

HOYSALAS IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY

(12TH — 14TH CENTURIES)

By



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PREFACE

This small work is an amplification of two lectures that I delivered in the Annamalai University in November 1943. I am very grateful to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate for publishing it in the Historical series of the University and to Professor R. Sathianathaier for his Foreword.

I have to express my thanks to the Trichinopoly United Printers Limited for the neat execution of the book, and to the Archaeological Survey of India for permission to produce the photograph of the *Poysalesvaram* at Kannanur.

In spite of the care bestowed upon proof reading some errors and misprints have crept in, for which I crave the indulgence of the reader.

Madras }
10th March 1950 }

K. R. Venkatanaman

FOREWORD

Puravrittajyoti K. R. Venkataraman, well known for his sound knowledge of the antiquities of South India, elucidates and evaluates in the following pages the role of the Hoysalas in the annals, political and cultural, of the Tamil country. The gap between Kulottunga III Chola and the founders of Vijayanagar was bridged by the Hoysalas, who, like the torch-players in the stadium, transmitted the precious fire. Their rule in the Tamil country shews that dynastic imperialism could be more constructive than destructive, like the earlier and shorter Rashtrakuta interregnum in the history of the Cholas. The author has done justice to the glories of Kannanur, and his critical and suggestive monograph will be cherished by all students of South Indian History.

Annamalai University,
Annamalainagar,
18th February 1950

R. Sathianathan,
Professor of History & Politics.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A. R. E. .. Annual Reports of Epigraphy, Madras.
E. C. .. Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. I. .. Epigraphia India.
M. A. R. .. Mysore Archaeological Reports.
M. U. J. .. Madras University Journal
P. S. I. .. Pudukkottai State Inscriptions.
T. D. Insc. .. Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions.

Note—The numbers given in the foot-notes are those of the Annual Reports of Epigraphy (Madras) unless otherwise stated.

TRANSLITERATION

The accepted International scheme of transliteration of Indian sounds has been followed :

c stands for च—च्, but *ch* has been retained in words much too current in modern use.

t stands for ट—ट्; *d* for ड—ड्; *l* for ल—ल् and लृ; *n* for न—ण्; *ñ* for ण—ङ्; *ñ* for ण—ञ्; *r* for र—र्; *ś* for श्; and *ṣ* for ष—ष्.

CONTENTS

	PAGES
CHAPTER I	1-40
<i>Introductory</i> : Hoysaḷas—their origin and early Rulers (1).	
<i>Biḷḷiga Viṣṇuwardhana</i> (2-5): occupation of Gaṅgāvāḍi (2), advance into the Koṅgu country (2); into Miḷādu (3-4); the extent of his conquests (5).	
<i>Narasimha I</i> (5-6).	
<i>Ballāḷa II</i> (6-9): success in the North (6); events in the South (6-8); alliance with the Cōḷās (8-9).	
<i>Narahimha II</i> (9-15): invasion of Māgadhāi (9); defeat of Kō-Peruñjīṅga and restoration of Rāja Rāja III (10-12); invasion of the Pāṅḍya country (12-13), conquest of Kāñci and clashes with the Telugu Cōḍas (13-14); Hoysaḷa dominance in the South (14-15).	
<i>Vira Sōmēśvara</i> (15-24): extent of his Tamil possessions (15); Kāḍava wars (15-16); unsuccessful campaign against the Telugu Cōḍas (16); foundation of Kaṅṅanūr (16-17); Cōḷa kingdom a Hoysaḷa protectorate (17-18); Pāṅḍya country, another protectorate (18-19); conflict with Rājēndra Cōḷa III (19-21); invasion of Jat. Sundara Pāṅḍya I and Śōmēśvara's death (21-23); estimate of his reign (24).	

ViraRāmanātha (24-28); partition of the Hoysala Kingdom—Rāmanātha, Ruler of the Tamil provinces (24); a provincial capital at Kuṇḍani (25); alliance with Rājendra, and the death of the latter (25); effort of Hoysala interference in the affairs of the Cōla kingdom (26-27); Rāmanātha driven north by the Pāṇdyas (27-21).

Viravisvanātha (28).

Viraballāḷa III (29-39); reconquest of Koṅgu, Māgadhāi and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (29-30); civil war in Madura — Mālik Kāfur's invasion (30-31); Ravivarman Kulasēkara (31-32); Tughlaq conquest of the south (32-33); Madura sultanate (33); movement for the liberation of the Hindu states (33-37); Ballāḷa's leadership of the Hindu States—war with the Madura Sultanate (37-39); his death (39).

Viraballāḷa IV (39-40): Hoysala state merged in Vijayanagar (40).

CHAPTER II

.. 40-86

Nature of Hoysala Rule (40-43).

Ministers (43-46); *Danḍanāyakas* (43-44); *Nāyaks* (44); *Nāḍālvārs* and *Araiyars* (45); officers of the royal house-hold (45); *Olai* or *rāyasam* (45-46); accountants (46).

The Army (46-47); skill in strategy (46).

Kaṇṇanūr (47-48).

Code of warfare (48-51).

Administration of Justice (51-54); inquiries into Temple disputes—Kāmarasavalli (52) and Tirumayyam (52-53).

Local Government (54-56): the *ūr*, the *sabhā*, the *nagaram* and *nāḍu*; *agarams* (54-55).

Revenue Taxation etc. (56-58): tenures (56); taxes (56-57); irrigation works (57-58).

Trading corporations (58-63); *nagaram* (58): *Nānādēśiya-tiśaiy-āyirattu-ainnūrruvar* and other corporations (58-61); Kāṇṇanūr an *entrepot* (61); horse-trade (61-62); coins (62-63).

Religion (63-78): *Vaiṣṇavism*—Hoysaḷa contribution to its spread (64-65); *Vaḍakalais* (65); *Tenkalais* (65-66); endowments to temples—Śrīraṅgam (66-69); Tirupati (69-70); Kāñci (70-71); Aḷagarkōil and other places (71). *Saivism* (72-78)—its spread (71-72); *mathams* (72-74); endowments to temples—the *Poysalēśvaṣam* (74), Tiruvānaikkōvil temples (74-76), other places (76-78).

Temple Architecture (78-83).

Envoi (83-84).

APPENDIX

INDEX



ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	
3	24	<i>For</i> descendent, <i>read</i> descendant
5	24	<i>For</i> Narsimha I, <i>read</i> Narasimha I
5	F. Note 3	<i>For</i> H. I. S. I. <i>read</i> Rangachari Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.
6	19	<i>For</i> Sunas <i>read</i> Seunas
15	23	<i>Insert and before</i> captured
27	19	<i>For</i> resistance, <i>read</i> resistance
35	14	<i>For</i> dispossessad, <i>read</i> dispossessed
57	14	<i>For</i> conequent, <i>read</i> consequent
63	1	<i>Insert to before</i> two
68	4	<i>Insert and before</i> a number ^

HOYSALAS

IN THE

TAMIL COUNTRY

(12TH—14TH CENTURIES)

I

The origin of the Hoysaḷas is shrouded in mystery. Their legendary founder Sāḷa is reported to have exhibited his coolness and valour in killing a tiger, which was about to pounce upon him while engaged in receiving instructions from his guru, a Jaina monk. The scene of this occurrence was Sosāvīr-or Śaśāka-pura in the modern Mudgere Taluk of the Kaḍūr District in Mysore. Claiming to be Yādavas, the Hoysaḷas were at first hill chiefs, as one of their oldest titles *Malaparolgaṇḍa* or 'Champion among the Malapas or hill chiefs' would indicate. Bēlūr or Vēlāpura was their first capital, and they later established themselves at Dvārasamudra, the modern Halēbīḍ, and prided themselves in the appellation 'Dvārāvātīpuravarādīśvara'. The earliest chiefs of this line, mentioned in epigraphical records, are Vinayāditya I, Nṛpakāma and Vinayāditya II. Their rule extended practically over the 11th Century. Eṛeyaṅga, the next chief, assisted his Cāḷukya overlord Vikramāditya VI in his wars against Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I. The next was Ballāḷa I, but it was his successor Biṭṭiga, known as Viṣṇuvardhana after his conversion to the Vaiṣṇava faith, that brought greatness to the Hoysaḷa line.

Biṭṭiga Viṣṇuwardhana. His contemporary on the Cōḷa throne, Kulōttuṅga I, led two expeditions against the Kaliṅgas in the North, and had to reconquer practically the Pāṇḍya and Cēra provinces of the Empire. His southern wars, which brought victory to his arms, were by no means conclusive, and he was not able to restore the imperial administration in the South, and had to rest content with leaving a number of *nilappaḍais* or military garrisons to keep the southern provinces under check. The preoccupations of Kulōttuṅga, that were so frequent and serious as to shake the prestige and cohesion of the Cōḷa Empire, gave to the intrepid Hoysaḷa Biṭṭiga Viṣṇuwardhana his chance of establishing the greatness of his house. His inheritance was confined to the country round Bēlūr, but within six years of his coming to the throne, he succeeded in bringing under his rule practically the whole of Gaṅgāvāḍi, which was an important Cōḷa province administered by a Cōḷa Viceroy. When Biṭṭiga's general, Gaṅgarāja appeared before Talkād and demanded the Aḍigaimān viceroy of the Cōḷas to surrender, the latter haughtily replied that the Hoysaḷas might fight and take it if they could¹. Gaṅgarājā defeated not only the Adigaimān, but also his ally Narasimhavarman. The Cōḷa army retreated from Gaṅgāvāḍi.

The Cōḷa retreat through the Talamale passes brought the Hoysaḷas in their wake, and Viṣṇuwardhana's army entered the Koṅgu country, conquered the Nilgiris, and advanced as far as the Ānamalai².

1. *E. C.* III. Malavalli 31. (S. 1039)

2. *E. C.* VI. Mudgere 22, and Kaḍūr 102 and *E. C.* IV. Chāmrajanagar 83.

While we may allow Viṣṇuvardhana's claims to style himself *Talakādugonda*, we cannot so easily admit his assumption of the title of *Kāñcigonda*. An Āḍaturai inscription¹, dated in the fourth year of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, refers to some events that had happened in the fourth year of Vikrama Cōla, among which was a raid by the men of the Periyavaḍugan, who attempted to carry away to Dvārasamudra the images of the Gods and of the Nāyanmārs in the temple of that village, but their attempt was frustrated by the Paḷlis of the village, who drove away the marauders, and reconsecrated the idols. Periyavaḍugan from Dvārasamudra was evidently the contemporary Hoysala ruler Viṣṇuvardhana. Āḍaturai is situated on the southern bank of the North Vellār just on the frontier of the old territorial division of Milāḍu, which Viṣṇuvardhana was evidently raiding. One of the Cōla feudatories opposed to Viṣṇuvardhana was Narasimhavarman, whom Rice identifies as a Pallava Chief. A Tirukōyilūr record², dated in the reign of Rājendra Cōla II, mentions a Narasimhavarman, who was crowned ruler of Milāḍu 2,000. It is very probable that Narasimhavarman, who opposed Viṣṇuvardhana, was a descendent of the Narasimhavarman of the Tirukōyilūr record, and that he was a chief of Milāḍu, while attacking whose territory the Hoysalas attempted to carry away idols from the Āḍaturai temple.

1. 350 of 1913.

2. 123 of 1900, also 119 of 1900.

A record from Bēlūr¹ refers to the destruction of Ceṅgiri, identified with Śeñji or modern Gingee. Another record² from the same place, dated 1136 A.D., gives a few details of Ceṅgiri and its ruler Naraśiṅga Dēva, who after his defeat deserted his kingdom and queens, and died, while Viṣṇuvardhana took the queens under his protection. This adds strength to the conclusion that Narasimhayarman, who along with the Aḍigaimān chief opposed Viṣṇuvardhana, was a ruler of Milādu. During this raid Viṣṇuvardhana might have passed through Kāñci; and if he had, it was only a military march, and we have no evidence so far of his conquest of that city. Nor shall we be justified in concluding, as has been generally done,³ that the raid into the Āḍuturai temple signified Viṣṇuvardhana's penetration into the Cōḷa country and his further progress as far as Rāmēśvaram. As we have stated above, Āḍuturai is just on the southern frontier of Milāḍu, and in the absence of more direct evidence, we shall not be justified in positing a Hoysaḷa triumphal progress through the heart of the Cōḷa country right down to Rāmēśvaram.

Fleet dismisses as 'undoubtedly fictitious or hyperbolic' the other claims of Viṣṇuvardhana, among which is a statement that he 'squeezed Madura in the palm of his hand.'⁴

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1. *E. C. V.* Bēlūr. 58
 2. *E. C. V.* Bēlūr. 17
 3. *A. R. E.* 1913. II. 46-7
 4. *E. C. VI.* Chickmagaḷūr. 160

One of the two inscriptions at Muḍigoṇḍān¹ (in the Kollegāl taluk of the Coimbatore district), which are dated in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana, gives a list of his conquests.

Viṣṇuvardhana's net gains included Talakāḍ, Nilgiri, Naṅgili, Kōlāla or Kōlār, Tereyūr and Koyattūr, now a village in the Chittoor district, and parts of the Koṅgu country. The absence of records dated after the 45th year of Kulōttuṅga's reign in the present Mysore State and its immediate environs, testifies to its occupation by the Hoysaḷas. Cōḷa inscriptions² re-appear however during Vikrama Cōḷa's reign in the Kōlār district—in Sugatūr and other places, testifying either to a partial recovery of Cōḷa power or the retention of these places by the Cōḷas in the teeth of Gaṅgarāja's military triumphs.

Though Viṣṇuvardhana declared himself a *Sāmanta* of the Cāḷukya empire, his conquests won him such prestige and reputation for independence that might well have been a warning to contemporary South Indian kingdoms of the rise of a new power, young and virile, and out to enter upon a career of aggrandisement.

Narsimha I. Narasimha I, also known as Pratāpa Narasimha, held most of the Cōḷa territories conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana. An inscription from Hosūr³ dated in *Kali* 4266 (Tamil—*Pramādhi*),

1. 2 and 12 of 1910.

2. 175 of II *E. C. X.* Ad. 61 ; 467 of II and *E. C. X.* Sp 61.

3. *H-I. S. I.* Salem 109.

corresponding to A. D. 1166, records a dedication to God Nārāyaṇa by a certain Kēśava Nāyakan praying that Narasimha's son, Śrī Vellāḷa Dēva, may secure the throne. Cokkimāya, a general of Narasimha, was the administrator of the Gaṅgāvāḍi province.

Ballāḷa II. Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa III had to be fighting the Pāṇḍyas throughout practically the whole of his reign. The Vēlanāṇḍu Chiefs and the Telugu Cōḷas broke away from Cāḷukya-Cōḷa suzerainty. The Western Cāḷukya empire after the disasters in the wars with the Kākatīyas was in a state of dismemberment consequent on the usurpation of Bijjala. The Deccan and the Karnatic were in the vortex of an intense political turmoil. The shrewd Ballāḷa made the best of the situation and pushed on his victorious arms towards the north, triumphed over the Western Cāḷukyās and the Kālaçūryās, drove the ambitious Suṇas and assumed the title of the 'Emperor of the South'¹

This title was no more than a mere boast. The Aḍigaimān chief of Tagaḍūr once more became a Cōḷa feudatory. Parts of the modern districts of Salem and Chittoor and east Mysore still acknowledged Cōḷa supremacy as evidenced by the presence of Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions² at Hēmāvati, Āvaṇi, Yedurūr, Tagaḍūr and Taḍavūr. That Ballāḷa had practically no control over the South Koṅgu country is clear from the alliance of the chief of Karūr with

1. *EC.* VIII Sorab. 140.

2. 117 of 99; 460 of 11; 473 of 11; 563 of 02; 461 of 13.

the Pāṇḍyas. The two houses were united by matrimonial alliances. We have it on the authority of the *Mahāvamśa* that Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya reinforced his army with fresh forces from the Koṅgu country. A record from Nerūr,¹ near Karūr, records that the Koṅgu chief Kōṇērīnmaikoṇḍān Kūlōttuṅga Cōḷā marched to Madura to help his *marumaganār* (nephew) Kulaśēkhara to secure the throne in the Pāṇḍyan Civil War between A. D. 1169 and 1177.² This conduct of the Koṅgu chief must have irritated the Cōḷas, and it is no wonder that Kulōttuṅga III waged a fierce war against the Koṅgus, entered Karūr, wore the *Vijayamuḍi* or the great crown of victory, and assumed the title of *Sōlakēraḷa*, a fact recorded in his *praśasti* engraved in two inscriptions from the Pudukkōṭṭai State.³

Ballāḷa's chance of distinguishing himself in the politics of the Tamil country came towards the close of Kulōttuṅga's reign. Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, who was as astute as he was brave, was then on the Madura throne. He made a daring attempt to secure for his house its lost prestige and independence, and boldly marched against the Cōḷa empire, defeated Kulōttuṅga, and advancing towards the imperial capital Mudigoṇḍān, performed the *Vīrābhiṣēkam* or 'the anointment of heroes.' While there, he sent for Kulōttuṅga, and restoring to him his crown and kingdom, assumed the proud title of

1. 336 of 28.

2. K. A. N. Sastri: *Cōḷas* II p. 107.

3. *P. S. I.* 163 at Śēranūr and 166 at Kuḍumiyāmalai.

Śōnāḍu vaḷaṅgi aruliya (he who was pleased to restore the Cōḷa kingdom). That this magnanimity of the Pāṇḍya king was not based on any altruistic motive is clear from a Mysore inscription¹ (dated September 12, 1217) which records that Ballāḷa's son prince Vīra Narasimha, marched against Śrīraṅgam in the South. Another Mysore inscription² describes Ballāḷa himself as *Cōḷarājya prutiṣṭhācārya* 'the establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom' and *Pāṇḍyagajakēsari* 'the lion to the Pāṇḍya elephant'; and his son Narasimha as *Cōḷa Kulaikarakṣa*—or 'the sole protector of the Cōḷa line.' Whether the Hoysaḷa fought any action against Sundara Pāṇḍya, there is no means of deciding. It may be presumed, however, that he secured the restitution of the Cōḷa throne by diplomacy backed by an effective show of force by marching as far south as Śrīraṅgam. Ballāḷa must have realised that a victorious Pāṇḍya ruling over the Cōḷa empire would prove a more formidable and dangerous neighbour than the Cōḷa himself, whose prestige for greatness and invincibility had received a rude shaking. He effectively maintained the balance of power in the South, gave the Cōḷa empire a fresh lease of life and checked for the time being the aggression of the Pāṇḍyas.

We shall not be wrong in assuming that Ballāḷa was connected with the Cōḷa imperial house by ties of matrimony. An inscription at Āvaṇi³ in Mysore'

1. *E. C.* VI. Cm. 56.

2. *E. C.* IV. Nl. 29.

3. 460 of 11 - *E. C.* X Mb 44 - *A. R. E.* 1912 II 30.

dated in the 12th year of Kulōttuṅga III, corresponding to *Śāka* 1111-12 or 1189-90 A. D. mentions that Vallāḷa dēva, who was then ruling the earth, had a queen by name Cōlamahādēvī, evidently a Cōla princess.

Prof. Sastri¹ is of opinion that this friendly relation between the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II and Kulōttuṅga Cōla III was perhaps the result of diplomatic mediation undertaken by the Aḍigaimān chief Rāja Rāja Dēva and his son Viḍugālaḷagiya Perumāḷ.

Ballāḷa II was practically an independent sovereign. Under him the Hoysaḷa power became the arbiter of the destinies of the Tamil empires, a position which gave it not only the prerogative to influence war and peace in the south of India, but opportunities of political expansion.

Narasimha II. In the time of Narasimha II, the successor of Ballāḷa II, Hoysaḷa power completely dominated the politics of the southern States.

Narasimha came to the throne full of glory acquired by his reinstatement of Rāja Rāja III on the Cōla throne in 1217. Between 1222 and 1224 A. D. he pounced upon the semi-independent principality of Magara, otherwise called Māgadhāi, forming large parts of the modern districts of Salem and South Arcot.

1. *Cōlas* II. pp. 166.7.

A Davengere inscription¹ tells us that he defeated the Bāṇōdara, meaning the Bāṇas. Later Tamil inscriptions of the Bāṇas in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the districts of Ramnad and Madura claim for them the titles of *Māgadhai Perumāl* or 'lords of Māgadhai' and *Vīra Māgadhan*, and this leaves us in no doubt that the chiefs of Magara, whom Narasimha conquered, were Bāṇas. From Māgadhai to the territory of the Kāḍava in South Arcot was an easy march, and Narasimha's campaign there seems to have been ruthless. A Tiruvaḍatturai record,² dated in the 10th year of Rāja Rāja III (1226 A. D.), states that the Hoysala king destroyed the country and carried away the temple images, which necessitated a reconsecration of the temple.

While Narasimha was campaigning in the northern districts of the Tamil Country, events were moving rather rapidly in the South. Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I invaded the Cōla country, and performed a *Vijayābhiṣēkam* at Mudikoṇḍān after a triumphal entry into that city. The hapless Rāja Rāja abandoned the capital and sought to reach his ally, the ruler of Kuntala. On the way the Kāḍava chief Kō-Peruñjiṅga defeated him at Tellāru and imprisoned him at Śēndamaṅgālam. This *coup de main*, accomplished by an erstwhile subordinate, threatened the Cōla power with complete extinction, and introduced a new factor into the already

1. *E. C.* XI. Davengere. 25. Also *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions.*

2. 228 of 29.

complicated politics of South India, in the rise of the Kāḍava power to the position of a sovereign State—an event in which Narasimha would not acquiesce. He swore that ‘this trumpet shall not be blown unless I shall have maintained my reputation of being the establisher of the Cōḷa Kingdom’, started from Dvārasamudra and uprooted on his way the Magara kingdom. The reference to the Magara kingdom in this context, which is taken from a unique historical inscription at Tiruvēndipuram,¹ leads us to infer that there was a second conquest of Māgadhai, a conclusion which is borne out by Hultzch.² The Tiruvēndipuram inscription and the historical romance, *Gadyakarnamrtā* of Kālakaḷabha, give us a fairly exhaustive account of the events that followed. We are told how Peruñjiṅga after imprisoning the emperor, devastated the Cōḷa country and desecrated the temples including the *Viṣṇusthanas*, an act which appeared particularly heinous to Narasimha who was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. Narasimha encamped at Pāccūr, to the north of the Coleroon not far from Śrīraṅgam, and despatched two of his trusted generals, Daṇḍinagōpa Jagadobbagaṇḍa Appaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka and Samudra Gōpayya Daṇḍanāyaka with orders to carry destruction into the country of Kō-Peruñjiṅga and instal the Cōḷa emperor in his capital. The Hoysala generals sacked Ellēri and Kaḷḷiyūrmulai held by Peruñjiṅga, and Toḷudagaiyūr held by Śōlakōn, a lieutenant of the latter, killed a Siṃhalese prince Parākramabāhu, and after worshipping at Chidambaram, devastated a

1. 142 of 02.

2. *E. I. V-II.*

number of places including Toṇḍaimānallūr, Tiruvadi and Tiruvakkarai on the Gaḍilam, and marching to the coast burnt the port towns, destroyed the crops, and finally prepared to invest the Kāḍava capital Sēndamaṅgalam, when Kō-Peruñjiṅga negotiated terms, which Narasimha accepted. The Cōḷa emperor was released and accompanied back with honour to his capital. This record is dated A. D. 1231-2, and these events occurred about 1230-31.

Narasimha continued to be in residence at Pāccūr until at least A. D. 1233. A Śrīraṅgam inscription,¹ dated in April 1232, records an endowment to the Śrī Raṅganātha temple by a priest of Narasimha, and a Channagiri inscription² of 1233 mentions that he was in residence at Pāñcāḷa, evidently a mislection for Pāccūr in the Cōḷa country.

While his Daṇḍanāyakas were engaged with the Kāḍava, Nārasimha himself was not idle. He continued the war against the Pāṇḍyas. A decisive battle was fought at Mahēndramaṅgalam situated on the Kāvērī. Not only was the Pāṇḍya invasion into the Cōḷa country stemmed for the moment, but Hoysaḷa forces penetrated far into the Pāṇḍya country. The statement in some records³ dated before A. D. 1230, that Narasimha 'confined the Pāṇḍya power into narrow limits' and that he established a pillar of Victory at Rāmēśwaram were

1. 69 of 30

2. *E. C.* VII Channagiri 52.

3. *E. C.* XI Davengere 25 (1224-A. D.); *E. C.* V. Belur 151 (1227-A. D.), *E. C.* VI. Kadur 12-a. (1223-A. D.)

mostly exaggerated statements meant only to convey his earlier diplomatic success in preventing Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I from annexing the Cōḷa empire. Later inscriptions mentioning Hoysaḷa penetration into the Pāṇḍyan kingdom denote real military successes won by Narasimha's son, prince Sōmēśvara and his generals. A record¹ dated A. D. 1237 mentions Sōmēśvara as living in the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam, 'which he had acquired by his strength and valour'. A Tiruvānaikkōvil record,² recently published, mentions Bhōgaya and Mallaya, two of Narasimha's daṇḍanāyakas who were sent against the Pāṇḍya, and who in A. D. 1237 made a gift of villages to Brahmins in the presence of God Rāmanātha at Rāmēśvaram.

His generals were stationed in several places in the Cōḷa country from where they harassed the Kāḍava Kō-Peruñjiṅga and his allies. We hear of the presence of several Hoysaḷa generals at Tirumalavāḍi³ in A. D. 1235. Prince Sōmēśvara was at Maṅgalam, near Sēndamaṅgalam in A. D. 1236.⁴

One of Narasimha's claims was that he conquered Kāñcī. A number of records dating from A. D. 1216 attest to the presence of Hoysaḷa generals and officers in that city. There is evidence of Narasimha ruling from that city in A. D. 1230,⁵ and of his *bhērundaś* or troops being stationed there.⁶ His

1. *E. C.* Krishnarajpet 63.

2. 14 of 38.

3. 39 of 20.

4. *E. C.* V, Ab. 123.

5. *E. C.* X. II Tp. 42.

6. *E. C.* V, Ch. 211 b.

occupation of Kāñcī brought him into conflict with Gaṇḍagōpala, a Telugu Cōḍa chief, who though an ally of Rāja Rāja III, was jealous of Narasimha's triumphs, and was eager to capture Kāñcī from where he could attack the Kāḍavas. A prominent achievement of Gaṇḍagōpala was the capture of Kāñcī in A. D. 1231, which he ruled 'after making it his own'.¹ This led to further clashes, and a recently published inscription from Jambai² (South Arcot district) records that 'in the month of *Cittirai* of the 23rd year of Rāja Rāja, corresponding to A. D. 1239, Nāyanār Gaṇḍagōpalar was pleased to go out to fight and having stabbed Vallāḷa Dēva proceeded to Śambai'.³ This Vallāḷa was obviously Narasimha, since the dynasty itself came to be called 'Ballāḷa'. This record not only gives us the manner and year of Narasimha's death, but also explains why Sōmēśvara led an expedition against Tikka Gaṇḍagōpala in August, 1240.⁴

For a second time the Hoysaḷas prevented the extinction of the Cōḷa monarchy, and maintained the balance of power in the South. The political settlement of the South by Narasimha was cemented by dynastic marriages. His son Vīra Sōmēśvara is referred to as *māmāḍi* or uncle by the successors of

1. 446 of 19.

2. 439 of 38.

3. 435 of 38 (records a gift to the temple at Jambai in the 22nd year of Rāja Rāja III (1238 A.D.) by a son of a Hoysaḷa daṇḍanāyaka.)

4. *E. C.* VI. Kadur. 100.

both Māraṅvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Rāja Rāja III. Narasimha succeeded in securing real dominance in the South, and the power of his arms was felt as far south as Rāmēśvaram.

Vīra Sōmēśvara—From about A. D. 1233, Vīra Sōmēśvara shared with his father the responsibilities of the government of the Hoysaḷa dominions, and records were inscribed in his regnal years. In the Tamil districts adjoining the Kannaḍa country, Sōmēśvara's records are to be found at Tingalūr¹ and Mudigoṇḍān² (Coimbatore district), Ādhamkōṭṭai³ (Salem district), and Damalcheruvu⁴ (North Arcot). Northern Koṅgu, the country of the Aḍigaimān and large parts of Māgadhāi were included in his dominions.

Sōmēśvara continued the fight against Kō-Peruñjiṅga. In the course of a campaign against the Kāḍava chief in 1236, he encamped at Maṅgalam in the present Vriddhāchalam taluk. Hostilities continued until at least A. D. 1253, the tenth regnal year of Kō-Peruñjiṅga, when according to a Vriddhāchalam record⁵ he defeated at Perambalūr the daṇḍanāyakas Kēśava and Harihara, captured their equipment and women. That the Hoysaḷa generals were at Vriddhāchalam and its vicinity is clear from another record⁶ in the same temple which is dated in the reign of Kō-Peruñjiṅga dēva and records a gift of cows by Harihara Daṇḍanāyaka and others. An undated

1. 602 of 05.

2. 4 of 10, 6 of 10, and 7 of 10.

3. 203 of 10, 204 of 10, 205 of 10.

4. 179 of 21.

5. 73 of 18.

6. *H. I. S. I*; SA. 1093.

inscription from Ākkūr,¹ (Māyavaram taluk), mentions Kō-Peruñjiṅga's victories. The wars with the Kāḍavas must have been waged with great severity and with changing fortunes. The extent of the penetration by the Hoysaḷas may be gauged from a Tiruveṅkāḍu inscription,² which says that in the course of Kō-Peruñjiṅga's war with the Kannāḍiyar, fortresses were put up on the north bank of the river Kāvērī, which resulted in the cessation of daily worship in temples.

Sōmēśvara's campaign against the Telugu Cōḍa Tikka Gaṇḍagōpāla does not appear to have met with any great success. Kāñcī seems to have passed into the hands of Tikka, who held it for some time as a feudatory of Rāja Rāja III, and later of the Kākatiya ruler Gaṇapati.³

The main interest of Sōmēśvara's, reign consists in his relations with the two great Tamiḷ kingdoms, the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. About 1233, even during the lifetime of his father, he erected 'for his gratification' a capital city by name *Vikramapura* in the midst of the Cōḷa country 'that he had conquered by the prowess of his arms'.⁴ (*Sva-bhujabala-vinirjita-cōḷamaṇḍale-sva-manō-vinōdāya nirmitām — Vikramapura-nāmadhēyam. mahā-rājadhānīm*). *Vikramapura* is the modern Kaṇṇanūr, now a suburb of Śamaya-puram, about nine miles to the north of Trichinopoly.

1. 229 of 25.

2. 514 of 18.

3. K. A. N. Sastri : *Cōḷas* II pp. 203-5.

4. *E. C.* IX. Bangalore 6-Bangalore Museum Copper Plate,

The date of its foundation is some times said to be 1237. A Tiruvānaikkōvil record of Sōmēśvara dated in his second regnal year, A. D. 1235, mentions the building of the *Poysalīśvaram* temple in this city and its consecration and endowments for the daily worship. It is therefore reasonable to assign to the founding of the city a date earlier than 1235. In the course of South Indian history, Trichinopoly and its environs have often proved to be the key to the South; and Sōmēśvara with his unerring statecraft established his southern capital at Kaṇṇanūr, from where he could dominate the politics of the South.

The Cōḷa monarch at the time was the weak Rāja Rāja III, who owed his crown to Hoysala protection and generosity. While Rāja Rāja III was on the throne, the Cōḷa kingdom was practically a protectorate of Sōmēśvara. Between A. D. 1233 and 1246, we get a large number of records from Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvānaikkōvil, Tirumalavāḍi, and Kāmarasavalli, all situated in the modern Trichinopoly district, dated in Sōmēśvara's regnal years. Inscriptions from Mannārguḍi and Vēdāraṇyam¹, which though dated in the regnal years of Rāja Rāja III, show what real control Hoysala daṇḍanayakas exercised within the Cōḷa country. Parts of the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State, nominally under Cōḷa rule, were administered by Hoysala officers. Pēraiūr² and Mēlattaiyam³ in Pudukkōṭṭai State, important military stations

1. 97 of 97 and 501 of 04

3. *P. S. I.* 199.

2. *P. S. I.* 193.

from the time of Rājendra Cōla I, were under the control of Hoysala generals, probably garrisoned by Hoysala soldiers.

Sōmēśvara inflicted a crushing defeat on the powerful Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I at Mahēndramaṅgalam, and the tide of Pāṇḍyan conquest was rolled back to the south of the Kāvēri. Pudukkōṭṭai records throw light on the subsequent course of this Pāṇḍya campaign of Sōmēśvara. A record from Kōṭṭaiyūr,¹ not far from Tirumayyam in the State, a Cōla military station of great importance, dated in the 21st year of Sundara Pāṇḍya (1236.7), refers to oppressive taxes and imposts levied by the Kannāḍiyar occupation. Two Tirumayyam records² speak of the conquest of Kānanāḍu by Daṇḍanāyaka Ravi Dēva. Kānanāḍu included parts of Pudukkōṭṭai and Raṁnad district. These are clear indications of Sōmēśvara's advance in the South as far as the medieval defensive line between the Cōla and Pāṇḍyan territories, which extended from Tirupattūr in the west to Arantāṅgi in the east with *paḍaiiparrus* and cantonments to the north and south of this line. Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I must have been kept to the south of this line.

The next Pāṇḍya king, Māṛavarman Sundara II was a *protégé* of Sōmēśvara, and it is no wonder that other important military outposts, such as Perumānāḍu³ in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, came to be held by

1. P. S. I. 310.

2. P. S. I. 340 and 341.

3. P. S. I. 518.

Hoysala generals. Under Sundara Pāṇḍya II the Pāṇḍya country became another Hoysala protectorate. In a record¹ dated in his own regnal year, Sōmēśvara assigned the village of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr to the God of Aḷagarkōvil, and Sundara Pāṇḍya obligingly enough issued an order² confirming this grant. At Āttūr³ in the Tinnevely district there is an epigraph recording a royal order by Sōmēśvara. An inscription from Tinnevely⁴ records the gift of a village to Brahmins under the name of *Poysala Vīra Sōmēśvara Caturvēdimaniḡlam*. Two other Tinnevely records,⁵ though dated in the regnal years of Sundara Pāṇḍya II, refer to endowments by Hoysala generals and officers. The Tirumayyam inscriptions already referred to record an award by a grand tribunal set up and presided over by a Hoysala daṇḍanāyaka, which indicates how much real sovereignty the daṇḍanayakas wielded in territories supposed to be ruled by the Pāṇḍya king.

The close of the 13th century marks a distinct change in the political alignment of the South Indian States. Rājendra Cōḷa III, even when he was co-regent with Rāja Rāja III, made great efforts to restore Cōḷa power. He won some victories over Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II and assumed the vainglorious *biruda* — *iruvar Pāṇḍyar muḍittalai koṇḍaruḷina*. He had the support of the Telugu Cōḷas, and about the year 1250 A. D., had succeeded

1. 292 of 30.

2. 291, 293 and 294 of 30.

3. 433 of 30.

4. 156 of 94.

5. 15 of 12 and 138 of 94.

in so rehabilitating part of the ancient prestige of the Cōlas that he styled himself *Manukulamedutta nerimudi sūḍiyaruliyaṅgan*,—‘the restorer of the race of Manu who wore the righteous crown as of right.’¹ This resulted in the Hoysala Vira Sōmēśvara offering protection to the Pāṇḍya king. In some Mysore records² Sōmēśvara calls himself *Pāṇḍya-kula-samarakṣaṇa dakṣadakṣinabhujā* or ‘he whose right arm is skilled in protecting the Pāṇḍya line’. This change of front on the part of Sōmēśvara brought about a sharp conflict between Rājēndra and himself. It is to be noted that so far no records of Sōmēśvara have been discovered at Kaṇṇanūr, or Śrīraṅgam or Tiruvānaikkōvil or anywhere near his southern capital between his 9th and 20th years, (between about 1242 and 1253 A. D.). There is however, a record of his at Śivāyam³ near Kulitalai, but it is dated in the 4th year of Rājēndra III, and mentions an inquiry into the affairs of the temple on the Ratnagiri hill by a committee presided over by Sōmaya Daṇḍanāyaka and other officers of Sōmēśvara. This may mean that Hoysala authority continued to be felt in that part of Trichinopoly district. On the other hand, there are epigraphs of Rājēndra at Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvānaikkōvil⁴ recording his royal orders dated between his 3rd and 7th regnal years. In his *praśasti* recorded in a grant from Lēpaka⁵ (Cuddappah

1. 185 of 08 (yr. 4).

2. *E. C. V.* p. XXV.

3. 49 of 13.

4. Cf. 114 of 37 (yr. 3); 115, 116 and 117 of 37 (yr. 5);
64 of 92 (yr. 7).

5. 420 of 11 and 64 of 92.

district), and in another from Śrīraṅgam he describes himself as 'death to the Karnāṭa king', and claims that 'Vīra Sōmēśvara, the wrestler on hillforts (*giridurga malla*), placed on his leg the anklet of heroes'. In A. D. 1252, when Rājēndra was at Śrīraṅgam and recorded this *praśasti*, Sōmēśvara seems to have been at Dvārasamudra.¹ From about 1253, Sōmēśvara gradually recovered his possessions in the Cōḷa country, and we get his records until his 27th regnal year almost all over the present Trichinopoly district, while those of Rājēndra are conspicuously absent in that area after his 8th year. A Mysore record² of this period states that Sōmēśvara uprooted Rājēndra Cōḷa in battle and reinstated him when he begged for protection. Hoysaḷa rule again extended over the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State, and Sōmēśvara's records³ are to be found at Sembāṭṭūr, Ālattūr and Tirumaṇaṅjēri in the State.

The rivalry between the Hoysaḷas and the Cōḷas was only temporary. The accession in 1251 A. D. of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I marks a new era in the history of Pāṇḍya revival. He was one of the ablest sovereigns of his age, and carried the Pāṇḍya flag beyond the Krṣṇā river. Against this common danger the Hoysaḷa-Cōḷa differences were made up, and notwithstanding the combined front that they put up by rallying all their forces, they soon felt the

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1. He is said to have marched to Hālagere and then gone to Dvārasamudra. *E. C. Kadur* 101.
 2. *E. C. V Arsikere* 123.
 3. *P. S. I.* 667, 666 and 1056.

weight of Jaṭāvarman Sundara's arms. The probable course of the war between Jaṭāvarman Sundara and Sōmēśvara may be constructed with the help of inscriptions. We hear of Jaṭāvarman Sundara at Tirumalavāḍi¹ in records dated in his 2nd and 3rd years (1253 A. D.). These probably signify his first entry into the heart of the Cōḷa country. His Tiruppūndurutti record,² which gives a long *praśasti* with historical details, is dated in his 7th year (1258 A. D.) and narrates his attack on the Hoysaḷas in the region of the Kāvērī, where he besieged them in a fortress, inflicting on them heavy losses and killing many commanders including the brave Śiṅgaṇa, and finally stopped fighting when they began to retreat. Another Tirumalavāḍi record, dated in the 23rd year of the Hoysaḷa king (1256 A. D.), mentions Śiṅgaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. Sōmēśvara's records occur near the banks of the Kāvērī in the years 1255, 1256, and 1258, but not in 1257. The engagement described in the *praśasti* may perhaps be assigned to 1257 A. D. Sōmēśvara does not seem to have retreated to the Mysore plateau as claimed in Rajendra's *praśasti*. The Trichinopoly district and especially places on the Kāvērī have a number of inscriptions dating from the 25th year (1258 A. D.) of Sōmēśvara until his 29th year (1262 A. D.). We again hear of Jaṭāvarman Sundara at Tirumalavāḍi³ in 1264 A. D., and an undated

1. 89 and 90 of 95.

2. 166 of 94. *S. I. I. V.* 459.

3. 71 of 95. Reading the régnal year as 11, Kielhorn has pointed out that the date of this inscription—Thursday, *Aśvini*, Ba 6 *Karkaṭaka*, corresponds to 19th July, 1261, but that the week day should be Tuesday. The text published in *S. I. I. V.* clearly gives 14 as the régnal year, which is the correct figure. The date of the record is 17th July, 1264.

Śrīraṅgam epigraph¹ records that Sundara “had despatched to the other world the ‘Moon of the Karnāṭa country’” — obviously meaning Sōmēśvara. An inscription in the Muktiśvara temple² at Śamayapuram (Kaṇṇanūr), dated in the 12th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1263 A. D.), and one from Tiruppārkaḍal³ in North Arcot district, dated 1264-5 A. D., record royal orders issued by him from the Hoysala capital Kaṇṇanūr. The conclusion seems to be obvious that Jaṭāvarman Sundara again attacked Sōmēśvara in 1263,⁴ killed him in battle, and occupied Kaṇṇanūr. But Kaṇṇanūr was not yet lost to the Hoysalas, and their southern territories were not yet liquidated, and Vīra Rāmanātha, Sōmēśvara’s son, continued to rule in the South.

Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, a co-regent of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, conquered Koṅgu⁵ and temporarily wrested it from the Hoysalas.

1. 60 of 92. (1263-4 A.D. ?)

2. 242 of 30.

3. 702 of 04.

4. Following A Krishnamurthy (*Hoysalas-unpublished*), Dr. Venkataramanayya assigns 1257 A. D. to Sōmēśvara’s death (*The early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 7). Hayavadana Rao (*Mysore Gazetteer* Vol. II. p. 1389) assigns 1254 A. D. 1233 A. D. has to be fixed as his first regnal year, since it alone helps us to work out the correct equivalents in English years and months of the astronomical details found in his dated records. The latest record of Sōmēśvara, that we know of, belongs to his 29th year, which takes us to 1262.

5. K. A. N. Sastri. *Pandyan Kingdom*. p. 177.

In his eventful career in the South Sōmēśvara brought to bear upon his political transactions a high order of diplomacy and unrivalled statecraft. The changes in his diplomacy often mark a revolution but in all the vicissitudes of his policy he had one aim steadily in view, and that was to make Hoysaḷa power the centre round which the State systems of the South must revolve. To borrow Kauṭilya's figurative description, he was the central nave, while the Pāṇḍya and the Cōḷa were the spokes radiating towards the circumference of a *maṇḍala* of states. Under him Hoysaḷa power reached the zenith of its glory and influence in the Tamil nāḍu.

Vīra Rāmanātha-Sōmēśvara's sons Narasimha III and Vīra Rāmanātha divided the kingdom probably as a matter of administrative convenience. While Narasimha administered the home provinces, Rāmanātha was in charge of the Tamil provinces including part of the east Mysore country comprising the modern Kōlār district. His Tamil provinces included most of modern Salem district, the western half of North Arcot and Chittoor, the whole of Trichinopoly excluding Karūr, the Tanjore, Pāpanāśam and Mannārguḍi taluks of Tanjore district and the eastern part of Pudukkōṭṭai State. This area constitutes the provenance of Rāmanātha's records. The Pāṇḍyas had conquered Koṅgu, where no inscriptions of Rāmanātha are to be found.

Rāmanātha had the surname *Rājakkalṅāyan*,¹ which was subsequently assumed by Māṇavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya (acc. 1283).

1. 92 of 10.

Rāmanātha frequently marched into the Hoysala home provinces trying to wrest from his brother additional territory, but these events do not concern our present investigation. Under Rāmanātha Kaṅṅanūr or Vikramapura rose into considerable importance as a commercial and strategic centre. He established above the ghats in the north a provincial capital at Kuṅḍani, generally identified with the village of Kuṅḍani in the Hosūr taluk. It is also known as Dēvasamudram Kuṅḍani or simply Dēvarkuṅḍani.

Rāmanātha was closely allied with Rājendra Cōla; and the alliance was a necessity in the face of the common danger of the aggression of Jaṭāvairman Sundara Pāṅḍya; and they had to get on together as best they could without offending their Pāṅḍya neighbour. Rāmanātha appears to have been the senior partner in this alliance. Hoysala officers figure in Rājendra's inscriptions. Two inscriptions from Tiruchchātturai¹ (Tanjore district) attest to the joint rule of these two sovereigns; one quotes the 10th year of Rāmanātha, but registers a sale effected in the 20th year of Rājendra, while the other reverses the order and is dated in the 15th year of Rāmanātha, but cites the 25th year of Rājendra.

The death of Rājendra marks the extinction of the Cōla empire, the mightiest empire of the Tamils, and one of the greatest empires known to history.

1. 207 and 208 of 1931,

We may pause for a moment to consider what exactly Hoysaḷa interference with the affairs of the Cōḷas meant to their kingdom. The Cōḷa monarchy was in the last stages of dissolution, and the empire was rent into a number of independent states¹ owning no allegiance to the centre. The central authority was rather weak even in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, and after his time there was a steady growth in the number of feudatories who were maintaining considerable forces for offensive and defensive action. The popular assemblies in the villages, cities and *nāḍus*, hitherto under the direct purview of the Central Government, now looked to the local chiefs for support. The powerful feudatories entered into mutual political compacts. Before them was the example of the Hoysaḷa state. Viṣṇuvardhana called himself a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*,—a provincial Viceroy, and was referred to as *Cālukya-maṇi-maṇḍalika-cūḍāmaṇi*-or-‘the crest jewel among the Cālukya feudatories’, and humbly subscribed himself *tatpadapadmopajīvin*,—‘a bee on the lotus feet of his paramount sovereign’. But Ballāḷa II gave up all pretensions to subordination. He gloried in the imperial titles,—*Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Śrīprthivīval-labha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* *Paramabhaṭ-ṭāraka*, *Pratāpacakravartin*, *Bhujabalacakravartin*, *Bhujabalapratāpacakravartin*, *Hoysaḷa Cakravartin* and *Yādava Cakravartin*. The Hoysaḷas brought about the dismemberment of their paramount power, the Cālukya empire, and then fought with the Seuṇas for

1. K. A. N. Sastri. *Cōḷas II* pp. 54-60; 69-72; 82-84; 108-114; 134-138; 155-171; 176-178; 186-190; 192-195.

the division of the spoils. Here was an example which the Tamil States copied with alacrity. The Pāṇḍya nibbled at the Cōḷa empire from the south. The wily Kāḍava Peruñjiṅga appropriated the coastal area north of the Kāvērī. The Telugu Cōḷas, the Yādavarāyas, the Śambuvarāyas, the Cēdirāyas and numerous others of Bāṇa, Nulamba and Gaṅga extraction carved out for themselves large and small slices of territories. And what kind of independence did the Cōḷa kings exercise as the result of their alliance with the Hoysaḷas? Rāja Rāja III was ruler only in name. Rājendra asserted himself for a time, but the fear of the Pāṇḍya threw him once more into Hoysaḷa protection; and for the rest of his reign, he was more or less their dependent. The Cōḷa kingdom, nominally ruled by Rāja Rāja III and Rājendra III, was a Hoysaḷa protectorate. When Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, and after him Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara broke the back of Hoysaḷa resistance, the Cōḷa empire disappeared completely; and South India was again left for a few decades a unitary Tamil kingdom ruled by the Pāṇḍyas whom Muslims and Chinese alike acknowledged as the sole rulers of the South, then known to the Muslim world as Ma'bar.

The story of Rāmanātha's rule in the South is easily told. Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya, who shared the Pāṇḍya throne with Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, led an expedition into the Cōḷa country, the conquest of which Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara completed by 1279. A Tinnevely record¹ of

1. 29 of 27.

Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara refers to his victory over the Hoysaḷas. Another inscription¹ mentions that Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara was in his camp at Kaṇṇanūr in the 15th year of his reign (1272-3 A.D.). The latest inscription² of Rāmanātha at Kaṇṇanūr is dated 1271 A.D. There is an inscription³ of his belonging to that year near Lālgudi. One at Tirumaṇaṅjēri⁴ (Pudukkōṭṭai State) is dated 1272 A. D. There are however Rāmanātha's inscriptions⁵ later than 1272 at Tirumalavāḍi, (Trichinopoly district), Nallūr and Śūlamaṅgalam (Tanjore district) and at Paruttipalli and Tāramaṅgalam (Salem district). One at Punganūr⁶ (Chittoor district) is a record of his 38th year (1292-3 A. D.). About the year 1279 Rāmanātha lost his southern provinces and was driven north of the ghats.

Vīra Viśvanātha—Rāmanātha's son Vīra Viśvanātha ruled for about five years the northern strip of his father's Tamil dominions, which was all that was left to him. We meet with his records at Tirupattūr⁷ (North Arcot district) and at Dēvar-Kuṇḍani and Kambayanallūr⁸ (Salem).

1. 328 of 23.

2. 33 of 91.

3. 150 of 29.

4. *P. S. I.*, 668.

5. 93 of 95; 23 of 20; 46 of 20; 47 of 20; 292 of 11; 150 of 15; 152 of 15; 26 and 29 of 00.

6. 210 of 32.

7. 250 of 09.

8. 204 and 205 of 11; 9 and 10 of 00.

Vira Ballala III. On Viśvanātha's death in about 1298 A. D., Vira Ballāḷa, who had been crowned in the Karnātic country in 1292 A. D., became sole ruler.

Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Mahāpradāni Perumāḷ Daṇḍanāyaka, scored much success against Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya, who as co-regent must have been administering the Koṅgu country at that time. There are records dated 1287 A. D. and later extolling the bravery of Immaḍi Rāhuttarāyan Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka and registering his grants to temples and other orders remitting taxes. In some of them Mādhava is described as 'Death to the Koṅgus', 'conqueror of the Nilagiri' and 'founder of Daṇḍanāyakankōṭṭai'. The presence of Vira Ballāḷa's records in parts of Salem, and all over the Nilgiris and Coimbatore as far South as Māṇūr in the Paḷni taluk of Mādura is an indication of the restoration of Hoysala rule in Koṅgu. Māgadhai and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam were later added. His records are found in the North Arcot district also. Tirupati inscriptions of Tiruvēnkaṭanātha Yādavarāya¹ and his son Śrīraṅganātha record grants to the temples at Tirumalai and Tirupati by Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka's son Śīṅgaya or Śīṅgaṇa. A village endowed to the temple and a charity were named after Śīṅgaṇa; while a tax was collected in the name of Ballāḷa.

Ballāḷa was frequently at Kāñcī between 1299 and 1335 A. D. presiding over the temple ceremonies

1. *Tirupati Devastanam Epigraphical Reports*—Yadavarayas.

and awarding honours to scholars of merit.¹ Kāñcī, which was then an easy prey to invaders and adventurers, was not continuously under Ballāḷa's direct rule. One fact however is clear that Ballāḷa's authority was recognized in the country round about Kāñcī; and the local chiefs acknowledged his overlordship.

Ballāḷa's penetration into the Koṅgu country on one side and into Toṅḍaimaṅḍalam on the other was an important strategic move; his object was to make a sort of pincer movement into the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. He was only waiting for his opportunity, which at last came when, after the assassination of Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara, there was a civil war in Madura, and Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya fought for the throne. Ballāḷa's army was already in Koṅgu on the Pāṇḍyan borders when his capital was unexpectedly sacked by Malik Kāfūr, who on his way to Ma'bar entered the Kannaḍa country. Ballāḷa, who knew that hostility towards Malik Kāfūr would mean the ruin of his kingdom, surrendered, and was accepted as a *zimmi* or feudal subordinate of the Sultanate of Delhi. When Malik Na'ib moved south, Ballāḷa as a fief of the Sultan, had to swallow his pride and personally guide the Delhi army into Ma'bar. All along the way Vīra Pāṇḍya, who cleverly avoided an open engagement, managed to harass the Muslim soldiery and caused no little annoyance to Malik Na'ib by the nibbling tactics which he successfully practised. Malik Na'ib plundered the rich temples of Śrīraṅgam

1. 397, 401, 572-574 and 585 of 19.

and Chidambaram, and advanced into Madura, but found that Sundara Pāṇḍya had retreated with his family and treasure. In the face of this formidable danger the Pāṇḍyan Princes realised their folly and united their forces for a combined attack. Vikrama Pāṇḍya, who assumed command over the army, attacked the Muslims from an unexpected quarter and forced Malik Na'ib to return to Delhi.

Since Malik Na'ib's return in 1311, the political situation in Madura had again deteriorated. Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya resumed their old feud, and the country was once more on the throes of a civil war. Sundara, who was no match to his able opponent, fled to Alā-ud-Dīn's court for protection. When he returned to Ma'bar leading a band of Muslim soldiers, who were sent to help him, he found that misfortune had befallen his brother Vīra Pāṇḍya, and that the country had been captured by Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara, a Kēraḷa Chief, who after annexing the Pāṇḍyan dominions, had advanced to Kāñcī and crowned himself there. Sundara had to fight his way to Madura and succeeded in establishing some sort of authority in parts of Ma'bar.¹

Vīra Pāṇḍya solicited Ballāḷa's help and created a diversion in the Vēnāḍ by stirring up another Kēraḷa feudatory, Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varman, to revolt. A *Vīragal* epigraph² tells us that Śiṅgeya, son of Someya Daṇḍanāyaka, a brother-in-law of Ballāḷa, fought in Vīra Pāṇḍya's army and was killed in

1. 571 and 642 of 02.

2. *M. A. R.*-1913. paragraph 86.

action while opposing Ravi Varman. Ballāḷa, who was camping at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, engaged the enemy near Kaṅṅanūr about the year 1318.¹

Tiruvaṅṅāmalai was his base of action in the east. Inscriptions published so far, tell us that he was at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai in 1318-9; 1328-31 and 1340-43.

Ballāḷa's attempt to capture Kaṅṅanūr from Tiruvaṅṅāmalai was frustrated by subsequent Muslim invasions. It is beyond the scope of this work to go at any length into the history of these invasions. Khusrou Khān's incursion left no impress in the South but that of Ulugh Khān brought the South under the rule of the Tughlaqs.²

An inscription at Rāṅgiyam³ (Pudukkōṭṭai State), dated in 732 A. H. (1332 A. D.) refers to Ādi Sūrattān, whose identity is still in doubt. But another from Panaiyūr⁴ (in the same State) is dated in the ninth regnal year of Muḥammadi Sūrattān (Sultān Muḥammad). These two records establish without doubt that since 1323 A. D. the kingdom of Madura had been under the rule of the Delhi Sultān. This direct rule of Delhi continued until 1334-5 A. D., when Sayyid Jalāl, one of the Imperial officers at

1. *E. C.* XII Ck. 4.

2. For a discussion on this subject, see Dr. Venkataramanayya's *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India* pp. 122-5.

3. *P. S. I.* 669.

4. *P. S. I.* 670.

Madura, treacherously slew the provincial governor and declared himself Sultān of Ma'bar under the title of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh.

Meanwhile events were moving fast in other parts of South India. There arose a wide spread movement for the liberation of the Hindu States, which had its origin in the east coast of the Andhra country, and was sponsored by Prōlaya Nāyaka and his successor Kāpaya Nāyaka. From the east coast, the rebellion spread towards the west and south, and Nūniz graphically tells us of the liberation of Kampili in the south western Telugu country. The movement found a ready echo in the Tamil country.

Ballala, a *Zimmi* of Delhi, was bound by ties of loyalty to the Sultān. Could he cast off his fealty to Delhi and join the movement? At a time when he was hard-pressed and eager to preserve his existence, he surrendered to the Sultān. His alliance with 'Alā-ud-Dīn is an instance of what Kauṭilya would characterise as an *asamāna* or *hīna* alliance. There was nothing repulsive to Hindu feelings even in those days for a Hindu sovereign to enter into such an alliance with a foreigner. Such alliances have been only too common in the past. We have Kāmandaka's authority for a ruler to ally himself with an *anārya* (*Sandhikkāryōpyanāryēṇa*). In this particular alliance Ballāla meanly betrayed Bahā-ud-dīn Garshāp, a scion of the Tughlaq house, who had rebelled against the Sultān, and taken shelter under him at Dvārasamudra.

One consideration must have weighed with Ballāḷa. His fealty was to the Khilji line, and it was open to him to revoke his submission when a change of dynasty had come about at Delhi. Before his very eyes, Jalālud-Dīn Aḥasan had turned rebel; and Telingana and Kampili had also revolted; and the Sultān did not or could not take effective steps to punish them and bring them back under imperial rule. Evidently Delhi was unable to exercise effective control over the distant South. The shrewd Ballāḷa could be depended upon to profit by these examples. Before him loomed the unpleasant prospect of the Muslim provinces in the Deccan also revolting and setting themselves up as independent Muslim States, sandwiching the Hindu States in between and finally absorbing them. Prudence and statecraft alike dictated that he should throw in his lot with the other Hindu States, which had exhibited extraordinary vigour in the blow that they had dealt to Muslim preponderance, and direct his attention to dissolving first the new Muslim state of Ma'bar, and then those of the Deccan,

The very nature of Muslim rule in the South in the 14th century called for united action by the Hindus. Alā-ud-Dīn had no territorial ambition in the South. His instruction to Malik-Na'ib, as reported by Khusrau and Īṣāmy, was that he should lead an expedition to Ma'bar and Dvārasamudra and proclaim the Muslim faith in the South. His desire was to make the rich South Indian kingdoms disgorge all their hoarded wealth. A contemporary

writer¹ observes that war or peace with Sultān Alā-ud-Dīn made little difference, the former involved death, and the latter the loss of everything that one possessed. But Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq aspired for territorial gains and real conquest. He proclaimed himself Sultān of the whole country from Peshawar to Cape Comorin. Ma'bar was included among the provinces of the empire. He believed that the destruction of Hindu freedom was indispensable for the stable establishment of his rule. The *iqta's* or districts into which the country was divided, were distributed among the Muslim amirs. The Hindu nobles and land-owners were either plundered or dispossessed of their lands, and the agriculturists were deprived of the fruits of their labour. Ferishta² observes that the Muslim population grew so rapidly in the Deccan as to create consternation among the Hindus. In the far South, however, Muslim ascendancy was confined to the towns where the garrisons were stationed. But plunder and rapine were the order of the day. Contemporary inscriptions and literature in the Tamil districts speak of the ravages of the *tulukavāṇam* or *tulukkar kalakam* or *galabai* (Muslim occupation), of the damage to cultivation and the consequent depopulation of villages, of people subjected to torture, of the smashing of idols and the destruction of temples and religious institutions, and of the deprivation of

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1. Quoted by Dr. Venkataramanyya : *The Early Muslim expansion in South India*—P. 22.
 2. Briggs : 1 p. 427.

agrahāras and other pious donations of kings. The celebrated temples were sacked and all their wealth carried away. Things were much the same in the Telugu country. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has left an account of the treatment that Sultān Ghaiyās-ud-Dīn of Madura meted out to his Hindu subjects. It is sordid reading from beginning to end, unrelieved by any consideration of even ordinary humanity, not to speak of royal nobility. Writing of the massacre in cold blood of innocent men, women and children, Baṭṭūṭa remarks:¹ “this is a shameful practice, and I have not seen any other sovereign adopt it; it was because of this that God hastened the end of Ghaiyās-ud-Dīn.”

This state of affairs, unfortunate to the people and the conquerors alike, stirred Hindu sentiment in the South to its very depths. The Teliṅgana Nāyaks looked upon their insurrections as a sort of religious crusade. At that time both the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects had become organized and militant. They were popular movements, and had permeated to the lower strata of society welding the masses and the priestly classes together. The *mathas* had done this work of popularising religion very successfully; and every village had a *matha* attached to its temple, the priests of which considerably influenced not only the spiritual life of the people, but also their social and civic outlook. Prōlaya Nāyak declared that he had the mandate of God Viśvēśvara, and his brother chiefs felt that it was their supreme duty to save their temples and their gods from desecration.

1. K. A. N. Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India*. p. 279.

Ballāḷa could not keep out of this movement, which in the eyes of his co-religionists was calculated to bring about the revival of what they considered the *dharma* of the land. When once he cast his lot with the other chiefs, his unique position and prestige easily made him leader.

About this time Ēkāmranātha, a Śambuvarāya feudatory, expelled the Muslims from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. This feat of arms won for him the title *Venrumaṅkoṇḍān*-or 'he who captured the earth by conquest.' This and other victories gave to Ballāḷa such an ascendancy in the Tamil districts that in 1338 A. D. he assumed the titles of 'the emperor of the south,' and 'he who planted the pillar of victory at Rāmēśvaram' (*Sētumūlajayastambha*). His presence with his general Dāti Ballappa Daṇḍanayāka at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai early in 1341 is evidence of important military activity; and Muslim historians tell us of his incursions at that time along the Coromandal coast, which the Madura Sultān was unable to oppose. Ballāḷa continued to stay at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai until September 1342 directing operations.

The second ruler of the line of the Madura Sultāns, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Udaiji, was shot down by an unknown person. Dr. Venkataramanayya surmises¹ that the unknown assailant must have been either Ballāḷa, or what is more likely, one of the Pāṇḍyan Princes, who still exercised some sort of local sway in obscure parts of the country. During the reign of

1. *M. U. J.* Vol. XI. p. 48.

Ghaiyās-ud-Dīn Damghānī, Ballāḷa pounced upon Ma'bar routing the Muslim army that lay on his way. The story of this campaign and its tragic sequel are better narrated in the words of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.¹

“The infidel sovereign camped near Kubhan (Kaṇṇanūr Koppam) one of the largest and strongest places held by the Mussalmans. He besieged it for six months, at the end of which the garrison had provisions for only fourteen days. Balāl dēv proposed to the besieged to offer them safe conduct if they would retire leaving him to occupy the town: but they replied: ‘we must inform our Sultān of this’.” He then offered them a truce for fourteen days, and they wrote to the Sultān describing their situation to him. Baṭṭūṭa then tells us that the Muslims at Madura made up their minds not to surrender, and three thousand picked horsemen with the Sultān himself in the centre came to the succour of the harassed garrison at Kaṇṇanūr; and he concludes the narration thus:—“in this order, the Mussalmans set out at the seista hour towards the infidel camp and attacked it, when the soldiers were off their guard, having sent away their horses to graze. The infidels, thinking that robbers were attacking their camp, went out in disorder to combat the assailants. Meanwhile Sultān Ghaiyās-ud-Dīn arrived, and the Hindus suffered the worst of all defeats. Their sovereign tried to mount a horse though he was aged eighty. Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, nephew and successor of the Sultān, overtook the old man and was about to kill

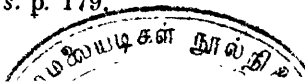
1. K. A. N. Sastri. *op. cit* pp. 280-1.

him, for he did not know who he was. But one of his slaves said: "He is the Hindu Sovereign"; he then made him prisoner and led him to his uncle, who treated him with apparent consideration till he extorted from him his riches, his elephants and horses, and promised to release him. When he had yielded up all his wealth to him, he had him killed and flayed. His skin was stuffed with straw and hung up on the wall of Madura where I saw it in the same position". These incidents are said to have happened near Chira Chirāpaḷli, the modern Trichinopoly.

Success was in Ballāḷa's grasp, but it slipped out by a mere accident. Accidents such as this have played a large part in history. Ballāḷa had, however, done his work. A pan-Hindu movement uniting the Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese countries had been inaugurated. Vīra Śavaṇa and Vīra Kampaṇa completed the work of conquest begun by Ballāḷa and brought Ma'bar under Vijayanagar rule. The fusion of the different elements in the South under a common hegemony, which was the ambition of the Hōysaḷas, was accomplished by the emperors of Vijayanagar.

There is no evidence to support the suggestion¹ that Virūpākṣa Ballāḷa IV, the son of Ballāḷa III, continued the struggle with the Madura Sultān for the next two or three years. All that we know about

1. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar: *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*. p. 179.



Ballāḷa IV was that he was crowned in Dvārasamudra in S. 1265 (1343 A.D.), and in the same year Harihara I of Vijayanagar ousted him from the throne. The Hoysaḷa State was merged in the rising empire of Vijayanagar.

II

Nature of Hoysaḷa Rule—In our investigation of the nature of Hoysaḷa rule and their influence upon the life and culture of the country, we shall confine ourselves to the Tamil districts, and to the period during which part of the Tamil nāḍu was under their rule. The duration of Hoysaḷa rule differed in different parts: at Kaṇṇanūr, it was about half a century, though in parts of the Koṅgu country and the Tamil districts of Gaṅgāvāḍi, and Māḡadhāi, it may have been about a century and a half.

In large areas which were nominally under Cōḷa or Pāṇḍya rule Hoysaḷa Daṇḍanāyakas exercised real authority, and the *defacto* sovereignty seems to have been vested in the Hoysaḷas. A Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscription,¹ for instance, dated in the fifth year of Rājendra Cōḷa III, records a gift of a village in Paṅgala nāḍu to the temple of Śrī Aruṇācalēśvara by Mahāpradāni maṇḍalika Yamarāja Śiṅgaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. The daṇḍanāyaka declared the gift *dēvadānairaiyilī* or tax free village in the enjoyment of the temple, and conferred on the temple authorities the right to appropriate all the taxes in that village.

1. 498 of 02.

A Vēdāraṇyam inscription¹ of the 26th year of Rāja Rāja III tells us that some lands, which were tax free within the village, i. e., which were exempted from taxes due to the village assembly but not from royal dues, later came to be assessed, but at the request of the village officers, Kampaya Daṇḍanāyaka assigned some of the lands to the temple for the daily worship of the goddess in the Kailāsanātha temple and made them taxfree.

Four inscriptions at Aḷagarkōvil² relate to a gift of the village of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr (Tiruppattūr taluk of the Ramnad district) to God Kallaḷagar by Vīra Sōmēśvara. The Hoysala king recorded his gift in a grant dated in his 10th regnal year (1243-44 A. D.). Another record bears the regnal year of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, (8th year, 988th day, corresponding to 1249 A. D.), and mentions that the Pāṇḍya King, at the request of his uncle Sōmēśvara, remitted the taxes on the village of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr to provide for offerings and other expenses of the services called *Pośaḷu Vīra Sōmidēvan sandi* instituted in the temple in the latter's name. The other two of this group record the communication of these orders to the *Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*. Here Vīra Sōmēśvara freely exercised the right of assigning a village in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom as *tiruvīḍaiyāttam* lands to a temple in another village in the same kingdom, while the ruler obligingly enough supplements the grant by remitting the taxes and endowing the same for the expenses of offerings

1. 97 of 97.

2. 291-294 of 30.

and daily worship. Two inscriptions from Tiruccât-turai¹ (Tanjore district) are dated in the regnal years of both Hoysaḷa Vīra Rāmanātha and Rājēndra Cōḷa. A record from Śivāyam² (Trichinopoly district), dated in the 4th year of Rājēndra Cōḷa III, relates to an inquiry into the affairs of the temple of Tirumānikka-udaiyār by a Hoysaḷa minister Maṇḍalika Muṛāri Aliya Sōmaya Daṇḍanāyaka assisted by Sēvaya Daṇḍanayāka and Sōmanātha Viṭṭaya, an officer in Sōmēśvara's palace establishment, the *māhēśvaras*, the *sthānikas* and merchants of the place. In two inscriptions from Tirumayyam³ in the Pudukkōṭṭai State the nominal sovereignty of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II is conceded by dating the records in his 7th regnal year, but there is a clear statement that the country of Kānāḍu in which the town was included was under the direct rule of Sōmēśvara's generals (*innāḍu udaiya svastiśrīmān Pratāpa Cakravarti Poysaḷa Vīra Sōmēśvara dēvar daṇḍanāyakarkalil*), one of whom summoned a tribunal to inquire into the reasons for the discontinuance of worship in the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples, and made an award after examining all the documents relative to the cause under inquiry. His award was immediately given effect to and inscribed on the walls of both the temples for future guidance. These instances will suffice to show that even within the territories of the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍyan kingdoms, the Hoysaḷa king exercised a certain measure of foreign jurisdiction, the internal government of the territory being shared both by

1. 207-208 of 31.

3. *P. S. I.* 340-341.

2. 49 of 13.

what we may call the extra-territorial sovereignty of the Hoysaḷa king and the territorial sovereignty of the Cōḷa or Pāṇḍya ruler. The right of the Hoysaḷa king over large parts of these kingdoms was obviously not in the nature of *dominium*, but of *jus in re aliena*.

Ministers—According to ancient Hindu treatises on Politics, seven elements constituted the State. First came the king, and next to him the *amātya* or minister. The Hoysaḷa kings had a council consisting of the more important ministers, who were their close advisers and were often entrusted with the highest executive and judicial authority. Hoysaḷa records bear testimony to the very intimate relation that existed between the king and some of the ministers, who were highly trustworthy and commanded the royal confidence. Viṣṇuvardhana had an inner cabinet of five ministers - *pañcapradhānar*. Mahāpradhāni Polālva dēva, the chief minister of Narasimha II, who bore the surname of *Tolaḡaḡa kamba* or 'unshaken pillar'—unshaken in his loyalty as in his prowess, was also known as *Vaiṣṇava-cakravartin*, or chief among Vaiṣṇavas, and was famous alike as minister, warrior, and poet—a rare combination indeed. A family of Brahmin ministers distinguished themselves for three generations in the service of Hoysaḷa kings from Narasimha II to Ballāḷa III. They were Perumāḷa Daṇḡanāyaka, his son Mādhava Daṇḡanāyaka and two grandsons Kētaya and Śiṅgaya or Śiṅgaṅa. They bore the surnames of *Immadi Rāhuttarāya* and *Sitagara gaṇḡa*, enjoyed extensive grants in the Kannaḡa and Tamil districts; and made liberal endowments to temples.

After the dissolution of the Hoysaḷa dynasty, they set up a chiefship in Dannāyakankōṭṭai in the Gōbichetṭipālayam taluk of the Coimbatore district. The following Mahāpradhānis figure in the Tamil records¹ of the next three rulers — Saṅkaradēva, Śiṅgaṇa who bore the surnames of *Yāmarājan*, *Nirambayanāthan*—or ‘lord of the Nirambayar or people of the Koṅgu country, and *Mūvar Irayarkaṇḍan*—or ‘the punisher of three kings’, Bhīmaṇa, Aṇiya (Aliya) Gaddaya, Bhujabala Kēśava, Pakkaḍikkāra Sōmaya, Viraya, Āriya Pillai and Dāti Śiṅgaya. Many of these *pradhāns* were governors of provinces, when they bore the designation *maṇḍalikas* or *sāmantas*.

A Daṇḍanāyaka had both civil and military responsibilities. The designation may be construed as ‘lord of the administration’ (*Daṇḍa* = administration) and ‘leader of the forces’. Gōpaya, Appaṇa, Śiṅgaṇa and Ravi dēva were among the famous generals who distinguished themselves in the campaigns in the south. Others such as Aliya Sōmaya, Sēvaya, Gōpaya, Vallaya, Appaṇa, Māḍappa, and Śiṅganā were able administrators, exercising executive and judicial authority.

Officers under the *daṇḍanāyakas* were designated *nāyaks*, and were placed in administrative charge of small districts. Hoysaḷa administrative officers adopted the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya designations of

1. P. S. I. 667 and 193 and 179 of 21.

Nāḍālvār, *Tennavaraiyar* or *Tennavadaraiyar*¹ (administrative officers in the Pāṇḍya country were given this title), *Pallavaraiyar*² and *Gaṅgādiarayar*.³ An officer at Kambayanallūr (Salem district) was designated *Vīranulamban*;⁴ either because of his Nulamba extraction or because he was in charge of a district in the Nulamba country. A record from Tirumaṇañjēri⁵ mentions the Eṭṭukuḍi araiyars or the araiyars belonging to eight clans of the adjoining village of Nelvēli in the Tanjore district. The araiyars of this clan were allied with those of Aḷumbil in the neighbourhood, from whom the present ruling house of Toṇḍaimāns of Pudukkōṭṭai trace their descent. Naḍālvārs were also generals in enjoyment of lands which were tax free in consideration of their public services.⁶

The officers of the royal household in the Tamil capital of Kaṇṇanūr bore the designations given to the same class of officers in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya royal households. A Śūlamaṅgalam record refers to the *agappariṅvāram*⁷ or the personal *entourage* of Vīra Rāmanātha. There is also mention of *mudalis*⁸—officers attached either to the king or the great daṇḍanāyakas.

While a good number of Hoysala records in the Tamil country refer to the royal order as *ōlai*, some

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| 1. 269 of 26 ; 566 of 93 ;
158 and 159 of 09. | 5. <i>P. S. I.</i> 668. |
| 2. 222 of 28. | 6. 280 of 23. |
| 3. 10 of 00. | 7. 560 of 21. |
| 4. 9 of 00. | 8. cf. 29 of 00. |

others call it *rājasam* or *rāyasam*. This is one of the terms that got into the vocabulary of the Tamil records of this period. The royal orders were often inscribed both on stone and on copper plates.

There are two other designations, *Śrīkarana*¹ (chief accountant) and *Sēna bōva*² (accountant.)

The Army. It is not clear whether the Hoysalas recruited soldiers from the Tamil martial races, such as the Kaḷḷars, the Maṟavars, and the Kaikkōḷārs. A certain Dēsaya Nāyaka is mentioned as the general of the *Valaṅgai* forces. The veterans were designated *garuḍas* or *bhērundas*.³ They were men who could be trusted to lay down their lives for the king, and corresponded to the storm troops or shock brigades of modern armies. An inscription from Śivapuri⁴ (Tanjore district) indicates that in the Hoysala army, at any rate in the early years of their Tamil campaigns, there were numerous mercenaries who, while not actually engaged in warfare, carried out the biddings of ruffians, who paid them to commit acts of violence and harass the local population.

One thing that stands out in the Hoysala campaigns in the south is their outstanding skill in strategy. Muḍigoṇḍān, Kollegāl, Ādhamkōṭṭai, Hosūr and Viṇṇamaṅgalam were important places on the defensive line to the north of the Tamil country running from the plateau of Mysore to Kāñci and the sea. Kōṭṭaiyūr, Pēraiyyūr, and Tirumayyam were

1. cf. 15 of 12.

2. cf. 30 of 37.

3. cf. 349 of 19.

4. 279 of 27.

likewise of importance in the defensive line of fortresses from Tiruppattūr to Arantāṅgi between Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and Cōḷamaṇḍalam and Koṅgumaṇḍalam. The selection of Kaṇṇanūr as the southern capital was dictated by considerations of strategy, and when this town was lost, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was chosen as the capital for the same reason. Mannārguḍi formed a convenient base for operations against the Kāḍavas and Pāṇḍyas. There is a tradition,¹ that the Hoysaḷas built a fort at Mannārguḍi, and that the present hamlet of Mēlavāśal was called after its western gate.

Kaṇṇanūr. We may make a passing reference to Kaṇṇanūr, the Hoysaḷa capital in the south. Situated to the north of the Coleroon, it is irrigated by the Periyavaḷavan channel, and marks the boundary between the fertile deltaic districts and the rich area of dry lands stretching as far as north Veḷḷār and the Peṇṇār valleys. Its proximity to the famous temples of Śrīraṅgam, which the Hoysaḷas held in great reverence for its association with Śrī Rāmānuja, and Tiruvānaikkōvil was another consideration in its favour. Its situation was of strategic importance, and from it one could control not only the Cōḷa country, but direct operations against the Kāḍava country of Milāḍu and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in the east and north, Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam in the south and the Koṅgu country in the west. In the days of the early Cōḷas, the Irukkuvēḷ rulers had a fort here, from which they controlled parts of Maḷanāḍu. Sōmēśvara named the town Vikramapura. The fort must have

1. *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency.*

been of formidable dimensions. There is still a bund, a mile long with traces of a moat visible. Part of the surrounding ramparts is on the road to Maṅṅachanallūr. Stones of this extensive fort and the temple within it were freely used in the 19th century to build the bridges over the Coleroon and the Kāvērī. In the local Śellāyī temple there are still some detached inscribed stones, on which one could read Hoysaḷa *birudas*. The *Poysaḷēśvaram* is now practically in ruins except for the central shrine and the front *maṅṅapams*, and so is the fine tank in front of it. Stones from this temple were used to build a mosque. The fort must have extended much beyond the Mahākālikuḍi temple to the south of the channel, since the temple of Kālī or Durgā, a goddess specially set up as a guardian deity of forts, must have been built within the fort area. There are some vestiges of Jain bastis or monasteries. In the *prākāra* of the Māriyammankōvil, which was built early in the 18th century by Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha Nāyak, the platforms of the cloister have been built over stones which bear the *simha lāñcanam* of the Jains. This 'city of victory' first fell into the hands of Māṅavarman Kulaśēkhara and then into those of the Muslims, from whom it was wrested by the Vijayanagar general, Kampaṅa Uḍayār. It continued to be an important strategic town till the 18th century, when it was the scene of some important engagements in the Carnatic wars.

Code of Warfare. While we are on the subject of the army it will not be out of place to examine whether the Hoysaḷa campaigns followed the estab-

lished Hindu canons of warfare. Some inscriptions attribute to the Hoysalas acts which are *prima facie* outrageous or, at any rate, unchivalrous. The treatment accorded to combatants and non-combatants has differed in different times. In the dim past of antiquity the parties fought with a desire to extirpate the foe. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, however, we have a crystallised code of *Rājadharmā*, which laid down humane rules of warfare. Unlimited violence was forbidden; extirpation of the foe and the utter ruination of his country were considered *adharmā*. “*Nasannipātaḥkartavyah sāmānye vijaye sati*”, says the *Mahābhārata*.¹ “*Ēkasyanāparādheṇa lōkānhantum tvamarhasi*”—‘slay not the unoffending people for the guilt of one man’, says Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa.² Kauṭilya³ does not countenance incendiarism as a means of destroying the enemy. The old scholastics in their treatises on Polity have provided for the following exceptions. They permitted a king to seize provisions for his army from the enemy’s country, when he is encamped there, by appropriating the crops, or to destroy the lands or crops so that they may not be of use to the enemy. Taking of booty in the course of campaigns was permitted; the booty might include chariots, horses, elephants, umbrellas, riches, grains, cows, women, stores and rare treasures.⁴ The famous Tiruvēndipuram record⁵ tells us that

1. *Sāntiparva* 103-13.

2. *Āraṇyakāṇḍa* 65-6.

3. *Artha śāstra* p. 406.

4. *Manu* VII, 96-97.

5. 142 of 02.

Gōpaya and Appaṇa, who were sent out to release the imprisoned Rāja Rāja Cōla III, stormed and sacked forts, burned the crops, destroyed the port-towns and captured the wealth and women of the enemy. Destruction of the port towns was a necessary precaution against reinforcements coming from Ceylon to the aid of the Kāḍava rebel; the devastation of the country was probably to isolate the enemy at Śēndamaṅgalam, and make it difficult for him to procure supplies and ultimately compel him to sue for peace.

In 1226 A.D. the soldiers of Hoysaḷa Narasimha II entered the temple of Tiruvaḍatturai and tried to carry away to Dvārasamudra the images of the gods and goddesses and the Nāyanmārs.¹ This was a deliberate act of plunder. There are precedents for such acts. When Pallava Narasimhavarma sacked Vātāpi, the Cālukya capital, his famous general, who is known to the Tamil world as Śiruttoṇḍan, carried away idols of Gaṇapati, and installed them at Tiruccēṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi and Pugaḷūr, where they are worshipped to this day as Vātāpi Gāṇapati. The Hōṭṭūr inscriptions of Rāja Rāja I and the historical introduction in the *praśasti* of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I afford further instances of the removal of images. Medieval States in South India were equally guilty with modern states in Europe in the matter of violating international codes and subjecting symbols of religion and works of art to the risks of war.

A Kōṭṭaiyūr record¹ speaks of the impoverishment of the village caused by the oppressive levies of the Kaṇṇaḍiyar. The temple treasury has often served as the reserve bank on which villagers might draw in times of difficulty. The record laments that even the temple treasury had been drained, and there was nothing for these poor people to do but to emigrate. Tiruppattūr,² not very far away from Kōṭṭaiyūr, experienced still greater troubles. Hoysaḷa occupation threw the place into such utter disorder, that lawless mobs broke into the temple treasury and stole away the money deposited in it, and in the course of their nefarious act they even slaughtered the priests. When conditions became settled, the village assembly confiscated the lands belonging to the miscreants. Hoysaḷas levied contributions from the villages to maintain their garrisons. Here is an echo from the past of the conditions now prevailing in countries occupied by the occupation armies of the victors.

Administration of Justice. In the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya times, local assemblies tried ordinary cases with or without the co-operation of the administrators of the nāḍu; only extraordinary cases were taken to the King's court. There are some interesting cases on record, which were tried by the Hoysaḷa kings or their ministers. At Kamarasavalli³ (Uḍayārpālaiyam taluk) Sōmēśvara inquired into a dispute between the

1. P. S. I. 310.

2. 170 of 30.

3. 94 of 14.

temple trustees and a local resident regarding the ownership of the village of Vaṅṅam, also called Madhurāntakanallūr, and decided in favour of the temple.

A dispute between the Śaivaite and Vaiṣṇavaite priests of Tirumayyam¹ (Pudukkōṭṭai State) deserves more than a passing mention. It was adjudicated by a special tribunal composed of the *nāḍu*, representing the towns and villages of the district, the *samayamantris* or royal priests, ordinary priests of both the sects belonging to Tirumayyam and the important temples of the neighbouring districts, and the *araiyars* or local administrators, and presided over by the Hoysala general Appaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. The share of the produce of the temple lands was in dispute, and daily worship in both the temples had been suspended. The tribunal carefully scrutinised the old records and accounts, and made the following award. The net produce of the temple lands, after payment of all revenue dues, was divided between the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the ratio of 2 : 3, the *dēvadāna* and *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* lands were so redistributed that no plot belonging to one temple should be surrounded by the lands of the other. It was ordered that a partition wall, the position and dimensions of which were specified, should be put up between the two shrines, each party contributing its share of the expenses in proportion

1. P. S. I. 340-341. Extract from the author's *A Manual of Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 648-9.

to the taxes that it paid. The tank on the eastern side of the Viṣṇu shrine was allotted to it, with the proviso that the water should be baled out, and that any Śaivaite or Vaiṣṇavaite image found thrown into it during the dispute, was to be installed in the proper temple, and all the other valuable finds were to be divided between the parties in proportion to the taxes that each paid. The well inside the entrance of the Śiva temple was declared to be its property, and a similar appropriation of anything found when baling out the water was ordered. The house sites adjoining the temples, and the lands and gardens that they held in common were apportioned between the Śaivaites and Vaiṣṇavaites, and all the lands that had been forfeited to the community in consequence of their owners' default in payment of taxes were assigned to both the temples, with the stipulation that they should enjoy the produce in equal shares. Provision was made for the separate remuneration of drummers in the two temples. An interesting feature of the award was the direction that old inscriptions relating to prior grants superseded by the new award, including one in an unknown script and language, were to be obliterated, and that all other inscriptions relating to one temple but found in the other were to be copied and reinscribed in the proper temple. Violation of this order was made punishable with a heavy cash fine payable to the king.

Corresponding to the common law in England, were the *smritis* in India; and jurists interpreted these *smritis*, much of which were not codified.

While a local administrator or judge would give judgment in accordance with some established custom or known precedents, the king who is considered as the source and fountain of justice, could dispense what we may term 'natural justice'. This prerogative the king could delegate to his supreme judges. Decisions in the royal courts in India were rather analogous to those of the Court of Chancery in England and perhaps also to the old Praetorial courts in Rome. A decision of the kind, we have just described, reads like the application of the English Chancery law or the *Jus Praetorium* in ancient Rome. The decision is characterised by equity neither opposed to nor superseding the common law of the *smṛiti* or the *sampradāya*, but rationalising it. The relief that the parties got is an illustration of the well-known maxim that *aequitas is aequalitas*.

Local Government : The Hoysālas fostered the local administrative bodies such as the *ūr*, the *sabhā*, the *nagaram* and the *nāḍu* ; and did not carry out any change worth mentioning either in their constitution or their functions. From an examination of Hoysāla records in the Tamil country so far published, one cannot escape the impression that during these centuries the *sabhās* were more prosperous than the *ūrs*. Where a village had both an *ūr* and a *sabhā*, joint sessions of the two assemblies were common, but the *ūr* was often overshadowed by the *sabhā*. The creation of *agarams* for Brahmins designated *caturvēdimañjalams*, where learned Brahmins were invited to dwell, was considered an act of

piety ; and inscriptions tell us of *agarams* or *caturvēdimāṅgalams* founded by and named after Hoysaḷa monarchs and their daṇḍanāyakas. One of these was founded near Tiruvānaikōvil¹, and was named *Posaḷa Vīra Narasimha Caturvēdimāṅgalam* ; and another in the Tinnevely district named *Śrī Posaḷa Vīra Sōmīśvara Caturvēdimāṅgalam*.² At least four such *agarams* were named after Perumāḷa and his descendants, who later became the chiefs of Dannāyakan-kōṭṭai,—*Rāhuttarāyanallūr*³ near Erode, *Mādhavacaturvēdimāṅgalam*⁴ near Saṅgrāmanallūr, *Śitagara-gaṇḍanallūr*⁵ near Avanāśi, and *Śiṅgaṇanallūr*⁶ (Poṅgaḷūr near Tirupati).

As was usual in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya times the local assemblies endowed charities in their own name and managed them,⁷ tried offenders, imposed penalties on them,⁸ and co-operated with the king's officers in the administration of justice.⁹ We shall revert to the *nagarams* later.

Here and there in the Tamil inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas we find the expression *mahājans*¹⁰ used in the place of the Tamil expression *perumakkal*, the elders of the village or the *nāḍu*. Perhaps the *mahājans* included the entire adult population of the village or the *nāḍu* who were qualified to vote. The

1. 118 of 37.

2. 156 of 94.

3. 583 of 05.

4. 158 of 09.

5. 189 of 09.

6. *T. D. Records* 102

7. *Cf.* 582 of 08, 141 of 10.

8. 170 of 36.

9. *P. S. I.* 340 and 341.

10. *Cf.* 158 of 09.

members of the *nagaram* or the assembly of merchants or artizan guilds were designated in Kannāḍa epigraphs *nakharas*.

Revenue, Taxation, Etc.: References in Hoysala Tamil records to service eleemosynary tenures,—*Dēva-danam*, *Tirunāmattukāṇi*, *Tiruvīdaiyāṭṭam*, *Brahma-dēyam* and *Mādappuram* endowments, *Kārāṇmai* and *Mīyāṭci* rights and communal ownership to lands, and cesses and octroi duties—show that their revenue administration and system of taxation in the Tamil provinces did not differ from those of the Colās and Pāṇdyas. Occasionally the king felt the need to revise the taxes fixed by the local assemblies. At Uṭṭattūr¹ (Trichinopoly district) Vīra Rāmanātha revised the rates of *āḍiraiippāṭṭam* or the tax on sheep and cattle, and fixed a uniform annual rate for all the eight subdivisions of the Uṭṭattūr nāḍu, at 10 *kāśu* for every sheep, 30 *kāśu* for every cow and 100 for every buffalo. Cattle belonging to temples were exempted. The weavers of Nattamāṅguḍi² near Lālguḍi and of Kaṇḍarādittam³ were unable to pay the taxes on looms at the rates fixed, and unable to withstand the pressure of the tax collectors, threatened to emigrate. On a report made by Ravi dēva Daṇḍanāyaka, Vīra Rāmanātha issued a royal order reducing the tax on looms to 8 *kāśu* per month. An inscription from Tiruvāśi,⁴ north of Śrīraṅgam, records that Sōmēśvara looked into the revenue

1. 527 of 12.

2. 152 of 29.

3. 203 of 29.

4. 34 of 91.

accounts and fixed the amount of paddy to be paid into the *Koṭṭāram* or palace granary after allotting the shares to holders of *Brahmadēyam* lands and to the *nāṭṭārs*. The record closes with the king's order that no wet land should be left uncultivated. A Tiruvānaikkōvil record¹ gives details of income in paddy from different kinds of lands endowed as *dēvadānam*, which show how perfectly the revenue accounts were kept. A new tax called *Vallāḷavari* was levied during the reign of Ballāḷa III.²

A record from Tiruvānaikkōvil³ mentions an instance of heavy floods in the Kāvērī,—obviously the Coleroon is meant here,—causing extensive breaches to the bunds and consequent flooding and silting up of the wet lands in the villages of Kaṇṇanūr, Narasiṅgamaṅgalam, Śeṅgāvūr and Otтанūr. The breaches were repaired in the 25th year of Sōmēśvara (1258), and the lands were reclaimed. There are references to other irrigation repairs, for example to the *madhurāntakapērēri* at Ālambākkam,⁴ and to the famous Pallava well at Tiruvellārai,⁵ which had suffered damage from neglect and floods. The proceeds of the sale of fish were allotted as an endow-

1. 124 of 37.

2. *T. D. Inscription of Tiruvēṅkalamātha. G. T. 11.*

3. 122 of 37.

4. 713 of 09.

5. 542 of 15.

ment for the proper maintenance of an irrigation tank at Viṅṇamaṅgalam ¹ (North Arcot district).

Trading Corporations. Among the *nagarams* or merchant guilds, mentioned in Hoysaḷa records, is a guild of *vaiśya vāṇiya nagarattār*,² who undertook to contribute to the temple at Dannāyakankōṭṭa; a fixed annual amount out of the proceeds of certain commodities such as textiles, yarn, pepper, arecanut, salt, grains and horses. Sāhala Bhaṭṭa, a member of the community of Paradēsi Sāvāsi merchants,³ made an endowment to the Śrī Raṅganātha temple in the reign of Vīra Rāmanātha. The Sāvāsis are sometimes identified with the Sāha—a class of merchants at Deogiri or Daulatabad mentioned in Ibn Baṭṭūta's memoirs.⁴ These were called *Śo-po* by Fa-Hien.⁵ The most important corporation of merchant guilds in this period was the famous guild of the *Nānādēsi-tiśaiyirattuaiññūrruvar*. They had their origin at Aihole or Ayyāvaḷe in the North Kanara country, and were for long known as the '500 Svāmis of Aiholē.' They obtained charters from the rulers of all the royal dynasties of the Deccan and South India from about the 6th or 7th century to about the 15th century. They gradually spread all over the south, and eventually controlled the entire

1. 23 of 99.

2. 442 of 06.

3. 70 of 37.

4. K. A. N. Sastri : *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 227.

5. *ibid* p. 71.

internal and external trade of South India. They claim to have been honoured by 500 *vīraśāsanas* or edicts describing their valour, maintained a regular army divided into several battalions,—*mummudidaṇḍas* or *munai vīras*, *erivīras* etc. They called themselves the protectors of the *Vīra Balañja dharma*, or code of mercantile laws and usages, and exercised the right of conferring special privileges on certain cities and towns, the *nagarams* of which were affiliated to them. The towns that came under their protection were named after one or other of their surnames. Dvārasamudra, Bēlūr and Arsikere were some of their important centres. Arsikere was called the southern Ayyavaḷe.¹ Members of this corporation hailed from 18 towns (*padinenḥbhūmi* or *padinenḥviṣayam*) and 79 districts, and from thousand directions in different countries (*nānādēśīya tisaiāyiram*). To a Muḍigoṇḍān record² we owe the interesting information that there were 18 towns under their protection situated to the north of the Kāvērī, and 18 others to the south of it; and Muḍigoṇḍān (Coimbatore district) belonged to the latter group. One of their edicts, which related to agricultural corporations, was called the *Citramēḷi śāsanam*, and *citramēḷi nāḍus* or agricultural districts were formed and fostered by the central corporation. They took under their protection *manigrāmams* and other *nagarams*, and brought under their purview

1. E. C. V. Arsikere 77.

2. 3 of 10.

almost the entire production of grains and raw materials and their transport, and also the entire import and export trade. The *Nānādēśis* were men of honour, as they claimed to be in their elaborate *birudas*, and spent a large share of their profits in works of charity distributed without distinction of religion or sect. Christian churches in the West Coast, Jaina, Śaiva and Vāiṣṇava temples, monasteries and feeding houses benefited by their philanthropy. The temples within the Hoysala kingdom, that received endowments from this Corporation, included the Maṅgalīśvara temple and Nārāyaṇa Perumāḷ temple at Muḍigoṇḍan¹ also called *Dēśi-uyyakkoṇḍa-cōlapattinam*, after the designation *Nānādēśi*. According to an Ādhankōṭṭai record,² dated in the 15th year of Sōmēśvara (1247-8 A. D.), the members of this corporation remitted certain dues from all the temples in the Tagaḍaināḍu and the Puramalaināḍu to secure merit for the king and Sōmaya. The temple at Kambayanallūr³ (Salem district) is called in the inscriptions *Dēśināthēśvara* temple, probably because it was built and endowed by the *Nānādēśis*. The Viṣṇu temple at Paruttipalli,⁴ which was endowed by the *Citramēḷināttār*, was given the name of *Citramēḷiviṇṇagaram*. Contemporary *Cōla* and

1. 3, 11, and 17 of 10.

2. 205 of 10 ; also 94 of 14.

3. 9 of 00.

4. 150 and 152 of 15.

Pāṇḍya records mention towns associated with this corporation, and their endowments, but the scope of this paper does not allow a detailed examination of these records.¹

Śivāyam or Śivapādaśekharam—to give its correct name, - at the foot of the Ratnagiri in the Kuḷitalai taluk, was a *nagaram*, the merchants of which made gifts to the temple on the hill,² and were once co-opted with the king's officers in checking the accounts of the temple.

By reason of its situation and its importance as a Hoysala capital Kannanūr was an *entrepot* and rivalled Dvārasamudra. We hear of horse dealers from Malamaṇḍalam (Malabar)³ visiting Kaṇṇanūr. One of them made an endowment to the Śrīraṅgam temple in the reign of Rāmanātha. A Mysore record,⁴ dated 1255 A.D., mentions a famous Malayāḷa merchant at Sōmēśvara's court. His daughter Candavve received from the king the title of *Gaṇakumāri*. This merchant of the Mysore record was perhaps one of those who visited the southern capital of the Hoysalas and made gifts to the Śrīraṅgam temple.

Marco Polo and the Mussalman chroniclers including Wassaf, Ibn-e-Rusta (c. 900 A. D.), Sulaiman

1. The matter has been discussed in the author's paper 'More about the Aiññūrṣvar' (Oriental Conference; Tirupati session), and a revised and enlarged account on the subject is under preparation.

2. 44 of 13.

4. *E. C. V. Arsikere* 108.

3. 67 and 74 of 92.

(C. 850 A. D.) and Abu Zaid (C. 950 A. D.) have described at length the extensive trade in Arab horses that were carried on under the rule of the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas and other South Indian dynasties. The horses must have been in demand in the cantonments which maintained strong forces of cavalry.

Hoysaḷa records¹ make frequent references to merchants of Brahmin descent, who carried on trade in horses, elephants and pearls, and in the words of one of these records, 'transported goods from the east to the west and from the north to the south and vice-versa.'² Other records refer to Brahmin merchants who were members of the Aiññūrṣūvar corporation.

A study of Hoysaḷa coins, most of which were minted and circulated in the Kannaḍa country, is beyond the purview of our present investigation. Tamil records of the Hoysaḷas frequently mention the *kāśu*. A record from Kāñcī² of the 25th year of Kulōttuṅga III registers a gift of ten *Bhujabala māḍai* to the Aruḷāḷa Perumāl temple by a merchant of Pulāl in the Hoysaḷa country. The *māḍai* was more popularly known as *pon*, and was a gold coin

1. E. C. V. Arsikere 22

The social system during this period does not seem to have been very rigid. Brahmins also served in the army. The Daṇḍanāyakas of Dannāyakankōṭṭai were Brahmins, and even Brahmin scholars and priests were honoured with the military rank and title of *Brahmādvāya*.

2. 360 of 19.

equal two gold *kāśus*. There were also copper *kāśus* of lower value. There seems to have been a mint at Kaṅṅanūr¹, since we meet with an endowment to the Śrīraṅgam temple by a member of the mint establishment in the 7th year (1261 A. D.) of Vīra Rāmanātha.

Religion. From an Ākkūr (Māyavaram taluk) record we learn that the idol of Rāja Rāja Viṅṅagaram, otherwise called *Naḍuvirkōil*, was usually taken in procession during the *Vaikāśi* festival to the tank *Anandapuṣkarani* of the Śiva temple. The authorities of the latter objected to the procession being taken out in the 14th year of Rāja Rāja III (1230 A. D.) The *kūttapperumakkol* of the village felt that this was not good either for the king or for the village, and granted land free of taxes for the construction of a new road to the Kāvērī along which the Viṣṅu image could be taken to the river bank. We have referred above to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṅava dispute at Tirumayyam. The assembly of *Mahēśvaras* at Tirukkaḍaiyūr² threatened the members of their *sabhā*, who mixed freely with Vaiṣṅavas, with forfeiture of their property. These instances are typical of the poison that had begun to vitiate the religious atmosphere of South India at that time. Barring the instances of a Cōḷa monarch, who according to tradition persecuted Śrī Rāmānuja, and the attempt to remove the image of Gōvindarāja from the Chidam-

1. 257 of 25.

2. 74 of 37; A. R. E. 37.

baram temple, there was practically no other instance of royal persecution of any kind either by the Cōlas or the Pāṇdyas or the Hoysaḷas. It has been said with a certain amount of pardonable pride that Ballāḷa II and his generals were the supporters of the four creeds—Māhēśvara, Bauddha, Vaiṣṇava and Arhat. Candramauli, a famous Hindu minister, who made liberal grants to the Viṣṇu temple at Kāñchī, had a Jaina wife, Accāmbikē, who, for her part, endowed Jaina bastis. Devoted Vaiṣṇava rulers built new temples to Śiva and endowed many old ones.

Vaiṣṇavaism. It may be said that the Hoysaḷas more than any other ruling house, made a distinct contribution to the spread of the Vaiṣṇava movement in South India. The first great service of the Hoysaḷas was to give a safe asylum in their dominion to Śrī Rāmanuja, who lived there for about twelve years, converted Bittiga into Vaiṣṇavism and helped in the establishment of a number of temples, feeding houses, and other charitable works of public utility. Mention may be made of the *aṣṭagrāma* or the eight Viṣṇu shrines on both banks of the Kāvērī, including the temple at Serīngapatam, the Sampatkumāra temple at Mēlkōṭe and the Vijayanārāyaṇa temple at Bēlūr. The great tank, *Tirumalaśāgara*, at Tonnūr still stands as a monument to Śrī Rāmānuja's ministrations to the people of the Hoysaḷa country. Families of eminent Tamil scholars settled in the Hoysaḷa country to spread the tenets of the Vaiṣṇava cult and to supervise the monasteries and other religious institutions. Among them were the

Bhaṭṭars, the Hebbars, the Nallāncakravartis, the Tātācāryas, far-famed for their scholarship, and the Kaḍāmbiyans, in which family was later born Śrī Ādi Vaṅṣatagōpa Jīyar, the founder of the Ahōbila Maṭham.

In the pontifical line of the *Bhāṣya* or the Samskrit or the northern school of Vaiṣṇavas, later known popularly as the *Vaḍakalais*, Kurukēṣa of the Tātācārya family and Viṣṇucitta lived in Śrīraṅgam, but Varadācārya or Naḍādūr Ammāl made Kāñcī the centre of this school of Vaiṣṇavas. His presence at Kāñcī was responsible for Hoysala kings and their officers making endowments to Śrī Varadarāja Perumāl. Appillār, was the next ācārya, and his famous successor was Vēnkaṭanātha, better known as Vēdānta Dēśika, who even during his life time won the well-merited *birudas*—*kavitārkika simha* or 'lion among poets and dialecticians' and *Śarva-tantrasvatantra* or 'the master of all knowledge'. It was during the term of Vēdānta Dēśika's office that Ballāḷa III camped at Kāñcī, and honoured great scholars.

The early ācāryas of the *Prabandha* or the southern school were later called the *Tēnkaḷais*. Embār, a cousin of Śrī Rāmānuja, and Mudaliyāṇḍān, one of his nephews, and Kiḍāmbi Āccān supervised the construction of temples in the Hoysala country, and conferred certain privileges on the Vaiṣṇavas of the village of Śaligrāma. The Hoysala country gave to Śrīraṅgam, the then spiritual capital of the

Vaiṣṇava world, the scholar Mādhava Sūri or Raṅganātha Muni, popularly called Nañjīyar,¹ whose work the *Nine thousand*, embodying the esoteric doctrines of the Prabandha school, formed the basis for the later redactions, the *Twenty four thousand* of Periya Āccān Piḷḷai, and the *Thirty six thousand* or the *Iḍu* of his successor Kṛṣṇapāda. Piḷḷailōkācārya, who bravely perished in his attempt to remove the image of Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷa of Śrīraṅgam to a place of safety during the Mussalman raid of 1327 A. D., lived in Śrīraṅgam when the town was under Hoysaḷa rule. During this raid Vēdānta Dēśika escaped with the rare manuscript of *Śrutaprakāśika*, a commentary on Śrī Rāmānuja's *Śrī Bhāṣya*, which was one of the most authoritative scriptures of this sect, and took shelter at Satyamāṅgalam, which was then under Hoysaḷa rule.

Hoysaḷa endowments to the great Vaiṣṇava temples of the South deserve some attention. When Narasimha II camped near Śrīraṅgam, Śrī Rāma Bhaṭṭa, son of a great Vaiṣṇava teacher of Kuruhāpura, proficient in *māntric* lore, and priest in charge of the Tirukkuḷalūdina piḷḷai or Vēṇugōpala temple at Haḷēbīd consecrated by the Hoysaḷa queen Umādēvī, visited Śrīraṅgam,² and endowed lands to the temple,

1. A. Śrinivāsa Rāghavan has conclusively established the identity of Raṅganātha Muni with Mādhava Sūri, who after his conversion to the Vaiṣṇava faith, came to be known as Nañjīyar. (Preface to his edition of *Śrī Śūktā* with Nañjīyar's commentary.)

2. 69 of 37.

and, it is believed, was also instrumental in consecrating a shrine to Vēṇugōpāla in the Śrīraṅgam temple. The image of Śrī Vēṇugōpāla in the fifth *prākāra* of the temple with the surrounding sculptures and figurines, is unmistakably a product of Hoysaḷa art.¹ High up on the *gōpuram* in the middle of the East Cittirai street, formerly called the *Kaliyugarāman tiruvīdi* is engraved the *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*, a Hoysaḷa emblem. The latticed window of the *gōpuram* and some other features are typical of Hoysaḷa architecture. This *gōpuram* was begun in the time of Narasimha, and was completed by Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya during his occupation of Śrīraṅgam. Vīra Pāṇḍya's surname *Kaliyugarāman* is also engraved on the *gōpuram*.² The *Kōvilōḷugu* ascribes to Vīra Narasimha the erection of the platform and *maṇṭapam* in front of the shrine to god Narasimha. During the reign of Sōmēśvara, his queen Dēvala Dēvi³ made a gift for a *sandi* in her name, and his aunt Sōmala Dēvi⁴ a gift of 1,00,000 *kāśu* for the maintenance of flower gardens. Kamalā Dēvi⁵ queen of Vīra Rāmanātha, her sister Cikka Sōmaḷā and her daughters, and Ponnambala Dēvi,⁶ sister of Vīra Rāmanātha, figure among the donors in the next reign. Rāmanātha's *pradhāni*, Maṇḍalika

1. *A R E.* 37. Report.

2. 98 of 37 ; *A. R. E.* 1921-II. 21.

3. 54 of 92.

4. 72 of 37.

5. 62, 64, 65 of 37.

6. 57 of 92.

Yamarājan Kampaya Daṇḍanāyaka, lavished gifts on this temple ; the shrines to Paravāsudēva in Ālināḍān west *prakāra*, Sudarśana and Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa, a number of *maṇṭapams* and porches are attributed to him. His name is inscribed on the pillars of the western porch of the thousand pillared *maṇṭapam*. His elder brother Kariyamāṇikka Daṇḍanāyaka¹ also made his contribution to the pious endowments of Kampaya. An endowment² of outstanding importance was the establishment of a hospital within the temple by Mahāpradhāni Siṅgaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. The physician in charge was Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍitā, the minister's private physician, and the village of Mummuḍicōḷamaṅgalam near Lālguḍi was granted for the maintenance of this charity. This *ārōgyaśālai* was damaged during the Muslim raid, and the grandson of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita repaired it in 1493 A.D.,³ and installed an image of Danvantari which is worshipped even to-day.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, who captured Srīraṅgam, covered part of the temple *vimānam* with gold, and otherwise enriched the temple coffers. The pious stream of Hoysala gifts grew in volume with the contributions of others who came to Srīraṅgam either as conquerors as Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya did, or as pilgrims or merchants. We have already referred to gifts by

1. *Kōvilolugu* pp. 16-17 ; and 114 of 38.

2. 80 of 37.

3. 81 of 37.

merchants, and shall mention one interesting gift before we take leave of this holy shrine. A certain Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭa, who bore the proud title of *Śakala vidyā cakravartī*, and was the recipient of a head-gear inlaid with rubies and a pair of chowris with golden handles from Vīra Pāṇḍya, visited Śrīraṅgam in the 15th year of Vīra Rāmanātha, and offered all these precious gifts at the feet of God Raṅganātha.¹

Next to Śrīraṅgam, comes Tirupati in the pious estimation of the Vaiṣṇavas. Śrī Rāmānuja paid frequent visits to Tirupati, built a temple in the town at the foot of the hills, and thoroughly reorganised the conduct of worship and festivals in all the temples. He gave to Tirupati its present Vaiṣṇava character; and in this great work, if tradition may be relied, he had the help of the Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana and his successor Ballāḷa II. We have authenticated records of the connection of the Hoysaḷas with Tirupati during the rule of Ballāḷa III. Ballāḷa's famous minister, Mahāpradhāni Siṅgaya Daṇḍanāyaka, instituted a festival in the month of *Ādi*, and food offerings at a *sandi* called *Śitagaragaṇḍan*¹ after one of his surnames, and established a *maṭham* called the *Śitagaragaṇḍan maṭha* for the daily feeding of thirty-two Vaiṣṇavas together with a water-shed and flower gardens on the hill. The village of Poṅgaḷūr which was renamed Siṅgaṇanallūr was given as a *sarva-mānyam*. It was stipulated that any money that

was left after meeting the expenses of these charities should be devoted to other charitable purposes as the *stānattār* of Tirumalai might decide.¹ Perhaps the greatest of Ballāḷa's services to the Tirupati temple was the immunity that he succeeded in giving it from the deprivations of the Muslims in the first half of the 14th century.

We then come to Kāñcī. Numerous records² between 1217 and 1240 A. D. relate to gifts of villages, cattle and gold, flower gardens and lamps made to Arulāḷa or Varadarāja Perumāl by Hoysala daṇḍa-nāyakas including such eminent officers as Daṇḍina Gōpa Gōpaya, Kēśava, Mallaya, Pōlālvi Mādaya and Vallaya.

During one of his visits to Kāñcī, Ballāḷa III presented to the god a throne called *Vīra Vallālan* under a canopy called *Ariyanaivallān* placed in the *abhiṣēkamaṇṭapam*. The king was seated with his consorts, and in the presence of the processional image of Śrī Varadarāja, conferred gifts on deserving scholars and temple servants. Among the recipients of honours was Kaḍāmbi Ceṭṭu Narasiṅga Bhaṭṭar, who received certain special privileges and a house. An investiture of some importance³ to the Vaiṣṇava community was the conferment of the title of *Brahmatantra Svatantra Jīyar* (or 'the saint who

1. *T. D. Insc.* 99-102.

2. of 366, 369, 397, 404, 408, 611, 612, 615, 617 of 19 ;
39 of 20.

3. 572-574 of 19.

was proficient in Vēdāntic lore') on Vaiṣṇavadāsa. The king directed that a *maṭha* should be established for him with lands for its maintenance ; and ordered that for his propagation of *Rāmānujadarśana* or the teachings of Rāmānuja, this Jīyar and his disciples must be held in honour by Vaiṣṇava devotees of all communities. Brahmatantra svatantra, a worthy contemporary of Vēdānta Dēśika, was one of his successors, but he lived mostly in Tirupati.

Āḷagarkōvil in the south is another shrine of established sanctity ; and reference has already been made to Sōmēśvara's gift of the village of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr for the conduct of worship in this temple. Two daṇḍanāyakas of Narasimha II—Gōpaya and Appaṇa, made endowments to the shrine at Tiruvēndipuram¹ which to the Vaḍakalai sect has the additional sanctity of its association with Vedānta Dēśika. Hoysaḷa charities to smaller Viṣṇu temples included the renovation of the Varadarāja temple at Ālambākkam² and gifts to the temples at Mēlūr³ (Trichinopoly district) and Mādhavacaturvēdi-maṅgalam now called Tiruppattūr (North Arcot district.)

Saivism. Three streams of Śaiva philosophy and rituals flowed into the Tamil country before the 10th century ; one was the school of pure devotion and self surrender to the Lord's grace of the Nāyanmār ;

1. *E. I.* VII, p. 161

2. 713 of 09.

3. 407 of 24,

the second was the *āgama* school largely influenced by the *Pratyabhijñā* school of Kāshmir, and the third that of the followers of the Lakulīśa *Samaya*—the Pāśupatas and Kālamukhas who rose to prominence at Tiruvorriyūr even during the Pallava period, and at Ālambākkam, Koḍumbālūr and other places in the south. The Pāśupata sects established *maṭhams* all over the land from Cedi and Malwa in the north to the Tamil country in the south. The mystic Meykaṇḍār wrote his treatise *Śiva Nānabōdam* on the philosophy of Śaivism, which was based to some extent on the *Pratyabhijñā* system. He was followed by Arunandi, who wrote the *Śiva-nānaśittiyār*. These two form the chief scriptures of Śaivite metaphysics. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, a contemporary of Rāja Rāja I and Rājendra I arranged the Śaiva canon. All these together formed the *Tirujñānam* comprising the hymns sung in temples, and the theological canons expounded by Śaiva teachers.

Every temple had a *maṭham* where these scriptures were taught. The monks of these *maṭhams* were often associated with the trustees in the management of temples, and were collectively known as *māhēśvaras*. Hoysala records mention some of these temple *maṭhams*,—the *Śaṅgama dēvar maṭham*¹ attached to the Śaṅgamēśvara temple near Tiruvānaikkōvil, the *Kākkunāyakan maṭham*² at Tirupparāitturai, one at *Vīrasōmīśvara Caturvēdi*

1. 5 of 38.

2. 582 of 08.

maṅgalam ¹ in Muṛappunāḍu (Tinnevelly district) and the *Elunūrruvantirumaṭham* ² of Sivapādaśekharam or Sivāyam.

Side by side with these temple *maṭhams* flourished also the Kālamukha *maṭhams*, which had such a large circle of disciples from all over the country as to merit the designation *Lakṣādyāyi* applied to them. One of these Lakṣādyāyi *maṭhams* was the *Gōlaki maṭham* founded by Sadbhava Sambu in the Dahala country. A great ācārya in this *santhānam* or lineage was Viśvēśvara Śivācārya, the spiritual preceptor of the Kākatiya ruler Gaṇapati. He gave to this order an elaborate but wonderfully efficient organisation, and its branches sprang up all over the Tamil country. Tiruvānaikkōvil, was one of its important centres in the south. A record from the Pudukkōṭṭai State refers to the sojourn of Viśvēśvarācārya at Tiruvānaikkōvil, and the grant of the village of Kumāramaṅgalam in the State to the Lakṣādyāyi Gōlaki Bhikṣā *maṭham* at Tiruvānaikkōvil. This inscription (dated 1240 A.D.)³ though not dated in the regnal years of either Sōmēśvara or Vīra Rāmanātha, is a record of this period; and Kumāramaṅgalam was for many years included in the Hoysala territory during the reigns of these two sovereigns. Tatpuruṣa Śivācārya—a

1. 435 of 06.

2. 179 of 14.

3. P. S. I. 196.

disciple of Swāmi Dēvar,¹ who bore the surname *Śaiva Siddhānta Vyākhyāta* or 'exponent of the Saiva canons' got a *maṭham* built at Tiruvānaikkōvil by Vīra Rāmānātha in 1258-9, to which the king attached tax-free lands. Gautama Rāvalar,² a disciple's disciple of Svāmi Dēvar, bought from the temple authorities house-sites for building this *maṭham*.

The respect and consideration for Kālamukha *maṭhams* was traditional with the Hoysaḷas. Bali-gāmi in their home province was a great Kālamukha centre. Under Hoysaḷa and Cālukya patronage the Kālamukhas had spread all over Karnāṭaka and established a *maṭham* at Haḷēbīd presided over by a line of great scholars including Īśāna Śambhu, Dēvēndra Paṇḍita and Kalyāṇa Śakti Paṇḍita.

Among the Śaiva temples in the South associated with the Hoysaḷas preference obviously goes to the *Poysaḷēśvaram* at Kaṇṇanūr which Sōmēśvara built to secure merit for his mother, queen Kalāla Dēvi.³ Naturally royal endowments poured in to enrich this temple, and the royal donors included Sōmēśvara, Rāmānātha, Sōmāḷa Dēvi and even Rājendra Cōḷa III and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

The Jambunātha-Akhilāṇḍēśvarī temple at Tiruvānaikkōvil received extensive and valuable

1 21 of 91. The term *Swāmi Dēvar* was not the name of a person but only a designation, rather a form of address expressive of veneration.

2. 125 of 37.

3. 18 and 20 of 91.

endowments from the Hoysaḷas. Somēśvara built four shrines to the north of the temple, wherein he consecrated the liṅgams¹ *Ballālīśvara*, *Padmālīśvara*, *Narasimhēśvara*, and *Sōmālīśvara*, respectively named after his grandfather, grandmother, father and aunt (Sōmaḷā Dēvī), and the *dānattār* of Kaṇṇanūr, Tiruvānaikkōvil and Trichinopoly temples were entrusted with the management of these shrines and the endowments that they enjoyed. Sōmēśvara completed a massive *gōpuram* with seven storeys, which is now the eastern most one of this temple. It was probably begun by Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1216), but towards its construction, Sōmēśvara made a liberal grant; and his record calls the *gōpuram*, *Vīrasōmēśvaran tirunilaiyēḷugōpuram*.² It is a magnificent structure in the Pāṇḍya style with sculptures of gods and goddesses that are among the finest specimens of Tamil art. It is a pity that this monument has not received at the hands of students of Indian art the attention that it deserves. The example of the two royal builders was emulated by officers, citizens and merchants. A certain Kaḷavakkūr Tyāga Perumāl built and endowed a shrine named *Tyāgavinōdīśvaram*;³ Nānasambandar of Karuppūr built a shrine for Naṭaraja⁴ (Eḍuttarūḷiya Śrīpādamuḍaiyār) and Nīlakaṇṭha Nāyakar of Palapalli the shrine of *Pasupatiśvaram* in a *gōsāla*

1. 18 of 91; also 119 of 37.

2. 19 of 91.

3. 118 of 39.

4. 25 and 26 of 38.

now enclosed by the *tirumadil* of *Rājarājēśvaram*. The *liṅgam* in the *Paśupatiśvaram*¹ is a *mukha-liṅgam* with four faces sculptured on it, representing four aspects of Śiva, *Tatpuruṣa* in the east, *Aghōra* in the south, *Vāmadēva* in the west, and *Sadyōjāta* in the north, while *Īśāna*, the fifth aspect, which is formless, is to be conceived on the top.

The shrine of Viśvēśvaradēva,² probably named after Viśvēśvara Śivācārya, was an addition to the Saṅgamēśvara temple in Vīranarasimha-caturvēdimāṅgalam. The temple to the west of the *Rāmatīrtham* tank is referred to in the inscriptions as *Prasannīśvaram*³ or *Rājākkalṅāyanār* (the latter name is believed to be a surname of Rāmanatha). At Poraśaikkūḍi, not far from Tiruvauaikkōvil, was built a tomb with a shrine (*Pallippaḍai*) for Sōmalā Dēvi.⁴ Royal gifts⁵ to the shrines at Tiruvānaikkōvil were chiefly to secure merit for the queens, Kalālā Dēvi, Sōmalā Dēvi, and Kamalā Dēvi. Sōmēśvara ordered the celebration of a festival⁶ in his name in *māsi*, while Sōmalā Dēvi⁷ gave a large sum of gold for the purchase of ornaments and jewels for the gods and goddesses.

1. 4 of 38.

2. 12 of 38.

3. 92 of 10.

4. 124 of 37.

5. 26 of 91, 120, 122 and 123 of 37.

6. 121 of 37.

7. 22 of 91.

Other Hoysala endowments relate to the Muktīśvaram at Kaṇṇanūr, and the Śiva temples at Peru Marudūr, three miles to the east of Kaṇṇanūr, Tirumalavādi, Mannārguḍi, Tirugōkarṇam, Śembāṭṭūr and Tirumaṇañjēri. Tirumaḷavādi¹ has been considered holy on account of the northward deflection of the course of the Kāvērī river near the temple (*punalvāyil śrīkōvil*). Hoysala kings and their daṇḍanāyakas liberally provided for the daily bath of the *liṅgam* with water carried from the holy stream, for flower gardens and daily worship, while Vallaya Daṇḍanāyaka added a small shrine to the temple. In the Jayaṅkoṇḍār temple at Mannārguḍi,² Vīra Rāmanātha instituted a *sandi* in his name. Mahāpradhāni Śiṅgaṇa set up an image of the goddess at Śembāṭṭūr,³ and Śokkanatha Daṇḍanāyaka at Tirumaṇañjēri⁴ (Pudukkōṭṭai State). Sōmalā Dēvi made a gift to the Tirugōkarṇam temple⁵ at Pudukkōṭṭai. One of the *gōpurams* at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai goes by the name of *Vallāḷa gōpuram*; and that it is a Hoysala monument is confirmed by a record of the 5th year of Rājēndra III stating that the *tirumadil* was erected by Śiṅgaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka.⁶

1. 70, 72, 73, 76, 93, 97, 98 of 95; 20, 21, 23, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, and 53 of 20.

2. 85 of 97.

3. *P. S. I.* 667.

4. *P. S. I.* 1056.

5. *P. S. I.* 183

6. 498 of 02.

The Paramīśvaram Uḍaiyār temple at Ādhama-kōṭṭai (Mahēndramaṅgalam) was built by an officer of Mahāpradhāni Paramaviśvāsi Mādhava Daṇḍa-nāyaka in the reign of Narasimha 11. We have finally to record three gifts made by the family of *mahāpradhānis*, who later became the chiefs of Dannāyakankōṭṭai; to the temple at Avanāśi¹ a *sandi* called *Immaḍi Kāhuttarāyar sandi*; to that at Āragal² the village of Nattamaṅgalam enjoyed by the family as a *jīvitam* from the king; and to that at Dannāyakankōṭṭai³ the proceeds of taxes on weavers and ferry boats.

Temple Architecture: The Hoysālas seem to have engaged the services mostly of Tamil architects and sculptors in the temples that they built in the Tamil country. Their most famous temple is the *Poyśālīśvaram* at Kaṇṇanūr. The *garbhagrham*, *ardhamanṭapam* and *mahāmanṭapam* of this temple stand on a plinth five feet above the ground level. The plinth rests on a lotus base and is adorned with a *vyāla* frieze and *kaṇḍam*. Above it is the lotus base of the structure proper. The *kumudam* or the deep convex string-course all round is fluted on the sides of the niches but not on the corners. The pilaster, which stands on a cubical base with *nāgapadaṁs* on the top corners, is octagonal and supports an octagonal *palagai* or abacus, above which is the *idal* with

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1. 189 of 09.
 2. 414 of 13-
 3. 440 of 06.

puṣpabodikais terminating in buds. The *kūḍu* is circular: and above it is a frieze of *vyālas* with projecting *makhara* heads at the corners. The brick *vimānam* has three square tiers with *pañcarams* or miniature shrines surmounted by a circular *śikharam* or dome resting on a *grīvam* or drum, also circular, and crowned with a *stūpi* or finial. Between the *ardhamanṭapam* and the *garbhagrham* are *kumbha-pañcarams*, broad flat pilasters, rising from vase-shaped bases and terminating in complicated ornamental designs. These adorn the recesses between the projection on the walls into which the niches are cut. The *mahāmanṭapam* has four central pillars supporting a sort of domed ceiling; the pillars are complicated structures called *anīyōṭṭikkāl*, massive monolithic pillars with decorated bases and highly ornamented tops shaped as lions, *makharas*, or shaft-like projections. The porch of the *mahāmanṭapam* is approached by a flight of steps on the north and south, and its pillars are also *anīyōṭṭikkāls*. In front is a small pillared porch for the *nandi*. The doorway of the *mahāmanṭapam* is massive but delicately ornamented. To the north of the *mahāmanṭapam* is another small *ardhamanṭapam* leading to the sanctum of the *Amman* or *Dēvi*. The *dvārapālakas* are huge figures and are two-armed. The *liṅgam* in the sanctum, which is a fine specimen delicately chiselled, is a *Dharā liṅgam*, and exhibits sixteen facets. There was a cloister all round the *prākaram*, but it is now completely in ruins. A record of S. 1294

(1372-3 A. D.)¹ and the *Kōvilōḷugu*² tell us that the sculptures were demolished by the Muslims, who used the stones in the *prakāram* to put up fortifications for their garrisons and to build a mosque, and that Kampaṇa restored worship in the temple.

This temple is of considerable interest to students of South Indian temple architecture, though it has not attracted the attention that it deserves. The temple has more of the features of the contemporary 'late Cōla' or 'Pāṇḍya style.' than of the 'Hoysala style'. The *garbhagrham* of a Hoysala shrine is generally star-shaped, but here it is roughly a square. In the place of the *sukhanāsi*, we have here the narrow *ardhamanṭapam*, and in the place of the *navaraṅga*, the *mahāmanṭapam* of the *Drāviḍa* order. Similarly the very narrow *ardhamanṭapam* of the Amman temple may be said to correspond to the *sukhanāsi*; and as is common in Hoysala structure, the *mahāmanṭapam*, which stands for the *navaraṅga*, is common to both the shrines. The *mahāmanṭapam* here is rather highly ornamented unlike in Cōla and Pāṇḍya contemporary structures, where they are plain. The pillars are highly decorated, and, as in the important Hoysala structures in Mysore, not two pillars of this hall are alike. The latticed windows on the walls remind one of similar Hoysala decoration. The two armed *dvārapālakas* have not the

1. 162 of 37.

2. p 104.

simplicity and naturalness of Cōḷa specimens, nor do they exhibit the exuberance of ornamentation usual in Hoysaḷa sculptures. They are but indifferent though massive-looking specimens. The outer walls, which in Hoysaḷa structures are filled with panels of delicate carving, are here quite plain except for such conventional carvings as beads so common in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya structures. A striking feature of this temple is the prominence of the *vimānam* which is a marked feature of some famous late Cōḷa temples, such as the *Airāvātēśvaram* at Dārāsuram or the *Kampaharēśvaram* at Tribhuvanam. A *vimānam* of a respectable height with superstructure arranged in tiers is also a Hoysaḷa feature. The porch in front of the *navaraṅga* is the Hoysaḷa archetype of the Vijayanagar *mukhamantapam*. The monument on the whole combines all the characteristic features of the contemporary early 'Pāṇḍya' or 'late Cōḷa' style with some casual features of the Hoysaḷa style'. It lacks alike the purity of conception, simplicity of execution, and directness of appeal that have made Pallava and early Cōḷa art the wonder of discerning art connoisseurs, and the exuberance, one would almost say exaggeration of details, the profuse ornamentation and the delicacy of craftsmanship of Hoysala art; but nevertheless as a stage marking the development of the Drāviḍa *vimānam* it has its own appeal, and does not fail to impress one with its elegance of finish; not one feature of its plan and ornamentation offends against good taste.

The *Prasannīśvaram*, now called the *Kariyū-mālīśvaram*, at Tiruvānaikkōvil reproduces some of the features of the *Pōysalīśvaram*; the sanctum of the *vimānam* rests on a high plinth, and is crowned by a lofty superstructure. The *dvārapālakas* are tall two-armed figures. In plan also it resembles the *Pōysalīśvaram*, but in its general appeal it is far less striking.

A study of the architectural features of the *Pōysalīśvaram* raises a few interesting problems. There are at least three temples in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, which have the main features of the *Pōysalīśvaram*. The *vimānam* of the Siva temple at Perumānāḍu, about five miles to the west of Pudukkōṭṭai, stands on a raised plinth and has a lofty spire with *pañcarams*. The ruined temple at Maḍattukkōvil near Virālimalai has the same characteristics, but the spire has now fallen down, and on its walls are panels carved with lines in all possible forms of convolution, very pleasing in their effect, and miniature sculptures charmingly executed. The central shrine of the famous Kuḍumiyāmalai temple was renewed about this period by the officers of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, who altered the plan of the older shrine and rebuilt it on a high plinth. In all these shrines as in the *Pōysalīśvaram*, the *kumbhapañcaram* occurs. According to Prof. Dubreuil the occurrence of this motif is an indication that the monument is of the 14th century or later. Here we have the *Pōysalīśvaram*, the *Prasannīśvaram* and the other temples in the Pudukkōṭṭai

State; all belonging to the first half of the 13th century but yet displaying the *kumbapañcaram* motif.

The massive complicated pillars, which in Tamil architecture we call the *aṇiyottikkāl*, were believed by Prof. Dubreuil to have been introduced into Tamil architecture by the Vijayanagar emperors. Here at Kaṇṇanūr they occur in a 13th century Hoysaḷa temple. They occur also in a few late Cōḷa temples such as the *Kampaharēśvaram*. From all these considerations we may safely conclude that the *kumbhapañcaram* motif and the *aṇiyottikkāl* in its multiple manipulation of shape and variety of decoration came into vogue in the Tamil country about the time the later Cōḷas (from Kulōttuṅga III), the Hoysaḷas at Kaṇṇanūr and the early Rulers of the Second Pāṇḍyan empire dominated the culture and politics of the land.

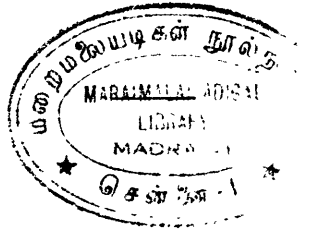
Envoi: The Hoysaḷas, originally dependents of the Imperial Cāḷukyas, burst open their narrow shell of vassalage, and together with the Śeuṇas, their brother Yādavās of Dēvagiri, brought about the dissolution of the Cāḷukya empire. This raised for them the problem of acquiring and keeping a strong frontier in the north, to secure which they were frequently at war with the Śeuṇas and Kākatiyas, who like them had newly risen to power. In the south under pretext of keeping the balance of power between the Cōḷa empire, already in the last stages of disruption, and the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, which in its

new-found strength was aspiring for imperial grandeur, the Hoysaḷas entered into South Indian politics, and succeeded in converting what remained of the Cōḷa State, into a protectorate, and imposed their authority on the Pāṇḍya State also whenever it had the misfortune to be ruled by a weak ruler. In Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara, two outstanding heroes of this age, the Hoysaḷas found their match, and these two Pāṇḍya conquerors rolled back the tide of Hoysaḷa advance, and pushed it far beyond the Kāverī valley into the highlands to the north. The Hoysaḷa-Pāṇḍya struggle would have continued, but a new and unexpected factor intervened;—the Muslims broke up the Deccan States, established themselves at Dēvagiri and Warangal and dealt a staggering blow at the Hoysaḷa state. The Hoysaḷas bowed before the onslaught, while the tall Pāṇḍya State was uprooted. Once the danger of direct intervention and attacks from Delhi was over, the Hoysaḷas raised up their head and placing themselves at the head of the smaller disaffected Hindu States, set forth to reconquer the South from the Mussalmans. Ballāḷa III hit the Madura Sultanate hard, and very nearly succeeded in demolishing it. The political combination of States necessary for restoring Hindu rule in the South had been brought into existence, and Vijayanagar stepped into the place of the Hoysaḷa, and accomplished what the latter had begun but failed to accomplish.

The Hoysaḷa penetration into the South had one far-reaching result. It put an end to Tamil isolation.

Kannaḍiyar of all castes settled in the Tamil districts, and Kannaḍiya commanders, who were in charge of garrisons or administered districts, established themselves as lords of small *nāḍus* guiding the local assemblies. They had entered into the very life of the Tamil people. Śrī Rāmanuja's religious system became the common heritage of the Tamils and the Kannaḍigas and spread forth north ; in fact through Rāmānanda his message spread north and leavened the *Bhakti* movement all over North India. Śaiva *mathams* in the Tamil country were presided over by *ācāryas* from Kannaḍa Dēśa and Teliṅgana and even from countries farther north. The *Ainnūrṟuvar* and their subordinate trading corporations were responsible for the spirit of enterprise and adventure, which was shared in common by all classes of people in the Deccan and the south. As never before in the history of the south, Kannaḍa Dēśa, Tamil Nāḍu and Teliṅgana were united by social, commercial and religious ties. In the field of art there was an interchange and fusion of motifs and ideals. During this period Śāraṅgadhara, who flourished in the Yādava Court of Dēvagiri, wrote his *Saṅgītaratnākara*, which marks the beginning of the *Karnāṭaka* system of music, which later influenced the whole of South India. The hymns of the Tamil Saints, which the Vaiṣṇavite *ācāryas* made part of their scripture, came to be studied in the Kannaḍa and Teliṅgana countries as well, where Tamil colonists settled to propagate the teachings of the Āḷvārs.

A grant from T. Narsipur¹ dated 1290 A.D. recording that Perumāḷa Nāyaka endowed a College in the Kannaḍa country, where in addition to the *Vēdas*, Kannaḍa, Tamil and Marāṭhi were taught, is an indication of this new spirit. This spirit of South Indian unity under the impulse of a common religion and culture owes much to Hoysala imperialism. The study of Hoysala expansion affords us, if one may use a term which has almost become a *cliche*, a blue print of what South India was to become in the succeeding generations under the Vijayanagar Empire, one of the grandest Pan-Hindu empires known to history.



1. E. C. III. T. Narsipur, 27.

APPENDIX

Śiṛutṭoṇḍan (Page 50). When the manuscript of these lectures was prepared, it was believed that Śiṛutṭoṇḍan was a commander of the Pallava army under Narasimhavarman II, but it is now known that he led the Pallava army into the heart of the Cālukyan Kingdom during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I.

(See Sastri: *The Tamil Kingdoms of Southern India* (1948) p. 17, and his forthcoming publications—*History of India*, Vol. I and *History of South India*.)

* * *

Eleemosynary Tenures etc. (Pages 41, 52 and 56). *Dēvadānam* is a gift of land to the temple by the king or local assembly, or by rich men. A temple might however own lands in absolute ownership like any other land owner. Such lands, which are known as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*, might have been purchased from previous owners or be village *common lands* set apart for the temple by the assembly. *Dēvadānam* lands held by Viṣṇu temples are described by the special term *tiruvidaiyāttam*.

Brahmadēyam is a gift to Brahmins, and *maḍappuram* to monasteries.

Kārāṇmai and *Mīyātcī* are tenancy and free-hold rights.

* * *

Maṇigrāmam (Page 59) is a corporation of merchants of different castes. (Cf. *Śrēṇi*). The old form of the word is *Vaṇikagrāmam* or a *grāma* (guild) of merchants.

Citramēli is a corporation of Vellāla nāṭṭār and others engaged in tillage. *Mēli* in Tamil means 'ploughshare'.

INDEX

A

- Abu Zaid 62
 Accambikē 64
 Ādhankōttai 15, 46, 60—
 Paramiśvaram Uḍaiyār
 temple 78
 Adigaimān (Chief of Tagadur
 and Cōla viceroy) 2, 6, 9, 15
Ādiraippāttam 56
 Adi Vaṅṣaṭagōpa Jiyar 65
 Āḍuturai 3, 4
Āgama School 72
Agappariṅvaram 45
Agaram 54, 55
 Aihole (Ayyāvaḷe) 58, 59
 Ākkūr 16 — *Raja Raja Vin-*
 nagaram temple 63
 Alagar Kōvil 19, 41—
 Kallaagar temple 41, 71
 Ālambākkam 57, 72—temple 71
 Alā-ud-Din 31, 33, 34, 35
 Alā-ud-Din Udaiji 37
 Ālattūr 21
 Aliya Sōmaya 44
 Aḷumbil 45
Ālvārs 85
Amātya 43
 Ānamalai 2
 Aṇiya Gaddaya 44
 Appaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka 50, 71
 Appillār 65
 Āragal 78
 Arantāṅgi 18, 47
 Āriya Pillai 44
 Arsikere 59
Aṣṭagrāma 64
 Āttūr 19
 Avanāśi 55, 78
 Āvaṇi 6, 8
 Ayyangar S. K. 39
 Ayyāvaḷe—See Aihole

B

- Bahā-ud-din Garshāp 33
 Baligāmi 74
 Ballāla I 1
 Ballāla II 6—9, 26, 64, 69
 Ballāla III 29—40, 43, 57, 65,
 69, 70, 84
 Ballāla IV (See Virupākṣa
 Ballāla IV)
 Bēlūr 1, 2, 4, 59—
 Vijayanārāyaṇa temple 64
Bhāṣya School of Vaiṣṇavas 65
Bhaṭṭar 65
Bheruṇḍas 13, 46
 Bhīmana 44
 Bhujabala Kēśava 44
Bhujabala Mādai 62
 Bhōgaya Daṇḍanāyaka 13
 Bijjala 6
 Biṭṭiga Viṣṇuvardhana 1—5,
 26, 43, 64, 69
Brahmadēyam 56, 57, 87
Brahmādirāya 62
Brahmatantra Svatantra Jiyar
 (title of Vaiṣṇavadāsa) 70

C

- Candavve 61
 Candramauli 64
Caturvēdimaṅgalam 55
 Cedirāyas 27
 Channagiri 12
 Chidambaram 11, 31—
 Govindarāja image 63
 Cikka Sōmalā 67
Citramēli 59, 87
 Cokkimāya 6

Cōlakulaikarakṣa (title of
Narasimha II) 8
Cōlamahādēvi, queen of
Ballāla II 9
Cōlarājya pratiṣṭhācārya
(title of Ballāla II) 8
Coimbatore 29

D

Damalcheruvu 15
Daṇḍanāyakankōṭṭai
(Dannāyakankōṭṭai) 29, 44,
55, 58, 62n, 78
Daṇḍina Gōpa Gōpaya 70
Daṇḍinagōpa Jagadobhagaṇḍa
Appaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka 11
Dannāyakankōṭṭai (See
Daṇḍanāyakankōṭṭai)
Dārāsura—*Airāvateśvara* 81
Dāti Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka 37
Dāti Śingaya 44
Davengere 10
Delhi 31, 32, 34, 84
Delhi Sultanate 30
Deogiri (Daulatabad) 58, 84, 85
Dēśaya Nāyaka 46
Devadānairaiyīli 40
Devadānam 52, 56, 57, 87
Dēvagiri—See Deogiri
Dēvala Dēvi 67
Dēvēndra Paṇḍita 74
Dubreuil-Prof 82, 83
Dvārasamudra (Halēbīd)
1, 11, 21, 33, 34, 50, 59, 61, 74
Dvārāvālipuravarādīśvara
(appellation of the Hoysaḷas) 1

E

Ēkāmrānātha 37
Ellēri 11
Embār 65
Eṇyaṅga 1
Eriviras 59
Erode 55
Eṭṭukudai araiyar 45

Fa-Hien 58
Ferishṭa 35
Fleet—(quoted) 4

G

Gadyakornāmytā 11
Gaṇapati (Kākatīya king) 16, 73
Gaṇḍagōpāla (Telugu Cōḍa
chief) 14, 16
Gaṅgādiaraiyar 45
Gaṅgarāja 2, 5
Garuḍas 46
Garudavāhana Paṇḍita 68
Gautama Dēvar 74
Ghaiyās-ud-Din 36, 38
Gingee 4
Giridurgamalla (title of
Vīra Sōmēśvara) 21
Gōlaki maṭham 73
Gōpaya Daṇḍanāyaka 44, 50, 71

H

Halagere 21n
Halēbīd (see Dvārasamudra)
Halēbīd—*Vēnugōpāla temple* 66
Harihara I 40
Harihara Daṇḍanāyaka 15
Hayavadana Rao (quoted) 23n
Hebbar 65
Hēmāvati 6
Hosūr 5, 46
Hōttūr 50
Hultzch—(quoted) 11

I

Ibn-Baṭṭuta 36, 38, 58
Ibn-e-Rusta 61
Immaḍi Rāhuttarāya (surname
of the Daṇḍanāyakaṅṭṭai
Daṇḍanāyakas) 43
Irukkuvēl rulers 47

Iruvar Paṇḍyar muḍittalai
konḍaruliṇa (title of Māra-
 varman Sundara Paṇḍya II) 19
 Iṣāmy 34
 Iṣāna Śambhu 74

J

Jambai 14
 Jalāl-ud-Dīn Ahasan Shāh
 (Sayyid Jalāl) 32, 33, 34
 Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍya I
 21—23, 25, 27, 68, 74, 84
 Jaṭavarman Vira Paṇḍya
 23, 27, 67
Jivitam 78

K

Kaḍāmbi Ceṭṭu Naraśiṅga
 Bhaṭṭar 70
Kaḍāmbiyan 65
 Kaikkōlar 46
 Kālacūryas 6
 Kalāla Dēvi 74, 76
 Kālamukhas 72, 73, 74
 Kaḷavakkūr Tyāga Perumāl 75
Kaliyugarāman (surname of
 Jat. Vira Paṇḍya) 67
 Kaḷlar 46
 Kaḷḷiyūrmulai 11
 Kalyāna Śakti Paṇḍit 74
 Kamalā Dēvi 67
 Kāmandaka 33
 Kāmarasavalli 17, 51
 Kambayanallūr 45—
Dēśināthēśvara temple 60
 Kampaṇa Uḍayār (See also
 Vira Kampaṇa) 48
 Kampaya Daṇḍanāyaka 41
 Kampaya Daṇḍanāyaka
 (Maṇḍalika Yamarājān) 68
 Kampili 34
 Kānanāḍu (Kānāḍu) 18, 42
 Kāñci 4, 13—14, 16, 29—30,
 46, 62, 65, 70

Kāñci—Aruḷaḷa (*Varadarāja*)
Perumāl temple 62, 64, 65,
 70, 71

Kāñciḅoṇḍa (appellation of
 Viṣṇuvardhana) 3

Kaṇḍarādittam 56

Kaṇṇanūr (Vikramapura)

16, 17, 20, 23, 25, 28, 32, 38,
 40, 45, 47—48, 57, 61, 63, 75—
Mukṭiśvaram 23, 77

Poyalisvaram 17, 48, 74, 75,
 78—83

Other temples 48

Kāpaya Nāyaka 33

Kārānmai 56, 87

Kariyamānikka Daṇḍanāyaka 68

Karnāṭaka System of music 85

Karūr 7

Kautilya 24, 33, 49

Kavilārkkikasimha (*biruda* of
 Vēdānta Dēśika) 65

Kēsava 70

Kēsava Nāyakan 6

Kētaya Daṇḍanāyaka 43

Khusrou Khān 32, 34

Kiḍāmbi Āccān 65

Kiēlhorn—(*quoted*) 22n

Koḍumbālūr 72

Kōlār 5

Kollegāl 46

Kō-Peruñjiṅga 10, 11, 12—16, 27

Kōṭṭaiyūr 18, 46, 51

Koṭṭāram 57

Kōvilōḷugu 80

Koyattūr 5

Kṛṣṇapāda 66

Kuḍumiyāmalai—*Śiva temple* 82

Kulasēkhara Paṇḍya 7

Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I 1, 2, 5, 25

Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa III 6, 7, 9, 83

Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa, Konerin-
 maikonḍān, (Kōngu chief) 7

Kuṇḍani (Dēvarkuṇḍani) 25, 28

Kuntala 10

Kumāramaṅgalam 73

Kurukēśa 65

Kūttapperumakkaḷ 63

L

Lakṣādyāyi maṭhams 73
Lālguḍi 28
Lēpaka 20

M

Mādai 62
Mādappa 44
Maḍappuram 56, 87
Madattukkōvil—Śiva temple 82
Mādhava caturvēdimāṅgalam
(another name for Tirupattūr) 55, 71
Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka—
(Mahāpradhāni Parama-
viśvāsi) 29, 43, 78
Mādhava Sūri (See Nañjiyar)
Madhurāntakapēreri 57
Madura 4, 7, 31, 32, 33, 36,
37, 38, 39
Māgadhāi (Magara) 9—11,
15, 29, 40
Maḡadhāi Perumāl (Bāṇa
title) 10
Mahābhārata, the 49
Mahājan 55
Mahāvamsa 7
Mahēndramaṅgalam (Ādham-
kōttai) 12, 78
Māhēśvaras 42, 63, 72
Malamaṇḍalam (Malabar) 61
Malaparolgaṇḍa (appellation
of the Hoysalas) 1
Malikkāfur (Malik Na'ib)
30, 31, 34
Mallaya Daṇḍanāyaka 13, 70
Maṇḍalikas 44
Maṇigrāmam 59, 87
Maṇṇachanallūr 48
Mannārguḍi 17, 47—*Siva temple* 77
Manukulameḡutta nerimuḍi
sūḍiyaruliḡavan (title of
Rājendra III) 20
Mānūr 29
Maṇavar 46
Māvarvarman Kulaśēkhara
27, 28, 30, 48, 84

Māvarvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I
8, 10, 13, 15, 18, 50, 75, 82
Māvarvarman Sundara
Pāṇḍya II 18, 19, 41, 42
Māvarvarman Vikrama
Pāṇḍya 24
Marco Polo 61
Mēlattanaiyam 17
Mēlkōte—*Sampatkumara*
temple 64
Mēlūr—temple 71
Meykaṇḍār 72
Milāḍu 3
Miyāṭci 56, 87
Mudalis 45
Mudaliyāṇḍān 65
Muḍigondān 5, 8, 10, 15, 46, 49—
temples 60
Muhammad Tughlaq 35
Muhammad-Sultan
(Muḡammadi Sūrattān) 32
Mummudi Cōlamaṅgalam 68
Mummudidaṇḍas 59
Munavirās 59
Muṇappunāḍu 73
Mūvar Irayarkaṇḍan
(Surname of Śaṅkaradēva) 44
Mysore 46

N

Nāḍālvār 45
Nāḍu (assembly) 26, 54, 55
Nagaram (assembly)
54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61
Nallāncakravarti 65
Nallūr 28
Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi 72
Nanadesi—*tiśaiḡyirattū*
ainnurruvar 58—62, 85
Nanasambandar of Karuppūr 75
Nañjiyar (Mādhava Sūri or
Raṅganātha Sūri) 66
Narasimha I (Pratāpa
Narasimha) 5—6
Narasimha II (Vira Narasimha)
8—15, 43, 50, 66, 67, 71, 78
Narasimha III 24

Narasimhavarman (Cōla
fuudatory) 2, 3, 4
Narasimhavarman (Pallava) 50, 87
Narasiṅga Dēva—identified
with Narasimhavarman 4
Narasiṅgamaṅgalam 57
Naṅgili 5
Narsipur-T. 86
Nasir-ud-Din 38
Nattamāṅguḍi 56, 78
Nāyanmār 3, 50, 71
Nelyēli 45
Nerūr 7
Nīlakaṅṭha Nāyakan 75
Nilappaḍai 2
Nilgiris 2, 5, 29
Nine thousand 66
Nīrambayanāiṭhan (surname
of Saṅkaradeva) 44
Nīrpakāma 1
Nulambas 27

O

Ōlai 45
Ottanūr 57

P

Pāccūr 11, 12
Paḍaiapparru 18
Pakkāḍikkāra Sōmaya 44
Pallavaraiyyar 45
Panaiyūr 32
Pañcapradhānar 43
Pāṅḍyaqajakēsari (title of
Ballāla II 8
Pāṅḍyakulasamraksana
dakṣa—dakṣiṇabhujā (title of
Vira Sōmēśvara) 20
Paradēsi Sāvāsi merchants 58
Parākramabāhu 11
Parākrama Pāṅḍya 3
Paruttipalli 28—
temple (Cīramēliviṅṅagaram) 60
Pāsūpatas 72
Pēraiyyūr 17, 46

Periya Āccān Piḷlai 66
Perumāla Nāyaka 86
Perumāli Daṅḍanāyaka
(Mahapradāni) 29, 43, 55
Perumānāḍu 18—*Śiva temple* 82
Peru Marudūr—*Śiva temple* 77
Peshawar 35
Pillailōkācārya 66
Polālvadēva (Mahāpradhāni) 43
Pōlālvi Mādaya 70
Poṅgalūr (Siṅganallūr) 55, 69
Ponnambala Dēvi 67
Poraśakkuḍi 76
Pōśala Vira Narasimha
Caturvēdimāṅgalam 55
Pōśala Vira Sōmidēvan sandi 41
Poysūla Vira Sōmēśvara
Caturvēdimāṅgalam 19, 55
Pradhān 44
Prabhanda School
of Vaiṣṇavas 65—66
Pratyabhijñā School of
Kashmir 72
Prōlaya Nāyaka 33, 36
Pudukkōṭṭai 18, 82
Pugalūr 50
Puṅṅenūr 28
Puramalināḍu 60

R

Rāhuttarāyanallūr 55
Rājakkalṅāyan (surname of
Rāmanātha) 24
Rāja Rāja Cōla I 50, 72
Rāja Rāja Cōla III 9, 10, 15,
16, 17, 19, 27, 41, 50
Rāja Rāja Dēva (Aḍigai-
mān Chief) 9
Rājasam (rāyasam) 46
Rājēndra Cōla I 18, 72
Rājēndra Cōla II 3
Rājēndra Cōla III 19, 20, 23
25, 27, 40, 42, 74, 77
Rāmānanda 85

Rāmanātha 23, 24—28, 42, 45,
56, 58, 63, 67, 69, 73, 74,
76, 77
Rāmānuja 63, 64, 65, 69, 85
Rāmāyaṇa-the ; 49
Rāmēsvaram 4, 12, 13, 15, 37
Raṅganātha Sūri (See
Nañjiyar)
Rāngiyam 32
Ratnagiri 20
Ravi Dēva Daṇḍanāyaka
18, 44, 56
Ravi Varma Kulasēkhara 31, 32

S . .

Sabhā (assembly) 54
Sāhala Bhaṭṭa 58
Saiva Siddhānta Vyakhyāta
(surname of a Svāmi
Dēvar) 74
Sakala Vidyā Cakravarti 69
Sāla 1
Salem 6, 29
Śaligrāma 65
Sāmantas 44
Samayamantri 52
Samayapuram (See Kaṇṇanūr)
Śambuvārāyas 27
Samudra Gōpaya Daṇḍa-
nāyaka 11
San̄gama dēvar maṭham 72
San̄gīturatnākara 85
Saṅgrāmanallūr 55
Śaṅkaradēva 44
Sāraṅgadara 85
Sarvatantrasvatāntira (*biṇḍa*
of Vēdānta Dēśika) 65
Śasākapura (See Sosāvīr)
Sastri-K. A. N. (quoted)
9, 26n, 36n, 38n, 58n, 87
Satyamaṅgalam 66
Sayyid Jalāl (See Jalālud-Din
Ahasan Shah)
Śembāṭṭūr 21—*Śiva temple* 77
Sēnabōva 46

Sēndamaṅgalam 12, 50
Sēṅgāvūr 57
Seringapatam temple 64
Seuṇas 26, 83
Sēvaya Daṇḍanāyaka 42, 44
Siṅgaya (Siṅgaṇa) Daṇḍa-
nāyaka Mahāpradhāni
23, 29, 31, 40, 43, 68, 69, 77
Śiruttōṇḍan 50, 87
Śitagara gaṇḍa (surname of
Dannāyakankōṭṭai
daṇḍanāyakas) 43
Śitagaragaṇḍanallūr 55
Śitagaragaṇḍan maṭha 69
Śiva Nāna bodam 72
Śiva Nanaśittiyār 72
Śivapuri 46
Śivāyam 20, 42, 61—
Elunūrruvantirumaṭham 73
Tirumānikkaudaiyār temple 42
Smṛitis 53
Sokkanātha Daṇḍanāyaka 77
Sokka villi Bhaṭṭa 69
Solakērala (title of
Kulōttuṅga III) 7
Śōlakōn 11
Sōmalā Dēvi 67, 74, 75, 76, 77
Sōmanātha Viṭṭaya 42
Sōmēsvara 13, 14, 15—24,
41, 42, 47, 56, 57, 60, 61,
67, 71, 73, 74, 75
Sōmaya Daṇḍanāyaka
(Maṇḍalikamurāri Aliya)
20, 31, 42, 60
Śōnāḍu vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya
(title of Māṇavarman
Sundara Paṇḍya I) 8
Śo-po 58
Sosāvīr (Śasākapura) 1
Śī Bhaṣya 66
Śrī Karaṇa 46
Srinivasa Raghavan A.
(quoted) 66n
Śrī Rāma Bhaṭṭa 66
Śrīraṅgam 8, 12, 17, 20, 21, 23,
31, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69—

Raṅgānatha temple 12, 47, 58,
61 63, 67, 68, 69
Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya 29
Sri Vaiṣṇavas 41
Srutaprakaśika 66
Stānattār 70
Sthānikas (of temples) 42
Sugatūr 5
Sulaimān 61
Sūlamāṅgalaṃ 28, 45
Sundara Pāṇḍya 30, 31
Svāmi Dēvar 74

T

Tadāvūr 6
Tagaḍai nāḍu 60
Tagaḍur 6
Talakād 2, 5
Talakāḍuḅonḍa (appellation
of Viṣṇuvardhana) 3
Talamale passes 2
Tāramaṅgalaṃ 28
Tātācārya family 65
Tatpuruṣa Śivā Cārya 73
Teliṅgāna 34
Teliṅgāna Nāyaks 36
Tellāru 10
Telugu Cōḍas 6, 19, 27
Tennavaraiyār (*Tennavada-
raiyaṛ*) 45
Tenkalais 65
Tereyūr 5
Tiṅgalūr 15
Tinnevelly 19, 27
Tiruchchātturai 25, 42
Tiruceṅgāttāṅguḍi 50
Tirugōkarṇam—*Siva temple* 77
Tirujñānam 72
Tirukkaḍaiyūr 63
Tirukkōṭṭiyūr 19, 41, 71
Tirukōyilūr 3
Tirumalavāḍi 13, 17, 22, 28—
Siva temple 77
Tirumaṇaijēri 21, 28, 45—
Siva temple 77
Tirunāmatukkāṇi 56, 87

Tirumayyam 18, 19, 42, 46,
52—53. 63
Tirupparāitturai 72
Tirupati 29, 69, 70—
Tirumalai temple 29, 70
Tirupattūr 18, 28, 47, 51
Tiruppūndurutti 22
Tiruvaḍatturai 10, 50
Tiruvadi 12
Tiruvānaikkōvil 13, 17, 20, 55,
57, 73—77
*Jambukēśvara - Akhilāṅḍēśvari
temple* 47, 74
Tyāgavinodīśvaram 75
Paśupatiśvaram 75—76
Prasannīśvaram or *Kariamālīś-
varam* 76, 82
Rājarājēśvaram 76
Saṅgamēśvara temple 72, 76
Viśvēśvaradēva shrine 76
Tiruvaṅṅamalai 32, 37, 40, 47 —
Arunacalēśvara temple 40, 77
Tiruvāśi 56
Tiruvellarai 57
Tiruvēndipuram 11, 49
Tiruvenkāḍu 16
Tiruvēnkaṭanātha Yādava-
rāya 29
Tiruvīḍaiyāttam 52, 56, 87
Tiruvoṛṇiyūr 72
Tonḍaimān 45
Tonḍaimānallūr 12
Tolagaḍakamba (surname of
Pōlavadēva) 43
Toḷudagaiyūr 11
Toṇṇūr—*Tirumalasāgara* 64
Tribhuvanam—*Kampaha-
rēśvaram* 81, 83
Trichinopoly 17, 39, 75
Twentyfour thousand 66

U

Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varman 31
Ulugh Khān 32
Umādēvi 66

Ūr (assembly) 54
 Uṟṟattūr Nādu 56
 Uṟṟattūr 56

V

Vaḍakalais 65, 71
Vaiṣṇava Cakravartin
 (surname of Polālvadēva) 43
Vaiṣṇavadāsa 70
Valāṅgai forces 46
Vallālavari 57
 Vallaya Daṇḍanāyaka 44, 70, 77
 Vaṇṇam (Madurāntaka-
 nallūr) 52
 Varadācārya (Nadāttūr
 Ammāl) 65
Vaiśyavāṇiya nagarattār 58
 Vātāpi 50
 Vēdāraṇyam 17, 41—
Kailāsanātha temple 41
 Vēlanāṇḍu chiefs 6
 Venkatanātha (See Vēdanta
 Dēśika)
 Venkataramanaiya, N
 (quoted) 23n, 32n, 35n, 37
Venrumaṅkoṇḍān (title of
 Ekāmrānātha) 37
 Vēdānta Dēśika (Venkata-
 nātha) 65, 66, 71
 Viḍugālagaiya Perumāl 9
Vijayābhiṣekam 10
Vijayamuḍi 7
 Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha
 Nāyaka 48
 Vikrama Cōla 3, 5
 Vikramāditya VI (Cālukya) 1
 Vikrama Paṇḍya 31
 Vikramapura (See Kaṇṇanūr)
 Vinayāditya I 1
 Vinayāditya II 1
 Viṇṇamaṅgalam 46, 58

Vira Balaṅja dharma 59
 Vira Ballāla (See Ballāla III)
Virābhiṣekham 7
 Vira Kampana 39, 80
Vira Māgadhan (Bāṇa title) 10
 Vira Narasimha (See
 Narasimha II)
 Vīranarasimha Caturvedi-
 mangalam 76
Vīranulamban 45
 Vira Paṇḍya 30, 31, 69
 Vira Rāmanātha (See
 Ramanātha)
 Vira Śavaṇa 39
 Vira Sōmēśvara (See Sōmēśvara)
 Vira Sōmīśvara Caturvēdi-
 mangalam 72
Vīru Vallālan (throne of
 Ballāla III) 70
 Vira Viśvanātha 28
 Vīraya 44
 Virūpākṣa Ballāla IV 39, 40
 Viṣṇucitta 65
 Viṣṇuvardhana (See
 Biṭṭiga Viṣṇuvardhana)
 Viśvēśvara 36
 Viśvēśvara Śivācārya 73

W

Warangal 84
 Wassaf 61

Y

Yādavarāyas 27, 29n
 Yādavas of Dēvagiri 83, 85
Yamarājan (surname of
 Śaṅkaradēva) 44
 Yedurūr 6

Z

Zimmi 30, 33