A. D.¹

PARAṆADĒVA NĀYAṆĀR :

The only work sung by him is Śivaperumān Tiruvandādi. Such words as Pēccu (பேச்சு), Uḷarēl (உளரேல்), Unpāl (உன்பால்), Unnai (உன்னை), Nīr (நீர்), Āṇāl (ஆனால்)² are the words which are not found in the old works as Puṇanānūru. These words are sufficient to affirm that he did not belong to

¹ M. R. S. I. p. 86. ² vv. 9, 24, 11, 51.

the pre-Pallava period. But since this Nāyanār who has sung 100 stanzas, has not, like Kapiladēvar, mentioned any Āḍiyār including Kaṇṇappar, we may take that he belonged to the period prior to Kaṇṇappa Nāyanār.

The following are the Śiva shrines mentioned in his poems: (1) Iḍaimarudu, (2) Pugalūr, (3) Oṟṟiyūr, (4) Ārūr, (5) Pāsūr, (6) Tillai, (7) Āmāttūr, (8) Ēkambam, (9) Āṇaikkā, (10) Ālavāi, (11) Kaḍal-Nāgaik-Kārōṇam, (12) Anṇāmalai, (13) Ālan-
durai, (14) Śōṟṟutturai, (15) Virattam, (16) Śirā-
malai, (17) Pūvaṇam, (18) Pugalūr, (19) Veṅkādu, (20) Sētukkarai (Rāmēśvaram), (21) Kōḷili, (22) Ālangādu, (23) Maṛaikkādu, (24) Valaṇṇūḷi, (25) Ambar Mākālam,¹ (26) Kaḷumalam, (27) Kāḷippālai, (28) Śengāttangudi, (29) Miṇṇūr (Miyaccūr), (30) Kaḍavūr, (31) Kāṇappēr, (32) Kāḷatti, (33) Marugal, (34) Śaikkādu, (35) Paṇṇīli, (36) Vaṇṇi, (37) Ingōi-malai.²

These places are distributed throughout Tamiḷaṇam. Since Paraṇar has mentioned all these places very carefully, it is not wrong to infer that he visited these places.

¹ Unṇēnai Mākālam is very ancient. Perhaps Ambar Mākālam was created in Tamiḷnāḍu in memory of it. ² vv. 4, 5, 6, 8, 15, 17, 21, 22, 26, 27, 35, 38, 39 (2), 40, 44, 45, 46(2), 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 62, 63, 69, 70, 71, 73, 80, 90, 92, 93, 95 and 96.

Since Appar and Sambandar of the 7th century A. D. mention that sweet musical songs were sung in the temples¹ even before them, we may safely suppose that the songs of Nakkirar, Kapiladēvar, Paraṇadēvar, Karaikkāl Ammaiṃyār and Āiyadigaḷ also would have found a place among them.

The fact that there existed Ponnambalam at Tillai is found in two of the verses of Paraṇadēvar.² It may also be noted here that the author's name and of the benefits one would derive by reading the verses are found at the close of Karaikkāl Ammaiṃyār's Tiruvandādi and Paraṇadēvar's Tiruvandādi. These do not find a place at the end of the songs of Nakkirar and Kapiladēvar. It may be that this advice given at the end of each andādi induced one to read the verses and derive the spiritual merit mentioned therein. Possibly this indirectly helped the growth of Śaivism. In later times, Sambandar and Sundarar followed this method greatly.

KALLĀDADEVAR:

This Nāyaṇār has sung only an 'Agavaṃpā' of 38 lines which describes the devotion of Kaṇṇappar and it is named Kaṇṇappadēvar Tirumaṃam. Since

¹ Sambandar, pp. 539, 550; Appar p. 190. ² vv. 17 and 86.

the Sanskrit words, Uttariyam (உத்தரியம்), Dāmam (தாமம்), Mañjana-nir (மஞ்சன நீர்), Nayanam (நயனம்) which find a place in it are not found in the ancient works like Puṇanānūru, we can say that he did not belong to the age of these works. Again, since he has not mentioned anything about Appar and Sambandar who promoted the growth of Śaivism except Kaṇṇappar, it can be said that he belonged to the period prior to the famous two. Other scholars have also expressed the same opinion.¹ It deserves mention here that Kallāḍar, author of Kallāḍam, who has mentioned in his work Māṇikkavāṣagar of the 9th century A. D.² is different from this Kallāḍanār.

KADAL-NĀGAIK-KARŌNAM:

This 'Kārōnam' appears to be a new term, while no shrine of the seventy mentioned in this section bears this name. Only Paraṇadēvar has mentioned this. Therefore, it deserves an investigation. "In the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr, a shrine for 'Paḍampakkanāyakadēvar' was built in the time of Vira Rājendra (about A. D. 1067-'8). The name of the deity was 'Kārāṇai Viṭangar'. If so, Kārāṇai must be an old name of Tiruvorriyūr. Perhaps the place was the home of the Śaiva sect

¹T. I. V. p. 376. ²J. S. V. O. I. Vol. 4, part 2 (1943), pp. 152-182.

of Lakuliśa Pāsupatas and was believed by them to be as sacred as the Kārōhaṇa of the north, where Lakuliśa the founder of the sect, is supposed to have incarnated. Kārāṇi, Kārōhaṇa were old names of Kārvān in the Bombay Presidency. Hence Paḍampakkanāyakadēva of Tiruvorriyūr may be connected with Lakuliśa of Kārōhaṇa.¹

Lakuliśa was of about the 2nd century A. D. He reformed the Pāsupata religion which existed for a long time before him. The religion reformed by him was called 'Lakuliśa Pāsupatam'. His devotees thought he was an incarnation of Śiva.² Among the places whereto they migrated and settled, like Tiruvorriyūr mentioned above, Nāgai also may be one. They might have considered it as sacred as Kārōhaṇam, the birth place of their spiritual master and named³ it as such. It is natural that, in course of time, the word Kārōhaṇam was corrupted as Kārōṇam. By this, we can understand that Lakuliśa Pāsupatas existed at Nāgai in the early Pallava period.

¹ A. R. E. 1913-'14, p. 103. ² M. R. S. I. p. 62. ³ If the names Kacci-Ēkambam, Kaccik-Kārōṇam, Kuḍandaik-Kīlkkōttam, Kuḍandaik-Kārōṇam are carefully observed, it will be seen that the former denotes the name of the place and the latter that of the temple. If it were so, it is proper to conclude that the word 'Kārōṇam' denotes only the name of the shrine.

CONCLUSION :

From the foregoing, the following conclusions may be formed :—

1. In the early Pallava period (A. D. 300-600), wars took place among the Pallavas, Kaṭabhras, Cōlas, Pāṇdyas, Kadambas, Gangas and Cālukyas. Kāñci was seized from the Pallavas and changed hands frequently. The Cōla and Pāṇdyā countries lost their independence. There was struggle for independence. From this, it is not possible to say that there was complete peace in the land. About A. D. 575 Simhaviṣṇu and Kaḍungōṇ captured and began to rule from Kāñci and Madurai respectively.

2. In this period Buddhism and Jainism attained great prominence by the support given to them by the Kaṭabhras. Jainism attained greater prominence. The Jains and the Buddhists were very learned; they travelled throughout the country and spread their religious doctrines. Vēdas and Purāṇic stories were spread in the Tamiḷ country by Vēdic Brahmins. The Bhāgavata religion of the north also spread in the Tamiḷ country.

3. The Pallava kings gave villages and lands to the Vēdic Brahmins as grants. They supported the Jains and Buddhists also.

4. Kōccenganān gave prominence to Tillai and built dwelling places for the Brahmins to live in. He constructed many Śiva temples. Āiyadigaḷ Kāḍavarkōṇ might have roofed Tillai Śīrāmbalam with gold. Kings like Puḡaḷccōḷar and Kūṟuva Nāyanār encouraged Śiva temples.

5. The verses sung by the devotees Āiyadigaḷ, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyaṟ, Nakkiradēvar, Kapiladēvar, Paraṇadēvar, Kallāḍadēvar mention about 70 Śiva temples. We can also say that they visited those shrines. They have also sung about the pious devotees like Kaṇṇappar.

6. In many shrines, Ādi-Śaivas (Śiva-Brāhmaṇas) conducted worship according to the Āgamic rites; Śiva-linga was in worship in temples. Festivals were held; the deities were taken in procession. Devotees like Āṇḍār were in temple service. Prayer songs were sung in temples according to the appropriate tunes assigned to them.

7. All classes of people, the Brahmins, Ādi-Śaivas and others were devotees of Śiva. From the devotees' praise of Kaṇṇappar, it can be understood that utmost prominence was given to piety only. No difference was shown between the devotees, whether the devotee was king or of a lower order. Religious wrongs were severely condemned by

the spiritual masters. There was religious fraternity observed among the devotees. On the occasion of the festivals, food and clothing were distributed free to the devotees in at least some mathas.

8. The Jains, when there was a chance, worsted the Śaivas; disputed with them; created such a situation that the king of the land had to interfere. The story of Mūrttiyār and the information afforded by the Vālvikkudī plates themselves are a few instances for the cruelty perpetrated by the Jains in the Pāṇḍya country. These details are sufficient to show that the Jains attempted to prevent the growth of Śaivism.

9. Lakuliśa Pāsupātas lived in the Tamil country. Nāgai was one of their places of dwelling.

10. Kāñci was the meeting place of a number of teachers on different religions, that it was possible to conduct religious discourses there. It was renowned for learning.

IV. ŚAIVISM UNDER THE EARLY PALLAVAS. (Contd).

THE TIRUMANDIRAM.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TIRUMANDIRAM :

It can be said that Āgamānta or Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras attained prominence in about the 4th or 5th century A. D. In the Gupta period there were four Śaiva Maṭhas or monasteries around the Mantrakālēśvar Temple on one of the banks of the river Gōdāvari. There were Āgamic Śaivas in that place.* From a study of Tirumūlar's Tirumandiram it will be clear that Tirumūlar flourished between 300 and 600 A. D. as stated in Chapter III. Before Tirumūlar's time, there were no Śaiva Siddhānta Works in the Tamiḷ language in the Tamiḷ country. It is clear that his work Tirumandiram is the first work on Śaiva Siddhānta. Therefore, this work formed the basis for the latter Samayācāryas, viz. Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar etc; and the Śaiva religion preached by them. We can quote several examples to show that they had made a thorough study of it. A few instances are enough to illustrate :-

* M. R. S. I. p. 71.

1. (அ) “குருவே சிவமெனக் கூறினன் நந்தி.”¹

The spiritual master himself is Śiva,
said Nandi.

- (ஆ) “ஒருவராயிரு மூவருமாயவன் குருவதாய
குழகன்”²

The Lord is one, two, three and Guru.
He takes these forms.

2. (அ) “இதயத்தும் நாட்டத்தும் என்றன் சிரத்தும்
பதிவித்த பாதம் பராபர நந்தி.”³

God impressed His feet in my heart,
eyes, and head.

- (ஆ) “நனைந்தனைய திருவடிஎன் தலைமேல் வைத்தார்
நற்றவர்சேர் திருவடிஎன் தலைமேல் வைத்தார்.”⁴

He placed His sacred feet on my head.

- (இ) “(என்)கண்ணுளும் நெஞ்சத் தகத்தும்
உளகழற் சேவடியே.”⁵

In my eyes and heart, are His sacred feet.

3. “இணையார் திருவடி என் தலைமேல் வைத்தலுமே
துணையான சுற்றங்கள் அத்தனையும்
துறந்தொழிந்தேன்.”⁶

On His matchless feet being impressed on
my head, I renounced all my relations.

¹T. M. 1581. ²Appar p. 191, v. 1. ³T. M. 1596. ⁴Appar,
Nallūrp-Padigam, vv. 1-11. ⁵Appar, p. 145, v. 5. ⁶Tiruvāṣagam,
Tiruppāvalli, v. 1.

4. (அ) “தானென் றவனென் றிரண்டாகும் தத்துவம்
தானென் றவனென் றிரண்டும் தனிற்கண்டு
தானென்ற பூவை அவனடி சாத்தினு
னென் றவனென்கை நல்லதொன் றன்றே.”¹

(ஆ) “ஒருவ னுகிநின் ருனிவ் வுலகெலாம்
இருவ ராகிநின் ருர்கட் கறிகிலான்.”²

God is all pervading. See Him in everything and become one with Him. He stood as one in all these worlds. He cannot be known by those who stood as two; i. e. who stood separate from Him.

5. Tirumūlar has written many verses on 'Renunciation'. He has described, in them, the greatness of renunciation.³ Appar's heart was attracted by this description.

“துறந்தார்தம் துநெறிக்கண் சென்றேன் அல்லேன்.”⁴
Appar has said “I have not followed the pure path of the ascetics.”

6. (அ) “சாத்திர மோதும் சதுர்களை விட்டுநீர்
மாத்திரைப் போது மறித்துள்ளே நோக்குமின்
பார்த்திப் பார்வை பசுமரத் தாணிபோல்
ஆர்த்த பிறவி அகலவிட் டோடுமே.”⁵

Leave reading the sacred scriptures; look inside for a moment by a steady and firm look; the birth

¹ T. M. 1607. ² Appar, p. 303, v. 11. ³ vv. 1614-1623. ⁴ Appar; p. 412, v. 10. ⁵ T. M. 1631.

will run away from you. (You will not be born again but attain liberation).

Appar tells the same words of advice :

(ஆ) “ சாத்தி ரம்பல பேசும் சழக்கர்காள்
கோத்தி ரமுங்கு லமுங்கொண் டென்செய்வீர்?
பாத்தி ரஞ்சிவ மென்று பணிதிரேல்
மாத்தி ரைக்குள் அருளுமாற் பேறரே.”¹

Ye, that speak of many śāstras. What will you do with your caste and creed? The Eternal is Śiva; if you pray to Him He will grant you the bliss in a moment.

In mentioning the eight heroic deeds of Śiva, Tirumūlar has said that two of them took place at the places namely Kaḍavūr and Kuṟukkai.² Appar and others who came later, have mentioned that the eight heroic deeds of Śiva took place at Kaṇḍiyūr, Kōvalūr, Adigai, Karuppariyālūr, Viṟkuḍi, Vaḷuvūr,³ Kuṟukkai and Kaḍavūr.

7. “ எப்பரி சாயினும் ஏத்துமின் ஏத்தினால்
அப்பரி சீசன் அருள்பெற லாமே.”⁴

Pray in whatever manner you like; if you pray, you can get the grace of God.

Is not this idea reflected in the following lines of Tiruvāśagam?

¹ Appar, p. 251, v. 3. ² vv. 339-346. ³ Vaḷuvūr, sung by Appar Vaipputtalam, Appar, p. 462, v. 8. ⁴ T. M. 36.

“எப்பெருந் தன்மையும் எவ்வெவர் திறமும்
அப்பரி சதனால் ஆண்டுகொண் டருளியும்.”¹

The Lord grants liberation to all, in the manner they pray to Him.

8. Thus not only the ideas of Appar and others of the later period were taken for granted, but the places where the same words and phrases used by Tirumūlar were also repeated exactly in many places. Among them, two are given below as instances:—

(1) “வேயன தோளிக்கு வேந்தொன்றுந் தானே.”²

“வேயுறு தோளிபங்கன் விடமுண்ட கண்டன்”³

The Lord of Pārvati, having bamboo-like shoulders

Sharer of Pārvati who has bamboo-like shoulders, possessor of poison-stained throat.

(2) “அத்தன் திருவடிக் கப்பாலைக் கப்பாலாம்.”⁴

“அப்பாலைக் கப்பாலைப் பாடுதுங்காண் அம்மானாய்.”⁵

The Lord's feet are beyond the beyonds.

Let us pray to Him who is beyond the beyonds.

¹ Kirtti-ttiru-Agaval, LL. 125-126. ² T. M. 42. ³ Saṃbandar : Koḷarupadigam, v. 1. ⁴ T. M. 1758. ⁵ Tiruvāṣagam, v. 185.

(3) “சீரார் பிரான்வந்தென் சிந்தை புகுந்தனன்.”¹

The glorious Lord came and entered into my heart.

“சிவனவனென் சிந்தையுள் நின்று அதனால்”²

Since Śiva stayed in my heart.

TIRUMŪLAR'S LIFESKETCH (ACCORDING TO THE PERIYA PURĀṆAM).

Tirumūlar, author of Tirumandiram, had attained Nandi's grace. He was a Brahmin Śiva-yōgin; well-versed in siddhis (capability of performing miracles), viz. Aṇimā etc. He started from Kailās, desiring to see Agastya at the Podigai Hill. On his way, he visited the Śiva temples at Kēdāram³ and Nēpāl⁴ and had a bath in the Ganges. Then he worshipped Śiva in the shrines at Kāśī,⁵ Vindhya and Śrīśailam.⁶ Next, he worshipped Kāḷatti, Ālangāḍu and Ēkambam. He had religious discourses

¹ T. M. 2960. ² Tiruvāśagam, Śivapurāṇam, l. 17. ³ It has already been stated that the ‘Linga at Kēdāram is one of the very ancient lingas. ⁴ In 249 B. C. Asoka went to Nēpāl with his daughter Sārumathī. There was a Pāsupata Śaiva monastery with the name of Śiva, ‘Paśupatināth’ two miles to the north of the city of Khatmandu. From the fact that Sārumathī joined the maṭha and became a nun, it comes to light that the country of Nēpāl was renowned for Śaivism in those early times. - M. R. S. I. p. 62. ⁵ & ⁶ It has already been stated that the lingas of these places are very ancient ones.

with the yōgic saints at Kāñci. Then he visited Tiruvadigai and reached Tillai and witnessed the mystic dance of Natarāja. Next he bathed in the Kāviri and reached Tiruvāvaḍuturai and worshipped Śiva. In order to relieve the distress of the cows, he entered into the dead body of the cowherd Mūlaṇ. On seeing Mūlaṇ's wife, he stood at a distance. When the wise men of the place pronounced that he was a yōgin (saint), she left him. Then Tirumūlar sought for his own body in the place where he left it. It was not found. Then he came to know that God concealed his body in order to make him write the Āgamic truths in Tamil. Then he sat in yōga beneath a pipal tree¹ to the west of Tiruvāvaḍuturai temple and wrote Tirumandiram containing 3000 (three thousand) verses.² His real name is not known. Since he left his own body and got into the body of Mūlaṇ, he got the name, 'Mūlaṇ'.

THE TIRUMANDIRAM AND THE KASHMIR SCHOOL OF ŚAIVISM:

It is said that Tirumūlar came from Kailās. Kailās represents the name of a mountain chain, to the north-east of Kashmir. It is in Kashmir that the philosophy of Śaiva Siddhanta called

¹ I visited the place on 20—6—1949. ² T. N. P. vv. 1-27.

Āgamānta, had its origin. It is the essence of 28 Śivāgamas. Āgamas are only those works which explain the truths that lie hidden in the Vēdas and the Upanishads. The Śaiva Siddhanta philosophy was, in Kashmir, called 'Pratyabhijñāna Darśanam'. The same was, in the south, called Śuddha Śaiva Darśanam. The temple worship is considered as an essential part of outward ceremonies in Śaiva Siddhānta. "Since Tirumūlar correctly explains the rare truths and teachings of Āgamānta, since the Tamiḷ tradition is consistent that Tirumūlar came from Kailās, and since there is great similarity between Tirumūlar's teachings and Pratyabhijñāna Darśanam, it may be concluded that the time when he came to the south was one when the Pratyabhijñāna doctrines were flourishing in Kashmir".

This school produced two more scholars. Sōmanātha, the author of Śiva Dṛṣṭi was one of them. Another was Abhinava Gupta, the author of Paramārtha Śāram. He lived about the end of the 10th century A. D. Tirumūlar was the predecessor of both.*

THE CONTENTS OF THE TIRUMANDIRAM :

The Tirumandiram is divided into nine parts. Each part is called a 'Tantra'. Let us attempt to

* Dr. V. V. Ramana Sastry's Int. to T. M., pp. 5-8.

understand to some extent the facts that are related in each Tantra.* These facts will greatly help us to understand the condition of Śaivism in the Tamil country, in the time of Tirumūlar.

1. *In the first Tantra*, are given such teachings as 'mortality of body, mortality of youth, unstability of wealth, non-killing, refraining from meat-eating, humility, virtue of Brahmins, duties of a king, benefits of performing Dharma, developing kindness, helping others, improving one's knowledge by listening to the learned and by reading books, controlling the mind from desire and hatred and the like.'

2. *In the second Tantra* are mentioned the purāṇic tales, namely the coming of Agastya to the southern country, the eight heroic deeds of Śiva, the birth or appearance of linga, Dakṣa's sacrifice, and Praḷayam (the deluge). The five deeds, namely, creation, preservation, destruction, concealment and blessing, the fact that those who were created by the gracious deeds of Śakti and Śiva were three kinds of living beings, namely, Viññānakāḷar, Sakāḷar and Praḷayākāḷar and among those who deserve our respect or regard are also explained

* It must be remembered here that our investigation or research is only on Śaivism in general and not on Śaiva Philosophy in particular.

in detail. Therein are also mentioned that it is bad to destroy temples; it is sinful to upbraid Śiva; and it is also sinful to upbraid His devotees. The virtue of patience and the benefits of having wise men as our friends have also been mentioned.

3. The whole of the *third Tantra* speaks about 'yōga', but it is not the yōgic way which Patañjali speaks about. The Aṣṭāṅga yōgic practices, viz., Yama, Niyama, Āsana, Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhāraṇa, Dhyāna and Samādhi and the benefits resulting from them are related. Following this, the state of the 16 kalas, the science of conquering one's own body, the wheel of time etc., the three great yōgas called Khēcari, Paryanka and Candra are expounded in order.

4. *The fourth Tantra* is about the science of mantras or upāsana practice. The Ajapā mantra and Bhairavi mantra are related. The details regarding various cakras or wheels, viz., Tiruvambala-cakra, Tiripura-cakra, Ēroḷi-cakra, Bhairava-cakra, Sāmbavimaṇḍala-cakra, Bhuvanāpati-cakra and Navākṣari-cakra are given.

5. *In the fifth Tantra* are discussed matters regarding Śuddha Śaivism, Aśuddha Śaivism, Mārga Śaivism and Kadum Śuddha Śaivism. Then are mentioned Caryā, Kriyā, Yōga and Nāna. Then are explained sanmārgam (the good path), and its

branches namely Sakha Mārgam (in which God is regarded as a friend), and Dāsa Mārgam (where the Lord is thought of as a master). Next, are expounded Sālōka (living in the world of the Lord), Sāmipya (proximity to the Lord), Sārūpya (attaining equality with the Lord in form) and Sāyujya (union with the Lord). Then it is told that God's grace descends into the world in the four forms namely, Manda, Mandatara, Tivra and Tivratarā. Alien religions (Puṛaccamayams) are condemned and inner ones (Uṭcamyams) are admitted.

6. *In the sixth Tantra*, the vital points are Śiva-Guru Darśana (the meeting of Śiva by his devotees), attaining His sacred feet (grace), meaning of Nāna (knowledge), the knower and the known, asceticism, penance, knowledge arising out of grace, the qualities of those who are fit and who are not fit to follow the path of piety and the greatness of the sacred ash.

7. *In the seventh Tantra* are spoken the six Adhvas, the six lingas (Aṇḍa Linga, Piṇḍa Linga, Sādāśiva Linga, Ātma Linga, Nāna Linga and Śiva Linga), special religious teaching, worship that is performed to Śiva who resides in the soul, worship that is performed to Śiva, the Guru, worship of His devotees, the greatness of devotees, rules of taking food, many kinds of Mudras different kinds of yōgins and the proper worlds into which they

would enter after their death, the mode of their renouncing their bodies, Iḍakalai and Pingalai Nādis, an account of Ātman, in the six forms of Prāṇa, Puruṣa, Ānu, Jiva, Paśu and Bōdam, the way of controlling one's five senses, description of Guru (spiritual teacher), and the inconsistent conduct or vices that should be avoided, etc.

8. *In the eighth Tantra* are mentioned the five-fold constitution of the body, the method of relinquishing one's body in order to become one with Śiva, the eleven Avasthas and the dawn of knowledge etc. Next are mentioned the explanation of Siddhānta Philosophy, the relationship between it and other religions, explanation of Pati (the Lord), Paśu (beings), and Pāśam (tie), the rational explanation to prove that Śiva is one who is unseen by Brahma and Viṣṇu, the three faults (kāma or desire, veguḷi or anger, mayakkam or temptation), the three padas (words) (Tat, Tvam, Asi), the three beyonds, the three Turiyas (fourth states), the three muktis (liberations), the three svarūpas, the three karaṇas and the three sūnyas. Next are related Kāriya-kāraṇa Upādigaḷ (causes and effects), Upasāntam (tranquility), not to speak ill of others in their absence, avoidance of upbraiding Śiva, description of the lotus of the heart, the account of the Navabhimāni (Jiva Jāgra, Jiva Svapna, Jiva Suṣupti, Para Jāgra, Para Svapna,

Para Suṣupti, Śiva Jāgra, Śiva Svapna, and Śiva Suṣupti), avoid upbraiding Mōkṣa, an investigation of the sacred words, viz. Tatvamasi and Aham Brahmāsmi, Viśvagrāsa (the swallowing of the world), truth-speaking, getting rid of desire, developing piety and aiming at becoming pure and attaining liberation.

9. *The ninth Tantra* speaks about Guru, Guru's maṭha, Guru darśan (seeing Guru), Praṇava Samādhi and Sthūla, Sūkṣma, Atisūkṣma, Pañcākṣaras (the five letters). Śivānanda Naṭanam (Dance of Śiva in merriment), Sundara Naṭanam (Graceful dance), Ponnambala Naṭanam (Dance at Ponnambalam), Pon Tillai Naṭanam (Dance at Golden Tillai), and Āscarya Naṭanam (the wonderful dance) are described. Next are related the dawn of knowledge, the bliss of true knowledge, the vision of one's own form, the fate, the sight of Śiva and the realisation of His true form, the state of liberation, the great Sūnyam and the Samādhi of silence. The book closes with some praises of God and a description of the All-pervading.

THE RELIGIOUS PATHS MENTIONED BY TIRUMŪLAR.

1. There is a great difference between the yōgic practice advocated by Tirumūlar and that mentioned by Patañjali. It can be said that they

arose in the country after Patañjali. We can understand that Tirumūlar was a great yōgin from the fact of his explaining them ably. *

2. We can say that the 'Mantrōpāśanā' mode mentioned by Tirumūlar branched out from Śākta religion. People have worshipped, from a very long time, Śakti or energy as Goddess; they also worshipped God as half-male, and half-female. That power was associated with Viṣṇu in the form of Lakṣmī, with Śiva in the form of Pārvatī or Umā in her milder aspect or Durgā (Kālī, Cāmuṇḍī, Bhairavi, Vindhyavāsini) in her wilder aspect and with Brahma in the form of Saraswati. "In the latter Purāṇic age, this energy which was invested with a distinct personality, came to be regarded as consorts of the respective divinities with whom she first came to be associated.....We next find Durgā adored and addressed as the slayer of Mahiṣa and she is described as dwelling on the Vindhya Hills and is delighted with the offerings of wine and flesh.....Thus by about the year 500 A. D., we find that a distinct Dēvi-worshipping sect had been formed, and by the same process which the worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu had followed, the Dēvi became identified with the Supreme Reality and therefore worthy of worship...

* O. E. H. S. S. I. p. 237.

The Śakta system of theology is mainly derived from Śaivism, and the main cult gathers round the Consort of Śiva. The mystic and the miraculous side of the yōga plays a large and important part in Śaktism and the practice of it leads the initiate to the attainment of superhuman powers called Siddhi. These powers are initiated by the use of the Mantras, Bijas, Yantras, Kavachas, Nijasas and the Mudras.¹

3. The six Darśanas that came out of the Vēdas. The six developments from the Vēdas are Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yōga, Mimāṃsa and Vēdānta.²

4. The six that came out of the Āgamas.³ These are Pāsupatam, Mahāvratam, Kāpālikam, Vāmam, Bhairavam and Śaivism. These six are the six branches of Śaivism. Therefore it is better to understand to some extent about these. Since Tirumūlar mentions these, it is clear that the followers of these sects existed, in his time, in the Tamiḷ country.

(1) Pāsupatam. According to the followers of this sect, the beings have no 'Āṇava malam.' They are bound by 'Māyā' and 'Karma' (deed)

¹ M. R. S. I. pp. 77 - 78.

² O. E. H. S. S. I. p. 254.

³ V. 1449.

and experience joys and sorrows. God's divine knowledge will come to him who has an aversion for these and receives Dikṣā, according to the scriptures. Then, God Śiva will make him have His powers or qualities and will be free from His authority.¹ The followers of this sect will smear ash and clay on their body; will wear black dress; will tie their hair into tresses or leave it as it is. The Pāsupatas existed in the country from the epic period itself. They were worshippers of Paśupati; worshippers of lingas; associated Gaṇas and spirits with Śiva in their worship; they were a class of casteless people. They engaged themselves in Japas (meditation) and Tapas (penance). They had the Linga branded on the forehead, arms, heart and navel.²

"The supreme Pāsupata Vratam is also called Nānam. It is described by Śiva Himself in the form of a yōga Ācārya to the four great Ṛṣis, Ruru, Dadhici, Agastya and Upamanyu. They have spread the knowledge of the Pāsupata. From them, several Gurus or spiritual masters arose. The Pāsupata religion insists on caryā, kriyā, yōga and nāna. Śiva will appear before Pāsupata yōgi. Therefore it is that Anuṣṭāna which is most sacred in the Pāsupata religion."³

¹ S. B. P. pp. 70-71.

² M. R. S. I. pp. 13, 61-63 & 69.

³ O. E. H. S. S. I. p. 256.

2. Mahāvratam. "According to the Pāsupatas, the beings will be bound by their fate and experience the joys and sorrows according to it. Those who take Dikṣā and wear a garland of bones and follow the rules of caryā rightly will attain liberation. Those liberated will have all the qualities of Śiva come to them. These are briefly the doctrines of Mahāvratins.¹ They wore on their forehead three stripes of sacred ash; smeared the sacred ash on all parts of their body; on the top of the hair of the head, they wore beads of bones; wore beads of bones as ear-rings; round the neck a garland of beads of bones, on the forearm wore a thread of beads of bones; on the shoulders had 'yōgappattigai' and sacred thread of cluster of hair; and wore kovanam, a strip of loin cloth and a small piece of wavering cloth on it.²

Mahāvratam means the great vow, and, the greatness consisted in the extraordinary nature, such as eating food placed in a human skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of carcasses and others which are attributed to the Kālāmukhas by Rāmānuja.³

3. Kāpālam. Regarding the nature of human beings and the bond of life, they had the same

¹ S. B. P. p. 71. ² Mānak. N. P. vv. 22-25. ³ V. S. M. R. S. p. 128.

ideas as Mahāvratis. Their doctrine was that "those who receive Dīkṣā according to the Śāstras and beg, receive and eat food in a human skull with a green flag in their hand will become Muktas, will get all the qualities by Śiva's grace and will become equal to Śiva." The Kāpālika religion is ancient like Pāsupata. The Kāpālikas worshipped Śiva in the form of Bhairava (the dark form of Śiva), besmeared their body with sacred ash; wore a garland round the head; had matted locks of hair; wore tiger's skin as kupaṇ; held the human skull as begging bowl in the left hand and in the right hand held a bell. They used to perform human sacrifices too.²

4. Vāmam. "Body, soul and all are forms of Śakti. To follow the path prescribed by the Vāma scripture and become one with Śakti is liberation." This is the doctrine of the followers of the vāma sect. They are called Śāktas.³

5. Bhairavam. "Mostly agrees with Vāmam and differs slightly in the rules of conduct to be observed; Bhairava is the Almighty and to attain that state is Mukti." This is, briefly, the doctrine of Bhairavas.⁴

¹ S. B. P. p. 71. ² M. R. S. I. p. 64. ³ S. B. P. p. 72. ⁴ S. B. P. p. 72.

6. Śaivism. "Only Śiva is the supreme deity. By following the four-fold path, caryā etc. the devotees plod on to reach Him. This is the chief doctrine of Śaivism. It admits Pati, Paśu and Pāśam; and those who follow this according to the Āgamic ways are called 'Māhēśvaras'.¹"

7. Vira Śaivism. Tirumūlar has expounded the inner meaning of Linga Purāṇa.² It is greatly valued by the Vira Śaiva Saints (Vira Māhēśvaras). He has praised the two Āgamas, Viram and Vātuḷam, very greatly valued by them. He has cleared the rare meanings of Ṣaḍ Sthala Vivēcana, one of the cardinal tenets of Vira Māhēśvaras.³ Therefore, we can clearly understand that there existed the Vira Śaiva religion in the country during the period of Tirumūlar.

The Vira Śaivas or Vira Māhēśvaras or Lingāyats worship only Śiva in the form of Linga. "That small Linga is deposited in a reliquary generally suspended round the neck. The Lingāyats believe that the original essence of Śiva divided itself by its own Śakti (innate power) into the Linga and the individual soul, and under the influence of its own power, the essence became the creator of the

¹ M. R. S. I. p. 13. ² VV. 347-352. ³ Dr. V. V. Ramana Sastry's Int. to T. M. p. 25.

world and the individual soul, its worshipper. The way to redemption (union in blissful experience with Śiva) is that of Bhakti and a course of moral and spiritual discipline." The originators of this religion were five saints, and, each was the head of a monastery. These maṭhas existed at Kēdāram, Śrīśailam, Belebelter (West Mysore), Ujjain and Benares. The Vira Māhēśvaras do not admit the doctrines of Vēdas; do not observe cast distinctions; do not permit child marriage; allow widow-remarriage; abstain from drink and meat-eating; they bury the dead. Among them, some are those who prepare caps in the shape of the Lingam and wear them on their heads.*

THE FOUR FORMS OF ŚAIVISM :

In Tirumūlar's time, the Śaiva religion was divided into four sects namely, (1) Śuddha Śaivam, (2) Āśuddha Śaivam, (3) Mārga Śaivam and (4) Kadum Śuddha Śaivam.

(1) Śuddha Śaivas are those who understand the differences of Pati, Paśu and Pāśam, who guard Cit (knowledge) against Acit (ignorance), the former not being destroyed by the latter; who do not allow Āśuddha māyā to mix with Śuddha māyā

* M. R. S. I. pp. 73-74, and the picture facing p. 73.

and who realise Pati (the Lord), Nityam (Permanence) and Param (beyondness). Only the Siddhānta that emanated from the Vēdānta philosophy is Śuddha Śaiva Siddhāntam.¹

(2) Aśuddha Śaivas will wear kuṇḍalas (ear-rings); besmear their body with sacred ash; wear Rudrākṣa garlands; abide by caryā and kriyā; listen to wise counsel and will be repeating mantras with reverence.²

(3) Mārga Śaivas will wear ear-rings; besmear their body with sacred ash; do not value very much external pomp; consider jñāna supreme; will become Jivan Muktas (liberators) by following the path of Siddhānta, combined with Vēdānta.³

(4) Kadum Śuddha Śaivas will pay no attention to the outer pomp and show of the Śaivas; will straightaway go to Śiva, will redeem their Pāśa (bond) and Paśutva (living nature) and attain Śivañāna (divine knowledge). They will not follow the religious steps laid down for Śuddha Śaivas. They are devoid of differences as "I" or "He". They are those who have attained rare tatva (truth) and controlled their senses. They are those who have attained Parasāyuiya.⁴ Nāyanmārs like

¹ VV. 1420 & 1422.

² VV. 1423 & 1424.

³ VV. 1427-28.

⁴ VV. 1438, 1440-2.

Kaṇṇappar and Śākkiyar belong to this category; they are the conquerors of the steps, caryā, kriyā, yōga and nāna; they are devoid of outer pomps.

If Tirumūlar had not defined the characteristics of Kadum Śuddha Śaivas, the behaviour of some of the Nāyaṇmārs like Kaṇṇappar and Arivāḷ Tāyar, would have appeared eccentric. They would not have been prominent and received with regard in later times.¹

Of these four sects of Śaivas, Aśuddha Śaivas are those who do not know the Siddhānta philosophy combined with Vēdānta. Tirumūlar says that Siddhānta not combined with Vēdānta is the common Śaiva's device.² Kadum Śuddha Śaivas are those who are beyond the reach of anything. Therefore, it must be noted that Tirumūlar's conviction was that Śuddha Śaivas and Mārga Śaivas alone had the knowledge of Siddhānta in relation to Vēdānta and that only Śaiva Siddhānta combined with Vēdānta is "Śuddha Śaivism."³

The Four, Caryā etc. Śuddha Śaivas must follow the four, namely caryā etc; build temples and offer their worship; must perform pūjas;

¹The behaviour of Kaṇṇappar and others is praised as 'Valvinaḥ' in Tirukkaḷiṟuppaḍiyar, vv. 18-20. ²v. 1435.

³v. 1429; O. E. H. S. S. I. pp. 248 & 253 (foot-note).

must discover the inner light and practise yōga; themselves must become the inner light. These are the four kinds of Caryā. Tirumūlar describes others also in the same way; but in the end, he had laid emphasis on ñāna (knowledge). "There is no right path in the land which excels ñāna; Religion not associated with ñāna is not good; those works which do not speak of knowledge will not lead one to liberation; Persons devoid of knowledge are not fit to be citizens and they cannot do any service to the country.*"

Three kinds of Dikṣās. In the fifth Tantra, in the course of dealing with Caryā etc., Tirumūlar deals with the three kinds of Dikṣās. They are (1) Samaya Dikṣā, (2) Special Dikṣā and (3) Nirvāṇa Dikṣā.

By Samaya Dikṣā, a person becomes fit to observe Śaiva religious practices; by Special Dikṣā, he becomes fit to perform Śiva Pūja etc., to the path of yōga and to read the Āgamic literature of Śaivism. By Nirvāṇa Dikṣā, one becomes entitled to investigate the truths of the Śivāgamas (Āgamic literature of Śaivism). By that investigation, Śiva-ñāna (supreme knowledge of Siva) will dawn to him, he will come to know the greatness

* VV. 1444, 1447 & 1467.

of Śiva, and Śiva's light will shine on him and he will attain liberation. For a detailed account of these three Dikṣās, see the commentary on the preface of Śiva-Nāna-bōdam.¹

The Four Paths (Sanmārga etc.) (1) Sanmārga is to see, worship, meditate, touch, praise and wear on the head, Śiva's sacred feet. Those who do these things will attain Mōkṣa. They will see the divine light. This is superior to other three mārgas.² (2) Sakha Mārga is to consider Śiva (the Lord) himself as friend, worship him and attain Mōkṣa.³ (3) Satputra Mārga is the path in which the devotee considers Śiva as his father, worships Him and attains Mukti. Worshipping Śiva, praying to Śiva by repeating songs of prayer, praising Him, meditation, truth, purity, doing Abhiṣēkam and performing worship by offering incense and dipa are the things proper to this mārga.⁴ (4) Dāsa Mārga is that in which the devotee considering Śiva as his master and himself as servant, worships Him and attains Mukti. The followers of this path light the temples, pluck and offer flowers to the temple, wash the temple, ring

¹ S. B. P. pp. 30 - 31. ² VV. 1479, 1484. Māṇikkavāṣagar attained Mukti by following this path. ³ Sundarar followed this mārga and was called 'Tambirāṇ Tōḷar.' ⁴ V. 1496; Sambandar attained Mukti by following this path.

the bell on the occasion of worship and bring water to bathe the deity for worship. These are to be observed by the followers of Dāsa Mārga.¹

Śakti-Nipāta or God's grace. This is of four kinds viz. (1) Manda, (2) Manda-tara, (3) Tivra and (4) Tivra-tara. These represent the different degrees of grace shown by God to Śiva-Bhaktas according to their stage of development.²

Tirumūlar and outer religions. (புறச் சமயங்கள்). The six outer religions, Lōkāyatam, Sāṅkhyam etc. do not pay heed to the practical side of Bhakti (piety). They do not attempt to destroy the self. Therefore, Tirumūlar thought that those religions were of no avail.³

Tirumūlar and inner religions. (அகச் சமயங்கள்). All the six inner sects of Śaivism lead to the same goal. The follower of one sect must not speak ill of him who follows another sect. Those speaking ill of others are compared to dogs that bark at a hill.⁴

Śiva Bhakti. Śiva Bhakti has been well-explained in the sixth Tantra. A devotee who desires to get rid of the worldly ties and attain liberation must

¹ V. 1502. Appar got mōkṣa by following this mārga.

² VV. 1514-1529. ³ V. 1535. ⁴ V. 1558.

cross over many steps. At first, Guru-parāṇ or the Spiritual Teacher will show him the path of Mukti; If that path is followed, Śuddha-Guru will appear before him and grant him God's grace; in that stage, the devotee will attain Siddhis and yōgic powers etc. mentioned above. In the next stage, Sat-Guru will appear to him, remove from him the three impurities, viz. Āṇavam (pride), māyai (temptation) and Karma (deed) and lead him to Mukti. Then Śiva-Guru will appear before him and will manifest to him Sat, Asat, and Sat-Asat. When the Ātma (soul) gains this state of knowledge, it becomes Śivam.¹ The greatness of Śiva's sacred feet has been expounded well. The sacred feet will be impressed in the heart, on the head, and between the eye-brows of the true Bhaktas. Those sacred feet themselves are the Mantra, the divine medicine, Tantra, charity, grace and the sacred path.²

Śaiva 'Advaitam'. As long as Ātma thinks that 'itself' is different from 'Him' (Śiva), Dvaitam or Irumai or Two-ness will exist. If the Ātma (which is separate) will unite in Him, the 'Two-ness' will disappear and the 'One-ness' will take its place.³ Here, we have the teaching of Advaitam. It is spoken of as 'Śiva-Advaitam'.

¹ VV. 1573 - '77. ² VV. 1596 & 1604. ³ V. 1607.

Renunciation. Those who renounce the world in their heart and without forgetting to pray and praise the Lord will attain Mukti. Śiva is an ascetic and lives in woods; He begs for his food and receives alms;¹ he is the God who cuts off the bond of birth of his devotees. He became an ascetic in order to make the ascetics understand the characteristics of a Sanyāsin.²

Worship of Linga. It has already been stated that the Linga worship is very ancient in the land. We also learnt that many Śiva temples were built in the Tamil country in the age of the Early Pallavas. Tirumūlar belonged to that period. He has remarked, "If a King transplants Lingas, the state of his reign will perish; he will suffer from leprosy before his death."³ By this, we can clearly understand that Lingas were enshrined in his time. The Kāśikhaṇḍam, a work of about the 6th century A. D., and the writings of Varāhamihira who flourished in that century show beyond doubt that "great attention was paid to this Linga form of worship, and the greatest pains were taken to construct the Lingas correctly even in their minutest details."⁴ Again in Varāhamihira's Bṛhat Samhitā, 20 kinds of vimānas are mentioned. They

¹ Note the name, Bhikṣāṇḍār. ² VV. 1614 & 1616. ³ V. 515.

⁴ M. R. S. I. p. 59.

were named Mēru, Mandara, Kailāsa, Nandana, Padma, Garuḍa, Kuñjara, Rṣabha, Hamsa, Ghaṭa and Simha.¹ From these details, it is clear that, in that century, many Śiva temples which had vimānas were newly constructed in India and Lingas were enshrined in them. Tirumūlar says that "the offering of 'day-time-food' to the Māhēśvara will give more benefit than constructing a thousand temples."² By this, it is known that, in his time, many Śiva temples were newly built in the Tamil country. The number of temples mentioned by Appar and Sambandar in the 7th century A. D. is about 500. If we consider the fact that the temples sung by Paraṇadēvar and Kapiladēvar mentioned above were seventy, it is proper to say that many of the remaining ones were newly constructed in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. There existed, in Tirumūlar's time, Sphaṭika Lingas, Gold Lingas, Emerald Lingas and Sand Lingas.³

Duties of Kings. In Tirumūlar's time, the temples were built of wood and bricks. There were pearls, valuable gems, Āgamic works, rice, cooked rice, flowers, curd, milk, ghee and the like in the temple.⁴ "The guilt of removing a

¹ P. I. S. p. 70. ² V. 1860. ³ VV. 1719 & 1721. ⁴ VV. 1719 & 1720.

stone from the wall of the temple will render the king, who is bound by duty to protect the temple, liable to death by a sword. If the pūjas were not performed well in the temple, rains will decrease; the fighting power of the king will also diminish; if a Brahmin who is not well versed in the Āgamic literature but is such only by namesake, is an Arcaka (performer of pūjas in the temple), the king will suffer from disease; famine will occur in the land.¹ These words of Tirumūlar emphasize that the king is bound by duty to take care of the temples very well. Tirumūlar thought that it was the duty of the king to punish those who did not abide by the rules of conduct laid down by religion.²

Tiru Niṇu (The Sacred Ash). Tirumūlar says that sin will not approach those that besmear the sacred ash, that they will attain Śiva Gati (the state of being with Śiva), and will join the blissful feet of the Lord. The devotees had worn the sacred ash.³

Saiva Devotees. In Tirumūlar's time, those Śaivas who followed the path laid down by Āgamas were called Māhēśvaras. They were different from the Kāpālikas, Pāsupatas, Bhairavas, Mahāvratins

¹ VV. 516-519. ² V. 247. ³ VV. 1666 & 1861.

etc. 'Those who upbraid them will go to the cruel Hell. Māhēśvaras will besmear their body with the sacred ash; those who consider them as Śiva and worship them will get all benefits; to feed them in the day time is more beneficial than building a thousand temples.¹ In the 7th Tantra are related the greatness of Śaiva monks, the manner of their taking food as alms, the manner of burying their bodies and such other things.² Tirumūlar has mentioned those itinerant wise men who were learned in the Tamiḷ Nāḍu and sang verses so easily as emitting water from the mouth.³ By this, it will be derived that at least some Śaiva devotees like Paraṇadēvar and Kapiladēvar went on pilgrimage composing verses.

Condition of Brahmins. It was stated in the second chapter that Brahmins versed in the four Vēdas and six Āngas had settled in the country in the pre-Pallava age itself and received villages and lands as grants. Then it was proved with the aid of copper plates that some more came to settle in the age of the Early Pallavas. If we consider Tirumūlar's words that giving day-food to Māhēśvaras will yield more benefits⁴ than granting a thousand Āgaras or Āgrahāras (dwelling places

¹ VV. 537, 1862 & 1860.

² VV. 1868-1922.

³ V. 1646.

⁴ V. 1860.

of Brahmins) to the Brahmins, it is known that in the Tamil Country many new villages were granted to the Vēdic Brahmins. Tirumūlar says that a handful of food given to the Ashsmeared Bhaktas will yield greater benefits than the food given to a crore of brahmins who perform sacrifices.¹ From this, it is clear that in Tirumūlar's time sacrifices were performed in Tamilagam, that the Brahmins were fed, and that Tirumūlar thought that the feeding of devotees was a more sacred and religious service than the performance of sacrifices.

Legends on Śiva and Tirumūlar's explanation. It is worthy to consider Tirumūlar's explanation or comment for the ancient stories relating to Śiva. He says that the legend which tells that Śiva burnt the three cities means that he destroyed the three, sthūla (visible), sūkṣma (invisible), kārana (reason) bodies constituted of the three malas, namely Ānavam, Māyā, and Karma.² (2) The story is that since the Northern part went down and the Southern part went up, Śiva sent Agastya to the South in order to maintain the level. The world lost its level means that the people departed from equity. "The story means nothing more than the grace shown to mankind by God enabling people to rouse the fire of Kuṇḍalini, and Agastya means

¹ V. 1861. ² V. 343.

nothing more than the power which shines as Kundalini in the Suṣumnā canal.¹" (3) The story is that Śiva took in poison and has stayed it in his throat. Ignorant people will say that Śiva took in the poison. Śiva did not take in the poison. "Śiva swallowed Jivātma, Paramātma, the (lower) Śiva mentioned before, and the Turiya (the four states) and all the universe which is beyond these. Śiva swallowed these like the disease which pervades the Viḷa (wood apple) fruit and renders it black. This means that Śiva encompasses within Himself the whole universe and sustains it."² (4) Viṣṇu and the four-headed Brahma did not see Śiva's feet and the top of his head. This is the story. The meaning is that Viṣṇu could not realise Śiva's power and that Brahma could not understand Śivañāna (knowledge of Śiva). Here, Brahma means the 'Vedas'.⁴

Gaṇikas (Women Dancers). In Tirumūlar's time, there existed women dancers who were good at dancing and singing. They danced and sang in the temples.⁵

Sanmārga Maṭhas. In Tirumūlar's time, seven maṭhas which followed Sanmārga Śaivism were

¹ VV. 337, 338 and note on 1255; O. E. H. S. S. I. p. 226.

² VV. 521 and 2593; O. E. H. S. S. I. p. 227. ³ V. 2425. ⁴ O. E. H. S. S. I. p. 229. ⁵ V. 66.

founded. There was a Guru in each maṭha. Mūlar (Tirumūlar), Kālāṅgar, Aghorar, Maḷigaittēvar, Nādāṇḍar, Paramāṇandar, and Bhōgadēvar were the seven Gurus of the maṭhas.¹ Those disciples who descended from Tirumūlar were called 'The Descendants of Mūlaṅ.' They continued to exist in the Tamil country for several centuries.² One of their Maṭhas was at Tiruccirāpaḷli. Its head was the Guru of Tayumāṇavar of 17th century A. D. This may be known from his own song given below:-

“மந்த்ரகுரு வேயோக தந்த்ரகுரு வேமுலன்
மரபில்வரு மெளனகுருவே”.³

My Guru, good at mantras and yōgic practices and descendant of Mūlaṅ's family.

The Mouna Guru Maṭha on Trichy Hill is associated with this Mouna Guru (Silent Spiritual Master).⁴

Saiva preaching. Not being content with expounding the greatness of Śaivism, Tirumūlar has preached the doctrines of Śaivism. This could

¹ VV. 105-106; 'These verses are inserted ones' says Dr. V. V. Ramana Sastri. Vide his Int. PP. 16-17 & 23. ² There was a maṭha called Tirumūladēvar maṭha in Valivalam (Tanjore Dt.) in the reign of Rājendra Coḷa III - 116 of 1911. ³ Tayumāṇavar Paḍal, Mouna Guru Vaṇakkam, vv. 1-10. ⁴ 'I visited this Maṭha on 20-5-'49.

be seen in his work; There is no God that could equal Śiva; He has no births; He abounds in grace; will grant happiness to any and everyone; pray to Him; you can acquire divine knowledge; you may pray to Him in any manner you like.¹ He will grant His grace.² Like the method followed by Kāraikkāl Ammaiār and Paraṇadēvar, Tirumūlar also has mentioned his name and the benefits that one would get by reading his work.³ This note is capable of inducing many to read the work with an eye on the benefits of reading it.

CONCLUSION :

Hence it will not be an exaggeration to say that Tirumūlar's Tirumandiram, an almost exhaustive work, captivated Saints like Appar, Sambandar and others, was the basic work for the spread of Sanmārga Śaivism as practised by the Saints themselves and others, in the Tamiḷ country. The book was almost a stimulus for the growth of later Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras. It is almost the only source to study the growth of Śaivism in the Tamiḷ Nāḍu during 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A. D. which is known as the 'dark age' of the Tamiḷ country. Our grateful thanks are due to Tirumūlar who has done a signal service through his immortal work.

¹ It deserves to be remembered here the story of Śakkiya Nāyaṇār who worshipped Śiva in the guise of a Buddhist. ² VV. 5, 25, 36 & 2642. ³ V. 107.

V. ŚAIVISM UNDER THE LATER PALLAVAS - I.

(A. D. 600 - 900).

FROM EPIGRAPHY.

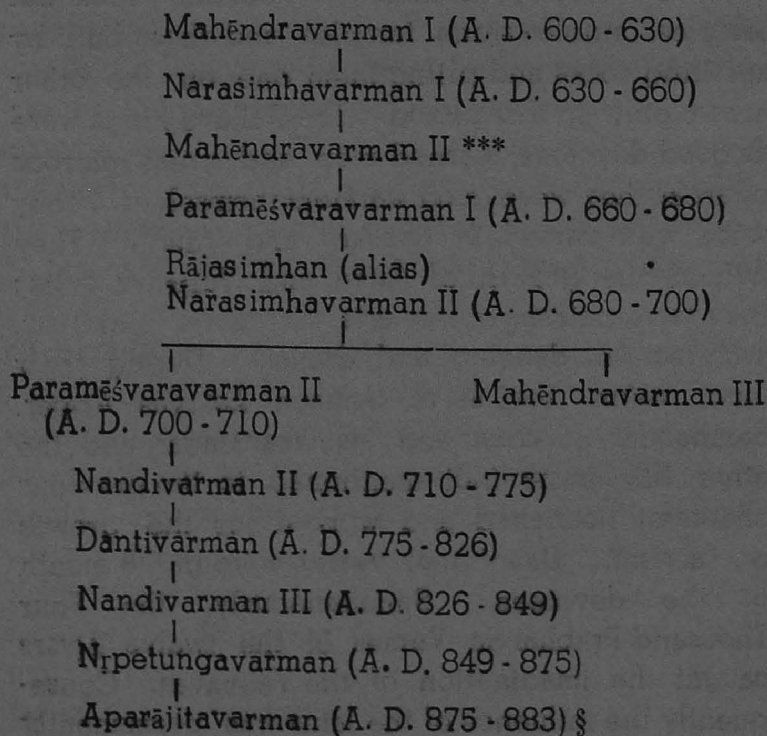
INTRODUCTION:

From the time of Mahēndravarmān, son of Simhaviṣṇu, the Pallava rule gained strength and renown in South India. Everlasting rock-cut temples, single-stone temples and those built by splitting rocks and piling them one on the other arose only in this period. The Pallava kings were as good devotees, learned men and great patrons of art as they were good warriors themselves. They were well-versed in Sanskrit and Tamil. They helped the growth of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cults; they were patrons of fine arts, viz. music, painting, architecture, dancing and drama. During their long reign the Śaiva Samaya Ācāryas - Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and Māṇikkavāṣagar and the other Nāyaṇmārs (not mentioned in the previous chapters) flourished and worked for the growth of Śaivism. Devotional verses were in the mouth of the devotees. Simultaneously, the Four Thousand Prabhanda Verses of the twelve Ālvārs caught the imagination of the Vaiṣṇavas. Consequently the influence of the Jains was permanently stayed in the Pallava and Pāṇḍya countries. This period of the later Pallavas, in consequence, may be called the Golden Age for the growth of Śaivism

and Vaiṣṇavism, the many arts and learning of a high order.

Now, let us understand who the Pallavas of this period were, and how they patronised the Śaiva religion.

GENEOLOGY OF THE LATER PALLAVAS.



*** No details are available about him. P. of K. p. 104. § P. of K. pp. 83, 97, 104, 108, 111, 119, 134, 136, 139 & 141.

Nandi Mudrā (Impress of Nandi). In all the royal grants (copper plates) of the later Pallavas, the seal or impress of Nandi is found. Since the impress of Nandi or bull alone is found in the copper plates issued by the kings like Nandivārman II and Nṛpatungavarman who espoused Vaiṣṇavism, it is known that Śaivism alone was considered to be the state religion. This is confirmed by the fact, that the Nandi was being surmounted in the plates of Kūram and Kaśākkudi. The government seal on the orders issued by the state was also the impress of Nandi. The phrases, 'Viḍai vel Viḍugu' (Viḍēl Viḍugu) and Viḍai maṇ poṛi · yōlai will reveal this truth.¹ We also see the impress of the Bull in many of the Pallava coins.²

The Khaṭvāṅga of the Pallavas. The Khaṭvāṅga was written on the royal flags of Paramēśvaravarman I. When Paramēśvaravarman II was crowned, he was given the Khaṭvāṅga, as one of the royal possessions. The Khaṭvāṅga was written on his flag also. It is one of the weapons of Śiva. It is found to be surmounted at the top by a skull. That weapon is one which is made from the bone of the fore-hand or fore-leg. We can see this weapon in the carvings of the Kailāsanatha Temple.³

¹N. K. v. 11; A. S. P. p. 45. ²S. I. I. I. p. 2. ³A. S. P. pp. 43-44.

Appar also has mentioned about this weapon in his Tāvāram.¹

Next, we shall consider the services rendered to Śaivism by the Pallava Kings.

Mahēndravarmān. He was the Pallava who constructed temples by carving out hills and hillsides in the Tamil country. He possessed several titles namely, Guṇabhara and the like. He was first a Jain and persecuted Appar. After he learnt the greatness of Śaivism, he himself became a Śaiva. After becoming a Śaiva, he demolished the famous Jain maṭha that existed at Pāṭalīputra (the modern Tiruppādirippuliyūr), and with those materials built a Śiva temple at Tiruvadigai. It was called Guṇabhara-Īśvaram.² The inscription on the rock-cut temple at Tiruccirāpaḷli relates that Mahēndra changed his religion.³ He built rock-cut temples for Śiva at Vallam, Daḷavānūr, Śiyamangalam, Pallavapuram and Tiruccirāpaḷli and a Trimūrti temple at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu. Each temple ends with 'Īśvaram' added to the name of this Pallava king. He had built a maṇṭapa in Kāñcī Ēkāmbaranātha temple.⁴ When we consider the fact that, in his administration there were 12 persons to supervise⁵ the affairs of the

¹ Appar p. 300, v. 7. ² Appar P. vv. 80 - 146. ³ S. I. I. I. 33
⁴ 82 of 1921. ⁵ S. I. I. VI. 595.

Kapōtīśvara temple in the village of Cezarlat Guntur District, we find that there were many employees to look after temple affairs and there were 12 persons to supervise their work.

There is enshrined a Gaṇēśa in the rock-cut temple at Vallam which arose in his time. So far as we know, we can say that this was the first Gaṇēśa temple in the Tamiḷ country.

From the inscriptions at Kuḍumiyāṇ Malai and Tirumayyam, we gather that Mahēndravarman had a love for music and that he was well-versed in the art.¹ In his work, Mattavilāsa-prahasana, he mentions in the words of an actor, that music is his wealth and life.² The fresco paintings of women-dancers found at the Śittanna Vāśal Cave reveal that he had a great attraction for the art of Nāṭya. Therefore, it will be clear that music and dance and the fine arts had greater attraction in his time. It is on this account, that abundant hints are found in the hymns of Appar, his contemporary, about music and dance, and the fine arts of the Gandharvas.

The following quotations will clearly reveal Mahēndra's deep devotion towards Śiva: "The King called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the

¹ A. S. P. pp. 244 - 252 and 279. ² M. P. p. 8.

linga. Let the knowledge, which has turned back from hostile (vipaksha) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this linga.¹”

Pallavaṇ-Īśvaram is a Śiva temple at Kāviri-pūmpattinam. In the limit of that town, stands another temple at Śaikkāḍu, a quarter of a mile distant from the previously mentioned temple. Appar and Sambandar have sung about this temple at Śaikkāḍu. Sambandar alone has given verses about Pallavaṇ-Īśvaram; Appar does not make mention of this shrine. What would be the reason for this? Either the palm leaf containing Appar's song was lost or Pallavaṇ-Īśvaram was built by the Pallava king mostly by Mahēndravarmān, after Appar had visited Śaikkāḍu. The temple of Mahēndrappaḷi also seems to have associations with Mahēndra. Appar has no verse about that also; Sambandar alone has sung. Sambandar alone has sung of Nallūrp-Perumaṇam which is nearby. Considering these and the fact that there is no evidence to prove that the Pallavas who preceded Mahēndra built Śiva temples, it is proper to surmise that Pallavaṇ-Īśvaram² and Mahēndrappaḷi³ were built in Mahēndra's time.

Narasimhavarman, 'Mahāmalla' was a Vaiṣṇava, defeated Pulikēśin II and captured Vātāpi. The

¹ S. I. I. I. 33. ² & ³ I visited these shrines on 10-4-1947.

town which was called 'Paṭṭinam' in Perumbān-āruppaḍai, was reconstructed and renewed in his time and got the name Mahāmalla-puram or Māmallapuram.² He is the king who started to build single-stone temples (present Rathas) at Māmallapuram. The present Arjuna Ratha and Dharmarāja Ratha are merely Śiva temples.³ He renewed the grant made by Skandaśiṣya to the Śiva temple at Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam.⁴

Paramēśvaravarman. Since the Dharmarāja Ratha, Gaṇēśa Maṇṭapa and the Rāmānuja Maṇṭapa that are at Māmallapuram were mentioned as Atyantakāma Pallavēśvaram in the inscriptions, it is known that they were completed in his time. All these three are only Śiva temples.⁵ He built a Śiva temple at Kūram with the name of 'Vidyāvinīta', one of his titles. In order to roof the temple, he arranged for making tiles and burning them in kilns. He built a Maṇṭapa and arranged for the reading of Mahābhārata to the people. He appointed one, named Ananta Śivācārya to perform the pūjā and granted lands to 20 Caturvēdins (Brahmins versed in the Four Vēdas). In that village there were already 108 Caturvēdins.⁶ This Kūram temple is in ruins now.⁷ Stone slabs are

¹ P. A. Paḍai, L. 336, and Pattu-p-paṭṭu, Int. P. 9 (foot-note)*

² As Nāgappattinam corrupted as "Nāgai", Mallapuram became "Mallai". ³ S. P. H. pp. 89-90. ⁴ 65 of 1909. ⁵ S. I. L. I. 18, 19 & 20. ⁶ Ibid. 151. ⁷ I visited this temple on 22-4-'48.

found in its foundation. Scholars say that Rājasimhan was the first Pallava king who attempted to build temples by raising stone-walls, placing stone slabs one above the other. But it was the Kūram Śiva Temple built by his father, that created this idea in his mind. In Paramēśvara's time, rocks were split and used for raising the foundations of the temples. In the time of his son, Rājasimhan, rocks were cut into big pieces and these were used for constructing the whole temple.

"Śiva is without a superior, without a lord. He is the highest lord. He is unborn. Śrīnidhi assiduously worships Hara. Six times cursed be those in whose hearts does not dwell Rudra.¹" These are the sentences found in Paramēśvara's inscription, in the Gaṇēśa temple at Māmallapuram. We can understand well from this, about Paramēśvara's Śaiva zeal and his ideas about Śiva. "Śrīnidhi bears on his head the unborn Śiva. Handsome Śankara (Śiva) abides on the large head, sprinkled with the water of coronation and covered with bright jewels of the illustrious Atyantakāma.²" These sentences, which indicate that Śiva was on his head, clearly reveal the greatness of his bhakti.³

¹S. I. I. I. 18. ²Ibid. ³P. T. S. Ayyangār thinks that Paramēśvara bore on his head a Śiva Linga made of 'Rudrākṣa'. Pallavas II. p. 68.

Rājasimhan. He was the son of Paramēśvara-varman I. He is famous, being the first to build stone temples, out of cut stones. The two small temples, Kṣatriya Simha-Pallavēśvaram and Rājasimha - Pallavēśvaram on the sea-shore at Māmallapuram were built by him.¹ Olakkaṇēśvara temple on the Varāha Maṇṭapa also was built by him.² He also built the Atiraṇacandēśvara temple at Sāluvaṇ-kuppam, a neighbouring village of Māmallapuram.³ The Paṇamalai rock-cut temple also was carved out by him.⁴ Since his inscriptions are found in the Talapurīśvara temple at Paṇamalai and in the Vāyalūr Vyāgrapurīśvara temple, they might have been built or patronized by him.⁵ A pillar inscription at Tiruppōrūr tells us that there was a Śiva temple there in his time.⁶ Of all the temples that he built, the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī has secured a world-wide fame and is renowned for its high-class architecture. Its old name is Rājasimha-Pallavēśvaram. In its formation it resembles the sea-shore temples of Māmallapuram. There are 58 small shrines within its compound wall.⁷ In them, the scenes representing

¹ 566 of 1912. ² S. P. H. p. 98. ³ S. I. I. I. 21. ⁴ Ibid. 31. Since this is situated on the bank of the River Pālāru, it was called 'Vāyilūr', and the deity 'Pilavāyiluḍaiyār'. This was wrongly spelt as 'Pulivāyiluḍaiyār' and came to be called in Sanskrit 'Vyāgrapurīśvarar' - E. I. 18, pp. 145-'6. ⁵ 616 of 1915; 368 of 1908. ⁶ 76 of 1909. ⁷ I have visited this temple many a time.

the stories of Ammai-Appar, the churning of the sea of milk, the burning of the three Puras, Śiva knocking down Yama to save Mārkaṇḍēya, the combat between Śiva and Arjuna, the scene of Rāvaṇa's attempt at uprooting the Kailās, Śiva teaching Śiva-ñāna to his four disciples, Viṣṇu worshipping Śiva and getting the chakra and Hanuman stealing off the Ātma-Linga worshipped by Rāvaṇa have been beautifully sculptured. The seven forms of Parāśakti, the eleven of Rudras, Umā playing the Yāl, the weddings of Brahma with Sarasvatī, and of Viṣṇu with Lakṣmi; and that of Gaṇēśa are well depicted. There are many small niches in the walls that surround the innermost Cell in which the deity is enshrined. In them, there are sculptures that represent the various dance poses of Śiva. Śiva gaṇas are found with many kinds of musical instruments. We can see sculptural representations of these dance poses also in Matangēśvara and Airāvatēśvara temples as Kāñci which were built by Rājasimhan.¹ A detailed description of these dance poses and what these represent are to be found in the Silpa and Nāṭya Śāstras.²

"Rājasimhan was a warrior; he resembled a Vidyādhara in the art of playing on musical

¹ I visited these two temples on 20-4-1948. ² A. S. P, pp. 282 - '7; H. I. Vol. I, pp. 265 - 275.

instruments; he was good at music and dance; he was the rivivor of poetry." The inscriptions of Kailāsanātha temple make further mentions of him thus: "Śivacūḍamaṇi, Śankara Bhakta, Āgamapriya, who considered Śiva as his protector, Rṣabha-Lāncana, follower of Śaiva Siddhānta, one who considered that itself as his support, wearer of Śiva on his head.¹" It is to be known from these that he was a pious devotee of Śiva, he was well-versed in Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy and that he wore the Śiva linga on his head, like his father. The inscription also says that "he heard the divine voice in this Kaliyuga."² Historians infer from this that this account might have connections with Pūṣalār Nāyaṇār Purāṇam.³ Stone pillars of Rājasimha's time are found in the Śiva temple at Tiruṇiṇṇavūr (modern Tiṇṇanūr) where Pūṣalār lived. Images of Pūṣalār and the Pallava king are found there.⁴ It cannot be wrong to say that the temple belongs to the days of Rājasimhan.

MAHĒNDRAN III. He was the son of Rājasimhan. He built a small Śiva temple within the Kailāsanātha temple. Its name is Mahēndravarmēśvaram. The inscription of the temple says, "Śiva

¹ S. I. I. I. 23, 24 & 25; E. I. 18, p. 150. ² "But ah! this is extremely astonishing that Śribhara has heard that voice in the Kali age." - S. I. I. I. 24, v. 7. ³ P. of K. p. 109. ⁴ I visited this temple twice.

is the first of Gods; wearer of tiger's skin; Īśa; Mahēśvara; let him condescend to reside in this temple with his team¹ "

Rangapatākā, queen of Rājasimhan also constructed a small Śiva temple in the Kailāsanātha temple.² When we consider the fact that all the three - the royal husband, his consort and the prince - were earnest devotees and helped the growth of Śaivism, we can understand that Śaivism was well patronized in their time.

PARAMĒŚVARAVARMAN II. He renovated Śiva temple at Tiruvadigai.³ In his time, this temple was granted a gift of gold for its maintenance.⁴

NANDIVARMAN II. He was a Vaiṣṇava; a contemporary of Tirumangai Ālvār⁵; builder of Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñci.⁶ Sthambēśvara temple at Śiyamangalam, Virattānēśvara temple at Tirukkōvalur, the rock-cut temple at Dalavānūr, Mukteśvara temple at Kāñci, the Śiva temple at Dayāmukhamangalam, the Śiva temple at Tiruvallam and Uḷutiśvara temple at Maṇalūrpēṭṭai, have been mentioned in the inscriptions of his

¹ S. I. I. I. 27. ² Ibid. 28. ³ H. I. P. P. 15. ⁴ 56 of 1903, It is in the maṭha confronting this temple that Tilakavatiyār. Appar's sister stayed. It deserves to be noted that Appar sang his first hymn only in this temple. ⁵ P. of K. p. 126. ⁶ A. K. p. 93.

time.¹ Of these, the temples at Śiyamangalam and Daḷavānūr were carved out by Mahēndravarmān. That they were temples of worship is known by these inscriptions. The temples of Kōvalūr - Virattam and Tiruvallam were sung by Appar and Sambandar. The fact that the Tiruvallam temple was renewed in his time shows that it was very ancient.²

THE MUKTĒSVARA TEMPLE AT KĀŅCI. Among the temples of his time that deserve mention is the Muktēśvara temple at Kāñci. In his time this was called Dharmamahādēviśvaram. It is said that it is the temple which was worshipped by Tirukkuṛipputtonḍar, the dhoby-saint.³ To prove this, only dhobies are the trustees of the temple even today; the idol of Tirukkuṛipputtonḍar is also in worship in the temple.⁴ It may be that Dharmamahādēvi converted it into a stone temple. In those times there were 44 women-dancers and they fostered the growth of music and dance. There were three Brahmins to perform the pūjā; there were also two drummers; those who recited mantras were five; servants who washed and kept the temple premises clean were 12 in number, making a total of 64 in all. For their maintenance,

¹ 68 of 1900; 295, 296 & 300 of 1902; 49 of 1905; 14 of 1893. S. I. I. II. p. 517, 76 of 1899; 467 of 1938. ² 76 of 1899. ³ C. K. S. P. P. II p. 1537. ⁴ I visited the shrine many a time.

the revenue of a village was assigned. Taliyālvār looked after the management of the temple. All the employees of the temple were called 'Taḷip-parivāram'. 'Māṇikka Īśvarar' is the name of the deity.¹

BRAHMIN SETTLEMENTS AND THE GHATIKAS.

The copper plates of Udayēndram, Kaśākkudi, Tandan-tōttam and Korrangudi issued by Nandivarman II reveal that new villages and lands were granted in the Tamil-Nāḍu to Chaturvēdins, Trivēdins, Sōmayājins², Bhaṭṭas, Shaḍangavits³, and Kramavits.⁴ The Ghaṭika of Kāñci existed in his time. There was another Ghaṭika in the Shōḷingar Hill also.⁵

DANTIVARMAN. He was also a Vaiṣṇava. In his time, Vāṇādiśvara temple at Vayalakāvūr, Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Guḍimallam and Tirumēṇṇālī at Kāñci have been mentioned in the inscriptions.⁶ There was a maṭha in Tirumēṇṇālī. A muttaraiya made a money grant to it.⁷ Since the inscription does not mention that it was built newly in the time of Dantivarman, we may take

¹ 14 of 1893; S. I. I. IV. 827. ² 'Sōmāsi' is the corruption of 'Sōmayājin'. Sōmāsi Nāyanār was one of the 63 Nāyanmars.

³ Puṭṭar Shaḍangavi-Śivācārya was a Śaiva who consented to give his daughter in marriage to Sundarar. - Taḍut. P. v. 7. ⁴ S. I. I. II, pp. 365, 346, 517; E. I. 18, p. 115. ⁵ A. S. P. pp. 197-199.

⁶ 256 of 1922, 226 of 1903 & 89 of 1921. ⁷ 89 of 1921.

that it belonged only to the period prior to him. This is a good evidence to prove that there existed mathas in the age of the Nayanmārs. Tirumōraḷi was sung by Appar and Sundarar.

NANDIVARMAN III. He has been mentioned in Nandikkalambakam. He was an ardent devotee of Śiva. He has many royal titles such as Teḷḷārueṇḍa Nandivarman, Kumāra Mārttāṇḍan, and the like. He made a grant of the village of Tirukkāṭṭuppalī itself near Poṇṇēri, to the newly-built Śiva temple in the village.¹ He allotted 100 kaḷaṇḍu of gold to maintain an ever-burning light before the deity at Tiruvadigai Virattāṇēśvara.² He made a present of a lamp bearing his royal title Kumāra Mārttāṇḍan to the deity of Tiruviḍaimarudūr Śiva temple.³ He made a grant of gold to maintain a light in the Śiva temple at Tiruvonṇiyūr⁴; granted gold to burn a light in the Mahādēva temple at Tiruttavatturāi,⁵ and granted lands to Mahādēva at Śendalai.⁶ The temples to which grants have been made in his reign by his queen Mārambāvai and others are Tiruneittānam, Śendalai, Tiruvallam, Tirukkāḍaimuḍi, Tirupparāitturāi, Guḍimallam, Niyamam and Veṇkunram.⁷ A devotee granted rice to feed 100

¹ S. I. I. II. 98. ² S. I. I. 8. 309. ³ 197 of 1907. ⁴ 162 of 1938. ⁵ 27 of 1931. ⁶ 11 of 1899. ⁷ 52 of 1895; S. I. I. 3 p. 93, 283 of 1901, 180 of 1907, 13 & 16 of 1899, 73 of 1900, E. I. 2. p. 224.

persons on Tiru-Ādirai in the temple of Kuṇṇāṇḍār.¹ It is known that Tirup-padiyam (the divine hymns of Nāyaṇmārs) was recited in the temple of Tiru-vallam, in his time.²

NANDIVARMAN - (SUNDARAR'S CONTEMPORARY)

This Nandivarman's charitable deeds reveal that he was a pious devotee of Śiva. His queen Māṇm-bāvai also was a pious devotee of Śiva. Nandikkalambakam says that the king had a heart which never forgot Śiva.³ It also says that Nandi delighted in Painḍamiḷ.⁴ When we consider the facts that the work of Nandikkalambakam exists in his name, and that Perundēvaṇār, author of Bhārata Venḇā praises him, we can also say that he paid much attention to the growth of Tamil. Scholars have cited many evidences to prove that it was this learned king who has been sung by Sundarar as :

“கடல்குழந்த வுலகெல்லாம் காக்கின்ற பெருமான்
காடவர்கோன் கழற்சிங்கள் அடியார்க்கும் அடியேன்.”

“Protector of the world surrounded by the sea;
Kāḍavarkōṇ, Kāḷaṟsingaṇ.”⁵

If it is so, he must be the Kaḍuṇṣuddha Śaiva who cut off the nose of his royal consort for smelling a

¹ 347 of 1914. ² S. I. I. 3. p. 93. ³ P. 24, v. 8. ⁴ P. 25, v. 15.

⁵ A. S. P. pp. 299-304; S. S. (C. M. R's article), Vol. 9, pp. 201-5 and P. P. A. Chap. 3.

flower (against Āgamic rules) that was meant for a garland for Śiva. She whose nose was cut off by him must be Śankā, daughter of Amōghavarsha Nṛpatunga, king of Rāṣṭrakūṭas.¹

NRPATUNGAVARMAN. He was the son of Nandivarman and Śanka. He was a Vaiṣṇava. He granted three villages to the Sanskrit College at Bāhūr.² In his time, a Muttaraiya carved out a rock-cut temple in the Nārattāhill (நாரத்தாமலை).³ Kāḍavaṇ Mādēviyār (queen of Nṛpatunga?) granted 108 kaḷaṇju of gold to maintain a light burning in the temple of Tiruvālangādu.⁴ Gifts of gold or land were given for the shrines at Paramēśvara-mangalam, Tirukkōvalūr, Tiruccannampūṇḍi, Kaṇḍiyūr, Tiruttavatturāi, Adigai, Tirukkōḍikā and Tiruppulivalam.⁵ Viramādēvi, one of his queens, performed the Hiranyagharbha in the Śiva temple at Tirukkōḍikā, and granted a part of the gold to the deity of the temple.⁶ Land was granted to the Śiva temple of Accirupākkam.⁷

APARAJITA. It was in his time that the Virattā-nēśvara temple at Tiruttanigai was built. There is found a Tamil verse under his name. He was a

¹ P. P. A. pp. 55-56. ² S. I. I. II. p. 515. ³ 365 of 1904. ⁴ 460 of 1905. ⁵ 257 of 1912; 277 of 1902; 300, 303 of 1901; 17 of 1895, 84 of 1892, S. I. I. 8. 308, 22 of 1931 & 63 of 1898. ⁶ 38 of 1931. ⁷ 108 of 1934.

pious devotee of Śiva. He was called "Perumāṇ Adigaḷ."¹ The Vimāna of the temple has been built in the formation of a sleeping elephant (Gajaprṣṭa Vimāna). In his time, the temples at Māṅgādu, Tiruvorriyūr, and Sattiyavēdu became famous.² Mādēvaḍigaḷ, Aparājita's queen, granted 30 kaḷaṅju of gold to burn a light in the temple at Tiruvorriyūr.³ Āditya Cōla defeated this Aparājita and seized Tonḍainādu (about A. D. 886). The great Pallava rule came to an end with him.⁴

SOME OTHER PALLAVA KINGS. Some inscriptions of the Pallava kings namely Kampavarman, Vairamēghavarman and Candrādittan are available. Perhaps they were the provincial heads in the time of Nṛpatunga and Aparājita. The rock-cut temple at Mēlaiccēri, Śrī-Śikari-Pallavēśvaram was carved at Singapuram, Gingee Taluq by Candrādittan.⁵ The Śiva temple at Poigainallūr, Dāmalkōṭṭam has been mentioned in the reign of Vairamēgha.⁶ In Kampavarman's time, the Cōlapuram temple near Vellore was donated by a devotee.⁷ There was a maṭha at Tiruvorriyūr in the time of Kampavarman. The name of the head of the maṭha was Niraṅjana Kuravar.⁸ When we understand from the inscription of Kāvērippākkam that gold was

¹ 433 of 1905. ² 351 of 1908; 158, 159, 161, 180 & 190 of 1912 & 31 of 1912. ³ 163 of 1912. ⁴ P. of K. p. 143. ⁵ 284 of 1916. ⁶ 150 of 1916. ⁷ 429 of 1902. ⁸ 372 of 1912.

granted to the trustees of the maṭha¹ for purchasing oil, it is known that there was a maṭha adjoining the temple, and that the management of the temple was perhaps looked after by the scholars of the maṭha.

MANAGEMENT OF TEMPLES: The management of big temples like Tiruvorriyur rested with a separate committee called "Amṛtagaṇattār". They were under the supervision of the Village Assembly.² Middle class temples like the one that existed at Kāvērippākkam might have been under the management of the maṭha. It is proper to think that the village temples of Guḍimallam, Kūram, Tirumukkūdal, Tīrukkōvalūr, Tiruvallam, Toṇḍūr, Tiruniṇṇavūr, Tirukkōḍikā, Tiruttavatturāi and Tiruttanigai, were governed by the respective village Assemblies.³

CONCLUSION :

From the foregoing, the following material facts may be gathered:—

1. Whatever may be the religion of an individual king, the state religion was Śaivism. Nandi seal, Khaṭvāṅga flag, and the coins with Nandi impress prove this.

¹ A. S. P. p. 208. ² 158 of 1912. ³ 228 of 1902, 37 of 1900, 179 of 1915, 277 of 1902, S. I. I. 3 p. 93, 283 of 1916, 168 of 1938, 22 of 1913, 84 of 1892 and 435 of 1905.

2. The Pallavas carved out rocks and constructed temples. They also began to build stone temples by piling cut-stones one upon the other. This last method paved the way for the temples of the later Cōlas.

3. Since many of the Pallava kings were Śaivas, and since the Nāyaṁmārs lived and flourished in this period, the Śaiva religion spread well in the Tamiḷ country.

4. The kings, their queens and the people granted many charities to the temples. These include the shrines sung by the Nāyaṁmārs.

5. Śivācāryas proficient at Āgamas were priests in the temples; temple servants, namely Thaṭṭaḷi Kottuvār, wreath makers, women-dancers and songsters were many. Temples were well-protected under the management of Amṛtagaṇattār or the heads of maṭhas or the Village Assembly. There were maṭhas also adjoining some temples like Tirumēṇaḷi and Tiruvorriyūr.

6. The Pallava kings were learned in the fine arts of music, dancing, painting and architecture. There were women-dancers in the temples to promote music and dance. They were called Kūttigaḷ, and Māṇikkattār.*

* 278 and 302 of 1902.

7. An inscription says that Tiruppadiyams or devotional hymns were recited in the temple at Tiruvallam. Since there is no inscriptional evidence to the contrary, we cannot say that they were not recited in other temples. We can take for granted that, at least, in many other shrines the hymns were recited.

8. The Pallavas of this time were good Sanskrit scholars. During their reign, the Brahmins who were well versed in the Vēdas received, as grant, villages and lands. In places like Kāñci, Shōḷingar and Bāhūr, Sanskrit colleges were patronised by the Pallavas.

VI. ŚAIVISM UNDER THE LATER PALLAVAS - II.

ŚAIVISM IN LITERATURE.

(A. D. 600 - 900)

ŚAIVA LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD. The Śaiva literary works of this period are the seven Tirumurais of the three Samayācāryas, the eighth of Mānikkavāṣagar and Poṇvaṇṇattandādi, Tiruvārūr Mummaṇikkōvai and Tirukkailāya-Āṇa-Ulā of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyaṇār included in the eleventh Tirumurai. They all belong to this period. Śēkkiār's Periya-Purāṇam may also be taken to present a true picture of the times,¹ and as a source of evidence.

ŚIVA SHRINES OF THIS PERIOD. The three Samayācāryas Appar, Sāmbandar and Sundarar visited almost all the important Śiva temples in the Tamiḷ country and sang of them in their devotional hymns. Of the hymns sung by them, many have been lost but a few are now extant. The number of temples mentioned in them is 274. The number of shrines not sung but mentioned by the Nāyaṇmārs is about 250.² Of these shrines, those that

¹ P. P. A. of the author of this thesis and "A Critical Study of Śēkkiār and his historical material." ² Vide Kṣētrakkōvof mentioned in the Tirumuṇais and Appendix B.

are beyond the limits of the Tamil country, are Kēdāram, Śrīśailam and Kēdisvaram in Ceylon and some others.

In Śilappadikāram (2nd century A. D.), Kavundi Aḍigaḷ is found to warn Kōvalaṅ that the route from the Cōḷa to the Paṇḍya country was not regular and safe.¹ And in the time of Appar and Sambandar, the routes had been well formed and there were temples and maṭhas throughout the way.² Ilangōvaḍigaḷ does not mention that there were Śiva temples on their route when Kōvalaṅ and Kaṇṇaki went from Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṇam to Uṇaiyur.³ But we learn that during the time of Appar and Sambandar of the 7th century, there existed Śiva temples one for every 5th mile throughout the country. Besides we find the mention of about seventy temples not referred to in the Anthologies of the Pre-Pallava period by Kapiladēvar, Paraṇadēvar and Aiyāḍigaḷ and others of the early Pallavas. In the Tirumūrais we have a list of over 500 shrines as seen above. This increase in the number of temples will indicate the gradual development of Śaivism.

NĀYAṆMARS OF THIS PERIOD. Sundarar mentions 63 Nāyaṇmārs and 9 Togai Aḍiyārs in his

¹ Śilap. K. 10, 11. 53 & 64 - '7. ² Sambandar P. vv. 621-630.

³ Vide K. 10 full.

Tiruttonḍattogai. These Nāyanmars were not of one age; were not of one caste; were not of one country. They existed in the period from A. D. 300 to 900 in the vast extent of land from Kāmpili in the north and Kumari in the south. It has already been stated that among these, 17 belonged to the period that preceded Appar and Sambandar.

The number of Nāyanmars that could be reckoned as contemporaries of Appar and Sambandar with the help of Tirumurais and Periya-Purāṇam is eleven. They are:- (1) Appar, (2) Sambandar, (3) Appūdi Aḍigaḷ, (4) Muruga Nāyanār, (5) Siṟuttonḍar, (6) Nila Nakkar, (7) Kulacciṟaiyār, (8) Mangaiyarkkaraṣiyār, (9) Neḍumārar, (10) Kungiliyakkalayar, and (11) Tirunilakanṭha Yālppānar. The contemporaries of Sundarar were 13. They are:- (1) Sundarar, (2) his father Śaḍaiyanar, (3) Mother Isaiṇāṇiyār, (4) his foster father Naraṣinga Munaiyaraiyar, (5) Viṟamindaṟ who induced him to sing the Togai, (a list of Nāyanmars and in their praise), (6) Cēramāṇ Perumaḷ who went on pilgrimage with him, (7) his friend Kalikkāmar, (8) Māṇakkaṇcāṟar, father-in-law of Kalikkāmar, (9) Kōṭpuliyaṟ, (10) Perumiḷalaikkuṟumbar, (11) Somāṣimārar, (12) Kaḷarṣingar and (13) Seruttunai Nāyanār. Deducting the 41 Nāyanmars, the remaining 22 may be taken, until further reliable evidences are available, to belong

to the period intervening Appar - Sambandar and Sundarar.¹

NĀYANMARS WHO WERE KINGS. Of the 63 Nāyanmars, Cēramān Perumal was a Cēra king; Kōccenganān and Puḡaḷccōlar were Cōla kings; (3) Neḍumārar was a Paṇḍya king; Mangaiyarkarasīyār was his Queen; (4) Aiyāḍigaḷ and Kaḷarsingar were Pallavas; and (5) Kuruva Nāyanār belonged to the royal family of Koḍumbālūr² (?).

NĀYANMARS - PETTY KINGS. (1) Meipporu Nāyanār who ruled over Tirukkōvalūr (2) Naraṅga-Muṇaiyaraiyar who ruled over the Muṇaippāḍi country, (3) Perumilalaikkurumbar who reigned over Perumilalai, and (4) Iḍangaliyār, king of Koḍumbālūr find mention as petty kings.

NĀYANMARS: COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF OF ARMIES. Siṟuttoṇḍar was a commander-in-chief of the Pallava army and likewise we learn that Kalikāmar, his father-in-law Mānakkañcārar and Kōṭpuli-yār were also commanders-in-chief of the Cōlas.

NĀYANMARS AS CLASSIFIED UNDER COMMUNITIES. The Brahmin saints were Caṇḍīśar, Nami-nandi, Tirumūlar, Sambandar, Kunguliyakkalaiyar,

¹ P. P. A. pp. 99 - 101. ² 6 D. S. S. I. pp. 180 - 1.

Murugar, Rudra Paśupatiyār, Appūdi Aḍigaḷ, Nilanakkar, Sōmāsimārar, Śirappuli, Pūsalār and Gaṇanādar totalling 13. The Vanika Nāyanmārs were Iyarpagai, Amarniti, Mūrṭti, Karaikkāl Ammaiyaṛ, Kalikkambar and Kaliyaṛ totalling 6. The Vellāḷa saints were Ilaiyaṅkudimārar, Viranmiṇḍar, Mānakkaṅjārar, Kalikāmar, Kōṭpuliyaṛ, Arivāḷ Tāyar, Appar, Mūrkhār, Sattiyaṛ, Vāyilār, Munaiyaduvār, Śeruttunai and Śakkiyaṛ totalling 13. The Śivācāryas* were Sundaraṛ, Śaḍaiyaṅār, Isaiṇāṇiyaṛ and Puḡaḷttunaiyaṛ.

As per individual communities we find Tirunilakaṇṭhar was a potter, Kaṇṇappar a hunter, Āṇāyar a cow-herd, Tirukkuṛippuṭṭonḍar a dhoby, Aḍipattar a fisherman, Nēṣar a weaver, Nīlakaṇṭha Yālppāṇar a Pāṇa, Nandaṇār a Paṛaiya, Ēṇādinādar a Sāṇṇār and Śiruttōṇḍar a Māmātra.

Nāyanmārs whose castes have not been mentioned are Eṛipattar, Kulacciṛaiyaṛ, Kaṇampullar, Kāriyaṛ and Daṇḍi Aḍigaḷ.

From these details, it will be known that Śaivism was nurtured by the kings, petty kings and persons of all castes. We will consider next the services rendered by these Nāyanmārs for the development of Śaivism.

* Āḍi Śaivas or Śivar - Bāhmaṇas.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE NĀYANMĀRS REQUIRING SPECIAL MENTION:

(1) APPŪDI AṬIGAḸ claimed Appar as his Ācārya and maintained water-shed and other charitable deeds in Appar's name.¹ (2) IDĀNGAḸI-YĀR made arrangements for the performance of pujas in all their grandeur in the temples of his realm and granted his possession to the Śaiva devotees.² (3) IḸAIYĀNKUḸIMĀṚAR became poverty-stricken by feeding the Śaiva devotees.³ (4) GAṆANĀDAR trained many in the art of maintaining and protecting flower gardens, plucking flowers, making them into several kinds of garlands, performing many kinds of abhiṣekas, cleaning the temple and its premises, burning lights, writing of the Tirumūrais and the reading of Tiruppadiḡams⁴ (hymns). (5) KALIKKAMBAR gave food and money to the devotees by spending away all his wealth.⁵ (6) KAḸARCINGAR'S services in the cause of Śaivism have been referred to in the last chapter. (7) KĀRI NĀYAṆĀR sang Kōvai (கோவை) on the three TamiḸ kings, obtained wealth, built many temples and helped the devotees also.⁶ (8)

¹Verse numbers specified in the foot-note, under the name of Nāyanmārs, indicate the number of the verse in the respective purāṇam of the Nāyanmārs; v. 3. ²vv. 5-9. ³vv. 2-7. ⁴vv. 3-4; It must be surmised that this training was given in accordance with the Āgamic rules. From this we can clearly learn how far the Āgamic rules were observed according to Śāstras. ⁵v. 3. ⁶vv. 2-3.

KUNGULIYAKKALAYAR offered incense daily to the temple of Tirukkaḍavūr and lost all his wealth in his religious service. His bhakti was so much that he sold his wife's tali to purchase the Kunguliyam.¹ (9) KULACCIRAI invited Sambandar to the Pāṇḍya country to rid the land of the Jains; he also gave food to the devotees.² (10) KŌṬPULI distributed all his paddy to the devotees; killed all his relations who consumed the paddy kept for the Aḍiyārs.³ (11) ŚATTI NĀYAṆĀR cut off the tongues of those who insulted the Śaiva devotees.⁴ (12) ŚIRUTTONḌAR fed the devotees daily, killed his own son, cooked him and gave food to the Bhairava devotee.⁵ (13) ŚERUTTUNAI served the shrine at Tiruvārūr. He cut off the nose of Kalarcingar's wife for smelling a flower that had been plucked for being offered to Śiva.⁶ (14) CĒRAMAṆ PERUMĀL gave away his wealth to all; went on pilgrimage to the Śiva shrines. He was an author of three works.⁷ He reached Kailās accompanying Sundarar. (15) TIRUKKURIPPUTTONḌAR engaged himself in the service of washing the clothes of the Śaiva devotees.⁸ (16) SAMBANDAR converted the Pāṇḍya into a Śaiva devotee by defeating the Jains in discourse; defeated the Buddhists in religious discourse and

¹ vv. 6-10. ² vv. 4-6. ³ vv. 2-10. ⁴ v. 3. ⁵ vv. 13-75. ⁶ vv. 3-5. ⁷ vv. 24-162. ⁸ v. 114.

converted them into Śaivas; visited the shrines and sang hymns; performed some miracles and made the people have a strong belief in Śiva as the one and the absolute.

(17) APPAR embraced Śaivism by renouncing Jainism. He was the cause for the loss of the Jain influence in the Pallava country. He visited shrines and sang hymns. (18) NANDANĀR offered leather and guts for the musical instruments of the temple and *kōrōṣanai* (கோரோசனை) for the worship of the deity. He dug a tank at Tiruppuṅkūr.¹ (19) TIRUNILAKAṆṬAR offered many kinds of services to the devotees of Śaivism.² (20) TIRUNILAKAṆṬA YĀLPPĀṆAR went on pilgrimage to the shrines and played on yāl. He delighted the people by his music and played on his yāl, the songs of Sambandar.³ (21) NARAŚINGA MUṆAIYARAIYAR gave food and money to the devotees; on the occasion of every Tiruvādirai, gave food and 100 coins of gold to all the Śaiva devotees.⁴ (22) NEDUMĀRAN the Pāṇḍya was a Jain first. Then he embraced Śaivism and spread it in the Pāṇḍya country.⁵ (23) NEŚA NĀYANĀR a native of Kāmpili, wove several kinds of clothing and gave them to Śaiva devotees.⁶ (24) PERUMIḶALAIK-KURUMBĀR offered food and clothing required

¹ vv. 13-15. ² v. 2. ³ vv. 1-2 & 9-11. ⁴ vv. 3-4. ⁵ vv. 2 & 8.

⁶ vv. 3-4.

by the devotees.¹ (25) MANGAIYARKKARASIYAR sent Kulaccirai to Sambandar, and invited him to the Pāṇḍya country and converted her husband, the king, to Śaivism.² (26) MĀNAKKAṆJĀRAR understood the needs of the devotees from their look and offered food, clothes and money to them. He cut off his daughter's hair and gave it to a Mahāvratin (மாவிரதியர்) for his Pañcavaḍi (பஞ்சவடி.³) (27) MURUGA NĀYANĀR prepared flower garlands for worship and offered them to the temple. He maintained a maṭha and entertained the devotees of Śiva.⁴ (28) MUNAIYĀDUVĀR helped the vanquished kings to victory and with their presentations, offered help to the Śaiva devotees.⁵ (29) MŪRKHA NĀYANĀR spent all his wealth in feeding the devotees. He then earned money in gambling and fed the devotees.⁶ (30) MEIPPORUḶ NĀYANĀR offered all that the devotees required. He arranged for the conduct of pūja, dance and song recital in the temples of his realm. His door was said to be ever open to Śaiva devotees.⁷ (31) VIRANMIṆḌAR, a native of the Cera country and a pilgrim, entertained devotees, and was the cause for Sundarar's composing the Tiruttonḍattogai at Tiruvārūr.⁸ (32) SUNDARAR travelled throughout the Tamiḷ Nāḍu and composed

¹ vv. 2-3. ² vv. 1 & 2. ³ vv. 8, 9 & 30. ⁴ vv. 6-9. ⁵ vv. 3-4
⁶ vv. 3-10. ⁷ vv. 1-4, 9 & 10. ⁸ vv. 5-8.

hymns. He was the friend of Kalarcingar, Cēramān Perumāl, the Pāṇḍya and the Cōla kings.¹

When we consider the fact that most of the Nāyanmārs did Māhēśvara Pūja (feeding the devotees), we learn that these Śaiva saints understood well the merit of Māhēśvara Pūja related by Tirumūlar.

THE WOMEN-FOLK OF THE NĀYANMĀRS' HOUSEHOLD AND THEIR SERVICES FOR ŚAIVISM:

Tilakavatiyār rendered 'Śivattonḍu' (சிவத் தொண்ட) in the temple of Tiruvadigai. It was she who was responsible for the re-conversion of Appar to Śaivism. Appar renounced Jainism and became a Śaiva.² Mangaiyarkkaraśiyār's efforts to re-convert Neḍumāraṇ - a Śaiva from Jainism were great. Without the knowledge of her king and husband who was a Jain, she sent the minister, Kulacciṟai, to Sambandar and invited him to the Pāṇḍya country. She induced her husband to be cured of his disease by Sambandar. It is a fact that without her endeavours, Śaivism could not have been re-established in the Pāṇḍya country.³ We can realize the religious zeal of Karaikkāl

¹ Nāyanmārs like Rudra-paśupati and Pāsalar were devotees themselves and attained Mōkṣa. So, they are not mentioned here.

² Appar P. vv. 43-44 & 62-70. ³ vv. 603-870.

Ammaiyār from her divinely inspired hymns. It is almost impossible to assign a limit to the religious zeal of Śiṛuttoṇḍar's wife, who consented to kill and cook her own son to satisfy the Bhairava devotee. The religious zeal of the noble wife, Iḷaiyāṅkuḍimāraṅ who suggested to bring back the paddy seeds that were sown in the field for the sake of cooking food to the Śaiva devotee,¹ Kunguliyak-kalayar's wife who gave her tāli (marriage thread) to purchase paddy,² Kaliyanāyaṅār's wife who consented for her sale in order to get money to maintain a lamp in the temple,³ and Kalikkambar's wife who used to offer water with her husband to wash the feet of the devotees,⁴ are almost fanatical to join their husbands in their religious services. Could the Nāyaṅmārs have rendered the religious services of which they are famed without the co-operation of these noble women? It is certain that their services and co-operation also were contributory factors for the rapid development of Śaivism in the land.

NO CASTE DISTINCTIONS AMONG THE NĀYANMĀRS :

Sambandar, a Brahmin, respected Appar's learning, experience, piety and old age and

¹I. M. N. P. v. 13. ²K. K. N. P. v. 9. ³Kaliya. N. P. vv. 12-13.

⁴Kali N. P. vv. 5-8.

addressed him as 'Appar' (Father).¹ Nilanakkar accommodated for a night Tirunilakanta Yālppānar and his wife who were Pānar by caste, in the central portion of his house and by the side of the yāga kuṇḍa (sacrificial fire pit).² Appūdi Aḍigal, a Brahmin, was a devotee of Appar. He sat (with the members of his family) with him, a Veḷḷāḷa by caste and took his meal; he washed his feet also³ (Pāda pūjā). Śivanēśa Ceṭṭiyar requested Sambandar, a Brahmin, to marry his daughter. In reply Sambandar said, "Since I brought her to life, she is almost my daughter"⁴ and did not say anything else. These deserve our consideration. It is also to be noted that Sundarar, a Śiva-Brāhmaṇa married Paravaiyār, a Rudra gaṇikā and Sangiliyār a Veḷḷāḷa girl. The Veḷḷāḷa Kōṭpuliyaṛ requested Sundarar to marry his two daughters.⁵ Appar says, "Though they suffer from leprosy, though they are Pulaiyas who eat beef, if they are Śaiva devotees, they are the gods whom we worship."⁶ Considering all these, it is to be taken that no caste distinctions prevailed among the Saiva devotees of the period, bhakti (piety) alone prevailed against any other consideration. It was considered, that by mixing together, by frequent meeting together, singing

¹ Sam. N. P. v. 495. ² Nilar P. v. 30. ³ A. A. N. P. vv. 20 & 41.

⁴ Sam. N. P. v. 1114. ⁵ E. K. N. P. v. 39. ⁶ Appar, P. 514, v. 10.

hymns together and dining and sleeping together the growth of religious ties was fostered. Was it not also natural for the Śaivas who desired to overcome the Jains and Buddhists who had no caste distinctions, to think that it was a blot among themselves to entertain caste difference? Thus, the non observance of caste differences by the Śaiva devotees was one of the reasons that promoted the growth of the Śaiva religion.

THE STRUGGLE AMONG RELIGIONS.

Jainism and Buddhism were hated in the pre-Pallava Tamil country, as evidenced by a few, like Kavunian, Vinṇan-Tāyan and Āvūr Mūlangiār. They were definitely more disliked in the times of the Early Pallavas. Naminandi Aḍigaḷ, Daṇḍi Aḍigaḷ and Mūrtti Nāyanār were derided by the Jains, and the merit of Śaivism was vindicated by them. This hatred among the religions gradually developed and reached its zenith in the time of Appar and Sambandar. Jainism was thoroughly vanquished in the Pallava country by the re-conversion of Appar and Mahēndravarmaṇ. Sambandar also cleared the Pāṇḍya country of the Jains with the help of Neḍumāraṇ who became a Śaiva. Now let us consider how these two religions lost their hold in Tamiḷagam.

IN THE PALLAVA COUNTRY

Appar belonged to Tiruvāimūr¹ village in Naḍu nāḍu. He was born of Śaiva parents. After the parents' death, he joined the Jain maṭha at Pāṭalīputra; learned all the Jain literature for many years and got the name Dharmasēṇa. He then defeated the Buddhists in religious disputations. Then he was afflicted with colic (சூலை நோய்).² Since it could not be cured by the Jains but increased in degree, he went back to his elder sister and got rid of this fell disease by Śiva's grace. He became a Śaiva. The Jain saints feared danger to their religion from Appar who left them and became a Śaiva. They persecuted him in many ways with the help of their sovereign Mahēndravarmān. Appar was relieved from the troubles by the grace of Śiva. The wise Mahēndravarmān took the lessons and changed his faith. He embraced Śaivism, demolished the Jain monasteries and temples that existed at Pāṭalīputra and with their material built a Śiva temple at Tiruvadigai and named it Guṇabhara Iṣvaram. These have been already mentioned. Since nothing is heard in the later times about the famous Jain maṭha that existed at Pāṭalīputra,³ we can accept as truth,

¹ I visited this place on 10-5-1948. ² Its details are available in Mādhava-Nidānam, p. 88. ³ A. S. P. p. 231.

Śekkilār's words that it was demolished in Mahēndra's time.¹ At such a time, Sambandar went about the Tondai Nādu. Sambandar made the male palmyra trees that had been mocked at by the Jains of Tiruvōttūr and nurtured by a Śaiva devotee yield bunches of fruits. The Jain saints, on seeing this miracle, left Tiruvōttūr.²

The event of the learned Appar, who had secured the renowned name of Dharmasēna and conquered the Buddhists in religious dispute, becoming a Śaiva weakened Jainism. To add to this, the reigning Mahēndra who was well-versed in many arts, renounced Jainism, became a Śaiva, and destroyed the Jain maṭha itself. This meant almost the downfall of Jainism in the Pallava country. The royal Pallava convert built many new temples for Śiva. Appar went round the Śiva shrines, singing hymns in praise of Śiva and taught the greatness of the path of Śiva (Śaivism) to the people of the country. Sambandar also travelled all over the Tondai Nādu and sang hymns. On account of the efforts of these three, the Śaiva religion began to get a new life and flourish in the Tondai Nādu.

¹ A Jain statue and ruins could be seen even to-day in the place where the maṭha once existed. I visited this place on 11-5-50.

² Sam. P. vv. 978-'82.

IN THE CŌLA COUNTRY :

When Appar came to Paḷaiyārai-vaḍa-taḷi, he was told that the temple was in the possession of the Jains and no pūjās were performed. Thereupon he took a vow of fasting until the restoration of the temple to Śiva worship. The Cōla king came to know of this, drove away the one thousand Jains and brought the temple to its former good condition¹. By this, the influence of the Jains decreased in the Cōla country. In Cōla land, there were Buddhists who had a monastery at Bōdimangai. On Sambandar vanquishing them in religious dispute, many of them became Śaivas.² In this way, Jainism and Buddhism lost their hold in the Cōla Country also.

IN THE PĀṆDYA COUNTRY :

Since Neḍumāraṇ, the Pāṇḍya, had leanings towards Jainism, Jainism flourished there. But owing to the efforts of the Pāṇḍya Queen and the minister Kulacciraiyār, Sambandar visited the Pāṇḍya Country, cured the hectic fever of the Pāṇḍya and also vanquished the Jains in the several tests of water and fire. Śaivism, again, acquired the hold of the people. The king also changed his faith and became a Śaiva. As a result, the eight

¹ Appar P. vv. 294-'8. ² Sam. P. vv. 914-926.

thousand Jains of the Perungunram went to be impaled.¹ Śaivism was thus re-established and it began to flourish in the Pāṇḍya Country. As a further result, thousands of these Jains left Tamiḷagam and repaired to Ganga Nāḍu and the Raṣṭrakūṭa Country, where they increased their influence.²

VAIṢṆAVISM, BUDDHISM AND JAINISM:

It is seen that after Appar and Sambandar, the few Jains and Buddhists that remained in the Tamiḷ Country, had to face now the anger of the Vaiṣṇavas in the 8th century A. D. Pallavamalla seized their lands and granted them to the Brahmins. The members of one of those faiths were impaled in his reign.³ One of the sculptures of Vaikunṭha Perumāḷ Temple at Kāñci represents this. To what extent the Vaiṣṇavas hated them may be clearly seen from the following 'pāsuram' of Tondaradippodī Ālvār:

¹Ibid. vv. 697-855. It was already stated that in the period of Puṛaṇapūru, Kavunīyaṇ-Viṇṇaṇ-tāyaṇ and his ancestors hated the Jain and Buddhist religions; and carried on religious debates with them. It is worthy to note that Sambandar, a descendant of the same Gōtra was the cause for the ruin of these two religions in the 7th century A. D. ²G. T. pp. 202, 212, & 272. ³A. S. P. pp. 170-2.

“ வெறுப்பொடு சமணர்முண்டர் விதியிற்சாக் கியர்கள்
நின்பால்
பொறுப்பரி யனகள் பேசிப் போவதே நோய் தாகிக்
குறிப்பெனக் கடையு மாகில் கூடுமேல் தலையை ஆங்கே
அறுப்பதே கருமங் கண்டாய் அரங்கமா நகருளானே. ¹ ”

Reviling of you as a task has been of Jains and
Buddhists.

Mine will be to behead them if given opportunity.

SANKARA AND BUDDHISM :

Sankara (A. D. 788-820) defeated the Buddhists that lived at Kāñcī and established a maṭha there and another at Kumbakōṇam. He patronised the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Ambikā and condemned the human and animal sacrifices. On account of his service, the Smārta religion began to spread in the land.²

Since thus Jainism and Buddhism lost their influence in Tamiḷagam during the 7th and 8th centuries, condemnations of Jainism and Buddhism are not found in Sundarar's paḍigams or in Māṇikkavāṣagar's Tiruvāṣagam, to the extent that deserve mention.

PILGRIMAGE OF APPAR AND SAMBANDAR :

Though the defeat of the Jains and Buddhists was a victory to Śaivism, since constructive work

¹ Tirumalai, V. 8. ² A. S. P. pp. 209-10 & 181 (foot-note 49).

for the growth of Śaivism was necessary, Appar and Sambandar went on pilgrimage to many of the shrines that existed in the land. Appar visited and sang of nearly 126 shrines and Sambandar of 216 shrines. There were many more which were not visited by these two in person, but find mention in their hymns. There are many shrines which were visited by Appar and Sambandar at different times. Some there were visited by both together. "Their utterances were mostly extempore and were highly polished, terse, elegant and loftily conceived. Their thoughts were clothed in fine words, well chosen and embellished with rhetorical ornaments. The acquaintance of these great personages was sought by every one who had not a heart of stone or iron. The exquisite imagery that forms the background of their hymns, the charm of rural scenery, the pleasant beauties of landscape and the rich fauna and flora which we find in their songs, show that they held perfect communion with nature brimming with life and resonant with an undertone of celestial music. The style adopted by them is quite winning and the flow of the lines so mellowed and easy that they could move even reluctant hearers. *"

Many devotees followed Appar and Sambandar in their pilgrimage to the shrines. The people

* R. A. A. D. p. 13.

of every place welcomed and entertained them. In those days, there did not exist maṭhas in all places; there were maṭhas at Tiruvadigai, Tirunallūr, Kaḷumalam, Tiruppugalūr, Tirukkaḍavūr, Tirumaṛaikkāḍu, Tiruppūndurutti, lingalūr, Tiruvārūr, Tiruvīlimilalai, Madurai, Kāñci, Kāḷatti, Sāttanūr, Koḍungōlūr and Orriyūr.¹ Appar himself built a maṭha at Tiruppūndurutti; he remained there for some time and composed hymns.² In those places where there were no maṭhas, they stayed with the devotees of the place or in the temple there. Since many temples were in affluent condition in the reign of the Pallava kings, they might have stayed in and fed by the temple. We can say that the pilgrimages of Appar and Sambandar were well conducted, their expenses being met by the people or the village assemblies. In such places as Śengāttanguḍi, Tiruppugalūr, they were entertained well by the devotees as Śiruttoṇḍar and Muruga Nāyaṇār, their contemporaries. The devotees that flourished in such places spread Śaivism in their locality. Appar and Sambandar's pilgrimage and their divine hymns greatly assisted them in their efforts to spread their faith. The people throughout the land began to take to their

¹ Taḍut. P. v. 83; A. N. P. v. 4; Appar P. vv. 62, 187, 231, 247, 274, 389; Sambandar P. vv. 473, 512, 532, 590, 676, 998, 1024; T. N. P. v. 18; Cēramāṇ P. v. 3; Kaliya N. P. v. 3. ² Appar P. vv. 389-390.

heart the doctrines of Śaivism, as expounded by them in their daily conduct.

Now let us consider how the temples helped the growth of Śaiva religion.

TEMPLES.

GROWTH OF TEMPLES :

In the days of Kāṇṇappar, there existed a linga on the hill of Kāḷatti; but, it is not known whether there was any structural temple, or a protection for the linga. The Periya-Purāṇam says that Kāṇṇappar thought of its loneliness and was pained at heart. In the same manner, lingas appear to have been in existence under the trees, in such places as forests like Ālangādu, woods like, Kaḍambavanam, groves like Nellikkā, water spots like Mayilāḍuturai and in places where people used to stay in the course of their journey. In those places temples appear to have been built later by the kings and others.* In places which have their names with the endings of Kuḍi, puttūr, mangalam and puram which had been newly colonised, new temples arose. Many of these new temples were sung by Appar and Sambandar in the 7th century A. D. and later by Sundarar and Māṇikkavāṣagar.

* O. E. H. S. S. I. pp. 308-313.



Śiva's Dance



Dance Pose (Thanjavur Big Temple)

TILLAI AND TIRUVARÜR:

About 500 shrines existed in the days of Nāyaṇmārs. The most renowned of them were the Naṭarāja temple at Tillai and the beautiful shrine (பூங்கோயில்) at Tiruvārūr. Long before the other shrines came to prominence, Tillai had secured the first place among them in the world of Śaivism and it was under the care of the local three-thousand Śiva Brāhmaṇas; and, it was also the first place where Naṭarāja was enshrined. Under such considerations, the collected hymns of the three Samayācāryas must have been preserved there in safe custody. The later Cōla kings recognised the antiquity and greatness of the Tillai temple with its Pērambalam (the great court) and Śiṟrambalaṁ (the small court); considered it more precious than their lives and adorned it. They expressed that the Lord of Tillai was their family deity. Though Tiruvārūr temple had attained prominence in the days of Appar and Sambandar, it became pre-eminent in the time of Sundarar. The capital city of Maṇu-nīti-Cōla was Tiruvārūr, and it was the first among the Sapta Viṭaṅga Kṣētras. (Viṭaṅga means the linga not carved out by a chisel). Sundarar's mother was the daughter of Tiruvārūr- Nāna Śivācāryar, who belonged to the Gautama Gōtra and who was well-versed in Śaiva Siddhānt

Śāstras.¹ Therefore, Tiruvārūr was to Sundarar, his grand-father's place; it was also the place where his first marriage as arranged by Śiva was performed. It was there itself that he gave his salutations to the Nāyaṁmārs that were seated in the Dēvāśiriya maṇṭapa and the images of those Nāyaṁmārs who flourished in the age prior to his and sang the Tiruttoṇḍattogai.² Such a Dēvāśiriya maṇṭapa which was the cause for Sundarar to sing his Tiruttoṇḍattogai was not found in any other temple of his times. For these special reasons, Tiruvārūr was considered to be an almost equally important, sacred institution.

NAMES OF TEMPLES:

We find in the Tēvāram, that certain of the shrines sung by the Nāyaṁmārs were called by various names as, Īsvaram, Perungōyil, Ālakkōyil, Karakkōyil, Nāḷarkōyil, Kokuḍikkōyil, Iḷangōyil, Moṇikkōyil and Tūṅgānaimāḍam. (1) PERUNGŌIL also called MAḌAKKŌYIL is one built on an artificial mound or elevated place. There were such 78 Perungōyils in the days of Appar.³ Perungōyils were built by Kōccengaṇāṇ. This could be known from Tirumangai Ālvār's words. (2) NĀḷARKŌYIL is one in which there was a nāḷal tree.

¹ S. I. I. IV. p. 153. ² Taḍut. P. vv. 189-201. ³ Appar P. 464, v. 5.

The temple at Tiruppādirippuliyūr was as such called Nālarḱōyil.¹ (3) KOKUḌIKKŌYIL was a temple which was situated in a place where flourished 'kokuḍi' a kind of 'mullai' plant.² The shrine at Tirukkaruppaṛiyālūr has this name. (4) ALAKKŌYIL was the temple which had the banyan tree as the sacred tree of the shrine. The shrine at Tirukkaccūr (near Chingleput) has this name.³ (5) ILANGŌYIL is the one in which the deity was moved into, enshrined and worshipped, near the old temple, when the major temple was under reconstruction. The temple at Tirumīyaccūr had this name.⁴ The temple which is built near their village and in which the deity whom they worship is enshrined by the devotees who dwell at a distant place from a shrine is also called Ilangōyil.⁵ (6) KARAKKŌYIL was one constructed in the shape of a chariot and with wheels. The Kaḍambūr temple was called by this name.⁶ (7) T. V. Sadāśiva Paṇḍārattār thinks that MAṆIKKŌYIL may be the one the roof of which has vimāna in the beads-spread-like formation. This form is yet to be investigated. (8) TŪNGĀṆAI - MĀDAM was a temple with Gajapṛṣṭa vimāna, one of the vimānas mentioned by Varāhamihira. The Pennāgaḍam

¹ S. I. I. 7. 744. ² Sambandar p. 270, v. 10. ³ Sundarar p. 171, vv. 2 & 3. ⁴ Appar p. 178, v. 1. ⁵ T. Poḷil, 15, p. 89. ⁶ Ibid, p. 190, v. 1.

temple was called Tūṅgānaimādam.¹ These kinds of temples were built in the days of the Pallavas. Tiruttanigai temple is one of them. (9) Īśvaram is the general name given to Śiva temples.

MANAGEMENT OF TEMPLES :

Sundarar prayed to the deity at Nāgaik-kārōṇam to condescend to grant him the silk clothes and jewels required by him from the treasury of the temple.² It is clear from this that there existed temple treasuries in his time. Then it must be supposed that it was in the respective temple treasuries that Appar and Sambandar got the gold coin at Tiruvīḷi-miḷalai and that Sambandar received one thousand gold pieces at Āvaḍuturai for performing a sacrifice.³ It was already described in detail in the previous chapter that the management of temples was well-conducted in the age of the Pallavas.

FESTIVALS IN TEMPLES :

Festivals like Ādirai, Pūṣam and others of the Śaivite Calender took place at Ārūr, Kuṟukkai, Kōḍikā, Tillai, Maṛaikkaḍu, Kōḷili, Marugal, Āmāttūr,

¹ Appar, p. 157, vv. 1-2. ² p. 249, v. 5. ³ Sambandar P. vv. 424-'5 and 564-'70.

Puṛambayam, Ākkūr, Valampuram, Puttūr,¹ Āvūr, Miḷalai, Kōlakkā, Śengāttanguḍi, Nāgai, Kuṇṇālam, Pugali, Mayilai, Kaḷar, Aiyāru, Iḍaimarudūr, Tilataip-pati, Kaḍavūr, Ambar, Tenkuḍittittai, Tiruvāṇmiyūr, Kacci, Nallūr, Nelvēli, Iḍaivāi,² Nārāiyūr, Kalayanallūr and Veñjamākkūḍal and others.³ It is revealed that many festivals were celebrated in a year in the temples of Mayilai, Ārūr⁴ and others. Car-festivals also took place at Ārūr, Tillai, Tirupputtūr and Tiruvaaiyāru⁵

IDOLS AND ICONS (திருமேனிகள்) OF DIVINITIES IN TEMPLES :

From the fact that festivals and processions took place in temples, it is derived that images of the deities were in existence. Since Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar have sung in their hymns about the Nāyanmārs that preceded them, it is proper to think that in the temples of the place where the Nāyanmārs lived and served, their images were erected and worshipped by the people. It is also correct to suppose that there

¹ Appar, pp. 35-36, 150, 173; 77, 166, 176, 246, 290, 329, 337, 356, 435 and 473. ² Sambandar, pp. 14, 33, 38, 99, 137, 156, 266, 295, 303, 313, 415, 440, 457, 482, 514, 528, 547, 558, 570 & 626, ³ Sundarar, pp. 45, 58, 72 & 95. ⁴ Sambandar, pp. 295, 296; Appar, pp. 35-36, 150, 173 & 366. ⁵ Appar, pp. 36, 166 & 473; Sambandar, p. 207, v. 5.

were images for all the 50 Nāyanmārs in the Dēvāśiriya maṇṭapa when Sundarar composed the Tirutṭoṇḍattogai.

MUSIC AND DANCE IN TEMPLES :

It was stated in the last chapter that the Pallava kings like Mahēndran and Rāja Simhan fostered the fine arts. The Tirumuṟais also give us that these arts were nurtured in many of the temples. Hymns were sung in harmony with paṇ (tune) in the temples of Ārūr, Tirumēṟṟaḷi, Āppāḍi, Ālangāḍu, Nallūr, Kaḍambūr, Kōḷili,¹ Viḷimilalai, Marugal, Āvūr, Mayilāḍuturai, Perundurai, Śirapuram, Neḍungaḷam, Pūvaṇam, Pallavaṇiccuram, Paḷaṇam, Kāṇūr, Ilambaiyangōṭṭūr, Kaḷumalam, Pātaliśvaram, Āiyāru, Vāñjiyam, Nallāru, Paḷuvūr, Śāikkāḍu, Puḷḷirukkuvelūr, Āmāttūr, Tirukkaḷar, Kōṭṭāru, Pāsūr, Naṟaiyūr, Pugalūr, Ēḍagam, Tenkudittittai, Karugāvūr, Vaigāvūr, Mākaṟal, Tēvūr, Maṟaikāḍu, Māṇikuḷi, Paridi Niyamam, Iḍaivāi,² Turaiyūr, Paṇaiyūr, Paiṇṇili, Veñjamākkūḍal, Paṇangāṭṭūr and Paḷaiyaṇūr.³ Why should music be sung in temples ? "The Lord is the seven 'isais' (இசை) and is

¹ Appar, pp. 36, 67, 74, 103, 145, 190, 192 & 246. ² Sambandar, pp. 6, 10, 13, 62, 67, 68, 85, 104, 105, 108, 117, 124, 129, 171, 207, 232, 273, 274, 286, 289, 298, 301, 304, 305, 319, 366, 373, 477, 482, 498, 539, 540, 544, 547, 591, & 625. ³ Sundarar, pp. 9, 49, 58, 89, 95, 183, 210 and 258.

the result of them.¹ " He is Himself paṇ; Paṇṇin Tiraṇ is also Himself.² "

“ பண்ணும்பதம் ஏழும்பல ஓசைத்தமிழ் அவையும்
உண்ணின்றதோர் சுவையும்உறு தாளத்தொலி பலவும்

* * * *

விண்ணும்முழு தானாடம் வீழிம்மிழ லையே.³ "

Vilimilalai is the dwelling place of Him who is Himself the seven paṇs, several kinds of Tamil tunes; the sweetness contained in them; the sound of metal cymbals and the sky and all.

CERTAIN TRUTHS ELUCIDATED BY THE NĀYAṆMĀRS :

The highest philosophy of religions is the philosophy of 'sound' (நாதம்). The doctrine of Śaivism is that from sound, music is born, and, the Lord Himself is in the form of Music. Therefore, Sambandar stated that by singing prayer hymns in harmony with tune, the Lord will be pleased and grant His grace.⁴ It deserves to be noted that Appar has mentioned that praying to the Lord in harmony with tune will yield more bliss than going to the temple and cleaning, lighting,

¹ Sundarar, p. 200, v. 10. ² Appar, p. 422, v. 1. ³ Sambandar, p. 18, v. 4. ⁴ p. 538, v. 1.

plucking flowers, weaving them into wreaths and offering them to the deity etc.¹ Do Sundarar's words "you granted coins to Sambandar daily with a desire to hear Tamil and music from him"², not reveal that the Lord desires to listen to music? These details could explain the reason why music was practised in temples.

Women-dancers existed and danced in the village temples of Aiyāru, Ārūr, Nāgai, Niṇṇiyūr,³ Viḷimiḷalai, Mudukunṇam, Perundurai, Neḍungaḷam, Pūvaṇam Paḷaṇam Kuḍamūku, Kānūr, Ilambaiyan-gōṭṭūr, Śikāḷi, Naḷḷāru, Āmāttūr, Tirukkaḷar, Kaḍam būr, Puḡalūr, Maḷapāḍi, Tenkuḍittittai, Mākaḷal. Tēvūr, Naḷlūr, Nelvēli, Paṛidi Niyamam, Iḍaivāi,⁴ Turaiyūr and Veṇjamākkūḍal⁵ etc. Several kinds of musical instruments as Viṇai, Kiṇṇaram, Kuḍamuḷa, Kokkarai, Muḷavam, Kuḷal, Paṛai, Tāḷam, Yāl, Piḍavam, Kallalaku, Jarjari, Koḍukkōṭṭi, Takkaḷi,⁶ Bēri, Taṇṇumai, Takuṇitam, Saṅgiṇai, Saṭṭari, Tattalakam, Dundubi, Mondai,⁷ Taṇḍu, Kallavaḍam,⁸ and others were in use in temples. Looking at these details we come to know that music and dance became an essential part of Śiva worship.

¹p. 116, v. 3. ²p. 53, v. 8. ³Appar, pp. 7, 8, 36, 152 & 196.

⁴Sambandar pp. 6, 10, 20, 68, 85, 104, 108, 117, 124, 129, 207, 273, 298, 301, 304, 333, 373, 472, 482, 540, 544, 558, 573, 591 & 625.

⁵Sundarar, pp. 9, 10, 95 & 249. ⁶Appar, pp. 170, 286, 10, 103, 125, 139, 153, 244, 339, 355, 372, 373 & 476. ⁷Sundarar, pp. 72, 89, 292 and 293. ⁸Sambandar, pp. 377, 552 & 557.

Music is capable of melting one's heart and when hymns are sung in harmony with kuḷal, yāl, vinai etc., it would be very appealing. It is sure that when pious hymns are sung in accompaniment with musical instruments they would win the hearts of the people. Since these hymns were also sung in the language of the common people, the meaning of the songs was impressed on their minds and they became pious, and devoted to Śiva. Since the women-dancers exhibited on festive occasions and other times the many kinds of dances danced by Śiva and other kinds with sweet music, they provided a feast to the eye and the ear of the people. These two arts were avoided by the Jains and Buddhists on the ground that they promoted passion. But, to the worshippers of Śiva in the form of Ammai-appar (ardha-nārīśvara), these two arts failed to create dislike; but on the other hand gladdened their hearts and took them nearer to the fountain-head of Love.

Music and dance also drew the common folk to the temple; their hearts were melted; made them realize the value of arts, turned their minds to God whose form is art; made them forget themselves and dance and sing in ecstasy. Many kinds of dances exhibited by Śiva find mention in Tirumandiram. They are to be seen sculptured in the temple of Kailāsanātha. In the days of the

Nāyaṇmārs, the several dances of Śiva were exhibited by the women-dancers at Temple festivals. The fact that the Lord called Himself "Naṭarāja" (the king of dancers), implied that in His religion the art of dance had an integral part. One may renounce the world and lead the life of an ascetic and get liberation, or he may be a house-holder and get mukti by offering prayer to the Lord in the form of hymns and dance. These teachings of the path of bhakti won the heart of the householder. The people began to worship God by singing sweet songs in harmony with tunes and by dancing in his presence. Since the Nāyaṇmārs taught the people the cult of bhakti, which could be followed by all, the Śaiva faith began to gain ground and spread in the country.

ŚAIVA MAṬHAS:

It was already stated that maṭhas existed at Tiruvadigai and other places. In those days, when the Jain and Buddhist maṭhas were the seats of learning, does it not follow without saying that these Śaiva maṭhas which aimed at eradicating those religions, also must have been centres of learning and colleges which fostered religious studies? When we consider the fact that in the days of Kampavarman, a learned person was the head of the maṭha at Oṭṭiyūr, it is proper to think that monks (ascetics) presided over the Śaiva

maṭhas as well and imparted general and religious knowledge to all those who sought them. They also accommodated Appar and Sambandar and their followers in the course of their pilgrimage to the shrines in the land.

THE RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS OF THE NĀYANMARS :

The Nāyanmārs taught 'the Buddhist and Jain scriptures are false; do not believe them; worship Śiva; your sins will be forgiven and you will be blessed'¹. Recite our hymns and get benefit². Though one does not have good birth, that which gives much good according to good birth is pañcākṣara.³ Pañcākṣara is the best help⁴ " "Control the five senses; concentrate your mind and think; you can see Śiva, the matchless one."⁵ "The Lord is capable of banishing all anger by causing enjoyment in the mind of those who restrain their senses, practise concentration, transcend their two houses (the sthūla and sūkṣma bodies), and unite the two (jivātma with Śiva)."⁶ It is clear, therefore, that these are the things to be achieved by the Śaivas.

¹ Sambandar, pp. 26, v. 10; 29, v. 2; 37, v. 4; 101, v. 10; 575, v. 10; 593, v. 10. ² Sambandar & Sundarar tell this at the end of every Padigam. ³ Appar, p. 20, v. 6. ⁴ "The Good help is Namasivaya" - Appar. "Holding fast the boat of five letters, I remain" - Tiruvāṣagam, v. 31. ⁵ Appar, p. 42, v. 9. ⁶ Ibid., p. 52, v. 9.

The manner in which the Bhaktas were to practise realisation is given by Appar as follows: "you can see Śiva, if you look for Him with the light of wisdom issuing forth from the wick of life, fed with the ghee of contemplation in the lamp of the mind within the house of your body.¹" Appar adds: "Plough your heart with truth; plant the seed of desire (for knowledge); weed out untruth; irrigate the field with the water of patience; supervise your work by looking into yourself; build the fence of good rules (Dharma); if you can do these well, Śiva's grace will grow there."² "Dance, weep, worship and sing"³ Sambandar's Tirukkōḍikā Padigam⁴ and Appar's Ārūr Tiruttāṇḍakam⁵ sung as giving advice to the heart, deserve to be considered as religious preaching fit for the people. Worship in the temples, doing service in the temples, pilgrimages to the shrines, to seek the company of the devotees and Māhēśvara Pūja have also been emphasised.⁶

MANY KINDS OF WORSHIP:

Tirumūlar said that those who pronounce Pañcākṣara in meditation, will be relieved of

¹ p. 113, v. 4. ² p. 114, v. 2. ³ Sambandar, p. 56-57, v. 3. Compare "I can get you by weeping" of Tiruvāśagam, v. 94.
⁴ pp. 384-5. ⁵ pp. 377-378. ⁶ Appar pp. 70, v. 10; 116, v. 3; 170, v. 9; 173, v. 9; 295, v. 8; 518, v. 5; Sambandar pp. 18, v. 3; 269, v. 1.

sufferings and attain happiness.¹ Māṇikkavāṣagar said that only the "Five lettered mantra" is the boat to cross the sea of life. It was previously said that Appar and Sambandar emphasised this. Among those who attained mukti by reciting Pañcākṣara, Śirappuli and Sōmāsimāraṇ deserve mention.² He who pronounced "Rudra mantra" and attained mukti was Rudra Paśupati Nāyaṇār.³ Sweeping the temple, cleaning the floor with cowdung, making garlands of flowers, keeping the burning of lights are the services rendered by the Śaiva devotees.⁴ Those who rendered such services were many. Among those, Mūrṭti Nāyaṇār, Daṇḍi, Naminandi, Kaṇampullar, Muruga Nāyaṇār and Nandaṇār deserve mention. Building of temples was a service to Śiva. Kōccengaṇāṇ and Kāriyār deserve mention in this respect. The Śaiva Śāstras say that serving the true Śaiva devotees, feeding them and granting them what they ask are 'Śivattonḍu'. In this respect, those that deserve mention are Iyaṇpagaiyār, Naraṣiṅgar and others. Kaṇappār who, with his unbounded love and ardent desire for Śiva dug out his eyes and applied them to Śiva's, Śatti Nāyaṇār who cut off the tongue of those that

¹v. 2711. ²Śirap. N. P. v. 6; Sōmāsi N. P. v. 3. ³R. N. P. vv. 6-7; A land was granted to a certain person who pronounced the 'Rudra mantra' in the presence of the deity of Śiva at Cidambaram. - S. I. I. IV. 631. ⁴Appar, p. 116, v. 3.

insulted Śiva, Caṇḍisār who killed his father, and such other Nāyaṇmārs attained immortal fame. These deserve to be included in the list of Kaṇḍuśuddha Śaivas mentioned by Tirumūlar. Building a temple and worshipping in the mind were observed by Pūsalār and Vāyilār. Visiting Śiva shrines, composing hymns and spreading Śaivism was also one kind of worship. Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar adopted this kind of service. Performing Pūjā and offering food to the deity were also other kinds of worship. Those who followed these were Puḡaḷttuṇaiyār and Arivāḷtāyar. Since the Āgāmas proclaim that everyone might attain the bliss by serving according to their mite, and since it was easy for all to follow those paths, it is correct to conclude that the common folk began to profess Śaivism in larger numbers.

WORSHIP BY HUMAN SACRIFICE :

Periya-Purāṇam says that Śiṟuttoṇḍar killed his only son, cooked him and offered as food to the Bhairava Sanyāsin, as he desired. Was this mode of worship, i. e. worship by human sacrifice, in vogue in those days ?

"In the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, the Kāpālikas, the Kālamukhas and the Pāsupatas practised religious rituals which comprised of offerings of wine and blood to

Bhairava and Kālī. Baṇa's *Harṣa Caritra* mentions temples dedicated to Rudra, Kālī and Cāmuṇḍī and contains a full description of a Kāpālīka Bhairavā-cārya.....we have definite proofs of this worship in the days of the Pallavas from the 7th century onwards. At Mahābalipuram in the rock-cut temple, at Tiruccirāppaḷi and in the Śiva temple at Puḷḷamangai are found carved sculptures of bhaktas who beheaded themselves as their offer to Durgā. We can see at Mahābalipuram a figure which indicates a certain person ready to be offered to Kālī. These carvings and Śiṟuttōṇḍar's deed only strengthen the view already expressed by Vogel, that human sacrifices and head-offerings to the dark forms of Śiva and Durgā were performed in the days of the Pallavas.¹ "

ADITYARS OF THE DAY :

(1) In Appar's days there flourished in the Tamil country (1) Viriśadai Viratigaḷ, (2) Andanatuṟavigaḷ, (3) Śaivas² (4) Pāśupatas, (5) Kāpālīkas,

¹ A. S. P. pp. 180-5. ² Considering the fact that in the Ganga country Kurchakas, a community of naked monks, Nirgatas and Goravas, a sect of Śaiva ascetics like the Pāśupatas, Atharva and Kashmir Brahmins professing Śaivism were living (G. T. p. 190), we can suppose that the Brahmins mentioned by Appar were these Kashmir Brahmin Ascetics and those mentioned as Śaivas were the ascetics called 'Kuravas' (Goravas?). ³ It is learnt from *Mattavilāsaprahasanam* written by Mahēndravarmān that in Appar's age the Pāśupatas and the Kāpālīkas at Kāñcī followed the wrong path.- M. P. pp. 10 & 22.

(6) Vittagakkōla Venḍalaimālai-Viratigaḷ (Mahāvratins), (7) Siddhas, and (8) Pittar.* Of these, Viriṣaḍai Viratigaḷ may be those who had grown matted locks of hair. (2) Andanāt-turavigaḷ may be Brahmin ascetics. (3) The Śaivas were those ascetics who claimed Śaivism-one of the six agaccamayams of Śaivism. (4) Pāsupatas and the (5) Kāpālikas have already been referred to in Chapter V. (6) Venḍalaimālai Viratigaḷ were those who were mentioned as Mahāvratins previously. (7) Siddhas were those who controlled their sense faculties and were capable of performing Aṭṭamāsiddhis (the eight kinds of abilities), and (8) Pittar were those who concentrated their mind only on Śivanerī (the path of Śiva)

The following are the Aḍiyārs who are said to have flourished in the days of the Nāyanmārs, according to Periya-Purāṇam. (1) Śivayōgins, (2) Brahmācārins, (3) Mātava Vēḍattār (மாதவ வேடத்தார்) and (4) Bhairavas. Of these, ŚIVAYŌGINS were those who wore kaupīn (a strip of loin cloth);

* Appar, pp. 34, v. 3; 35, v. 1; 238, v. 5; The naked Aḍiyār who came to Naraṅgamunaiyaraiaṅ's house for food may belong to the Kurchaka saints mentioned above. (v. 5). It may be noted here that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III (A. D. 804) made a grant of land to Korava (Kuravaṅ?), a Śaiva Guru, on the bank of the Tunga-bhadra. E. I. 11, p. 125. It deserves to be noted that Chaturāṇana Paṇḍita, head of the Tiruvorriyūr Maṭha was a pupil of Niraṅjana Kuravar and that he was a Kāpālika. - 181 of 1912.

smeared their bodies with sacred ash; had three stripes of sacred ash smeared on their forehead; had broad curly hair; wore the sacred thread across their body; and held a begging bowl in their hands.¹ (2) BRAHMACĀRINS wore a single garment; had a small tuft of hair; wore sacred ash on their forehead in three stripes; had deer-skin tied to their sacred threads; wore a ring made of green, coarse grass.² (3) MĀTAVA VĒDATTAR presented a godly appearance with sacred ash, Rudrākṣa and matted locks of hair.³ (4) Bhairavas had their matted locks of hair tied on top of the head; decked their locks with konrai and tumbai flowers; had a crescent-like mark on their forehead; had ear-beads; made of conch-shell; tied round their neck a garland of glass-beads; wore black dress; wore several kinds of wreaths of Rudrākṣa, round their neck, breast, fore-arm, shoulders, waist and legs, and anklets round their legs; in their left hand held a trident leaning on their breast and in the right hand damaruka.⁴

These many kinds of devotees remained in the maṭhas that existed in several places and nurtured Śaivism. This can be taken for granted. "These maṭhas were presided over by non-hereditary

¹ T. N. N. P. vv. 11-12. ² A. N. P. vv. 6-10. ³ T. T. P. v. 116 and C. K. S. P. P. Vol. II, p. 1520. ⁴ S. N. P. vv. 25-35.

pontiffs famous for learning and right conduct of life. By the establishment of mathas, the Hindu religion started on a new phase of life.¹

Since Śuddha Śaivism began to develop in the days of the Nāyanmārs, the sects of Kāpālikas, Pāsupatas, Kālamukhas, Bhairāvas and Vāmas could not have their full growth. To add to this, Śankara arose (A. D. 788-820) and spread his Advaita teachings throughout the country, condemned strongly the inner and outer sects, which were mentioned previously and the members of which were in the habit of indulging in human sacrifices and drinking wine, and tried to put an end of them.² For these two reasons, the influence of these religions began to decrease in the later centuries in the Tamil country.

CĒRAMĀN'S HYMNS:

His Poṇvaṇṇattandādi contains 100 verses sung in the Agapporuḷ (love) turai with bhakti as its main theme. These verses which indicate Śiva as the Lord and himself as His lady-love and the 30 verses of Tiruvārūr Mummanikkōvai will gladden one's heart, if read. The Tirukkayilāya-Nāna-Ulā written by him is sweet and inspiring. The theme of this work is that, seeing Śiva coming through the

¹R. A. A. D. p. 12. ²M. R. S. I. pp. 66-69.

streets, the girls of different ages love Him and address their love-stricken words to Him. It is said in this work that those maidens who loved Śiva and could not get Him used to sing 'Madal-Vannam' (மடல் வண்ணம்) on him¹, and recited venbās expressing their love towards Him.² From these references it is possible that there existed certain works known as 'Madal-Vannam' the hero being the God Himself.

MĀNIKKAVĀŚAGAR:

He was born at Vādāpur, about fifteen miles from Madurai. He was of Āmātya Brahmin Community and a pāṇḍya's minister. When he went to Tirupperundurai to purchase horses for the king, he saw Śiva in the guise of a Guru, became

¹The love-stricken lady sang Madalvannam with her lady companions.

“தன்னமர் தோழியர்கள் குழத் தவிசேறிப்
பின்னுமோர் சாமரம் யாழமைத்து - மன்னு
விடவண்ணக் கண்டத்து வேதியன்மே விட்ட
மடல்வண்ணம் பாடும் பொழுது” (மட ந்தை)

²“கண்ணவனை யல்லது காணு செவியவன

... ..

... .. நெழிலுடைய

வென்பா விரித்துரைக்கும் போழ்தில்.”

(பேரிளம்பெண்)

his disciple instantaneously and received spiritual upadēśa from Him. With the money he had taken to buy horses, he constructed there a temple for Śiva. By this he incurred the Pāṇḍya's anger. In order to protect him, Śiva performed many Tiruvīlaiyādals. The Pāṇḍya king realised that his minister was a great saint and relieved him from service. Then Māṇikkavāśagar visited several shrines namely Perundurai, Uttarakōśamangai and others and finally settled at Tillai and composed Tiruvāśagam and Tirukkōvaiyār. He made the dumb girl of the King of Ceylon speak; he defeated the Buddhist monk who accompanied the king, in religious disputations. These are a few incidents from his life.

The Pāṇḍya king of his days was an ardent Śiva bhakta.¹ His name was Varaguṇa. Several scholars are of the opinion that he is Varagṇa II (A. D. 862-880).² The number of shrines of the Pāṇḍya country sung by the Nāyanmārs who flourished in the days prior to Māṇikkavāśagar is 14. They are Madurai, Āppanūr, Paranguṇṇam, Ēḍagam, Kodunguṇṇam, Tirupputtūr, Puṇavāyil, Ramēśvaram, Āḍanai, Kāṇappēr, Pūvaṇam, Śūliyal, Kurrālam and Nelvēli. The new shrines that have been sung by

¹T. Kōvaiyār, vv. 306 and 327. ²T. V. by S. P. pp. 69-75; J. S. V. O. I. Vol. 4, part 2, pp. 152-182 (1943); T. Poḷil Vol. 12, pp. 441-6.

Māṇikkavāṣagar are Uttarakōśamangai, Tirupperundurai¹, Arikēsari - Nallūr (Śinnamanūr) and Perungarunai and others.² Of them Arikēsarinallūr is a place named after Neḍumāraṇ called Arikēsari. The shrine that exists there was built by Rājasimha, his grandson.³ Māṇikkavāṣagar has addressed the deity of the temple as “கலையார் அரிகேசரியாய்” (Thou, the Lord of Arikēsari who is good at arts). Perungarunai is one of the shrines of the Pāṇḍya country. The name of the deity is “Tiruvēlaikkāra-Mūṇṟukai-Īśvaram-Uḍaiya-Mahādēva.”⁴ In his days, there existed Paḷḷikoṇḍa Perumal's small temple; that of Govindarāja, in front of Tillaicciṇṇambalam.⁵

Perhaps in Māṇikkavāṣagar's days, the doctrine of Advaita philosophy of Śankara was spread to a large extent in the country. He has mentioned it as, “மிண்டிய மாயாவாதம் என்னும் சண்டமாருதம் சுழித்து அடித்து ஆர்க்கிறது” - “The storm of ‘māyā doctrine’ is roaring.” He has sung that maidens, in the course of several kinds of play, praise variously the glorious qualities of the Lord and

¹ This is a shrine (வைப்புத்தலம்) mentioned by Appar. ² Though Māsiliśvaram, the rock-cut temple of Kuṇṇakkudi and the neighbouring Piḷḷaiyār-Patti rock-cut temple belong to the 7th or 8th century A. D., they are not the shrines that have received the hymns of the Nāyaṇmārs. They were not sung by them. - A. R. E. 1936-37, p. 59. ³ 428, 432 & 441 of 1907. ⁴ 401 - 407 of 1907. ⁵ T. Kōvaiyār v. 86.

play. Those plays are; (1) Ammanai, (2) Porccunnam (Idittal), (3) Tumbi (ādal), (4) Tellēnam (Kottal), (5) Sālal, (6) Tiruppūvalli (Koidal), (7) Undi (Parattal), (8) Tōlnōkkam (Ādal) and (9) Ūsal (ādal).¹ It is known that there were in vogue in Sambandar's days, as well, to sing the glories of the Lord and sport through such kinds of plays.²

THE ESSENTIALS OF TIRUVĀSAGAM :

The hymns of the first seven Tirumurais are to be sung in accompaniment with paṇ and talam, but many hymns of Tiruvāṣagam are not of this order. In the former was included words of spiritual effect on those who sang them. This had a propagandic tinge. That was not to be found in Tiruvāṣagam. In the latter work will be found the personal religious experiences of Manikkavāṣagar and how he attained the grace of the Lord Śiva. This is capable of melting the heart

¹ A detailed description of every play could be found in the edition of Tiruvāṣagam published by the Dharmapuram Āḍiṇam, pp. 41-48.

“தருந்தடக்கை முத்தழலோர் மனைகள்தொறும்
இறைவனது தன்மைபாடிச்
கருந்தடங்கள் னூர்கழல்பந் தம்மானைப்
பாட்டயருங் கழுமலமே”

“At Kaḷumalam, in every Brahmin's house, the broad-eyed maidens sing the glory of the Lord in their Ammanai play.”

of the readers. "One of the vital points of Tiruvāṣagam is that one should accept his shortcomings in God's presence and weep for his grace, and he can attain Him." To realise one's faults, to repent for them and weep before God are not easy for all. One of the chief doctrines of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy is: "A devotee who desires to get the everlasting love of God, must associate with the true devotees (aḍiyārs) whose hearts are full of love." The 12th sūtra of Śiva-Nāṇa-bōdam stresses this point. Manikkavāṣagar entreats the Lord to place him in the company of such devotees.¹ These two essentials are indicated for a Bhakta in Tiruvāṣagam.

The theme of Tirukkōvaiyār is that, the soul crosses over many trials and unites with God. Verses are sweet and pregnant with ideas.

CONCLUSION:

From the facts elucidated till now, the following may be gathered :-

1 "அடியேனுள் அடியார் நடுவுள் இருக்குமரு
காப்புரியாய்",

"Grant me your grace to be in the midst of your devotees." - vv. 376¹ 382, 383² etc. It deserves to be noted here that Tiruttondattoga was also composed with the same purpose.

1. From the fact that about 500 shrines were sung during the days of the later Pallavas, it is known that many temples had come up newly in this period.

2. In many temples music and dance were fostered, they being considered an important part of worship.

3. There were the statuary and bronzes of the deities in the temples and in some temples, the idols of the local Nāyaṁmārs existed. All the images of the Nāyaṁmārs who attained Śivapadam (liberation) were enshrined in the Devāśiriya maṇṭapa at Tiruvārūr. On festive occasions, Viḍivīṅgar was brought and placed there.

4. At least in some temples, Aippaṣi Ōṇa Viḷā, Kārttigai Viḷā, Ādirai Viḷā, Taippūṣam, Māṣi Maham and Panguni Uttiram were celebrated. There might have existed temple cars, in at least some temples. The images of gods were taken in procession on festive occasions.

5. In some places like Śengāṭṭanguḍi, individual devotees like Śiruttonḍar flourished and nurtured the Śaiva religion. They helped the religious teachers like Appar and Sambandar who had gone there on pilgrimage. The people of every place got religious inspiration by the

itineraries of these religious teachers. They were impressed by the Tiruppadiyams which were sung in accompaniment to paṇ (tune) and other musical instruments.

6. The Jains and Buddhists who were hindering the growth of Śaivism were put down by Appar and Sambandar and the Kings of Pallava, Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries.

7. The Nāyaṇmārs came of all castes and communities, from the Brahmin to the Paṇḍiya. No caste distinction was observed among the Nāyaṇmārs who all valued only Siva bhakti.

8. The women folk of the Nāyaṇmārs' household evinced almost the same impulse of Śaivism. The wives co-operated with their husbands, the sister with the brother, for the common cause of Śaivism. The educated women of those days also sang hymns denoting the glorious qualities of Siva in their works like Ammāṇai and others. Tilakavatiyār, Mangaiyarkkaraṣiyār, and Kāraikkāl Ammaiār deserve mention for their bhakti.

9. There existed in the Tamil country, several sects of people like Pāsupatas, Kāpālikas and others who followed Śaivism. Among them, the Kāpālikas and the Sāktas offered human sacrifice to Bhairava and Kālī. But their influence decreased owing to the growth of Śuddha Śaivism and Śankara's disputations.

10. There were in vogue several kinds of worship as-pronouncing the five letters with reverence, meditation, performing Arcana (offering of flowers), offering food and praying to the deity and praying to God by singing and dance and the like. Feeding the devotees and giving them what they needed were considered the best form of worship.

11. There were mathas adjoining to the temples. General and religious instructions were offered in them. They were also the places where the devotees on pilgrimage, got food and shelter.

12. The teaching of the Nāyanmārs that "every one can worship God according to his ability and that God would grant him His grace" gave hope to all. Moreover, the recital of hymns, the temple dances, the temple festivals, pilgrimages, feeding the devotees and such like won the hearts of the people. The soul inspiring hymns of Tevaram and Tiruvāṣagam captured their hearts. The Śaiva religion became thus a live force and formed the foundation for the superstructure of the Cōla period.

VII. ŚAIVISM UNDER THE CŌLAS. (A. D. 900-1300). ŚIVA TEMPLES.

ŚAIVISM IN NORTHERN INDIA AT THE TIME OF THE CŌLAS.

The 400 years of Cōla rule (A. D. 900-1300), during which the great empire flourished, was also a period when Śaivism was firmly established throughout India. By the end of the 10th century A. D. about 70 Śiva temples had sprung up in KASHMIR. Adjoining the temples, maṭhas also had sprung up and flourished.¹ In NEPĀL also we find that there was a Śaiva maṭha and the temple of Paśupati even prior to Asoka. The said maṭha gave rise to many spiritual teachers. One among them was Candēśvara who wrote in about A. D. 1300 two Śaiva works namely Kṛtya-ratnākara and Kṛtya-Cintāmaṇi.²

CĀLUKYAS of Anahila-pāṭaka (A. D. 900-1300) who ruled over Gujarat and Cutch and the adjoining parts of the country were ardent Śaivas. The world-renowned Sōmanāthapura temple, the Siddhēśvara temple built by Jayasimha Siddha Rāja, the Mūlēśvara temple built by Mūla rāja at Maṇḍali city

¹ D. H. N. I. Vol. I, pp. 120-130. ² Ibid. pp. 195 & 216.

and the Rudra Mahā Kālam constructed by Jayasimha had attained fame as holy shrines of Śiva. The Cālukys kings appointed Lakuliśa Pāśupata Ācāryas as the heads of the maṭhas built by them. They received Dikṣā from them, and called themselves 'Parama Māhēśvaras.' They wrote the words "Om Namaḥ Śivāya" at the beginning of their inscriptions. In their reign, the Kārōṇa city, the birth place of Lakuliśa, and Lakuliśa Pāśupatas had attained a fame.¹

Most of the PARAMĀRA KINGS who ruled over Gujarat, Mālva and Rajputana (A. D. 800-1300) were Śaivas. The Śiva temple called Siddhēśvaram in the Māndhātā Island, in the River Narmadā was also famous. Of the names of Śiva found in Paramāras's inscriptions, 'Bhavāni pati' and 'Omkāradēva' occur frequently. The Mahākāla temple which flourished at Ujjain was a very famous one. The Ācāryas of the Gauda country were the spiritual gurus of the Paramāra kings.²

The CANDRĀTREYAS of Bundelkhand (A. D. 830-1250) were also ardent Śaiva devotees and called themselves 'Parama Māhēśvaras.' It is in the reign of Kirtivarma of this dynasty (11th C. A. D.) that Krishna Miśra wrote the philosophic drama

¹ Ibid. Vol. II. pp. 942-1041. ² Ibid. Vol. II. pp. 873-907.

Prabōdhachandrōdaya. Of these kings, the names Trailōkya Malla and Trailōkya Varma deserve mention.¹ Most of their inscriptions begin with 'Om Namaḥ Śivāya'. The temples of Vaidyanātha and Maragadēśvara were prominent in their realm. There existed the Bāṇa Linga and Maragada Linga in the latter temple.²

The CĀHAMĀNAS of the Punjab, Rajputana and Gujaraṭ (A. D. 500-1200) worshipped the Sun) however, they were good Śaiva devotees. The Queen Rudrāṇī (12th century A. D.) set up a thousand lingas on the banks of Puṣkara. Her son built a Śiva temple at Puṣkara like Kailāsa. The famous temples in their realm were those of Purāṇa Mahā; dēva, Siddēśvara and the Kapālīśvara. There were maṭhas adjoining these temples and in them lived the Lakuliśa Pāśupata ascetics.³

The HAIHAYAS of the United and Central Provinces (A. D. 250-1400) belonged to the dynasty of Kārtha-Virya Arjuna. They migrated from place to place and founded kingdoms. Sometimes they were emperors; at other times they were petty rulers. They were divided into several sects and reigned many parts of Northern India. Among

¹ This brings to our mind 'Trailōkya Sundaram', a shrine of the Cōla period in the Tamiḻ Nāḍu, vide Ninth Tirumuṣai. ² D. H. N. I. II. pp. 680-727. ³ Ibid. pp. 1058-85.

these, those who reigned over the Dāhala country which lay between the Ganges and the Narbadā and which comprised nine lakhs of villages, were prominent. Their capital was Tripuri. They patronised the Śaiva Ācāryas, who were the descendants of the Saint Durvāsas, the head of the Āmardaka Maṭha. They built for them maṭhas and took them as their royal gurus. Sadbhāvaśambhu was renowned among them. The Haihaya (Kālacuri) King Yuvamahārāja I in A. D. 940 built a temple and maṭha at Chandrahe on the river Sōn and entrusted them to his care. He also gave 3 lakhs of villages to him as 'bhikṣā (charity). The Guru founded the GŌLAKI-MATHA. Gōlaki was a probable contraction of Gōlakigiri in Navalakṣa-Dāhala. The Guru transferred the province of 3 lakhs of villages for the maintenance of the teachers of that maṭha. Isānaśiva, Rudraśambhu, Mattamayūranātha, Hṛdayaśiva, Aghōraśiva, Viśvēśvaraśambhu and others were the Ācāryas of the Gōlaki-maṭha. Among them Viśvēśvaraśambhu was very prominent. He was the Dikṣā Guru of Kālacuri and the Kākatiya kings. The Kālacuri kings called themselves Parama Māhēśvaras. Their inscriptions begin with the words 'Om Namaḥ Śivāya.' In the Dāhala country, temples and maṭhas were found side by side. The

above mentioned ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect were the heads in every maṭha.¹

Coming now as far south to the Vindhya, we find the Kailāsanātha temple in the Ellora caves and certain other temples carved out by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. These Rāṣṭrakūṭas ruled the Deccan south of the Vindhya. Some of them were in favour of Śaivism. In the days of the CALUKYAS who succeeded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Śaivism had also its growth in the Bombay presidency. Many of the KĀKATIYAS of Warangal were Śaivas. The most famous of them, King Gaṇapat received Dikṣa from Viśvēśvaraśambhu mentioned above.

From these details, we gather that simultaneously with the Cōla empire and the establishment of Śaivism in the south, Śaivism had also its full growth in India in general and especially in North India. This North Indian influence was also one of the factors that contributed to the development of Śaivism in the Cōla country.

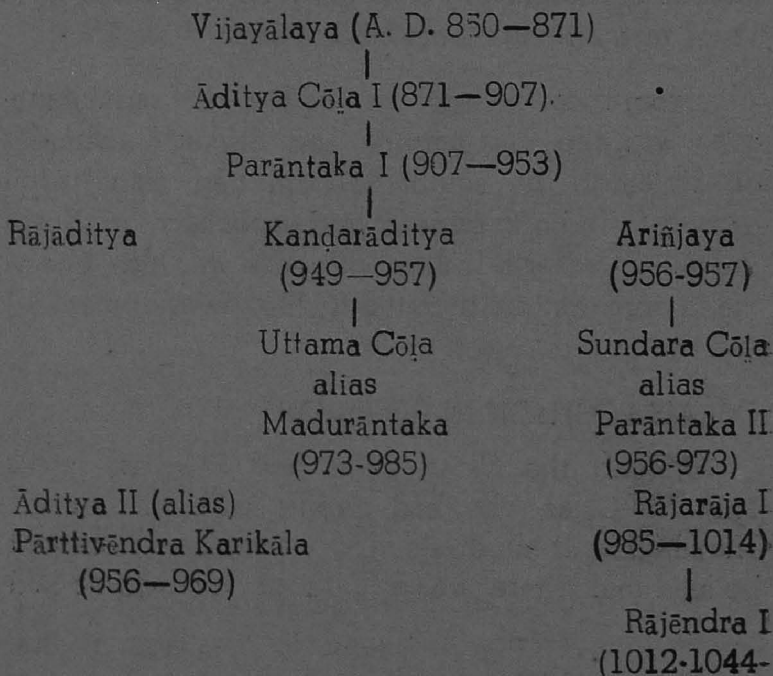
CŌLA'S POSITION IN RELIGION:

Among the Cēras, Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas, it was only the Cōlas who had strong faith in Śaivism. They had built hundreds of Śiva temples. It cannot be said that there was a Cēra or Pāṇḍya who had

¹ Ibid. pp. 762-800.

built as many as 70 Śiva temples like Kōccengaṇṇa. Now again, even when the Cōlas had become dependents of the Pallavas and lost their sovereignty, it was a Cōla king's daughter, Mangaiyarkaraṣi who was responsible in converting the Pāṇḍya king and his country back again to Śaivism. And it is no wonder then, that when the Cōlas had risen again after over-throwing the Pallava rule and established their authority, they were zealous in fostering the Śaiva religion even more.

THE CŌLA KINGS OF THE PERIOD :



Rājādhirāja I (1018-1054)	Rājendra II (1052-1064)	Vīra Rājendra (1063-1069)
	Rājamahendra (1060-1063)	Adhirājendra (1068-1070)

CĀLUKYA CŌLAS :

Kulōttunga I (1070-1120)
Vikrama Cōla (1120-1135)
Kulōttunga II (1133-1150)
Rājarāja II (1146-1173)
Rājādhirāja II (1163-1179)
Kulōttunga III (1178-1218)
Rājarāja III (1216-1256)
Rājendra III (1246-1280)

The Cōlas ruled the part of South India which extended from the river Tungābhadrā in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. When Āditya I ascended the Cōla throne, there existed, in the Tamil country, the shrines sung by the Nāyanmārs, and referred to in the last chapter. There existed also those of them which were not mentioned in the hymns and which belonged to the age of the

Pallavās.¹ These two classes of temples were renovated during the Cōla rule. Along with them there were also many newly constructed temples during the Cōla rule.² Many of them were built by the Cōla feudatories.³ All these were prominent in the days of the Cōlas and fostered Śaiva worship. The government officials also contributed their share of service towards their development. Many were the religious services rendered by the queens of the Cōla kings and feudatories. Many were the services rendered by the ascetics and the common folks alike. Space will not permit us to describe all these in detail, and in consequence a few of the significant services of some are mentioned below.

ADITYA CŌLA:

The most important of his sacred services was the construction of Śiva temples on both the banks

¹ 49 of 1888, 359 of 1917, 325 of 1901, 212 of 1903, 255 of 1916, 183, 184 of 1929-30; 221 of 1937, 168 of 1938, 393 of 1924, 367 of 1909. ² Most important of these will be mentioned in this part. ³ 129 of 1919, 394 of 1924, 382 of 1905, 279 of 1901, 359 of 1903, 476 of 1925, 735 of 1905, 304 of 1917, 414 of 1902, 231 of 1931, E. C. IV. 93, 534 of 1921, 40 of 1905, 128 of 1896, 163 of 1897, 434 of 1924, 352 of 1909, 'C' 73 of 1916, 262 of 1913, 93 of 1918, 467 of 1922, 140 of 1927, 8 of 1900, 479 of 1907, 458 of 1913, 37 of 1925, 400 of 1913, 393 of 1925, 64 of 1931, 419 of 1909, 159 of 1923, 254 of 1922, 401 of 1903, 312 of 1913, 119 of 1906, 518 of 1902, 458 and 483 of 1907, 504 of 1912, 10 of 1914, 343 and 429 of 1922, 261 of 1923, 355 of 1924 and 75 of 1926.

of the Kāviri¹, that is, he renewed the old shrines. This means that since the hymn-received temples had been built by destructible materials like wood and brick, he converted them into stone temples, so that they might exist for ever. The inscriptions reveal that the sacred work commenced thus by Āditya, was continued to the last of their reign by the later Cōla kings and their subjects. Temples are the centres for religious growth. If they are indestructible, then only, religion can thrive. It is, therefore, that Āditya engaged himself in converting temples into stone ones. The Mūlasthāna of the temple and the Vimāna were built of stone. The Sākṣinātha temple that exists at Tiruppuṇambayam was thus converted into a stone temple by Āditya. Since it existed in the place where a battle took place which ended in a glorious victory to him, perhaps, he converted it into a stone temple, in his reign itself, and gave it his name. That temple was mentioned as Ādittēśvaram from his days.²

PARĀNTAKA I:

Āditya's son, was an ardent devotee of Śiva, and a lover of pandits. The most important of his sacred services is the roofing of Tillaic-

¹E. 9. 15. p. 47. ²80 of 1897.

Cirrambalam with gold.¹ Tirunāvalūr, the birth place of Sundarar attained fame by RĀJĀDITYA, Parāntaka's eldest son. He constructed a new temple in that place. It was called Rājādityēśvaram. His mother and the officials made many gifts to it.² Rājāditya's younger brother Kaṇḍarāditya was a pious devotee of Śiva. He was capable of composing poems. He composed ten verses on Tillaip-perumāṇ. They were included in the 9th Tirumurai. He created a village named Kaṇḍarāditya Caturvēdimangalam near Tiruppaḷaṇam. The Śiva temple of that place belongs to his period.³

SEMBIYAṆ MĀDEVIIYAR:

She was Kaṇḍarāditya's queen. She lived to a good old age till the days of Rājarāja I. An ardent devotee of Śiva, as she was, her wonderful services to the shrines have been numerous. Her devotional services cannot be compared with those of any other Cōla queen. She followed Āditya, in building anew in stone such of those earlier shrines sung by the Nāyanmārs. They are those at Tirutturutti, Tirukkōdikā, Ārūr - Āraneri, Tiruvakkarai, Tirumudukunram, Tenkurangāduturai,

¹ A. R. E. 1906, p. 69; Kaṇḍarāditya's Tiruviśaippa, v. 8.
² 333-350 of 1902. ³ A. R. E. 1929; 201 of 1929.

Nallam and Ānāngur.¹ Many of the shrines received large grants of land, gold and silver vessels and lights. Such of them that deserve mention are at Tirumaṇaṇjēri, Aiyāru, Tiruccēyalūr, Mudukuṇṇam, Ōttūr, Talaiccangādu, Naṛaiyūr, Ārūr, Śembiyaṇ-mādēvi, Tiruppurambayam, Tiruvenkādu, Vada-kurangāduturai, Tēnnēri, Tirukalittittai, Tirumangalam, Tavatturai, Pandraṇainallūr, Tiruviḷakkudi, Tiruviyalūr, Vadatirumullaivāyil, Tirunāgēccaram, Kaṛkudi and Uḍaiyārgudi.² To perpetuate her noble memory and her powerful religious services a village has been named after her as 'Śembiyaṇ-Mādēvi', in Tanjore district, and also a Śiva temple was raised there. That temple exists to this day, and she is shown in a worshipping posture, in adoration of Kaṇḍarāditya, her husband, in the form of a linga. This deserves to be seen by the visitor.

RAJARAJA I:

It was Rājarāja I who constructed a very big temple considered to be "by far the grandest temple in India." It is of wonderful workmanship,

¹ 103 of 1926, 36 of 1931, 571 of 1904, 200 of 1904, 47 of 1918, 357 of 1907, 626 of 1909 and 75 of 1926. ² 21 of 1914, 250 of 1894, 250, 262, 263 of 1923, 48 of 1918, 104 of 1900, 204 of 1925, 156 & 159 of 1908, 570 of 1904, 479, 497-8 of 1925, 338 of 1927, 444 of 1918, 362 of 1907, 199 of 1901, 297 of 1908, 251 of 1930, 503 of 1930, 71 of 1931, 128 of 1926, 28 of 1907, 669 of 1904, 219 of 1911, 459 of 1908, and 540 of 1920. See also A. R. E. 1926' pp. 104-105.

the like of which does not exist anywhere else in India. It took him six long years to build that grand edifice. He enshrined the images of the gods and some Nāyanmārs in it; gave away costly jewels to each of them, granted many villages for purposes of performing pūjās and festivals. The members of the royal family, and the officials followed his example and offered munificent gifts. Rājarāja was a patron of Arts and Letters. He commandeered 400 Padiyilār from many temples of the Tamiḷ country and colonised them in the several streets round about the temple. They were attached to the temple service, and they nurtured music and dance. Each was given a house and a vēli of land. 48 other persons also were employed to recite the Tiruppadiyam (the Divine hymns). Some persons were appointed to recite 'Āriyam'. Many were thus brought and settled at Tanjore from several temples to look after the affairs of the temple. We can clearly understand all these details from the inscriptions that exist at Rājarājēsvaram, Tanjore.¹

RAJARAJA AND THE TIRUMURAI:

He compiled the first seven Tirumurais that were treasured at Tillai, with the help of Tirunārai-yūr Nambiyāṇḍār Nambi.² He got the name of

¹ S. I. I. Vol. II, parts 1-3. ² P. P. A. pp. 68-78.

'Sivapādasēkara'. Tirumurais began to spread throughout the Tamil country since his days. The Tamil kings and others followed his example and began to construct temples.

RAJĒNDRA AND GANGAIKONḌA CŌLĒSVARAM:

Rājendra I, son of Rājarāja founded a big city called Gangaikoṇḍa - Cōlapuram in the Uḍaiyār pālayam Taluk, Tiruccirāppalli District. In that city was built a big temple on the model of the Tanjore shrine. It was this temple that was called Gangaikoṇḍa - Cōlēsvaram. It resembles the big temple of Tanjore in formation, beauty and workmanship. That temple was in very good condition from the days of Rājendra I till the decline of the Cōla power.¹

RAJADHIRAJA I, the eldest son of Rājendra, built Jayangoṇḍa - Cōlēsvaram and Rājarājēsvaram at Maṇṇārguḍi, renewed the temple, Kuḍanddaik-Kārōṇam.²

KULŌTTUNGA I:

Since he is mentioned, in the inscriptions, as Tirunīṟuccōla and Parama Māhēsvara³, we may think that he had received Dikṣā and that he was an

¹ S. I. I. IV. 522-530. ² A. R. E. 1937. 2. 11. ³ 312 of 1901 & S. I. I. I. 39.

ardent devotee of Śiva. From his time, the Bhimēśvara temple at Drākṣārāmam of Vēngi Nādu began to attain prominence.¹ The Śūriyaṇār Kōyil near Kumbakōṇam was built in his time. Since he was a friend of Gāhadvāls who ruled over Kanauj, he built a temple for the Sun which was worshipped by them and arranged for its worship in his realm.² From the work TILLAI-UḸĀ, it comes to light that he arranged for the grand celebration of the procession of Kūttapperumāṇ at Tillai. The chariots of the four Śaiva saints proceeded in front; Śiva was taken in procession, worshipped by Cēramāṇperumāl and Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya. Ahead of all, Kulōttunga went on horse back. He roofed the Tillaic-Ciṇṇambalam with gold tiles inscribed with Pañcākṣara, the five sacred letters.³

VIKRAMA CŌLA:

He adorned the temple at Tillai profusely. He spent a large portion of his booty and the tributes paid by his feudatories to renew and enlarge that temple. He also roofed with gold the sared place that surrounds Ponnambalam, the tower-gate, verandhas (கூடசாலைகள்), balipiṭha (the altar) and the chariot of the shrine. He also laid out the street known as Tiruvikramaṇ - Tiruvidi, built a

¹ 194, 341 and 344 of 1893. ² A. R. E. 1927, pp. 79-80. T. Poṇil, Vols. 12 & 13.

palace in his name; made elaborate arrangements for Natarāja's procession; and made gifts of several plates of gold.¹ He was a disciple of the poet Ottakkūttar who wrote a panegyric 'Ulā' in his name.

KULÖTTUNGA II :

He completed the improvements for Tillai begun by Vikrama Cōla; undertook many more temple renovations; constructed the seven-storeyed temple towers; built a shrine for the goddess; and roofed grandly the Pērambalam with gold.² An inscription refers to him as "a bee that sucks the honey from the lotus-feet of Natarāja." He removed the idol of Viṣṇu that stood at the entrance of Tillai.³ He made grants for the performance of pūjās to the images of Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar, in the temple of Tiruvārūr.⁴ He had the title of Anapaya. He was also a disciple of Ottakkūttar, who has sung an Ulā and Pillaittami in his praise. It was this noble king who made Śekkiḷar compose the Periya-Purāṇam.⁵

RAJARAJA II :

The Dārāsuram temple of Airāvātēśvara, full of wonderful sculptures, was built by him. Its old

¹ S. I. I. iii. pp. 183-'4; 16 'e' of 1913, 282, 284 and 287 of 1913.

² M. U. pp. 31 & 58; P. P. p. 2, v. 8; 350 of 1927. ³ 363 of 1907.

⁴ S. I. I. IV. 397. ⁵ P. P. A. pp. 22-31.

name was Rājarājēśvaram. Ottakkūttar was his court poet and he praised the Cōla in the Ulā and Takkayāgapparaṇi.

KULŌTTUNGA III:

He was the founder of that magnificent Tiribuvana Virēśvaram (temple) near Tiruvidaimarudūr. He constructed or repaired at Tillai the front portion (முகமண்டபம்), tower and the tower portion that surrounds the temple of the goddess. He repaired or renovated the Kacci Ēkambam, the Śiva temples at Madurai. Tiruvidaimarudūr, Dārāśuram and the Tiruvārūr Pūṅgōil.¹ The inscription at Tiruvārūr says that Śiva mentioned him as "Our friend, Tiribuvana Viradēva".² In his time and in the days of his successors, guhais (caves) for the safe custody of the Tirumuṟais and maṭhas for the Śaiva religious preaching and for other religious services increased in number in the country.

QUEENS AND THEIR SACRED CONTRIBUTIONS (திருப்பணிகள்):

The Śaiva religious services, begun by Āditya Cōla continuously developed after him. Similarly the sacred services commenced by his queen were

¹ A. R. E. 1908, pp. 67-68. ² 554 of 1904.

continued by the later Cōla queens that succeeded her. Among them, the names of some and the temples which received their contributions are given below :-

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Queen of Āditya I | Tiruppāudurutti
105 of 1930-31. |
| 2. Daughter of Parāntaka I | Tiruvūral
245 of 1921. |
| 3. Śembiyaṇ Mādēvi | already referred to. |
| 4. Seven Queens of Uttama Cōla | Śembiyaṇ Mādēvi
A. R. E. 1925-26,
p. 104. |
| 5. Queens of Rājarāja I | Tiruvenkāḍu
117 A of 1896

Tiruviyālūr
19 of 1907.

Tiruvaiyāru
154, 155 & 156 of 1918 |
| 6. Daughter of Rājarāja I | Tiruvālāṇjūli
632 of 1902. |
| 7. Two Queens of Rājendra I | Tiruviyālūr
348 & 349 of 1907. |
| 8. A third Queen of -do.- | Uḍaiyārguḍi
624 of 1921. |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 9. Queens of Kulōttunga I | Tiruvīḍaimarudūr
304 of 1907.
Ārppākkam
138 of 1923.
Kāñcipuram
39 & 45 of 1921. |
| 10. Sisters of do.- | Cidambaram
117 & 119 of 1888. |
| 11. Queen of Vikrama Cōla | Tiruvīḍaimarudūr
136 of 1895. |
| 12. Queens of Kulōttunga II | Tirumalāpāḍi
85 of 1895. |
| 13. Queen of Rājaraja II | Tiṭṭaikkudi
16 of 1903. |
| 14. Queen of Rājendra III | Tiruveṇṇainallūr
427 of 1921. |

KANNARADĒVA who captured a large portion of the Cōla country during the time of Parāntaka, built many temples. The Kālapriya temple that exists at Kāvērīppākkam is one among them.¹

FEUDATORIES AND THEIR SERVICES TO TEMPLES:

Many were the feudatories who were under the authority of the Cōla Kings. They and their queens followed the examples of the Cōla Kings.

¹ 382 of 1905; A. R. E. 1906, p. 70.

They rendered several kinds of services to the temples in the Tamil country. A few examples are given below :-

1. Chidambaram Nuḷambādhirājan 303 of 1913.
2. Tiruppāsūr Yāḍavarāyan 149 of 1930.
3. Maṭam (N. A. Dt.) Śāmbuvarāyan 238 of 1919.
4. Nallūr Vāṇakōvaraiyan 47 of 1911.
5. Kāḷatti Pottappiccōlan 104 of 1922.
6. Tirumaṇañjēri Chief of Miḷalaināḍu
28 of 1914.
7. Kāñci Vaidumba Mahārājan
4 of 1893.
8. Aṇṇāmalai Cēdirāyan 497 of 1902.
9. Nellūr Maḷavarāyan 200 of 1894.
10. Aṇṇāmalai Queen of Kāḍavarāyan
488a of 1902.
11. Aṇṇāmalai Lakṣmana dēvar and his
queen 503 and 510 of 1902.
12. Tirunāvalūr Muṇaiyadaraiyan 338 of 1902.
13. Tiruppaḷaṇam Vijayālaya Muttaraiyan
184 of 1928.
14. Kīlūr Kīḷiyūr Malaiyamān
251 of 1902.

KÖPPERUNJINGA'S TIRUPPANIGAL :

One of the Cōja feudatories was the Pallava Kōpperuñjinga. He ruled from Sēdamangalam in the Naḍunādu.¹ He strengthened his position gradually and even took Rājarāja III a prisoner. A good warrior, as he proved, he was also a great devotee of Śiva. He built the southern gōpura at Cidambaram.² He visited the shrines on the southern bank of the Kāviri and renovated the Ākkūr temple.³ He gave gifts for offerings and for the maintenance of a flower garden.⁴ He renewed the temple vimāna of Tiruveṇṇainallūr.⁵ He made grants to the temples at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam and Brahmadēśam.⁶ He and his queen gave several endowments to the shrine at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.⁷ His son Mahārajasimhan constructed the Eastern tower at Cidambaram and issued (nipandas) endowments also to the Śiva temples of Tripurāntakam, Drākṣārāmam, Kālatti, Kāñci, Tiruvadigai and Madurai.⁸

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THEIR SERVICES :

These were also numerous. A few are mentioned below :—

¹ I visited this place on 28-5-50 and saw the ruined fort and a Śiva temple. ² 463 of 1902. ³ 229 of 1921. ⁴ 73 & 83 of 1918. ⁵ 486 of 1921. ⁶ 181 of 1894 & 170 of 1918. ⁷ 500, 508 & 513 of 1902. ⁸ 197, 198 & 202 of 1905 ; A. R. E. 1906, p. 64 ; There are some who believe that Mahārajasimhan is none other than Kōpperuñjinga - Vide Cōjas, Vol 2, part I, p. 193.

- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Pallavarāyaṇ Pēṭṭai | Minister of Rājārāja II | 434 of 1924. |
| 2. Guḍimallam | Pradāni of Yādavarāya | 219 of 1903. |
| 3. Kālatti | Pradāni of Siddhirāja of
Nellore | 105 of 1922. |

SĒNĀPATI KĀLINGARĀYA AND HIS TIRUPPAṆIGAL

The divine services to the temples rendered by Kālingarāyaṇ alias Naralōka Viran, the commander-in-chief of Kulōttunga I are a myriad. He was an ardent devotee of Śiva; raised a stone temple for Śiva at Siddhalingamaḍam¹; constructed maṇṭapas for the temples at Tiribuvāṇai and Tiruppugalūr and gave many other gifts.² Several are his Tiruppaṇis at Tillai. Of them, those that deserve mention are :— (1) He constructed a broad road between Tillai and the sea; (2) built a maṇṭapa on the sea-coast for the halt of the deity on the occasion of Māsimaham; (3) constructed a hundred-pillared maṇṭapa in the temple; (4) arranged for the writing of Mūvar Tēvāram on copper plates; and (5) constructed a maṇṭapa for the recital of Tevaram.³

¹ 367 of 1909. ² 207 of 1923, 175 of 1919 & 97 of 1928. ³ 120 of 1888; S. I. I. IV. 225.

He has done many Tiruppanis at Tiruvadigai also. Those that deserve mention are:- (1) Building of a hundred-pillared maṭapa, (2) construction of a separate temple for Appar, (3) granting of 48 thousand kuḷi of land for Appar's maṭha, (4) laying of a broad compound around temple at Tiruvadigai and (5) construction of a theatre for staging dramas.¹

COMMON PEOPLE AND THEIR SERVICE TO RELIGION:

Thus encouraged by the Tiruppanis of the kings, their feudatories, their queens and the government officials, the merchants and the common people also gave gifts to every temple as lay in their power and purse. Certain instances are given below:-

- | | | |
|------------------|---|--------------|
| 1. Tiruviḷakkudi | Merchant Guild | 131 of 1926. |
| 2. Tiruppāsūr | Merchant Communi-
ties of many places. | 120 of 1933 |
| 3. Tirucciṇṇēman | Horse-dealer of
Malaimaṇḍalam | 182 of 1926. |
| 4- Tiruppugalūr | A servant-maid of
the palace, | 88 of 1928. |

¹ 369 of 1921 ; S. T. Vol. 23, pp. 93-100 ; 25 verses in Tamil.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 5. Tiruvidaimarudūr Devaraḍiyāl. | 299 of 1907. |
| 6. Kaḷatti | Servants of a
Commander-in-chief. 90 of 1922. |
| 7. Kāñci. | An ordinary girl sold
her jewels and
purchased lands and
granted them to
the temple. 431 of 1919 |

From the foregoing we can see that, in the Cōla period, all from the king to the commonality were engaged in religious services.

GROWTH OF TEMPLES UNDER THE CŌLAS

It was stated, that, following the example of the Pallavas, Āditya Cōla and his successors turned their attention in converting the earlier temples of bricks into those of stone. If it is borne in mind that many of the temples sung by the Nāyanmārs were situated in the districts of Tanjore and Tiruccirāppallī - the delta area of the Kāviri, where granite was so scarce to get, their great efforts to reconstruct could only be imagined! It was also almost impossible to transport large granite pieces and slabs of stones from the neighbouring hilly districts so as to convert such of those earlier ones as temples in stone, and within a specified time. If every part of the temple was to be reconstructed

with stone, a still larger quantity of granite would be required. In consideration of these handicaps of the Cōla kings, their feudatories and others began to construct at first the Mūlasthāna (கருவறை) and the Vimāna of the older temple in stone. Their first attention was also centred mostly on such of those temples sung by the Nāyanmārs alone. Those were at Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Āmāttūr, Śenduṟai, Āvaḍutuṟai, Vijayamangai, Ālanduṟai, Ariśirkarai-pputtūr, Maḷapāḍi, Oṟṟiyūr, Vaigāvūr, Niḍūr, Paḷuvūr, Perunduṟai, Araiyaṇinallūr, Vakkarai, Tiruppālavanam, Maḱaṟal and Vēlvikkūḍi.¹ Having completed these, they turned their attention on the other temples which yet required their benefactions. Caṇḍēśvara Nāyaṇār was considered the chief supervising authority of every Śiva temple. The receipts and charges and the purchase and sale of the temple properties were entered in his name. And it became customary also to build a separate shrine for him alone in the very first prakāra adjoining the main shrine of the Lord. That shrine also underwent renovation in stone in the days of the Cōlas.²

Before such renovation was taken up, all stone inscriptions found on the foundation stone or on

¹ 199 of 1907, 413 of 1903, 316 of 1903, 126 & 143 of 1925, 165 of 1929, 358 of 1903, 282 of 1908, 92 of 1895, 126 of 1912, 51 of 1914, 534 of 1921, 393 of 1924, 134 of 1932, 387 of 1902, 200 of 1904, 313 of 1929, 224 of 1901 and 139 of 1926. — ² 658 of 1909.

the walls of the old temple, were copied down in a book, and after the reconstruction they were carved and inscribed afresh on the walls. Thus it was that the registry of endowments of the ancients were preserved. This system was followed strictly by royal orders in the Cōla period.¹

Generally, every temple had the Mūlasthāna and the Naḍu maṇṭapa (central maṇṭapa); next there was mukha maṇṭapa or the front maṇṭapa; then the first compound and the wall around it was constructed.² As mentioned before, in the first prākāra there was the shrine for Caṇḍīśar. In that same prākāra proceeding from the right, places were assigned for the Sun in the south-east, for Gaṇeśa and the Sapta Kannikās in the south-west, for Subrahmanya in the west, for Jēṣṭha in the north-west, for Caṇḍīśar in the north and for the Moon in the north-east. These subsidiary shrines existed separately and in the pillared corridor (திருச்சுற்றுவலை) adjoining the compound wall in some temples. There were from one to four gateways in the compound wall according to the size of the temple. Small gōpuras were built on these gateways until the days of Rājarāja and Rājendra, the Vimāna over the Mūlasthāna assumed all prominence and they

¹ 199 of 1907; A. R. E. 1911, p. 72; 1913, p. 111 and 1922-23, p. 106. ² 357 of 1907, 314-55 of 1908, 224 of 1901.

were built very high. After Rājendra, with the exception of Tirubuvana temple of Kulōttunga III, the height of Vimānas came to be reduced and gopuras rose to greater heights. Flower gardens came to be laid out in the open space in the outer compound and in some places inside the temples.¹ Similarly temple tanks² were dug and the second and the third prākāras were built in such of these temples which received greater attention.³ In course of time, smaller shrines raised by the kings, feudatories and others found places in these prākāras.⁴ To give an instance, inscription No. 40 of 1906 mentions that the smaller shrines of Kālakāladēvar, Kūttāḍundēvar, Kulōttunga Cōḷisvaram-Uḍaiyār and Vikrama-Cōḷisvaram-Uḍaiyār in the temple of Tiru-viraṭṭānam-Uḍaiyār at Tirukkāḍavūr. A separate shrine for the Goddess did not exist in the Śiva temple in the age of the Pallavas and the early Cōlas. The Goddess had been assigned a separate place in the Lord's shrine itself, with the name of 'Bhōga-śakti-Amman' (போகசக்தி அம்மன்). Rājarāja I refers to this Bhōga-śakti-Amman as Umā Paramēśvari. It is in the Ennāyiram

¹ 222 of 1911, 149 of 1928, 144 of 1937, 216 & 260 of 1907, 135 of 1925, 94 of 1925, 319 of 1903, 218 of 1926, 69 of 1897, 249 of 1907, 49 of 1918, 120 of 1926, 18 of 1922, 155 of 1912, 45 of 1925, 128 of 1930, 380 of 1918, 457 & 458 of 1902, 254 of 1925, 120 & 125 of 1922. ² 475 of 1912 & 393 of 1925. ³ 516 of 1920 & 72 of 1918. ⁴ T. Poḷil, 23, p. 155; 325 & 335 of 1902, 200 of 1904 & A. R. E. 1913, p. 86.

inscriptions of Rājendra I that we find the first mention of a shrine for the goddess in the Tiruccurālai of the temple. Only after that, separate shrines came to be built for Amman.¹ Many inscriptions reveal, that by the end of the Cōla reign, shrines for Amman were newly constructed in many temples.²

As the influence of the temples increased, several maṇṭapas also were constructed in their spacious compounds. The Śrūttonḍa Nambi Maṇṭapa³ at Śengāṭṭangudi, Vakkānikkum Maṇṭapa at Tiruvorriyūr, the maṇṭapas with the names of 'Maṇṇaikkonḍa-Cōlan', 'Rājarājan', 'Rājendran', and Vyākarnadāna Vyākhyāna Maṇṭapā need mention.⁴ The last-mentioned one was intended for the teaching of grammar. In some temples there were Naṭana Maṇṭapa⁵ and Nāṭaka Maṇṭapas.⁶ There were also Tirukkaikkōṭṭi Maṇṭapa⁷ in some temples, where the Tirumuṟais were preserved and recited. In some temples there were the hundred-pillared maṇṭapa⁸ and yāgaśālai⁹ also. Many also

¹ C. K. P. pp. 13-14. ² 429 of 1912, 701 of 1909, 225 of 1901, 28 of 1914, 400 of 1913, 182 of 1926, 504 of 1912, 184 of 1928 & 351 of 1911. ³ 57 of 1913. ⁴ A. R. E. 1913, p. 86. ⁵ 152 of 1925 & 154 of 1895. ⁶ 199 of 1907, 157 of 1905, 398 of 1921, 152 of 1925, 253 & 254 of 1914. ⁷ 203 of 1908, 414 & 454 of 1909, 10 & 381 of 1918, 350 of 1929. ⁸ S. I. I. 4. 225 & 369 of 1921. ⁹ 369 of 1921.

were the temples which had ordinary maṇṭapas.¹ There was a thousand-pillared maṇṭapa at Tiruvakkarai.² It is known that in this construction there arose certain obstacles and to circumvent them an individual beheaded himself as a sacrifice.³ There were Māligais (palatial buildings) in some temples.⁴ The Māligai that existed in the Nīḍūr temple was called the 'Puriśai Māligai' intended for expounding the Purāṇas.⁵ When we find the names 'Tirumāligaittēvar', 'Māligai Maḍattu Mudaliyar', it might be proper to think that these Māligais served for the Śaiva religious teachers to stay and preach the religious doctrines. There were maṭhas in many big temples. In them existed ācāryas well-versed in Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras and the students learning the Śāstras. It is learnt that there existed libraries also in them known as 'Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāram' in many temples.⁶

The development of the Śaiva faith was responsible for stone-built and enlarged temples in the age of the Cōlas. They were built of mud to begin with and they were of small dimensions in the days

¹ 400 of 1913, 254 of 1922, 119 of 1906, 429 of 1922 & 645 of 1902. ² 190 of 1904. ³ 119 of 1906. ⁴ 429 of 1922 & 535 of 1921. ⁵ 535 of 1921. ⁶ 277 of 1913; Since there were colleges at Tirumukkūdal, Eṇṇāyiram, Tiribuvāṇai, Tiruvorriyūr, Vēmbaṇṇūr and Tiruvavaḍurūṇai, there might have been in existence libraries containing many kinds of śāstras.

of the Pallavas. The bhakti and the workmanship of the architects who had taken such enormous pains to convert them into stone temples demand our praise. The Cōlas held those masons in esteem and granted them lands¹ There was sculptured in the temple of Tiruvāvaḍuturai the image of Kaṇṇalippiccan who was responsible for the renovation of that temple.²

ADMINISTRATION OF TEMPLES:

The kings as well as the common people held the temples in such esteem as to make munificent grants of lands and gardens. They also gave costly jewels gold, silver and copper vessels, cattle and other things of value for performance of daily pūjās and for celebrating festivals. Indeed, there were competent authorities to deal with such matters as maintenance of temples and leasing lands and collecting the dues.

Small temples like those that existed at Ceyyūr, Periyapālaiyam and Āgattiyaṅpaḷli were left under the management of the priests themselves.³ Some temples were under the administration of the Śaiva saints called Māhēśvaras.⁴ The Tirukkaḷar temple

¹ 357 of 1904, 70 of 1913, 403 of 1908 and S. I. I. 2.66.
² 132 of 1925. ³ 449 of 1902, 309 of 1908 & 505 of 1904. ⁴ 486 of 1922.

was under the management of the Āṇḍars in the reign of Kulōttunga III; but in the reign of Rājarāja III it was transferred to the administration of the Māhēśvaras.¹ Some temples were governed by the heads of the maṭhas adjoining the temples,² and some were under the supervision of the village assembly.³ In those temples which had moderate income, there was a separate governing assembly for the temple itself. They were differently called as 'Śrī-kāriyam Seivār' 'Kōyil Ganapperumakkal' and 'Pāda Mūlattār'.⁴ The members of the village assembly, Māhēśvaras and the head of the maṭhas (if there was a maṭha) formed the governing assembly.⁵ Some temples were looked after by all the three (bodies) namely, the village assembly, the council of the temple and Rudra Māhēśvaras.⁶ Some big temples were under the supervision of individual authorities. They were subordinated to the village assembly.⁷ The authorities of some other temples supervised the affairs of the temple with the temple committee and the village assembly.⁸ "As the temple administration was in the hands of a committee or the village assembly, so also the central shrine of a temple (Tiruvuṇṇāligai) was at

¹ S. I. I. 3.260. ² 101 & 121 of 1925. ³ 362 of 1917, 160 of 1929 & 332 of 1910. ⁴ S. I. I. 6. 323. 206 of 1915 & S. I. I. 5. 686. ⁵ 47 of 1910 and 100 of 1906. ⁶ Pd. 152 & 210 of 1929. ⁷ 160 of 1929. 605 of 1920, 210 of 1921, 21 of 1922 & 271 of 1927. ⁸ 152 & 154 of 1895.

times in charge of a committee which would, at times, borrow money in advance and discharge certain obligations to the temple, and make gifts to the temple on its own behalf collectively and take up similar responsibilities.¹ Important matters regarding the temples would also be taken to the notice of the king.² The temple treasury was called 'Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram'. The temple accounts-book was called 'Śrī-bhaṇḍārap-pottagam'.³ The authorities of the treasury were known as 'Śiva-Bhaṇḍārigal'.⁴ Similar to the central shrine, the temple treasury was at times in charge of a committee. It possessed also administrative powers, like the selling of the temple land on suitable conditions.⁵ The original copies of documents recording the grants made by the persons were preserved in some temple treasuries; at the same time, they were also inscribed on the temple walls.⁶ The TRIDENT-MARK (சூலப் பொறி) was branded on Dēvaraḍiyār (the women dedicated to temple service) and on the temple cattle.⁷ The accounts of all the temples were audited annually by government officers. The names of several government officials such as Madurāntakaṇ, Kaṇḍarādittaṇ, Kāḷi Ādittaṇ and Arumoḷi Mūvēnda Vēḷar

¹ A. R. E. 1922, p. 117.

² 201 & 206 of 1919.

³ 327 of 1921.

⁴ S. I. I. I.146.

⁵ A. R. E. 1922, p. 117.

⁶ 299 & 326 of 1913.

⁷ 543 of 1921 and 537 of 1922.

are found in the inscriptions.¹ These authorities counted and assessed the value of the temple jewels in the presence of the temple committee and the village assembly and entered them in their books;² audited the temple accounts and forfeited the lands of those who misappropriated the temple funds and those lessees who failed to give paddy and the dues according to the terms of the lease. Guilty persons and defaulters were condemned as 'Śiva-drōhigaḥ' and 'Ūr-drōhigaḥ' (traitors of Śiva and traitors of the village).³

THE MANAGEMENT OF SMALLER TEMPLES :

The Rāmanadiśvaram temple at Tirukkannapuram (Tanjore Dt) was not one built of stone. Even in the time of Kulōttunga I, it was re-built of bricks only. Therefore, the records pertaining to that temple were made on the walls of the temple adjacent at Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi.⁴ Then, Kulōttunga II granted land to the temple for the performance of worship and festivals.⁵ "Since there was not sufficient income for the temple pūjā in the time of Kulōttunga III, the Māhēśvaras and the Tānattār of the temple met the authorities (Māhēśvaras) of Cidambaram in the assembly hall and requested them to help the temple. Those assembled in the

¹ 282 of 1906, 109 of 1914, 28 of 1919, and 240 of 1931. ² 210 of 1929, & S. I. I. 3. 211. ³ 189 of 1929 and 57 of 1914. ⁴ 65 of 1913; p. 111. ⁵ 533 of 1922.

hall resolved, thereupon, that some specified temple servants in Cōla, pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and Jayangoṇḍa-Cōla mandalams including those in the central shrines should contribute 20 kāṣu each per annum as before. Those marked with sacred trident should also pay 20 kāṣu a year per head and in other villages, the Māhēśvaras and the Brāhmans (in general) whether temple-servants or not should pay 20 kāṣu each. The collection thus made either in coin or in paddy should be paid into the temple treasury for being converted into a capital fund to be spent for worship, offerings, etc.¹

We come to know of two things from this resolution:- (1) the way in which ordinary temple were helped with funds; (2) the influence, the Tillai Māhēśvaras had with the temples of the Tamiḷ country.²

¹ 537 of 1922; A. R. E. 1923, p. 107. ² It was described before how Tillai grew and developed into a vital shrine of the Śaiva religion, from the time of Kōccōḷan. From the fact that The Tirumuṟais were treasured at Tillai alone, it can also be seen that it occupied the most important place among the other shrines. That all gods of other temples become absorbed in Tillai during the midnight pūjā and therefore the midnight pūjā must be finished in other temples before 10 o'clock at night, and that the midnight pūjā begins exactly at 10 o'clock at Tillai affirm the prominence of Tillai. It deserves to be remembered here that it is a custom that of the Śengundars of the Tamiḷ Nāḍu, - wherever they might be - when they receive tāmbālam (honour) those that belong to Cidambaram are honoured first.

As people began to have more and more confidence in the administration of the temples,¹ as referred to above, they made liberal grants to them. The temples became wealthier; the endowments and gifts of the devotees took place without any stringency. The temple servants and those engaged in its affairs did their duties well. Music, dance, drama, Tiruppadiyam recitals and religious lectures took place regularly in temples on proper occasions. Details regarding these follow in the next chapter.

¹ Vide A. R. E. 1918, p. 145 and A. R. E. 1922, pp. 116-7 for more information on Temple-administration.

VIII. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF TEMPLES.

SCULPTURES IN TEMPLES:

The temples which reveal the excellence of the sculptor's art of the Cōla period are the Rājarājēśvaram at Tanjore, Gangaikōṇḍa-Cōlēśvaram. Rājarājēśvaram at Rājarājāpuram (Dārāśuram) and Tirubhuvana-Virēśvaram. The sculptures of Bikṣāṇḍār, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Lingōdbhavar, Ardanārīṣār, Sūladēvar, Kalyāṇasundarar, Maḥiṣāsura Mardini, Tirumāl (Viṣṇu), Brahma and others which are to be found in these temples attract our attention. We not only admire their workman-ship but find in them their symbology, representing the various stages in the evolution of our ideas of the gods. They may even be taken to give an index of the religious knowledge of the period. For a lay man an abstract idea does not make a clear impression as that of a concrete object or figure. Therefore, sculptures, paintings and bronzes of deities were needed and enshrined in temples to create a concrete idea of the deities and knowledge to give their mystical truths to the people.

SCULPTURES IN RAJARAJEŠVARAM (DARASURAM)

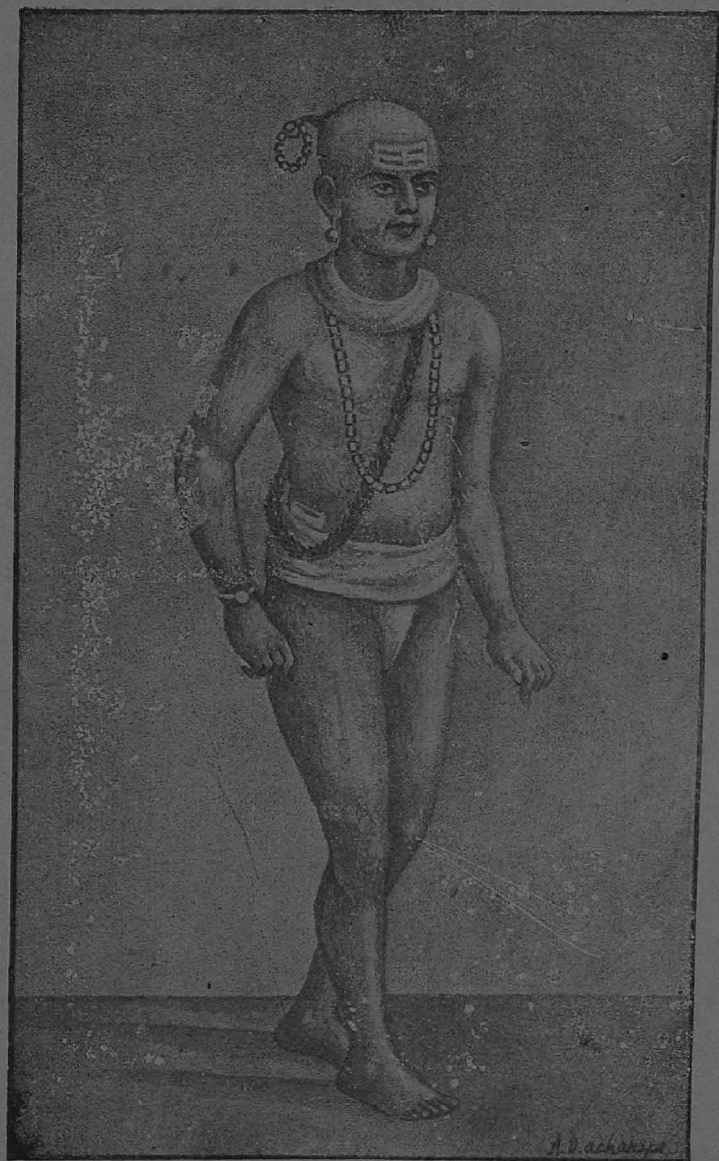
On the lower portion of the outer main shrine of Rājarājēśvaram a number of niches are found—mostly now empty. They appear to have contained

images of worship. At the top of each of the niches is a label indicating the sculptures that were installed therein. They are: (1) Ādi-Canḍēśvara-dēvar, (2) Gangādēvi, (3) Mahāśastā, (4) Rudrāṇi, (5) Vaiṣṇavi, (6) Brahmāṇi, (7) Śrī-Nandikēśvara-dēvar, (8) Periyadēvar, (9) Śāntyātitaśakti, (10) Śānti-śakti, (11) Vidyā-śakti, (12) Pratiṣṭā-śakti, (13) Nivṛitti-śakti, (14) Śrī-dēvi, (15) Durgādēvi, (16) Padmanidhi, (17) Śūryadēvar, (18) Subrahmaṇya-dēvar, (19) Kṣētrapālar, (20) Sarasvati, and (21) Īśānadēvar.¹ Since these were individual images of the gods they represented, it is likely that they were stolen or taken away and we are denied the happiness of seeing them and studying them. However, there is no doubt that they existed in the Cōla period for the pleasure and worship of the public.

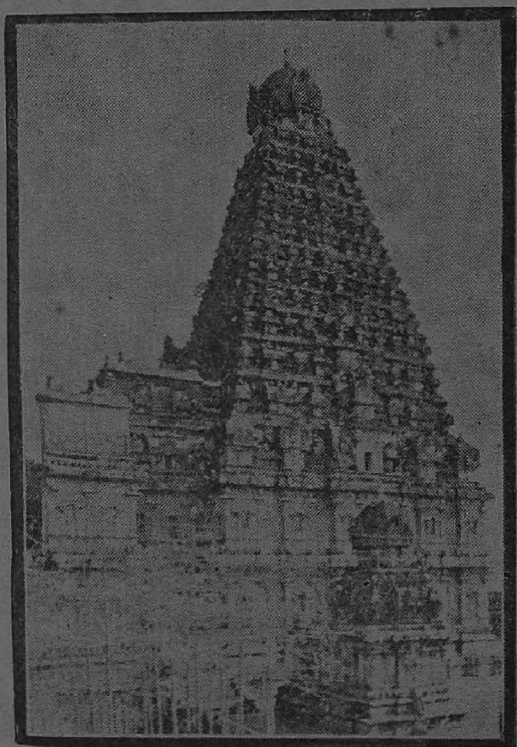
SCULPTURES AT GANGAIKONḌA - CŌLĒSVARAM :

The sculptures at Gangaikondā - Cōlēśvaram appear beautiful and fresh as if they had just left the sculptor's hands.² That which deserves a special mention among them is the sculpture of Vicārasarman being bestowed the 'Canḍisappadam.' The figure represents Śiva seated with Umādēvi, garlanding Vicārasarman

¹ A. R. E. 1908, p. 69. ² I visited this temple on 25-4-1943.



Worshipper of Śiva called Mahāvratin



Thanjavūr Big Temple

with 'konrai' wreath and granting him the Caṇḍisappadam. To the right of it are shown Śiva's team making merry with dance and songs, and to the left are cows (perhaps representing Vēdas) standing. Since the story of Caṇḍiśar has been sculptured in four rows on the walls of the 'Arda Maṇṭapa', it will not be wrong to suppose that it was only in the days of Rājendra I who built this temple that these scenes were made. Among these, the sculpture mentioned above won the heart of Śēkkiḷar of the later period. He has two verses in Caṇḍiśar Purāṇam, which may be said to explain this.¹ Would not its beautiful appearance have taught the story of Caṇḍiśar to the people of the Cōḷa days and impressed on their minds the greatness of his piety?

SCULPTURES AT KILAIK KADAMBUR :

This temple mentioned by Appar as Kadambūr-Iḷangōil is in ruins today.² On all the three outer walls of the central shrine, there are niches, wherein the images which were kept there formerly are found missing. Under each of the niches, the names of the images that were placed there are mentioned. Only certain of the names could be deciphered today. They are: (1) Ānai-Uṟittadevar,

¹ C. N. P. vv. 56-'7. ² I visited this temple on 27-4-'43.

(2) Lingapurāṇadēvar, (3) Candrasēkharadēvar, (4) Candyāniruttadēvar, (5) Kālakāladēvar, (6) Ardanārisvaradēvar, (7) Āṇaiyāṇḍadēvar, (Gaṇapati), (8) Aṇuvar-Amudai-Āṇḍār (Subramanya), (9) Ulakāṇḍa Mūrtti (Mūrtti Nāyaṇār), (10) Murugāṇḍār (Muruga Nāyaṇār), (11) Tirukkuṛippuṭṭonḍar, and (12) Daṇḍipperumāl. The paleography of the inscription is found to be of Rājaraṇa I's time.¹ These images should have inspired the people that went round the shrine

SCULPTURES AT MĒLAIKKADAMBŪR:

The Kaḍambūr - Karakkōyil which is a mile away from the above mentioned temple has the formation of a wheeled chariot. On the outer walls of the central shrine, sculptures representing the scenes from the lives of the Nāyaṇmārs are found in very small dimensions. Among them, one represents Kāraikkāl Ammaiṇār walking on her head,² to Kayilāyam.

PERIYA-PURĀṆAM SCULPTURES AT DARĀSŪRAM:

On the outer walls of the central shrine of Dārāsūram temple fifty scenes from the lives of the Nāyaṇmārs are sculptured. An inscription is found under-neath each.³ These sculptures

¹ T. Poṇḍi, vol. 16, p. 234. ² I visited this temple on 27-4-'43;

³ Vide pictures annexed, for details A. R. E. 1920, Plates I to VI. I visited this temple on 31-8-'49.

and the inscriptional notes explaining them should have helped the lay men of the day to understand, to some extent, the excellence of the lives of the Nāyaṁmārs. Perhaps it was a method of visual education to inculcate religion among the masses of devotees.

It was stated in the previous chapter that this temple was built by Rājarāja II. He was the son of Kulōttunga II. He was well-acquainted with Śekkiḷār, his father's chief minister and his great work the Periya-Purāṇam. Possibly Rājarāja II was tempted to sculpture the scenes from the lives of the Nāyaṁmārs on the three outer walls of this temple constructed by him.

FRESCOS OF THE RAJARAJĒSVARAM AT TANJORE:

Frescos of the Cōla period are found on the innermost outer walls of the circumambulatory passage round the central shrine of the temple at Tanjore. All of them have not yet been published, though photographed recently by the Department. They are only a few. The following deserve mention:- (1) Śiva is seated on the deer-skin in yōga; His team is found around Him. (2) There are many persons seated in a maṇṭapa. There stand an old man and a youth in their midst. The old man's back is bent with age. He holds an umbrella

(தாழங்குடை) in one hand and a palm leaf in the other. The youth's demeanour reveals wonder and surprise. The assembled Brahmins are startled. A temple vimāna is to be seen to their right.¹ Persons are seen to enter the temple in a hurry. This fresco describes the scene of Śivā preventing Sundarar from entering marital life and win him as His bhakta. (3) In the next fresco, a white elephant is seen with its four tusks decked with Jewels; and a bearded young man riding on it; He has a pair of metal cymbals (தாளம்) in his hand; to the right of him is seen a horse prancing past. A person is seen on its back. The former is Sundarar and the latter Cēramāṇ Perumāl. This is a scene depicting both of them going to Kailās. (4) In the top corner of these two frescos, many Gandharvas are seen scattering flowers on Sundarar and Cēramāṇ. Some of them are found playing on their musical instruments. These frescos are those, which describe the two important incidents of Sundarar's life to the people of the Cōla period. (5) In the temple at Tiruppūndurutti, of the days of Parāntaka I there is a beautiful sculpture of Tripura Samhāra,¹ which is almost pictorially represented in the fresco of Tripura Samhāra in Rājarājēśvaram. These frescos and sculptures connected with religion, clearly reveal the religious attitude and knowledge, and

¹ 92 of 1931; I visited these two temples.

of the fine workmanship of the painters and sculptors of this period. If they were not imbued with such strong religious feelings, these masterpieces of art and religion could not have come into being. The sculptors could not have carved the image of Caṇḍiśa Anugraha-Mūrti in such an attractive manner. The Tanjore frescos which belong to a period of about 900 years from now, appear as fresh even today. Religious zeal combined with a fine sense of art found its free expression during this period.

ICONS OF GODS AND GODDESSES:

Images of Śiva in his various aspects like Bhikṣādana, Kalyāṇasundara, Gaṅgādhara, Kirātārjuniya, Pañadēva, Lingapurānadēva, Umāsaḥita Naṭarāja, Dakṣināmūrti, Śrikanṭha, Rṣabhavāhanadēva, Bhairava were set up in the great temple at Tanjore.¹ In addition to this, the images of Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya, Mahāviṣṇu, and the Sun were installed in the temple.² Among the goddesses, are mentioned, the names of Kālappiḍāri, Durgā-Paramēśvari and Ēmaḷattu-Durkkaiyār and Ōṅāra Sundari.³ The images of the sapta-mātrikas, Sarasvatī and Mahāśāstā were also in worship.⁴

¹ S. I. I. II. 25, 30, 32, 34, 39, 43, 48 & 50, ² 606 of 1902; 177 of 1907 and 118 of 1914. ³ 207 of 1919. ⁴ 705 of 1909, 131 of 1892 and 335 of 1917.

FESTIVALS IN TEMPLES :

We find from the inscriptions, that during the Cōla period, festivals pertaining to almost all the months of the year (மாத விழாக்கள்) were duly celebrated in all the temples. The Tillai-Ulā referred to in a previous chapter describes vividly the procession of Śiva with his team on the occasion of festivals. The bronzes of the Nāyanmārs, with the principal deity, were also taken in the procession; Tirumuṛais were recited on the occasion; also Vēdas were recited. The dancing women of the temple accompanied the procession exhibiting their skill.² It is also known that on the occasions of particular festivals such as Māsi Maham, new pathways and roads were laid in order to take the deity to the neighbouring river or sea and to have an immersion of it in those waters.³

PUJĀ AND FESTIVALS FOR NĀYANMARS :

In the days of the Pallavas stone and copper images of the Nāyanmārs must have been enshrined in at least those places where they flourished. It is mentioned in a previous chapter that images of

² 28 of 1918, 187 of 1925, 285 of 1912, 211 of 1912, 250 of 1926, 291 of 1904, 98 of 1920, 248 of 1907, 268 of 1921 and 2 of 1914.

³ 370 of 1909. ⁴ S. I. I. 4. 225; 228 of 1925 and 45 of 1914.

the late Nāyanmārs must have been installed in the Dēvāsiriya Maṇṭapa. Inscriptions indicate that in the days of the Cōlas there was increased activity in making idols and icons for the Nāyanmārs, and installing them in small shrines individually in their specific places of nativity and in general. For want of space, the names of a few of such shrines and images are mentioned below :-

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Tiruvadigai | Tiruvāgiśvaram (shrine)
368 of 1921 |
| 2. Kuhūr | Nambi Ārūrar (image)
299 of 1917 |
| 3. Śengāṭṭanguḍi | Siruttonḍa Nambi (image)
59 of 1913 |
| 4. Tiruppugalūr | Tirunāvukkaraśu (image)
68 of 1928 |
| 5. Rājarājesvaram,
Tanjore | 4 images to represent the
life of Caṇḍīsar S. I. I. 2. 29 |
| 6. do. | Images of Nambi Ārūrar,
Nangai Paravaiyār,
Appar & Sambandar Ibid. 38 |
| 7. do. | Image of Milāḍudaiyār saying
"Dattā, He is only our man"
Ibid. 40 |
| 8. do. | Group of 5 images to set up
the life of Śiruttonḍar Ibid. 43 |

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 9. Tirunāgēs̄varam | Milādaiyār temple
A. R. E. 1912 p. 62 |
| 10. Maḷapāḍi | Images of Appar, Sambandar
and Sundarar 37 of 1920. |
| 11. Tirunallam | Srine for Caṇḍiśar 658 of 1909 |
| 12. Arūr | Images of Sundarar
and Paravaiyār S. I. I. -7/485 |
| 13. Padūr | Sambandar (image) 412 of 1922 |
| 14. Kaḷumalam | Shrine of Sambandar
375 of 1918 |
| 15. -do- | Images of Sambandar and
Mangaiyarkkaraśiyār -do- |
| 16. Tiruvāimūr | Appar (image) 137 of 1934 |
| 17. Tirukkaḍavūr | Kunguliyakkalayar 25 of 1906 |
| 18. Tirttanagari | Appar (image) 121 of 1904 |
| 19. Uśāttānam | Temple for Appar 186 of 1908 |
| 20. -do- | Temple for Sambandar
216 of 1908 |
| 21. Accirupākkam | Image of Appar 137 of 1933-'4 |
| 22. Tanjore-Great
temple | Temple for Caṇḍiśar
S. I. I. 2.60 |
| 23. Kudandaikkīḷk-
kōṭṭam | Temple for Sambandar
258 of 1911 |
| 24. Koḷiampādūr | Image of Tirunilakanṭha
Yāḷppānar 254 of 1917 |

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|----------------|
| 25. Tirukkōdikā | (Caṇḍīśar temple) | 49 of 1930-'31 |
| | (Image of Māṇikkavāśagar) | 53 of 1930-'31 |
| 26. Tiruvalaṇḍi | Images of Māṇikkavāśagar
and Kaṇṇappar | 628 of 1902 |
| 27. Marudanallūr | Image of Māṇikkavāśagar | 285 of 1927 |
| 28. Vaḷuvūr | do. | 421 of 1912 |
| 29. Cidambaram | Tiruttonḍattogai Īśvaram | 262 of 1913 |
| 30. Tirukkaccūr | Image of Appar | 316 of 1919 |
| 31. Agattiya-malai | -do- | 559 of 1906 |
| 32. Āccāpuram | Sambandar & Sokkiyār
(his bride?) | 527 of 1918 |
| 33. Talaiṇāyar | Image of Sambandar | 149 of 1927 |
| 34. Tirumalaṇḍi | -do- | 76 of 1920 |
| 35. Tiruvilimilalai | Image of Māṇikkavāśagar
in the third prākāra | 409 of 1908 |
| 36. Tiruppālaivanam | Image of Kāraikkālammaiār | 329 of 1929 |
| 37. Tiruvarattuṛai | Sambandar (image) | 221 of 1929 |
| 38. Tiruppālaittuṛai | -do- (temple) | 437 of 1912 |

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 39. Kōyil-Dēvarāyan-
pēṭṭai | Image of Appar | 278 of 1912 |
| 40. Kaḷattūr | Image of Caṇḍisar | 334 of 1911 |
| 41. Kōḷili | Image of Adipattar | T. Poḷil, 23.6/11 |
| 42. Niḍūr | Shrine for Cēramāṇ Perumaḷ | 535 of 1921 |
| 43. Oṟriyūr | Images of 63 Nāyaṇmārs | 137 of 1912 |
| 44. Śembonārkōyil | -do- | 171 of 1925 |
| 45. Āḍutuṟai | -do- | 35 of 1913;
A. R. E 1913, p. 115 |

ROYAL VISITS TO TEMPLES AND FESTIVALS:

In those days the temple was the only place where the king and his subjects could meet. The Cōla kings felt happy to participate in the temple festivals personally. Vikrama Cōla stayed in the Dēvāsiriya Maṇṭapa at Tiruvārur and witnessed the Cittirait-tirunāl.¹ Rājādhirāja II took part in the festival of Panguni Uttiram which was celebrated at Tiruvoṟriyūr.² Kulōttunga III stayed in the 'Rājarājan' (maṇṭapa) at Tiruvoṟriyūr temple and observed the Āṇi festival.³ Rājarāja III participated in the

¹ 164 of 1894. ² 371 of 1911. ³ 368 of 1911.

Āvanit-tirunāl (Āvaṇi festival) that took place in Tiruvorriyūr.¹ Such royal participation in festivals served as a stimulus to the religious zeal of the common people. By now, pilgrimages to the temples of renown had become the order of the day. Inscriptions show that pilgrims moved to the south even from northern parts like Kashmir to worship in the temples and witness the festivals of the Tamiḷ country.²

MUSIC AND DANCE.

Plays were conducted and songs were sung on days of festivals and processions. Since Rājarāja commandeered 400 women-dancers from many of the temples that existed all over the Tamiḷ country in order to take part in music and dance and sing in the great temple that he built, we find that dance and music attained a high degree of perfection in his days.³ Many inscriptions reveal that in the Cōḷa period, there were temple maidens good at dance and music in most of the temples.⁴ In the temples, plays called Tamiḷakkūttu (themes from Sanskrit Purāṇas), Sākkaik-kūttu and Śāntik-kūttu

¹ 211 of 1912. ² A. R. E. 1936-'7, p. 70. ³ S. I. I. 2. 66
⁴ 116 of 1926, 617 of 1920, 272 of 1923, 141 of 1900, 187 of 1908,
 164 of 1894, 152 of 1925, 321 of 1917, 29 of 1918, 92 of 1916, 107 &
 179 of 1929-30, 211 of 1912, 370 of 1909, 397 of 1922, 14 of 1919,
 211 of 1912, 528 of 1902, 330 of 1929, 504 of 1912, 338 of 1911.

were enacted.¹ The dance-master was called by different names as Kūttaraśaṇ, and Naṭṭuva Āśaṇ.² The lands gifted to them were known as 'Kūttakkāni' and 'Naṭṭuvakkāni'.³ There was a pāṇa at Tiruvidaimarudūr to teach songs to Taḷiyilār and Dēvāradīyār. The gift of land received by him was called 'Pāṇappēru'⁴ - (பாணப்பேறு). Rājarāja I prescribed paṇs (பண்) to Tiruppadiyams (hymns) with the help of a pāṇy-lady, a descendant of Tirunilakaṇṭha-Yālppānar.⁵ It can be seen from these that pāṇas flourished and fostered Tamil music in the days of the Cōlas. " In the Tiruvṛṇṇiyūr temple, when the padiyilār played Śokkam and performed (the dance) śandikkunippam, the Iṣabhataḷiyilār supplied vocal music. The latter also displayed agamārgam and varikkōlam. One point of interest is, the reference in the inscriptions to certain dances and modes of singing (perhaps peculiar to temples) and to the recital of the Tiruppadiyam and the Tiruvembāvai hymns by the padiyilār. The former included Śandikkunippam, idavu, malaippū, agamārgam, śindukku,⁶ and vari, all of which appear to be technical terms whose significance is not apparent.⁷ From these details we can conclude that the

¹ 120 of 1925, 250 of 1926, 154 of 1895, 254 of 1914, A. R. E. 1924-25, p. 82. ² 23 of 1895, 255 of 1925, 206 of 1931. ³ 206 of 1931, S. I. I. 2. 66. ⁴ 141 of 1895, S. I. I. 5. 705. ⁵ T. K. P; vv. 31-34. ⁶ Would it be 'Sendakku'? ⁷ A. R. E. 1913, pp. 118, and 127.

Tirumuṟai hymns were practised with music and dance. These women-musicians who were trained well in dance and songs recited religious hymns and exhibited them through their dance. These might have captured the hearts of the people and fully fostered the religious spirit. These women-dancers were handsome women and wore attractive clothes and dressed their hair in the most fashionable style of the times. The fresco of the Great Temple at Tanjore appended here will help to a certain extent in giving an idea of them. All the 108 Bharata Śāstra Nāṭya poses of dance that were in vogue in the days of the Cōlas, could be seen well sculptured on the lintel of the eastern gōpura of the Tillai temple.¹ These clearly reveal the high degree of attainment of the art of Nāṭya in those days.

DRAMA:

It is needless to say that dramas were enacted in the Tamil language which has drama (நாடகத்தமிழ்) as one of its three component parts of language. In the Cōla period Rājarājēśvara Nāṭakam was enacted every year in the great temple at Tanjore on the occasion of the vaikāṣi festival. 120 kalams of paddy was granted every year to

¹ A. R. E. 1914, pp. 74-83, Plates I-IV.

Vijaya Rājendra Ācārya who enacted the play. It may be safely concluded from the wording of the title, that the subject of the drama was the foundation of the Tañjāvūr temple by Rājarāja I.¹ 'Vikramāditta Ācārya alias Rājarāja Nāṭakap-
Pēraraiyaṇ, was the possessor of 'Naṭṭuvappangu' and 'Maimaṭṭippangu' (நாடகக் காணி!) at Pandaṇainallūr. says the inscription of that village.² In the time of Kulōttunga I, a play called Pūmpuliyūr Nāṭakam was written.³ That was about Tiruppādirippuliyūr. Probably, it was a work containing the story of the Ammaṇ (Pārvaṭi) remaining a maiden and worshipping Śiva. Also there might have been scenes from Appar's life in this work - Appar a Jain turning to Śāivism, the incidents of Appar being tortured by the jains, his floating on the sea, reaching the shore and composing hymns in the temple of that place, Guṇabhara, demolishing the jain maṭhas and constructing Guṇabhara Īśvaram and the like. Though there is no evidence to prove that it was enacted, it will not be wrong to suppose that the Nāṭakam was played along with other dramas of the period.

DĒVARADIIYAR:

These were a class of women who remained in temples and served them by such works as

¹ S. I. I. 2. 67. ² T. Poṭil, Vol. 23, pp. 152-3. ³ I29 of 1908.

sweeping, washing the premises with cowdung, cleaning rice required for rice-offering to the deity and reciting 'Tiruppadiyams' and the like. They were also the bearers of the plates of Vibūti and flowers during festivals, and served the goddess by fanning Her with Chauris occasionally, when She was installed during Festivals.¹ Those maids who were employed to fan god or goddess (with the cluster of deer-hair) were called 'Kavarippinā'² (கவிரிப்பினா). No. 230 of Appendix B, dated in the 49th year of Kulōttunga, I's reign, states that Accapīdāraṇ Gaṇapati Nambī alias Aḷagiya Pāṇḍya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, a captain in the regiment of Irumuḍicōḷat-terinda-villigal who had colonised at Bānapuram, presented some women of his family as dēvaraḍiyār for service in the temple of Tiruvallam Uḍaiyār, after branding them with the sūla (trident) - mark in token of their dedication for a life of service and devotion to God. From this, it is evident that the class of dēvaraḍiyār had not degenerated into the immoral level, that it represents now in society, and that ladies were dedicated for a spiritual life and service.³ Some among the dēvaraḍiyārs performed dancing also⁴ as a part of worship and service.

¹ 128 & 212 of 1912. ² 117 of 1910 and 149 of 1936; "பெண்ணும் பிள்ளும் மக்கட்குரிய" T. P. S. 616. ³ A. R. E. 1922, p. 102; For more particulars about Dēvaraḍiyār, vide A. R. E. 1913, p. 108 and A. R. E. 1925, p. 84. ⁴ 212 of 1912.

TALIYILĀR :

Rājarāja I mentioned these as the maids of Taliccēri (தளிச்சேரிப் பெண்டுகள்). These lived in families outside the temple; they were experts in music and dance. They offered their services without making any distinction between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples.¹ Among them, those who offered their services in the Śiva temples were called 'Rṣabat-taliyilār' ² (probably maids branded with the mark of the sacred bull, or maids of the Śiva temple). Similarly those who were in the Vaiṣṇava temples were called "Śri Vaiṣṇava Māṇikkam."³ Inscriptions give room to the surmise that these were actively engaged in dance and music in the temples during the reign of Rājarāja I; later they began to recite Tiruppadiyams, and by the end of the Cōla rule, they also undertook like dēvaraḍiyār services such as fanning the deity.⁴

TIRUMURĀIS IN TEMPLES :

Even before Rājarāja I regularised Tiruppadiyam during pūjā in temples they were recited in the temples of Tiruvallam, Eṇumbiyūr, Palūr, Āvaḍuturai, Tavatturai, Āttūr, Kumāravayalūr, Anduvanallūr.⁵

¹ S. I. I. 2, 66. ² 212 of 1912. ³ 183 of 1923. ⁴ S. I. I. 2, 66, 141 of 1895, 212 of 1912; A. R. E. 1913, pp. 104, 118 and 127-8. ⁵ 129 of 1914, 349 of 1918, 139 of 1925, 99 of 1927, 373 of 1903, 149 of 1937, S. I. I. 3, 139.

The fact that 48 persons were brought from the several temples to recite Tiruppadiyam, in the Great temple at Tanjore built by Rājarāja, shows that the sacred hymns were used to be recited already in those temples from where they come. They were of Tiruvāñjiyam, Ārūr, Vāimūr, Maṛaikkāḍu, Aiyāru, Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Āṇaikkā, Venkāḍu, Tillai and the like.¹ In the days of the later Cōlas, Tiruppadiyam and Tirūccālal were recited in the village temples of Kuhūr, Brahmadēśam (N. A. Dt.) Mudukunṇam, Viḷimiḷalai, Nallam, Kaḍaimuḍi, Māraṇpādi, Orriyūr, Tennēri, Uḍaiyalūr, Tukkacci, Śōṛṇṭturai, Elvānāsūr, Āmāttūr, Tillaiyādi, Puṛavār Paṇangāttūr, Kaḷumalam, Idaivāi, Vaḷuvūr, Puḡalūr, Enṇāyiram and Tillaiyālinallūr.²

Brahmins,³ dēvarāḍiyār⁴ and piḍārar⁵ (பிடாரர்) recited Tiruppadiḡams accompanied with Uḍukkai (உடுக்கை), drum and tālam (metal plates); they were recited in the mornings in some temples, both in the mornings and evenings in some others, and on the three occasions of worship in some others, and on the days of festivals. In the month of Mārgaḷi (December-January), Tirupaḷḷi Eḷucci (awakening)

¹S. I. I. 2. 65. ²275 of 1917, 199 of 1915, 40 of 1918, 423 of 1908, 624 of 1909, 96 of 1925, 97 of 1932, 128 of 1912, 224 of 1922, 306 of 1927, 6 of 1918, 194 of 1931, 165 of 1906, S. I. I. 8. 749. 236 of 1925, 321 of 1917, 10 of 1918, 421 of 1912, 93 of 1928, 343 of 1917, 236 of 1925. ³99 of 1929. ⁴128 of 1912. ⁵S. I. I. 2. 65.

the deity), and Tiruvembāvai were recited in temples. In short, the divine hymns composed by the Nāyanmārs attained great renown in the days of the Cōls.

WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF THIS GLORY ?

It was only after Rājarāja classified the Tirumuṟais with the help of Nambi, that their worth was enhanced in the country. He himself appointed 48 reciters in the temple, which he founded. Ōduvārs (hymn reciters) were also appointed in most of the temples. The grant of land which they received was called 'Tiruppadiyakkāni'.¹ In the time of Rājendra I, an officer called 'Tēvāra Nāyagam' was appointed probably as the head of hymn-reciters or to supervise them.² In the reign of the same king, Tiruttondat-togai was recited in the festival of Māsi (February—March) at Tillai.³ Naralōka Virā, mentioned previously arranged for the inscribing of the mūvar's Tirumuṟais on copper plates; and built a separate maṇṭapa for reciting Sambandar's Tēvāram. Since the life-stories of the Nāyanmārs spread far and wide in the country after the composition of the Periya Purāṇam, which had for its basis the Tirumuṟais, the number of those who popularised

¹ 236 of 1925. ² 97 of 1932. ³ S. I. I. 4. 223.

the Tirumūrais increased. Images of the Nāyanmārs had their places in temples. Tirumūrais were copied, and they were safely preserved in the sheltered places of the temple. Those that deserve mention among them are:- Kurukkai-Tirunāna Sambandan Guhai, Tiruḍaivāi Tiruḷtonḍa-t-togaiyān Guhai and Tōṇipurattu Tevārac-celvan Guhai.¹ Mudaliyar - Tiruvaīyārūḍaiyār, the head of the latter mentioned guhai was one who taught many hymn-reciters (ōduvārs). It was only his disciples who served as Ōduvārs at the places Ḍaivāi and the like.² There were learned men in many temples to preserve the Tirumūrais, worship them, renew the ruined ones, recite, and to teach them to others. They were called 'Tamil Virakar' (தமிழ் விரகர்). The maṇṭapa where they recited the Tirumūrais was called 'Tirukkaikkōṭṭi.' Such maṇṭapas existed at Kaḷumalam, Uṣāttānam, Viḷimilalai Kārāyil, Ḍaivāi and Tiruppālaivanam.³

RELIGIOUS WORKS READ AND EXPOUNDED IN TEMPLES.

In order to create a desire in the Śaiva religion and to popularise its tenets among the masses, many religious works were read and

¹ 233 of 1917 and 10 of 1918. ² 10 of 1918. ³ 381 of 1918
203 of 1908, 414 & 454 of 1909, 10 of 1918, 350 of 1929.

expounded in temples. Among them, mention may be made of the following:-

Name of Work.	Where read.	Evidence.
1. Bhāratam	Sendalai	63 of 1897
2. Rājarāja Vijayam	Tiruppūndurutti	120 of 1931
3. Śiva Dharma ¹	Tirunāgēśvaram	214 of 1911
4. -do-	Tiruvāliśvaram	327 of 1916
5. -do-	Puṇavār Paṇangāṭṭūr	321 of 1917
6. -do-	Oṇṇiyūr	A. R. E. 1913 p. 86
7. Bhāratam, Rāmā- yaṇam and the Purāṇas	Puḷḷalūr	48* of 1923
8. -do-	Tiruttangal	546 of 1922
9. Tiruñānam ²	Vāliśvaram	359 of 1916
10. Sōmasiddhāntam ³	Oṇṇiyūr	403 of 1896

SOME OTHER WORKS :

Apart from these, Kulōttunga Cōla I's life, Kannivāna Purāṇa and Vallai Andādi⁴ are some of

¹ A secondary Purāṇa, one of eighteen upa-purāṇas. (Lexicon).

² May be the work of a Śaiva Ācārya of Gōḷakī-maṭha. - vide the para on Gōḷakī-maṭhas. ³ Work, dealing with the Kāpālīka religion. A. R. E. 1912, p. 61. ⁴ 198 of 1919, 128 of 1902 and 233 of 1921.

the other works mentioned in the inscriptions. As the life of Rājarāja I, who was an ardent devotee of Śiva, was read in the temple at Tiruppūndurutti, (so also) it may not be wrong to suppose that the life describing the valour and devotion to Śiva of Tiruniṅṅu-Cōla, Kulōttunga I was also expounded. The story of the Goddess worshipping Śiva in Pādiri-vanam, and the life of Appar which may be the Kannivana Purana might have been read and expounded at least in the temple of the place and the neighbouring ones. The Vallai Andādi which pertains to the deity of Tiruvallam might have been recited in, at least, the temple of that place. Considering the fact that land was granted to these authors, it is clear that their works were held in great esteem in those days.

ĀḷUDAIYA NAMBI ŚRI-PURĀṆA:

In the ninth year of Rājādhirāja II's reign (1166-1182), when the God Paḍampakka-Nāyaka-dēvar was adorned and taken under-neath the sacred Makīla tree (மகிழின் கீழ்) on the sixth day of Panguni Uttiram festival, the Śri-Purāṇa of Āḷudaiya Nambi was read. 'Rājādhirāja II also heard¹ it,' says the inscription of Oṟṟiyūr. Which is the Purāṇa referred to here ?

¹ 471 of 1911; S. I. I. 5. 1358.

Śekkiḷār (A. D. 1133 - 1150) speaks of his work as 'Mākkatai' ' (மாக்கதை - the great story). By this, it would mean that it is an epic about a certain person like 'Kongu Vēl Mākkatai'. Śekkiḷār named his work 'TIRUTTONḌAR PURĀṆA'.² That it is Śekkiḷār's opinion that the name Tiruttonḍar refers only to Sundarar may be understood from his words, "Śaivamudal Tiruttonḍar Tambirāṇ tōḷaṇār Nambi"³ (the foremost devotee of Śaivism, Companion of God, Nambi). It is only on account of this that Śekkiḷār composed his great work in accordance with the grammatical rules of a great epic; he described the glory of the country, glory of the city, narrated the life of Sundarar in three parts - beginning, middle and the conclusion - without telling in continuation and putting the lives of the Nāyanmārs mentioned by Sundarar in the middle here and there. This arrangement of the author amounts to this, that the 'Tiruttonḍar Purāṇam' is nothing but Sundarar Purāṇam.

As Tirunāvukkaraṣu was called 'Āḷudaiya Araṣu' and Tiruñānasambandar, 'Āḷudaiya Pillaiyār,' Sundarar was called 'Āḷudaiya Nambi.' 'Āḷudaiya Nambi' - Tiruttonḍar (Sundarar); Śrī - Tiru. 'Āḷudaiya Nambi, Śrī-purāṇam' may also be

¹ P. P. Pāyiram, v. 3. ² Ibid. v. 10. ³ Taḍut. P. v. 171 "சைவமுதல் திருத்தொண்டர் தம்பிரான் தோழனார் நம்பி".

called 'Tiruttonḍar [Tirup-purānam'. This usage is similar to that of 'Tirumurugaṇ Tirumaṭha.'¹ Therefore, it may be said that the selfsame Tiruttonḍar Purānam composed by Śēkkiḷār came to be called later, Āḷuḍaiya Nambi Śri-Purānam. Since the date of the inscription referred to above is about 20 or 25 years only subsequent to Śēkkiḷār, and, since there is no evidence to prove that there was in vogue another work about Sundarar in Tamil or Sanskrit in those days,² it would be right to take for granted that the work read in the temple at Oṟṟiyūr was only the Periya-Purāṇa composed by Śēkkiḷār.

¹88 of 1928. ²A separate work about Sundarar, called 'Uḍaiya Nambi-Viḷasam' (not printed) is in Telugu - vide Prabha-kara Sastry's Int. to Basava Purāṇam by P. Sōmanātha Kavi (1928).

THE TAMIL SAIVA MATHAS UNDER THE CÔLAS

IX. SAIVA MATHAS AND GUHAIS UNDER THE CÔLAS

MATHAS :

(It was already stated that) In the days of the Pallavas, there existed some mathas [which imparted religious and moral education, served as resting places for the devotees and were also centres of charities. Just as temples and festivals grew and developed in the days of the Cōlas, mathas also increased in number. Among them, some had the name of the Lord; some had the names of Cōla kings and their feudatories; many were named after the Nāyaṁmārs; some others had various kinds of names. The different names of a few mathas are given here :-

I. MATHAS WITH GOD'S NAMES :

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Āvaḍuturai | Tirunila Viṭaṅgaṁ-maṭha | 144 of 1925 |
| 2. -do- | Śivalōkanāyakaṁ-maṭha | 148 of 1925 |
| 3. -do- | Sarvadēvaṁ-maṭha | 103 of 1925 |

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---|-------------|
| 4. | -do- | Śankaradēvaṇ-araccālai | 159 of 1925 |
| 5. | -do- | Pañjanadivāṇaṇ-maṭha | 67 of 1926 |
| 6. | Tiruvilimiḷalai | Aḷagiya Tiruc-Cirrambala-
mudaiyāṇ-maṭha | 392 of 1909 |
| 7. | Śikāli | Tirumuṟait-tēvārac-
celvaṇ-maṭha | 158 of 1911 |
| 8. | Uṣāttānam | Kūttāḍu Nāyaṇār-maṭha | 218 of 1908 |

II. MAṬHAS WITH THE NAMES OF KINGS OR FEUDATORIES :

- | | | | |
|----|---------------|------------------------|-------------|
| 1. | Tirunaṇipalḷi | Arumolidēvaṇ-maṭha | 186 of 1925 |
| 2. | Oṟriyūr | Rājendra Cōlaṇ-maṭha | 132 of 1912 |
| 3. | -do- | Kulōttunga Cōlaṇ-maṭha | 200 of 1912 |
| 4. | Uḍaiyārguḍi | Rājendra Cōlaṇ-maṭha | 622 of 1920 |
| 5. | Uṣāttānam | Vāṇarāyaṇ-maṭha | 211 of 1908 |
| 6. | Vāliṣvaram | Virapāṇḍyaṇ-maṭha | 357 of 1916 |

III. MAṬHAS THAT HAD NĀYAṆMĀRS' NAMES :

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. | Tirumangalam | Paranjōti - matha | 246 of 1930 |
| 2. | Karkuḍi | Tiruvagiṣam - Rājendracōlaṇ-
maṭha | 467 of 1908 |

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 3. Madurāntakām | Tillaivāl Andanar -
maṭha | 404 of 1922 |
| 4. Tiruppugalūr | Nambi Tirumurugaṇ-
Tirumaṭha | 88 of 1928 |
| 5. Kaḷukkunṛām | Namināndi Adigal -
maṭha | 179 of 1894 |
| 6. Tiruvadigai | Vāgisa maṭha | 49 of 1903 |
| 7. -do- | Tirunāvukkraśadēvar -
maṭha | 382 of 1921 |
| 8. Tiribuvāṇai | -do- | 203 of 1909 |
| 9. Tirumaṇaṇjēri | Parasamayakōḷari-maṭha | 534 of 1918 |
| 10. Paḷaiyārai | Tiruñānasambandan-
Tirumaṭha | •
392 of 1908 |
| 11. Tiruviḷimiḷalai | Tirunāvukkaraśar-maṭha | 402 of 1909 |
| 12. Tiruppālai-
tturai | Tirunāvukkaraśadēvan-
maṭha | 583 of 1909 |
| 13. Viḷayamangai | Tiruttonḍattogaiyāṇ-
Tirumaṭha | 192 of 1929 |
| 14. Tirupputtūr
(P. C.) | -do- | 104 & 116 of 1908 |
| 15. -do- | Tiruñānasambandan-
Tirumaṭha | 129 of 1908 |
| 16. Aṛaiyaṇinallūr | -do- | 174 of 1935 |

17. Śengāṭṭangudi Śiruttōṇḍan-Tirumatha
76 of 1922
18. Valivalam Tirumūladevar-maṭha 116 of 1911
19. Kāñci Sundarapperumāl-maṭha
S. I. I. I. 87
20. Noḍiyūr Tiruñāna Sambandan-
Tirumatha 199 of 1932-33

IV. MAṬHAS WITH OTHER NAMES:

1. Āvaḍuturai Tiruvidi-maṭha 147 of 1925
2. -do- Pramānavāsagan-maṭha
155 of 1925
3. -do- Nārpattennāyiravan¹-maṭha
150 of 1925
4. -do- Peruntirūvaṭṭi-Aṇaccālai
71 of 1926

¹ It is learnt that there were forty-eight thousand Śivaṇadiyars in Madurai and were rendering Śivattonḍu (N. T. Prayer-22). 'The forty-eight thousand' was a group name like Tillai three thousand, Tirupperundurai, the three hundred; Tiruvākkūr, the thousand, Tiruvilimilalai, the five hundred; and these groups of devotees flourished at Cidambaram, Tiruvānaikkā, Tiruppavaṇam and other places and were doing Śivattonḍu. - Tak. P. K. 219 & its commentary. The fact that a dancing woman called herself 'Nārpattennāyira. Māṇikkam' shows the regard and piety she had towards the group. - 202 & 214 of 1929 - '30.

5. -do-	Munnūṟṟu Irupattu-nālvān ¹	158 of 1925
6. Drākṣārāmam	Paṇmāhēsvara-maṭha	344 of 1893
7. Aṇṇāmalai	Dhanmavāṇikar-maṭha	547 of 1902
8. Devarāyaṇpēṭṭai	Manuviḷangap-piḷḷaiperrāl-maṭha	278 of 1923
9. Cidambaram	Arapperunjelvic-cālai	266 of 1913
10. Sikāḷi	Tirumurait-tēvāraccelvan maṭha	158 of 1911
11. Veṇṇainallūr	Tiruvēdam-Aḷagiya-Tirumaṭha	35 of 1922
12. Tiruvāṭpōkki	Eḷunūṟṟuvan-Tirumaṭha	179 of 1914
13. Tirukkōḍika	Aiṇṇūṟṟenman-Tirumaṭha	60 of 1930
14. Tiruvārūr	Nālāyiravan-Tirumaṭha	477 of 1912
15. Caturvēdi-mangalam (P.C.)	Cōḷaṇ-vāśal-tirandāṇ-maṭha	312 of 1927-'8

¹The feeding house called 'Munnūṟṟirupattu-nālvān', named after the assembly of the village suggests the strength of its members to have been 24, - A. R. E. 1925, p. 83. Other group names also may be taken in the same sense. Inscription No. 73 of 1914 also suggests the same view.

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 16. Tiruppuṇṇambayam | Maṭha (Head-Āṇḍār
Kaṭivābarāṇar) | 353 of 1917 |
| 17. Tiruvālangāḍu | Vaṇṇāra-Mādēva-
Āṇḍān-maṭha | 93 of 1926 |
| 18. Tiruppugalūr | Maṭha-hospital attached | 97 of 1928 |
| 19. Kōṭṭūr | Matha (Head-Tiru
maḷigaippiccan) | 446 of 1912 |
| 20. Tiruvaiyāru | Maṭha (Head-Sadāśiva-
Bhaṭṭārar) | 121 of 1925 |
| 21. Tiruppālaivanam | Anbarkkaṭiyār-maṭha | 350 of 1928-29 |

Apart from these, there were maṭhas attached to the temples of Śaikkāḍu, Tiruvallam, Tirumudukunṇam, Kōyirkāḍu, Gōmal, Tiruppāmpuram, Āchuthamangalam, and Tiruviḍaikkaḷi etc.¹

GOMATHA OF THE KĀLAMUKHAS :

The Kālamukhas called Lakuliśa-Pāsupatas had their headquarters or their Ācārya Piṭha at Kārōhaṇa in Gujarat. It was already stated that they had settled in the Tamiḷ country from about the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. In the 10th century A. D. Vikrmama Kēsari, king of Kodumbāḷūr, built three

¹ 269 of 1911, 232 of 1921, 63 of 1918, 243 of 1925, 40 of 1925
86 of 1911, 409 of 1925, 276 of 1925.

shrines in his own name and in the name of his two wives, set up Śiva and presented a big maṭha to Mallikārjuna (a disciple of Vidyārāsi and Tapārāsi) who was the chief ascetic of the Kālāmukha sect, with 11 villages for feeding ascetics of the same sect. Since ruined Kannaḍa inscriptions are found in the place where their maṭha was situated, they might have come from the Kanarese country. The Kālāmukhas are to be seen largely in the Kannaḍa country during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas¹ though the state religion was Jainism.

The Kālāmukhas spread in Northern India and in the Deccan and founded many maṭhas. The GŌMAṬHA was one of them. The Paṇḍitas Śailarāsi and Nānarāsi, ascetics of that maṭha began to build maṭhas at Kaḷattūr and Ālakkōyil near Chingleput and lived there.² The sculptured figure of Parañjōti-Paṇḍita, another Kālāmukha ascetic is found on the wall of Ālakkōyil.³ The ascetics of the Gōmaṭha existed at Tiruvalaṅḡuli and Pandaṇainallūr and were doing services for the Śaiva religion.⁴

THE KAPALIKA MATHA AT TIRUVORRIYUR:

It was said previously that since the image of Kārāṇai Viṭangar was in worship at Tiruvorriyūr,

¹ 129 of 1907; A. R. E. 1908, pp. 75-'6. ² 352 & 357 of 1911

³ A. R. E. 1912, p. 60. ⁴ 192 of 1928; 74 of 1930-31.

the Kālāmukhas had influence there; but we find from the inscriptions that the Kāpālikas had greater influence in that temple in the time of the Cōlas. In the days of Kannaradēva (about A. D. 950), a certain descendant of a petty king of the Cēra country received moral instructions from Nirañjana Kuravar and established a maṭha for himself at Tiruvorriyūr with the title of Caturānana-Paṇḍita. He had much influence with Rājāditya and Kannaradēva. All the heads of the maṭha who succeeded him were only called 'Caturānana Paṇḍitas.'¹ They took part in the administration of the maṭha. "When Rājadhiraṇya II heard the reading of the Aḷudaiya-Nambi Śrī-Purāṇa referred to in the last chapter, there were with him Caturānana-Paṇḍita and Vāgiśa Paṇḍita (the expounder of Sōma-siddhānta - the doctrine of the Kāpālikas)" says an inscription.² "The philosophic drama Prabodha-chandrōdaya written by Kṛṣṇa-miśra about the middle of the 11th century A. D. introduces a character in the form of Sōma-siddhānta and depicts it as a horrible picture wearing garlands of human bones, living in burial-grounds, eating from skulls and practising the use of orceric collyriums to realise the true relation existing between the seen and the unseen. Again, the

¹ 368 & 371 of 1911; 211 & 246 of 1912. ² 371 of 1912; S. I. I. 5. 1358.

followers of the Sōmasiddhānta, otherwise called Kāpālikas, are represented to have offered human sacrifices to please their God Bhairava,¹ (one of the terrible manifestations of Śiva) and his consort and to have practically revelled in drinking and debauchery².....Sōma-siddhantha must have included the "Śakti worship in some form or otheronly on account of the association with the Kāpālikas, arrack and flesh were offered to Durqā enshrined there. It is clearly revealed that that custom was in continuous prevalence until recent times.³"

THE VIRA-ŚAIVA MATHA AT KUMBAKŌNAM.

It was said in the fourth chapter that the Virasaiva religion was prevalent in the days of Tirumūlar and "that religion, in the middle of the 12th century, was re-organised by Basava, the Prime Minister of Bijjala (1156-1170), king of Kalyāṇa in Kanara. The new sect was meant to give the Śaivas a more definite theology and a closer organisation and to win over the Jains especially to the worship of Śiva.⁴ Just as the Śaiva ascetics were called the 'Māhēśvaras', the Virasaiva ascetics were called the 'Vira-Māhēśvaras.'

¹ There is a separate shrine for Bhairava in this temple; I have visited this temple many a time. ² Refer to Mattavilāsam of Mahēndravarmān I. ³ A. R. E. 1912, p. 61. ⁴ M. R. S. I. p. 73.

“குடந்தையம் பதியில் கோதிலாப் பெரிய
மடந்தனில் வாழ்வீர மயேச்சுரர் வாழியே”

‘Long live the Vira Mahēśvaras that dwell in
the spotless big maṭha at Kumbakōṇam.’

These lines are from Takkayāgapparaṇi.¹ The author of this work, Oṭṭakkuttar belonged to the period of Vikrama Cōla, Kulōttuuga II, and Rājarāja II. Therefore it is known that there was in existence a Virāśaiva maṭha at Kumbakōṇam in the 12th century A. D., the age of Oṭṭakkūttar. Whether it was big in extent or was the head maṭha to many other branches, Oṭṭakuttār however calls it the ‘Big maṭha’.

ŚAIVA TEACHERS OF THE GŌḶAKĪ - MATHA.

Reference has already been made about this maṭha and its ācāryas in the Seventh Chapter. The members of this maṭha belonged to the Śaiva sects of Pāśupata, Laguliśa - pāśupata or Kālamukha. It was the Brahmacārins of this maṭha who learnt the Vēdas, Āgamas, Logic, etc., in the Gōḷaki maṭha. Since it was founded from the revenue of three lakhs of villages, hundreds of ascetics remained in that maṭha and had their learning. They belonged

¹ P. 309. This maṭha is the Vira-Śaiva maṭha on the Mahāmaha Tank (northern bank) - Dr. U. V. S. Iyer.

to the parts of Kashmir, Kāśi (Benares), Bengal, Kēraḷa and the Carnatic. Later, they spread to Kāśi, Tripurāntakam and the Tamiḷ country, and had maṭhas established in those places. Among them, those that were in existence in the southern country in the 13th century A. D. were a few. The ācāryas of these maṭhas belonged to the several santānas (சந்தானங்கள்). There were two santāna ācāryas at Valiśvaram, a neighbouring village of Ambāsamudram in the Tirunelvēli District. An ācārya called Pugalip-perumāḷ of the Nānāmirta-santāna read a work called 'TIRUÑĀNAM' in the temple.¹ Aghōradēvar of the same santāna was with him.² Aghōradēvar of Jeeyar-santāna of the Gōḷaki-maṭha was another person.³ The maṭhas of these ācāryas were patronised by the Pāṇḍya kings. The Gōḷaki-maṭha was in existence at Ārrūr in the Tiruccendūr taluk in A. D. 1250. Eleven disciples from many South Indian maṭhas had been appointed in the temple of that place to recite Tiruñānam. The heads of these many maṭhas belonged to many santānas. These were Ellaiyillādēvar of the Viśakaṇṭadēva-santāna, Mahādēva of the Baṭṭavira-santāna, Śivapādahṛidaya and Astradēva of the maṭha at Tiruvārūr, Rāvaḷar-Paśupatidēva of the Bikṣāmaṭha-santāna, Nilakaṇṭha of the maṭha at

¹ 359 of 1916. ² 361 of 1916. ³ 364 of 1916.

Madurai, Uyyakkonḍadēva of the Alagiyanāyaka-santāna at Tirunelvēli and Anukka-vaṇṇa of the maṭha at Tirunelvēli." It would be known from these details that the Gōḷaki-maṭhas had several santānas; that there existed Gōḷaki-maṭhas at Tiruvārūr, Madurai, Tirunelvēli and other places, and the Bikṣā-maṭha also belonged to the Gōḷaki-maṭha.

"In the absence of details about its author and date of composition, we are not in a position to say, what work is alluded to by 'Tiruñāna.' But it seems likely, that this was a work of considerable sanctity, composed probably by one of the canonized Śaiva saints.¹

If details are known about the maṭha established in the Deccan by Viśvēśvaraśambu of the Gōḷaki maṭha, we can understand to a certain extent in what condition were these maṭhas that were in existence in the Tamiḷ country." At Mantaram, he established a temple for the God Viśvēśvara, built a maṭha of the Śaiva puritans, one hospital and a feeding house, settled many Brahmanas, and called the village Viśvēśvara-Gōḷaki. The following persons were the occupants of the village and maṭha. There were three teachers to teach the first three Vēdas, five teachers for logic, literature

¹ A. R. E. 1929-30, p. 77.

and Āgamas, one doctor and one accountant. There were ten dancing women and eight drummers including two pipers for temple services; one Kashmir songster and 14 songstresses, 6 dancing women and Karadadrummers, 2 Brahmin cooks, 4 servants, 6 Brahmin servants for the maṭha and the feeding house. There were 10 village guards called Virabadras who came from the Gōḷa country; four other servants ready to sacrifice themselves for the protection of the village, 20 other Śaiva devotees who were also servants of the village and were known as Viramuṣṭi servants and had to do the duties of Goldsmith, Copper-smith, Mason, Bamboo-worker, Blacksmith, Potter, Architect, Carpenter, Barber and Artisan. Sixty families of Dravida Brahmins went and settled in the village. The students of the maṭha were the Kālāmukha school of Pāśupatas.¹ "

It can be known from the above details that there were teachers for imparting general and religious instruction, songstresses, dancing women, and pipers to foster music and dance, doctors and sundry workers.

THE ŚAIVA TEACHERS OF THE KÖLLĀ-MĀṬHA OF VARANĀSĪ:

These were those who belonged to the Santāna of Lakṣādyāya-Rāvaḷar who studied in the Gōḷaki-

¹ A. R. E. 1917, p. 124.

maṭha mentioned above. Among them, Ōmkāraśiva-Rāvaḷar, a disciple of Nānaśiva-Rāvaḷar flourished at Tiruppāśur in the time of Kulōttunga III; ¹ Isānaśiva-Rāvaḷar who was a disciple of Deśikēndra who belonged to the Santāna mentioned above, built a maṭha on Pirāṇmalai in the Pāṇḍya country and settled there. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍyan II granted lands to that maṭha.² "This Santāna continued to be in existence for a long time, for it is stated (Ins. 21 of 1891) that the Hoyasala king Vira-Rāmanātha erected a maṭha at Tiruvāṇaikkā to the Śaiva pontiff, Tatpuruṣa-Śivācārya, the expounder of the Śiddhānta and disciple of Svāmidēvar of the Santāna of Lakṣādyāya-Rāvaḷar."³

THE ŚAIVA TEACHERS OF THE BHIKṢĀ-MATHA OF VĀRAṆĀSĪ :

There is room to suppose that these also belonged to the Gōḷaki-maṭha.⁴ An inscription mentions that a Rāvaḷar of this maṭha flourished at Pandanainallūr in the time of Kulōttunga III.⁵ About A. D. 1281, Mudaliyār Śaivapparakāśar of Rājendram, who was the Śivācārya of the Bhikṣā-maṭha established a maṭha at Tirupputtūr and became its pontiff. It was called the Śaivapparakāśaṇ-maṭha.⁶

¹ 111 of 1930. ² 209 & 211 of 1924. ³ A. R. E. 1929-'30, p. 80.

⁴ 178 of 1935-36; A. R. E. 1935-36, p. 82. ⁵ 72 of 1930-'31.

⁶ 164 & 173 of 1935-36.

Since an inscription says, that there was in existence a Bhikṣā-maṭha at Dēvikāpuram, (North Arcot District) in the time of Krishnadēvarāya, and that its head was Īśānaśivācārya,¹ and since the Śaivācāryas of this maṭha were in existence at Maṇappaḍaiviḍu in the Tinnevely District, it can be said that the ācāryas of this maṭha remained in, at least, some of the parts of the Tamiḷ country for long and rendered religious service.²

RAJA-GURUS OF CŌLA KINGS :

Since the Cōla kings were very zealous Śaiva devotees, it will be proper to suppose that they were Śivanaḍiyārs (Śaiva devotees) who had received Dikṣā as related in the Tirumandiram. If it were so, there must have existed Rāja-gurus occupying the place of ācāryas. Just as Madana of the Gouḍa country was the Rāja-guru of Ārjunavarma, the Paramāra king.³ Īśānaśiva Paṇḍita was the Rāja-guru of Rājarāja I.⁴ Sarvaśiva-Paṇḍita was the Rāja-guru of his son, Rājendra.⁵ A certain ācārya mentioned with respect as Gurudēvar by Rājādhirāja I is found in the inscriptions.⁶ Kulōttunga I, according to his Gurudēvar's words, granted a Brahmadēya to 108 Caturvēdi bhaṭṭas.⁷ Svāmidēvar

¹ 352 of 1912. ² 443 of 1909; A. R. E. 1935-'36, p. 82.
³ D. H. N. I. Vol. 2, p. 897. ⁴ S. I. I. 2. 90. ⁵ Ibid. 20. ⁶ 413 of 1902. ⁷ 301 of 1907; Cōlas, Vol. 2, part I. pp. 221-2.

Śrīkaṇṭha-Śiva who flourished in the days of Vikrama Cōla might be his guru. Sōmēśvara alias Īśvaraśiva, son of Śrīkaṇṭha Śambhu was Kulōttunga III's Rāja-guru. He was well versed in the Śaiva-Darśana and the 18 Vidyā and has expounded the greatness of Śiva according to the Upaniṣads. He was also the author of a work called Siddhānta-Ratnākara.¹ It was he who was called 'Svāmīdēvar'. The influence they exercised with the Cōla kings may be learnt from the fact that this Svāmīdēvar altered the order issued by the king, appointing two priests to the temple of Tirukkaṇṭavūr and appointed two others in their places and the king approved this.² Rājārāja's guru, Īśvaraśiva was the author of the work SIDDHĀNTA-SĀRAM. Trilōcana Śivācārya was the author of SIDDHĀNTA-SĀRĀVALI. In the gloss to the Siddhānta-Sārāvali, it is said that Rājendra I brought from North India Śaivācāryas and colonised them in the Tamiḷ country. Since the names ending with 'Śambu' and 'Śivan' are found mostly with the Śaivācāryas of the Gōḷaki-maṭha from the tenth century, and, since the pontiffs of the Gōḷaki-maṭha alone were the Dikṣā Gurus of the Kālacuris, the Kākatiyas, the Mālvas and the Telugu Cōlas in the days of the Tamiḷ Cōlas, it will not be wrong to suppose that the Rājagurus of the Cōlas were the Śaivācāryas of the Gōḷaki-maṭha.

¹ 190 of 1907; A. R. E. 1908, pp. 67-8. ² 40 of 1906. 35 S. I. I. 3 p. 22; A. R. E. 1908, p. 68.

SMALL SCULPTURED FIGURES OF 108 ŚAIVĀCĀRYAS are found carved in a row in the Rājarājēśvaram at Dārāśuram. Among them, the following names of some are found inscribed:

24. Nāṅgūruḍaiyān Mādivar alias Tatpuruṣaśiva.
25. Seyyapādattan Nān.....alias Aghōraśiva.
26. Ponnambalattār of Nallāvūr alias Iśānaśiva.
33. Āyampūruḍaiyār alias Sadāśiva.
34. Candrasēkhara, Kāvaramangalamuḍaiyār alias Ānandaśiva.
35. Tirumaṇaikkāḍaiyār, Āiyūruḍaiyār alias Iśānaśiva.
39. Vērkūḍaiyār alias Tatpuruṣaśiva.
40. Sivakarunālaiyār, Korrangūḍaiyār alias Iśānaśiva.
54. Māldēvar, Maṇṇakkūḍaiyār alias Vairākkiyaśiva.
55. Vaḍugakkūḍaiyār Ānandakkūttar alias Iśānaśiva.
70.Sadāśiva.
100. Ponnambalakūttar alias Dharmaśiva.
107.Peruvēlūr-kilavar alias Dharmaśiva.
108. Maḷavaccavuḍaiyār-Tiruccemponpalli Uḍaiyār.¹

Since the figures of these Śaivācāryas have been carved as sculptures in the temple built by Rājarāja II, we can take these to be the renowned acāryas in the days of the Cōlas. Some among may be the figures of the Rāja-gurus mentioned

¹ C. K. P. p. 106; S. T. Vol. 26, p. 468.

previously. It is not known for certain whether these ācāryas remained in the maṭhas, or lived separately. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the Śaiva religion flourished also so well in the Tamil land by these ācāryas and the Rāja-gurus mentioned above.

THE TAMIL ŚAIVA MATHS.

The Santāna of the Mudaliyārs of Tiruccattimurram.

About the first part of the 13th century A. D., some new maṭhas arose. The most important of them was the TIRUṆĀNA SAMBANDAN-MATHA at Tiruccattimurram. TIRUCCATTIMURRATTU-MUDALIYĀR was one of the descendants of the Santāna of ANDAR-PARUDIPPERUMĀL. The Branch maṭhas belonging to his santāna sprang up at Āṇaikkā, Uśāttānam, Viḷimilalai, and Valivalam. The Siṣyas of Namaśivāya-Dēvar who belonged to the Tiruccattimurattu-Mudaliyār-Santāna lived in the Nārpattennāyiravan-tirūmaṭha at Tiruvāṇaikkā.¹ Paripūraṇa Śivācārya of the santāna of the Mudaliyār mentioned above was the pontiff of the Kūṭṭāḍu Nāyaṇār-maṭha at Uśāttānam.² Tavapperumāl alias

¹ 586 of 1908. At present it is Śankarācārya's maṭha - ARE. 1909. pp. 104-'5. ² 218 of 1908.

Āṇaśivācāryar granted land to the Āṇiagiya-Tiruccirāmbala Mudaliyār-maṭha at Viṇimilalai.¹ Sōmanāthadēvar alias Edirioppilādār of the same santāna was the pontiff of the Tavapperumāl-Tirumaṭha that was at Valivalam.²

THE SANTĀNA OF THE MUDALIYĀRS OF MĀḷIGAI-MADAM:

There was a maṭha called 'Māḷigai-madam' at Tiruvidaimarudūr. It is not possible to say when it was founded. But in the days of Rājarāja III (about A. D. 1240), Dattan-Uḍaiyar-Īśānadēvar of the santāna of Māḷigai-madattu-Mudaliyār was at Nallūr. His Siṣyai granted him a maṭha and lands.³

Perumbarrappuliyūr-Nambi says that his spiritual guru was Vināyaka, who was a disciple of Venkāḍar, the pontiff of the Māḷigai-madam at Tillai.⁴ Most probably, Nambi might have flourished after the Cōḷa period.⁵ But anyhow, it is gathered from this that there existed a Māḷigai-madam at Tillai in the time of Nambi. A certain pontiff of this Māḷigai-madam has been offered invocation in the prefaces of the later works, i.e., the Vēḍāranya purāṇa and the

¹ 392 of 1908. ² 108 & 109 of 1911; ARE. 1911, p. 75. ³ 49 of 1911; ARE. 1909, p. 75. ⁴ N. T. Invocation, v. 23. ⁵ T. Poḷil 14, pp. 81-88.

Tirukkāṇappēr Purāṇa.¹ It is clear from these invocations that the ācāryas of the Māḷigai-maḍam were well-versed in the Śaiva scriptures.

THE SANTĀNA OF THE MUDALIYĀRS OF ŚENBAIKKUDI :

There existed a maṭha called ĀṇḍĀR-EMBIRĀṆĀR-TIRUMADAM at Tiruvāṇaikkā in the days of Rājendra III (at about A.D. 1250). It belonged to the Santāna of the Mudaliyārs of Śenbaikkudi.² Similar to the branch maṭha of the Santāna of the Mudaliyārs of Tiruccattimuṇṇam at Tiruvanaikkā, there existed also in the place a maṭha belonging to the Santāna of the Mudaliyārs of Śenbaikkudi. Possibly its head maṭha was in existence at Śenbaikkudi.

THE ĀCĀRAMAḶAGIYĀN-TIRUMADAM AT TIRUVĀRŪR AND ITS BRANCHES:

A maṭha called Ācāramaḷagiyaṇ-tirumaḍam was in existence at Tiruvārūr in the time of Māṇavarman (about A. D. 1236). Its branch with the name of Tiruñāna Sambandaṇ-tirumaḍam existed at Tirupputtūr, in the Paṇḍya country. Its pontiff was Śrikanṭhaśiva. These were also the maṭhas of the Mudaliyārs.³ There was a maṭha called Tiruḷṭoṇḍattogaiyān-tirumaḍam at Gōvanda-puttūr in the time of Rājendra III. It had a branch at

¹ N. T. Int. p. 20. ² 584 of 1908. ³ 129 of 1908, ARE. 1909 p. 104.

Tillai.¹ At about A. D. 1280, there was a maṭha at Tirupputtūr in the Pāṇḍya land, with the same name.²

THE SANTĀNA OF MARUDAPPERUMĀL:

One Namaśivāyadēvar of the santāna of Marudapperumāl built in about A. D. 1230 the Śruttanḍan-tirumaṭha at Sengāṭṭanguḍi. Land was granted to it.³ The head maṭha of this Santāna is not known.

ŚAIVA MAṬHAS FROM LITERATURE:

Till now, information regarding the maṭhas referred to in the inscriptions were dealt with. Now, let us consider about the maṭhas that we come across in the Śaiva Siddhānta Works. R. Gapinatha Rao says, that Meykaṇḍadēva of Tiruveṇṇainallūr mentioned in the inscription of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai might himself be the Meykaṇḍadēva, the author of Śiva-Āna-bōdam, and that he flourished in A. D. 1232.⁴ Tiruviyalūr-Uyyavanda⁵-dēva Nāyaṇār composed TIRUVUNDIYĀR, a Śaiva Siddhānta Work, before Meykaṇḍār's Śiva-Āna-bōdam. Tirukkaḍavūr-Uyyavanda-dēva-Nāyaṇār, a

¹ 192 of 1929. ² 104 of 1908. ³ 76 of 1922. ⁴ S. T. Vol. 3, pp. 189-'90. ⁵ In the inscription of A. D. 1213, since the name 'Palaṇḍavāyaṇ Uyya Vandāṇ' is found (149 of 1932-33), the name 'Uyyavanda dēvar' is the name that was in vogue in those days. Please note this.

student of his disciple, wrote another Śaiva Siddhānta Work called TIRUK-KALIRUPPADIYAR. The Śaivācārya of Meykaṇḍā's father was one ARUṆANDI ŚIVĀCĀRYAR who was in the Tirutturaiyūr maṭha. In his old age, he became the first disciple of Meykaṇḍār. Considering these details, it is revealed that there must have existed in this country, Śaiva Siddhānta maṭhas at Tirutturaiyūr and Tiruviyalūr even prior to Meykaṇḍār. In the reign of Kulōttunga II (A. D. 1115) Śivānanda-Mahāmuni was renowned.¹ Since Śivānanda-Mahāmuni also was undoubtedly a great Śaiva like Parasamaya-kōḷari Mahāmuni who wrote the Kannivana Purāṇa in the reign of Kulōttunga I, since Aruṇandi Śivācārya lived at Tirutturaiyūr itself in the later days and since he was the spiritual guru of many disciples and was very old in the time of Meykaṇḍār, there is room to suppose that he might have been a disciple of Śivānanda-Mahāmuni mentioned above.

Meykaṇḍār had 49 disciples. Among them, Aruṇandi-Śivācārya was the first and foremost. He is the author of Śiva-Nāna-Śittiyār and Irupā-Irupahdu, both Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras. Another student of his called MANAVĀSAGAM KADANDĀR wrote a Siddhānta work called UṆMAI-VILAKKAM. The foremost among the students of ARUṆANDI

¹ 380 of 1908.

ŚIVĀCĀRYA was MARAI-ÑANASAMBANDAR. He stayed at Tillai and rendered religious service. It is his disciple UMĀPATI ŚIVĀCĀRYĀ, who is the author of eight Śaiva Siddhānta works, namely Śivaprakāśam and others. He established a maṭha at Korravaṅkuḍi and gave Śaiva Siddhānta lessons to many.¹ Considering the facts that from the time of Meykaṇḍār, his disciples spread far and wide in the country, established maṭhas and began to foster the Śaiva religion, that many of the Mudaliyār maṭhas mentioned above sprang up suddenly at several places in the 13th century in which Meykaṇḍār flourished, that when Meykaṇḍār was born, Nīlakaṇṭha Bhashyam, Śankara Bhashyam, Rāmānuja Bhashyam, Madhva Bhashyam, the commentaries to Brahma Sūtra spread in the country and created religious confusion in the land, and that Meykaṇḍār was born only to repair that confused state and to establish the true Śaiva Siddhānta.² There is every possibility to suppose from the above that the different kinds of Śaiva maṭhas mentioned above might have been those founded by the disciples of Meykaṇḍār.³ The following statement of the scholars of inscriptions confirm our supposition :

¹ S. C. pp. 17-31. ² Ibid. pp. 6-7. ³ There was a maṭha called Meykaṇḍa-Santati-maṭha at Villiyāṅūr in the days of the late Nāyaka. In it, a disciple of Meiñāna-Māmuṅi of Tiruvakkarai was the pontiff. - 206 & 207 of 1936-37.

"..... Śaivism thus appears to have gradually grown stronger and stronger under the patronage of the Cōla kings so that in the beginning of the 13th century, we notice a number of maṭhas presided over by Śaiva Sanyāsins, spreading their influence over a pretty large portion of the Tamiḷ country. All this must have been in spite of the teachings of the great Advaita philosopher Śaṅkarācārya whose doctrines are well known. The philosophical expositions of the Advaita teacher do not exclude the methods of pious devotion to be practised in the first stages of spiritual development, but insist on strict adherence to the paths of Karma as laid down in the Śāstras. The Śaiva creed, on the other hand, does not appear to have paid much attention to Śāstric Karma but, taking unsullied devotion to Śiva as its basis, it received into its fold all classes of people without any distinction of caste. This catholicity of the Śaiva faith rendered it not very popular with the orthodox Brahmins, but the non-brahmin classes eagerly took to it and at the beginning of the 13th century, as stated already, it was apparently very influential with its centres, in many places..... The maṭhas of the Śaiva Sanyāsins called Śivayōgins (177 of 1908) or Mahēśvaras (164 of 1908) were mostly named after the famous Brahmin Śaiva Saint, Tiruñānasambandar and the

non-brahmin saint Tirunāvukkarāṣar.¹” Tiruvāvaḍu-
turai Adhinam was founded by Namaṣivāya Dēṣikar
who belonged to the holy line of the first set of
disciples of Meykaṇḍār and the Dharmapuram Maṭha
was established by Nānasambanda Dēṣikar of the
same line.² We see that both of these looked after
the administration of many temples; in addition to
that, they ran many institutions which imparted
general and specific religious instructions. We may
also suppose that the ancient Tamil maṭhas were
maintained on similar lines. From the facts that
there were men and women branded with the sign
of the trident to work in temple,³ and that at one
time 36 persons were sold as slaves to the maṭha,⁴
we learn that a number of persons were required to
do service and look after the different kinds of work
in the maṭha. Therefore we can infer that many
matters associated with religion were attended to in
the maṭha.

“From about the tenth century, it became a
very common feature to attach maṭhas to temple.
These institutions wielded great influence and in
a majority of cases held control over the affairs of
the temples. Pilgrims from abroad found a ready
residence in them. They served a useful purpose

¹ ARE. 1909, p. 103. ² S. C. p. 17. ³ 76, 216-219, 409 of 1925
and 91 of 1926. ⁴ 90 of 1926.

as teaching disciplinary institutions. They maintained teachers for several ŚāstrasIt is thus quite clear that the maṭha, besides controlling the affairs of the temple, and providing boarding and lodging to devotees, were important centres of educational activity and spiritual instruction.¹"

"Not only devotees and helpless people, but also those suffering from sickness received help in some maṭhas. Sometimes even animals were attended to in similar institutions, and an instance from the Kēraḷa country has been cited.²"

GUHAIS:

From the time of Kulōttunga III, it is learnt that a kind of maṭhas called GUHAIS were in existence. The following deserve mention among them:-

- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Tirutturaippūṇḍi | Guhai | 471 of 1912 |
| 2. Kuṟukkai | Tiruñānasambandaṇ - Guhai | 233 of 1917 |
| 3. Śikāli | Tirumuraṭ - tēvārāccelvāṇ -
Guhai | 10 of 1918 |
| 4. Tiruviḍaiivai | Tiruttōṇḍattogaiyāṇ -
Guhai | 10 of 1918 |

¹ ARE. 1923, p. 110. ² ARE. 1928-29, p. 78.

5. Tiruppugalūr	Guhai.	87 of 1927
6. Tirumākālam	Polisāttalagiyāṇ - Guhai	24 of 1917
7. Tirumaṇañjēri	Ālalasundaraṇ-Guhai	28 of 1914
8. Muṇiyūr	Tiruñānasambandaṇ - Guhai	153 of 1911
9. Cidambaram	Guhai	48 of 1935-36
10. Caturvēdi- mangalam (Rm. Dt.)	Tiruñānasmbandan. Guhai	311 of 1928

These guhais were mostly built inside the Śiva temples; were well-guarded; their pontiffs (heads) were Śaiva ascetics who were well-versed in Tirumuṇais. Ascetics with the name of Tirucciṇṇambalamuḍaiya Mudaliyār, Tavaṣi Tambirāntōlar, Pugalivēndar and Hirudayadēvar were the heads of some guhais. There lived in the Śikāḷi guhai one named Mudaliyar-Tiruvaiyāruḍaiyār. His disciples were experts in reciting the Tirumuṇais accompanied with Paṇ (பண்). They recited the Tirumuṇais in the guhai in the temple of Tiruviḍaivāi. In some guhais were fed persons called Tavaṣigal, Āṇḍārs and pilgrims. In the 22nd year of Kulōttunga III's reign (about A. D. 1200), a riot called 'Guhai-idi-kalaham' arose. It is not known



Candikēswarā



Kailasanathar Temple, Kāñci
Linga

by whom and why it arose¹ or whether it was limited to Tirutturaippūṇḍi alone or spread throughout the country. But it is evident from the inscriptions that guhais increased in number only in the period that followed Kulōttunga III.

“Maṭhas and Guhais which were mentioned previously did serve as more or less important centres for the promotion of learning - religious and secular-in the Tamiḻ language. We may be certain that then, as now, it was one of the principal tasks of the maṭhas to train the bands of choristers who sang the Tiruppadiyam in the temples.”²

NĀYAṆMĀR'S NAMES BORNE BY THE PEOPLE:³

The life-history of the Nāyaṇmārs who rendered religious service and disappeared, in the days of the Pallavas spread well in the land, in the period of the Cōlas by the Tiruttoṇḍattogai, Tiruttoṇḍar-Tiruvandādi composed by Nambiyāṇḍār Nambi, Tiruttoṇḍar-Purāṇam composed by Śēkkiḷār and the Śaiva Tirumuṇais. Images of the Nāyaṇmārs were

¹ “Guhai-iḍi-kalaham must have been instigated by the Brāhmaṇas against the non-Brahmanical Śaiva-maṭhas. It is not likely that these latter were altogether suppressed; for in the time of Rājaraḷa III and subsequently, they flourished under the patronage of the ruling chiefs and private individuals.” - A. R. E. 1913. p. 112.

² Cōlas, Vol. 2; part I, pp. 470-1. ³ Since it is not possible to allot a separate chapter for this part, this is included here.

worshipped in the temples; and festivals took place in their honour. It comes to light from the inscriptions that the common people had known the names and the lives of the Nāyanmārs well and that they had named their children after their names and felt happy. For want of space, we mention here a few names only :

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. Alagan Nānasambandan | 216 of 1912 |
| 2. Pugalivēndan | 97 of 1916 |
| 3. Parasamaya - Kōlari-Māmuni | S. I. I. 7. 752 |
| 4. Vāgīsar | 98 of 1926 |
| 5. Tiruveṅgāṭṭu - Nangai | 412 of 1922 |
| 6. Mūrkkān Iyāraṇ | S. I. I. 2. 94 |
| 7. Paravai - Nangaiyār | 680 of 1917 |
| 8. Paravai - Nangai alias Vanṇondattādi | 520 of 1921 |
| 9. Kaṇṇappan | S. I. I. 5. 468 |
| 10. Būdi Mādēvaḍigaḷ (Queen of Kannaradēva) | 356 of 1903 |
| 11. Puḡaḷttunai Aḍigaḷ | 168 of 1904 |
| 12. Cēndan-Kāri | 151 of 1937 |
| 13. Amarapuyangan alias Kōṭpuli - | Sentamil 17, p. 316 |
| 14. Arivāl-Tāyan | 70 of 1897 |
| 15. Śakti Araiyar | 49 of 1918 |
| 16. Cēramān - tōlar (an ascetic) | 87 of 1928 |
| 17. Ālālasundarap - Pallavaraiyan | 375 of 1918 |

18. Nāvalnr - Uḍaiyān	381 of 1924
19. Arūran Ponnambalattadigaḷ (Queen of Uttama - Cōla).	47 of 1925
20. Nambi Ārūran	275 of 1917
21. Aṇukka - Vanṇonḍan	524 of 1938
22. Tirucciṇṇambalam-Uḍaiya-Nambi	72 of 1927
23. Kalayan Kumaran alias Tambirān tōlan	216 of 1925
24. Cēramān-tōlan Tirunilakanṭhan	27 of 1914
25. Daṇḍi Aḍigalār	236 of 1926
26. Tirunilakanṭhan	67 of 1919
27. Ilayān-Kuḍi-Kiḷavan	376 of 1909
28. Paraṇjōti alias Aghōraśivan	172 of 1911
29. Śiruttonḍa Nambi	S. I. I. 3. 209
30. Nambi Kaliyan	503 of 1922
31. Tillai-Mūvāyira Vēlān	455 of 1902
32. Kunguḷiyakkalaya Nayanār (an ascetic)	40 of 1914
33. Sivaṇānasambanda Talaikkōli (A dancing woman).	231 of 1932-33
34. Māṇikkavāṣagan	258 of 1911

PLACES WITH NAYANMĀR'S NAMES :

1. Kannappadēvar Kāmugantōppu	125 of 1922
2. Tiruṇānasambanda Nallūr	180 of 1925
3. -do- Mangalam	376 of 1918
4. Tirunāvukkaraiya Nallūr	380 of 1918

Apart from this, do not the following names show the regard the people had towards the Tiru-ttonḍattogai and the other Tirumuṟais.

1. Tēvāran Aḷagiyāṇ	228 of 1929
2. Aṇḍār Tirut-ttonḍattogaiyār	174 of 1931
3. Tirumuṟait-tēvāraccelvaṇ	10 of 1918
4. Tirut-ttonḍattogai Nallūr	346 of 1911
5. -do- Mangalam	54 of 1906

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS THAT BORE THE NAMES OF THE GODS:

In the same manner, the people of those days, chose to name their children, places and other things after the numerous names of the Lord Śiva and his consort. A few of them are given below:-

1. Poṇṇambalattaḍigal	47 of 1925
2. Āḍavallāṇ (name of a measure)	S. I. I. ii. 65
3. Śivaṇ-Tillaināyagaṇ	S. I. I. 3. 209
4. Tirucciṟṟambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ	374 of 1918
5. -do- (Temple maṇṭapa)	214 of 1911
6. Maṇḍandai-bāgaṇ	258 of 1911
7. Sivalōka-nāthaṇ	217 of 1912
8. Paḍampakkanāyagaṇ	98 of 1912
9. Embirāṇār-maṭha	584 of 1909
10. Maṟaikkaḍaṇ Patanjalī	87 of 1935

- | | | |
|---|---|----------------------------|
| 11. Ponnambalakkūttan | } | T. Poḷil, 12
pp. 297-'8 |
| 12. Tiruvudaiyān Kōtaṇḍan | | |
| 13. Tiruvāḷan Mūvēnda Vēḷan | | |
| 14. Tillai-Vidi-Viṭangan (name of a
measure) | | 21 of 1922 |
| 15. 'Āṭkoṇḍa' Nācci (daughter of
Kōpperuñjingan) | | 480, 481 of 1921 |
| 16. Vidi Viṭangan | | 185 of 1936-37 |
| 17. Tirukkālattidēṇ (son, of Manuma
Siddarasa) | | N. I. R. 8 |
| 18. Aṟamvaḷarttāl Sāni (a Śiva-brāhmaṇa
lady) | | 227 of 1929 |
| 19. Namaśivāya | | 141 of 1925 |
| 20. Īsāna - manglam | | 324 of 1903 |
| 21. Vidi - viṭanga Caturvēdi Mangalam | | 179 of 1925 |
| 22. Tillai - vitanga Nallūr | | 373 of 1918 |
| 23. Tāyan Candrasēgharan | | 374 of 1918 |
| 24. Dhakṣinā murti Baṭṭan | } | 377 of 1918 |
| 25. Mādēva Baṭṭan | | |
| 26. Tirunattan | | |
| 27. Śivadēvan | } | 381 of 1918 |
| 28. Vira - battiran | | |
| 29. Rishabadēvan | | |
| 30. Sadāśivan, Sivakkolundu Sirālan, Eḍuttapādam
Tillaikkaraṣu. Pennōrbāgan. Aiyāran, Tillaikkūttan'
Ambalattādi - S. I. I. II. 65. | | |

31. Pērambalakkūttan	353 of 1928 - 29
32. Kacci Ēkamban	405 of 1928 - 29
33. Vaṇḍuvārkūḷali	194 of 1927 - 28

The Dēvāṣiriya maṇṭapa which was the cause for the composition of Tiruttonḍattogai, and, the Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaḍi that is in existence at Cidambaram come to be used as names of persons and nāli (measure):

1. Dēvāṣiriyaṇ (name of a measure)
69 & 89 of 1918
2. Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaḍi - Nambi.¹ (About A. D. 1175)
(Name of a person). 496 of 1929-'30

The Śaivas of those days did not confine themselves to these names. With the habit of having read the Tirumuṟais very well, it is revealed from the inscriptions, that they respected the phrases which were used by the Nāyānmārs, and used them as the names of persons, places and others and felt happy. A few of them are given below;

¹It was already stated that Meykaṇḍār belonged to the first part of the 13th century A. D. The Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstra called Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaḍiyar is a work that preceded him. Tradition says that it was kept on the Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaḍi and valued as a good work, (S. C. p. 33). The name mentioned here was in vogue in about A. D. 1175. Therefore, the people perhaps chose its name or the name of the step (considering its sanctity) as the name of their children and called them by these names.

1. “ சிவாய நம வென்று நீறணிந்தேன் ”
 Appar, p. 141, v. 6.
 (Sivāya Namavenru Nirāṇindēn)
 “ நீறணிந்தான் சேதிராயன் ” 291 of 1912
 (Nirāṇindān Cēdirāyan)
2. “ நச்சுவார்க் கினியர் போலும் நாகையிச் சரவ னாரே ”
 Appar, p. 100 v. 1.
 (Naccuvārk-kiṇiyar pōlum Nāgai-iccaṇavanārē)
 “ நச்சினார்க் கினியன் தில்லையம்பல மூவேந்த வேளான் ”
 S. I. I. 6. 34.
 (Naccinārkkiniyan Tillaiyambala Muvēnda Velān)
3. “ மழபாடி வயிரத் தூணே என்றென்றே நானரற்றி ”
 Appar, p. 396. 1-10
 (Maḷapāḍi VAYIRATUNĒ Enṇenṇē Nānararṛi)
 “ ஆணைமங்கலம் உடையான் பஞ்சநதி வயிரத் தூண்
 பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட,” S. I. I. 5. 632.
 (Āṇaimangalamuḍaiyan Pañcanadi VAYRATTUN
 pakkal Vilaikonḍa)
4. “ மறையணி நாவினாளைமறப்பிலார் மனத்து ளானை ”
 Appar, p. 91, v. 1.
 (MARAIYAṆI NĀVINĀNAI maṇappilār
 maṇattulāṇai)
 “ பெருமருதூர் மறையணி நாவினன் பட்டன் ”
 S. I. I. 5. 634
 (Perumarudūr MARAIYAṆI NĀVINĀN Baṭṭan).

5. “ஆன சொல் மாலை யோதும் அடியார்கள் வானில்
அரசாள்வர் ஆணைநமதே”

-Sambandar. p. 362, v. 10.

(Ānacol mālaiyōdum Adiyārgal vānil
araśālvar ĀṆAI NAMADĒ)

Nambiyāṇḍār Nambi who had praised the phrase
“ஆணை நமதே” (ĀṆAI NAMADĒ), in his, ‘Āluḍaiya-
Pillaiyār-tiruttogai’, has spoken of Sambandar as
“ஆணை நமதென்னவலான்” (Ānai - namadenṇa - valan)
(line 45). From the inscriptional phrase
“பட்டமுடையார் ஆணை நமதென்ற பெருமாள்”
(Paṭṭamuḍaiyār Ānai nama-denṇa Perumāḷ) (S. I. I.
8. 442), it could be known, how far these
two attracted the common people and they were
induced to name their children after them.

6. “பொன்னூர் மேனியனே புலித்தோலை
யரைக்கசைத்து” - Sundarar, p. 78-1.

“(Ponnār Mēṇiyanē Pulittōlai Araikkasaittu)

“பொன்னூர்மேனி விளாகம்” (Ponnār Mēṇi Viḷakam)
S. I. I. 5. 632.¹

7. In Tiruviḍaimarudūr Mummaṇikkōvai, Paṭṭinattār
has mentioned as “வித்தகப் பாடல் முத்திறத்தடியர்”
(Vittagappāḍal Muttirāt-taḍiyar) (v. 28). In an
inscription of Tiruppuṇambayam, is found the phrase

¹ Aṟivuraippāmpoḷil, pp. 13-17.

“முத்திறத் தடியர் அமுதுசெய்தருளத் தானம்”¹

(Muttirat-taḍiyar amudu seitaruḷat-tānam).

8. “மும்மையால் உலகாண்ட மூர்த்திக்கும் அடியேன்”
- Tiruttoṇḍattogai.

(Mummaiyaḷ Ulakāṇḍa Mūrtti).

This name was inscribed beneath the niche in which was found the image of Mūrtti Nāyaṇār in the Iḷangōyil at Kaḍambūr.

9. In the days of Kōpperuñjinaṅ (A. D. 1216-56) there was a pair of silver bugles at the Tiruveṇṇai-Nallūr temple, with the phrase “பிச்சு
னென்று பாடச் சொன்னான்” (Piccaṇenru Pāḍac-
conṇān). This phrase refers to an event in Sundarar’s life - Taḍuttāḷkoṇḍa Varalāru. This has been dealt with in detail in the Periya-Purāṇam.

10. Numerous are the ever-burning lights that have been granted to the temple of Tiruk-
kaḍavūr by the people of the Cōḷa period. It would be rare to come across a temple which has been granted so many lamps.

¹ T. Poḷil. 16, p. 343.

“ விரும்பினல் விளக்குத் தூபம் விதியின விடவல் லார்க்குக்
கரும்பினிற் கட்டி போல்வார் கடலூர்வீ ரட்டனாரே.”

(Virumbinal Vilakkuttūpam Vidiyināl Idavallārkku
Karumbinir Kaṭṭipōlvār Kaḍavūrvī-Raṭṭanārē).

Those lamps must have been granted only on the consideration of the words of Appar quoted above.¹ It deserves to be mentioned that even today, it is the prevailing custom to light one lakh of lamps in that temple once a year.

¹ Ibid, 23, p. 60.

X. ŚAIVA LITERATURE UNDER THE CŌLAS.

THE TWELVE TIRUMRAIS:

Of the Śaivat-tirumuṛais, twelve in number; the first eight were composed by Sambandar, Appar, Sundarar and Māṇikkavāṣagar. The tenth Tirumuṛai is the Tirumandiram. All these belong to the Pallava period. The hymns sung by Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, Aiyāḍigal, Cēramāṇ Perumāl, Nakkira-dēvar, Paraṇadēvar, Kapiladēvar, and Kallāḍadēvar included in the eleventh Tirumuṛai also belong to the Pallava period. The works of Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi comprised in the eleventh, the Tiruviśaippā hymns of the ninth, and Periya-Purāṇam the twelfth Tirumuṛai belong to the period of the Cōlas.

THE NINTH TIRUMURAI consists of hymns composed by nine āḍiyārs. Each hymn is called a 'Tiruviśaippā.' These nine āḍiyārs are:- Tirumāligait-tēvar, Cēdanār, Karuvūrttēvar, Pūndurutti Nambi-Kāḍa-Nambi, Kaṇḍarādittar, Vēṇāṭṭaḍigal, Tiruvāli Amudanār, Puruḍōttama Nambi and Cēdirāyar.

(1) TIRUMĀLIGAITTĒVAR, one of the above nine, belonged to the Māligai-maṭha of

Tiruvīḍaimarudūr.¹ He has composed four Tiruvīṣaippā hymns about Tillai alone. (2) CĒNDAÑĀR dwelt at Tiruvīlimiḷalai. It is said that, when he was at Tillai, the temple car stopped at a certain place and he caused it to move by singing the Tiruppallāṇḍu. He has composed three Tiruvīṣaippā hymns on Tiruvīlimiḷalai, Tiruvāvaḍuturai, and Tiruvīḍaikkaḷi and one Tiruppallāṇḍu on Tillai. It is he, who has mentioned that there flourished 'the three thousand' at Tillai, and 'the five hundred' at Tiruvīlimiḷalai.² (3) KARUVŪRTTĒVER was of Rājarāja I's time. He was a great Siddha and helped in fixing the linga firmly in the 'avuḍaiyār' at the time of the consecration of the great temple at Tanjore. His samādhi is in the prākāra of the temple.³ He has sung ten tiruvīṣaippā hymns on the ten shrines namely, Tillai, Tirukkalandai-Ādityēśvaram, Kiḷkkottūr-Maniyambalam, Tirumukattalai, Tirailōkkiya - Sundaram, Gangaikoṇḍa - Cōlēśvaram, Tiruppūvanam, Tiruccāṭṭiyakkudi, Taṇjai-Rājarājēśvaram and Tiruvīḍaimarudūr. (4) PŪNDURUTTI NAMBI-KĀḌA-NAMBI was born at Tiruppūndurutti. He has sung two Tiruvīṣaippā hymns on the two shrines at Tiruvārūr and Tillai. He has referred in his hymns to the Nāyanmārs - Kaṇampullar, Kaṇṇappar, Āmūr Tirunāvukkaraśar, Sambandar,

¹ T-9, Int. p. 3. ² Ibid. p. 120, v. 9. ³ C. K. P. pp. 53-4.

Cēramāṇ Perumāl and Sundarar in high laudatory terms.¹ (5) KAṆḌARĀDITTAR, the Cōla, was the son of Parāntaka I. It was his queen Śembiyaṇ Mahādēviyār who had rendered Śaiva tiruppaṇis on a very large scale. Kaṇḍarādittar has composed only one Tiruviśaippā and that on Tillai. He has mentioned that his royal father covered the roof of the Śiṟrambalam with gold.² (6) VĒNĀṬṬADIGAḶ belonged to a part of Southern Travancore (Vēl-Nāḍu). He has also sung one Tiruviśaippā on Tillai alone. (7) TIRUVALI AMUDAṆĀR was a native of Tiruvāli, a neighbouring village of Śirkāḷi. He has sung four hymns of Tiruviśaippā on Tillai alone. His taste for Tamil and his knowledge of the art of music can be known from his words, “தென்னன் தமிழும் இசையும் கலந்த சிற்றம்பலம்”³ (Tillai wherein flourish the Tamil language of the Pāṇdyas and the Tamil music). (8) PURUṢŌTTAMA NAMBI had contributed two hymns of Tiruviśaippā on Tillai alone. (9) The kings of Tirukkōvalūr alone had borne the title ‘Cēdirāyar’.⁴ Therefore it would be proper to think that the author, like Meypporuḷ Nāyaṇār of the Pallava days, was the king of Tirukkōvalūr, under the Cōlas. He has also sung one Tiruviśaippā on Tillai. The Tiruppallāṇḍu work of Cēndanār mentioned above, is at the end of the ninth Tirumuṟai.

¹ T-9, pp. 175-6. vv. 2-5. ² Ibid. p. 180, v. 8. ³ Ibid. p. 191, v. 2.

⁴ S. C. p. 24.

What could be the reason that many of these hymns included in the ninth Tirumurai are on Tillai mainly? Tillai was renowned then, as the place wherein the divine dance of Pañca Krityā takes place. All Śaiva works mention Tillai as superior to all other shrines. In addition to that, the Cōlas from the time of Parāntaka I, took special interest and beautified Tillai in many ways and claimed the Lord of Tillai as their family deity. These made Tillai prominent in the days of the Cōlas. It is on these accounts and of its innate holiness as the seat of Śiva, Tillai was sung so largely by the authors mentioned above.

THE ELEVENTH TIRUMURAI. Of the eleventh Tirumurai, only four of the works composed by Iḷamperumān-Adigaḷ, Adirā-Adigaḷ, Paṭṭinattupillaiyār, and Nambi-Āndār-Nambi belong to the Cōla period. A few details regarding each of them are given below :-

1. IḷAMPERUMĀN-ADIGAḷ :

The term 'perumān Adigaḷ' in the Tēvāram refers to Lord Śiva; in the inscriptions it refers mostly to pious Crowned King.¹ Iḷamperumān-Adigaḷ means a pious prince. There is no possibility to know to which dynasty this royal devotee belonged. He has

¹ 17 of 1899.

sung one Mummaṇikkōvai on Śiva. All the thirty hymns containing in this work are highly devotional.

2. ADIRĀ-ADIAL:

There is room to suppose that the word 'Adirā' may mean unperturbed or firm (அதிர்-Perturb, அதிரா-unperturbed). His work 'Mūṭṭa Piḷḷaiyār-Tirumummaṇikkōvai' is on Vināyaka. Only 23 hymns of the 30 composed by him are available.

3. PAṬṬINATTUPIḶḶAIYAR:

He was a native of Tiruveṇkāḍu of Kāviriṭṭuppaṭṭinam. His five works are - (1) Kōyil-Nānmaṇimalai (2) Tirukkaḷu-mala-Mummaṇikkōvai, (3) Tiruvidaimarudūr-Mummaṇikkōvai, (4) Tiru Ekambamuḍaiyār tiruvandādi, (5) Tiruvorriyūr-Ōrupā-Ōrupahdu. In the Kōyil-Nānmaṇi-mālai, the following lines:-

“..... நின்
தமர் பெயர் எழுதிய வரிநெடும் புத்தகத்
தென்னையும் எழுத வேண்டுவன்”¹

are also captivating ("I request you to take my name also in the list of your bhaktas"). Sambandar, drinking the milk of nāna, is related in the Tirukkaḷumala-Mummaṇikkōvai.² In Tiruvidaimarudūr-Mummaṇikkōvai the deeds of other religionists and

the life of the Śaivas are dealt with.¹ In the same *kōvai* is related vividly Varaguna's piety towards Śiva.² Candiśar, Śiṟuttonḍar, Śākkiyar, Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and Māṇikkavāṣagar also have been praised.³ Tiruvēkamba-muḍaiyār Tiruvandādi is mostly similar to Kṣettirakkōvai composed by the authors of Thevarams. The most valuable portion of 'Orupā-Orupahdu' is that which speaks of Śiva as being the god worshipped by every religionist and of his accepting him as his devotee.⁴

4. NAMBI-ĀNDĀR-NAMBI :

It was stated previously that he compiled the Tirumuṟais at Rājarāja I's request. He has also composed ten other minor works. Among them, six pertain to Sambandar. They are:- (1) Sambandar - Tiruvandādi, (2) Sambandar - Tiruccanbai-Viruttam, (3) Sambandar-tirumummaṇik-kōvai, (4) Sambandar-tiruvulāmālai, (5) Sambandar-tirukkalambakam, and (6) Sambandar-Tiruttogai. All the incidents of Sambandar's life are referred to in these six works. (7) Some important events of Appar's life are found in TIRUNĀVUKKARAŚAR-TIRU-ĒKĀDAŚAMĀLAI. (8) In KŌYIL-TIRUP-PANNIYAR - Viruttam, have been mentioned Kaṇṇappar, Cēramān, Sundarar, Śākkiyar, Adipattar,

¹ V. 19. ² V. 28. ³ vv. 25 & 28. ⁴ v. 2.

Kalikkāmar, Māṇikkavāṣagar and Varaguṇapāṇḍya and others.¹ (9) VINĀYAGĀR-TIRU-IRATTAIMAṆI-MĀLĀI contains 20 verses. (10) TIRUTTONḌAR-TIRU-ANDĀDI is a work based on the Tiruttonḍattogai, but dealt with in an elaborate manner. In it are found hints regarding events in the stories of the 63 Nāyaṇmārs and the nine Togai-Aḍiyārs. This was the most important source for Śēkkiḷār's Periya-Purāṇam

THE TWELFTH TIRUMURAI :

This is a great Kāvya describing the life history of Sundarar in detail and of the aḍiyārs mentioned in his Tiruttonḍattogai. It contains about 4250 verses. This is the only first work in kāvya form written in the Tamiḷ country in connection with the Śaiva religion. The sources of this work are the Tirumurai, facts come down by tradition, other minor works like the Tillai-Ulā which mention the lives of the Nāyaṇmārs, Buddhist and Jain religious works, inscriptional evidences and architecture and paintings which throw light on the lives of the Nāyaṇmārs. This work is not a translation of any other work nor dealing with an event that took place in the life-time of the author. It is the life-story of the sixty-three Nāyaṇmārs who flourished

¹ vv. 20, 40, 68; 31, 32, 40, 54, 58 & 62.

prior to him from about A. D. 300 to 900. The Nāyanmārs lived in many countries extending from Kampili in the north to Madurai in the south and were spread over a long period of time and belonged to several communities. We could understand from a study of the Periya-Purāṇam, that the author Śēkkiḷār, did not entirely rely on the facts of the birth and other events related about them in the Tirumuṟais and other works prior to him, but made personal visits to all such temples visited by them, and personally enquired to get all available facts about them.¹ If the author had not related about Guṇabhara-Īśvaram in the Appar Purāṇam and of the invasion of Vātāpi in the Śiṟuttoṇḍar Purāṇam, there are, no other sources of information to determine the date of Appar and Sambandar. Śēkkiḷār was a devout Śaiva; a great scholar; in addition to these, he was the prime minister of Anapāya Cōḷa. And in consequence, we find in this work a rare combination of classical taste, historical sense and the doctrinal knowledge of Śaiva-siddhānta interspersed throughout this great 'kāvyā'.

It deserves to be noted that it is the only Tamiḷ Kāvya after Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai composed by a Tamiḷ poet, about the Nāyanmārs of the Tamiḷ land, in the reign of the Tamiḷ Cōḷa

¹ Vide the Author's P. P. A. and C. K. S. Mudaliyār's Śēkkiḷār.

kings. In this work are given in detail the manners and customs of the people of many castes, - beginning from the Brahmins and ending with the Paraiyas-their mode of speech, the divisions of the country, its sub-divisions, the manner in which the country was ruled, the doctrines of Jainism, Buddhism and Śaivism and other similar matters. The information that could be gathered from this work could not be found in any other work of the Cōla period. It contains the history of the Pallava period, the condition of the country, that of the language and the state of the Śaiva religion. We are really fortunate in having such a work. The work as such reveals Śēkkiār's knowledge of literature, grammar, the Tirumuṟais, the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy, and of the many kinds of sciences and arts like music, dance, medicine and astronomy.¹ An elaboration of these will occupy more space if dealt with in detail.² Sculptural images came to be set up for the 63 Nāyanmārs only after this work was written; shrines came to be dedicated to them also, and festivals conducted in their honour increased in number. The several temples and the Cōla inscriptions found in them bear witness to the above.

¹ Vide P. P. A. Chap. 11. ² Vide the several volumes of commentary published in parts by Śivakkavimani C. K. S. Mudaliyar. If such a detailed commentary is required for this work, its worth and greatness can be inferred.

TAKKAYAGAPPARAṆI :

Takkayāgapparaṇi was composed by Ottakkūttar, the author of Mūvar-Ulā. As we learn of the tiruppaṇis and the Śaiva zeal of Vikrama Cōla, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II from the Mūvar-Ulā, so we gather some details of the Śaivism of the Cōla period from the Takkayāgapparaṇi. The deeds of the followers of Bhairavam find mention in this work. The Bhairavas worshipped Durgā, by offering their heads as sacrifice, any they chanted the Bhairavi mantra.¹ The idea that Sambandar was an incarnation of Muruga was, perhaps, prevalent in the days when Takkayāgapparaṇi was composed. Details regarding Sambandar's vanquishing the Jains, and of their voluntarily impaling themselves are mentioned.² Facts about Śaiva-āgamas, the six sub-sects of Śaivism, and the characteristics of Śivayōgins are also given.³ Facts that Śuddha Śaivas alone were Māheśvaras, and that they converted others into the Śaiva fold by stamping the symbol of the trident on their bodies, and raised Śaivas to the level of the Māheśvaras by imprinting on their bodies the symbol of the axe (உரு) are also mentioned.⁴ This work and its commentary are very illuminating.

¹ K. 51. ² KK. 182, 185, 170, 218; 169-220. ³ KK. 79, 194, 791. ⁴ KK. 567, 367 & 487.

KALLĀDAM.

Its author is Kallādar. We can say that he belonged to the 13th century A. D.¹ In order to announce to the world the greatness of Tirukkōvaiyār, sung by Mānikkavāṣagar, he has selected 100 verses from it and has composed 100 agaval verses containing the ideas of those verses in this work. This work as such deserves to be called only a 'Kōvai-Nūl.' The author also mentions in these verses, the Sixty-four divine sports (திருவிநாயாடல்) of Śiva. Since there is no evidence to show that Nambi-Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal belongs to the period of the Cōlas,² the Sanskrit work called the Uttara Purāṇa alone which narrates the Tiruvīḷaiyāḍals must have been written prior to him. We may say that he mentioned the Tiruvīḷaiyāḍals from that work.³ Since the style of the poems of this work is difficult, those who read this are very few in number. In each verse, Lord Śiva's Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal is mentioned. The hearts of those who do not bring good fortune; those who do not remember the sacred feet of Śiva are persons of bad conduct; Śiva is all-pervading; He possesses the eight qualities; His all-knowledge which makes Him all-knowing, having complete control of all

¹ T. Poḷil, 12, p. 316, (article by T. V. S. Pandarattar). ² Ibid. 14, pp. 81-88 (article by T. S. Desikar). ³ Ibid. 12, pp. 318-19 (article by E. R. N. Ayyangar)

things; being all graciousness, boundless strength, having no form, the quality of having no bonds, the quality of faultlessness, and absence of ugliness. Many religious doctrines,¹ such as these have been referred to in many places of this work.

TILLAI - ULĀ :

This work mutilated and unfinished has not been printed so far in book form, but portions of it have appeared in *Tamiḻ Poḻil*.² The work describes the 'Ula' of Kūttappirāṇ of Tillai. Though it is a work which pertains to Tillai, it speaks of only Tiruṇīṟuccōḷa and does not mention the names of the tiruppaṇis of the members of his dynasty. As such, it may be, that it was composed in the time of Tiruṇīṟuccōḷa. The Ulā says that, in Lord's Ulā (festive procession), Tiruṇīṟuccōḷa went on horse back in front of the procession, then followed the images of Cēramāṇ Perumāḷ, Varaguṇa and the four Nāyaṇmārs in chariots; and behind these came the Lord of Tillai. That the daily worship in the temple was performed at Tillai in accordance with the Ādi-Śivāgamas, and that on every gold tile (பொன் னுரு) of Śīrāmbalam, the sacred five letters, 'Śivāya Namaḥ' had been inscribed³ deserve mention. The rare deeds about the four religious teachers,

¹ vv. 1, 13, 36, 64 and 85. ² Vols 12 & 13. ³ KK. 6-8 & 42.

Cēramāṇ perumāl. Kōṭpuli, Śiṛuttoṇḍar and Caṇḍiṣar are also mentioned in this work.¹

THE ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA ŚĀSTRAS:²

They are fourteen namely, (1) Tiruvundiyaṛ, (2) Tirukkaḷiṛuppaḍiyaṛ, (3) Śiva - Nāna - bōdam, (4) Śiva - nāna - śittiyāṛ, (5) Irupā - Irupahdu, (6) Uṇmai-Viḷakkam, (7) Śiva - prakāśam, (8) Tiruvaruṭpayan, (9) Vinā - Venba, (10) Pōṛippahroḍai, (11) Koḍikkavi, (12) Neṇjuviḍu - tūdu, (13) Uṇmai - neṛi - Viḷakkam, (14) Sankaṛpa-Nirākaraṇam. Considering the space limits of the thesis, a few leading thoughts are dwelt of each hereunder :

1. TIRUVUNDIYĀR: The author of the work is Tiruviyalūr Uyyavandadēvar³ - an earlier author than Meykaṇḍār of the first half of the 13th century. The work contains 45 triplets, giving concisely some truths of the Śaiva Siddhānta as realised by himself. They give the nature of God, soul, and Matter, means of realising Godliness and the state of salvation or freedom.

¹ KK. 66, 90-6, 130, 109-110, 157-8, 197-202, 167 & 216-7

² Of Umāpatiśivam's eight works Sankaṛpa-Nirākaraṇam was the last and possibly dated A. D. 1313. We are not in the know, when the other seven works were composed. They could not be left out as outside the period by A. D. 1300 (fixed for this thesis) as the whole fourteen Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras have to be called as a whole for a study of the Śāstras. Hence a small account of them also is given in this chapter. ³The date of this work might be A. D. 1147. - Siddhānta Śāstram 2nd ed. p. 669.

NATURE OF GOD :

God transcends all words and thoughts. Naturally, He is free from the bonds of mala, is un-knowable, and yet manifests as grace to save the souls. As a result of this graciousness, God assumes forms though Himself is formless. By His five fold activities, He subjects all souls to Creation, Preservation, Destruction, Obscuration, and granting Grace (அருளல்). He is beyond bhāvana or conception; He is beyond the reach of human intellect. Like a robber who remains unnoticed and prepares for thieving, God keeps Himself unnoticed and purifies the souls by dhyāna, mantra, and Śiva-Vēdam (சிவவேடம்). When the souls attain a final stage of maturity, He manifests Himself as Guru, performs dikṣā, imparts true knowledge, rewards them for their good efforts, and by bestowing His characteristics places them in the state of Mukti.¹

NATURE OF SOUL :

Souls are many. They are tied down by bonds. At the stage of Mukti, they stand freed from mala. These are souls in absolute 'niṣṭai.' They have stemmed over the ocean of births. They view with the eyes of Nāna; they embody love and

¹ vv. 1, 5, 9, 12, 13, 20 & 22.

compassion, and as a consequence possess strength to know God, and they remain as Souls only, though they have attained 'Śiva-hood.'

MEANS TO ATTAIN THE SIVAHOOD :

Earnest endeavour to attain freedom from mala, unforgetfulness of the love towards Śiva, and unfailing thoughts of Śivam are the means to attain the Śivahood. Diversion of thoughts of the world towards Śiva Himself is rendered possible by these means. Worship becomes determined and rooted. At this stage, Śiva appears as Guru, performs Dikṣā and imparts 'Śiva-nānam.' And as a result the soul inhibits in mind the Śiva-Śakti.²

STATE OF MUKTI :

It is indescribable ; transcends all heights of knowledge. It is the bliss experienced by those who have been bestowed with His grace and those who attained this stage are known as Tondars or Aḍiyārs. Even in the waking state they live in that high and pure divine state. To them worldly pleasures transform themselves into heavenly bliss (பேரின்பம்). They appear like mad. Nevertheless their thoughts and lives are fixed always on the Supreme³

¹ vv. 2, 3, 7, 11 & 36. ² vv. 8, 10, 14-16, 18-19, 21, 23, 25, 27-8, 34, 37-40. ³ vv. 4, 6, 29, 30, 31, 33-5.

2. TITUKKAḶIRUPPADIYAR: This is also a work anterior to Śiva-Āṇa-bōdam. Its author is Uyyavandadēvar of Tirukkadvūr, a disciple's disciple of the author of Tiruvundiār.¹ The work contains 100 quatrains (வெண்பா) of remarkable sentiments and expressions. This is a poetical commentary of Tiruvundiār. The work takes its name from the fact that it was found placed on the Tirukkoḷiruppaḍi of Śirāmbalam.² The work elucidates the distinction between hard deeds of love (வல்வினை) and soft deeds of love (மெல்வினை) illustrating from the lives of the 63 Nāyanmārs. Certain Śāstric truths are expounded by similies. The fact that certain of the quotations embody certain Kuṟaḷ verses adds greater value.³

NATURE OF GOD :

Supreme God appears in the two-fold form of Śiva and Śakti. This signifies the fatherhood and

¹His date might be A. D. 1177 - Siddhānta Śāstram, 2nd ed. p. 669. ²S. C. p. 33.

“சார்புணர்ந்து சார்பு கெடவொழுகி னென்றமையாற்
சார்புணர்தல் தானே தியானமுமாம் — சார்பு
கெடவொழுகி னல்ல சமாதியுமாங் கேதப்
படவருவ தில்லைவினைப் பற்று, ” - v. 34.

“வேண்டுங்கால் வேண்டும் பிறவாமை என்றமையால்
வேண்டினஃ தொன்றுமே வேண்டுவது - வேண்டினது
வேண்டாமை வேண்டவரு மென்றமையால் வேண்டிடுக
வேண்டாமை வேண்டுமவன் பால்.” - v. 45.

motherhood of all creations.¹ Like the colour of gold, which is static, whether as in a jewel or in a nugget, God pervades throughout the world in the Advaita form, which is neither single nor dual.² He assumes a form, from His own grace, as we get salt out of the ocean water. Of these many forms that of a Guru is most to be welcomed. As the clouds after carrying water from the seas, pour over the earth pure water, the Guru imparts his teachings out of his sacred experiences.³ Such teachings are also imparted through His inspired Aḍiyārs. Such inspired talks are from Śiva Himself and not from the Aḍiyārs.⁴ Though the cowdung itself, a mala, is capable of purifying all malas, the divine inspired Guru in human form is capable of freeing⁵ his disciples from the cycle of births.⁶ As one standing aloft buffeted by the waves, cannot know the depth and width of the oceans, one who had attained His grace, cannot be said to have known all about Him⁶

NATURE OF SOUL :

The soul with divinely inspired knowledge has a true perpespective of itself and its master. After realisation, the soul, though bound down in a body, roams about as one, who is devoid of life, and does not attach itself in worldliness again, since imbibed

¹ v. 1. ² v. 79. ³ v. 90. ⁴ v. 66. ⁵ v. 7. ⁶ v. 90.

in Śivam.¹ As the river water once mixed with the sea and back again mixes with the river by the high tide cannot be bereft of its saltishness, so are the organs of sense and action of the Śiva-realised souls, though they may be in the midst of worldly malas.² Their unattached attitude is compared to the tongue of a bell.³ Crystal reflects the colour of its object kept close to it, but not its own, and likewise the soul identifies with the world in the state of bondage and with God on realisation.⁴

MEANS FOR REALISATION :

Caryā, Kriyā, Yōgā and Nāna are the four paths leading to realisation. Considering Him as the soul's guide, performances of pūjā, dhyāna, recitals of hymns and dances in ecstasy are known as 'soft deeds of love' (மெல்வினை).⁵ Śiṛuttoṇḍar's cutting his own son for offering to Bhairava, Caṇḍiśar's chopping off his father's legs and Arivāḷ-Tāyar's beheading himself are called as 'hard deeds of love' (வல்வினை).⁶ Image worship and dhyāna (fixing the mind on the six Ādhāras) go by the name of Ādhāra-yōga. To fix the mind in God as the mighty expanse of space and identify one-self with Him is known as the Nirādhāra-yōga.⁷ The five letters - (the Pañcākṣara) have the effect of revealing Him, God,

¹ v. 47. ² v. 11. ³ v. 32. ⁴ v. 97. ⁵ vv. 16-18. ⁶ vv. 18-20
⁷ v. 22.

who is beyond the Nāda Tatva should be realised through the direction of the sound of the tinkling Śilambu of the Lord heard at the end of the yōga.¹ To say that, 'I am Brahman' is only a state of illusion.² To see god in all lives, worshipping it as such, to bathe god in the water of love and offer himself as an unwithered flower, are the means to get rid of births.³ Path of knowledge and that of love are the two ways quite fitted to end births.⁴

NATURE OF ATTAINED SOULS :

Āḍiyārs are those who had attained realisations. As the seed of the banyan has all the potentialities of the tree within itself, so are the Āḍiyārs, who have realised within themselves the grace abounding of the God.⁵ God knows the real worth of His bhaktas and the bhaktas that of their Lord. Kaṇṇappar and Kāḷatti-Appar are striking examples to illustrate this truth.⁶ To say that God could be netted by bonds of love is revealed by the fact of the Lord's acceptance of food offered by Cēdanār.⁷ To one who practises the path of Nāna, there are no limitations of time, place and the like.⁸ Śiva-Nāna and Śiva-yōga are as seed and its sprout.⁹

¹ vv. 25 & 33. ² v. 85. ³ v. 44. ⁴ v. 100. ⁵ v. 57. ⁶ v. 52.

⁷ This is perpetuated even to this day by the offering of Ragi-Kaḷi (களி) to Natarāja on the Ārudra Day and which is known as 'Cēdanār Amudu' (சேந்தனார் அமுது). ⁸ vv. 27-30. ⁹ v. 57.

3. SIVA-ÑĀNA-BŌDAM:

It is by far the most important of the 14 Siddhānta Śāstras. It is a systematised and logical account of the Siddhānta doctrines in Tamil. Its author is Meykaṇḍār, a vellāla of Tiruveṇṇainallūr. The work is of verse and prose and comprises of 12 sūtras and 81 quartrains. Some scholars think that the sūtras are translations of Sanskrit verses found in Raurava Āgama.¹ Swamy Vēdāchalam, K. Subramanya piḷḷai and other Tamil scholars think that it is an original work by itself.² Mr. M. Balasubramanya Mudaliyār, the President of the Śaiva Siddhānta Mahā Samājam, has brought out a brochure giving 120 reasons to show that this Tamil work is an original one.³ It was stated in the previous chapter that Meykaṇḍār lived in the earlier part of the 13th century A.D. He received the initiation from Parañjōti Māmunivar.⁴ Meykaṇḍār analyses his 12 aphorisms under four sections; Pramāṇa-Iyal (Determination), Ilakkaṇa-Iyal (characteristics), Sādhana-Iyal (Means), and Payaṇ-Iyal (Fruit or result).

Pramāṇa-Iyal determines the existence of three categories Pati, Pāsam, Paṣu in 3 sūtras; Ilakkaṇa

¹ Cōlas II, P. I. p. 538 including foot-note No. 43. ² S. C. pp 45-73; M. S. pp. 11-27. ³ Each copy of the brochure costs only two annas. ⁴ M. S. p. 9.

Iyal explains their natural characteristics; Sādhana Iyal dwells on the efficacy of the means that the souls have to choose for realisation, Lord's appearance as Guru and His Upadēśa or benediction and the sacredness of Pañcākṣara in creating a steadfast tendency in souls attaining mukti; Payan-Iyal speaks of the removal of Pāśa, attainment of Śivahood and the routine of the daily life affairs of pure souls, and means of retaining Goodhood.

PRĀMANA-IYAL :

The first sūtra determines the existence of God that such Being is Śiva, and that is He who causes the involution of matter, and recreates it. The Second sūtra proves how God stands in identity with soul in a non-dual form and how He operates Karma or law of retribution to cause births and deaths to souls as a result of mala-bandha. The third sūtra speaks of the existence of soul, as one which knows the non-existence (குனியம்), as one which stands apart from body, the sense organs, the astral body and the breath of life, and as one who needs somebody to make it know things, and as one which knows by standing apart from all inner instruments.

ILAKKANA-IYAL :

The soul is one which stands apart from Chittam, Manam, Ahankāra and Buddhi. From immemorial

times it lies bound down to Ānava-mala. The outer and inner senses and the soul remain as minister and King. The state when all instruments or tatvas operate and co-operate in action is known as the wakeful state (நனவுநிலை). When some of the senses have ceased to function, the state is dreamy (கனவுநிலை). And when some more of these senses do take rest, that is known as the state of sleep (உறக்க நிலை). And when all the senses leave the soul alone, it is the state of deep sleep (பேருறக்க நிலை). When the consciousness of the soul's existence gets lost, it is known as the state of sub-consciousness (உயிர்ப்பு அடக்கம்). All these find mention in the fourth sūtra. Like the senses knowing not themselves or the soul, which guides them, the soul does not know itself or the God that guides it. This is related in the fifth sūtra. The sixth sūtra gives the true significance of the terms 'Sat' and 'Asat'. Sat exists eternally and undergoes no change, and hence God alone could come within its definition. Śaiva Siddhānta recognises the three-fold factors of God, Soul and Matter (முப்பொருள்) as 'Sat' eternally existent, Soul and Matter become 'Asat' as they are subject to changes. To distinguish their true content, they are expressed as Śiva-Sat (சிவ சத்து), Sada-Sat (சதசத்து), and Sada-Sat (சடசத்து).



Tower in Sanctum Gangai-konda-Cōlēsvaram

SADHANA-IYAL :

The special characteristic of the soul is that it assumes the quality of that which it associates. It is capable of knowing the matter which is Asat and God which is Sat. It is also capable of leaving off Asat, and associate with Sat. This finds fully explained in the seventh sūtra. The eighth sūtra relates that God takes the form of a Guru, imparts nāna-upadēśa to deserving souls and bestows on them His bliss. The ninth sūtra states that those who had attained the bliss should utter the Pañcakṣāra and preserve their state of nāna.

PAYAN-IYAL :

The tenth sūtra relates how the souls which had attained the state of nāna stand united with God and are out of the evil force of Pāśa. The eleventh sūtra states how God is helpful to the soul to know the state of mukti, and enable the soul to realise it also. The twelfth sūtra narrates how Jivan Muktas desire of freeing themselves from mala, desire the association of Adiyārs and worship the Śiva-vēdam and the Śiva temples.

4. ŚIVA-NĀNA SITTIYĀR : The author of this and the next work Irupā-Irupahdu is Aruṇandi, reputed in tradition to have been first the guru

of Meykaṇḍār's father and then the disciple of Meykaṇḍār himself. Śittiyār is almost a commentary on Śiva-Āna-bōdam. It is divided into two main parts, Parapakkam and Supakkam. PARAPAKKAM is based on the simple prefatory apologia verse of Śiva-Āna-bōdam and SUPAKKAM describes in 12 chapters, the 12 sūtras of Śiva-Āna-bōdam.

Those faiths which did not owe allegiance to Śaiva Āgamas were known as Puṛaccamayās, and those which had no leanings towards both vedic and Śivāgama tenets as Puṛap-puṛaccamayās. The latter are Lōkāyata, the four kinds of Buddhism (Soutrāntikam, Yōgasāram, Mādhyamikam and Vaipāḍikam), and the two kinds of Jainism (Nikantavādam and Ājivakam). The puṛac-camayās consist of the two kinds of Mimāmsa (Bhaṭṭācāryam and Prabhākaram), the four kinds of Ēkānamavādam, (Saddabrahma-vādam, Māyā-vādam, Pārakarya-vādam- and Kṛītabrahma-vādam) and Pāñcarātra of the Vaiṣṇavas. The object of Parapakkam of Śittiyār is to state the relative merits of all the foregoing sectarian philosophies with those of the Śaiva Śiddhānta, and to establish its breath, where-ever there were any variances. This division consists of 301 verses.

Supakkam, as it elaborates the twelve sūtras of Śiva-Āna-bōdam, is not dealt with here again. This part consists of 328 verses. The excellence

of Śittiyār is proverbially known as, "There is no God above Śiva, and no book above Śittiyār," and also by the commendations of Tāyumanavar.¹

5. IRUPĀ-IRUPAHDU: This is a work of 20 verses by the above author. It is in the form of questions put to his Nāna-Guru and his answers therefor elucidating Siddhānta doctrines. The work treats of the eight characteristics of Ānava (ஆணவத்தின் எண்வகை இயல்பு), of the seven of Māyā, and of the six of Karma.² There are expository treatments in the work of certain metaphysical phrases found in the Tēvāram hymns, as "காண்பாரார் கண்ணுதலாய் காட்டாக்காலே,³" "உன்னில் உன்னும் உன்னாவிடில் விட்டிடும்".⁴ The expression of Appar's Tiruttāṇḍagam verse beginning "இரு நிலனாய்த் தியாகி"⁵ and Sambandar's "ஆட்பாலவர்க்கருளும் ஆதி மாண்பும்"⁶ given in the work are par-excellence. This is almost a highly commendatory work on the excellence of Meykaṇḍār.

6. UNMAI-VILAKKAM: This is a short treatise of 54 verses. Its author is said to be Tiruvadigai Manavāsagam-Kaṇḍandar, one of the

¹ "பா திவிருத் தத்தாவிப் பார்விருத்த மாகவுண்மை
சாதித்தார் பொன்னடியைச் சாருநான் எந்நாளோ?"

— Eṇṇāḷkaṇṇi, Guru-marabū-Vaṇakkam, v. 5.

² v. 4. ³ v. 2. ⁴ Tēvāram, Swāminātha Paṇḍitar edition, p. 1244.

⁵ Appar, p. 510, v. 1. ⁶ Sambandar, p. 511, v. 4; v. 2.

49 disciples of Meykaṇḍār. The author expounds in his work, the truth of the sacred Āgamas. It speaks about the nature of 36 Tatvas, Āṇava, good and bad karmas, Soul, God and Pañcākṣara.¹ The verses are in the form of questions addressed to the teacher Saint Meykaṇḍār and answers elicited from him.

THE WORKS OF UMĀPATISIVAM.

1. ŚIVAPRAKĀŚAM is an expository allied work to Śiva-Āṇava-bōdam. In its preface are given details of the line of the Tiruk-Kaiyilāya Ācāryas, the nature of Śaiva Works, and lucid details of the many kinds of Dikṣās. In the apologia is lucidly given, as how best to get truths after a study of available materials. The author's opinion is that none should be taken as good, as they are old, and none condemned as they are new.

The work consists of 100 verses. It describes the nature of non-dualism as one of body and soul, and the vision of Sight and the light of the sun and the like;² also of āṇava, karma, the way in which the result of the karma manifests, and the divisions of māyā.³ It also relates the excellence of Siddhānta-Mukti, over those of other systems.⁴

¹ vv. 4-22, 23-6, 27-9, 30-44. ² v. 7. ³ vv. 20, 28, 21 & 22.

⁴ v. 50.

2. TIRUVARUṬPAYAN is made of couplet verses and of ten chapters of ten couplets each. The first chapter which deals with the nature of Pati is styled as Pati-mudu-nilai (பதிமுதுநிலை), as those of the successive chapters as Uyiravai-nilai, Iruṇmala-nilai, Aruladu-nilai, Aruluru-nilai, Ariyunerī, Uyiravai-viḷakkam, Inbuṟu-nilai, Aindeḷut-taruḷ-nilai and Aṇaindōr-taṇmai.

3. VIṆĀ-VEṆBĀ consists of 13 stanzas. The matter is in the form of questions asked of the Guru, Maṛaiṇāna Sambandar, and of the answers given by him. He delights in expressing how God has manifested in himself and of the various religious experiences felt by him. Both darkness and light cannot meet together, as one diminishes when the other manifests.¹ But it is indeed surprising that God the very incarnation of Nāna - the light - exists in me who is an incarnation of Aṇṇāna - the darkness. Those who are bereft of the knowledge of the Seer, the sight and the seen attain salvation or the state of mukti. Stanzas containing the above two deep and minute thoughts are much appreciated.²

4. PÖRRIPPAHRODAI VENBĀ is a short work of 100 lines. Umāpatiśivam herein praises his Guru for giving him the Śiva-ṇāna and Śivānubhava.

He deals with the Lord's Paranilāi,¹ his five-fold actions,² the nature of ānava-mala,³ the help He renders to the Soul to remove the mala with the help of the body, the sensory organs, worldly pleasures and the like,⁴ the difficulties which the soul undergoes while in embryonic stage and in worldly life,⁵ the result of his karma in the life beyond,⁶ the state of maturity of the soul, i.e. Iruvinaiyoppu (state of the soul in which it takes an attitude of perfect equanimity towards meritorious or sinful deeds), Mala-paripākam (stage of the soul when its three malas meet with the causes of their removal), and Śakti-nipāta (Settling of the Divine Grace in the Soul when it is ripe),⁷ the Lord's showing His grace to the three kinds of souls,⁸ the soul's perfected condition (சிவபேற்றின் நிலை) after having attained Śivañānam by practices of the four paths of Caryā, Kriya and others,⁹ the indignity of the thought that "I am Brahman"¹⁰ and the bliss of Śiva-mukti of the Śaiva Siddhānta system.¹¹

5. KODIKKAVI is a small work of 4 quatrains. The verse that speaks to the Space being one for both light and darkness is illuminating.¹² The last

¹KK. 1 & 4. ²K. 5. ³KK. 6-10. ⁴KK. 11-14. ⁵KK. 15-40.
⁶KK. 41-54. ⁷KK. 55-9. ⁸KK. 60-71. ⁹KK. 72-88. ¹⁰K. 89.
¹¹KK. 90-4. ¹²KK. v. 1.

verse speaks of the greatness of the Pañcāksara.¹ The work takes the name of KOPIKKAVI, as it was sung at the time of propitiating the flag-staff of the temple at the beginning of the festival at Cidambaram Naṭarāja temple.

6. NENJUVIḍU-TUDU is a work which illuminates several religious truths by sending the author's mind as messenger to his spiritual Guru, Maṇai-Nāna-Sambandar. It is of Kali-venbā (a kind of verse in Tamil) containing 129 kaṇṇis. The portion which illustrates Daśāṅgam is interesting.² The work also speaks of the skilful way by which the Nāna-Guru removes the Pāśa,³ and the skill by which one escapes from the trammels of other religious doctrines.⁴

7. UṆMAI-NERI-VIḷAKKAM describes the Tatvarūpa, the vision of Tatva (தத்துவக்காட்சி), the Tatva Śakti (தத்துவ சக்தி), the form of Ānma (ஆன்ம வடிவம்), the vision of Ānma (ஆன்ம தரிசனம்), purification of the Ānma (ஆன்ம சுத்தி), Śiva-rūpa, Śiva-Dārśana (சிவ தரிசனம்), Śiva yōga and Śivabhōga. These are but the explanatory notes of those seen in Śivaprakāśam.

8. SANKARPA-NIRĀKARAṆAM is a work which relates the several doctrines of the

¹v. 4. ²KK. 39-79. ³KK. 90-9. ⁴KK. 107-119.

Agāccamayās (of Śaivism), and refutes them in relation to Śaiva Siddhānta. It is but a sequel of **Parapakkam** of Śiva-Āṇa-Śittiyār, which speaks of the doctrines of various religions. In the chapter on **Nimitta Kāraṇa**, **Pariṇāma-Vādi**, the author quotes from the hymns of **Appar**, **Sambandar**, **Mānikka-vāṣagar**, **Kāraikkāl Ammiyār** and from the **Tiruvīśaippā Collection**. The work clearly illustrates how, of all religious doctrines, the Śaiva Siddhānta stands foremost.

XI. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA FROM TIRUMŪLAR TO UMĀPATIŚIVAM.

INTRODUCTORY :

Of the Śaiva works in Tamil, the most valuable are the twelve Tirumūrais of Nāyanmārs, and the fourteen Meykaṇḍa Śāstras. Tenets of Śaivism are interspersed in the former, but, the Meykaṇḍa Śāstras give a systematised and logical account of Śaiva Philosophy. Of these works of Śaiva literature, Tirumūlar's Tirumandiram is the earliest, and it is only here the first mention of the expression 'Śaiva Siddhāntam' is made.

“ கற்பன கற்றுக் கலைமன்னு மெய்யோக
முற்பத ஞான முறைமுறை நண்ணியே
தொற்பத மேவித் துரிசற்று மேலான
தற்பரங் கண்டுளோர் சைவசித் தாந்தரே.¹ ”

{Śaiva Siddhāntins are those who have mastered all that should be learnt pertaining to religion, passed through the paths of Caryā, Kriyā, Yōga and Nāna, perfected themselves in them, and realised the God Supreme}.

This same expression is heard of next, only in the inscription of Rājasimha Pallava of the 7th century in the Kailāsanātha Temple in Kāñcī.¹ Rājasimha takes pride in announcing himself as having known 'Śaiva Siddhāntam'. Śaiva Siddhāntam is claimed to be the essence of Śaiva āgamas, and as the final conclusion of all conclusive truths of Śaivism.

THE TRIADS:

The Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras treat of the three categories God, Soul and Matter or world. Of these three, what is perceivable by the senses is the world; and through its presence the other two, which are invisible to the naked eye, are determined. The world is a composite of many parts, like the sea, the mountain, the sun, the moon and other objects. Even as an object which is an aggregate of several parts is a product, so, the world as a component of parts, is a product; and it should have been brought into existence by an all-powerful operator whom we name as God. This truth has been explained with a simile in the following two lines of Tirumandiram:-

“குசவனைப் போலெங்கள் கோனந்தி வேண்டில்
அசையில் உலகம் அதுவிது வாமே.²”

¹S. I. I. I. 24 & 25. ²v. 443.

(As a potter turns out earthen pots of different varieties, our Lord has created this imperishable world). A good exposition of this fact has been logically proved and dealt with in the first sūtra of Śiva-Āna-bōdam and in the first verse of Śiva-Āna-Sittiyār. From the foregoing, it is obvious, that the world is a product and has been created by God Supreme.

God, Soul and the world, which have been brought into existence for the benefit of the souls, are all co-existing and even permanent. Tirumūlar stresses this truth in the following lines of Tirumandiram:-

“பதிபசு பாசம் எனப்பகர் மூன்றில்
பதியினைப் போல்பசு பாசம் அநாதி.¹”

(of the three, pati, paśu and pāśam (God, Soul and World) paśu and pāśam are ever existent as pati).

Why should the world be created in the interest of souls? To ripen the karma-mala of the souls, God first involutes the world, and then re-creates it to remove from them the influence of ānava, the ignorance. The three-fold functions of creation, preservation and dissolution are deemed indispensable to God, only in the interest of souls. Appar considers these functions as a panacea for the ills of the souls.

“தோற்ற நிலையிறுதிப் பொருளாய் வந்த
மருந்தவன் காண்.¹”

(God has manifested himself as a panacea by means
creation, preservation and destruction.)

ADVAITAM UNDER SAIVA SIDDHANTA :

Omnipresent as He is, He is formless. Even
as a formless soul operates a body which has a form,
so God who is without a form operates all
objects which have forms. He abides all-pervasive
in every object. He is, therefore, both one and
the many. This special characteristic of the God
Supreme has been elucidated by Tirumūlar in the
following three lines:-

“பரத்திலே ஒன்றாய் உள்ளாய்ப் புறமாகி
வரத்தினுள் மாயவ னாய் அய னாகித்
தரத்தினுள் தான்பல தன்மைய னாகி.....²”

(He is a transcendental One; exists within and
without in every object; Manifests as Viṣṇu and
Brahma and appears in manifold states.)

Naccinārkkinīyar, one of the commentators of
Tolkāppiyam in employing a simile to illustrate
the special characteristic of the letter ‘அ’
refers to God Supreme as one in His transcendental
state, and as many when He stands within the

limits of souls.¹ Mānikkavaṣagar makes also a reference to this special characteristic of God as:-

“ ஏகன் அநேகன் இறைவனடி வாழ்க.² ”

Even the illustrious author of Tirukkural, Tiruvalluvar, mentions this truth about God with this very same illustration of 'அ' :

“ அகர முதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம் ஆதி
பகவன் முதற்றே உலகு ”

(Like the letter 'A' (அ) which stands foremost and pervades all other letters, God is the foremost and pervades the entire world.)

Sundarar addresses Him as "you are the first letter 'A' (அ)

“ அகரம் முதலி னெழுத்தாகி நின்றும்.³ ”

To assert this positive characteristic of God,⁴ Meykaṇḍā employs a double negation with the very same illustration of 'A' (அ).

“ அக்கரங்க ளின்றும் அகர வுயிர் இன்றேல்⁴ ”

(In the absence of 'A' (அ), the other letters are lifeless and never sounded.)

¹ Tol. E. A. S. 8 and its commentary. ² Śivapurāṇam, L. 5, p. 223, v. 7. ³ S. B.S. 2, v. 3.

Manavāsagam Kadandār reiterates it thus :-

“ அக்கரங்கட் கெல்லாம் அகரவுயிர் நின்றிற்போல்
மிக்க உயிர்க்குயிராய் மேவினோம்.¹ ”

(As the letter 'A' is the life force to all other letters
so is God as the very life to all souls.)

Umāpatiśivam emphasises this fact with the self-same illustration of 'A' (அ) with the additional fact that God is the Supreme Intelligence.

“ அகர வுயிர்போல் அறிவாகி எங்கும்
நிகரிலிறை நிற்கும் நிறைந்து.² ”

These foregoing utterances of the saints prove that this state is the state of Advaita (அத்துவித நிலை).

God stands in identity with the soul³ and the world, stands apart from them as well, and stands inseparably united also as life in them. These states of God Supreme find expression in one of the verses of Sambandar :-

“ ஈராய் முதல் ஒன்றுயிரு பெண்ஆண்குண மூன்றாய்
மாருமறை நான்காய்வரு பூதமவை ஐந்தாய்
ஆறுர்கவை ஏழோசையொ டெட்டுத்திசை தானாய்
வேறாய் உட னானிடம் வீழிம்மிழ லையே.³ ”

(He is the beginning and the end; He is the transcendental one; manifests Himself as man and

¹ U. V. v. 29. ² Tiruvaruṭpayan v. 1. ³ p. 18, v. 2.

woman; as the three-fold guṇas; as the unfailing four Vēdas; as the five elements; as the six tastes as the seven forms of rāgas; as the eight directions; and stands in identity in every one of them; stands apart from them and stands inseparably united as life in them. And Viḷimiḷalai is His abode.)

These features of advaitic union are found fully explained by Meykaṇḍār in his second sūtra of Śiva-Nāna-bōdam.

FIVE-FOLD FUNCTIONS AND THE FIVE LETTERS :

The God Supreme who is immanent in every object of this world performs His five-fold functions out of His bounteous love for souls, and in their interest. These functions are creation, preservation, and bestowal of grace. The figure of Naṭaraja is a symbolic representation of God and of His five-fold functions. The posture of the hands of this image and the objects borne in them express the idea of these functions. Tirumūlar expresses his thoughts inferred from these symbols thus :-

“ அரன்துடி தோற்றம் அமைத்தல் திதியாம்
அரனங்கி தன்னில் அறையிற் சங்காரம்
அரனுற் றணைப்பில் அமருந் திரோதாயி
அரனடி என்றும் அனுக்கிரகம் என்னே.¹ ”

(Drum symbolises creation; Right hand posture, preservation; Fire, destruction; Right foot holding down, obscuration; and the raised and bent left foot, bestowal of grace.)

Manavāsagam Kadandār in his Unmai-Vilakkam gives expression to the above same ideas thus :-

“தோற்றம் துடியதனில் தோயும் திதியமைப்பில்
சாற்றியிடும் அங்கியிலே சங்காரம்—ஊற்றமா
ஊன்று மலர்ப்பதத்தே உற்றதிரோ தம்முத்தி
நான்ற மலர்ப்பதத்தே நாடு.¹”

The image of Natarāja has also been construed as the expression of thoughts inferred from the sacred five letters -*ṣi*, *va*, *ya*, *na*, *ma* (சிவாய நம) Tirumūlar symbolises '*ṣi*' (சி) as Drum; '*va*' (வ) as the outstretched hand, '*ya*' (ய) as the hand of protection; '*na*' (ந) as tire and '*ma*' (ம) as the foot holding down the demon Muyalaka.

“மருவுந் துடியுடன் மன்னிய வீச்சு
மருவிய அப்பும் அனலுடன் கையும்
கருவின் மிதித்த கமலப் பதமும்
உருவில் சிவாய நமவேன வோதே.²”

These find expression in the following verse of Unmai-Vilakkam :-

“ சேர்க்கும் துடி சிகரம் சிக்கனவா வீசுகரம்
ஆர்க்கும் யகரம் அபயகரம்—பார்க்கிலிறைக்
கங்கி நகரம் அடிக்கீழ் முயலகனார்
தங்கும் மகரமது தான்.¹ ”

SOULS :

All kinds of souls derive benefit from the five-fold functions of God. The souls are of 84 lakhs of varieties of births. Sambandar expresses this in his two following lines :-

“ உரை சேரும் எண்பத்து நான்குநூ றுயிரமாம்
யோனி பேதம்
நிரை சேரப் படைத்தவற்றின் உயிர்க்குயிராய்
அங்கங்கே நின்றான்.² ”

(God has created souls in bodies, whose varieties number 84 lakhs and he stands inseparably in every one of them as their own life).

Arupandisivam accepts the number of these varieties of bodies, and enriches this idea further that these varieties made their appearance through the following four ways :-

“ அண்டசம் சுவேதசங்கள் உற்பிச்சம் சராயுசத்தோ
டெண்டரு நாலெண்பத்து நான்கு நூறுயிரத்தால்
உண்டுபல் யோனி எல்லாம்.³ ”,

¹ v. 33. ² p. 211, v. 4. ³ Supakkam, v. 179.

(Souls are of 84 lakhs of varieties and the vehicles of their birth are shells, perspiration, seeds and wombs).

These varieties of births are caused to souls on account of their own Karma. Māṇikkavāṣagar mentions the varieties of these births, the souls pass through in the following lines :-

“ புல்லாகிப் பூடாய்ப் புழுவாய் மரமாகிப்
பல்விருக மாகிப் பறவையாய்ப் பாம்பாகிக்
கல்லாய் மனிதராய்ப் பேயாய்க் கணங்களாய்
வல்ல சுரராகி முனிவராய்த் தேவராய்ச்
செல்லாஅ நின்றவித் தாவர சங்கமத்துள்
எல்லாப் பிறப்பும் பிறந்தினைத் தேன்.¹ ”

The Saint here above, records the² various births that he himself had passed through, namely grass, plant, etc., and that he is quite tired of these births. He classifies the entire creation under two broad heads as static creation and dynamic or moving creation.

Births are caused to remove the innate Āṇava which is one of the three malas associated with Souls. Tirumular states that such of the souls that are freed from āṇava are the true nānis (மெய்ஞ்ஞானிகள்).² Appar terms it as innate or primal disease.

“ மூலநோய் தீர்க்கும் முதல்வன் அண்டாய்³ ”

¹ Śivapurāṇam, ll. 26-31. ² v. 494. ³ p. 361, v. 9.

He views that this āṇava plunges souls in ignorance or illusion and that God is the only panacea for removing it as expressed in,

“ மம்மர் அறுக்கும் மருந்து கண்டாய்.¹ ”

Karma is another impurity, and, it is but an accumulation of fruits resulting from the deeds of souls. Under its force or influence are caused the body, organs, objects for experience and the world. These are the products of another impurity, māyā. Karma and māyā are antidotes administered for the eradication or subjugation of āṇava. How can one impurity remove another impurity is indeed a question. Tirumūlar in answering this question furnishes an illustration in the following verse of Tirumandiram:-

“ ஆகும் உபாயமே யன்றி அழுக்கற்று
மோகம் அறச்சுத்த னாதற்கு மூலமே
ஆகும் அறுவை அழுக்கேற்றி ஏற்றல்போல்
ஆகுவ தெல்லாம் அருட்பாச மாகுமே.² ”

(Even Pāsam is endowed with a graceful tendency, and it is magical artifice to free oneself from impurity and illusion. This process is akin to washing clothes wherein to free them of their impurities further impurities are administered.)

Śittiyār adopts this illustration, and explains this important truth, how the body, organs and other attendants are of great utility to the soul to eradicate or to subjugate the āṇava. The verse runs thus :-

“ எழுமுடல் கரண மாதி இவைமல மலம் லத்தாற்
கழுவுவ னென்று சொன்ன காரண மென்னை யென்னில்
செழுநவ அறுவை சாணி உவர்செறி வித்தழுக்கை
முழுவதும் கழிப்பன் மாயை கொடுமலம் ஒழிப்பன்
முன்னோன்.¹ ”

(Body, sense organs and others are malas or impurities. Why should mention be made that impurities are washed away by God by further impurities? The dirt in clothes is removed by administering cowdung and the black mud. So God eradicates āṇava by administering mala.)

Evidently, the body is indispensable to cut off the bondage of āṇava. Only on a wall, paintings could be made. Tirumūlar expresses the usefulness of the body in the following lines ;-

“ உடம்பார் அழியில் உயிரார் அழிவர்
நீடம்பட மெய்ஞ்ஞானம் சேரவும் மாட்டார்
உடம்பை வளர்க்கும் உபாயம் அறிந்தே
உடம்பை வளர்த்தேன் உயிர் வளர்த்தேனே.² ”

(If the body languishes, the soul pines away. Real knowledge or *nāna* will not set in. After knowing the efficacy of this contrivance of fostering the body, I nurtured it. Consequently, I nurtured my soul as well.)

Sundarar reiterates this idea, as by this efficacy of the body the impurity of the soul is removed.

“ சிரக்கண் வாய் செவி மூக்குயர் காயமாகித்
திவினை தீர்த்த எம்மான்.¹ ”

(God! my Master! By embodying me in a body which consists of the head, eye, mouth, ear and nose has got rid of my karma.)

THE THREE STATES OF THE SOUL :

The soul that enters a body suffers three states namely, *Kēvala*, *Sakala* and *Śuddha*. The *Kēvala* is the state that precedes the association of the body; the *Sakala* is the state the succeeds after the association of the body and the organs attendant upon it; the *Śuddha* is that state of non-contamination though existent in a body. In the *Kēvala* state, the soul is bound down with *ānava*, enveloped in ignorance and devoid of all cognition, conation and action. The Lord through his *Śakti* assumes

¹ p. 159, v. 9.

the 'Kala' tatva, removes a bit of āṇava mala, kindles the operative faculty of the soul, brushes up its cognition, develops its conation and embodies in a body. The sakala state is experienced thereafter. While existing in a body, the state of suddha is experienced after perceiving that the worldly love is the cause for the cycle of births, and after adopting by the grace of God, the sense free from worldly love and the sacrifice of the fruits resulting from actions. These three states are given an exposition by Māṇikkavāṣagar in his Tiruccadagam thus :-

“ அறிவிலாதள னேப்புருந் தாண்டுகொண்
டறிவதை யருளிமேல்
நெறியெலாம்புல மாக்கிய எந்தையைப்
பந்தனை யறுப்பானே.¹”

(Of one who freed me from bondage; of my Father, who in my state of deep ignorance entered in and mastered me, bestowed on me the faculty of perceiving and illuminated in me all the higher paths.)

Tirumūlar speaks of the suddha state as :-

“ உடம்பொடு செத்திட் டிருப்பர் சிவயோகிகளே.²”

(Śivayōgins are those who are dead to all experiences, though they exist in a body.)

¹ Tiruccadagam, 32. ² v. 121.

The fourth, fifth and sixth sūtras of Śiva-Āna-bōdam furnish a lengthy account of these three states. In the state of sakala the soul experiences the five avastas or states - waking (நனவு), dreamy (கனவு), sleepy (உறக்கம்), deep sleepy (பேருறக்கம்), and sub-consciousness (உயிர்ப்படக்கம்). All authors on philosophy from Tirumūlar to Umāpatiśivam make mention of these five states.

DISTINCTION OF SAT AND ASAT :

God is held as Śiva-sat (சிவசத்து); soul as sada-sat (சதசத்து); and matter as saḍa-sat (சடசத்து).¹ The distinction of these terms is a problematic disquisition dealt in the sixth and seventh sūtras of Śiva-Āna-bōdam. The 'sat' denotes God; the 'asat', the unintelligent matter or the world, and the 'Sat-Asat' the soul. The soul is capable of adhering to God and the world. When it attaches to God, the world will be detached. When it fastens itself with the world, it forgets God and is in perfect union with āṇava. Since the matter is unintelligent it cannot know God. As the soul is endowed with a little intelligence, it cannot know the omniscient Lord. But only when it is under the influence of the grace of God, it can know Him. These facts are illustrated in the following Tirumandiram :-

“ விண்ணினைச் சென்றனு காவியன் மேகங்கள்
கண்ணினைச் சென்றனு காப்பல காட்சிகள்
எண்ணினைச் சென்றனு காம லெனப்படும்
அண்ணலைச் சென்றனு காப்பசு பாசமே.¹ ”

(Paśu and Pāsam cannot get nearer to the Lord who is beyond the reach of thought (human thought) like wild clouds which cannot reach the heavens, and, the varied scenes cannot reach the eye.)

MODES OF THE LORD, OVER-MASTERING THE SOULS :

Souls can attain Lord's grace only in accordance with their attainment or ripened stage. This ripened stage is being achieved only after their attaining Iruvīnaiyoppu, Malaparibāgam and Śakti-nipādam. These three terms expressing the state of the maturing of the souls are mentioned in all Śaiva works from Tirumūlar's to Umāpati-sivam's. Tirumūlar expresses in the following two verses, how the Lord performs in the ripened stages referred to :-

“ இருவினை நேரொப்பில் இன்னருட் சத்தி
குருவென வந்து குணம்பல நீக்கித்
தருமெனும் ஞானத்தால் தன்செயல் அற்றால்
திரிமலம் தீர்ந்து சிவனவன் ஆமே.² ”

¹ v. 1436. ² v. 1527.

“ இருட்டறை மூலை இருந்த குமரி
 குருட்டுக் கிழவனைக் கூடல் குறித்துக்
 குருட்டினை நீக்கிக் குணம்பல காட்டி
 மருட்டி யவனை மணம்புரிந் தாளே.¹”

(In Iruvinaiyoppu the aruṭ-śakti manifests as guru, and where it removes away all idiosyncracies of the soul by imparting nāna, its (soul's) action ceases, the three malas or impurities are exhausted and the soul identifies with Śiva)

(The dame (Tirōdhāna śakti), cornered in a dark chamber, wishing union with a blind old man cured him of his blindness, showed him her immense good nature, deluded him and married him.) °

The second verse is an allegory which explains how God wishing the union with the soul, which is as old as He, lives in it unnoticed and when the soul ripens, He manifests as a Guru, imparts real nāna and deluding it, makes the soul identify itself with Him. In the first, it is expressed, that to the soul which has attained that ripened stage, God manifests Himself as Guru, imparts the real nāna and over-masters it. Tirumūlar details God's actions in the following verse :-

“ பத்திப் பணித்துப் பரவும் அடிநல்கி
சுத்த வுரையால் துரிசறச் சோதித்துச்
சத்தும் அசத்தும் சதசத்தும் காட்டலால்
சித்தம் இறையே சிவகுரு வாமே.¹ ”

(God holds the soul, subdues it, performs dikṣā by placing the worshipful foot on its head, imparts nāna in clear terms after removing all impurities on a keen examination and explains in proving the connotation of the terms of 'Sat', 'Asat' and 'Sat-Asat'. To the soul, God Himself is Śiva-nāna or Master Śiva.)

In singing the praise of Śiva, Māṇikkavāṣagar refers to this essential graceful act of God :-

“ அருபரத் தொருவன் அவனியில் வந்து
குருபர னாகி அருளிய பெருமையும்.² ”

(That praiseworthy act of grace is by that, He, who is the Supreme and baffles all attempts of knowing Him, manifests Himself as the greatest master descending down on this earth.)

Sundarar exclaims on this action of the Lord as
“ என்னுடைய குருவே³ ” (Oh, my master).

The Lord appearing thus as a guru, reveals Himself as the supreme master and enslaves the

¹ v. 1573. ² Pōṇṇittiruvagaval, ll. 75-6. ³ p. 184, v. 4.

I his slave. It is only in this mode, my Master is known, and can be expressed.)

In his commentary on the 8th sūtra of Śiva-
Nāna-bōdam, Śivañāna Munivar adopts this fact,
and mentions that the Supreme Master addresses
the soul thus, "you are suffering under an illusion
without knowing your own potentialities. Your
potentialities are these" and thus instructs it.

From the foregoing, it is evident that God
associates bodies to the souls, subjects them to
experience the fruits of karma, removes the mala,
and manifesting Himself as a Supreme Master at
the ripened stage, imparts true knowledge.* These
performances of His are all acts of grace. These
gracious actions of God made Śakkiya Nāyanār
determine that Śaivism was alone the true path,
and that Śiva the true beneficial companion:

“செய்வினையும் செய்வானும் அதன்பயனும் கொடுப்பானும்
மெய்வகையால் நான்காகும் விதித்தபொருள் எனக்

கொண்டே

இவ்வியல்பு சைவநெறி யல்லவற்றுக் கில்லையென

உய்வகையால் பொருள்சிவனென் றருளாலே

உணர்ந்தறிந்தார்.¹”

(The deed, the doer, the fruit resulting from the deed and the agent who bestows the fruits are the true four categories. The advocacy of these is found in no other religion except Śaivism. By Lord's grace (Śakkiyar) determined Śiva as the dispenser of salvation.)

Sundarar describes the true companionship of God as :-

“ துணையென்று நான்தொழப் பட்ட வொண் கடரை
முத்தியும் ஞானமும் வானவர் அறியா
முறைமுறை பலபல நெறிகளும் காட்டிக்
கற்பனை கற்பித்த கடவுளை.¹ ”

(Beacon Light whom I worshipped as my companion; a master who imparted Mukti and nāna through many paths, stage after stage, unknown to celestial beings or dēvas; a God who taught me the true conduct.)

THE CONDUCT OF PERFECTED SOULS :

The souls who attained nāna by the grace of God conduct themselves in the path leading to His feet. This is named as 'Tava-neṟi' (தவநெறி). Sundarar, who has received beatitude from God, requests the bestowal on him of Tava-neṟi at Tirutturaiyūr.

“தலைவா, உனை வேண்டிக்கொள்வேன் தவநெறியே.¹”

(Oh Lord! I request of Thee the bestowal of Tava-
neri). The lives led by the Samayācāriyas
themselves may be said to be the Tava-neri. And
their daily routine consisted in worshipping God
in temples. Tirumūlar assigns this as a duty and
points out its efficacy in the following verse :-

“நாடு நகரமும் நற்றிருக் கோயிலும்
தேடித் திரிந்து சிவபெரு மானென்று
பாடுமின் பாடிப் பணிமின் பணிந்தபின்
கூடிய நெஞ்சத்துக் கோயிலாக் கொள்வனே.²”

(Go ye! in search of temples, in lands and cities
and sing of them as the Lord Śiva Himself, and
bow unto them; He will transform your heart as
His abode.)

The souls will have to tread the four paths -
Caryā, Kriyā, Yōga and Nāna referred to in the
Śiva-āgamas and benefit themselves. Tirumūlar
refers this fact in :-

“பத்தன் கிரியை சரியை பயில்வுற்று,
சுத்த அருளால் துரிசற்ற யோகத்தில்
உய்த்த நெறியுற் றுணர்கின்ற ஞானத்தால்
சித்தங் குருவரு ளாற்சிவ மாகுமே.³”

¹p. 8, v. 1. ²v. 1445. ³v. 1455.

(The soul after complete training in caryā and kriyā, and after reaching the end of yōga, free from blemishes by the pure Grace, attains nāna and by it, it identifies with Śiva with the great Master's benediction.)

Mere attainment of nāna is of no avail. The path of love (அன்பு நெறி) proceeding from nāna could serve as the best means of union with the Lord. The path of intelligence (அறிவு நெறி) could be a true help to the path of love. And what is attained by these two paths is the state of Mukti.

THE STATE OF MUKTI:

The state of Mukti is that wherein the soul stands immersed in blissfulness of God after eradicating the illusion of 'I' and 'Mine'. Tiruvalluvar also makes mention of this fact in his Kuraḷ as :-

“ யான் எனது என்னும் செருக்கறுப்பான் வாநோர்க்
குயர்ந்த வுலகம் புகும்.¹ ”

(One who eradicates the illusion of 'I' and 'Mine' will enter into the world beyond the reach of the celestial beings.)

¹ Kuraḷ. 346.

Appar desired the very same state of Mukti in the following lines :-

“ பிணி மேய்ந் திருந்த
இருகாற் குரம்பை இதுநா னுடைய திதுபிரிந்தால்
தருவாய் எனக்குன் திருவடிக்கீழோர் தலைமறைவே.”¹

(If this two-footed body, full of ills, becomes freed of the 'I' and 'Mine', give me a space underneath your feet of graciousness.)

The souls who have attained this stage are inseparable from God. Whatever actions they performed are deemed to be actions of God Himself. All the senses, they are endowed with, transform themselves as Śiva-Karanas. Māṇikka-vāṣagar exclaims this fact as :-

“ கூறும் நாவே முதலாகக் கூறுங் கரணம் எல்லாம் நீ² ”

(Thou art the tongue and all the other organs of the senses.) The mishaps that may befall these perfected souls are borne by God Himself. Appar explicitly mentions this truth in :-

“ தமக்கன்பு பட்டவர் பாரமும் பூண்பர்.³ ”

(The mishaps that befall His devotees are borne by Him.) These Muktas never forget the muttering

¹ p. 161, v. 2. ² Kuḷaittapattu, v. 5. ³ p. 29, v. 2.

of the sacred five letters. They feel that it serves as a float to cross over the ocean of births. Śaṅkīlār mentions that Sundarar uttered the Pañcākṣara to get relief from the pains of walking in the hot sun;¹ and that Daṇḍi Aḍigal ever muttered these sacred five letters.² Muttering of these letters has been ordained in the ninth sūtra of Śiva-Āṇana-bōdam to ward off all attempts at delusion. The greatness of these letters has been elaborately dealt under the aforesaid sūtra and in Aindeḷut-taruṇilai (ஐந்தெழுத்தருணிலை) of Tiruvaruṭpayan.

These Muktas go by the names of 'Aṇaindōr' (அணைந்தோர்). 'Aḍiyār' (அடியார்) and 'Jīvan Muktas' (ஜீவன் முக்தர்). And their congregation is known as Aḍiyār-Kūṭṭam (அடியார் கூட்டம்) or Tiruk-Kūṭṭam (திருக்கூட்டம்). The association with this congregation is essential to Aḍiyārs. Māṇikka-vāṣagar speaks of its indispensability as :-

“ இணங்கத்தன் சீரடியார் கூட்டமும் வைத்து ”³

The Jīvan Muktas consider the forms of Śiva-vēdam and the Śiva temple as Śiva Himself. The 12th sūtra of Śiva-Āṇana-bōdam details how the Jīvan Muktas employ their three faculties of cognition, conation and action to ward off delusion of

¹ E. K. N. P. v. 158. ² D. A. P. v. 3. ³ Tiruppāvalli, 7.

the world. It is generally said that the advent of Sundarar was only for the purpose of bringing to light the greatness of these Aḍiyārs. His Tiru-ttonḍattogai and the circumstances in which it was composed bear a vivid testimony to the greatness and efficacy of the congregation of Aḍiyārs.¹ And Śēkkilār also has dwelt about their special characteristics in his Periya-Purāṇam.²

¹ Taḍut. P. vv. 189-203. ² Tirukkāṭṭac-cirappu, vv. 6-9.

XII. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE ŚAIVAS.

LEARNING:

From a study of the period under survey, we gather that there were in existence Sanskrit Colleges in the days of the Pallavas and the Cōlas, that many Pallava kings were good Sanskrit scholars, and that they patronised Sanskrit pandits like Bhāravi and Daṇḍin. We also gather that Nandivarman III and Aparājitavarman were well versed in Tamil, that Vikrama Cōla, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II were scholars under Oṭṭakkūttar; and Kulōttunga III was himself a Tamil scholar and patronised poets like Kambar. The hymns of Aiyadigaḷ Kādavarkōṇ, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār and others of the early Pallava period, the Tirupadigams of Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar, the devotional verses of Mānikkavāṣagar and Cēramān Perumāḷ of the later Pallava period, and the literary works like Nandikkalambakam and Bhārata Venbā bear ample testimony to the condition of Tamil learning during the Pallava period. The facts that Kaṇḍarāditya and Kulōttunga II had the gift of composing verses, and that Rājendra I was renowned as "Paṇḍita Cōla", speak to the deep learning of the Śaiva kings.

The child's education generally began at the age of five after tonsure (cauḷam).¹ Brahmins commenced their Vēdic education only after their upanayana.² Tonsure was one of the sixteen ceremonies³ of Śaivism. The Śaivāgamas say that each of these sixteen represents a spiritual step (in life), and the removal of the hair represents the blessings of Śiva, that is, 'Śivaprasādam'.⁴ The people of those days considered that education brought them good things in abundance and developed one's knowledge like the flood which increases in quantity, and that it expanded the narrow mind like a bud that blossoms.⁵ They learnt the spiritual arts and sciences. They were the Vēdas, Śivāgamas, Vēdāngas, Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Āyurvēda⁶ and the like which helped them to reach Śivam (சிவம்முயன் றடையும் தெய்வக் கலைபல).⁷

¹ Appar P. vv. 20-1. ² Taḍut P. v. 6. ³ The Sōḍaśa Karmas (sixteen karmas) are:- (1) R̥tusangamanam, (2) Garbhādānam, (3) Pumsavanam, (4) Simantam, (5) Jātakarmam (and Karṇa-vēdhanam), (6) Utthāpanam, (7) Nāmakaraṇam, (8) Upaniṣ-krāmaṇam, (9) Annaprāsanam, (10) Piṇḍavarḍdhi, (11) Kshaurakarmam, (12) Upanayanam, (13) Kāṇḍōpakaraṇam, (14) Kāṇḍa-mōcanam, (15) Samāvartanam, (16) Vivāham. - Śaiva Sōḍaśa Prakāśikā of Aghoraśivācārya. This information is furnished by Śivakkaviṃāṇi C. K. Subrahmanya Mudaliyar at my request.

⁴ C. K. S. Appar P. p. 29.

⁵ "பொருள் தீத்தங் கொளவிசிப் புலன்கொளுவ மனமுகிழ்த்த சுருணிக்கி மலர்விக்கும் கலைபயிலத் தொடங்குவித்தார்"

Appar P. v. 20; S. N. P. v. 22. ⁶ C. K. S. P. P. I., p. 124. ⁷ P. P. - N. C. v. 18.

It could be seen from Śaṅkīlār's Periya-Purāṇam that the Śaivas of the day received secular and religious education, and were also good at medicine, astrology and fine arts like music and dance. Śaṅkīlār has proved in this work that he was a poet of a high order and learned in many arts and sciences.¹ From this, it is evident that the two kinds of learning - secular and religious - went side by side in the system of ancient Tamil education. Industrial education of a hereditary character was also in vogue. The Śaivas of the day were good at horse-riding, elephant-riding, chariot driving, and in using the bow and arrow and the sword.² This may also be gathered from the life-stories of Iyarpagaiyār, Ēṇādinādar, Kōtpuliyār and others. The facts that Śattiyār possessed a sword, and that Eripattar possessed an axe show that even the Āḍiyārs of the day knew the use of weapons.

If we consider the phrases "சிவன் கற்றார்கள் நாவினான்"³, (Śiva dwells on the tongue of the learned), "கற்றிருந்த கலைஞானம் ஆனாய் நீயே"⁴ (Thou art the knowledge itself of the truly learned), the Śaiva's high idea of learning will be clear. That Appar and Sundarar were well-versed in the

¹ P. P. A. Chap. 10 and Śaṅkīlār, pp. 57, 97-104. ² C. K. S. - P. P. N. C. v. 18 and its commentary. (Vol. I. p. 124). ³ Appar, p. 390, v. 6. ⁴ Ibid. p. 392, v. 6.

pre-Pallava literature is known from their references to Dharumi and Pāri.¹ Sundarar's hymns reveal that there existed in his time expert Tamil poets.² Sundarar's hymns reveal that there existed in his time expert Tamil poets. Sundarar's mention of Śiva as the very head of the Tamil poets ("தண்டமிழ் நூற் புலவர்க்கோர் அம்மான்"³) makes it clear that many of the poets of the day were Śaivas. Sundarar mentions that Learning is sweet for Life and that Śiva is sweeter than that ("கற்ற கல்வியிலும் மினியான்"⁴).

It was explained in the previous chapters, that the Tirumandiram and the other Tirumūrais were studied by the Śaivas from the time of Appar. The facts that Meykaṇḍār's father took Aruṇandisivam as his religious Guru, and that a certain person received religious instruction from one called Dattan-Uḍaiyār Iśāna Śivācārya, the head of the Maḷigai-maṭha at Nallūr in the Cōla country are sufficient evidences to prove the ardent desire of the commonfolk for religious education.⁵

WOMEN AND LEARNING:

That Śaiva women were as well educated as men is proved by Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's life. That

¹ Ibid. p. 473, v. 3; Sundarar, p. 45, v. 2. ² Sundarar, pp. 45-7; 114, v. 11. ³ Ibid. p. 231, v. 6. ⁴ Ibid. p. 155, v. 5. ⁵ S. C. p. 11; 49 of 1911 and ARE. 1909, p. 75.

they combined the name of Śiva in their play-songs like Kaḷal (கழல்), Ammānai (அம்மாளை), and ball (பந்தாட்டம்) is evident from the following lines of Sambandar :-

“ தருந்தடக்கை முத்தழலோர் மனைகள் தொறும்
இறைவனது தன்மைபாடிக்
கருந்தடங்கண் ணர்கழல்பந் தம்மாளைப்
பாட்டயருங் கழுமலமே¹ ”.

Tiruvāṣagam reveals that maidens sang the glory of Śiva in their various play-songs like Tiruppūvalli, Tirupporc-cunnam, Tiruvammānai, Tiruttellēnam, Tiruc-cāḷal, Tiruvundiyār, Tiruttōṇōkkam and Tirupponnūsal. These have been already mentioned in the sixth chapter. The facts that Śaiva Siddhānta doctrines are found in the padigams of Kāraikkāl Ammaiār, and that a woman-student received religious education from Dattan-Uḍaiyār of Māḷigai-maṭha at Nallūr reveal that women also received religious training. From these we can also assume that Śaiva ladies like Tilakavatiyār, Mangayarkarasīyār and Śembiyan Mādēviyār were in the know of Śaiva Siddhānta doctrines.

MARRIAGE :

The practice was that the bridegroom's parents sent some elders to the bride's parents and asked

them the hand of their daughter in marriage to their son. This will be seen from the accounts of the marriages of Tilakavatiyār, Sambandar, Sundarar and Kalikkāmar.¹ Both parties agreed to the marriage only after sufficient enquiries were made regarding their caste, gōtra and character. Then they issued the marriage invitation and celebrated the wedding on the appointed day.² Details of the ceremonies, connected with marriages are found in Sambandar's and Taḍuttāṭ-koṇḍa purāṇas.³ Detailed ceremonies were the common features of all the marriages conducted in houses. At the time of the wedding, musical instruments like conch, Tārai, Cīṇṇam, Perungālam, Tālam, Vangiyam sounded.⁴ It was customary on the part of the bride and bridegroom to adorn themselves with many kinds of jewels and dress.⁵ Before proceeding to the marriage 'pandal', the well-dressed bridegroom will pronounce the five letters 'Śivāya namaḥ' and wear the sacred ash on his forehead.⁶ From Sundarar's life, we learn also that marriages often-times took place before the Lord in the temple. Sundarar married Paravaiyār in the temple of Tiruvārūr, and Sangilliyār in the temple of Tiruvorriyūr. The facts that Sundarar, a

¹ Appar, P. v. 23; Sam. P. v. 1165; Taḍut. P. v. 7 and Mānak' P. v. 16. ² Ibid. v. 24; v. 1166 and v. 8. ³ vv. 1169 - 1240; and vv. 10-27. ⁴ Sam. P. v. 1199. ⁵ Ibid. vv. 1209-1216 and 1223. ⁶ Ibid. v. 1217.

Śaiva Brahmin married Paravaiyār a Gaṇikā by caste, and Sangiliyār a Veḷḷāla maiden, that Mangayarkkaraśiyār a Śaiva maiden married a Jain, the Pāṇḍya Neḍumāraṇ, and that a Tamil Śaiva, Rājarāja I, gave his daughter to a non-Tamil Cālukya king Vimalāditya reveal the broad outlook and the political wisdom of the Śaivas. That Śaiva kings married several wives is known from the history of the Pallavas and the Cōḷas. We also learn that Sundarar, an Ādi Śaiva, and the husband of Kāraikkāl Ammaiṃyār married twice. However, it is seen that monogamy was the common practice.

MARRIED LIFE:

The husband and wife lived as companions to each other.¹ They led the domestic life harmoniously and were of one mind. That the husband followed his wife's advice with regard to domestic affairs could be seen from the lives of Śiṟuttōṇḍar and Iḷaiyāṅkuḍimāraṇ.² The wife usually remained by her husband's side and helped him at dinner.³ She gave him her support and willingly took part in all his religious activities. The lives of the Nāyaṇmārs like Naminandi Aḍigaḷ, and those of

¹ Cēramāṇ P. v. 72. ² S. N. P. vv. 12, 17, 55-63; I. M. N. P. vv. 11-23. ³ K. A. P. v. 22.

Pallava and Cōla kings are sufficient evidences for this. When Rājarāja I built the great Temple at Tanjore, and granted many gifts to it, his sister and queens also made further gifts to the same temple; So also Śembiyan-mādēviyār's daughters-in-law made many endowments to the Śiva temple at Śembiyan-mādēvi. These are sufficient to prove that the members of a Śaiva family were of one mind in their religious outlook and action. It could be seen from Tirunillakanṭhar's life that a wife completely disliked her husband if he was untrue to her.¹ Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's purāṇam reveals that even though the husband had not the same religious zeal, he did not stand in the way of her Śivattonḍu.² Mangaiyarkkaraṣiyār performed Śivapūjā without the knowledge of her Jain husband,³ and never-the-less she loved and revered her husband with all her heart.⁴ Just as the wife co-operated with her husband in performing Śivapūjā, so also she joined him in entertaining the Adiyārs. The verses that describe Paravaiyār entertaining Cēramāṇ Perumāḷ deserve to be read and enjoyed.

“ பொங்கு விளக்கும் நிறைகுடமும்
பூமலைகளும் புகையகிலும்
எங்கும் மடவார் எடுத்தேத்த
அணைந்து தாமும் எதிர்கொண்டார் ”.

¹ vv. 3-6.² vv. 13-21.³ Sam. P. v. 604.⁴ Mang. P. v. 2.

“ சோதிமணிமா ளிகையின்கண் சுடரும்
 பசும் பொற் காலமளி
 மீது பெருமாள் தமையிருத்தி
 நம்பிமேவி யுடனிருப் பக்
 கோதில் குணத்துப் பரவையார்
 கொழுந னூர்க்குந் தோழர்க்கும்
 நீதி வழுவா வொழுக்கத்து
 நிறை பூசனைகள் முறையளித்தார் ¹ ”.

FEEDING A ŚAIVA DEVOTEE ;

The husband washed the devotee's feet while the wife poured water.² The couple sprinkled that water on their heads and also took it in like ācamana.³ Food was then prepared. The place where the meal was served was cleaned with cow-dung, and decorated with 'Kōlam'. A light was lit and placed on one side, a long and well-cleaned plantain leaf was spread before the guest, the cut end being nearest to his right hand (“சர்வாய் வலம்பெற மரபில் வைத்தார்”). The adiyār sat on a pīṭha before the leaf, pronounced the five letters and wore the sacred ash. Then he distributed the sacred ash to the husband and wife and then to their children and asked them to wear.⁴ The guest then washed his hands with pure water and began to eat, either with the host or himself alone. The lady of the house served the food.⁵

¹ Cēraṁāṇ P. vv. 70-1. ² Kali N. P. v. 5. ³ A. A. N. P. v. 20.
⁴ Ibid. v. 31. ⁵ Ibid. vv. 39-41.

That the wives even uttered the names of their husbands at times of necessity is known from the life of Iyarpagaiyār.¹ His wife is also an extreme example to the type of women who obeyed her husband willingly, as his act was associated with religion, though his behaviour was contrary to the conduct of the world.² Śiṛuttoṇḍar named his son after the Lord Śirāḷadēvar, whom he worshipped. Appūdi Aḍigaḷ named his sons after Tirunāvuk-karaṣār whom he took as his guru. From these, it is clear that it was the custom of those days to name their sons or daughters after their favourite deity or their spiritual gurus. The children of those parents, while they were engaged in Śivattoṇḍu, were also earnest in such service. The life of Appūdi Aḍigaḷ's eldest son can be cited as a typical example.³ Rājarāja I was a pious devotee of Śiva. It was by him that the Tirumuṟais were compiled in their order. His son Rājendra I appointed a Government official called Tēvāra Nāyagam probably to supervise Ōduvārs who recited the Tēvāram in temples. Similarly, the temple renovation begun by Kulōttunga I at Tillai was continued and completed by his son Vikrama Cōla. Kulōttunga II was the cause for the composition of Periya-Purāṇam. His son Rājarāja II had some typical events from the lives

¹ v. 16. ² vv. 8-9. ³ vv. 24-6.

of the Nāyanmārs sculptured in the temple that he built at Dārāśuram, so that common people could understand and take religious inspiration from them. It is on account of these continued activities of such royal Śaiva families that the Śaiva religion flourished all the more.

SATI AND WIDOWHOOD :

After the death of Appar's father, his mother considered her children (Appar and his sister Tilakavatiyār) and relatives as dust and committed 'Sati'. Śēkṣiār mentions this as "கற்புநெறி வழுவா மற் கணவனா ளுடன்சென்றார்"¹. This (sati) was in vogue in the days of the Cōlas also. When Sundara Cōla died, his queen and Rājarāja I's mother Vāṇavaṇ Mādēvi committed sati.² There was also the custom of the bride committing sati when the prospective husband died before the actual marriage took place. The life of Tilakavatiyār illustrates this. She wanted to commit sati though she did not actually marry Kalippagaiyār.³ When Appar wept and begged her not to leave him alone, Tilakavatiyār yielded. After Appar embraced Jainism, she settled in Tiruvadigai and spent her days in temple service.⁴ Kalikkāmar's wife resolved to die with her husband, but when she heard that

¹ Appar P. v. 28. ² 236 of 1902; Tiruvālangāḍu plates, s. 65-6.

³ Appar P. v. 32. ⁴ Ibid. vv. 34, 41-4.

Sundarar was coming to see her husband, she abandoned her intention and gave a good ceremonial reception through her servants as it was not proper on her part to receive him personally in her bereaved state.¹ In the days of the Cōlas, Śembiyaṇ Mādēviyār, as a widow engaged herself in Śivattonḍu and worshipped her husband in the form of a Linga. The figure representing this could be seen in the Śiva temple at Śembiyaṇ Mādēvi.² At Tirunallūr a widow received religious instruction from one called Dattaṇ Uḍaiyār Iśāna Śivācāriyār; she built a maṭha and granted lands to that guru, as desired by her husband.³

RUDRA GAṆIKĀS:

These were women dedicated to the service of Śiva temples. They led religious lives.⁴ They observed several customs and ceremonies. The life and growth of a female child, from the third month to the twenty first, had to pass through ten stages, usually named as 'Śengīrai' etc., and these Gaṇikās used to celebrate every one of them with pomp and ceremony.⁵ A Rudra Gaṇikā would sweep, clean with cow-dung, and adorn with

¹ E. K. N. P. vv. 398-400. ² C. K. P. p. 33. ³ A. R. E. 1909, p. 75. ⁴ C. K. S. - P. P. I. v. 133 and its commentary. ⁵ Ibid. Taḍut. P. v. 133.

Pañca Cūrṇa the whole temple from the Mahā-maṇṭapa to the Prākāra of the Garbhagṛha. It implied that they did not enter the Garbhagṛha. Her services were, besides, to hold lamps, to sing and dance at the times of worship. Of the three kinds of dances i. e., Śuddham, Misram and Kēvalam, the Śuddha kind of dance was prescribed for her in the Āgamas.¹ When she was engaged in Śivattonḍu, she could marry a devotee she liked. It was this kind of marriage that took place in the case of Sundarar and Paravaiyār. The Gaṇikās had secured an esteemed place in society. This could be seen from the life of Paravaiyār. Their dress and jewels and the mode of their coiffure could be seen from the Cōla paintings in the Great Temple at Tanjore.

ŚAIVA DEVOTEES :

The dress of an ordinary Śaiva devotee was a white cloth round the loins and a white uttariya or upper cloth over his shoulders. The devotee wore the sacred ash on his forehead, shoulders and the body and a garland of Rudrākṣa round his neck. Like the sacred ash worn on his body, his heart also was pure. The devotees or aḍiyārs were the embodiment of love and they voluntarily performed

¹ Ibid. pp. 333-4.

Śivattonḍu as their duty. They would not forget Śiva even in their most distressed condition. They firmly upheld the path of piety considering gold and potsherd alike. They desired the worshipping of Śiva alone discarding even Mōkṣa.¹ They would pronounce the five letters 'Śivāya Namaḥ' and wear the sacred ash on their bodies.²

The Śaiva devotees were of different orders as Pāsupatas, Lakulīṣa Pāsupatas, Mahāvratins, Kāpālikas, Śāktēyas, Bhairvas, Śaivas like Appar and Sambandar, Śivayōgins, Brahma-Cārins and naked Śaiva ascetics. Perhaps these last wore no dress since Śiva is described as making Bikṣāṭana.³ A devotee of this kind is said to have visited Naraśinga Munaiyaraigar's house.⁴

The history of the lives of the Nāyanmārs clearly shows that it was the custom of those days to welcome the āḍiyārs, irrespective of their form, wash their feet, take them in, offer them seats, food and give them all they desired. Whatever might be their caste and profession, the Śaivas served the devotees to their utmost. 'To please the devotee was to please God'. There seemed to be no limit to the devotion of particularly a few.

¹ P. P. - T. C. vv. 5-10. ² Appar, p. 141, v. 6. ³ C. H. V. P d. 56. ⁴ N. M. P. v. 5.

Iyaṁpagai Nāyaṇār readily gave away his wife to the aḍiyār, who asked for her; Māṇakkaṇjāraṁ cut off and gave away the hair of his daughter, who was in her bridal decoration on the occasion of her marriage, to a Mahāvratin as soon as the latter asked for it; Great was the devotion of this bride who willingly parted with her hair at her father's desire unheeding of the occasion. The wonder of it is that the bridegroom Kalikkāmar would willingly acquiesce in the action and marry the same girl happily.¹

Feeding the several kinds of aḍiyārs was considered a sacred service. The host invariably took his meal at the end.² It was for this Māhāsvara pūjā that free feeding houses sprang in the days of the Cōlas. In every temple, there were endowments for the feeding of the aḍiyārs. Accommodation was made in maṭhas and guhais to feed the aḍiyārs.³ It can be seen from the following lines of an inscription that those women who had an ascetic bent of mind and who had engaged themselves in Śivattonḍu were respected even by the kings:

¹ Mānak. N. P. v. 35. ² Mūrkhar P. v. 10. ³ 101 of 1914; 111 of 1925; 124, 225 & 230 of 1911; 687 of 1909; 467, 164 & 177 of 1908; 99 of 1926; 75 of 1920; 2 of 1914; 677 of 1919; 164 & 177 of 1908; 168 of 1912; 100 of 1906; 189 of 1928-29; 311 of 1928; 144 of 1925; 144 of 1926; 82 of 1931; 148 of 1935-36; 149 of 1927; 19 of 1931; 108 of 1925 and 422 of 1904.

"Kulōttunga in the 26th year of his reign (about A. D. 1204) gifted the village (named) Kuḷappākkam alias Śivapādasēkharanallūr in Puliyūrkkōṭṭam and gold ornaments to the God Vyākaraṇadhāna-Perumāḷ and his consort, at the request of a certain female mendicant called Tiruvorriyūr-Āmmai.¹"

Some-times Āḍiyārs read the Āgamas and explained them to the kings. The Āḍiyār who expounded the Āgamas would sit on a raised seat, and the listening king would sit on the floor. This was the custom in vogue.² The devotees had even the privilege of freely entering the palace of a Śaiva king at any time.³ They had the privilege of entering even his bed chamber. There is evidence to show that enemies of Śaiva kings misused this privilege to their own advantage and killed some of the Śaiva kings.⁴ The Śaiva warriors would not harm their enemies when they were seen in the guise of Śaiva devotees,⁵ and the life of Ēṇādinādar is an instance for this.

The devotees observed fasting to fulfil their vows.⁶ There was unity, mutual love and respect among them. As soon as one saw another, he

¹ 120 of 1912. ² M. N. P. vv. 12 & 14. ³ Ibid. v. 10. ⁴ Ibid. vv. 6-15. ⁵ Ibid. vv. 16-21; E. P. vv. 35-40. ⁶ Appar P. v. 299.

bowed his head low.¹ Their desire was to be in the congregation of devotees. They would speak highly of the devotees who preceded them, and of their contemporaries for their pious deeds. This trait of theirs is mentioned in the third and sixth chapters of this thesis. The Adiyārs who made no difference between a potsherd and gold did not fail to punish those, whoever they might be, who committed Śivadrōha. That Eripattar killed the royal elephant of the Cōla king, and that Śeruttunaiyār cut off the nose of Kalarcingar's queen are sufficient proofs of this. Appar's life is a proper evidence to show that the Adiyārs did not fear even kings. When we learn that Svāmi-dēvar, the Rāja-Guru, altered the order issued by Kulōttunga III, and that the king approved of it, the regard and respect shown to him could be clearly seen.

ADIYARS AND THE FIVE-LETTERS:

Adiyārs placed their complete faith in the efficacy of the five letters as their shelter. When Amarnitiyār was about to enter the balance to weigh himself against God's caupīna,² when Āṇāyar played on his flute,³ when Tilakavatiyār administered the sacred ash to Appar to convert him back to

¹ P. P. - N. C. v. 22. ² A. N. P. v. 43. ³ Āṇāyar P. v. 22.

Śaivism,¹ when Appar floated on water with a huge stone tied round him by the Jains,² when Sambandar got into the pearl palanquin,³ when he started for the Pāṇḍya country,⁴ when Daṇḍiyāḍigal took a vow and sank into the tank before the Jains,⁵ when Puṅgaḷc-cōḷar got into the fire,⁶ and when Cēramāṇ Perumāl left for Kailas mounted on his horse back,⁷ they all pronounced the five letters. It was a custom with the Śaivas to pronounce the five letters when they rose from the bed in the morning.⁸ Śakkiḷār mentions the five letters as Śiva mantra.⁹

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE :

Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism struggled with Buddhism and Jainism and put an end to the influence of the latter two in the days of the Pallavas. Therefore, in the days of the later Cōḷas, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism alone became influential in the Tamiḷ country. However, it may not be wrong to say that Śaivism alone secured a unique place in the land since all the Cōḷa kings were mostly pious Śaivas. One or two of the Cōḷa kings disfavoured Vaiṣṇavism. Of them, one was Adī Rājendra or Vira Rājendra. It was in the reign of one of them that there arose the unfortunate

¹ Appar P. v. 66. ² Ibid. v. 125. ³ Sam. P. v. 216. ⁴ Ibid. v. 619. ⁵ D. A. P. v. 19. ⁶ P. C. N. P. v. 39. ⁷ V. C. v. 36. ⁸ Sam. P. v. 208. ⁹ V. C. v. 36.

incident of Rāmānuja leaving the Cōla country to the Hoysala country.¹ One other was Kulōttunga II, a contemporary of Śēkkilār. He pulled out the deity of Gōvinda Rāja at Tillai and moved it from that place.² In the fourteenth year of Rājarāja II's reign, "a decision was arrived at by the Mahāsabha of Tirukkaḍavūr to confiscate to the temple, the property of those Māhēśvaras, who contrary to their tenets as custodians of the Śiva temple and its observances, intermingled freely with the Vaiṣṇavas, and themselves wore or sold the Śengalunīr flowers grown for the deity."³ In the fourteenth year of Rājarāja II (?) an "order was passed by the Kūṭṭapperumakkaḷ, in charge of the village administration, granting for the well-being of the king and the village, some tax-free land for the opening of a new road to the Kāviri for carrying the image of Rājarāja Vinṇagar Emberumān of Naḍuvīrkōiyil for bath, as the authorities of the temple of Tiruttāṇṇonri-māḍam-Uḍaiyār refused permission for the usual sacred bath of the deity in the tank of the Śiva temple."⁴ The first two instances shown above point to the hatred of the Cōla kings towards Vaiṣṇavism; and the other two will bring out the hatred shown by the temple administrators towards Vaiṣṇavism. However, excepting these instances, it cannot be said in

¹ Cōlas I, p. 354. ² 363 of 1907. ³ 257 of 1925. ⁴ 231 of 1925.

general that the Śaivas hated any other religionists on account of their religious zeal.

KÖYIL-TOṆḌUGĀL (TEMPLE SERVICES.)

Temples were built in accordance with the rules laid down in the Āgamas.¹ Temple worship was essential for the devotees. They voluntarily undertook on themselves the service at the temple. Sweeping the temple (திருவலகிடல்), washing the floor with cowdung (திருமெழுககிடல்), gathering the flowers for the worship of the Lord, preparing flower garlands such as Inḍai, Kaṇṇi or tār and the like, and lighting the lamps etc., were done by the devotees. Appar performed 'kōyil-tonḍu'; Tilaka-vatīyār did such services as sweeping, washing and preparing wreaths etc.² Sangiliyār was engaged in the service of preparing flower wreaths.³ Some Āḍiyārs maintained flower gardens. Cōla inscriptions mention that copying Tirumurai, reciting the hymns and preserving them etc. were also the services of the Āṇḍārs.

Constructing temples, laying out flower-gardens, maintaining ever-burning lamps, conducting festivals and such services were considered sacred religious services. Therefore, numerous temples were built by many during the reign of

¹ Puṣal. N. . v. 6. ² Appar P. v. 44. ³ E. K. N. P. v. 223.

the Cōlas; flower gardens were grown and taken care of; the common people made many gifts to maintain ever-burning lamps in the temple; lands etc. were endowed for the celebration of festivals on the occasions fixed for them. Since it was considered a sacred duty to honour the adiyārs, temples were also built for them. Statuette bronzes of them were enshrined; worship was performed; and festivals celebrated in their honour. All the Śaivas from the kings to the ascetics engaged themselves in such services. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍyan who conquered the Cōla country, roofed with gold the Tillai-Śīrāmbalam. The temple was situated in the country which he newly conquered.¹ The Aṇukkiyār (the personal servant-maid) of Vijaya Rājendra Cōla, Pallavan-Paṭṭāli Nangai made a gift of tiles covered with gold to the roof of Tiruvīli-milalai Temple.² In short, it is proper to say that thousands of inscriptions that arose in the reign of the Cōlas confirm the fact that the people of those days dedicated their body, wealth and soul (உடல் - பொருள் - ஆவி) to the service of the temple.

BUILDING TEMPLES FOR ADIYARS:

It was an age long custom to enshrine a linga and erect a temple over it in the place where an

¹ 19 of 1899; A. R. E. 1936-7, p. 74. ² 384 of 1908.

ardent devotee was buried or cremated. In the days of Pallava Kampavarman, a Ganga chief named Rājāditya built at Cōlapuram near Vellore, a temple of Śiva on the spot where his father had been buried.¹ When Āditya Cōla I died at Āṇṇūr near Kāḷatti, his son Parāntaka built a temple called Ādityāśvaram on that spot. These temples went by the name of Paḷḷippaḍai. He also provided for the feeding of a thousand Brahmins on certain festival days.² Ariṇṇayaṇ died at Āṇṇūr and Rājarāja I built a temple on the spot of his death.³ Pūjās were performed and festivals were celebrated in all their grandeur even in these temples.⁴

MODE OF WORSHIP BY THE PEOPLE IN TEMPLES:

Pūjās were performed in temples in accordance with the Āgamic rites. It was customary to sound the conch early in the morning. Then incense (குங்குலியம்) was burnt⁵. Abiṣēham was made to the deity with the water of young cocoanuts, honey and pañca-gavya (ஆனைந்து⁶). The people got up early in the morning, bathed, wore the sacred ash on their person and went to the temple.⁷ Some entered the temple reciting sacred hymns.⁸ Tenderness

¹ E. I. 7. p. 193. ² 286 of 1906 & 230 of 1903. ³ S. I. J. 3. 17.

⁴ For more information about this kind of temples, vide A. R. E. 1914, p. 107. ⁵ Appar, p. 151, v. 10. ⁶ Appar, p. 228, v. 10.

⁷ Ibid. p. 50, v. 4. ⁸ Ibid. p. 6, v. 1.

of mind, emotion, and devotion were found in the devotees. They went round the compound in *pradaṣina* from the right, reciting hymns.¹ They prayed to God saying, "Long live Thy glory-praise to Thee - Victory to Thee. Victory to Thee." (*வாழ்வி-பெற்றி-ஐய ஐய*²). They sang; bowed to the deity and recited the *Pallāṇḍu*.³ They tried to control their senses.⁴ They worshipped thrice a day.⁵ It was customary to make special prayers to God.⁶ Maidens even prayed to God to unite them with their lovers whom they had seen and loved in their dreams.⁷ The devotees prayed with their folded hands, bowed their heads, and their hearts melted.⁸ There were also others who remained in their houses or temples and sat in meditation counting their chants on *Rudrākṣa* garland.⁹ Some devotees wept in frenzy before the Lord, confessing their defects and to make their hearts pure.¹⁰ The *Tirukkannāppūr Tiruttāṇḍagam* sung by Appar, Sambandar's *Tirumudukunṛappadigam* and some other songs clearly show the modes of worship offered to the Lord.¹¹ In the temple, the male first worshipped the Lord by prostrating before Him.

¹ Ibid. p. 268, v. 10. ² Ibid. p. 320, - *Pōṛṇittiruttāṇḍagam* & *Pōṛṇittiruvagaval* in *Tiruvāṣagam*. ³ Ibid. p. 35, v. 10. ⁴ Ibid. p. 52, v. 9. ⁵ Ibid. p. 170, v. 9. ⁶ Ibid. p. 35, v. 2. ⁷ Ibid. p. 145, v. 9, ⁸ Sambandar, p. 319, v. 3. ⁹ Ibid. p. 503, v. 3. ¹⁰ Appar, p. 513 v. 9. ¹¹ Sambandar, pp. 326-7; p. 373, v. 3; p. 391, v. 5.

The mode was that his eight limbs must touch the ground and this was called the *Sāṣṭāṅgha Namaskāra*, i.e. prostrating before the Lord with his two legs, two hands, head, two ears, and the forehead touching the ground. It was *Pañcāṅga* when only two hands, two legs and the head touched the floor. Women were prohibited from offering *Sāṣṭāṅgha Namaskāra*. They offered only *Pañcāṅga* salutation. Bowing to any other in the temple was prohibited. It was a rule that one must not tread on the shadow of the finial of the inner *Vimāna*.¹ In the days of the *Cōlas* who succeeded the *Nāyanmārs*, the modes of worship and other ceremonies multiplied. This development could be seen from thousands of inscriptions.

THE RELIGIOUS INSTINCT AND INTEREST OF THE ŚAIVAS :

In the reign of *Rājarāja III*, *Vīra Narasimhadēva* of the *Hoysala* dynasty invaded the south and devastated the country and temples and took away the images of gods. Of them, the temple at *Tiruvaratturai* was one. A certain devotee called *Tāvāra-maḷagiyāṇ* set up the images of *Āṭkoṇḍa Nāyagar* and his consort and of a *Tiruvādavūr Perumāḷ* in that temple² of *Tiruvaratturai*. The images that

¹ *Taḍut*. P. v. 126 & its commentary by C. K. S. Vol. I. p. 324.

² 228 of 1929.

were in existence at Tiruvilakkudi had been kept in the temple of Tiruccattimurram. After the invasion, they were brought back and arrangements were made for their pūjā etc., as before.¹ The Kōḍikkulaḡar temple was another impaired by that invasion. After the invasion, that temple was renovated.² These instances show the special interest of the Śaivas to resume worship, whenever certain temples came to harm by invasions and the like.

SOME ŚAIVA BELIEFS:

The Śaivas believed in Karma. They thought that deeds done in the previous birth influenced the present in many ways.³ They also believed the Lord sometimes tested the devotees in order to measure their bhakti⁴; the Vēdas belonged to Him; so also the Tamil works - ("ஆரியன் கண்டாய் தமிழன் கண்டாய்"⁵); even the bad stars and the planets would bring good to the Aḡiyārs⁶; the Lord would pardon the sins of His devotees; He will appear before them as a simple person and help them.⁷ These were some of the beliefs of the Śaivas of those days.

¹ 141 of 1926. ² 501 of 1904. ³ Appar, p. 161, v. 4. ⁴ Ibid. p. 194, v. 6. ⁵ Ibid. p. 360, v. 5. ⁶ Sambandar, p. 417, v. 6. ⁷ Appar, p. 513, v. 8.

PILGRIMAGE TO HOLY CENTRES :

The Śaivas, like any other religionist, were in the habit of visiting holy places spread all over India. There were Śaiva Kṣētras from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. The earliest historical reference to the pilgrimage of the Śaiva aḍiyārs is found in the Kṣētra Venḇā of Aiyāḍigaḷ already mentioned in Chapter III. Śēkkiḷār definitely says in his Periya-Purāṇam that Aiyāḍigaḷ went on pilgrimage. As Aiyāḍigaḷ devotes a song to every Kṣētra he seems to have visited, it is likely that he went as far as Ujjain, a famous Śaiva centre, to which also he devotes a venḇā. His book Kṣētra-venḇā is now available to us in a mutilated and incomplete form. Only 24 venḇās have been so far recovered. It is likely that the great devotee visited even the other famous shrines of India and composed similar venḇās. We hear likewise that Tirumūlar came from Kailās to the South, visiting Kēdāram, Nēpāl, Ujjain, Śrī Śailam, Kāḷatti, Ālangādu, Kāñci, Adigai, Cidambaram and finally settled at Āvaḍuturai. These two instances clearly prove that there were pilgrimages even in the early Pallava period from south to north and north to south. We hear next, of Kapiladēvar, Paraṇadēvar and Nakkiradēvar of the same period making pilgrimages.

Coming to the later Pallava period, the Samayācāryas - Appar and Sambandar visited

nearly 250 temples in South India both from propagandist and spiritual points of view. A large number of their adherents, followed them to several shrines. In the ninth century, Sundarar, Cēramāṇ Perumāḷ, Viṇṇamīṇḍar and Māṇikkavāśagar are found making pilgrimages.

Coming to the Cōla period, we find from the works of Paṭṭiṇattār, Karuvūrttēvar, Cāṇḍaṇār and Śekkiḷār, that they visited many holy centres. We find in the Cōla inscriptions that a number of pilgrims from North India made pilgrimages to South India and visited holy places like Tiruvorriyūr.¹ We have references to a lady Āriyavammai, wife of Prabhākara-Bhaṭṭa, making some grants at Tiruvorriyūr.² The Cōla queen Śembiyaṇ Mādēviyār renovated and made grants to many Śiva temples. From the tone of the inscriptions, we can safely infer that she was in close touch with those temples, and, it is likely that she visited them all. The Cōla kings did not confine themselves to mere patronising Śaivism, but took active part in all forms of worship. For example, we find Rājādhirāja II, Kulōttunga III and Rājarāja III visiting Tiruvorriyūr and taking part in the festivals like any other ordinary devotee. The Cōla feudatories also seem to have taken similar interest in Śiva

¹ ARE. 1913, p. 97 and ARE. 1936-37, p. 70. ² 155 of 1912.

temples. Kōpperuñjinga and his son Mahārāja-simhan were great benefactors of Śaivism. By their time, we find Śaivism in its full bloom in South India and its influence seems to have spread as far as Tripurāntakam or Śrī Śailam and Drākṣārāma outside the Tamiḷ land.¹

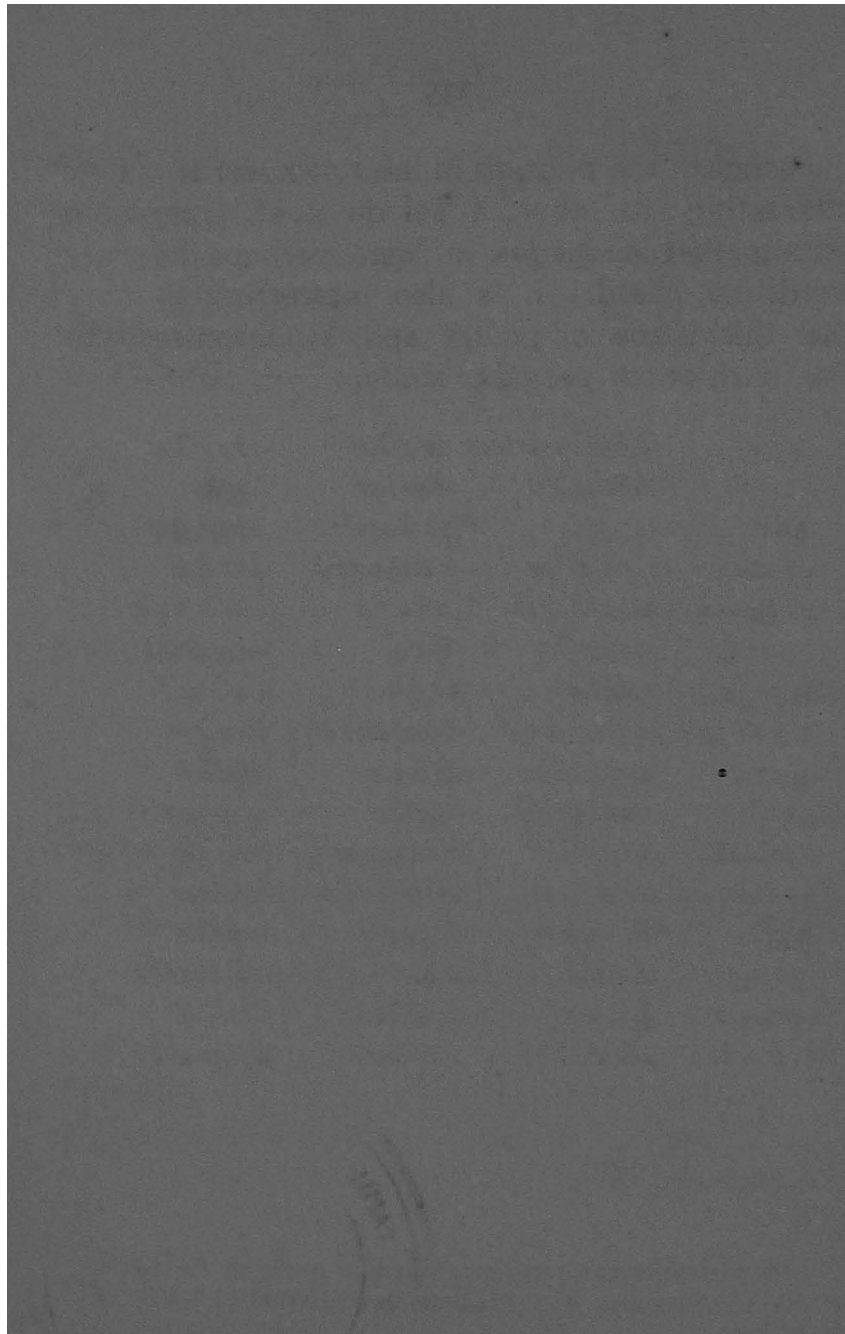
Tripurāntakam is an ancient Śaiva centre, and the Śivarātri festival there is of an all-India importance.² Śaiva pilgrims used to gather there from all over India, and it is needless to say that Tamils visited the place for worship. Definite information of the Tamiḷ devotees visiting this place is to be seen from the time of the Telugu Poet Palkuriki Sōmanātha Kavi who seems to have flourished at about A. D. 1300.³ Sōmanātha was not a mere poet but also a well-known Vīra Śaiva Ācārya after the 'Paṇḍita-trayam.' In his Paṇḍitarādyā Caritramu he gives a vivid picture of the different paraṣes (groups of bhaktas) visiting Śrī Śailam on the Śivarātri day. He describes the pilgrims shouting and singing the praises of Mallikārjuna (Śiva) of Śrī Śaila in their own language and dancing in ecstasy. Like the dramatist the poet deviates from his own language and narrates

¹ ARE. 1906, p. 64. ² For an account of Śrī Śailam vide 'Studies in Śaiva Siddhanta' by the Śaiva Siddhantin and Scholar J. M. Nallasamy Pillai. ³ Paṇḍitarādyā Caritramu, Int. p. 22.

the songs of the pilgrims in their own words. It is interesting to note a Telugu poet, composing among other languages, in Tamil, perhaps the very words he heard. It is also interesting to note that this piece of poetry aptly synchronises with the finish of our period of study.

“ அருளு	கிரிதியென்னே	அரனே	பிரானே
சிரகிரி	நிலையனே	சிவனே	ஆண்டவனே
அங்க	மாறும்	தானையா	யிருந்தவனே
மங்கையர்	பாங்கனே	மல்லிகார்ச்	சுனனே
யானானக்	கடியனேன்	அகிலநா	யகனே
ஏனமில்	லாலானே	இல்ல	வில்லியனே
அறுபத்து	மூவர்க்	காத்மநா	யகனே
மறுநாலு	மறியாத	மல்லிகார்ச்	சுனனே
ஆலால	கண்டனே	ஆதியற்	றவனே
சூலியே	மல்லிகார்ச்	சுனனே	அன்னவனே
எல்லையில்	லாதானே	எங்குமுள்	ளவனே
சொல்லவல்	லாதானே	மல்லிகார்ச்	சுனனே
ஆறு	மிடத்திரு	நீறுமுள்	ளவனே
ஏறேறு	மீசனே	எல்ல	மல்லையனே
வேதியர்	துதிக்கும்	ஆதியே	சிவனே
சோதியே	மல்லிகார்ச்	சுனனே	அன்னவனே. ¹ ”

¹ The passage is reproduced here exactly as found in the edition of Dr. C. Narayana Rao Panditaradhy Caritramu, Vol. II, pp. 388-9.



APPENDIX A.

LIST OF THE SHRINES SUNG BY THE NAYANMARS.

பாடல்பெற்ற தலங்கள்

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Agattiyānpaḷḷi | 23. Ārūr |
| 2. Accirupākkam | 24. Ārūr-Aranēri |
| 3. Aṇjaikkaḷam | 25. Ārūr-Paravaiyuṇ |
| 4. Aṇṇāmalai | maṇḍaḷi |
| 5. Adigai | 26. Ālangāḍu |
| 6. Ambar-Perungōyil | 27. Ālampoḷil |
| 7. Ambar-Mākāḷam | 28. Ālavāi |
| 8. Āraṣili | 29. Āvaḍuturai |
| 9. Āradaip-perumpāḷi | 30. Āvūr |
| 10. Āriṣirkaraipputtūr | 31. Āṇaikkā |
| 11. Avaḷivaṇallūr | 32. Iḍumbāvaṇam |
| 12. Avināsi | 33. Iḍaiccuram |
| 13. Alundūr | 34. Iḍaimarudūr |
| 14. Aṇaiyaṇinallūr | 35. Iḍaiyāru |
| 15. Ānēkatangāpadam | 36. Indiranilapparup |
| 16. Aṇbil-Ālandurai | padam |
| 17. Aṇṇiyūr | 37. Irāmanadiccuram |
| 18. Ākkūr | 38. Irāmēccuram |
| 19. Āḍāṇai | 39. Irumbūlai |
| 20. Āppaṇūr | 40. Irumbai-Mākāḷam |
| 21. Āppāḍi | 41. Ilambaiyangōttūr |
| 22. Āmāttūr | 42. Inṇambar |

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|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 43. Ingōimalai | 68. Kaḍaimuḍi |
| 44. Uṣāttānam | 69. Kaṇḍiyūr |
| 45. Ūral | 70. Kaṇṇārkōyil |
| 46. Edirkolpāḍi | 71. Kayilāyam |
| 47. Erukkattampuliyūr | 72. Karaviram |
| 48. Eṟumbiyūr | 73. Karugāvūr |
| 49. Ēḍagam | 74. Karukkuḍi |
| 50. Aiyāru | 75. Karuppariyālūr |
| 51. Oṟriyūr | 76. Karuvili |
| 52. Ōṇakāndaṇ-taḷi | 77. Karuvūr-Ānilai |
| 53. Ōttūr | 78. Kalayanallūr |
| 54. Ōmāmpuliyūr | 79. Kalikkāmūr |
| 55. Kacci-Anēkatangā | 80. Kaḷippālai |
| padam | 81. Kaḷukkunṇam |
| 56. Kacci-Mēṟṟaḷi | 82. Kaḷar |
| 57. Kacci-Ēkambam | 83. Kaḷḷil |
| 58. Kaccineṟik- | 84. Kaṟkuḍi |
| Kāraikkāḍu | 85. Kaṇṟāppūr |
| 59. Kaccūr | 86. Kīḷaik-Kāttupaḷḷi |
| 60. Kaṇjanūr | 87. Mēḷaik-Kāttupaḷḷi |
| 61. Kaḍandai (Peṇṇā | 88. Kāviriṇṇāmpaṭṭiṇam |
| gaḍam) | 89. Kāli |
| 62. Kaḍambanduraḷai | 90. Kāḷatti |
| 63. Kaḍambūr | 91. Kāṟāyil |
| 64. Kaḍavūr | 92. Kāṇappēr |
| 65. Kaḍavūr-Mayāṇam | 93. Kāṇāṭṭu-muḷḷūr |
| 66. Kaḍikkuḷam | 94. Kāṇūr |
| 67. Kaḍuvāikkaraip | 95. Kīḷvēḷūr |
| puttūr | 96. Kuḍandaik-Kāṟōṇam |

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|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 97. Kuḍandaik-Kilk- | 122. Kōṇamalai |
| Kōṭṭam | 123. Kōyil |
| 98. Kuḍamūkku | 124. Kōlakka |
| 99. Kuḍavāyil | 125. Kōvalūr |
| 100. Kurakkukkā | 126. Kōḷambam |
| 101. Kurangaṇṇimuttam | 127. Kōḷili |
| 102. (Vada) Kuran | 128. Cakkarappaḷḷi |
| gāḍuturai | 129. Cattimuttam |
| 103. (Ten) Kuran | 130. Śāttamangai |
| gāḍuturai | 131. Śaikkāḍu |
| 104. Kurugāvūr | 132. Śikkal |
| 105. Kuṟukkai | 133. Śirappaḷḷi |
| 106. Kuṟṟālēm | 134. Śivapuram |
| 107. Kūḍalaiyāṟṟūr | 135. Śirukudi |
| 108. Kēḍaram | 136. Śiṟṇēmam |
| 109. Kēḍiccuram | 137. Śuliyal |
| 110. Kaiccinam | 138. Śengāṭṭanguḍi |
| 111. Kodimāḍac- | 139. Śemponpaḷḷi |
| Cengunṟūr | 140. Śēyṇālūr |
| 112. Koḍungunṟam | 141. Śērai |
| 113. Kōṭṭaiyūr | 142. Śōpuram |
| 114. Koṇḍiccuram | 143. Śōṟṟutturai |
| 115. Kōḷambūdūr | 144. Taṇḍalai-niṇēṟi |
| 116. Kōḷikkāḍu | 145. Dharumapuram |
| 117. Gōkaṟṇam | 146. Talaiccangāḍu |
| 118. Kōḍi | 147. Talaiyālangāḍu |
| 119. Kōdikā | 148. Tirundudēvaṇ-kuḍi |
| 120. Kōṭṭāru | 149. Tilataippati |
| 121. Kōṭṭūr | 150. Tiṇainagar |

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|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 151. Turutti | 179. Nelvenṇai |
| 152. Tuṟaiyūr | 180. Nelvēli |
| 153. Tengūr | 181. Paṭṭiccuram |
| 154. Teḷicceri | 182. Pandaṇainallūr |
| 155. Tenkuḍittittai | 183. Payarṟūr |
| 156. Tēvūr | 184. Paranguṇṟu |
| 157. Naṇā | 185. Parāittuṟai |
| 158. Nallam | 186. Paridiniyamam |
| 159. Naḷlūr | 187. Paruppadam |
| 160. Nallūrp-peru | 188. Paḷaṇam |
| maṇam | 189. Paḷuvūr |
| 161. Naḷḷāru | 190. Paḷaiyārai-Vaḍataḷi |
| 162. Naṟaiyūr | 191. Paḷḷiyin-mukkūdal |
| 163. Naṇipalḷi | 192. Paṟiyalūr |
| 164. Nannilam | 193. Paṇangāṭṭūr |
| 165. Nāgēccuram | 194. Paṇandāl |
| 166. Nāgaik-Kārōṇam | 195. Paṇaiyūr |
| 167. Nāṭṭiyattāṇ-Kuḍi | 196. Pāsūr |
| 168. Nāraiyyūr | 197. Pāccilāccirāmam |
| 169. Nālūr-Mayāṇam | 198. Pāṇḍikkodumudi |
| 170. Nāvalūr | 199. Pāṭālēccuram |
| 171. Niṇṟiyūr | 200. Pādirippuliyūr |
| 172. Niḍūr | 201. Pāmburam |
| 173. Nilakkuḍi | 202. Pālaittuṟai |
| 174. Neḍungaḷam | 203. Pāṟṟuṟai |
| 175. Neittāṇam | 204. Puḡalūr |
| 176. Nellikkā | 205. Puḡalūr-Vartta |
| 177. Nelvāyil (Śivapuri) | māṇiccuram |
| 178. Nelvāyil-Arattuṟai | 206. Puttūr |

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|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 207. Puḷḷamangai | 234. Miyaċcūr |
| 208. Puḷḷirukkuvēḷūr | 235. Miyaċcūr-Iḷan |
| 209. Puṟambayam | gōyil |
| 210. Puṟavār-Paṇan | 236. Muṇḍiccuram |
| gāttūr | 237. Mudukunṟam |
| 211. Puṇavāyil | 238. Murugaṇpūṇḍi |
| 212. Puṇkūr | 239. (Vaḍa-tiru) |
| 213. Pūndurutti | Mullaivāyil |
| 214. Pūvaṇam | 240. (Teṇ-tiru) |
| 215. Pūvaṇūr | Mullaivāyil |
| 216. Perumpuliyūr | 241. Mukkiccuram |
| 217. Peruvēḷūr | 242. Vakkarai |
| 218. Pēṇu-Perunduṟai | 243. Vaḍugūr |
| 219. Pēreyil | 244. Valaṇḷuḷi |
| 220. Paiṇṇīli | 245. Valampuram |
| 221. Maṅgalakkuḍi | 246. Valitāyam |
| 222. Maṇaṇjēri | 247. Valivalam |
| 223. Maṇṇippaḍikkarai | 248. Vallam |
| 224. Mayilāḍuturai | 249. Vaṇṇiyūr |
| 225. Mayilāppūr | 250. Vāṇṇiyam |
| 226. Mayēndirappaḷi | 251. Vātpōkki |
| 227. Marugal | 252. Vāimūr |
| 228. Maḷapāḍi | 253. Vāḷoḷiputtūr |
| 229. Maṟaikkāḍu | 254. Vāṇmiyūr |
| 230. Mākaraḷ | 255. Visayamangai |
| 231. Māṇikuḷi | 256. Viyalūr |
| 232. Mānduṟai | 257. Viḷanagar |
| 233. Māṟpēṟu | 258. Viḷamar |

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|--------------------|------------------------|
| 259. Viṛkuḍi | 267. Veṇpākkam |
| 260. Viṛkōlam | 268. Vēṭkaḷam |
| 261. Viḷimiḷalai | 269. Vēṭṭakkuḍi |
| 262. Veñjamākkūḍal | 270. Vēdikuḍi |
| 263. Venkāḍu | 271. Vēlvikkūḍi |
| 264. Veṇḍuṛai | 272. Vērkāḍu |
| 265. Veṇṇiyūr | 273. Vaigan-māḍakkōyil |
| 266. Veṇṇainallūr | 274. Vaigāvūr |



APPENDIX B.

* LIST OF SHRINES MENTIONED IN TĒVARAM.

(வைப்புத் தலங்கள்)

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| 1. Tīngalūr | 20. Vēngūr |
| 2. Nāngalūr | 21. Nāngūr |
| 3. Tāngalūr | 22. Ponnūr |
| 4. Engalūr | 23. Tennūr |
| 5. Pāsānūr | 24. Tālaiyūr |
| 6. Nāsānūr | 25. Kūlaiyūr |
| 7. Īsānūr | 26. Ēlūr |
| 8. Dēśānūr | 27. Tōlūr |
| 9. Kūrānūr | 28. Viḍaṅgalūr |
| 10. Ēraṇūr | 29. Kaḍaṅgalūr |
| 11. Tēraṇūr | 30. Mundaiyūr |
| 12. Pēraṇūr | 31. Pandaiyūr |
| 13. Kāṭṭūr | 32. Maṇaiyaṇūr |
| 14. Māṭṭūr | 33. Nīṇaiyaṇūr |
| 15. Pūliyūr | 34. Pīṇaiyaṇūr |
| 16. Āliyūr | 35. Iṇaiyaṇūr |
| 17. Vēlaṇūr | 36. Mudalvaṇūr |
| 18. Mūlaṇūr | 37. Nambānūr |
| 19. Nālaṇūr | 38. Pāiṇālūr |

* This list is taken from the Tēvāram edited (1898) by Kāñci Sabapathy Mudaliyar.

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|----------------------|--------------------|
| 39. Tērūr | 68. Tuḍaiyūr |
| 40. Pērūr | 69. Takkaḷūr |
| 41. Māvūr | 70. Muḷaiyūr |
| 42. Piḍavūr | 71. Vēḷūr |
| 43. Puttūr (Gōvanda) | 72. Viḷattūr |
| 44. Tēnūr | 73. Tuvaiyūr |
| 45. Āmāvūr | 74. Nālūr |
| 46. Aḷappūr | 75. Tañjai-Elumūr |
| 47. Ūṟattūr | 76. Kūṇḍalūr |
| 48. Mārūr | 77. Kaccaiyūr |
| 49. Śērūr | 78. Paṇangāttūr |
| 50. Nallārūr | 79. Kūrūr |
| 51. Kuṇṇiyūr | 80. Porūr |
| 52. Ēmappēur | 81. Kārūr |
| 53. Śengunūr | 82. Kaḷaiyūr |
| 54. Veṇṇiyūr | 83. Pāttūr |
| 55. Mūvalūr | 84. Mūdūr |
| 56. Karuppūr | 85. Peṇanūr |
| 57. Dēvaṇūr | 86. Araṇanallūr |
| 58. Ēmanallūr | 87. Kodungōvaḷūr |
| 59. Perumūr | 88. Kuḷaiyūr |
| 60. Pērāvūr | 89. Poygai |
| 61. Vāḍavūr | 90. Neṟkunṇam |
| 62. Vaḷuvūr | 91. Naṟkunṇam |
| 63. Niyamanallūr | 92. Tirumalai |
| 64. Poygainallūr | 93. Podiyiṇmalai |
| 65. Vāḍa-pērūr | 94. Mahāmērumalai |
| 66. Koḍungōḷūr | 95. Udayamalai |
| 67. Tagāttūr | 96. Attamana-malai |

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|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 97. Mahēndramalai | 126. Karuntittaiṅkuḍi |
| 98. Ēmakūṭamalai | 127. Kaḍaiyakkuḍi |
| 99. Kandamāḍaṇamalai | 128. Sembanguḍi |
| 100. Vindamāmalai | 129. Puṟkuḍi |
| 101. Sayyamalai | 130. Mattanguḍi |
| 102. Nilamalai | 131. Kuttanguḍi |
| 103. Kollimalai | 132. Śalaikkuḍi |
| 104. Mandaram | 133. Taniccattanguḍi |
| 105. Irāppatticcuram | 134. Pudukkuḍi |
| 106. Mayindiccuram | 135. Tenkalakkuḍi |
| 107. Tiṇḍiccuram | 136. Nallakkuḍi |
| 108. Veguḷiccuram | 137. Kilḷikuḍi |
| 109. Mākālēccuram | 138. Tiruvaṅkuḍi |
| 110. Ayaṇiccuram | 139. Mākuḍi |
| 111. Atticcuram | 140. Idaippaḷḷi |
| 112. Āḍagēccuram | 141. Kolliyaṟaippaḷḷi |
| 113. Agatticcuram | 142. Parappaḷḷi |
| 114. Nandikēccuram | 143. Porappaḷḷi |
| 115. Dēviccuram | 144. Tavappaḷḷi |
| 116. Vēviccuram | 145. Śivappaḷḷi |
| 117. Viviccuram | 146. Aṟappaḷḷi |
| 118. Ēyiccuram | 147. Śiṟappaḷḷi |
| 119. Akkiccuram | 148. Neḍuvāyil |
| 120. Kukkuḍēccuram | 149. Neydalvāyil |
| 121. Nāgalēccuram | 150. Kuṇavāyil |
| 122. Sōmēsam | 151. Annaḷvāyil |
| 123. Kurundanguḍi | 152. Nālālvāyil |
| 124. Māṇikuḍi | 153. Idaikkūḷam |
| 125. Viḍaiṟaikkuḍi | 154. Taṅgait-taḷikkūḷam |

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|------------------------|---------------------|
| 155. Pārkuḷam | 184. Siddhavaḍam |
| 156. Tirukkuḷam | 185. Kongaṇam |
| 157. Vaḷaikuḷam | 186. Kāḷingam |
| 158. Kaṇṇaṇṇu | 187. Uṇṇēṇaimākāḷam |
| 159. Teḷḷāṇṇu | 188. Idavai |
| 160. Nālāṇṇu | 189. Pirambi |
| 161. Veḷḷāṇṇu | 190. Manaṇkāl |
| 162. Paḷaiyāṇṇu | 191. Karumāri |
| 163. Pūndurāi | 192. Kaḷappāi |
| 164. Tavattuṇṇai | 193. Kampili |
| 165. Kōṭṭukkāḍu | 194. Nāṭṭu-Taṇjai |
| 166. Paṇangāḍu | 195. Taṇjai |
| 167. Nīraikkāḍu | 196. Kārikarai |
| 168. Mīraikkāḍu | 197. Iṇaiyāṇcēri |
| 169. Iṇaikkāḍu | 198. Vāraṇāsi |
| 170. Taṇḍalaiyāḷangāḍu | 199. Aśōgandi |
| 171. Nālarkōyil | 200. Taṇḍantōṭṭam |
| 172. Maṇikkōyil | 201. Taṇḍanguṇṇai |
| 173. Kaccip-palataḷi | 202. Saḍaimuḍi |
| 174. Kurakkuttaḷi | 203. Ariccadiram |
| 175. Āṇai-Mēṇṇai | 204. Pulivalam |
| 176. Mādāṇam | 205. Mānadi |
| 177. Idaittāṇam | 206. Kumari |
| 178. Nāṇṇāṇam | 207. Śulamangai |
| 179. Taṇjākkai | 208. Purisai |
| 180. Paṇjākkai | 209. Śikkali |
| 181. Kurukkēttiram | 210. Tiruvēṭṭi |
| 182. Virāḍapuram | 211. Maṇimuttam |
| 183. Mānirubam | 212. Kaccimayāṇam |

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|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 213. Viḷattottī | 232. Kiḷaiyam |
| 214. Uruttirakōṭi | 233. Tiruvādiraiyān-
paṭṭinam |
| 215. Pāvanāśam | |
| 216. Koṇḍal | 234. Kiḷaivaḷi |
| 217. Kaṇṇai | 235. Dēvaṅkudi |
| 218. Kārai | 236. Koḍumudī |
| 219. Vaḷavi | 237. Teṅkōḍi |
| 220. Nallālai | 238. Kongu |
| 221. Tiripurāntakam | 239. Koḷunal |
| 222. Kōṭṭukkā | 240. Patti. |
| 223. Mākōṇam | 241. Karukaṅkural |
| 224. Śuriyal | 242. Paruttiniyamam |
| 225. Kāvam | 243. Nallēmam |
| 226. Varandai | 244. Mākālam |
| 227. Ecciliḷamar | 245. Perundurāi |
| 228. Uṇṇir | 246. Vada-Mākaṇal |
| 229. Kōttittai | 247. Paḍampakkam |
| 230. Karapuram
(Viriṇji-puram) | 248. Angaṇam |
| 231. Kiḷaiyil | 249. Ārai |

SHRINES MENTIONED IN TIRUVĀŚAGAM.

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Kallādam | 8. Bhūvalam |
| 2. Paṇjappaḷi | 9. Pattamangai |
| 3. Nandampāḍi | 10. Ōriyūr |
| 4. Velāmputtūr | 11. Pāṇḍur |
| 5. Tarppaṇam | 12. Mandiramāmalai |
| 6. Sāṇḍamputtūr | ¹ 13. Arikēsari (nallūr) |
| 7. Mokkaṇi | ² 14. Perungaruṇai |

¹, ² These two are added by the author of this Thesis.

APPENDIX C.

DATE OF KÖCCENGAṆAN. *

DOES KÖCCENGAṆAN BELONG TO THE PRE-PALLAVA AGE ?

It is held by many that Kōccengaṇan, one of the 63 Nāyanmārs belongs to the close of the pre-Pallava period. They base their inference on these two points: (1) In the colophon to the verse 74 of the Puṇanāṇṇuru we find the following :-

“ சேரமான் கணைக்காலிரும்பொறை சோழன் செங்கணை
னோடு போர்ப்புறத்துப் பொருது பற்றுக்கோட்பட்டுக்
குடவாயிற் கோட்டத்துச் சிறையிற் கிடந்து, ‘ தண்
ணீர் தா ’ என்று, பெருது, பெயர்த்துப் பெற்றுக்
கைக்கொண்டிருந்து உண்ணன் சொல்லித் துஞ்சிய
பாட்டு ”

Cēramāṇ Kanaikkāl Irumpoiṇai was captured by Cengaṇan and imprisoned at Kudavāyil Kōṭṭam (West Gate Prison). Feeling extremely thirsty the prisoner wanted a cup of water which was delayed. When it was finally brought he refused

* Reproduced from the student's Thesis approved for the Degree of Master of Oriental Learning. (1945).

to take it and breathed his last uttering the above stanza. (2) The poet Poygaiyār, a friend of Irumporai, placated the Cōla conqueror by singing of his valour in the battle-field and thereby secured the release of the Cēra from captivity. This matter is found written at the end of the Kaṭavaḷi. Let us examine these two statements.

1. (i) Now the name Kōccengaṇāṇ is not found in this 74th stanza of the Puṇāṇūru itself. That the colophon below is not of the author's hand is plainly seen by the reference, "உண்ணான் சொல்லித் துஞ்சிய பாட்டு" (sung by him who died refusing to drink). It is a fact well-known to scholars, that the colophons (added at a later period) are often very unreliable. One patent instance will be shown here. The colophon to verse 389 of the Puṇam reads as "ஆதனுங்கனைப் பாடிய பாட்டு" i. e., "Song sung of Āḍaṇuṅgaṇ". But in the body of the verse a line runs as "ஆதனுங்கனைப் போல நீயும் நல்குமதி" i. e., "please give like Āḍaṇuṅgaṇ." Even an ordinary reader will understand that "Āḍaṇuṅgaṇ" is just referred to here in the form of a simile. The above colophon about Kōccengaṇāṇ also is a similar thing. Worse still it contains neither the name of Kōccengaṇāṇ nor Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai. Nothing is mentioned of their fight. It is dangerous to base our conclusions on such unreliable sources.

Further the Stanzas of Kaḷavaḷi say of Kōccenganān that he was an imperial ruler (pēr-araśan), slayer of heroic enemies¹ and victor who defeated the Kongas and who slew Vanjikō (Cēra king).² Here we see that the Cēra King who opposed the Cōḷa was slain in battle. But we have no mention at all of Cēramān Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai.

(ii) The 74th stanza given above is given in the Tamil Nāvalar Caritai with a different note. It reads :

“சேரமான் கணைக்காலிரும்பொறை
பெங்கணாற் குடவாயிற்
கோட்டத்துத் தளைப்பட்டபோது
பொய்கையாருக்கு எழுதிவிடுத்த பாட்டு”.....

written and sent to Poygaiyār by Cēramān Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai when he (the Irumporai) was taken captive at Kuḍavāyil-Kōṭṭam by Cenganān. One cannot make out anything with notes so tangentially opposite to each other.

(iii) It says that Poygaiyār thereafter wrote the Kaḷavaḷi and thereafter king Cenganān released him and restored to him his kingdom. The late lamented scholar Pandit N. M. Vengadasami Naṭṭar who noted this discrepancy concluded that

¹ vv. 6. & 16, ² vv. 14 & 39.

the Cēra who died is different from the Cēra who was later released and restored to his throne;¹ they are not identical.

2. Tirumangai Ālvār has recorded that Kōccenganāṇ erected 70 temples for Śiva.² We do not hear of any king erecting temples for Śiva or Viṣṇu during the pre-Pallava period. For one and the same king to have raised so many as 70 temples, the period should have been one of a great outburst of religious enthusiasm. We have no records to show that there was any such enthusiasm or upheaval in the pre-Pallava age. It appears to have been a period of comparative peace and there was not much of a religious controversy or zealous activity. Such a time-spirit does not seem to fit in with the enthusiasm for the wholesale erection of 70 temples. But after this period, and before the Appar-Sambandar epoch, alien kings like the Kaḷabhras, and the Pallavas set their feet on the soil and Buddhism and Jainism found a fertile field. The Vēlvikkudi grant testifies to an extremity of security for the older religions when it says that under the Kaḷabhras the Brahmaḍēya grant of the Pāṇḍya of the pre-Pallava age was itself in danger of being dishonoured by the new rulers. Again

¹ Kaḷavaḷi, Int. p. 5 (Śaiva Siddhanta Kaḷagam-ed.) ² Tirunaṭṭaiyār-Padigam, v. 8.

it was during this age of these Kaḷabhras that Mūrti Nāyanār was put to trouble at Madurai and Daṇḍi Aḍigaḷ and Naminandi Aḍigaḷ conducted controversies with some Jains. As a result of these, the age immediately succeeding gained a greater momentum of enthusiastic adherence to Śaivism which would have favoured an action like that of Kōccenganāṇ in the way of his erection of 70 temples for Śiva. It is as a result of active patronage of kings like Kōccenganāṇ during this age that the way for a later age of victorious march for the older religions, over the new, must have been prepared.

3. The following are among Tirumangai Āḷvār's references to Kōccenganāṇ:¹ (1) "உலக மாண்ட தென்னுடன் குடகொங்கன் சோழன்" 'The Cōḷa who ruled the world was the king of the South, and of the Western Kongas.' (2) "தென்றமிழன் வடபுலக்கோள்" "Lord of the Southern Tamil Land and of the Northern areas." (3) "கழல்மன்னர் மணிமுடிமேற் காகமேறத் தேய்வவாள் வலங்கொண்ட சோழன்"... "The Cōḷa who used his divine sword to get victory over kings with a warrior's anklet in such a way that crows perched on their jewelled crowns." (4) "விறல்மன்னர் திறலழிய வெம்மா வுய்த்த செங்குணன் கோச்சோழன்" "Kōccōḷaṇ Cenganāṇ who rode his fierce horse so that powerful (enemy)

¹ Tirunārāyaṇ-Padigam, vv. 6, 5, 3, 4 & 9.

kings may have their power destroyed." (5) "படை மன்னர் உடல்துணியப் பரிமா வுய்த்த தேராளன் கோச் சோழன்". - "Kōccōlan of the Chariot drawn by swift steeds in such a way that the bodies of kings with their forces were cut."

Now we find from these references (i) that Kōccenganān defeated or killed in battle enemy kings of great might and power; (ii) that he conquered the Kongu-nāḍu; (iii) that he was conqueror of the country to the North of Cōla-nāḍu (Tōṇḍai-nāḍu?); (iv) and lastly that he had a fine force of cavalry and elephants.

The epithets 'Kaḷal manṇar' (kings having the warrior's anklet), 'Viṇal manṇar' (kings of embattled glory), 'paḍai manṇar' (kings with huge armies) show that the enemy kings he brought down were not negligible. Cenganān used against them a divine sword (தெய்வ வாள்). This is as much an indication of his astonishing prowess as of his spirit of religious devotion. If a king of such a prowess had lived in the pre-Pallava age, he could not have escaped the notice of the multifarious eulogists or bards of the day. We can readily see that Tōṇḍai-nāḍu also was part of Tamiḷ-nāḍu through the references to it in the Maṇi-mēkalai. If 'Vaḍapulam' means, kings beyond even Tōṇḍai-nāḍu, how are we to explain the reference?

In short Kōccenganān could not, we now find, have belonged to the pre-Pallava age for these reasons: (1) the pre-Pallava literature has no reference to the battles of Cenganān; (2) he appears to have conquered several well-known crowned heads; (3) we have no mention of him in the texts of the pre-Pallava works; (4) and finally he is noted for his Śiva temples.

4. Śēkkiār credits Kōccenganān with religious service at Tillai and as having constructed houses for brahmins.¹ It is note-worthy that Tillai is not mentioned at all anywhere in the pre-Pallava works. Perhaps it came to prominence as a Śaiva centre only from his days.

5. Kōccenganān's parents' names are given by Śēkkiār as 'Śubhadēva' and 'Kamalavati'.² Śēkkiār who was a Minister in the State of the Imperial Cōlas besides being a first-rate scholar could not have drawn from his imagination these names. He appears to have had ample reliable sources available to him. These names are Sanskrit. Even a tyro can see that such Sanskrit names are an anomaly in the pre-Pallava age. We get such names before Sambandar's age as we have reasons to think that Kāraikkāl Ammaiār referred

¹ K. C. NP. vv. 15 & 16. ² Ibid. v. 7.

to by him belongs to as far early as the fifth or the sixth century and her name at birth, we know, is 'Punitavati'. Notice the close kinship between the names 'Punitavati' and 'Kamalavati'.

It is clear from the above that Kōccenganāṇ did not belong to the pre-Pallava age. As he has been referred to by Appar and Sambandar of the 7th century A. D., he is earlier than both of them, that is to say, his age is roughly between A. D. 300 and 600. Let us see whether we can narrow down his date further than this wide area of time.

DATE OF KÖCCENGANAN :

The Velvikkudi grant tells us that the Pāṇḍya land was under the Kaṭabhras and that Kaṇṇungōṇ rescued it from them. But we do not as yet know how long they remained in possession of the Cōḷa country nor who among the Kaṭabhras themselves succeeded to the possession of the Cōḷa land after the demise of Accuta mentioned by Buddhadatta.¹ About the middle of the fifth century we hear that Kumāra viṣṇu, the Pallava king got hold of Kāñcī again. Also the Velūrpālayam Plates describe his son Buddhavarman to have been like the 'Submarine fire to the ocean-like army of the Cōḷas.' At the

¹ Cōḷas I, pp. 120-2.

beginning of the sixth century again we hear that Nandivarman I issued a grant from "Vijaya-Kāñci."¹ At about A. D. 575 Simhaviṣṇu again captured Kāñci and further defeated the Cōlas, Maḷavas and Kaḷabhras, and extended the Pallava empire as far as the Kāviri.² From these references we can infer that Kāñci was not under the Pallava rule both after Kumāra viṣṇu and before Simhaviṣṇu, and seems to have often changed hands during this period. The data does not warrant also our inference that it was the Kaḷabhras that held domain over Kāñci after Accutavikkanta up to the time of Simhaviṣṇu. The events, however, lead us to think that the Pallavas before Simhaviṣṇu did not stay permanently at Kāñci and rule over the Tondaimaṇḍalam. But in the middle of the fifth century Buddhavarman had to fight against the Cōlas with an army like the ocean. Again at the end of the sixth century Simhaviṣṇu defeated the Cōlas. These indicate that during the fifth century and the sixth, the Cōlas were a force to contend with in the South with a great standing army and recuperative capacity after defeat. May we not venture a suggestion that the Cōla king who had an army like the ocean, and who fought with the Pallavas was most likely Kōccengañān, who as we saw was later than the

¹ E. I. III. p. 142. ² S. I. I. II. 98; S. P. H., p. 20.

close of the pre-Pallava, but earlier than the Appar-Sambandar age? For, we know, through the references in Kaḷavaḷi and by Tirumangai Āḷvār, that Kōccenganāṇ defeated many crowned kings and had a huge army of horsemen and elephants. Probably he subdued the Kaḷabhras who held his land and even fought with Buddhavarman of the north successfully and hence deserved the title 'Vaḍapulakkōṇ' (ruler of the northern region) in the words of Tirumangai Āḷvār. If our surmises are near truth, Kōccenganāṇ must belong to the middle of the fifth century A. D. This is also in close agreement with the findings of Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai regarding the date of Kaḷavaḷi as having been written between 450-500 A. D.¹

The Historian and epigraphist Mr. Venkayya tells us: "This dark age is one in which the Pallava practically renounced his hold on Kāñci and confined his rule over the Telugu parts of his empire. It must be due to, perhaps, a coalition among the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and the Cēra kings or to the domination of one of them."² Our statements above confirm that there is a great amount of truth in this stand of Mr. Venkayya and serves as a commentary on his statements.

¹ Vide his 'Tirikaḍugam and Śirupaṇjamālam', pp. 10-11 & 75. (University Publication, 1945). ² I. A. 1908, p. 284.

We can find no more suitable period for Pugalccōla, another of the royal saints of the Cōla line than the same period as his name is not found in the pre-Pallava works and as he (a mighty king) could not have lived after Simhaviṣṇu.¹ So we would not be much wrong if we hold him to follow closely on the heels of, if he did not indeed actually succeed, Kōccōlaṇ. The only reason for the inability of the Pallava power to easily expand southwards and swallow the Cōla state was the existence at this period of powerful Cōla rulers like Cōccōlaṇ and Pugalccōlaṇ, and powerful Kaṭabhra overlords like Accutaṇ in the fifth and sixth centuries. These speculations, speculations though they be, do open up to us a side door to let in some twilight into what has hitherto been considered 'the dark period' of South Indian History.

¹ O. E. H. S. S. I. p. 183.

APPENDIX D.

SCULPTURES ABOUT ŚIRUTTONḌAR

These sculptures are found on the outer wall of the maṇṭapa, in which the dēvastānam office of Kāñci Ēkāmbarēśvarar temple is now located. By comparative study, we can ascribe these to the Cōla period. The three sculptures clearly illustrate the story of Śiruttonḍar. In the first, the mother is seen holding the boy and the father dismembering the head. In the second, we see the mother in a sorrowful mood, while the servant maid (Sandana Nangai) cuts the flesh to pieces for cooking. In the third sculpture, Śiva appears. Śirāḷaṇ, the boy, is seen evidently raised to life by His grace. And, Śirāḷaṇ, Śiruttonḍar, his wife, and the servant maid adore Śiva. I understand that these sculptures have not been so far noticed.

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