CHAPTER V

TIRUKKÖYILÜR AND THE EARLY CHÖLAS

We have no records at Tirukkōyilur which could be definitely assigned to Mitya I's period. Parāntaka I, son of Mitya came to power in A.D. 907. Parāntaka's records at Tirukkōyilur indicate that one Kayirur Perumānār was ruling Milāḍu region which included Tirukkōyilur, as his subordinate.

Milaśuṇaiyar Kayirur Perumānār (A.D. 912-935)

Kayirur Perumānār is mentioned as the chief of Milāḍu in a record of the twenty-eighth year (A.D. 935) of Parāntaka I from Viraṭṭenēvara shrine at Tirukkōyilur. From this record it is learnt that he had a daughter by name Rājadēviyar Tēsaṭakki Perumānār. The word Tēsaṭakki means the 'subduer of the lustre (of the onesines)'. The editor of this inscription has suggested that the title Tēsaṭakki would suit a prince rather than a princess.
There are two inscriptions from Tirukko-yilur which throw some light on the family of Kayirur Perumangar. They are dated respectively in the sixth and fifteenth regnal years of Parakasarsivaram who may be identified with Parantaka I considering the palaeography and the location of the epigraphs. Both of them refer to a Vanakovaraiyar. One of the two epigraphs refers to one Purasil Perumanar, daughter of Kayilur as the wife of the chief. It is probable that she was another daughter of Kayirur Perumangar, as the suffix Perumangar would suggest.

The other epigraph refers to another wife of Vanakovaraiyar named Nangalakulamapiikan described as a daughter of Iladiga. She was probably a member of the Lata family which was controlling parts of the North Arcot district.

Kayirur Perumangar  
(Married Koyilur)

---

Purasil Perumangar  
(Married to)  
Vanakovaraiyar

---

Rajadeviyar Tasaajaki  
Perumangar

---
The above epigraphs suggest that Kayipur Perumansar was ruling Tirukkoilur from A.D. 912, if not earlier. In all probability Kayipur Perumansar was installed at Tirukkoilur by Parantaka I during his early campaigns in the northern frontiers of the Chola kingdom. Since Kayipur Perumansar's record mentions only about his daughters there is every reason to suspect that he had no male issue. Nothing is heard about this chief after A.D. 935 in which year or some time later, he would have died.

**The impact of the Rashtrakuta invasion**

In subsequent years this part of the Chola kingdom acquired a strategic importance. Parantaka I began to experience difficulty in defending his empire around A.D. 940. The Vaidumbas and the Banas who were earlier (A.D. 915-6) dislodged by him were bidding for time. Parantaka's loyal feudatory Ganga Prithvipati II was no more and he was succeeded by Butuga II. Butuga II had married the sister of Rashtrakuta Krishna III and became his staunch ally.

This realignment of political forces in the northern and north western parts of his kingdom forces
Parāntaka I to take precautionary steps. He stationed a large army including an elephant corps and cavalry in Tirukkōyilūr region and left it in charge of his son Rājāditya⁸. Tirunēvalūr⁹ (Tirunēmanallūr) near Tirukkōyilūr was the headquarters of Rājāditya for many years. Epigraphs¹⁰ from Tirunēmanallūr and Ėrūmam record gifts made by the members of Chōla regiment stationed at this region. At Tirukkōyilūr itself Parāntaka's inscription dated in A.D.940 records a gift by the regiment of Pillaiyar Arikulēsariyēr called Malayeē Orēncchēvegar. Probably prince Arikulēsari was stationed at Tirukkōyilūr region with a regiment to meet the situation.

Parāntakas's fears came true when Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III invaded the Chōla country and defeated the Chōla forces at the battle of Tekkōlēm (A.D.949)¹². Prince Rājāditya lost his life in the battle.¹³ A close scrutiny of the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Chōlas, not to speak of their allies reveals an interesting fact that eventhough Kṛishṇa III was victorious at Tekkōlēm the actual subjugation of northern part of the Chōla country, particularly Tirukkōyilūr region, appears to have taken some more time. The following points may be put forward as facts emerging from the records from
Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts. The provenance and dates of these records are worthy of scrutiny.

I. The years A.D. 950 and 951 closely following the date of the Takkōlam battle were marked by a lull in the powers of both the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Chōlas. In these years, no inscriptions are available for both these imperial dynasties. The absence of records of both these contending parties may be interpreted to indicate the inconclusive struggle between them.

II. Records of Chōla Gendarāditya are available for the years A.D. 952, 953 and 954 showing that though the Takkōlam battle descended like a thunderbolt upon the Chōlas, they neither gave up the struggle to retain their authority over the region nor the Rāṣṭrakūtas succeeded in ousting the former completely.

III. The Chōla records disappear for some time after A.D. 955 from Tondaimandalam. Hence it is clear that the Rāṣṭrakūtas finally managed to dislodge the Chōlas from Tondaimandalam after some years of stiff resistance from the opponent.

IV. The Karhad grant of A.D. 957-8 states that Krishna III distributed the conquered territory
among his subordinates while he was camping at Helpadi. This event marks the final success of the Rashtrakutas against the Cholas and the conqueror’s anxiety to consolidate his gains after his hard earned victory. In the present state of our knowledge, it is significantly clear that after this event Krishna III did not intend to remain in Tonqaimandalam and could have returned immediately to his capital.

V. The reemergence of the records of the Chola prince Oitya II (Parthivendravarman) and several unidentified Rajakesari and Parakesari inscriptions assignable to this period attest to the fact that the Cholas lost no moment to re-enter Tonqaimandalam after Krishna’s withdrawal from the region.

VI. The continuance of the records of Krishna III until A.D. 968, leave no doubt that the subordinates of Krishna III resisted this move on the part of the Cholas until the death of their overlord. After A.D. 968 they succumbed to the might of the Cholas, having lost the support of the Rashtrakutas after Krishna III.

The list of inscriptions given in table no. III would stand to testify to the above facts.
### TABLE NO. III

The provenance and dates of Chōla and Pāškrtākutā records in Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot

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<td>Karadi (S. A.)</td>
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<td>Perunāṇji (N. A.)</td>
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A.D. 948

A.D. 949

N1

A.D. 950

N1

A.D. 951

N1
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3  Takkolan (N.A.)  SII.,III,no.766.

3  Tirumalpuram (N.A.)  SII.,III,no.165.

3  Kovamur (N.A.)  ARE.,1921,no.160.

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4  Utterammallur (Ch.)  SII.,III,no.171.

4  Takkolan (N.A.)  SII.,III,no.173.

4  Brahmedesan (N.A.)  ARE.,1915,no.189.

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4  Grémen (S.A.)  ARE.,1905,no.736.

4  Ulkal (N.A.)  SII.,III,no.14.

4  Tiruvannamalai (N.A.)  SII.,VII,no.57.

4  Siyamangalam (N.A.)  SII.,VII,no.74.

4  Tirumúlastanam (S.A.)  ARE.,1946-47,no.137.

4  Tayanur (S.A.)  ARE.,1909,no.360.

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5  Kappalur (N.A.)  SII.,IV,no.48.

5  Siyamangalam (N.A.)  SII.,VII,no.64.

5  Fërangiyûr (S.A.)  ARE.,1906,no.203.
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| &quot; | 24 | Melvai (S.A.) | ARE, 1935-36, no. 52. |
| &quot; | 24 | Puramur (S.A.) | ARE, 1939-40, no. 324. |
| &quot; | 24 | Siddhalingamadom (S.A.) | ARE, 1909, no. 385. |</p>
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Krishna III

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13  Kēvanūr (N. A.) ARE., 1921, no. 156.

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13  Tirumullośivayel (Ch.) SII., III, no. 196.

A.D. 970

Nil

A.D. 971

Pārthivendra varman 15 Parmārūr (Ch.) ARE., 1923, no. 75.

* N. A. — North Arcot,

* S. A. — South Arcot,

* Ch. — Chingleput.
During the Rashtrakuta invasion of the Tamil country one subordinate of the Chōles named Nettan Siddhaveadan played an important part. He styles himself as the lord of Milagū belonging to the lineage of Sukra and Bhargava gotra. Though Koyirur Perumānār, as seen earlier, was also called 'Milākudaiyar', (the lord of Milākudaiyars), Nettan Siddhaveadan appears to be the earliest known member of the family of Milākudaiyars claiming to belong the Bhargava gotra. Subsequently we hear of a few more members of this family in the Tirukköyilur region.

An epigraph dated in the second regnal year of Gaṇḍacāritya Mammuṭhchōla (A.D. 952) from Chōlavāndippuram (Tirukköyilur taluk) records the gift of the Village of Pānippădī for the worship of Piṇḍikkaçavul (Joino Tirtamkara) and for the maintenance of the ascetics of the place by one Siddhaveadan. Siddhaveadan figures in another record dated in the third year of a Rāja-kōsarivarman from Siddhalingamaedam (Tirukköyilur taluk). The epigraph registers a gift of 'sheep for a perpetual lamp to the temple of Tiruppuḷippēhevar by Malikudaiya
Nāṭṭaṅ Śiddhavāḍeṇaṅ. The Rājakēśarivarmma of this record may be identified with Rājakēśari Gāndarāditya. The date of the record would then fall in A.D.953.

The battle of Viṭhachōḷapuram

These two epigraphs of Chōla Gāndarāditya in which the chief Nāṭṭaṅ Śiddhavāḍeṇaṅ figures are significant. It was observed earlier that the battle of Takkōlem did not result in immediate or total loss of territory to the Chōlas. The details furnished by the Chōlavandipuram record of A.D.952 suggest that the Rāṣṭrādityas have to encounter opposition from the Chōlas and their subordinates even after the deadly battle of Takkōlem and Kṛṣṇa III was able to annex Tirukkōyilūr region only after hard fighting. In one of the occasions the Chief Nāṭṭaṅ Śiddhavāḍeṇaṅ was able to secure a significant but temporary victory in the battle that took place at Viṭhachōḷapuram a village very near to Tirukkōyilūr.

The Chōlavandipuram record describes Śiddhavāḍeṇaṅ as the ruler of Köval (Tirukkōyilūr), the protector of the Tamil people, the terror of his enemies. It states further that he vanquished the several opposing armies on
the battlefield at Vīrechōḷapuram. Since Siddhavaḍaṇṇa is referred to as the protector of the Tamil people it is clear that the epigraph refers to the opposing forces of Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛṣṇa III and his allies. It is quite probable that Kṛṣṇa III and his allies turned their attention to Tirukkoṭiyilūr after Tirukkoṭam battle (A.D.949) where the regiments of the Chōḷa armies were stationed to defend further inroads of the Rāṣṭrakūtas. Siddhavaḍaṇṇa, the subordinate of the Chōḷa encountered them at Vīrechōḷapuram. In the battle that ensued at the place Kṛṣṇa III or his allies were routed by Siddhavaḍaṇṇa. Siddhavaḍaṇṇa's statement about his victory may be after all true since he figures in Gaudarādīya's subsequent record dated in A.D.953.

But the victory appears to have been short-lived. A record of Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛṣṇa III from Tirunāmanallūr dated in A.D.956 refers to the gift of a lamp made by the chief Narasimagavarmen surnamed Saktinātha and Siddhavaḍaṇṇa, and states that the latter belonged to the lineage of Sūkra (i.e. Bhārgava); and to the Malayakula. This record like the Chōḷavāṇḍi-puram record is equally important since it indirectly
suggests that Siddhavagavan was defeated by Krishna III and his allies after the Vireshwarapuram battle and was compelled to acknowledge the overlordship of the Rashtrakuta king. Though it is not possible to say exactly when Krishna III defeated Siddhavagavan, we may be able to fix the date of his conquest of this part of the country with the epigraphs available in the Tirukkoyilur region.

Based on a record of Krishna III dated A.D. 944-45 from Siddhalingasamad (Tirukkoyilur taluk) it was stated that Krishna's entry into Tenkaimadalam took place very much earlier to the battle of Takholam (A.D. 949). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has rejected this record as spurious, at least in its date, on valid grounds. Even if we accept, the above record as genuine, for the sake of argument, the presence of Chola records after A.D. 949 in the Tirukkoyilur region would suggest that Krishna III's success was temporary and the Cholas managed to regain at least the Tirukkoyilur region.

Prior to the date of Krishna III's record at Tirumamallur we find from the same village two
records of one Muṣayyadareṇaṇa Kulamuniṣcareṇa Rāmaḍ-eṇa dated A.D.953 and 954 without reference to any overlord, either the Chōlas or the Rāṣṭrakūtas. Krishna III’s earliest epigraph from this region is found at Tiruvadi and it is dated A.D.955. It is clear from the above dates that Krishna III brought Tirukkōyilūr region sometime between the years A.D.954-5. It is said that the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler assumed the title Jāhalakulottamaṇ in commemoration of his having overrun the country of the Malāyāṇas of Tirukkōyilūr.

Although Siddhavadavan appears to have acknowledged the overlordship of the Rāṣṭrakūta to retain his territory, Krishna III had other plans. He deposed Siddhavadavan and transferred his territory to the Vaidumbas. The Vaidumbas ruled the Tirukkōyilūr region as the subordinates of Krishna III. We may revert later for an account of the Vaidumbas at Tirukkōyilūr.

Although Siddhavadavan, after A.D.956 is not known. Recently an inscription was copied from Tirunelvel in North Arcot district. This
inscription: dated in the sixth year of Madiraikonda
Rajakesarivarman records a gift by one Ekaviran Div-
masakatiyvar alias Maleya Mehdaviyar, wife of Male-
dudaiya Nattan Siddheswettadigal and daughter of
Nadivar Ilangonadigal. The title Madiraikonda is
ascribed27 to Rajakesari Sundareschola. His sixth year
would fall in AD 962. One Ilangojadigal figures in
the epigraphs28 of Rajakesarivarman from Tiruchehn-
goju (Salem district). The above Rajakesari records
from Tiruchehngogoju mentioning Ilangojadigal may be
assigned to Sundareschola. This is confirmed by the
high regnal years mentioned in those epigraphs. One
of the records29 states that Huri Kamakkanur30, wife
of Ilangojadigal, gave a gift of gold on behalf of
one Ekaviran Divakaradevar. The editor of the record
says that Ekaviran Divakaradaver may refer to Ilango-
adigal himself31. But, it is preferable to take
Ekaviran Divakaradevan as a son of Ilangojadigal since
the newly discovered Tirumalai record mentions Ekaviran
Dharmam Sanketiyaras the daughter of Ilangojadigal.
If it is so, Ekaviran may be the name or title of
Ilangojadigal.
SiddhayadaVcma2 appears to be a fairly influential and powerful chief if his statements in Cholavandipuram and Tirumämanallur records are not dismissed as mere boasts. Praising his physical prowess, the Cholavandipuram record describes him as one who captured the fierce bulls of his opponents by the strength of his broad arms and states further that he belongs to the lineage of Ori of the Chëel country who took in marriage the daughter of Përi. He also had the epithets Malâyskâlôdbhava and Ratnakârâ famed in all the eight directions.

Tirumämanallur inscription describes him as the Sun of the eastern mountain. It is stated in the same epigraph that his banner bore lion, whose crest were a peacock and a makara and he was the crest jewel of the Malâyskâla and the lord of the Mila......( Milödū?) country. Nothing is heard about Netten Siddhavađavan after A.D. 962.
Tirukköyilur and the Vaidumbas

One of the imprints of the Rāṣṭrakūta invasion of the northern part of the Chōla country was that a branch of the Vaidumbas drifted to Tirukköyilur region as subordinate of the Rāṣṭrakūtas and subsequently retained their sway at least till the death of Krishna III. Vaidumbas were ruling Dharmapuri district of Tamil Nadu and Cuddapah and Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. Vaiaumbolu in the Chittoor district is called in an epigraph as the city of the Vaidumbas. The early Vaidumba kings occupied Renāgu 7,000 country of the Renāgu Chōlas when the latter lost the control over this area and managed to survive for quite a long period. They were defeated by Chōla Parantaka I around A.D.915 and forced to acknowledge the Chōla overlordship. However, when Rāṣṭrakūta Krishna III invaded the Chōla country they seem to have changed their allegiance to him. We hear of three rulers of a Vaidumba family who had sway over Tirukköyilur. Their power came to an end by A.D.968 if not slightly later in this region. The origin of the Vaidumba branch which drifted to Tirukköyilur region is not clear. Since they appear at first in the
epigraphs of Krishna III, the earliest member
Vikramaditya should have been assigned the region
as a result of the distribution of the conquered
territory by Krishna III as gleaned from the
Karhad grant.39

The Vīraṭṭēśvara temple inscription40
of Krishna III dated in A.D.959 refers to a gift of
lamp by the concubine of a certain Śrī Vikramāditya.
Yet another record41 of the same king from the same
place records a gift by Vaidumba Mahārāja Śrī Vikra-
maditya, who was ruling over Malāṇu, Vēṇakoppādi,
Śiṁgapanāṇa and Venkumakkōṭṭam. Nothing more is
known about this Vaidumba chief. He was followed by
one Sandayān Tiruvayān. The exact relationship bet-
ween these two is obscure.

An epigraph42 of Krishna III dated in
A.D.963 records a gift of sheep for a perpetual lamps
to be lit in the temple of Tiruviratānum at Tirukkō-
valūr by Vaidumba Mahārājāv Tiruvayāvār. Another
record43 of the same king dated in A.D.968 registers
purchase of lands from the sabhā of Tirukkōvalūr by
Vaidumba Mahārājāv Sandayān Tiruvayāvā. Sandayān
Siruvayan made them tax-free and donated the same to the Tiruvirat'tanam temple. Out of these lands (his wife) Chuttiradevi purchased a field of ten ṛeti or ṛan and donated as uvačcha-kālān (for drumming service) to the same temple. The identity of ViratTan Virarāṇiyār described as the queen of Vaidumbe Maharāja in a damaged inscription from the same place is not known.

Vaidumbe Sondayam Siruvayan of Tirukkōyilūr is identified with Vikramaditya Siruvaiyan, a subordinate of Nolamba Dilipayya or Iriva Nolamba in the Gaṅga 6,000 country figuring in an inscription from Bowringpet, Kōlār district, Karnātaka state. Since the above two Vaidumbas figure in different regions under different overlords we are not on surer grounds in such an identification.

Sondayam Siruvayan was succeeded by Siruvayan Śrīkantha. The patronomic Siruvayan in the name of the latter indicates that he is a son of the former. The records of Siruvayan Śrīkantha are found at Grama in Tirukkōyilūr Taluk. Śrīkantha and Siruvayan appear to have ruled together since their reign period appears to overlap.
After the Vaidumbas, the Tirukkoilur region was regained by the Cholas and the successors of Nattan Siddhavedavan alias Narasimhavarman who played a prominent role during the Rashtrakute interregnum and mentioned in the Tirumalai epigraph again stepped into the political arena of Tirukkoilur as subordinates of the Cholas. Siddhavedavan Ambadadevan alias Uttamachola Malaqadaiyar probably one of the sons of Nattan Siddhavedavan has reinstated at Tirukkoilur by the Cholas.

Siddhavedavan Ambadadevan figures first in an inscription of a Parakasarivarman from Thillai-sthānam (Thalajavur district). It records a gift given by this chief, mentioned as Siddhavedavan Ambadadevan, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the eleventh year of the king. The Parakasarivarman mentioned in this epigraph may be identified with Parakasarivarman.
Uttanachōla, the predecessor of Rājarāja I since, the chief Siddhavadevan Ṇambaḍadēvan alias Uttanachōla Miladuḍaiyar is said to have made a gift to the temple at Elavanasūr in the fifteenth year of Uttanachōla as indicated by an inscription of Rājarāja I. The solar eclipse in the eleventh regnal year of Uttanachōla took place on Thursday, the seventh of April AD 981.

The importance attached to the occasion of solar eclipse in the eleventh year of Parakēsarivarman Uttanachōla by the chief Siddhavadevan Ṇambaḍadēvan and his family is indicated by the gifts given to different deities at different places by him and his queen or queens and his probable brother.

One Chēdi Mahādēviyar said to be the wife of Siddhavadeṭṭadevaḍigal figures as donatrix in two records from Tiruchchetturāñi and Tiruppaḷḷam. Both the records are dated in the eleventh year of a Parakēsarivarman and mention the solar eclipse. She may be one of the queens of Siddhavadevan Ṇambaḍadēvan or more plausibly may be identified with Gēnavadi Meyilēdi described as the wife of Uttanachōla Miladuḍaiyar in an
epigraph of Parakśerivarmaman from Tirukkōyilūr
since the Parakśerivarmaman and Uttamechōla Milāduqḍeyār may be identified with Uttamechōla and Siddhavaḍeṇa Alambaḍadēvaṇa respectively.

Interestingly one Siddhavaḍeṇa Gāmunḍadēvaṇa also makes a gift on the occasion of the solar eclipse in the eleventh regnal year of Parakśerivarmaman, evidently Uttemochōla, to the temple at Tiruppūndurattī. Since Siddhavaḍeṇa Gāmunḍadēvaṇa and Siddhavaḍeṇa Alambaḍadēvaṇa have the prefix Siddhavaḍeṇa, probably referring to the name of their father, we may not be far wrong in concluding that they may be brothers.

A record from Tiruvilūrilūr indicates the close relationship that existed between the Milādu chiefs and the imperial Chōlas. It refers to the gift made by Siddhavaḍeṇa Suttiiyār, wife of Uttemochōla. She may be a daughter of Nōṭṭyān Siddhavaḍeṇa, a contemporary of Gāndarāditya, the father of Uttemochōla and a sister of Siddhavaḍeṇa Alambaḍadēvaṇa, alias Uttemochōla Milāduqḍeyār.

The details furnished above about the Milādu chief Siddhavaḍeṇa Alambaḍadēvaṇa are not
sufficient to know about his career. He flourished between A.D.981 and 985 in the reign of Úttamachóla. He had a sister who was married to the ruling Chóla king. Though he had a brother Siddhavaḍavāṇa Gāmundoḍavāṇa, nothing can be said about him.

Curiously after A.D.985 we do not find the records mentioning Milāgu chiefs till we come to A.D.1015. We come across a few records mentioning Milāgu chiefs of Bhārgava gōtra after A.D.1015 and a close study of the records suggest that Siddhavaḍavāṇa Alembāṇa’s family was replaced by another family of chiefs, perhaps belonging to a collateral line when Rājarāja I assumed power.

It may not be out of place here to state, briefly, how Úttamachóla came to power after his cousin Sundarachóla Parāntaka II. Parāntaka I was succeeded by his son Gaṇḍarāditya (A.D.950-57). Gaṇḍarāditya was in turn succeeded by his brother Arinţaya since the former’s son Úttama by his queen Šembiyān Mahādevi was very young at that time. Arinţaya ruled for a brief period (A.D.956-57) and was succeeded by his son “Sundarachóla Parāntaka II.
Sundarachola chose his eldest son Aditya II as heir apparent. Uttramachola, son of Ganda Aditya, perhaps felt that "the throne was his by right and that his cousin and his children were usurpers." When Aditya II was assassinated, he forced Sundarachola to recognise him as heir-apparent. A record dated in his second regnal year states that the Sabha of Virenarayana-chaturvedinagolam on the orders of the king, confiscated and sold the properties of some persons who were liable for treason as they had murdered Karikalachaola (Aditya II). The very fact that the murder of Aditya II remained unavenged throughout Uttramachola's rule has prompted K.A. Milkanta Sastri to suggest his involvement in the conspiracy.

Our interest in this act of Rajaraja I lies in the fact that the records mentioning the descendants of Siddhavadavan Ambadevan and Utttramachola Milipquisiyar are absent during his reign period. Siddhavadavan Ambedevan's sister as observed earlier was the queen of Utttramachola. We
do not know whether the absence of records mentioning Siddhavādaṇa Mambagadāṇa's descendants have any bearing on the close relationship of the chief with Uttamachōla.

The family of Pattālaṇa Rāmaṇ alias Arumolideva Mīlāduḍīyār

We hear about one Pattālaṇa Rāmaṇ alias Arumolideva Mīlāduḍīyār in A.D.1015 from a record of Rājendra I who succeeded Rājeraja I. The record from Tirukkoṭilūr refers to a gift made by one Umādzīchōla for the merit of his mother Rājasāgaran Umayangāyār who was the daughter of Mūnśiyādiyārar and the queen of Pattālaṇa Rāmaṇ alias Arumolideva Mīlāduḍīyār. He may have replaced or succeeded Siddhavādaṇa Mambagadāṇa, brother-in-law of Uttamachōla in or after A.D.985. Lack of epigraphical evidence restricts our knowledge about Pattālaṇa Rāmaṇ. His title Arumolideva clearly indicate his subordination to Rājeraja I. He had at least four sons, viz., Rāmaṇ Mummuchōla alias Rājendračōla Mīlāduḍīyār, Rāmaṇ Magavaḍīyān.
Among the four, Raman Mumudikochala alias Rajaendrorchola may have served Hajaraja I before Rajaendra I since his title Mumudikochala belongs to Hajaraja I. His younger brother's title Mudikondachola was assumed by Rajaendra I. Epigraphical evidence is available to show that Raman Mumudikochala was a son of Pattalagan Ramam. But we have to rely solely on the similarity of the names to fix Raman Siddhavadavan's relation to Pattalagan Ramam since the chief's title Vikramochola may apply to both Uttamaochola and Rajaendra I. While the former mentioned king had a similar title, the latter adopted it as his surname. A record dated in the third year of a Rajaekasirivarma (Rajaendhiraja I) states that Raman Siddhavadavan belonged to Bhargava gotra. His wife Pulisayan Sami Appai alias Malada Mahadeviyar, the daughter of Pandyanor, figures as a donor in a record from Tirukkoilur (A.D. 1023). Even though the record clearly states that her father was a Pandya, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri
feels that the name points to Kannada origin.

It is not clear whether the scholar is referring to the Uchchangi Pandyas of the Kannada country. Rāmen Mudihondachola alias Rājendraya Mīlāergaḍīyar's records are found in A.D. 1015, 1018, and 1021. His brother Rāmen Mudikonaḍchola alias Muṇḍikonaḍchola Mīlāergaḍīyar figures in epigraphs dated A.D. 1017 and 1023. References to Rāmen Siddhavedavan alias Vīḷwameshola Mīlāergaḍīyar are noticed in A.D. 1021, and 1023. His brother Rāmen Nāṭadaḷ figures in a record of Rājarāṣṭra datable to A.D. 1023. The above dates suggest that their rule which commenced in A.D. 1015 overlapped and came to an end in A.D. 1029. Nothing is known of this family after A.D. 1029.

**Pirāntaka Yadhava Bhima alias Uttamachola Mīlāergaḍīyar (A.D. 1015–1032)**

We have seen that Siddhavedavan Mambadāvan alias Uttamachola Mīlāergaḍīyar lost his position during the reign of Rājarāja I. However, a certain Pirāntaka Yadhava Bhima alias Uttamachola Mīlāergaḍīyar who is said to have belonged to Bhārgava gōtra.
figures as an officer during the reign of Rajendra I, the son and successor of Rajaraja II. This Piran-teka Yadhava Bhima figures in four records from Elavanasur, Tirukkoyilur, Tiruppattur and Chittalur dated A.D. 1015, 1016, 1018 and 1021 respectively. These dates are deduced on the basis of identifications of the overlord kings. The title, Uttamachola Mahadevar, borne by this person is likely to be misleading and suggest anachronism. Yet, there is no doubt that he was a subordinate of Rajendra I. Incidentally it may be pointed out that Uttamachola was a title of Rajendra I. Moreover, the Tiruppattur inscription records the well-known prasasti Tirunangalem of Rajendra I and may be dated A.D. 1018.

Added to this, as seen above, Yadhava Bhima figures in the Elavanasur inscription of the prince Cholakoradaladeva. "Cholakoradaladeva is mentioned among the relations of Parakosarivarmen Rajendra-deva for whom he claims to have provided kingdoms and provinces".

The Chittalur inscription is dated in the third year of a ko-Rajakosarivarmen and we know
that during the reigns of earlier two Rajakesariris viz. Parantaka II Sundareschola and Rājarāja I, there were different chiefs of Milādu98 Pirantoka Yēdeva Bhīma could not be placed during their reigns. Moreover, we have specific reference to his participation in the battle of Kalidindi et Vengi country as will be shown in the sequel. Hence the most plausible identification for the Rājakāśaravarna of Chittadur record would be with Rājadhirāja I and the record thus may be assigned to A.D.1021, his third regnal year.

The battle of Kalidindi

As an officer under Rājendrab this chief took part in the campaigns undertaken by the Chōla emperor... Rājarāja Narēndra, nephew and son-in-law of Chōla Rājendrab I lost his kingdom to his half brother Vijayēditya in A.D.103199. The western Chālukyas who supported Vijayēditya captured the fort at Bejawada and occupied most of the Vēngi country100. On receipt of an appeal from Rājarāja Narēndra Rājendrab I sent a powerful Chōla army under a General Brahma Maharaja along with two other
officers Uttamachola Chòlekon and Uttamachola Hila&udaiyan to help the Eastern Chalukya king Rājarāja Narānda. The last of the Chōla generals may be identified with Pirāntaka Yādevan Bhimaṇa bearing the title Uttamachola Mi.Tađuqaiyan.

Obviously this chief actively participated in the campaign directed against Venjī by the Chōlas along with two other Chōla generals. In the battle of Kalidindi in the neighbourhood of Venjī all the three Chōla generals lost their lives. Rājarāja Narānda built at Kalidindi a memorial temple for each of the Chōla generals. As we see Rājarāja Narānda firmly established in his throne about A.D. 1035 this event could be placed sometimes before this date but after A.D. 1031 in which year the coronation of Vijayāditya took place. N. Venkataramanayya places this event in the year A.D. 1032.

It is gleaned from an epigraph at Kālahestī that this chief was present in the northern borders of the Tamil country even by A.D. 1024. An epigraph of Rājendra I dated in A.D. 1024 at the place records a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp by Pirāntaka Vimaṇ śiha Gangaikondachōla.
Mīlāṇāḍāyārya. Eventhough the epigraph is slightly damaged in the name portion we can easily surmise that the damaged portion refers to Čādanā. This inscription not only attest to the presence of Pirāntaka Yādava Bhūmaṇ at Kālaḥasti by A.D. 1024 itself, but also brings to light the fact that he also bore the title Gangakondachōla Mīlāṇāḍāyārya evidently after Rājendra I's famous title.

As stated earlier Pirāntaka Yādava Bhūmaṇ belonged to the Bhārgava gōtra and hence may be a scion of the family of Siddhsvāvan Aliam-bāglādeva alias Uttamachōla Mīlāṇāḍāyārya. He rose to the position of a commander in the Chāla army and his sacrifice at the battle of Kalindī was recognised by Rājeraṇa Narāṇa, the Eastern Chalukya king. A descendant of the Pirāntaka Yādava Bhūmaṇ's family appears to have been benefited by the latter's loyal service, as indicated by the subsequent history of the Mīlāṇā chief of the Bhārgava gōtra.

Naresinhevarman alias Rama

We have no reference to the Mīlāṇā chiefs of Bhārgava gōtra between the years A.D. 1032 and A.D. 1058. Rājendra I and his son Rājāhīrājadeva I died
in A.D.1044 and A.D.1054 respectively. Rājadhirēja I was followed by his brother Rājendra II. Records of Rājendra II from Tirukkoilūr dated A.D.1058 mention a Milāḍu chief Nārasimhāvarman alias Ṛṇakēsari Rāma who belonged to the Bhargava gotra. This chief is said to have been appointed and crowned under this name and henceforth ruled the Milāḍu 2,000 country (Milāḍu irandāyiram bhūmi).

As we do not find the records of Pāttōlagēn Rāman's family after A.D.1025 we may presume that the other branch which lost power in A.D.985 came into prominence during the period of Rājendra II. Nārasimhāvarman who claims to have belonged to Bhārgava gotra and was bestowed with the Milāḍu territory during the reign of Rājendra II, may be a descendant of Pirēntaka Yādava Bhumān, who is referred to have belonged to the same gotra. The Milāḍu two thousand country was probably given to Nārasimhāvarman in recognition of the services rendered by his predecessor to Chōla Rājendra I. The restoration of the territory may have prompted this chief to celebrate his coronation.
Narasimhavarman noticed the dilapidated nature of the brick structure of the central shrine of the Timuviḍaiṅkaḷi Ṛvar (Trivikrama) temple at Tirukkoḻilūr, pulled down the old structure, rebuilt it along with the mandapa in granite, placed five gold pitchers on the vimāna, built a surrounding wall and a mandapa in front and gave a canopy of pearls. He also made all the old records to be re-engraved on the walls of the new structure and donated two perpetual lamps. Narāyaṇa Adittan alias Chōlesandara Mūvendavēlam of Chebbeṅgudi is said to have caused the śrivimāna to be constructed on behalf of Narasimhavarman.

Much is not known about the successors of Narasimhavarman. His grandson Kariaperumāḷ Periyamāyaṉ figures in a record of Rājārāja II. Rājamēndrade Rājendrachōḷan and Vādevaḷ Rājendraṅ figuring into two records of a Parākēsarivarman and dated in the fourth and tenth regnal years respectively are perhaps the last known members of this family. Rājamēndran Rājendrachōḷan and Vādevaḷ Rājendran are said to be one and the same person. The Parākēsarivarman of the above records is identified with Vikromāchola.
**FOOTNOTES**

1. LL., VII, no.20(B).

2. *ibid.*, E. Hultzsch, "Forteen Inscription at Tirukkoiyilur", p.141, fn.5.

3. *ibid*.

4. LL., VII, no.930.

5. LL., VII, no.20(D).

6. An inscription from Velikandoparam, Tiruchirappalli district (ARP 1943-44 no. 241) dated in the 4th year of Parakesarivarman refers to one Viraçola Maladuraiyar and his wife Nattadiyal, daughter of Venkaduraiyar Adoyalarivar. Apart from the above, an inscription from Salem (II., IV, no.141) dated in the fifth year of Parakesarivarman records a gift by one Kuviren Mischerki, wife of Viraçola Maladuraiyar Olina Nattan Siddhavadyoven.

   It is evident that Viraçola Maladuraiyar mentioned in the above refer to one and the same person. We may be tempted to assign the above mentioned records to Parakesari Paramesara I on the basis of the
title Viraohola borne by him. But there are difficulties in doing so. It was stated earlier that Kayiyur Perumal was in charge of Miladu from AD.912. If we assign the Salem record of Parakisesirivarmen mentioning Viraohola Miladudaiyar alias Nattan Siddharaavan to Parantaka I, the date of the record would fall in AD.912. It may not be possible for the two chiefs mentioned above to claim possession of Miladu region in the same year. In the line number 20 reference is made to Rajasoya Chaturvedirangalsam, the earliest king in the Chola line who bore the title Rajasoya was Rajaraja I. Hence it is not possible to assign the Salem record to Parantaka I and place Viraohola Miladudaiyar mentioned in the Valikandapuranam and Salem records during Parantaka I period.

7. Apart from Parantaka, Aditya I had another son, Kannaradova, through his Rashtrakuta wife Ilango Pitchi, daughter of Krishna II and father of Krishna III. Parantaka superseded Kannaradova and became the king. This brought Krishna II into conflict with Parantaka and he invaded the Chola country with the help of Dcnas and
Weldumbas. Parantaka had the support of Ganga
Prithvipathi II and in the battle that took place
at Vallala Parantaka defeated Krishna II and his
allies and transferred the Bana territory to Pri-
thvipathi II. The battle took place around A.D.915-16.

9. ibid..
10. SII.,VII, nos.954, 955, 956, 959, 966, 973, 976 and 981
(Tirmannamullur). III.,VII, p.135; ARE., 1905,
no.739 (Gramam).
11. ET.,VII, no.20(F).
12. ET., IV, p.331.
13. ET., II, pp.167 ff;
15. ARE., 1936-37, no.252; ibid., part II para 22, p.68.
16. SII., XIII, no.41.
17. ET., VII, p.155.
18. ARE., 1909, no.375.
19. ET., XII, p.125; ibid., XX, pp.82 ff, ARE., 1926,
part II, para 12.


22. Ibid., no. 137.

23. SII., VIII, no. 301.

24. ARE., 1936-37, part II, para 71.

25. ARE., 1905, nos. 22, 26; III., VII, nos. 20(I), 20(G) and 20(II).


27. K.A. Milekanta Sastri., op.cit., pp. 144-145; T.N. Subramaniam is inclined to ascribe the title to Cāndrāditya. South Indian Temple inscriptions III, part I, pp. lxxx-lxxxii; See also ARE., 1904, part II para 20; Ibid., 1909, para 39; Ibid., 1912, part II, para 17.

28. SII., XII, nos. 232, 242 and 244.
29. *SII., XIII, no.244.*

30. ibid., Muri Kannan had described the wife of Ilangoosiyaan is identified with Muri Aman as figuring in another epigraph of Raja Kesariyam (SII., XIII, no.242).

31. *SII., XIII, no.244.*

32. We come across yet another Malaya chief, also known as, Siddhaaasaavan in the epigraphs. An epigraph from Tirukkooyilur (SII., VII, no.300) dated in the second year of Raja Kesariyam records a gift to the Tiruvirattan temple at Tirukkooyilur by Malagaadya Ya Malakhan Malayaraditten alias Chembian-Malagadya Ya.

The same person figures in another epigraph from Vediranyam (SII., XIII, no.173) dated in the eighth year of one Raja Kesariyam refers to a gift made by Malagadya Ya Malakhan Malayaraditten. Since Sembiam is a very common name among Chola kings we have looked for other evidences to know the period in which this chief flourished.
An undated record of RashtraKuta Krishna III from Tirukkoyilur (1905, no. 16) refers to one Madurai-tunjiya Sembiyam Milagudaiven alias Siddhavadevan.

We may identify this chief Sembiyam Milagudaiyan also known as Siddhavadevan, with Arulchekan Malaiyaraditten mentioned above.

It is clear from the expression Madurai-tunjiya noticed in the epigraph of Krishna III that he died at Madurai. The circumstances under which he died at Madurai is not known.

In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to fix the exact date of these records, since there is no clue to identify either the Para-kēsarivarman of Tirukkoyilur epigraph or the Raja-kēsarivarman of Vedaraivan epigraph. The date portion in the Krishna III epigraph is also lost.

33. "XXII, 1936-37, no. 252; ibid., part II, para 22.
34. "XXII, VII, p. 135.
36.  
37.  
38.  
39.  
40.  
41.  
42.  
43.  
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45.  
46.  
47.  
48.  The last known date of Tiruvayyan Śrikantha is A.D.964. Sandeṣyaṇ Tiruvayyan figures in a record dated A.D.968.
49.  
50.  
51. *RE*, 1906, no. 176.

52. The other possible periods in which the solar eclipse occurred are:

1) Parchasari Vijayalaya (Sunday, the fifth of April, A.D. 856).

2) Parchasari Paraanta I (Friday, 19th of September, A.D. 917 and Tuesday, 8th September, A.D. 917).

3) Uttamachola (Monday, 17th of May, A.D. 980).

Out of the dates mentioned above A.D. 981 appears to be more suitable.

53. *SII*, XII, no. 295.

54. ibid., XI X, no. 287.

55. ibid., VII, no. 438.

56. ibid., XI X, no. 293.

57. ibid., XIII, no. 39.

58. *ARB*, 1936-37, no. 252 and SII, XIII, no. 41

59. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri., op. cit., p. 149.

60. ibid.
61. ibid.
62. ibid., p. 158.
63. ibid.
64. EII, XXI, p. 165.
65. op. cit., p. 157.
66. Supra., p.
67. ARE, 1905, no. 13.
68. K.A. Malakanta Sastri., op.cit., p. 186.
69. ARE, 1905, no. 13; EII, VII, nos. 898, 899.
70. EII, XIII, no. 63; ARE, 1905, no. 10.
71. EII, XIII, no. 63; ARE, 1905, no. 7.
72. ibid., VII, no. 857.
73. ARE, 1908, no. 453.
75. ARE, 1905, no. 13.
77. ibid., p. 238, fn. 53.
78. EII, XIII, no. 63.
79. *ARE*, 1905, no. 7.
82. *ARE*, VII, no. 888.
83. *ibid.*, no. 369.
84. *ibid.*, no. 888.
85. *ARE*, 1905, no. 10.
86. *SII*, XIII, no. 63.
87. *ARE*, 1905, no. 7.
89. *ARE*, 1906, no. 133.
90. *ibid.*, 1905, no. 20.
91. *ibid.*, 1908, no. 587.
94. *ARE*, 1908, no. 587.
95. JRE., 1906, no.133.
96. ibid., part II, para 39.
97. P. Shanmugam, op. cit.
98. Supra., p.
100. ibid.
101. ibid., p. 211
102. ibid.
103. ibid.
104. ibid.
107. Supra., XVII, no. 320.
108. K. A. Milakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 227
111. ibid., p. 247.
112. El., VII, nos. 20(K), 20(L), 20(M).
113. El., VII, no. 20(K).
114. ibid.
115. ibid., no. 20(M).
117. SII., XI, no. 94.
118. SII., XIX, no. 259

119. It is said that Vādēven Rājendra and Bājamāhendrān Rājendrachālarā are probably one and the same person and the latter was probably so called after the surname Rājendrachālarā borne by Vikrama Chōla (See SII., XIX, p. xvi).

120. ibid.