CHAPTER VI

THE MUTTONARAIYARS
The portions of the modern Thanjavur and
Tiruchirappalli districts adjoining the River
Kāvēri on the southern side was ruled by a line
of chieftains known as Muttaraiyars. (Map. 2).

1 Sandalai, a small village near Tirukkuṟṟaippalli
and Niyyanam have been attributed as the centres
of their activity. They figure mostly as feudatories
of the Pāḷḷavas and probably of Pāṇḍyanas also for
some time.

The origin of the Muttaraiyar is a matter
of controversy. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, who first
edited the Sandalai Pillar inscription, suggested
that they were of Pāṇḍyan descent. His arguments
that the Pāṇḍyan titles Maran, Madumaran and Srimaran
were connected with some of the known kings of the
line, seem to lend support to this view. Even
if they did not belong to the original Pāṇḍyan stock,
there is no doubt as to their being a branch of them.

1. The village was known as Chandralekha Chaturvēdī-
mangalam in Arkkattu Kurram in 9th century A.D.
3. Ibid.
After K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, this view was abandoned. Recent scholars strongly advocate, that the Muttaraiyars were a branch of the Kalabhras, who after their defeat in the hands of the Pandyam monarch sought their fortune in the Kaveri region and assumed the title Muttaraiyar. S. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.S. Govinda- samy, M. Rajamanickam, and K.G. Krishnan accept Kalabhra descent. The title 'Kalvar Kavalam' assumed by Suvaram Maran may in all probability can be transcribed as Kalavar, Kalavra or Kalabhra, the titles assumed by the Kalabhras. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar does not agree with this identification. According to him, the Kalabhras were northerners, who invaded the Tamil country and hence it is not reasonable to identify them with Muttaraiyars.

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and M. Venkataramanavva identify with the Pallava princes. But this view is quite improbable.

10. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, Pandyar Varalavu, p.32.
There is no evidence to substantiate that the Muttaraiyars were of Pandya descent, except the title 'Muran'. That the Muttaraiyars were a branch of Kalabhras is more probable. The origin of the Kalabhras itself is shrouded in mystery. They were considered to be the inhabitants of South India, probably belonging to the north western parts of Tondalmandalam. The Sangam literature does not refer to the Kalabhras. The Periyapuranam and Kalladam refer to a Karnataka king who conquered the Pandya country. The term 'Muttaraiyar' has been explained as (a) the lord of the land of pearls; (Muttu = pearl + araiyar = king) and (b) the victor of three kingdoms. (Mn = three + tharaivar = lands).

Hence the identification of the Muttaraiyars as a branch of Kalabhras is more plausible.

The Muttaraiyars, it is stated, belonged to the race of the Naças who inhabited the Northern Tamil districts which constituted the ancient Pallava territory or Tondalmandalam. When the Pallava power was at its zenith, in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., their conquests

13. R. Gopalan, Pallavas of Kanchi, Introm., p. xxiii;
   M. Rajamalickam, Pallavar Valkāru, p. 32.
15. M. S. Raghava Iyengar, Studies in Jainism, pp. 53-55;
extended to the south as far as Trichchirappalli and it must have been then the Kallan and Muttaraiyar sections of the great Pallava or Malla tribe migrated to the Chola country. This view cannot be upheld as there is no tangible evidence to show that the Muttaraiyars were descendants of Vasa race.

The records of the Muttaraiyar are clustered in and around Sendalai, very near to the important Chola capital, Tanjavur. It has been believed that the Muttaraiyars were the feudatories of the Pallavas. The inscriptions in these places mention Pallavas as their overlords. Therefore at one stage it is definite, that they were under the Pallava hegemony. Probably the Muttaraiyars became a feudatory of the Pallavas after the capture of the Kaveri region by Mahendravarma I and Narasimhavarma, in the 7th century A.D. It is evident, from the days of Nandivarma II, that the Muttaraiyars were closely connected to the Pallava kings. One Kadaka Muttaraiyar figures as an important person and took active part in the coronation of Nandivarma II. About their early history the records are silent. The suffix 'Maran' alone

17. I.H. Vol. VIII, p.75.
18. CMS. Vol. 44, p.41.
is our source in this respect. This may be taken to represent their past association with the Pandyas. So it is probable that the Muttaraiyars began their political career as the feudatories of the Pandyas and later were overpowered by the forces of the Pallavas. Whether they acquired independence in course of time is a debatable question, for which we have no definite evidence at present.

Mention is made of Perumuttaraiyar in the two stanzas of Kaladiyar. The Perumuttaraiyar has been identified with the Muttaraiyar chieftain Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar II alias Suvaran Varan. The commentators of the Kaladiyar take the word 'Perumuttaraiyar' to mean 'a king whose territories included parts of the three ancient kingdom of the Tamil country (i.e.) the Chera, the Chola and the Pandya countries.' Various dates have been assigned to Kaladiyar. But generally accepted date is the 8th century A.D. It is suggested that the Kaladiyar was composed during the rule of

19. vv. 200, 296.
22. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, Tamil Ilakkiya Varalarn (200-600 A.D.), p.73.
Perumbidugu Muttaraiyavan Suvaran Maran. But this suggestion can not be substantiated as there is no direct reference to Suvaran Maran in the Maladivar. Moreover the composers of Maladivar were said to have Jain and it is not known Suvaran Maran was a Jain. The Muttaraiyars never rose to a high position, as the Pallavas and Paudvas were very powerful. Hence the Perumuttaraiyar mentioned in Maladivar would mean the lords of three countries (i.e.) the Chera, Chola and Pandya rulers.

Their territory was known as Muttaraiyarnadu.

This is mentioned in a single record of Uripatungavarman (C.896), wherein it is stated that Vila-nadu containing Kurur, (in Lalgudi taluk) was the western division (Kurur) of Muttaraiyar nadu. The area around Tanjaver formed the eastern division. Vela-paluvur and Nairthamalai formed the northern and southern boundaries of the Muttaraiyarnadu. The Muttaraiyar rulers assumed the titles Tanilakkon and Vallakkon meaning that they were the lords of Tanjapur and Vallah, respectively.

---

From the Sandalai pillar inscription it is clear that the Muttaraiyars were ruling portions of Tiruchchirapalli and Tanjaur districts. Most of their records are found in the Tanjaur district and the former Pudukkottai State (now in Tiruchchirapalli district). The village Muttarasannallur (8 miles from Tiruchchirapalli) may refer to the occupation of the Muttaraiyars in this region. There is also a class of people who call themselves 'Muttarasans', perhaps the only remnant of this ancient people.

A literary work called *Tamil Muttaraiyarkoval* is mentioned in the *Yapparungalavirutti*, a Tamil work on grammar, composed by Amitasagara, a Jain ascetic. No details are known about the author of this work or in whose reign it was composed.

Perumbiduge Muttaraiyar I alias Kuvavan Maran (700-710 A.D.)

The Sandalai pillar inscription gives the history of the Muttaraiyars for three generations.

Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar alias Kuvavan Maran, the earliest known member of this dynasty figures in this inscription. He was the grandfather of Suvaran Maran, the grantor of the inscription. Though this record is undated, from the contents it can be surmised that Suvaran Maran was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Vijayalava is said to have conquered Tanjapuri from the Muttaraiya chieftain. But in the Sendalai record, Suvaran Maran calls himself as 'Lord of Tanjai' and 'Lord of Vallam'. Evidently the Muttaraiyars had control over Tanjai and Vallam in the record was engraved. Therefore Suvaran Maran should have belonged to a period earlier than Vijayalava. On palaeographical grounds this record has been assigned to the middle of the 8th century A.D. Suvaran Maran claims victory over Kodumbalur. He would have assisted his Pallava overlord Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. Suvaran Maran and his predecessors had Pallava titles such as Vidyalidvan, Perumbidugu and Marappidugu. But no overlord of Suvaran Maran is mentioned in the Sendalai record, which vividly describes the exploits of Suvaran Maran. His conquests as detailed

30. ILA Vol. XIII, No.10, Inscription C.
in the record corroborate with the records of Pallava Wandivaram II and Pandyva Varaguna I. By working backwards, the first member of the dynasty, could have been a contemporary of Paramesvara Varmann I. The title 'Perumbiduran' is most probably to denote the subordinate position under the Pallava king.

On the basis of the prefix 'Kuvavan' it has been suggested that Kuvavan was the father of both Kuvavan Maran of Sendalai pillar inscription and Kuvavan Sattan of Pudukkottai inscription. As Kuvavan Sattan belonged to the 9th century A.D., the identification of his father with Kuvavan Maran of 7th century is baseless. The Sendalai Pillar inscription does not mention Kuvavan Sattan as the brother of Kuvavan Maran or Kuvavan as his father.

Ilangoctiyaraivan alias Maran Paramosvaran.

Kuvavan Maran was succeeded by his son Ilangoctiyaraivan alias Maran Paramesvaran. His Pallava overlord was Varasimhavarman II. Sampudi or Sattan-Pudi alias

32. N. Vol. XIII, No. 10.
33. P. S. No. 18.
34. N. Vol. XIII, p. 139.
Ilango-adigalar, the builder of the Vijayalaya Cholissuram in Thiruttanai has been wrongly identified with this chief. Other scholars are of the view that Sattan-pudi was a subordinate of Maran Paramesvaran. Both these views cannot be accepted. Vijayalaya Cholissuram was built by a later member of the dynasty. Had it been built during the time of Maran Paramesvaran, it would have been mentioned in the records. The evidences at our disposal clearly indicate that Maran Paramesvaran never had a surname Sempudi or Sattan-pudi. Nothing more than that Maran Paramesvaran was the father of Suvaran Maran and son of Kuvavan Sattan is known from the records.

Perumbidugai Muduraraiyar II alias Suvaran Maran.

Suvaran Maran, son of Maran Paramesvaran was an important ruler of the dynasty. He has been identified with Kadaka Muduraraiyar, one of the chieftains who was present when Nandivarman II entered into the city of Kanchipuram.

86. *MGR. No.266 of 1940-41*.
The exploits mentioned in the Sendalai pillar inscription can be attributed to his Pallava overlord Wandivaram II, and Suvaran Maran would have assisted in these encounters. The court poets of Suvaran Maran composed most of the poems of the Sendalai record. Pallava Wandivaram II had to face the Pandya ruler Jatila Parentaka alias Varaguna I. Many battles were fought and Suvaran Maran has been bestowed with a number of victories. The conquests of Kodumbalur, Venalur, Tingalur, Kundalur, Alundiyur, Karai, Marangur, Annayyil, Sengonmari, Venkoadal, Pugali and Kannamur are mentioned. The chronology of the battles is difficult to fix up. The victory of Suvaran Maran in a number of battles associated with his overlord, has been doubted. It is also probable that, the court poets of Suvaran Maran combined the victories of his predecessors as his own victories.

Suvaran Maran had many titles, Satrukasari, Kalvar Kavalan, Abhimanyadhira, Sarumaran, Velmaran, Venmaran and Sattan Maran. Satrubhayankara Muttaraiyar 44 of Gavlipperi inscription and Amurari alias Pudi Kalai 45

41. EI. Vol. XIII, p. 117.
42. TI. No.236.
43. TI. Vol. XIII, p.139.
44. TI. Vol.XIV, No.71; ARN. No.421 of 1906.
45. ARN. No.142 of 1907.
have been identified with Suvaran Maran. In the
Sevillipperi inscription the wife of Satrubhayankara
Muttaraiyar has been donating a lamp to the temple in
the 1st regnal year of Sadaiva Maran. As Suvaran Maran
figures as a Pallava feudatory at this period, the
identification of Satrubhayankara Muttaraiyar of
Sevillipperi inscription, with Suvaran Maran may
not hold good. Moreover the Pandya contemporary of
Mandivarmann Pallavamalla and Suvaran Maran was Jatila
Parentake alias Varaguna I, a Maranjadaiyan. Hence
identification of Satrubhayankara Muttaraiyan with
Suvaran Maran is baseless.

47

A Tirumavvyan inscription refers to a
Perumbidungup-Perundevi, the mother of Videlividugu-
Vilupperadivaraiyan alias Sattam Maran. She has been
identified with a wife of certain Videlividugu, a
contemporary of Vikramakesari Perumbidugu was a title
borne by Mandivarmann II Pallavamalla, and his subordinate,
Suvaran Maran also assumed the title. In all likelihood
the name suggests that she was the queen (Perundevi) of
Perumbidugu, Muttaraiyan, Suvaran Maran. She had.

47. WPS. No.198.
48. He has been assigned a date earlier than Kuvavan
Sattam, the first member of the dynasty (Damlissa,
repaired the Vishnu temple at Tirumayyam and granted a village for the upkeep of the temple.

The Pidari temple at Viyamam was probably constructed by Suvaran Maran in the later half of the 9th century A.D. Though no trace of it is found at present, the four pillars of the Pidari temple at Viyamam are found in the Sundaresvara temple at Sendalai.

Videlvidugu Vilupperadi-Araiyan alias Sattan Maran

Videlvidugu Vilupperadi-araivan alias Sattan Maran succeeded Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan II alias Suvaran Maran. He figures as a feudatory of Mandivaran II. But the Pallava sustained a great defeat in the hands of Pandya Vedunjadaiyan Jatila Parentaka alias Varaguna I Malias Maranjadaiyan about 767 A.D. at Perumagam. The Kaveri region came under the control of Maranjadaiyan and consequently the Muttaraiyan chieftain had to submit to the Pandya monarch. This is how the Muttaraiyar became the subordinates of the Pandyas for a short while.

60. IPR, vo.13.
51. EI. Vol. XIII, p.139.
The relative position in the Pallava country also helped Muttaraiyars to join with the Pandyas. Nandivarman II was fully engaged in bitter battles against the Ganges and the Rashtrakutas. Hence we find a servant of Videlvidugu Muttaraiyar figuring as the donor in the Pidari temple at Niyaamam in the 10th regnal year of Maranjadaiyan Varaguna I probably indicating the subordinate position. Most probably the Pidari temple was the one, built by Suvaran Maran, also mentioned in the Sendalai pillar inscription.

Marappidugu (600-610 A.D.)

In a 6th year inscription of Dandivarman from Kunmandar koil, a servant of Marappiduvanar alias Peradiaraiyan is said to have dug a tank called Yali-eri. Another inscription from Tiruvellalai refers to one Kamban Araiyan of Alambakkam who excavated a well and named it as Marappidugu Perunginara. Another inscription from Manipakkan refers to a big tank 'Marappidugu eri'. Marappidugu was the title borne by Dandivarman.

54. Mad. No. 18 of 1889.
57. Mad. Vol. XII, No. 222.
This Marappidugu arth of Alambakkam and the Marappidugu Perumalinar of Tiruvellalar probably co-existed and named after the same person, Marappiduvanar alias Peradiaraiyan.

This Marappiduvanar has been identified as the successor of Sattan Paliyilli. This is based on wrong chronological conception. In an inscription of Pallava Upatunga dated in his 7th regnal year (866 A.D.) a daughter of Sattan Paliyilli has been referred to.

Therefore it is certain that Sattan Paliyilli was a contemporary of Upatunga and probably of Vandivaran III also. It is improbable to attribute Marappidugu who ruled till the 16th year of Vandivaran a date in the reign of Upatunga. Marappiduvanar alias Peradiaraiyan must be assigned a place earlier than that of Sattan Paliyilli. He must have started his career from the last years of Vandivaran III.

Kaduvetti Muttaraiva mentioned in an inscription of Vandivaran has been identified with Kaduvetti Muttarasa who raided Kovattur during the reign of the Bana king Vijayaditya Virachulamani.

60. IP3. No.19.
61. SII. Vol. VII, No.44; ARE. No.89 of 1921.
62. ARE. No. 542 of 1906.
Vijayaditya Virachulamani belonged to the last quarter of the 9th century. The Kaduvetti Muttarasa, who raided Koyattur was a Wolaamba general and it is impossible to identify this chief with a loyal feudatory of the Pallavas. The Muttaraiyar of the present inscription ruled some time about 846 A.D. Probably this Kaduvetti Muttaraiyar be a relative of the Muttaraiya chieftain who served as an officer under Dantivarman.

Kuvavan Sattan

The rule of Marappidugu Muttaraiyar probably came to an end before the 16th year of Dantivarman (812 A.D.) One Videlvidugu Muttaraiyar alias Kuvavan Sattan figures in that year in an inscription of Dantivarman. This Videlvidugu Muttaraiyar has been identified with the Videlvidugu Muttaraiyar who figures in 10th year inscription of Maranjadaiyan. The 10th year of Maranjadaiyan, whether it is Varaguna I (775 A.D.) or Varaguna II (872 A.D.) did not coincide with the reign of Videlvidugu Muttaraiyar.

64. IPRA, No.18.
65. M.S. Govindasamy, op. cit., p.45.
66. REE, No.10 of 1898.
Kuvavan Sattan. Therefore the Videlvidugu Muttaraiyar who figures in the record of Maranjadaiyan was an earlier king who can be same as Videlvidugu Vilupperadi- araiyan, son of Suvaran Maran.

The identification of Kuvavan Sattan as a brother of Kuvavan Maran, the earliest known member of the Muttaraiya family, has already been rejected. He is said to have scooped out Tiruvellaraimalai into a temple and consecrated Bhatara in it. This is as same as the Siva temple of Maleyalipatti. Kuvavan Sattan had two sons and a daughter. They were Sattan Pudi, Sattan Paliyili and Sattan Kali respectively.

Sattan Pudi

Most probably Sattan Pudi ruled as a feudatory of the Pandya king. Dantivarman’s inscriptions are not found anywhere from his 21st to 49th regnal years. Probably Pandya Jatila Parantaka and his son Brimara Srivallabha conquered the Kaveri region from the Pallavas. Hence, the Muttaraiyars must have changed their allegiance to the Pandyan. Sattan Pudi was also known

68. I.P.R. No.18.
as Sempudi and Ilangovadiraivan. He is said to have been the builder of the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram temple at Wartamalai. The temple built by Sattan pudi was ruined by heavy rains and repaired by Mallan Viduman during the reign of Vijayalaya after the conquest of the Muttaraiyars. Hence the temple came to be known as Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.

Amarunri Muttaraivan alias Pudi Kalari who excavated the Pushpavanesvara temple at Puyalaikkudi in the Tirumayyam taluk may be identical with Sattan pudi. Pudi Kalari must have been his name and Amarunri, his title. He has been identified with Maran Paramesvaran and Suvaran Maran. He is again identified with a predecessor of Kuvavan Maran. These identifications with earlier members of the dynasty are baseless. A certain Amarunrimangalam is mentioned in an inscription of Nandivarman III dated in his 17th regnal year (863 A.D.) This strengthens

70. AKE. No.216 of 1940-41. The identification of, Sempudi or Sattan Pudi with Maran Paramesvaran or with his subordinate has already been refuted. MPRA P. 1.
71. AKE. No.216 of 1940-41.
72. AKE. No.142 of 1907.
74. Ibid. p.1284.
75. B. Govindasamy, cit., p.66.
the fact that Amarunri Wuttaraiyar ruled during the period of Wandivaran III. Dantivarman freed himself from the clutches of his enemies. His inscriptions are dated in his 49th year to 51st year. Perhaps Sattan Pudi alias Amarunri Wuttaraiyan ruled as a feudatory of Wandivaran III assuming his overlord's title Amarunri.

Varamnattti, daughter of a certain Wuttaraiyar and queen of Sambivan Irukkuvelar has been referred to in a 6th year record of a Parakesari. This Parakesari has been identified with Vijayalaya and by others with Uttamachola. The former identification is more tenable. We do not come across any Wuttaraiya chief during the time of Uttamachola. The Wuttaraiya mentioned as the father of Varamnattti in the record of Parakesari probably identical with Videlvindugu Wuttaraiyar, father of Sattan Paliyili, Sattan Pudi and Sattan Kali.

The Wuttaraiya princess Varamnattti is identical with Varauna, wife of Bhuti Vikramakesari. alias Tannavan Ilangoelar alias Maraven pudi who figures in a record of Wandivaran III. Sambivan Irukkuvel, perhaps, was another name of Vikramakesari.

Hence Varaguna, the wife of Bhuti Vikramakesari of the Muvarkoyil record and Varagunatti, the wife of Sembiyyan Irukkuvel are identical. Sattan Kali, the daughter of Videlvidugu Muttaraiyar is as stated in an inscription of Maranjadaiyan (Varaguna II, C. 873 A.D.) dated in his 11th regnal year, to have made a gift for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Ayirattali Mahadeva at Viyamam.

Sattan Paliyili.

Sattan Pudi was succeeded by his younger brother Sattan Paliyili. He is mentioned in the 7th year (866 A.D.) inscription of Pallava Wrpatunga. He is said to have excavated the cave temple at Warittamalai. Sattan Paliyili must have ruled as a feudatory of Vandivarman III and Wrpatunga and Pandya Srimara Srivallabha. It is strange that the record does not attribute any Pallava titles to Sattan Paliyili. The Pallavas and the Pandyas were waging relentless wars and when the latter defeated the former the Muttaraiyar chiefs would have been instigated to follow the Pandyas.

82. AMR. No. 318 of 1960-61.
83. WR. No. 19; AMR. No. 365 of 1906; XII. Vol. XII, No. 69.
Vijayalaya captured Tanjapuri (Tanjavur) defeating the Muttaraiya chieftain by about 850 A.D. Though none of the records name who that Muttaraiya chieftain was, it can be surmised that Sattan Paliyilli, who lost Tanjavur to Vijayalaya. The Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola, and the Leiden plates of Rajaraja I corroborate that the conquest of Vijayalaya, whereas the Kanyakumari inscription of Virarajendra states that after defeating the Muttaraiya chief, Vijayalaya constructed the new city of Tanjapuri. It is evident from the Sundalai pillar inscription that the Muttaraiya chief assumed the title 'Tanjaikkon' and there is no doubt to the existence of the city of Tanjavur about 8th century A.D. And the title assumed by Vijayalaya 'Tanjaikkondakoppakkaar' is an additional proof that Vijayalaya captured the city of Tanjavur probably from the Muttaraiyar. Though Sattan Paliyilli was defeated and lost Tanjavur to Vijayalaya, probably he confined himself to the Varthanmalai region. Vijayalaya must have been concentrating his forces for further action and so he did not trouble the Muttaraiyars any more. More over, the Muttaraiyars figure as the

84. PL. Vol. Xv, No.15.
85. PL. Vol. xxii, No.34, p.218.
86. PL. Vol. VIII, No.4, TAR. Vol. III, No.34.
87. PL. Vol. XIII, No.10.
88. ARK. No.51 of 1936.
feudatories of the Pallavas, the overlord of Vijayalaya. Varagunattti, a Muttaraiya princess figures as the donor in an inscription of Parakasar identified with Vijayalaya. Hence Vijayalaya did not continue the aggressive policy towards the Muttaraiyars after the capture of Tanjapuri.

The cave temple excavated by Sattan Paliyilli at Warttamalai was called Paliyilli Isvaram after him. His daughter Paliyilli Chirivanangai, wife of Minivan Tamiladi-araiyan alias Pellan Anantan enlarged the rock-cut Siva temple excavated by her father, Sattan Paliyilli by adding a mukhamandapa, a balicita, a rishabha and a rishabha mandapa. She also made provisions for worship and offerings to the god of the Paliyilli Isvaram. This Warttamalai inscription is dated in the 7th regnal year of Wrpatunga (866 A.D.) and probably the territory of the Muttaraiyars again came under the control of the Pallavas. After the death of Sattan Paliyilli, their region came under the control of the Pallavas and the Cholas. After the defeat of Sattan Paliyilli at the hands of Vijayalaya, no connected history of the Muttaraiyars is available. Only with

90. XIII. Vol. XII, No.63.
91. Ibid.
92. It is wrongly read in IPR. 19 that a son of Sattan Paliyilli extended the temple and his daughter made provisions for worship and offerings.
the meagre available records, the history of the Muttaraiyars is woven.

Ilango Muttaraiyar (872 - 910 A.D.)

Besides the chieftains mentioned above, Ilango Muttaraiyar, another chief of this dynasty probably ruled independently and issued records dated in his own reignal years. His inscriptions are found in Tiruchchawam-puri, Tirumakkudal, Sendalai and Kiranur. He has been identified with Suvaran Maran, the son of Ilango Muttaraiyan alias Maran Paramasivaran as the name Ilango Muttaraiyan would mean Muttaraiyar, son of Ilango. But this identification is not tenable as a Sendalai inscription of Ilango Muttaraiyar dated in his own reignal year (18th year) which mentions a gift to the Pidarkoil at Viyamam, does not state that the temple was constructed by Suvaran Maran. Palaeographically the records of Ilango Muttaraiyar do not belong to the time of Suvaran Maran. Some scholars identify him with Kuvavan Sathan who excavated the Siva temple at Malaiyadippatti. But none of the records of Ilango Muttaraiyar state that he had other names or he excavated a temple.

94. ANI. Nos. 39, 14 of 1931.
95. ANI. Vol. VI, No. 448.
96. IFS. No. 237.
97. ANI. Nos. 1899, para. 20.
98. SII. Vol. VI, Nos. 448; ANI, Nos. 12 of 1899.
100. WPL. Vol. II, Part II, p. 1255.
for Siva. As no son of Sattan Paliyilli is referred to in any record, it is difficult to identify Ilango Muttaraiyar with a son of Sattan Paliyilli. Probably he can be same as a relative of Sattan Paliyilli. He cannot be assigned to an earlier date. In one of the records of Ilango Muttaraiyar, a place called Arinjigaipuram in Attupeilli Miyamam is mentioned.

One Pudi Arindigai, the wife of Vidalvidugu Ilangoovelar was the donor in an inscription of Kampavaram, dated in his 11th year (881 A.D.). Probably Arinjigaipuram was named after her. If this identification is accepted, Ilango Muttaraiyar has to be assigned a date in the later half of the 9th century A.D.

Taking advantage of the Palleve Pandya feud, which resulted in the famous battle of Sripurambiyam in 888 A.D., Ilango Muttaraiyar would have declared his independence. He was a contemporary of Aditya I and ruled for 18 years.

Tennavan Ilango Muttaraiyar who endowed gold for a lamp called Uttamadani can be identified with Ilango Muttaraiyar. A record from Kiranur dated in the 13th regnal year states that the temple was called Uttamadaniyavaram. The lamp called Uttamadani and the temple

102. III. Vol. XII, No.102; AIE, No.174 of 1912.
103. III. Vol. V, No.618; AIE, No.61 of 1895.
104. III. No. 237.
called Uttamādānivasram can be associated with Ilango-Muttaraiyar. No other details are available for him.

Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar III 870 - 895 A.D.

A Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar, the husband of Wangaiyar Wangai Dayānidiśīyar has been mentioned in an inscription of a Rājakēśarivarman, probably identified with Āditya I. The Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar III was perhaps a son of Ilango Muttaraiyar. The mention of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar in the 20th year of Āditya (891 A.D.) shows the subordinate position of the Muttaraiyars. No other details are known about him. There is no mention about the Muttaraiyars till the reign of Uttamachola.

Chōla Muttaraiyar alias Araiyan Sankaranārāyana

A certain Chōla Muttaraiyar alias Araiyan Sankaranārāyana is mentioned as an officer in an inscription of the 18th year of Parakōsari Uttamachola. Probably he continued as an officer under Rājarāja I also.

The identity of Chōla Muttaraiyar alias Araiyan Sankaranārāyana is not known. The two records which mention this Chōla Muttaraiyar come from Gōvindapattar and Udayargudi. His relationship with the Muttaraiyar of Sendalai is not known. Perhaps he was related to them in one way or another. As he was a subordinate of the Chōlas.

he assumed the title Chōla Muttaraiyar. He was faithful to his Chōla overlord till 991 A.D. and after that year, no record of him is found. He constructed the temple of Kallazattu Alvar in Govinda-puttur. The Sivabrahmanas of the Periya Sri Varavannamahadevi Chaturvedimangalam made an agreement with Chōla-Muttaraiyar. It specifies the offerings to be made to the God with the land granted by him and the penalties instigated on the defaulters. In an inscription dated in the 6th regnal year (991 A.D.) of a Rajakesari identifiable with Rajarāja I, the local body of the learned men (sañganabhāddha-chaturvedimattra-perumbhadi-sahabha-gana-pramukkai) were entrusted with the management of charitable endowments made during the time of Chōla Muttaraiyar.

Rajarāja I's aggrandisement activities subdued a number of chieftains. The Muttaraiya chieftains also lost their hold completely in the Kaveri region and nothing is heard of them till the reign of Kulottunga I.

A certain Vijayalaya Muttaraiyar figures as one of the signatories in an inscription of Kulottunga I... found

108. NII. Vol. XIX, No. 331; ARE, No. 167 of 1929.
109. NII. Vol. XIII, No. 145; ARE, No. 225 of 1930. This record has been assigned to Sundarashōla (A.R. Bala subramaniam, Early Chola Temples, p. 73). But considering the fact that Chōla Muttaraiyar figures in the record of Parakesari dated in his 13th year, the Rajakesari record must be assigned to the successor of the Parakesari Uttamashōla and not to his predecessor.
110. ARE, No. 670 of 1909.
at Tirunelvelilam in the Tirunelveli district. Probably he was related to the Muttaraiyar dynasty.

Though the Muttaraiyars were a feudatory and ruled over a small territory, their contribution to art and architecture is great. Most of the Muttaraiyar chieftains undoubtedly followed Saivism. But they were tolerant towards other religions. Suvarana Mārān built the Pidari temple at Viyānām. Perumbidugu Perundevi repaired the Vishnu temple at Tirumayyam.

Kuvāvan Sattāna excavated the Malaiyadipattī Śiva temple, Sattan pudi built the Vijayalaya Chollavaran at Nārtaṇalai. Pūdi Kālari built the Pushpavanēśvarar temple at Puvalaikudi. Sattan Paliyili excavated the Śiva temple at Nārtaṇalai known as Paliyili Isvaram. His daughter Paliyili Chiriyananai provided additions to the temple. Kunnandar rock cut temple and Malaiyadipattī Vishnu cave temple are said to have belonged to the time of Muttaraiyars.

Chola Muttaraiyar built the Kailāsattu Alvar temple at Govindaputtur.

113. IPG. No. 19.
114. No. 18.
115. No.216 of 1940-41.
116. No. 142 of 1907.
117. Vol. XII, No.63.
The Muttaraiyar chieftains were interested in the welfare of their people. Irrigation was given due attention. The Marappidugu eri, Marappidugu Perunginaru were constructed during the time of the Muttaraiyars. The Marappidugu Perunginaru was built in the form of a gopastika, the symbol of the Jains and can be presumed that Jainism was also favoured in the time of the Muttaraiyars.

120. EI. Vol. XI, p.166.
121. Navilai Seeni Venkatasami, Samanam Tamilum, p.16.