CHAPTER - I

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW - RETROSPECTIVE OF SOUTH INDIA

INTRODUCTION

Art forms do not just 'happen'. Their formation is the result of a continuous series of experiments in 'succession'. The nature of succession presupposes different concepts of time. These concepts may mean a general movement, staticity or a continuing mobility. A historical overview to a large extent resolves this antimonoy and helps us in perceiving the nature of a culture. Taking the concept of 'time' as a continuing mobility, it is always in a state of 'becoming', fluid and complex. Mobility does not necessarily mean a unilinear synchronisation in the same direction or at the same moment. It has its own pace and position. The historical overview is not used here to pre-establish a harmony, and neither is it an exercise in self denial. It is used here because it is 'evidence and reality'. Actions and their justification obey their own impulse coming from both within and the external. They always place in juxtaposition 'survivals, anticipations, their merging and losing'. There is no isochronism, but certainly a prediliction and wavelength.

"History is the study of what goes into the make up of an age, art history as 'humanities' is a study of what comes out of it".
ORIGIN OF THE EARLY CHŌLA

1.1 THROUGH THE SAṆGAM AND MEDIEVAL AGE

It is indeed good fortune that the SaṆgam 'like a meteor-left a blazing trail' for us to follow. SaṆgam as a word suggests 'homogenity' which is a perceptible part of south India. The schema of anthologies and synchronisms show a unity, that gives an identity to the Dravida. This unity germinates from the many cross currents and diversity in thought and action, in that they cause a certain commonality or temper. In its molded time and setting a pageant unfolds cross sections of life and culture. The climax, is one of intrigue and mystery that places three major kingdoms as the leading and conflicting protagonists.

Two kinds of anxiety are attested. One is towards tracing a lineage to mythical antiquity and the other towards a compelling urge to heroism. These are evident in anthologies like Pūṟaṇānuru, Cilappadikāram, Pādirṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟretorno-pattu and Pattu-p-pattu. The last also translated as the 'Ten Idylls" celebrates in song heroes, of whom Karikāla Chōḷa, 190 A.D., is pre-eminent. A characteristic descent shrouded in mystery is eased with nearer maritime ancestors in songs of valour, enhancing the Chōḷa lineage and pride. The Pattina-p-palai with the Chōḷa capital Kāvēri-p-paṭṭinam...
as the focus eulogises this Karikālan. Needless to say his prowess and heroism made him legendary, central to many texts like the Cilappadikāram etc. (1) The other kings as attested by the Saṅgam do not carve such a niche for themselves. Karikāla caused the establishment of a hegemony among these 'crowned Kings' by his prowess' (2). The only other Chōla personage who equals such mention was the Saiva devotee Čēkkanāṇān.

Being anthological in nature, these contexts becomes sources for information, compilation and interpretation. They posit a homogenity or compositeness of the period as one of the distinct Āryan Tamil accretion. We are confronted with contradictions and compatibility simultaneously. Adoption and adaption merge into one another. Taking for example the organisation of society, it can be said that they were hereditary groups encouraging both occupational and economic solidarity. Hereditary monarchy which prevailed encouraged this to preserve perhaps a social and economic balance. But does this answer our question about a distinct origin and chronology?

Chronologically the Chōla history is best split into four periods - the Chōla of the Saṅgam, the Chōla during the Kāḷabhra interregnum (the interval between the last
decades of the Sañgam) and the rise of the Vijayālaya Chōla in the mid 9th Century A.D. upto Rājarāja I and lastly the Cālukyan Chōla line of Kullottunga I (from the third quarter of 11th Century to the mid 13th Century A.D.).

The cause of major concern is the lacuna or dark phase of two centuries before the emergence of Vijayalaya in the vicinity of Tāñjāvūr. We are aware of different claimants for the same ancestor. The Chōla of the Telugu areas around Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapūr districts also claim their descent from Karikāla. The question that arises is what is the relationship between the Telugu and Tamil Chōla, or were they the same? Colophons and anthologies are silent about this, and leave us with nagging doubts.

Studies in etymology show that Chōla perhaps derives from the Sañskrit Kāla or black, indicating the dark pre-Aryan races of South India. The Tamil Chōla derives from Chōlam or millet. Another supposition is that the name could be a corruption of the Sañskrit Chōra which means the thief(3) who stole upon their opponents unaware.

Another semantic observation is the prefixing or affixing of names like Killi- the one who cleaves or digs, Vālvan-
the one ruling the fertile land and Sembiyaṅ— one descended from Śibi, the legendary hero of the Śibi of Jātaka. Karikālan translates as the one with charred legs(4). References to the Chōla are found in the works of the grammarian Kātyāyana and even the Asokan inscriptions which speaks of more than one type of Chōla.

Early sources make mention of ruling chieftains like Neṉṉ-kil-li and Nalaṅkil-li of Uraiyūr and Puhār who were in continuous civil was, defeating the Pāṇḍyans and Čera.(5). The Puranaṅūru suggests the Chōla hegemony too(6). G. U. Pope writes of a Kilḷiḷivālavan, the important Chōla king whose 'greatest' political achievement was the capture of Karur, the Čera capital(7). Kōperum Chōjan was another important ruler from Uraiyūr while Pērunāṅkili was probably the only monarch to perform the Rājasūya(8). Cēn-kaṇān was glorified both in the Puranaṅūru - puram 74 and the forty verses of Poigaiyar. Appar, Sūndara, Tīruttondar Tirumaṅgaṉ Ālvar and Sundaramūrti extol his religious fervour(9).

The later medieval inscriptions of the Chōla are a curious mixture of myth and reality. Even they looked upon themselves as descended from the 'Sun.....!' A point that received much emphasis and incorporated in the copper
plate charters of the 10th and 11th Century A.D., of the Kanyakumāri stone inscription of Vīra Rājēndra, the literary Kalingthuparani and Vikramaśolan Ula(10). The Malēpadu plates of Puṇyakumāra mention a Chōda, Telugu king of the 7th or 8th Century A.D.(11). With support from the late Telugu Chōḍa plates we are drawn to the legends around a Trinētra Pallava which eulogises him thus, "He who caused the banks of the Kāvēri to be constructed by all the subordinate kings led by the Pallava Trinētra whose third eye was blinded by his lotus foot.(12)

The Chōla predilection towards temple building and Śaivism is seen best in Cēṅkaṇān's period. This staunch Śiva believer was supposed to have built seventy temples to Śiva, and yet had the grace to offer worship to Viśnu at Tirunaraīyūr(13). The hymns of Sundarar and Sambaṅdar extol his founding temples at Ambar-a-Vaigai and Nanīlam. The Anbil plates of Sundara Chōḷa and the Tiruvālangādu plates support this.

Thus far it is only by surmise from poetic hyperbole and synchronisms we draw an image of kings, their deeds, society and its religious and political leanings. Even when encapsulated it is only safe to be open minded and not treat events unlinearly. However, the heartening
factor is the picture of the communal mind. Thus, the most striking feature of the (Saṅgam) culture, of the age is its composite quality. It is the unmistakable blend of the two originally distinct cultures; best described as Aryan and Tamilian(14). Inscriptions discovered by Hultz, Venkayya and Krishna Sastri have not been able to clear the partial eclipse. To be precise K.A.N. Sastri says of this lacuna, a settled and continuous narration of the political history of the Chōla appears, therefore not merely quite possible to undertake, but likely to be of more than transient interest(15). Somewhere here lies part of the sources that are likely to be responsible for the high watermark attained by the Chōla in the Medieval period. The mist over the Kēlabhra interregnum has not risen, and neither have we found a peep hole for unaccounted centuries. The Vēlvikuḍī grants of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallava charters mention the evil force of the Kēlabhra, marked by political and other disturbances. The sudden resurrection occurred towards end of the sixth century A.D. by the determined efforts of the two. Marching through victory with a vengeance there began a new phase in South Indian History. And, it was when the super powers had spent themselves that the Chōla emerged. It is still a bone of contention between scholars if there was any link between the Kēlabhra in the Vinaya-
viniccaya of Buddhadatha, a Pali writer from Uraiyyur; it says that Acchchhyūtavikrānta of the Kalabhra kula ruled from Acchchhyutavikranta of the kalabhra kula ruled from the Chōla Kāveripakkam. This 'evil genius' was a Buddhist who kept the three royal families in captivity (16). Could these mysterious clan be the Muttaraiyrr or Karnāṭa Vellala (17). If they were the Muttaraiyar then there is a clear case of nemesis.

The Chōla before the ascent of Vijayālaya can be best described as in 'suspended animation'. In the Dravidadēśa, they burst like an egg and floated into the abdominal cavity, a vast space in which they risked being lost altogether. The survival instinct, in near total darkness, like within a womb, where like the sperm thrashing its tail they swam to pierce and reach the egg, till they conceived to become embryonic in their state - was the beginning. The initial formation of the foetus and the faint heart beats were sustained and nourished by the 'Mother', Saṅgam.

I.2 THE RISE AND EMERGENCE OF THE CHŌLA OF THE VIJAYĀLAYA LINE

The Saṅgam which nourished the embryo, through stress gave a stormy birth to the Chōla of the Medieval period.
Genetic or inherited characteristics were already transmitted, the fingerprints engraved, a blue print to disposition predertermined. Armed with these rose Vijayālaya. With a strong instinct for survival the Chōla through the following centuries learnt to adapt to environment. Traits and tendencies altered with environment, but environment only acted on the 'basic genetic code' which unfolded and reproduced itself in different ways.

A long and dormant winter, perhaps a hibernation dramatically gave way to 'spring' for the Chōla in the mind-ninth century A.D., under Vijayālaya. There was no looking back since. Surprisingly this change of fortune did not involve any super powers. Instead this obscure vassal referred to as Parākēsarivarman ruled from either Uraiyūr or Palaiyūr near Kumbakonam. Within proximity lay Tañjai (Tañjavūr) and Vallam, the Muttaraiya stronghold of Kō-Ilłango. The first known independent attack of Vijayālaya was upon Kō-Ilłango Muttaraiya(18). Momentus victory and thoroughness of political strategy paved the way for all future success, conquests and expansions. South India was replete with lesser known and obscure feudatories. At such point of time before their emergence Vijayālaya was also a Pallava feudatory and Uraiyūr his capital, which finds uniform mention in the Saṅgam and
From feudatory to an independent power is a politically diplomatic move when seen in retrospection. Thus around 850 A.D. Tanjavur was captured and the founding of the Nisumbasudani temple commemorated the victory.

Historical opportunity, change of affiliations and betrayal were no new game. If the Chola were Pallava vassals, the Muttaraiya were the allies of Varaguna. It was not surprising then when the cats were away, the mice were at play. The Kaveri region faced troubled times with feuds between the lesser powers. The timely recognition and rising of Vijayalaya caused a setback in the Pallava Dantivarman III and Varaguna Pandya III period. Quelling the reborn Chola became a preoccupation. Varaguna III occupied Arasur on the Pennar river. A reversal of fortune was in the offing. Nandivarman Pallava III's successor Nripatunga caused much of family feuds and intrigues; and all this laced with political uncertainty caused an irreversible synergy, opposing tensions and a turbulent period in history. S.R. Balasubramanyam used available inscriptions to bring to light a bird's eye view of Vijayalaya's power and political domain(19). K.A.N. Sastri limits the northern boundary of Vijayalaya's kingdom to the Vellar(20). The area between Kanchipuram and Narttamalai was consolidated. The extent of his
kingdom spread as far as Tiruvellarai, Virasolapuram, Kilputhur, Kilur, Kanchi and Uttaraperur. The northern regions were consolidated later during Parantaka I and Aditya I. The area called Tondaimandalam from Pudukottai, Enadi, Tiruvellari, Tiruttani etc. were also subject to this political change.

The historical situation from about 869 A.D. needs an overall view. To study it in isolation is limiting and narrowing it down. For, what affected one major power affected the feudatories. The death of Nandi II Pallava precipitated a dynastic crisis through major family rifts between Nṛpatunga and Aparājīta. Kampavarman the third Pallava heir lay low. If Nṛpatunga took Varaguija III Pāṇḍya for an ally, Aparājīta solicited the services of Gaṅga Prithivipati I and possibly Aditya I Chōla, heir apparent to Vijayālaya. It is at this historical juncture that a second major victory occurred for the Chōlas.

The accession of Aditya I in 879 A.D. saw a relatively peaceful period for over a decade. It was with the famed battle of Sripurambiyam, some fifteen years later in 885 A.D. that Nṛpatunga and his Pāṇḍyan ally were defeated. Aparājīta secured the throne, Gaṅga Prithivipati died a valourous death in action. absence of Nṛpatunga
inscriptions between the 26th and 41st year coincides with the reign of Aparajita from 885 A.D. to 903 A.D. It was during this same span that Aditya I too, further consolidated and added to his kingdom in Tondaimandalam with scant respect or regard for Aparajita(21). Further conquests included the Kongudēsam, capture of Talakkād, the capital of Western Gaṅgā Prithivipati II. He crossed the Southern Vellār (river) into the Pāṇḍyan territory and conquered Pāṇḍyan Varaguna II. Paying homage to the Chōla became a culture(22).

The editing of the Anbil plates by T.A.G. Rao takes us a step further, from inscriptions of political nature to one of individual nature. The other side of Aditya I, shows him as a staunch Saiva, credited with the building and reconstruction of temples in stone, on either sides of the Kāvēri(23). It is not advisable to take this verbatim, nevertheless it is known that Aditya I added new structural stone temples, and also reconstructed the old brick ones in stone 'in-situ'. His death near Kānhasti saw the succession of Parantaka I.

Parantaka I, was the successor of Aditya I. His father's prowess and strategic foresight were inherited along with a growing kingdom. Forty eight years of undisturbed
and relatively calm period allowed maximum scope for all around development. Not content he expanded his territories further and added birudas to himself. Maduran-taka, Madurai Koṇḍa, Maduraium Ilamum Koṇḍa Viṇa Chōla(24).

He forced Rājasimha II, his contemporary Pāṇḍyan adversary to flee(25). The area fenced by Āditya I, Tonaḍaimañḍalam was further consolidated(26). He not only vanquished the Pallava, but appropriated his kingdom (rāstrāṇi), wealth (Vāsuni) and vehicles (Vāhanāṇi)(27). All these historic victories occurred within the first twenty regnal years. The suppression of Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas and Sinhālas in 915 A.D. at the battle of Vellore and smaller feudatories like Bānas and Vaiḍumbas also paid homage. With a staunch ally in Prithivipati II Gaṅga he fought the battle of Tiruvallam or Vallāla. Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāstrakūta was surmised to have headed the coalition, Parāntaka then assumed the title Viṇa Chōla(28). The empire extended from Nellore to Kanyakumāri, till the stormy entrace of Rāstrakūta Kṛṣṇa III came to eclipse the Chōla Power.

947 A.D. called a screeching halt to their territorial expansion. An avenging Kṛṣṇa III with the Western Gaṅga Būtuga invaded Tonaḍaimañḍalam. This is marked by the famous battle of Takkōlam in 949 A.D.(29) where the Chōla suffered a crippling defeat, and the crown prince
Rājāditya died. Tondaimandalam and the Pāṇḍyan territory were lost to the Chōla. This was the historical 'Rāstra-kūta Interregnum' (30). The conquest of Tānjavūr and Kāncī both broke the Chōla hegemony. A political setback put them in a temporary convalescence or retirement. And this saw the flowering of a more spiritual pursuit. Prolific temple building and matters pertaining to religion were given a boost. The prāsāti of the Anbil plates of Sundara Chōla eulogise Parāntaka. "........ the earth had a good king and poetic art a proper seat, skill in the fine arts found a common shelter ..........(31). The Tiruvālaṅgaḍu Copper plates further extol his religious zeal. "........ the bee at the lotus feet of Parāntaka Śiva" and mentions that he built for Purāri, the Lord of the silver mountain (Kailāśa) a golden house. Dabhra Sabhā, whereby C idambaram was the Hēma Kanaka Sabhā or Ponambalam". This earned him the title Pon Veinda Perumāl (the one who covered with gold). It was at this point that Naṭarāja or Adavallan became the Kula daivam of the Chōla (32).

The post-Parāntaka I phase, after his death leaves much to be desired till the Rājarāja phase politically. The death of the crown prince Rājāditya, the short lived reign of Gandārāditya, the one year rule of Arinjaya
till the succession of Sundara Chola was a political debility. The light of hope and sustainance came from the Queen of Gandarāditya, Sembiyan Mahādevi who held a haloed position. Piety, religiosity and munificence came to the fore than active polity.

Sundara Chola - the one whose beauty surpassed 'cupid was better known for his battle of Chevūρ (Sevūr) against Vīra Paṇḍya, after which he assumed the title 'Madurai Koṇḍa Parākṣāsari or Madhurāntaka. His allies were Bhūti Vikramakṣāsari and Parāntaka Sēriya Vēlan of Koṭumbānūr(33). The Larger Leyden grant calls him 'Tripurāntaka - an avatāra of Manu to re-establish the laws of Kaliyuga. The earliest 4th year Anbil plates record Devadāna and Brahmadēya gifts. His benevolence was seen in his gifting land for the construction of a Jaina Temple for the benefit of male and female monks(34). Sundara's son Āditya II was the victim of sibling jealousy and Uttama was crowned king despite the presence of Arulmōli, Rājarāja I. The human 'flaw' gave place to retribution, Uttama and his mother Sembiyan Mahādevi installed Rājarāja as heir apparent. He took the burden of the earth, performed worship and spent his life constructing temples(35). The piety of his mother, guilt and repentance helped him seek solace in religion.
The ascent of Rājarāja I in 985 A.D. marks a new chapter in the history of the Chōla.

I.3 THE EARLY CHOLA QUEENS

Women in history are generally given a low profile. This is partly circumstantial and partly oversight. If one can just compile all the female personages in South India alone, perhaps we may have to change many of our historical perceptions and pre-suppositions. Be it on the domestic front or at the altar of worship they have played key roles in the cultural history of India. The avenging wife, the wronged Kannagi, the mysterious gaṇikā who radiate a presence, Āṇḍā or Gōda who combines the sensual with spiritual, portray the changing faces of woman. The Saṅgam portrayed and characterised women in the 'Pattini Cult', the worship of Kannagi, symbolising the 'Ideal wife'. These are seen in stone and votive figurines for the divine and chaste wife. The essence of woman's varied nature existed in the Kanyā, Dēvi and gaṇikā.

Coming closer to the Medieval period we are aware of the two famed Cālukyan queens, Lōkamahādēvi and Rajini Trailēkya of Vikramāditya II. These queens were well versed and great builders of religious insti-
tutions like the Virūpākṣa and Trailokyasvāra (36). Similarly we are aware of Pallava Rājasīṁha's wife Raṅgāpataṅka who interested herself in the construction of the Kāṇṭ Kailāsanātha. Besides being well versed in the fine arts, the Raṅgtrakuta queens also bore birudas like Paramesvari and Paramabhatārika. They had the powers to make land grants, issue royal orders etc. We have evidence of a Muttaraiya princess Paliyili Siriya Naṅgai who added architectural components in Mēḻimalai, at Nāṟṟattamalai and making land grants as 'arcanabhogam' at Paliyili Isvaram.

The Early Chōḷa period boasts of several women on the cultural forefront. They are Paliyili Siriya Naṅgai, the Muttaraiya princess; Pudi Aditta Pidari an Irrukuvēḷ princess and builder of the Śiva temple at Tiruccēndurai, a donor of land, gold, perpetual lamps etc. (37) The Tillaisthānam inscriptions refer to cultured concubines called Bhōgiyar, and one of whom, called Naṅgai Sattap Perumānṭ offered Kalanju of gold for perpetual lamps and for the construction of a snāṇa or snāpāṇa maṇḍapa. The Aditya I queens Kilandigal Tennavān Mahādēviyar, Alisi Kattadiyēḷ, Tirunaraya Mahādēvēḷ and mistress Kilmāṅikka Nampirathiyēḷ donated for the burning of perpetual lamps and bore gifts to the lords of the
different temples. Tattān Gendi of Āditya I phase built the Tiruvērumbur Piplisvara(38).

The Parāntaka period alone has as much as ten inscriptions relating to women. The Tiru Alāndurai Mahadeva at Kilappaluvūr and the Vāṭa Tirthankhar at Andanallūr were partly constructed by Puliyūr Nattadigar and Šengān Nimmadigal who were the consorts of a Sembiyān Irrukuvēl alias Pudi Parāntakan. Another Chōla consort of Parāntaka Śeḷapperundēviyar or Perunāṅgai gifted gold to the temples(39). The other queens of Parāntaka, Udaiya Pirathuṛ, Killandigal and Rājāditya’s queen made gifts at the Kṛṣṇa Rukmini temple at Tiruvellārai(40). Donations at Āditya I temples at Tiruvaiyāru were made by Parāntaka queens. The Pus'pavanesvara at Tirupppānt.ūrtti has a 33rd year inscription whereby even his mother-in-law Mullūr Nāṅgai made gifts. She also made gifts to neighbouring temples at Tillaisthānam Tiruvaiyāru and Tirupāllanam(41). Tennaval Illangovelar or Marawān Puḍi’s daughter Puḍi Adicha Piḍāriyār who constructed the Śiva temple at Tiruchchendurai(42), was the same Nakkan Vikramasēri - Karrali who belonged to Sundara Chōla’s reign.

One of the most remarkable key personages in South India was the Great Mother Sembiyān Mahādōvi. Daughter
of Mālavarāyan, queen of Gandarāditya, mother of Uttama and aunt of Rājarāja she held an exalted position in court. Pious and munificent, early widowhood left her life dedicated to nobler pursuits. Sixty active years saw the reconstructive and constructive phase in temple buildings, rich endowments and profile development in metal casting. Her earliest recorded gift was made in the 34th year of Parantaka at Uyyakondan Tirumalai. Her donations to Sāmavēdisvara temple at Tirumaṅgalam is also well known (43). South India owes its preeminent place in the field of bronze casting to the patronage of this saintly lady whose tragic personal life was the reason and provocation for the expression of her piety and devotion to her husband in concrete art forms (44). There is none to parallel her as far as her contributions to art and architecture go. The Ujjīvanatha temple at Uyyakondan Tirumalai makes the earliest reference to this noble lady, and the last during the 16th year inscription of Rājarāja - Spanning 60 years. The extent of her enterprise needless to say shall appear in practically all the phases, but the last phase is an honour to this Queen for it is the famous 'Sembiyaṃ Mahādevi' phase. Her insatiable urge to make rich endowments in gold and jewellery is only surpassed by her gifting of bronze images.
She also founded a village, Gandarādittam in honour and memory of her husband, who was also pious and authored the 'Tiruvisiappai'. This was a crucial phase in Chōla history an ebbing tide and lack of credibility within the royalty. Unerring devotion to Sembiyāṇ was perhaps the only moralising factor. Her charisma won her the affection, devotion and indulgence of the entire household. She in turn encouraged and expended her energies in dedicating herself to the lord. She stood as an example of 'innate and inherent Bhakti'.

B. Venkataraman gives us exhaustive insessional evidence about this queen(45). She was unique in that she also introduced portrait sculpture (figs.249,248) in the Chola period, and new sculptures in the niches, (fig.171 ). While plentiful utsava bheras were also offered as donations.

Her genius not only created the Sembiyāṇ Phase due to her simple donorship, but there are stylistic formal grounds which she possibly encouraged. Her contributions can be seen in the portrait sculptures at Konēri-Rājapuram, Uma Mahēśvara temple. She also reengraved old inscriptions or lakshaṇa in the Āpatṣahāyēśvara temple at Āduturai in stone. Kuttalam saw the rebuilding
of Chōḻisvaram and the village of Sembiyāq Mahādevī was constructed as a new settlement for the Brāhmīns. She reconstructed the Kallīsanātha there, and encouraged the growth of charitable and learned institutions.

Gesture and ritual were apparently perpetuated and preserved by the Chōḷa Queen. They were sort of social workers or almoners, who sanctioned religious licence. In fact, active participation in religious matters, conforming to them, bhakti and religious compassion are the most human ways of creating rapport and communication within a society or community. They aided in the coming together of the nobility, common and clergy under one motivation and force, the temple. Political dynamism and religious benevolence culminated in a profound cultural unity.

A point to moot is the male members of royalty perhaps conceived to a large extent the need of architecture; but it was apparently left to their women, their innate interests and ability to enrichen, that gave the Chōḷa temples a touch of feminine grace and understatement.
Kumbakonam were the earliest Chola capitals. It is in the mid ninth century, about 850 A.D. that the first major expansion and conquest occurred. The capture of Tanjavur by Vijayalaya, followed by territorial acquisition between the North and South Vellar river, along with the lower Kaveri and Kollidam including Vallam, spelled doom for the Muttaraiyar, specially the ruling Ko-Illango (47). Narttamalai marked the southern limits of the Chola under Vijayalaya. We are aware of the consolidation of Tondaimanad by Aditya I, and the conquest of Kongu desha and Tallakad, the capital of the Western Ganga. He entered the Pandyan land south of the Vellar upto Kannanur. Parantaka I, however, as seen in the Sucindram inscriptions of his 34th year proved to be a great conquerer - for he penetrated deep south and crossed the ocean to conquer Ilam (Sri Lanka). The Chola kingdom extended from Nellore in the north to Kanyakumari in the south. The post-Parantaka period till the ascension of Rajaraja I saw a reversal of fortunes. Yet the nature of the annexations are valuable and show intrusions or extensions of style in architecture and sculpture. An assimilation of different features occur, showing a predilections for and towards a certain aspect of style, if not a total absorption. A Pallava, Muttaraiya or Palluvettaraiyar predilection for the Chola style.
or vice versa is seen. In the heart of one region may be found a dominant or stray pulse of another.

The power politics between the seventh to tenth centuries A.D. saw the rising of several feudatories in South India. A strategic geographic location enhanced the Chola status politically and economically. Located between the Kaveri and Kollidam, it saw nature's bounty. On all sides were smaller and larger kingdoms. The northern side was Tondaiñdu, to the north west Koinganadu, to the south Konadu, the principality of the Ilângôvel or Irrukuvës, of Koñumbalûr. Deeper south lay Pândinadu, while the hilly tract to the south was controlled by the Muttaraiya of Nêman. The sea in the east, the Vellar, the hilly tract Koñtaikarai in the west and the Kaveri formed natural boundaries. However, what is of greater interest to us is the Chola exposure to a multitude of physiography and diversity of local cultures that gave them ample scope to elaborate and form their own distinct style.

Geopolitics led to the growth of cultural organisms, the tension of the opposites yielded to an attraction and interaction. One mainstream was formed thus from the various tributaries through constant exposure.
The Tirucirapalli rock cut inscription(48) refers to the Pallava sway over the Chōla country. The Kuram grant of Paramēśvararvarman I includes the conquest of Chōla lands(49). Raṇadhīra Pāṇḍya in the Tiruci inscription claimed that the Chōla were under his sway(50). Similarly the Nesarika grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III's invasion and victory over the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and the Cēra alike is well known(51). Dantivarman Pallava claims to have had the Northern Chōla under his sway, while Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan Pāṇḍyan, the southern Chōla in the last decades of the eighth and first quarter of the ninth centuries. All this time the royal household at Uraiyur was lying low. During the last few years of Dantivarman rose Vijayālaya like phoenix reborn from its own ashes. With the defeat of the Muttaraiyār and the rise of Vijayālaya there are no records of the Pallava Dantivarman, nor his successor Nṛpatunga, from his 7th to the 21st regnal years, which are approximately from 866-880 A.D. The Pallava connection is seen only between Āditya I, Aparājita and Gaṅga Prithvipati I.

The Palūvetṭaraiyars ruling from Mēlapaluvūr, Kīlapaluvūr and Kilaiyūr were closely connected with the Chōla. It is claimed that they rose and fell with
the Chola and figured as feudatories. They were the only feudatories of the Chola (52). They aided Parantaka I along with Ganga Prithvipati II against the Rāstrakūṭa Kannaradeva Kṛṣṇa at the battle of Vellāḷam. It is strange that an area abounding with feudatories, and the Chola had only the Palūvēṭṭaraiyars as their feudatories or vassals. A major reason could be lack of loyalty and defection. Taking just one example of the Bāna, their fickleness is seen with the quick succession with which they changed camps from the Pallava to Pāṇḍya to the Chola. Historical drifts were not uncommon, while chieftains enrolled as generals and officers according to their status in various armies. The Bāna, as Rāstrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II's allies suffered defeat at Parantaka I's hands and lost their territory to him. Historical conjecture is that the Bāna under Vijayāditya III were vassals to Parantaka I, however, under Būtuga they once again joined forces with Rāstrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III and saw victory in the battle of Takkōḷam. Similarly, the Nōlāṃba who called themselves Pallava-Nōlāṃba became Rāstrakūṭa allies. One Vīramahēndra whose regnal years were 976 - 980 A.D. had a biruda as the conqueror of Chōla-nādu (53). The Western Cālukyan allegiance is also a historical reality; whereby they occupied the Rāstrakūṭa
The historical puzzle comes to us in the form of the Muttaraiyar of Sendalai. There is a non-committal agreement that their descent is from the Kālabhra (55). It is also believed that their defeat at the hands of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya left them crippled and in vassal position. Interestingly, Jain composers, the Natadiyars mention them (56). A Tamil work of Grammar, Yappāṟungalaviruthi by a Jain ascetic Amitasāgara contains a 'Muttaiyakorai'. Were they of Jain patronage, specially when we seen Jain shrines at both Nārāttamalai and Sittanavāsal?

Despite the fact that the Muttaraiya were not Chōla vassals, Nārāttamalai and Taṇjāvūr were the bones of contention. The final Muttaraiyar overthrow by the Chōla created a new relationship, the post Muttaraiya early Chōla one of harmony and diplomacy, which is perhaps best reflected in their marriage alliances and art forms, specially architecture. Political warfare was an intrinsic urge to control and command an impersonal
territory. There was no religious or communal disparity that would hamper a cultural force. The other side of human nature perhaps craved to seek a balance and harmony in tolerance, acceptance and assimilation.

Closer home to the Chola were the Velir of Kodumbalur ruling over Konadu, lying between Uraiýur and Madurai. Pallava feudatories once, they were conquered by Viajayalaya and later figured as officers and generals in the Chola army (57). This area like the Muttaraiya tracts was also known for its Jain centres. Both suffered much defeat. It would not be surprising that the Chola with their partiality towards Saivism, and the roving Kapalika and Kalamukha rejuvenated the people with the dynamism of these cults. An austere and remote Jainism more or less was eclipsed. The Chola, we have thus seen came into contact with many other feudatories and powers. These were satellite or orbital contacts. However, certain nascent bonds developed. The ethnic, local and religious expressions began to manifest with identities per se, as well as a part of a larger over all. The timing and conjoining of these with the Chola lent it an identity and took forth from that very identity in establishing an ‘œuvre’. Seeking solutions to political problems were not always political.
The mergers often occurred, or were agreed upon as marriage alliances. Respect to marriage as an institution made a political relationship binding. A deliberate kinship was being developed. Matrimonial alliances were thus popular.

Āditya I married a Pallava princess who bore him two sons. We are also aware of Pudi Aḍīchcha Pidāriyār who was the daughter of Tennavan Iḷḷaṅgōvēlan an Iru-kuvēl Chief. She was the queen of Arikular Kesariyar son of Parāntaka I, and father of Sundara Chōḷa. The Rāstrakūṭa connection is justified, for one of the chief causes was to avenge the injustice done to his grandson. The attack by Kṛṣṇa II at the battle of Vallalla (Tiruvallam) was to espouse the cause of his grandson Kanna-raḍēva who did not share the Chōḷa throne. About the same time Gaṅga Prithvipati II was a strong ally of Parāntaka I. Soon after his death Butuga sought to strengthen his ties with the Rāstrakūṭa, by marrying Kṛṣṇa III’s sister. There is evidence of one Iḷḷaṅgōn Pichchi, the daughter of a Vāḷlavaraiyar who could be Kṛṣṇa II. If so this Rāstrakūṭa princess could have been Āditya I’s wife, as she is referred to as ‘munnum pugunda mūtha deviyār’ - i.e. the senior queen. Another queen of Āditya I, Alisi Kāṭadigal was the daughter
of a Kachchipettpu Kudiraichcheri Ammakkanăr, where Kachchipettpu is Kânci king Siriyavelar referred to as the Iruṅgōlä Kula Pradīpa — was the son of a Chōla princess, perhaps the daughter of Parāntaka I. This is again reference to the matrimonial alliance with the Irrukuvēl of Koḻumbālūr. Similarly there was a Arinjigal Pirathiyār, a Bāna queen and daughter of prince Arikulakēsari — who is Arinjaya son of Parāntaka I. Another daughter of Parāntaka I, Vīra Mahādeviyār married Gōvinda Vāllaraiyar who is identified with Gōvinda IV, the Rāstrakūṭa ruler.

The brother of Parāntaka I, Kannaradēva and perhaps the son of Āditya I was half Rāstrakūṭa-Chōla. Nampirathiyār Arumōli Naṅgaiyār the daughter of a Pāḷuvēṭṭa-raiyār chief was also a queen of Parāntaka I. The Gaṅga connection is possibly valid too because we hear of a Pidāri Köyil erected at Sālāpuram by a Naṅgaimañi, daughter of Prithivi Gaṅgaraiyar. The Irrukuvēl alliance is very prominent and occurs in many inscriptions and is best seen in S.R. Balasubramaniam’s analysis(58) regarding Naṅgai Karrali, Tennevan Iḷḷaṅgōvēlar, Nakkan Vikramakēsari, Pudi Adichcha Pidāri, Varaguna, Karrali etc.

Having taken samples of marriage alliances, it is only fair to add that a temple was much above political
warfare, consanguine or any other alliance. Religious sanction was open to all. There was a uniform and continuing reverence shown throughout South India for these temples; and it is fortunate that these endowments are recorded. A few brief examples have been taken, Tiruppāraiturai Dārukavaneśvara was a recipient of gifts from Naṅgai puḍi Mādevigaḷ, an Irrukuvēḷ noble woman, Umaiyāḷ the Chōḷa princess, and even from the later Chōḷa and Pāndya.

Aṉgal Kandān Marambāvai, queen of Nandivarma III Pallava gifted Kalangūs of gold at the Nēmam Pigāri Kōil. She also made endowments for elaborate offerings and other causes related to temples. A mistress 'bhogiyār' and queen Alisi Kaṭṭadigal of Āditya I made endowments to the Tiruvaiyāru Parama Mahādevar at the Pāṇcanaḍēśvara there, and so did the Pāḷuvēṭṭaraiya general Kandān amudan Tennavān Mahādeviḷar make endowments at Tiruppāḷananam etc. Irrukuvēḷ women made numerous endowments. The queen of even Nṛpatuṅga, Vīra Mahādēviḷ performed the Hiranyagarbha and Tulābāra ceremonies at the Tirukkodikāval Tirukkōṭisēvara.

In his introduction to 'Royal conquests and cultural
Migrations in South India' C. Sivaramamurti says "....... these conquests as such have always been of an ephemeral nature and only of momentary importance. The more abiding and permanent consequences have been cultural. Success and defeat in a battle was a personal loss or gain to the sovereign but the effect of either profoundly affected very often the territory of the victor and the vanquished. A great empire knit together different peoples, introduced them to common institutions and spread a common culture - though some individuality was still retained according to the genius of the people, their special predilections and idiosyncrasies. Sometimes long after the break up of such an empire the political successors in different areas continued the earlier common culture, and this accounts for the strong similarity about the same period in different parts politically, independent at the time, but component parts earlier of a larger unit ........ intercourse between different states for various purposes enlarged the cultural vision of the people ........ maritime enterprise, colonial expansion and religious migration together with the changing boundaries of larger and smaller kingdoms and empires due to political movements in the warpath have their own story to tell to elucidate several details of the little understood chapter of Indian culture" (59).
Frequent inroads of politic nature left a cultural impress on both the victor and the vanquished. And thus far we have seen in how many different ways powers joined forces for and against each other. The previous nature of these people is a 'tour de force'. The Chōla kingdom in its exploits extended itself far and wide; while the Rāstrakūṭa occupation of Chōla lands after the Battle of Takkolan is well known.

The less publicised inroads were the wandering tradesmen, ascetics and itinerant minstrels, artists and artisans. The royal intercourse is much glorified, but perhaps the other inroads touched the people more, both directly and indirectly. These cultural fusions are the more romantic moments of history, which Sivaramamurti describes as "......... the victor stooped to gather blossoms of culture from the land of the vanquished"(60). There are numerous instances which point to homage and endowments made to different temples, and which can be found in many South Indian inscriptions. It would even suffice if one reads these in S.R. Balasubramanyam's volumes on Chōla Temples. Close ties born of love and war between the Cāḷukya, Pallava, and Rāstrakūṭa found remanescent fragrance in the land of the Chōla. Proximity and propinquity played a key role in deter-
mining some of the aspects of style. The immediacy of an influence or its occurrence through a middle source still points to an 'imbibing of forms' that go forth to create a style. Coomaraswamy says it is one that 'imbibes and gives in an enhanced degree of excellence the earlier traditions of the Pallavas and Pandyas, with an admixture of Cālukya Rastrakūṭa ornamentation. The triple Pallava-Pāṇḍya-Cālukyan culture accounts for the charming diction in the art of the Chōla sculptor. "This statement is only an example; it is better to temper it to a 'flow of different streams and their comingling to make a motif almost universal(61). What is important is not the motif alone, but how and where it stands. What is its role as a pun (Slesha). Although to borrow is not uncommon, it is the way in which it is used, as a shared experience and expression of a community that transforms and gives it an identify. This is also a factor that goes in the making of a style. The Chōla naturally acknowledged, but also tried to modify some of these forms and motifs.

What I would like to point out here is the 'Potential' and its 'Outcome'. One can easily recognise the intelligence and insight of the Chōla polity. It shows their capability to combine a set of items into a single organised
whole. The Gestalt would call their intelligence as insight; after all their very meaning can be loosely translated as form, organisation or configuration; to manage ambiguity and paradox at the same time calls for Scott Fitzgerald's words.

"The test of first rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function".

I.5

STATE CRAFT AND ADMINISTRATION

Shared experiences, similar needs and occupations by and large, created a 'mental frame' not altogether unique or exclusive. The day to day life was guided by internal economy which was close to the local self government. However, the king was a divine patriarch, preserver and perpetuator of law, order and balance. The biruṭa, as we see in inscriptions, the endowment records, and to some extent the Tevaram all bespoke the relevance and import of things. A biruṭa which was often conferred in triumph over an adversary also shows us capitals and subcapitals in its content.

It is known through the Saṅgam and writings of Periplus that Uraiyūr was a great centre of urban life, the seat
and capital of the Chōla. Physiography provided a diversity of local cultures. The hilly tracts had its hunters and herdsmen of militant nature, and cultivating peasant population in the fertile Kāvēri delta. Sugar cane, paddy, coconut etc. were staples. Even in the early Saṅgam 'Pattina-p-pālai', the Chola industrial magnitude of the town in highlighted. Artisans, gold and ironsmiths, carpenters etc. came to work, along with the Tamil craftsmen. The Āryan Tamil culture dovetailed and evolved.

To govern all this the king had a co-regent or yuvaraja who acted on behalf of himself. In a hierarchy were officers like Mahādanḍanāyaka (Commander-in-chief) and other administrators. The Chōla administration was relatively complex. The king had councillors called Karuman araṅṅra adhikārīgāl, officers who executed grants - anaṭṭi, revenue officers - puravu vari, royal secretaries - vāykkēḻvi, the accountants - varippottagam and even a royal engraver called mugavettī. If any order or instructions were to be taken the executive officer to local bodies called Tiruvaiykkēḻvi did the needful. It was after the oral that a record of the transaction was drawn up and attested by local witnesses of stature.
At the local or village level, the units of administration were the Ur-assembly, and the alēnganam executive body. Besides this the villages were represented by the Brāhmaṇa who had their own sabha and committees called 'Varilyam' (chosen ones). The 12th year Uttara-mērūr inscription of Parāntaka is a complete draft for the process of election by ballot with an expert committees.

We are also aware of self governing villages called Kurṟam, Nādu, Kōṭṭam and Taniyūr—a town apart. Smaller Kurṟam made kōṭṭam and many together made valaṅădu or nādu. These villages were usually headed by elders or assemblies, corporate groups looking after its welfare. The Mūlaparudaiyār are important members, because they are in direct charge of the temple. They called themselves Saiva Brāhmaṇa or Vaikhanasa. Kumāragānam and Kṛṣṇagānam were groups in charge of single shrines from where they derived their name. The village organisation was so methodical that the common man was not left out. The village which was divided into sēri (streets) had a group representing it. The fairly liberal views allowed a person by birth, residence, occupation or even choice to become a member of any governing body. Mutual agreement goodwill, circumstantial assessments and group decisions were taken.
If the Ur were village assemblies, the nagaram was confined to the merchantile towns. The king usually dispatched emissaries and auditors at regular intervals to the two; extending cordiality and balance between the centre and village. This also established a link. If business and diplomacy are seen here; the flair for encouraging learning and excellence are seen in the creation of a sabha of a Brahmin settlement by royal grant, the Catur-vēdi maṅgalam. These are created to encourage the unique merits of faith and learning. They are pious endowments or dēvadāna and bhūdāna, causing colonies of learned Brahmins to settle down under the tutelage of the king. In return for this honour they propounded and propogated the culture and religion. The temple was the town hall and the meeting place of all the sabha, if not their were neighbouring mandapas called Brahmastāna was used. The political spirit of the time aimed at securing the harmony of classes rather than their euqality"(62). Social life was generally dominated by custom and quasi-religion.

The temple was then not only a religious institution but took on the herculean task of an 'all round' institution, with an economy that multiplied and regenerated. Putting it very briefly it was the centre of learning, it was the library of vedas, aliend studies and the fine arts.
Endowments were made to maintain staff and students. Excellence was encouraged, whereby lands were endowed for vedic studies by Parantaka I at Kappalur. Sundara endowed for the recitation of a 'Jaiminiya Sāmavēda' in the temple of at Kōyil Tevarāyanapēṭai. Expounding the Mimamsa of the Prabhākara school was prevalent in the Nāgēśvara at Kumbakōṇam. In the 37th year of Parantaka I a gift of land was made to Brahmīns for reciting the Tirupatikam at Lālgudi, and later at Tiruvērumbūr during the days of Sundara.

The Tiruvidiaimarudūr inscription of Śāditya II not only mentions the provision made for Āryakūttu which could perhaps be Bharatanatyam. The more interesting aspect is that it was an official order that had to be executed for the purpose of which the sabha, nagaram (merchant guild) and ċēvakanni met in the Nātakasāla. The payment for the performance were also decided. The enduring and powerful draw of the temple was found suitable to create a 'culture and identity'. Further enhancement was seen in the favours granted by kings to special temples and their dieties, which was their Kula deivam. An example is Parantaka I's famous performance of Hēmāgarbha and Thulabhāra at the Sundaravarada at Uttaramērūr.
Gifts and endowments were managed by the temple, of which resources were kept aside for the maintenances of the temple architect, carpenter, blacksmith etc. It worked towards the material and spiritual benefit of the people. The administration received royal attention and was subject to enquiries. There are evidences of misappropriation of funds where the defaulters were fined, and the fine went towards the embellishment of architecture and ornamentations of the deity, both during the Aditya II and Parantaka I at Tillaisthānam. Endowments of stone slabs engraved with the donor's piety were also preserved and re-engraved on the stone walls of the renovated temple. A continuous survey shows the special creations of Brahmin settlements to inculcate and maintain a high order of dignity. The village Sembiyān Mahādevi, after the great queen is such a creation. There are records of royal sanction for rebuilding and re-engraving which was carefully considered by the sabha of elders. It is not surprising that the temple was a 'Public Record Office', and historical summary in stone of a particular period.

The Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chōla(63) is evidence of a very important Chōla feature. It shows the relationship and link between merchants, artisans and other
Sabha... An example is in the Ulagānda Perumāl Temple(64), which points the efforts of harmony of classes and their interdependence on each other in Kāṇcīpuram. The status of prestige of merchants and artisans, their active role in public service, interpersonal relationships and close interaction between the masses and the royalty are seen. Just as the royalty were sanctioned divine rights in the support and patronage of the temples, so did the merchants and artisans seek a ceremonial legitimacy by their association with these institutions. They become the guardians and protectors of their heritage. The Nagaram which was a self governing body involved itself in the commercial exchanges, craft productions and internal economy. Tradition listed six occupations which craft relevant to us. The tacca (carpenters), Kollār (blacksmiths) maṇi vinaimār (gemotologists), tattār (goldsmith), oviyār (image makers) and vannakamiyār (painters).

Kenneth Hall makes a sound reconstruction of the genealogy and occupation of the Rathakāra of Uyyakoṇḍan Tirumalai. He claims their occupation as architecture, chariot building, erecting gopura, making images, sacrificial instruments for Brahmins building maṇḍapa etc. Despite their non-Brahmin status they were entitled to the exclusive duties of the Brahmin and were given the titles 'acarya'. They were well versed in the sacred texts. Their vṛtti
and dharma was to construct and asorn the temples and the images. They were experts in cutting linga, carving images, building of four kinds of prasada with the help of geometry or kshetra. For services rendered to the local community they were rewarded lands, homes and reduced taxes(66). There is mention of the community having fled Kilaiyur due to stress, possibly into the Chola land(67). Itinerant trade during the period was prolific and promoted by merchant guilds and fraternities. Hall sums it up thus "the existence of such relationships allows to conclude that supra village levels of social integration were important in the period of South Indian history. Local social and economic units as represented by the Nādu and Nagaram did not exist in isolation but were integrated into a system which articulated the distribution of agricultural and high order commodities through out the hinterlands"68).

The Chola did not rid themselves of either their past or their neighbours, neither did they build their foundation upon them. They introduced a tonal change, with historical cultural inflections and accents. Open to all change and adjustment they tried to be judicious. It may well be said in the words of Focillon that "culture is not a reflex, but a progressive appropriation and renewal".
1. K.N. Sastri, A History of South India, Madras 1976, pp.124,125 discusses the gist of Saṅgam literature and the content of the texts.


5. Ibid, p.37. The Maṇimekhalai XIX Ch.125.7 describes the defeat of the Cēra and is quoted here.

6. Pūraṇāṇūru, Puram 31, Kanat, p.73.


13. Tirumangai Āḷvar in his hymns of Tirunaraṅgūr extols the largesse of Ceṅkaṇān and his spiritual attitude.


15. Ibid, p.2.

16. Navalara Caritai, VV, 154-57. glorified one Accūta who could be Accūtavikkānta of the Kṛtabhrakula. Amitasāgara
the author of Yapparuṅgalak-karikai, 10th century A.D. has also written a few verses about him. The Vellikudi grant of the Pandyas expresses a hatred for this Accūta.

17. R. Sathianatha ' iyer in his article in the Journal of Indian History (JIH) VIII, p.74-80 ponders over the Kālabhrā identity. Perhaps they were the later Muttaraiyar of Koṟumbāḷūr or the Karṇāṭa Vellāla .

18. Historians generally agree that Koṟ-Illāṅgō Muttaraiya was perhaps the last Muttaraiya chief who was overthrown by Vijayālaya Chōḷa. He was apparently the only chief to also have his own regnal year. These are seen in the 18th year Nēmam inscription of 1899; the 13th and 17th year Tirukkōṇḍikāval inscriptions of 1930-31; and the 13th year Koyilāḷi inscription of 1901.

19. S.I.I., I, 85. A Parakesari inscription identified with Vijayālaya is on the walls of the Kāḷci Kāḷiṣanātha relating the conquest of Kāḷci. The Madras Museum plates of Uttama confirms it. The Tirunedungūlam (Tiruvirāppali) inscription 675 of 1909 mentions a certain Tribhuvana Cakravartin Konērimeaṅkōndan in which a gift of land is granted by Parakesari Vijayālaya. A 3rd year inscription of a Parakesarivarman at Tiruvellārai refers to a gift of land, assignable to Vijayālaya. The Vīrasōlapuram 3rd year inscription of Parakesarivarman 51 of 1935 mentions of the one who took Taṅjai. A hero stone in the Madras Museum with the figure of a warrior with bow and arrow is carved on the relief slab and engraved on it is 'Taṅjai Koṭṭa Kop Parakesari pannarkūṇḍu'.


21. The Anbil Plates of Sundara Chōḷa make mention of Āditya I's enterprise in building temples on either banks of the Kāvērī, while his political annexations of Toŋdai- maṅḍalam are found in - The 24th year Takeḻam inscription, 5 of 1987; the 27th year Tiruṅḳaluḳuṉram inscription, 167 of 1894, E.I., III, p.279 and the 14th year Tirumalapuram inscription, 286 of 1906 of Uttama mention- ing a gift of land by Āditya I in Arūr in Toŋdaimaṅḍalam.

22. The Kapnanūr inscription of Āditya I evidences his southern expansion; and Kapnanūr was the extreme southern boundary of the Chōḷa during his reign.

23. S.R. Balasubramanyam, Early Chola Art I, Bombay 1966, p.82 discusses at length the authencity of this statement.
24. The Kanyakumāri inscription of Vīra Rājendra refers to him as Vīrasī - the one in whom the goddess of valour resided. He is described bright as Arjuna he conquered Kṛṣṇa II, and his conquest of Iḷam won him the biruda 'Simhalantaka'.

25. This Parākesari according to Hultzsch as seen in his 34th year Sucindram inscription is Parāntaka I and not Vijayālaya.

26. Epigraphy Report (E.R.), section A, 1949-50, no.57-58, pp.3-5 Kārandai Tamil Saṅgam Copper Plate of the 8th year of Rājendra I.


28. E.I., IV, p.221. 9th year Shōlingūr inscription E.I., XXVI, no.10. The 6th year Pullamaṅgaḻ inscription of Parāntaka I, 559 of 1921; and the Kanyakumāri inscription of Vīra Rājendra.

29. The Ātakūr inscription of Būṭuga II recording the death of Rājāditya helps in fixing the date of this battle.


33. RIE, 1949-50, Kārandai Tamil Saṅgam Plates 57 and 58 A.

34. T.N. Subramanyam, Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India (ASSI), 1958-59, p.84 and 101 refer Sundara solap - perumpalli.

35. SII, III, Pl III, 205; pp.383-489, Tiruvālaṅgādu Copper Plate grant of Vīra Rājendra.


39. Ibid, 10th year inscription of a Parākēśarivarman 337 of 1903.


41. S.R. Balasubramanyam, Early Chola Art I, Bombay 1966, p.165 for larger references on inscripional details.


45. Ibid, Chapter II on Sembiyaṭ Mahādēvi.


49. S.I.I., i, p.151.


52. V. Balambal, Feudatories of South India, Allahabad 1978 The Paluvettaraiyars for further reference.


55. J.S. Aiyangar, M.S. Govindaswamy, K.G. Krishna and V. Balambal have contemplated this issue and have agreed that Muttaraiyar descent has much to do with the Kālabhra.


60. Ibid, p.7.


63. S.I.I., 3, 128.


67. 91 of 1946-47.