CHAPTER TWO

THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

Very little is known about any aspect of life in South Kanara at the dawn of South Indian History which is generally dated from the rise of the Mauryan empire of Magadha late in the fourth century B.C. In those early times this tiny coastal tract does not appear to have played any significant role in the history of peninsular India. When this is viewed in contrast with the very close contacts which its southern counterpart, Kōraḷa or the ancient kingdom of the Chōras, maintained with its neighbours to the east from the earliest historical times, the inevitable conclusion is that the comparatively more formidable heights and thicknesses of the Western Ghāts bordering on South Kanara successfully prevented the latter's contacts with adjacent territories in the Deccan as well as in the Tamilian south. Yet, this geophysical barrier did not leave the district in complete isolation even in those early times as is evidenced by the scanty epigraphical and literary references to this coastal region, starting from the edicts of Asōka himself.

The second rock-edict of Asōka, who ruled over the whole of India except the extreme south from about 273-72 B.C. to about 232 B.C., while enumerating friendly countries bordering his vast empire, mentions five from the south namely the Chōga,
the Pamdiya, the Keralaputra, the Tambapampli and the Satya-
puto. Of these the first three represent the three ancient
Tamil kingdoms of the Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras while the
fourth was, more likely, Ceylon or, less likely, the region
around the Tambraparni river in the Tinnevelley district of
the Madras State. The fifth name Satyaputō, which is men-
tioned as such in the Gtinar and Kalsi versions, as Satyaputē
in the Jaugada version and as Satyaputra in the Shahbazgarhi
and Manshera versions of the second rock-edict, still continues
to be a subject of controversy.

It has come to be generally accepted that the Sanskrit
version of Satyaputō, Satyaputē or Satyaputra is Satyaputra.
In view of the conclusions to be arrived at regarding the loca-
tion of this Satyaputra in the pages to come, it becomes ne-
cessary to refer to and to discuss here under the important
among the numerous theories which attempt to identify this
name with one or the other region of the country. Scholars who
have dwelt upon this problem have put forth their own arguments
in favour of locating Asoka's Satyaputra with the following
regions:

1] According to V.A. Smith in all probability the Satyaputa
people, kingdom or country "is represented by the Satya-

1 R.G. Basak: Asokan Inscriptions, pp. 5 ff.
2 CII., Vol. I, p. 117, footnote
3 V.A. Smith: Asoka, The Buddhist Emperor of India,
III edn., p. 162.
mangalam Taluk or sub-division of the Coimbatore District, lying along the Western Ghats, and bordering on Mysore, Malabar, Coimbatore and Coorg. The town of the same name commands the Gazalhatti Pass from Mysore, which used to be of strategical importance."

2] S.V. Venkateswara observes - "Satyaputra was the name of the country or people having Kâñchipuram for its capital" - 

The author puts forth the following arguments in support of the above theory:-

a) Patanjali (C. 150 B.C.) mentions not only Pâpāya, Chōla and Chēra dominions, but also Kâñchipurā. Satyaputra is conspicuous by omission, as Kâñchipurā is in the Asoka edict. One may reasonably be inclined to ask if the one name could not be identified with the other

b) "Even to-day we find unmistakable evidence of ancient Bauddha vestiges at Kâñchi".

c) "Even to-day the Brahmans of Kâñchi use the expression Satyavrata-kshetra in their religious rites. In a copper-plate grant of the seventeenth century Kâñchipurā is described as Satyavrata-nâmâkita-Kâñchî-divya-kshetra".

d) Pinbalagiyā Perumāl Jīyar, a contemporary of Namai pillai, a disciple of Vādakkuttiruvīdi pillai, who

was a prasishya of the great Rāmānuja (c. 1100 A.D.) the founder of sīr-Vaishnavism, uses the expression sātvavrata-kṣātra in his Guruparampara.

3) According to P.J. Thoma, Satyaputra is the same as the Satyabhūmi, mentioned "in at least two places in the Kēralōṭpati and which lay towards the north of the Chēraṉa's kingdom (Kērala proper)."

4) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says - "The first part of the word is generally taken to be Satya. I should like to raise the question whether it could not be regarded (even as an Apabhṛṣṭa form) as a derivative from Sati (Chaste wife). It seems to me to be a Kannaga Apabhṛṣṭa, meaning "Children of women who are peculiarly Sati (Chaste) with reference to the prevalent matriarchate where widowhood is impossible. This seems possible, as we know that Kannaga as a distinct language may reach back to Patañjali's age". At the end, the revered scholar concludes "It seems more likely, therefore, that these Satyaputras were a western people, and have to be looked for between the Kēraḷas and the Rāṣṭrakas along the western hills, and that it is likely that the Sātputē are their modern re-

5 JRAS., 1918, pp. 541-42
6 JRAS., 1923, pp. 411-14. In p. 412 the author defines Satyabhūmi as roughly corresponding to "North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Kanara".
representatives. If so, could it not be the collective name of
the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the
Nāyars of the Malabar and Kanakadistricts of to-day?" 

5) D.R. Bhandarkar says - "The close correspondence in
sound of Satiyaputa and Sātpūtē, a surname current among the
present Marāṭhas, is so striking that I am inclined to hold
that the Sātpūtēs had formerly settled in the south on the
Western Coast, as the mention of Satiyaputa in the edict points
out, and that they afterwards migrated as far northward as Mahā-
rāshīra, and were merged into the warrior and other classes".

6) According to G. Büchler "the Satiyaputa is probably
the king of the Satvats."

7) T.N. Subramaniam observes - " ... the boundaries
of the Kongu-nāgu are as follows: In the north Talaimalai (in
the Satyamangalam Taluk of the Coimbatore district near the
boundary of the Mysore State), in the south Vaikāvūr (in Palni
Hills), in the east Kulitalai (in the Trichy district) and in the
west the Western Ghats. The Kongu-nāgu was governed by a line of
kings named Kōsar, and they are often mentioned in Tamil classi-
cal literature. They are famous for their Satya. In Aham they
are often mentioned as -

Ongunuk-Kōsar (196)

7 JRAS., 1919, pp. 581-84
(Kōsar that always speak the truth.)

Vāymai nilaiyā sāpiyāngu nallīsai
valangalū Kōsar. (205)

(Kōsar, whose fame for speaking the truth has reached the heaven), etc.

Again Aham (262) has a reference to a story in which a Kōsar excused a man who committed a serious crime because he spoke the truth. Thus we see that they not only speak the truth, but also have a high regard for Satyā. The Kōsars of Kongu are also of sufficient importance in the history of Tamilam to deserve special mention in the inscription of Asōka. Thus I identify the Satyaputra with the Kōsars of Kongunādu.

8] L.D. Barnett says - "Another tribe to whom he (i.e. Asōka) alludes is that of the Satiya-putas. Possibly they may represent the region around Mangalore; but it is at least equally likely that they were the fore-fathers of the Satavahana dynasty of the Andhra-desa."

Before discussing the merits or otherwise of the above theories, it is necessary to make here a few general obser-

10 JRAS., 1922, pp. 84-86
11 The content within the brackets is mine.
nations. It may be safely assumed that, with the enumeration of the five South Indian countries, the second rock-edict of Asoka sought to cover the whole area that lay in the extreme south and outside his bounds. It is known from the provenance of the Asokan edicts themselves that the Mauryan emperor's southern possessions dug well into the old Mysore State, thus leaving only the entire Tamil country and the present-day Kerala State and South Kanara district in independent existence. It is only proper to believe that the Chola, Pandyā and Keralaputra countries of the rock-edict meant to cover the entire Tamil and Malayalam countries of to-day. We know that from the days of the earliest available Tamil literature, for centuries, the Chola, Pandyya and Chera kingdoms, spread over the Tamil and Malayalam regions, loomed large over the possessions of numerous petty chieftains, depriving the latter of any significant role by themselves, let alone the accumulation of any importance to the extent of being mentioned as an independent neighbour by Asoka. Theories based upon the assumption that Satyaputra may refer to another less-known or long obsolete region within the Tamil country will not, therefore, hold much water.

It is in this light that Smith's location of Satyaputra...
in the Satyamangalam Taluk falls to the ground. As if to give credence to his theory Smith says - "In the seventeenth century there was a province called Satyamangalam in the Nāyak kingdom of Madura (Ind. Ant. XLV, p. 200). It is possible that that may have been meant by Asoka". It is well known that after the destruction of Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century, the vast empire was divided into innumerable bits by warring chieftains. Satyamangalam was only one such. Epigraphical evidence from the concerned region itself does not help us take the existence of the province or its name Satyamangalam to any antiquity. It is, therefore, surprising that Smith chose to identify Satyaputra, mentioned in the rock-edict of the 3rd century B.C. with Satyamangalam, a province of the seventeenth century A.D., on the mere ground that both the names contain the word Satya in their first half.

As for the identification of Satyaputra with the Kāñchi-puram 'Country', it should be pointed out that Satyavrata as a geographical name has not been shown to be sufficiently ancient. It has also been pointed out that Satyavrata, as a place-name, denoted, more strictly, only a part of the city of Kāñchipuram. This famous city comes into political dominance for the first time during the time of the Pallavas in the sixth century and

14 Early History of India, IV, edn., p. 194, foot-note 1.
15 J.R.A.S., 1919, p. 581
16 A History of South India, II edn., p. 97.
in those early times neither the city nor the country for which it was the capital was known by the name of Satyavrata. It is obvious that, like Smith, the author of the Kānchipuram theory was swayed by the presence of the word Satya in Satyaputra and Satyavrata. It is very probable that Kānchipuram and its surroundings formed an integral part of the Chōla kingdom of Asōka's times. If, on the other hand, the Kānchipuram region had been of such importance as to be mentioned in Asōka's rock-edict, early Tamil literature would not have completely ignored its existence.

Satyaputra = Satyabhūmi is yet another identification inspired by the common word Satya. The author of this theory says - "The legitimate approach to the question seems to be to inquire whether the name "Satya" had been formerly used to denote any locality or region on the West Coast. The ancient literature of that country must enlighten us on the point. Early Tamil works like Silappadikāram and Pattu-pattu were composed on the West Coast; and subsequently there arose agglomerations of Malabar legends such as Keralōtpatti and Keralamāhātmyam". Early Tamil literature, however, did not help and hence the author resorted to Keralōtpatti which, as has already been pointed out, mentions the Satyabhūmi 'in at least two places'. The untenability of this identification is inadvertently made

17 For ancient names of the Pallava court see JRAS., 1919, pp. 583-84.
18 JRAS., 1923, pp. 411-14
19 Ibid., pp. 411-12.
out by the author himself when he says - "The Kēralāmpatti is a legendary work of uncertain date, and though it professes to give a continuous history of Malabar from Parasurāma's days, it is replete with anachronisms and inaccuracies, which tend to discredit its historical value." On the basis of this unreliable work it is not advisable to try to demarcate the boundary of the Kēralaputa territory and then to say that whatever land then remained in the northern parts of the present-day Kērala State may have been known as Satyapura.

The ingenious interpretation of Satiya-putra to mean 'the children of Chaste Women' and its connection with the matriarchate tribes of the Tūlus and the Nayars of Kanara and Malabar becomes untenable by the mere fact that the accepted region for Kēralaputra also contained such matriarchate communities. Also, the assumption that the matriarchate system prevailed along the West Coast even in the days of Aśoka is very difficult to substantiate. Moreover, even in the days when clear evidence for the existence of the matriarchate system in the West Coast becomes available, the people who came to observe this system were not named after it as a tribe or community.

The sequence in which the names occur in the rock-edict clearly points to the fact that Satyaputa, like the other four names, was located only in South India. The Poona region where the Sātputes live at present, was definitely included in the empire of Aśoka. Satyaputa, on the other hand, was an independent country. Even the suggestion that the Sātputes

19 Ibid., pp. 411-12.
migrated at a later stage from their earlier abode in the south on the West Coast is not convincing in view of the improbability of the so-called immigrants retaining their tribal or national name which was completely lost upon the tribe or nation from which they thus migrated. Here again, only the close similarity between the names Satiyaputa and Satpute has given birth to this theory.

Bühler does not follow up his suggestion that the Satiyaputa was probably the king of the Satvats with any explanations. He does not even say who the Satvats were and where they lived. The Satvats were an ancient tribe and find mention in the Vedic texts. The epic and Purāṇic traditions place them in the Mathura district. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats seems to have migrated farther south because the Aitarāṇya Brāhmaṇa describes them as a southern people who lived beyond the Kuru-Pañchāla area i.e. beyond the river Chambal, and were ruled by Bhōja kings. The above location of the Satvats does not take them south enough to even remotely connect them with the independent South Indian kingdom of Satiyaputa.

The attempted identification of the Kosar tribe with the

20 Ibid., p. 414
21 vide, Ind. Ant., Vol. 34 (1905), p. 231
23 Aitarāṇya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 14.3.
24 Ray Chaudhuri: Political History of India, 6th edn., p. 139.
Satiyaputa of the Asokan edict is, as yet, the best conceived theory on the subject. References to the Kosar in early Tamil literature as addicted to truth are clear and not very scanty and their close association with the Tamil country is also well borne out.

There are, however, genuine difficulties in endorsing the theory that the Satiyaputa and the 'Kosar of the Kongu Country' were identical. It is clear from passages in early Tamil literature that the Kosar lived not only in the Kongu country but also in some other parts of the Tamil land as well as outside its bounds and that the name Kosar applied to the whole of this Kosar tribe, wherever they lived, and not to any line of kings who ruled over them. The only instance in early Tamil literature connecting the Kosar with the Kongu country occurs in Silappadigaram where the expression Kong-ilan-kosar is employed. Ilam means 'young' or 'later' and thus the expression seems to suggest that the Kosar were the inhabitants of some other region and that, at a later stage, they migrated to the Kongu country.

On the other hand, when the references to the Kosar in early Tamil literature are assembled in one place and

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25 In view of the importance of the Kosar to the early history of South Kanara, the relevant passages in early Tamil literature will be discussed in detail in the pages to come.

26 Silappadigaram, uralpu-kappurumai 2
studied together, it becomes obvious that they, as a people, were well distributed into warrior groups which assisted the southern rulers in battle fields as mercenary troops. Their presence, in the early history of South India as revealed by early Tamil literature, in parts of the ancient Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms and also in Tuḷu-nāḍu (i.e. the district of South Kanara) is easily discernible. Indeed the connection of the Kōsar with the Tuḷu country appears, from these literary passages, to have been of a more long-standing and original nature.

In view of these facts, it is unlikely that the rock-edict would have mentioned a tribe which did not inhabit any one region but was constantly on the move. It is more unlikely that a part of the tribe living in the Koṅgu country, perhaps as the mercenaries of the Chōlas, would have gained a mention in the rock-edict of Asoka. In their own homes and to their neighbours, they were known as the Kōsar. If the rock-edict did mean them, why were they not named as Kōsar, by their proper name, instead of as Satyaputra after one of their virtues?

Barnett's identification of Sātiyaputa with the forefathers of the Sātavāhanas of Andhra-dēsa falls owing to complete lack of evidence. The origin of the Sātavāhanas is

still a subject of controversy. His alternative suggestion that Satiyaputa may represent the region around Mangalore is interesting though he does not adduce reasons for such an identification.

Vincent A. Smith was the first to suggest the identification of Asoka's Satiyaputa with the Tulu country i.e. the South Kanara district. "Very little can be said about the southwestern kingdoms, known as Chēra, Kerala and Satiyaputra. The last-named is mentioned by Asoka only, and its exact position is unknown. But it must have adjoined Kerala; and since the Chandragiri river has always been regarded as the northern boundary of that province, the Satiyaputra kingdom should probably be identified with that portion of the Konkans - or low lands between the Western Ghats and the sea - where the Tulu language is spoken, and of which Mangalore is the centre." After defining the bounds of the Tulu country Smith continues - "The small area thus defined as occupied by the Tulu language seems to be admirably adopted to serve as the equivalent of Asoka's Satiyaputra. It adjoins Kerala, is the territory of a Dravidian people, and so completes the summary enumeration of the Dravidian nations given in Rock Edict II." Even at that time, Smith, however, had struck a note of doubt - " . . . . the proof of the

suggested identity cannot be effected until it is shown that the name Satiyaputa is in fact connected with the Tuḷuva country, and at present such proof is lacking."

Smith's thought-provoking theory failed to gain any considerable ground chiefly because he himself, without as much as adducing any tangible reason for disowning his own Satiyaputa = Tuḷuva theory, deemed it fit to switch over to the Satyamaṅgalam region in Coimbatore district as the modern representative of the ancient Satiyaputa. We have shown above that the Satiyaputa = Satyamaṅgalam theory is wholly untenable. On the other hand, the Tuḷuva theory, originally contributed by Smith and considered a possibility by Barnett, presents itself as the best answer to the Satiyaputa problem for the following reasons.

Smith's claim that the identification of Satiyaputa with Tuḷuva completes the enumeration of the Dravidian nations of Asoka's times is indisputable. While Tambapampi covered Ceylon, Chōga and Paṇḍiya covered the eastern coast and the interiors of the Tamil country. Kēralaputra covered the southern extremes of the West Coast. The picture of the extreme south, as detailed in the rock-edict would be complete with the inclusion of Tuḷuva or the South Kanara district. The existence of this tiny coastal strip as a separate political and linguistic entity from its earliest traceable historical moments does justify its inclusion in Asoka's list of inde-
The various theories quoted above were all built on the belief that Satiyaputa was either the Prakrit form for Sanskrit Satyaputra or an expression meaning Satiya-putra = "Children of chaste women". It is, however, likely that, like the other four names of South Indian kingdoms, Satiyaputa was the long-standing proper name of a territory or a people. In view of this and in view of the fact that the Tuluva-part of the West Coast alone remains to be mentioned in order to complete the picture of independent South India in the days of Asoka, it is only proper that we search for any possible relationship between Satiyaputra and Tuluva. It may be pointed out in this connection that the word Satiya bears close resemblance to Sahya, the name of a part of the Western Ghats bordering on Konkan, including Tuluva. It is possible that, either as a normal derivation or as a mistake, Sahya came to be written in the rock-edict as Satiya. It is true that the change from Sahya to Sahya > Sahya > Satiya cannot be justified on the basis of any known rules of grammar. Yet, the

30 Even B.A. Salestine, the only scholar who has attempted to write a comprehensive history of Tuluva, summarily dismisses the identification of Satiyaputa with Tuluva. See Ancient Karnataka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p. 374.
utter incompatibility of the other theories based upon Satya and Sati should help render this view a great possibility.

It is well-known that while Malaya represented the range of Western Ghâts bordering on Kârâla, Sahya was the name of its counterpart to the north. The late work called Sahyâadri-kânda, which has now come to be appended to the Skandapurâna, definitely suggests, by giving the legendary history of Tûluva, that the Western Ghâts bordering on South Kanara had come to be particularly identified with the name Sahya. Again, though Sahyâdri as the name of a mountain range may have extended to the north of South Kanara, the Asokan edict may have meant only that length of the range as borders on Tûluva for, north of the Tulu Country, the coast was most likely included in the vast Mauryan empire. It has been shown that Pâli putta = Sanskrit putra at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe.' Thus, if Satiyaputa could be accepted to have resulted from Sahyaputra > Sahiaputa > Sahiyaputa, we may conclude that the Satiyaputa of the rock edict stood for the Tulu country.

31 In this context, the writing of the name Kârâla-putra as Kâtala-putra in the Girnar and Kalsi versions of the rock-edict proves to be of guiding importance.

32 D.C. Sircar: Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 11, 12 and 23 note.

33 For a definition of the southern limits of Asoka's empire, see V.A. Smith: Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India, III edn., p. 80
and for the people who had that region for their home. The ethnic, political, cultural and linguistic individuality which the Tuluvas have maintained from early times is an important justification for this identification.

More information, though of an uncertain nature, on the history of South Kanara during and immediately following the Mauryan age is furnished by some poets of Saṅgam literature. It has been established on sound reasons that the Saṅgam age, to which belong the anthologies Naṟṟippai, Kuṟundogai, Aiṅṟiṟṟumāṟṟu, Paṇiṟṟumattu, Paṇiṟṟai, Kuḷḷitogai, Agaṉāṉūṟu, Kuṟavaṉanṟu and Paṭṭupṟṟṟṟu as also the well-known Taḻkāṇṇiṟṟuṭam, a comprehensive treatise on Tamil grammar, lasted during the first three or four centuries A.D.

Maṉulanar, a poet, most probably of the third century A.D., whose compositions have been included in the anthologies Agaṉāṉūṟu, Naṟṟippai and Kuṟundogai, says in one of his songs -

\[\text{\textquoteleft} \text{maymali parumṉṟ-chennar-Kōsar} \text{\textquoteright} \]
\[\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \text{Tulu-nāṟu} \text{\textquoteright} \]
\[\text{\textquoteleft} \text{The Tulu country of the Kōsar who adorned their bodies with golden ornaments} \text{\textquoteright} \]

This passage is of two-fold importance. It takes the word Tulu as applied to the region concerned and, perhaps, to the people

35 See A History of South India, pp. 110 ff.
36 Agaṉāṉūṟu: Agam 15.
who dwelt there and to the dialect which they spoke, to the early
centuries of the Christian era. It also definitely states that
the Kōsar were the inhabitants of the Tuju country. The Kōsar,
as has been pointed out above, were a warrior tribe and a few
passages in Sangam literature refer to their valour. One such

from Aganāmaru says:

°imumbhāgam padauttapaduvudal mustattār
kumisaj-Kōsar°

'The black-eyed Kōsar whose faces bear
marks of wounds inflicted by iron arms.'

Another passage from the Puranāmaru reads:

°... . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . van-vail
dlam-pal-Kōsar vilanru pada kaunma-
rigalipar-apindav-asal-ilai murmukkip
perumarrak-kambam . . . . . . . . . . . .°

'pillars of the murmukku trees with their wide
leaves at which many youthful Kōsar aim
their shining spears to find the best marksman
in their midst.'

We learn from Aganāmaru that Chellur, Niyamam, characterised
by the sound of the roaring waves of the sea, and Podiyil

37 Ibid., 90
38 Puranāmaru : Puram 169, lines 8-11.
39 Agam 90
40 Agam 251
were places which belonged to the Kosar. On the strength of Māmūlanār’s statement, referred to above, that the Kosar belonged to the Tuļu country, it has been suggested elsewhere that these places, Chellur, Niyamam and Podiyil, may have to be located in the Tuļu country. It is, however, obvious, on the authority of the Saṅgam literature, that the Kosar, besides inhabiting the Tuļu country, lived also in parts of the ancient Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms. As has been suggested earlier, they may have migrated into the interiors of the Tamil country from Tuļuva. The Madurai Kāṇchi, an ancient Tamil work, refers to the Kosar as nāmokik-kosar i.e. ‘the four-tongued Kosar’. This has been taken to mean ‘Kosar who could speak four languages, Tuļu, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil’. This may be interpreted to mean that the Kosar, even when they disintegrated and settled down in different parts of South India, did not lose their identity immediately.

What is of topical interest to us at this stage is the mention of the Kosar, in certain passages in Saṅgam literature, with reference to an invasion of the South by the Mauryas. The episode is referred to by Māmūlanār in two songs which have found their way into the Aganāḻuvu. In view of their importance to the early history of Tuļuva, they deserve to be discussed in some detail. The first song, in its relevent parts, reads -

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41 Saṅgaṁalak-chirappu-nayargal, p. 277
42 P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar: History of the Tamils, p. 526
43 Agam 251, lines 6.14
On the day of destruction in the battlefield, when the Kosar, whose decorated and quick-wheeled chariots (flags) the flags of victory, (beat) their melodious drums resounding sharply and at high pitch in their assembling spots under the big branches of old and well-spread-out banyan trees, as the neighbouring Mōriyar came with the great army against (the chieftain of) Mōgūr because of (his) insubordination, the wheels of their quick-wheeled chariots rolled, reducing (the heights of) the mountain pass with its silvery streams.44

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44 This and all other translations of Tamil passages quoted in this Chapter are free renderings. For an earlier translation, from which I have chosen to differ on certain points, see History of the Tamils, p. 520.
The second song, in its relevant parts, reads—

'solgiyan maqal-mavil-qalitna pilu
wanpu wilvi-shurri nongahilai-
yauvur viljimbirk-aminda nowiyar-
kanalikural-isaikum viraikalar kaqunapai
murapmgu wajugar muppuq Moryar

'tennisai madira muppiya varavirku
vippurav-angiya papiyrin-kuprat-
opcadi-tticirly-umliya kupaattu
yapei

With the Vajugar, who excel in fighting,
whose powerful bows are covered with the
\textit{fl\text{\textdollar}} feathers shed by languid-looking and
effeminate peacocks and whose strong arrows,
capable of causing pain, when fitted to the
sharp edges of such strong bows, fly fast with
roaring sounds, preceding them, as the Moryar
advanced on the mountain in the south, the
rolling wheels (of their chariots), with
bright spokes, reduced (the heights of) the
sky-high and cold mountain'.

These two passages make it clear that the Kosar were
the main invaders and that the army of the Moryar formed the
supporting rear guard. The first passage implies that the

45 Agam 231, lines 4-12.
Kosar were aided in their expedition against the defiant chief of Mogur by the Moriyar. Since this song as well as the other one, already referred to, which says that the Kosar were the inhabitants of the TuJu country, were both composed by the poet Mammulanar, it may be safely concluded that the Kosar, who aided the Moriya invasion, were the inhabitants of the TuJu country. The second passage also refers to the invasion of the South by the Moriya but their allies are herein called Vajugar. It will be reasonable to assume that the Vajugar of Mammulanar's second passage were the same as the Kosar of the first passage. In this connection we may study the passage mavil-olitta pili val-vir-suru i.e. 'covering their (i.e. the Vajugar's) strong bows with feathers shed by peacocks' occurring in the second passage against the same poet's description of TuJu-naJu as 'a country in whose forests the peacocks peck at the well-grown jack fruits' (pagaal-arkai paraikkat-pili-ttongai-kkavir-Tulu-naJu).

46 Vajugar (Kannada: Badagaru) means 'the northerners' and is used in Sañgam literature to denote people who lived to the immediate north of the Tamils i.e. the Kannada, TuJu and Telugu people.

47 Aganamkur: Agam 15, lines 4-5. The description of the city of Mangalore as 'mavil-agayu-Mangalapuram' (Mangalapuram, where the peacocks dance) in a Panchyan copper-plate grant of the 8th century, discussed in Chapter III below, also shows that the Tamil poets were wont to think of the TuJu country in association with peacocks.
The reference to peacocks in these passages helps us to conclude that the Kosar and the Vadugar were the inhabitants of the Tulu country and, hence, were one and the same.

To make these passages on Mauryan invasion of the South fit into the pages of known history is a difficult task. The first passage qualifies the Moriyar with the adjective vamba.  

\[\text{Vamba means 'vile or insolent persons' or 'quarrelsome men'}\]  

and, hence, is out of place in a passage which seeks to glorify the Maurya invasion. \text{Vamba, therefore, appears to be a form of vambalar meaning 'neighbours, newcomers' or 'guests'.}  

\[\text{It has been generally taken to mean 'the newly risen' or 'newly come'}\]  

Moriyar and as denoting the imperial Mauryas of Pāpalāputra. It is, however, very difficult to believe that the Mauryas indulged in military exploits so far in the south even when their political power was at its nascent stage.

A more apt interpretation of the phrase \text{vamba-Moriyar} would be 'the neighbouring Moriyar'. The coastal region to the north of the Tulu country was included in the vast Mauryan empire and, perhaps, formed part of the Konkapa province under

48 M. Winslow: Tamil & English Dictionary, q.v.

49 See A History of South India, pp. 85 f.

50 The territorial definition of ancient Konkapa is a knotty problem. The plural form \text{Konkapāru}, occurring in the Aihole inscription (\text{Ind. Ant. Vol.VIII, p. 242, line 10}) of Pulakēśin II (609/10-642 A.D.) reminds one of the ancient name \text{Saptā-Konkapa}. This term denotes the whole strip of land lying
the sway of the scions of the imperial Maurya dynasty. This latter surmise is supported by the existence of the Mauryas in the Konkap, between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. According to Wilson (See *Asiaica Researcha*, Vol. XV, p. 47, note) the seven Konkaps were Kōrāla, Tuḷuva, Gōvarāshtra (i.e. modern Goa), the Konkap proper, Karahāṭaka, Barāḷāṭṭā and Barbara. Gundert (*Malayālam Dictionary*, s.v. Kohgātam) gives the following verse-

Kōrālam cha Virātam cha Nārātan Konkapam tathā

Havyagām Tuḷavam ah-aiya Kōrālam oh-aiya saptakam

Fleet (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, *Dynasties of the Kanarase Districts*, p. 282, note 5), who acknowledges the historicity of Saptā-Kōṅkapa, includes the following divisions in its definition - (1) Travancore and Cochin; (2) Malabar; (3) South Kanara; (4) North Kanara; (5) Goa; (6) Ratnagiri; and (7) Kolābā, Thāpa and Surat. In the verse quoted above Havyaga is the same as Saiva, a division made up of the southern parts of the North Kanara Dt. In view of this, Konkapā proper may be defined so as to have included, besides the southern coastal districts of Maharāshtra, Goa and also the northern parts of the North Kanara district in those ancient times. The southern part of that district, which comes to be called the Hāve division in later historical periods, appears to have been under the sway of a family of local chiefs in the early centuries of the Christian era. To this family may have belonged a certain king by the name of Nān̄am whose history will be dealt with in the pages to come. It will be well to remember that in the eleventh century
as a ruling family, in the sixth century A.D., when they were finally destroyed by Chalukya Kirttivarman (566/7-597/8 A.D.) of Badami. *Vamba-Mariyar* may, therefore, refer to the Maruyan rulers of the Konkapa province who were, geographically, the northern neighbours of the Kosar of Tuḻu-nāḍu.

The death of Asoka sounded the death-knell for his empire. Yet, vestiges of the imperial power did survive for over five decades after his death. In the course of the empire-wide confusion which must have resulted from the removal of Asoka, the Konkapa province may have become an independent Maurya kingdom interested in the political developments in the neighbouring kingdoms to their south. It is otherwise difficult to believe that either before or during or after the reign of Asoka, the Mauryas, with the nucleus of their political power still at Magadha, would have exerted themselves in subduing the chieftain of a principality which does not render itself even to positive identification. I, therefore, hold that the *Vamba-Mariyar* were the Mauryas of Konkap who rose to independent political power sometime after the death of Asoka and continued to rule in the Konkap region till their defeat by Kirttivarman in the sixth century A.D.

From the study of the above passages, it may be concluded that the Mōriyar invaded Mōgūr, not on their own but as the

A.D., Goa and its surrounding regions were known by the name of Konkapā-900 (Fleet 1 DKD, p. 566)  
allies of the Kosar of Tuļu-nāḍu whose suzerainty the chief­tain of Mōgūr appears to have contested. Mōgūr, therefore, may be deemed to have been a tiny principality bordering on Tuļu‐nāḍu. Since the poems refer to the crossing of a mountain pass by the chariots of the Kosar and the Mōriyar, Mōgūr was, in all probability, a kingdom on the eastern slopes or at the eastern foot of the Western Ghāts i.e. in the north-western ex­tremes of the Tamil country.

The results of the Kosar-Mōriyar invasion of Mōgūr are nowhere mentioned. But, during what may be discerned as the chronologically subsequent stage in South Indian history, as seen through Śaṅgam literature, the Kosar are found to be the enemies of the king of Tuļuva and friends of Mōgūr!

This king of Tuļuva was known by the name of Nānnan and figures in quite a few compositions assignable to the Śaṅgam age. The poet Māmūlanār, in the same poem in which

52 Aganēṉum : Agam, 15. The text, in its relevant parts, reads -

'Nānnan, wearing lustrous ornaments and with his royal elephant, the great king of the country which is renowned for its quality of sustaining its indigent neighbours i.e. the Tuļu country.'
he associates the Kosar with TuJu-nadu, says that Nannan was the 'great king of the country which was firm in its quality of sustaining indigent neighbours'. Since we learn from a few other songs that the Kosar assisted a Tamil chieftain in his war against Nannan and that they also fought against him on their own, as will be shown below, it may be suggested that Nannan invaded the TuJu country, drove the Kosars out and made it his own. From where did this Nannan come and occupy the TuJu country? Palaipadiya Perungadungo, a Sañgam poet, in one of his songs, says -

'ponmadu Korkapa Nannan nambattu
Elir-kunram . . . . . . . .

'The hill of the good country of Nannan, the gold-producing Korka.'

We have already stated that Koñkapa, as a territorial entity, does not lend itself to easy definition and that, in ancient times, the whole of the West Coast was divided into seven divisions, all of them known by the common name of Koñkapa. It will be seen from what follows that the conquest of TuJuva brought Nannan into close contact with the Tamil rulers. Prior to his TuJuva occupation, Nannan, therefore, may have been ruling over a small kingdom to the south of the Koñkapa kingdom.
of the Mauryas and to the north of Tuluva i.e. in the southern parts of the North Kanara district roughly corresponding to Havyaga or the Kaive division. At any rate, neither was Hannan the ruler of the Mauryan Konkapa nor did he belong dynastically to the Mauryan stock; or else, the Sangam poets would not have ignored these important points. It may be that his frequent wars with the tiny kingdoms to his immediate south and south-east were justified by the fact that the Mauryan power to his north was more formidable and friendly as against the former.

References to Hannan in Sangam literature illustrate his ambitious character and his successful career. After his occupation of Tulu-nāgu, Hannan appears to have turned his attention to his south. He conquered and annexed Puli-nāgu, probably a small territory on the West Coast adjoining the Tulu country and, as will be seen subsequently, included in the Chōra kingdom. The Flir-kunram, which is stated in the passage quoted above to be in the 'good country of Hannan', was, in all probability, situated in this Puli-nāgu. With the conquest of Tuluva and Puli-nāgu, the road to the ancient Tamil kingdoms lay open before the enterprising Hannan.

Sangam poets refer to a number of battles in which Hannan fought against one Tamil king or another. One battle against

55 The Flil hill, also known as Flil-malai and Saptasaila, is the Mount D'Ely of the medieval geographers and is about 16 miles to the north of Cannanore in Kerala State.

56 Attempts so far made at reducing Sangam literature
Palaiyan, perhaps a commander of the Chola forces and ruler of Mogur, is described as follows:

Nannan Errai narumųr-Atti
tumaru-kaaduntaan-kankaŋ Kattí
ponnapi val-vir-Punnuraiy-enr-aŋ-
en-aŋ aravr kulũva valapparuŋ-kattũr-
parumapadaan-napnipp-Palaiyan pattna

'There, on that day (of battle) Palaiyan, after making (the battle-field) the grave (for the armies) of Nannan, Errai, Atti, with perfume applied, Kankaŋ, the zealous fighter, Kattí and the gold-ornamented Punnurai with his strong bow, and after giving them (i.e. the dead) as prey for the hawks, himself was killed (in battle).'

This passage thus presents Nannan at the head of a confederacy, the other members of which were probably petty chief-

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57 See Sivaraja Pillai; The Chronology of the Early Tamils; pp. 76 ff.

58 The MaduraiKāṇchi (lines 507-509) says -

maŋali-olukk-arāap-pilaiya vilaiuv-
Palaiyan Mogur-avaiyagaa vilabhaa
napmolik-Kōsar vilangiv-anna
tains of the Tamil country. It is not known if Nannar and his allies fought as the defenders or were jointly invading the Chola territory. In view of Palaiyan's death in the battle, victory may have rested with Nannan and his allies.

The fact that Nannan could muster the assistance of five Tamil chieftains suggests his immense strength and resources. Nannan also invaded Pullunar, which has been identified elsewhere with the southern portion of the Coimbatore district. Nannan's chief antagonist in this war was one Ay Eyinan who, it has been suggested, may have been a subordinate of the then Chola king Veliyan Vepman. The poet Paraqar gives a graphic account of this encounter, in which Nannan's triumph was largely due to his general Miifi.

\[ \text{As the four-tongued Kosar appeared in the assembly place of Palaiyan's Mogur, where the crops never fail because the rains never cease.' This Palaiyan was, perhaps, a descendant of that chief of Mogur who had to face the joint Kosar-Moraiyar invasion. It is, however, not known if the Kosar assisted Palaiyan in this battle.} \]

59 Asanānuru : Agam, 44, lines 7-11.

60 The Chronology of the Early Tamils, p. 78.
On the bejewelled Nannan, with his bannered chariot, invading Pulhumadu, Ay Eyinan the fierce, fought at Pali (which was) bewitched by the music of the Yal, with Miili, whose virtue was to kill his enemies, and gave up his life.

Ay Eyinan's valiant death at the hands of Miili is alluded to by the same poet in another of his songs –

"Vejiyan Vepman Ay-Eyinan-
-n-aivyai valkkai-Falip-parandalai-
y-ilai-ani vanaivy-Iyaran Miiliy-odu
nappagaluura cheenuy-punkuir-
d-alyap mayangamar vlyn-ena"

"In the battle field at Pali, (which is) by nature liberal in giving away its riches, Ay Eyinan, (the subordinate?) of Vejiyan Vepman, fought with Miili, who was like a bejewelled elephant, in the encounter which occurred at

---

61 Ibid., pp. 78-79. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (The Beginning of South Indian History, p. 198), however, says he was the commander-in-chief of the Chera king.

62 Aganānūru: Agam 396, lines 1-6

63 Aganānūru: Agam 208, lines 5-9.
midday and, causing great confusion (in enemy ranks) with his glittering sword, himself fell (in the battle)."

64 In yet another song Parapar gives the following account of Nannan’s war against Pullunadu:

65 That day when the adigar met Nimili, with his fearful army of fiends (drawn) from the subjects of the ancient Pali of Nannan, having killed and taken his celebrated and huge elephant, which had caused bewilderment at Pullu, they fought noisily with their glittering swords.

The first two passages make it clear that though Nannan’s invasion was of Pullu-nadu, the battle alluded to was fought at Pali. Pali was not in the invaded territory but was an impor-

64 Aganannūra : Agam 152, lines 9-14.

65 Nimili is obviously a mistake for Mifili, the name as it occurs in the other two passages quoted.
tant fort in the kingdom of Nannan himself. Parapar says

'Nannan-udiyan-arungadin-Pālī-
tonmudir vālir-āmhinar vaitta
pan . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

'The gold kept in the well protected Pālī of
Nannan-udiyan, under the protection of the
vālir (i.e. petty chieftains) of old and
ancient (families).

The above passages may, therefore, be interpreted to
mean that Nannan raided Pūḷu-naṇḍu and that, as a measure of
retaliation, his own kingdom was subjected to invasion. Nannan
does not appear to have gained Pūḷu-naṇḍu but, at the same time,
he appears to have successfully warded off the retaliatory raids.
Of his enemies, Eyīnan was, perhaps, the chief of Pūḷu-
naṇḍu and the Adigar may have been his subjects.

Parapar also speaks of the peacocks dancing joyously
in the hill of Pālī, situated in the long mountain range of
Śrīlīl, the country of Nannan whose whizzing javelin pierced
through and broke the resistance of his enemy Pīṇḍaṇ.
We are not told who this Pīṇḍaṇ was but, most likely, he was
one of the petty chieftains of the Tamil county.

66. Aganānumu : Agam 258, lines 1-3
67. Aganānumu : Agam 152, lines 9-14
In addition to his high renown as a great warrior, Hannan also gained the ungainly epithet of peη-kolai-purinda Hannan, 'Hannan, the woman-killer'. The incident which brought Hannan this ill-fame is narrated by Parapar in the following lines:

\[
\text{mappiya saprav-oppadal-arival}
\text{punararn pasungav tirradan-rappar-
k-ophadrur-opbadu kalixr-ad-avapival}
\text{ponxai-pavai kassappavum-kollan}
\text{parkolai-purinda Hannan'}
\]

'Hannan, who killed a damsel, with beautiful eyebrows who had gone to the river for a bath, for the guilt of having eaten an unripe fruit (which had fallen from a tree in his garden and was) carried away by the currents, even though he was offered eighty one male elephants and a statue of her weight in gold (as compensation).'

We also learn that at the end of battles, Hannan, as the victor, was merciless towards his vanquished foes. Parapar says in this connection, that Hannan, with his javelin held
aloft, made many enemy kings, endowed with magnificent horses, flee from the battle-fields and bound their elephants with ropes made out of the hair locks of the captive women belonging to his vanquished enemies.

We had earlier suggested that Nannan appears to have deprived the Kosar of their hold on Tulu-nadu. This naturally earned for him the enmity of this war-like people. Nannan appears to have had a difficult time warding off the retaliatory raids of the Kosar on his territory. Parapar says—

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\[
\text{Nannan naru-mā konru nāṭṭir-pāḷiya-}
\text{x-ōṇru-malik-Kosar} \\
\text{The Kosar who killed the famed elephant of Nannan and entered his country.}
\]

Nannan, however, appears to have cleared his country of the invading Kosar for, when he was drawn into his final battle by his Chēra adversary, he was still in possession of his territories.

It has earlier been pointed out that Nannan had taken Puli-nadu by his war against the Chēra armies. The Chēra king

70 Kurundogai : 73, lines 2-4
71 If Eyinan's identification with the Chēra commander-in-chief is accepted, it follows that the battle of Vāgai was not the first major war of the Chēras against Nannan.
Kaḻangayakkappi Narmudich-Chēral met Nannan in a great battle at Vāgai with a view to regaining the lost territory. The poet Kallādaṇar describes the battle and its results in these terms:

'In the battle at the big port-town of Vāgai, the bejewelled Nannan having perished in the battle field, the great victory of the powerful Kaḻangayakkappi Narmudich-Chēral gave him back his lost nāḍu (i.e. Puli-nāḍu).' 

Thus ended the crowded chapter of Nannan's life. From the many references to this valiant ruler in Saṅgāru literature we gather that, at the zenith of his power, he was the master of Konkapa (i.e. the southern parts of the North Kanara District), Tuluva (i.e. the district of South Kanara), Puli-nāḍu (perhaps a small coastal tract to the immediate south of Tuluva) and even the north-western frontier of the Tamil country. He was

72 Aganāṉṟu: Agam 199, lines 19-23
73 Krishnaswami Aiyangar: The Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 128.
not merely an ambitious conqueror and an oppressor of his enemies, but was munificent in giving away his wealth to the needy.

The date of Nannan is impossible to fix. All that can be ventured at this stage of our knowledge of the history of South India is that Nannan may have lived and ruled sometime in the first three centuries of the Christian era.

74 Sivaraja Pillai creates two Nannan's and assigns Nannan I, the enemy of Palaiyan and Pipyan and the leader of the confederacy of Erri, Atti, Kankan and Katti, to the second, and Nannan II, who, according to him, may have been the grandson of Nannan I and who was killed by the Cheera Narmudich-Chiral, to the fifth generations of Sangam literature. According to Pillai, the second and the fifth generations lasted from 25 B.C. to 1 A.D. and from 50 A.D. to 75 A.D. respectively. But, while the historical gleanings that have been gathered from the works of the Sangam age are indeed genuine, the historical and chronological sequence that has been created for those points of history by various scholars is not, in the least, directly or indirectly, suggested by the works themselves. Pillai (ibid., pp. 16-17) himself says - "... the various poems have been collected and arranged on principles of pure literary form and theme by a late redactor ... . This literary arrangement has distorted the chronology of the works in the most lamentable manner imaginable. The whole mass has been thus rendered unfit for immediate historical handling." In view of this, it is not advisable to assign the numerous kings and chieftains, figuring
The end of the brilliant career of Nannan leaves Tujuva once again in complete historical darkness until we move down to the fifth century A.D., when we again come across an evidence of uncertain nature in the Halmidi Karmada inscription of the Kadamba king Kakustha (c. 430-450 A.D.). In between the death of Nannan and the rise of the early Kadambas, Tujuva may have remained in the possession of Nannan's unknown successors or may have become independent.

In the Sangam works, to any one of the ten generations and then to assign a period of twenty-five years to each generation starting from 50 B.C., as has been done by Pillai, especially when epigraphical and other historical evidence in support of such hypotheses is completely lacking. When the history of the extreme South becomes clear with the appearance of historical inscriptions in about the sixth century A.D., the Sangam age finds no mention indicating thereby that it had by then become old and forgotten. Nannan of Tuju-nādu is found completely ignored in the local legends of Tujuva itself like the Sābyāḍri-kāpṭa and the Gramapaddhati which commence their incoherent historical accounts of the region from the rise of the early Kadambas in the fourth century A.D. In view of all these facts I have confined myself to the uncommitting statement that Nannan, like all the other kings and chieftains who figure in the Tamil works of the Sangam age, appears to have lived and ruled sometime in the first three centuries of the Christian era.
Before entering into a discussion on the Halmidi inscription and its relevance to the history of South Kanara, we may pause to examine two points which may have a bearing on Tuluvu though not on its history.

Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of about the middle of the second century A.D., mentions, among the inland towns of the pirates, Olokhoira. *Khoira* being equal to *khēda*, it has been suggested elsewhere that Ptolemy's Olokhoira is to be identified with *Ājvakhēda*, which is one of the names given to South Kanara district in historical times. The earliest epigraphical reference to this region as *Ājvakhēda* occurs in an inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūta emperor Prabhūtavarsha Govinda III (A.D. 792-814) from Māvali, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga district, Mysore State, wherein it is referred to as a six thousand division. If this identification of Ptolemy's Olokhoira with *Ājvakhēda* is accepted, and the identification is no doubt convincing, it becomes a matter of interest that *Ālva=Āluva=Ālupa* as the name of a country or a people or a dynasty existed even as early as the middle of the second century A.D.

The records of the Śatavāhanas, who succeeded to the south-western possessions of the Mauryan empire do not make
any direct references to Tujuva. In the Nasik cave inscription of their most powerful monarch Gautamiputra Sātakarpi, who held sway over an extensive empire in the first quarter of the second century A.D., a claim is made in a conventional rather than historical vein, that he ruled over even the Sahya and Malaya mountains. It is, however, not known if Sahya in this instance was meant to include the Tuju country too.

The middle of the fourth century A.D. saw the advent of Mayūrasarma (or Ēvarama) as the ruler of the Kadamba-mandala. No historical evidence has come down to us which categorically proves that the Tuju country was, at any time during the existence of the early Kadambas as a ruling power, from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century A.D., under Kadamba suzerainty. Though the Chandravallī Prākrit inscription of Mayūravarmanma does not include the Tuju country in the long list of his conquests, local traditions of the Brahmins and the Jains of South Kanara assert that Mayūravarmanma was one of the earliest rulers of Tujuva. Buchanan, who has recorded this tradition, quotes the Jains as holding that Mayūravarmanma lived at Bārakūru and governed all Tujuva without any superior. Though the dates given by these traditional accounts for this Kadamba ruler as well as for other kings whom they remember are no more historical than the creation of the Western Coastal tract by

79 ARMAD., 1929, p. 50.
Parasurama, Mayuravarman's association with Tuluvu as its ruler may be considered a historical fact. The possible connection between the Kadambas and Tuluvas, indicated in the Balmiji inscription, lends support to this suggestion. The silence of the Chandraveli inscription in this regard may be either because the conquest of Tuluvu was not considered to be as important an achievement as the other ones or because Tuluvu was conquered at a date subsequent to the writing of the inscription itself. The claim that Mayuravarman lived at it and ruled from Pārakur may merely mean that his representative in Tuluvu had his headquarters at that port-city.

The claim which a later tradition, as narrated, for instance, in a Tāḷāgunda inscription of Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāla II (1173-1220 A.D.), makes for the mythological hero Mukṛa or Trilochana Kadamba that he induced thirty-two Brāhmapa families from Ahichchhatra-agrahāra in the north to move down to the south and established them in the great agrahāra of Sthūpaṇḍha (i.e. modern Tāḷāgunda, the find-spot of the inscription) is made for Mayuravarman himself with reference to Tuluvu in the Sahyadri-kapāḍa which says

Mayūra-rāma utipatir-ilēmāṅgaṇa-kusārakah

81 ARMAD, 1936, pp. 72 ff. and plate.
83 Sahyadri-Kapūḍa (ed. by J. Gerson Da Cunha, Bombay, 1877), Chapter 6, verses 2-4.
84 Hēmāṅgada does not appear in any historical document
Ahikabātra-āthiṭān viprān-āgataṁ dvija-puṁsavan ।
sa-putra-paṇtṛa-sahitān sampūṣya vīvidhān-prīpāḥ ।
prasaṇāyitvā tān viprān dhana-satkhāra-bhūjanaiḥ ।
agrabhārāḥ-chakār-āsaṁ dvātrīṃśad-grāma-bhūdataḥ ।
tatra tatra dvija-varān sthāpayāmśa bhūmapatiḥ ।

These stanzas proclaim that Mayūra, son of Hēmāṅgada, worshipped
the many Brāhmaṇas who had come from Ahikṣētra with their sons
and grandsons, and after pleasing them with gifts of wealth etc.,
created thirtytwo agrahāras in as many villages and settled them.
The Sāhyādī-kāṇḍa continues to say that in course of time
Mayūravarman, seeing the whole world in the grip of Kāli, placed
his kingdom in the care of his ministers and went away for doing
tapas tapas, after nominating his infant son Chandragānda as his
successor. The import of the Brāhmaṇas into the south from Ahi-
chchhētra, Hēmāṅgada and Chandragānda being the father and son
respectively of Mayūravarman and the Kadamba monarch's abdication
of his hard-earned throne are all points which stand unsupported
by early historical evidence, and, therefore, deserve to be dis-
missed as conceptions of a later period. The association of Mayūra-
varman with Tuluva may at best be extended to mean that he and the
other historical personages who succeeded him and each other
in the early Kadamba line were, to an unknown extent, masters of
the Tulu country.

and hence is obviously a fictitious name. Lewis Rice (Mysore and
Coorg from the inscriptions, p. 25) makes one Chandravarman II the
father of Mayūravarman. Neither does this name deserve to be
considered as historical.
It is in this context that the Halmiḍi Kannāḍa inscription of Kākusthavarmma (430-450 A.D.), the great-grandson of Māyūra-varmma, gains in importance for, if the interpretation of its contents made by the Mysore Archaeological Department are to be accepted, it becomes apparent that the king of the Aḷapa-gaṇa = Aḷupas, Pasupati by name, was a feudatory of the Kadamba king. The find-spot of the inscription, Halmiḍi, is a village about seven miles north-north-west of Belūr close to the boundary line of the Belur and Chikmagalur Taluks, the western boundaries of both of which run in common with a part of the eastern boundary of the South Kanara district.

The contents, in brief, of the Halmiḍi record, which is incidentally, the earliest Kannāḍa inscription so far discovered, are as follows: During the reign of king Kākustha, Mrgēśa and Māga,(the governors ?) of Naridavil-e-nāṭu, made a grant for military service, of the villages Palmaḍi and Mūlivallī, to Vīja Arasa of Sālbāṅga, the beloved son of Ella Bhāṭari who, in the presence of the heroic men of the Sēndraka and Sāṇa countries, fought the Kēkayas and Pallavas, pierced them and (thus) raced to victory at the word of Pasupati, who was like a Pasupati to the Aḷapa-gaṇa, who was the moon to the spotless firmament called Bhāṭarikula and who was full of heroism and action in slaying his enemies in their hundreds in the many battle-fields of Dakshipāṭa.

85 ARMAD., 1936, pp. 72 ff. and plate.
86 This is an extract of contents of the record as given, in the pages of the Annual Report referred to above. The inscription is much worn out and not all the readings given in the Annual.
It has been suggested that Alapa is the same as Alupa, the name of the dynasty which ruled over the greater part of South Kanara at least from the middle of the seventh century, and that Pasupati, the chief of the Alapa-gapa, was the then ruler of the country of the Alupas. As a dynastic name it occurs most often as Alupa, sometimes as Allua and twice, in the Aihole inscription of the Pulakesin II and the Mārūṭūru grant of the 7th century as Alluka. But in the Halmidi inscription we find the two most persistent vowels in the dynastic name, initial A and medial u both changed to A. This, however, should not be a serious impediment to the equation of Alapa to Alupa because the very etymology of the term Alupa is still a matter of controversy.

The Halmidi record eulogises Pasupati as Bhāṣarikulāmala-
vyōma-tar-edhīnāthan i.e. 'the moon in the spotless firmament of the Bhāṣari-kula'. This epithet would make Pasupati a member of the Bhāṣari family, a name which is not applied to the Alupas by any other source. If Pasupati is to be accepted as an Alupa king, it will have to be conceded that, by the time the Alupas again enter into historical limelight in the middle of the seventh century, their connection with the Bhāṣari-kula had come to be forgotten.

Ella-Bhāṣari and his son Vija Arasa were probably related

Report (p. 78) are convincing, especially in the case of the first few and the last few lines. Any improvements in the readings, however, will not change the contents, as given in the Report, to any considerable degree.

87 AMIAD., 1936, p. 79.
88 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII.
89 Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series, No.6.
in some way to Pasupati as is evidenced by the term Bhajari appended to the father's name. Vija Arasa is described in the record as belonging to Salbanga which has been identified with a village of that name situated to the north of Shimoga. It will be shown in the next Chapter that parts of the Shimoga district fell within the territorial possessions of the early Āḷupas. The association of Vija Arasa with Salbanga and the association of Pasupati, the chief of Āḷapa-gapa, with the Bhajari-kula thus lend support to some extent for the equation of Āḷpa to Āḷupa.

The Sēndraka country probably included the western part of the Shimoga district and also portions of North Kanara and was thus adjacent to South Kanara. Naridāvīḷe-nāgu and the other places mentioned in the inscription, namely Palmāḍi (s.a. Halmaḍi, the find-spot of the inscription), Mūlivāḷḷi, etc. were all situated in the Hassan district which neighbours on the district of South Kanara. It will be shown in the next Chapter that the early Āḷupas, i.e., Āḷuvāraśa I and his successors, occupied positions of importance outside the Tuluva under the imperial houses of Vatāpi and Mānayakhaṇḍa even as Pasupati did under the Kadarabas of Banavasi. The geographical proximity of the place named to South Kanara and the historical analogy of the careers of Pasupati and the early Āḷupas strengthen the identification of Pasupati as an Āḷupa ruler.

It may, however, be argued that the name Pasupati is not found given to any other Āḷupa king in the long history of that dynasty. This objection is effectively countered by the fact that

90 ARMAD., 1936, p. 81.
91 Ibid., p. 79.
names such as Rapasāgara, Chitravāhana and Prīthivīsāgara, given to the early Ājupa rulers do not at all repeat themselves in the later history of this dynasty.

The religion of the early Ājupas was Śaivism and their inscriptions clearly show that the early rulers did much to maintain and improve the Śaṁbhukallu temple in their capital Udayapura. In this light also, Pasupati as the name of an Ājupa ruler sounds convincing.

An inscription in Sanskrit, palaeographically assignable to the period of Kadaśa Kākusthavarmma, from Tāḷagunda itself, speaks of a Pasupati, his gifts and his prowess in battles in the South. This inscription also refers to one Kākustha, an ornament to the Bhaṭari-vaṁśa, as the son of Lakshmī, a Kadaśa princess. Since the inscription is fragmentary, it is not possible to state definitely the relationship that subsisted between Pasupati on the one hand and Kākustha-Bhaṭari and his mother Lakshmī on the other. From the sequence of occurrence of the names in the available text of the inscription it may, however, be suggested that Pasupati, in all probability, was the husband of Lakshmī and father of Kākustha. The provenance and palaeography of the inscription as well as the reference to the Bhaṭarivāṁśa render the identification of the Pasupati of this record with his namesake in the Halmiḍi inscription a great possibility.

92 ARMAD., 1911, p. 33 and plate.
93 Ibid., 1936, p. 78.
Another inscription from Tajagunda, of the time of Kakusthavarmma and his son Santivarmma, states that the former caused the expansion of the royal families of the Guptas and others by means of his daughters. In view of this, it has been suggested that Pasupati was one of the rulers to whom Kakusthavarmma gave away one of his daughters, Laksmi, in marriage. If this view is accepted, it will not be the only instance of a feudatory Alupa ruler contracting matrimonial alliance with the house of his suzerain for, as is revealed by the Shiggaon plates of Chalukya Vijayaditya (696-733/4 A.D.), the queen of Chitravahara, an early Alupa king, was Kumkumadevi, the sister of the emperor Vijayaditya.

Thus, if Pasupati is taken for an Alupa king, the Tajagunda inscription would give us the name of his son, and, perhaps, successor i.e. Kakubha-Bhajari. The Tajagunda record eulogises Kakubha-Bhajari in glowing terms. He was the receiver of blessings from brahmanas who had been liberally rewarded by him in numerous sacrifices; he became the leader of ten mandalikas with control over the customs duties and also the chief among the wise (dasa-mandalikesu navakatvam saha sulkaena cha boddhina-svapya). This inscription further states that Kakubha-Bhajari pleased his master (svamin), the king (kshitina), by his modesty and also by the additions he made to

94 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 33, line 12 and 36, verse 31. The editor ascribes this important record to the reign of Kakusthavarman.
For a paper which proves this inscription to have belonged to the times of Kakusthavarman as well as his son Santivarman, see Journal of Indian History (Trivandrum), Vol. XXII, pp. 161 ff.
95 AHMAD., 1936, p. 78.
the royal treasury. The king who is thus referred to as the master of Kakustha Bhaṭari undoubtedly belonged to the Kadamba house and was either Kakusthavarmma himself or his immediate successor Śrīti- varmma (450-475 A.D.)

In the second half of the sixth century, Kadamba supremacy in the Deccan was irretrievably broken by the might of the Badamī Chālukya ruler Kīrttivarman I (566/7-597/8 A.D.). From then onwards, though the Kadambas continued their lingering existence till the middle of the seventh century, they had become feudatories of the Chālukyas and were shorn of all their imperial possessions.

We do not know for how long Kadamba rule over the Tuḷu country, established by Mayūravarmma and spoken of in the Sāhvadṛi-kaṇḍa and maintained by Kākusthavarmma as suggested by our understanding of the Halmiji and Tāḷagunda inscriptions, continued after the reign of the latter Kadamba king. We do know this much that the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēṣa, while claiming that Kīrttivarman conquered Vaijayantī (i.e. Banavasi, the capital city of the Kadambas), also claims that he subdued the Āḷuka (i.e. the Āḷupa king of South Kanara) implying that Tuḷuva was at that time under the sway of the Āḷupas. This takes us to the next Chapter which deals with the history of the Early Āḷupas.

Before turning our attention to the early Āḷupas it may be well to assemble hereunder the few names which have been shown above to be associated with the Tuḷu country.

San gam Age (First three centuries of the Christian era):
Kōsar (a tribe which inhabited the Tuḷu country)

Nannāṅ (a ruler of Koṅkapa, i.e. the southern parts of North Kanara, who occupied Tuḷuva, probably after driving out the Kōsar.)

Kadamba dynasty

Mayūrasvarma (345-370 A.D.)

Kākusthavarma (430-450 A.D.)

\[ \text{Alapa} = \text{Āḷupa} \]

Lakṣmī - married to . . . . . . Pasupati

Kūkastha-Bhaṭārī

Ella-Bhaṭārī and Vija-Araṣa who are mentioned in the Halmidi inscription appear to have been related in some way to the Alapa = Āḷupa house in view of the family name Bhaṭārī with which both Pasupati and Ella are associated.