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Valérie Gillet

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SOUTH ASIA RESEARCH

# Minor Majesties

*The Paluvēṭṭaraiyars and Their  
South Indian Kingdom of Paluvūr,  
9th–11th centuries A.D.*

Valérie Gillet

# Minor Majesties

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MINOR MAJESTIES

*The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars and Their*

*South Indian Kingdom of Paḷuvūr,*

*9th–11th Centuries A.D.*

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*To G. Vijayavenugopal  
With immense gratitude and profound admiration*



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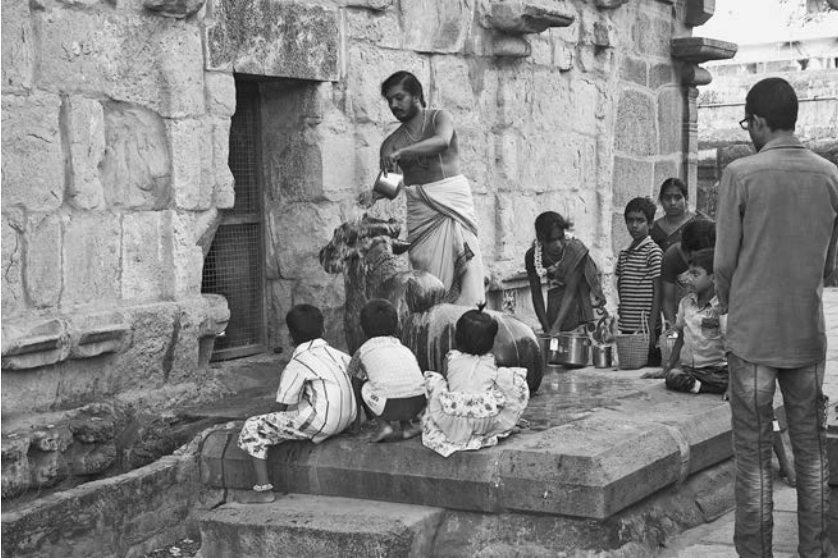
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**Figure 0.1** P. Kumaraswamy, priest in charge of the AIM temple complex, performing the anointment of the bull on *pradoṣam* (photo by V. Gillet)

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## Note on the transliteration of Tamil words

I have adopted the transliteration system of the *Tamil Lexicon* (TL) for Tamil words and names. However, for names of some well-known Cōla kings and their titles coming from Sanskrit, I have opted for the more common Sanskrit spelling, that is Rājakesari instead of Irācakecari, Sundaracōla instead of Cuntaracōla, Rājendracōla instead of Irācentiracōla, Kulottuṅga instead of Kulottuṅka, etc. To mark the difference with the Cōla kings, I have followed the transliteration system of the TL for the name Cuntaracōla borne by others, whether the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little king or local characters.

I also followed the TL transliteration system for the transliteration of toponyms of the Tamil Country. However, this decision had to be nuanced, for a reader not familiar with Tamil names to be able to identify easily those places. Consequently, for well-known places, I chose the common spelling, devoid of diacritics: Tanjavur instead of Tañcāvūr, Trichy instead of Tiruccirāpaḷli, Cidambaram instead of Citamparam, Kumbakonam instead of Kumpākkōṅam, Madurai instead of Maturai, etc. This rule is rather arbitrary, and it was not always easy to decide when to follow scrupulously the TL and when not. In some cases, I thought it would ease the reading not to: for example, I chose Govindaputtūr over the Tamil spelling of Kōvintaputtūr found locally.

I avoided quoting source texts in the analysis as often as possible, since the corpus upon which I built the present study is gathered in Appendices 1 and 2. The conventions adopted for the transcription of the source texts are thus presented in the introduction of Appendix 1.



## List of abbreviations

AIM	Avanigandharva/Avanikantarpa Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva temple complex = Ireṭṭaikōyil = Agastyeśvara/Cōleśvara shrines
ARE	<i>Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy</i>
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
EITA	<i>Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture</i>
IAR	<i>Indian Archaeology—A Review</i>
IEP	<i>Inscriptions of the Early Pāṇḍyas</i> (see K.G. Krishnan 2002)
IP	<i>Inscriptions of the Pallavas</i> (see T.V. Mahalingam 1988)
IPS	<i>Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State</i>
IR	inscriptions royales (see E. Francis 2013b/2017)
NK	<i>Nanṇilam Kaḷveṭṭukaḷ</i>
PIM	Pakaiviṭai Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva temple = Sundareśvara temple
RY	regnal year
SII	<i>South Indian Inscriptions</i>
TL	<i>Tamil Lexicon</i>
TLI	<i>Topographical List of Inscriptions</i> (see T.V. Mahalingam 1984–1995)



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# Introduction

## The fabric of a little kingdom

Three rusted metal swords tucked into the wooden frame of a house in Kīlappaḷuvūr, a village of the state of Tamil Nadu in South India, are objects of worship. Today in the care of the community of the Mūppaṇārs, they are believed to be the swords of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar kings, great warriors engaged in the army of the Cōḷa sovereigns who will constitute the frame of this book. The Mūppaṇārs of Kīlappaḷuvūr, who live in two streets situated between the Śiva and the Viṣṇu temples, claim to be the descendants of the envoys (*tūtuvār*) of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. Every year, the whole community carries the swords in procession, on the occasion of a fifteen-day festival that takes place in the second half of the Tamil month of Tai, corresponding to the first half of February. The procession concludes with the Mūppaṇārs bringing the weapons to the feet of Celliyāmmaṇ, the goddess enshrined in a temple nearby who will protect their soldiery endeavours. Even today they maintain close ties with the Tiruvālanturaiyār temple, the nearby Śiva temple; they continue to make donations and in return receive homage from the temple when one of them departs.

### From local elites to little kings

The Mūppaṇārs embody the living memory and martial character of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, although the latter belong to the rather remote past of Paḷuvūr.<sup>1</sup> The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars claimed, through the use of the name Maṛavaṇ, to belong to the Maṛavar community, the ancient tribal hunters of the Tamil-speaking South, known for their fierceness and martial valour. They may have been local

<sup>1</sup> The present study began in 2015, when Emmanuel Francis, Charlotte Schmid, and I decided to organize our third workshop called Archaeology of Bhakti, focusing on the topic of minor dynasties. There were three workshops of Archaeology of Bhakti (2011, 2013, and 2015), combining fieldwork and lectures at the centre of Pondicherry of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO). They were often the occasion of intense and enthusiastic brainstorming on sites, including Paḷuvūr. I thank here all the participants who nourished the discussions throughout. The proceedings of the first two conferences, which took place in the workshops of 2011 and 2013, were edited by Francis and Schmid (2014; 2016).

elites who, through their involvement in the Cōla army, gained recognition and lands. By the end of the 9th century, when they appear in the epigraphy, and until the 11th century, they seem to constitute a family ruling over the small territory of Paḷuvūr. It is not always easy to decide when a family of local elites can be invested with the status of minor dynasty, often defined against the backdrop of a major dynasty. Elements that may be considered and weighed include the length of their time in power, the size of their territory, their discourse and the way they presented themselves, their actions recorded in the epigraphy, and the exchanges and relations they maintained with the courts and kings of the major dynasties.

A dynasty is characterized by a line of sovereigns, succeeding one another on the throne usually from father to son, or to some close kin in case of an untimely demise or a sibling rivalry. But not all dynasties have the same status. A dynasty may be called a “major” one when its epigraphical records are dated with the regnal years of its kings, without mention of any superior authority. The four major dynasties of the Tamil-speaking South, which thrived roughly between A.D. 600 and 1300,<sup>2</sup> are the Pallavas in the north, the Pāṇḍyas in the south, the Cēras in the west, and the Cōlas in the region of the Kāvēri river, in the middle. Besides these, numerous minor dynasties emerge in the epigraphy of the Tamil Country, amongst which we count the Bāṇas, the Irukkuvēls, the Milāṭuṭaiyars, the Muttaraiyars, etc. Their status as “dynasties” has not often been questioned because of their lengthy presence in the epigraphy, their impact on the political scene, their activity of building temples, and their discourse in the epigraphy engraved on them. They are recognized as “minor” because the records in which their kings appear are dated with the regnal years of the kings of the major dynasties. They are thus considered to have pledged allegiance to the kings of the major dynasties, under the authority of whom they were theoretically placed, although they may have retained a certain degree of autonomy.<sup>3</sup> However, this pattern is not uniform, and the exact relation between major and minor dynasties, besides military and marital alliances, remains hazy. In some

<sup>2</sup> This period has often been called “early medieval” and “medieval”. However, this term has divided scholars, because of the complexities regarding its definition, the difficulties in defining the factors marking its beginning and its end, and the differences between the regions. Many scholars use the term by default, but, in order to avoid such ambiguities, I have simply decided to refrain from using it and have provided a range of dates instead. I thus follow Singh (2011: 35), who says in her introduction: “Perhaps it is time to abandon the search for the perfect labels and simply use chronological markers to indicate which period we are talking about.” For discussion of the definition of “medieval” in an Indian context, see, amongst many others, Veluthat (1997); the introduction of Singh (2011: 1–5, 34–36); Ali (2012; 2014); Hawkes (2014).

<sup>3</sup> For a brief and general survey of the theory of Rājamaṇḍala, based on an aggregation of subordinate rulers called *mahārāja*, *sāmanta* or *maṇḍaleśvara*, with a paramount sovereign at the center of this structure, see Chattopadhyaya (1994: 225–230); Ali (2006: 32–37). For studies concerning specifically the minor dynasties of South India, see Balambal (1978); Govindaswamy (1965; 1979); Veluthat (2012), particularly chapter 3, “Role of the Chiefs” (2012: 120–148); Subbarayalu (2012: 208–209); Orr (2018); Schmid (2020).

cases, minor dynasties changed their allegiances: the Muttaraiyars, for instance, dated some of their records with the Pallava as well as Pāṇḍya kings' regnal years depending on the period; in some cases, minor dynasties dated their records with the regnal years of their own kings, for just a few years, such as the Bāṇas or the Muttaraiyars, suggesting they had severed the link with those whose authority they had recognized, and had acquired, or at least claimed, a certain independence. There may have been as many patterns as there were minor dynasties.

Although he deals with a much later period, that is, the 17th century, Nicholas Dirks (1982; 1987) outlined a process of transformation from tribal hunters, the Maravars, to the Palaiyakkarars, whom he calls "little kings". This process resonates with the one we may infer in the case of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars:

Little kings began to participate in a larger social, cultural, and political universe when, according to their own cultural accounts, certain families underwent a set of transformations from tribal hunters, to devotional saints, to chiefly dependents, and finally to little kings. The principal mechanism which effected these transformations, as in the Madurai Nayaka chronicle, was the gift: of emblems, titles, and land. Though heroic action was a necessary prerequisite, genuine transformations only took place when the chief developed a relationship with a greater king who endowed him with these gifts. The chiefs became little kings when, emulating the actions of kingly overlords, they gave gifts to temples and to Brahmins. (Dirks 1987: 52)

We do not have an identity-forging narrative in the case of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, and shaping their process of self-representation and the way they actually wielded power is not easy. But as we shall see all along this study, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, who bore the title of Maravar, were recognized by the Cōḷa kings who married their daughters—at least one of whom became mother of a Cōḷa ruling king. They were involved in building more than one temple of Paḷuvūr; they made numerous donations to one of the temples of the site. They never claimed their independence, as the epigraphy where they appear suggests, but claiming independence is not necessarily what defines a minor dynasty. Consequently, I think we may call them "little kings", and include them in the category of the minor dynasties;<sup>4</sup> a minor dynasty which ruled over a small territory organized around

<sup>4</sup> All of us dealing with minor dynasties eventually face a problem of vocabulary. Ruling hereditary chiefs, political chiefs, feudatories, chieftains, tributary kings or princes, minor kings, little kings, lesser kings, all may be used and have been adopted by scholars. For instance, Balambal (1978) and Govindaswamy (1979) use "feudatories"; Stein (2011: 78) uses "hereditary chiefs", "little kings", and "lesser kings"; Heitzman (1997: 181, 223ff.) remarks that "there was a continuum of authority stretching from the king down to the village leadership" and distinguishes "Lordship" reserved to the local leaders and "Overlordship" reserved to the kings, a distinction that I think is not always easy to make because of the lack of explicit documentation; Veluthat (1997: 38–40; 2012: 120–121) uses "chiefs"; Talbot (2001: 154) distinguishes, rather arbitrarily according to her, "princes" and "chiefs"

the urban centre of Paḷuvūr, about 30 km north of Tanjavur, between the 9th and the 11th centuries.

### Defining the territory of a minor dynasty

Defining the territory of a minor dynasty is rather tricky. Indeed, while the territory of a major dynasty can theoretically be roughly determined by localizing the inscriptions using the regnal years of their kings, the same approach cannot be followed for the minor dynasties since they use the regnal years of the kings of major dynasties to date their records. Many of the minor kings made donations in various temples scattered over a rather large territory, which does not necessarily imply that the shrine to which they donated was included in their kingdom. Indeed, they may have travelled, perhaps during one of their military campaigns.<sup>5</sup> But if defining the exact boundaries of a minor dynasty's territory remains a difficult task, we can often identify a centre where the little kings seem to have been markedly active. Again, every minor dynasty may have been structured on a different model. For instance, the concentration of inscriptions involving a sovereign who claims to belong to the Bāṇa lineage in Tiruvallam (about 15 km north-east of Vellore) indicates that this place may have been their capital; the epigraphical records of the Irukkuvēḷs constantly refer to the Irukkuvēḷs of Koṭumpālūr, where they built a Śaiva complex, suggesting that it was the place where they settled; the Muttaraiyars may have had their headquarters in Centalai or Niyamam (about 20 km north-west of Tanjavur), as inscriptions portraying their kings were recovered from this place, although Muttaraiyars also built temples in other places, such as Pūvalakuṭi (Poṇṇamaravati taluk, Sivaganga district) or Nārttamalai (about 20 km north of Pudukkottai), suggesting that they may have controlled a larger territory—if we suppose that a king may have founded a temple only in a territory he ruled over. For the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, we assume that Paḷuvūr was the centre of the territory they were governing because there is a high concentration of inscriptions mentioning their names in various circumstances, and they seem to have weighed significantly on the administration and organization of the place, as we shall discover in this study.

The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars and their small kingdom of Paḷuvūr appeared to me to be an ideal point of entry into the study of those minor dynasties. Indeed, there are four temples still extant in a perimeter of approximately 10 square kilometres, on

among “subordinates of noble background”; Ali (2006: 32–37) calls them mostly “subordinate kings”; Orr (2016) chooses “chiefs”.

<sup>5</sup> For the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, see Appendix 2, which includes a map.

which we find a large number of inscriptions mentioning the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. The small size of Paḷuvūr with its high concentration of remains thus turns it into a laboratory in which both the contours of a specific minor dynasty could be outlined and the interactions between the different kinds of temple could be mapped, depending on their patronage and the communities related to their organization.

### The little kingdom of Paḷuvūr and its temples

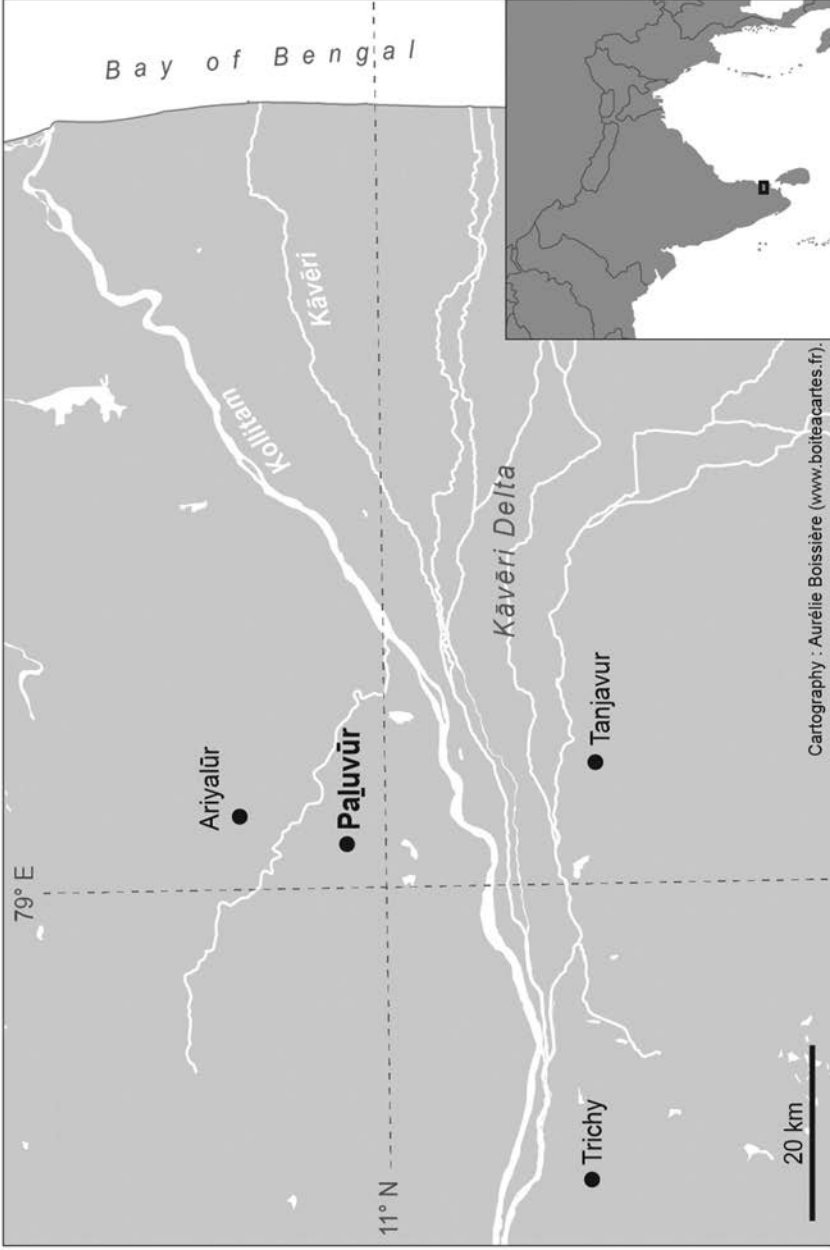
Paḷuvūr (Ariyalūr taluk and district, formerly in the Uṭaiyārpālaiyam taluk, Trichy district) is located on the northern bank of the Kāvēri, between the district headquarters Ariyalūr, 14 km to the north, and Tanjavur, about 30 km to the south (see Map I.1). It is situated in the ancient geographical division called Kuṇṛakkūṛram. Under the reign of the Cōla king Rājarāja I, at the end of the 10th century, the *kūṛrams* were transformed into larger divisions called *vaḷanāṭu*,<sup>6</sup> and Kuṇṛakkūṛram became Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷanāṭu.

It is not possible today to precisely outline the original boundaries of this ancient kingdom of Paḷuvūr governed by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars between the 9th and the 11th centuries; the ones which appear on Map I.2 are arbitrary. Paḷuvūr was made up of two parts, constituting today two villages at a distance of approximately 3 km, known as Kīlappaḷuvūr and Mēlappaḷuvūr. As their names suggest, Kīlappaḷuvūr, literally Eastern Paḷuvūr, occupies the eastern part of the ancient Paḷuvūr, while Mēlappaḷuvūr, Western Paḷuvūr, is located on the western side. The eastern quarters of Mēlappaḷuvūr are today called Kīlaiyūr, literally the eastern village/locality. Each locality is surrounded by large adjoining tanks, now dry: one to the north and one to the south of Kīlappaḷuvūr; one to the north-east and one to the west of Mēlappaḷuvūr.

This present-day division between the two villages of Kīlappaḷuvūr and Mēlappaḷuvūr seems to reflect a division which was effective from the first epigraphical testimonies of the site at the end of the 9th century. Kīlappaḷuvūr corresponds to the ancient Cīrupaḷuvūr, literally the small (*cīru*) Paḷuvūr, which had the status of a *brahmadeya*, that is a village given to and administered by Brahmins;<sup>7</sup> Mēlappaḷuvūr corresponds to Perumpaḷuvūr, i.e. the big (*perum*) Paḷuvūr, itself divided in Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr, the great/exceedingly (*maṅṅu*) big (*perum*) Paḷuvūr, in the west, and Avaṅikantarpapuram, in the east—today's Kīlaiyūr. At that time, Perumpaḷuvūr, or a part of it at least, had the status of

<sup>6</sup> Subbarayalu (1973: 19–20) believes that *kūṛram* is equivalent to *nāṭu*. For the appearance of the *vaḷanāṭus* under the reign of Rājarāja, see Subbarayalu (1973: 56–69).

<sup>7</sup> On *brahmadeyas*, see Champakalakshmi (2001); Singh (2009); Veluthat (2012: 204–218).



Map I.1 The site of Paḷuvūr, modern Kīlappaluvūr-Mēlappaluvūr, in Tamil Nadu (map by Aurélie Boissière)



Map I.2 Site map of Paluvūr, modern Kīḷappaluvūr-Mēlappaluvūr (by Zeba Bulkhiz; revised by Aurélie Boissière)

a *devadāna*, literally a gift (*dāna*) to the god (*deva*), corresponding to land belonging to the god, and therefore to a temple.<sup>8</sup>

The present study is based upon the examination of four still-standing and still-active Śaiva temples: the Avaṅikantarpa Īśvaragrhattu Mahādeva temple complex (AIM), today called Ireṭṭaikōyil (the twin temples), and the Pakaiviṭai Īśvaragrhattu Mahādeva temple (PIM), today called Sundareśvara, in Mēlappaḷuvūr; the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple and the Maṛavaṅīśvara temple in Kīlappaḷuvūr (see Map I.2). This is the only significant surviving material that I could locate in Paḷuvūr belonging to the period between the 9th and the 11th centuries, which constitutes the time period of this book.<sup>9</sup> I have excluded the Vaiṣṇava temple in Kīlappaḷuvūr from the scope of this study because its architecture and sculpture appear to be quite recent, and the only inscription ever recorded on this shrine (ARE 1924, no. 224), today lost, was dated to the 24th regnal year of a Kulottuṅgaçōḷa. There is thus no way for us to know if the temple existed during the time of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars.

### The Brahmanical temple

The Brahmanical temple already has a long history as we enter the 9th century, when this study begins.<sup>10</sup> More than religious monuments for common people, where faith is expressed and rituals practiced, temples were nodes of power structuring the society, notably because of the wealth they possessed and the powerful communities involved in their patronage. Stone temples appeared in the Tamil-speaking South in the 6th century, most of them excavated and

<sup>8</sup> On *devadānas*, whose names often end with –nallūr, see Sastri (1935–37: 580–582) and Subbarayalu (2012: 65–68), who focuses on the question related to tax payments.

<sup>9</sup> There are, in fact, other temples and vestiges in Paḷuvūr, some of them likely to belong to the Çōḷa period, such as a ruined Śiva stone temple north of Mēlappaḷuvūr, on the way to the northern tank (11°02'44.46"N 79°02'29.38"E). However, I was not able to go beyond the mere observation of its presence and could not draw any significant conclusions by including it in this study. In the photographic collection of the IFP/EFEO, there are pictures of an impressive Kālī, along with other goddesses, from the Kālī temple north of Mēlappaḷuvūr, as well as statues of goddesses from the Celliyāmmaṅ temple, probably nearby. Many of them seem to pertain to the Çōḷa period, probably in the later half. See also Legrand-Rousseau for other remains (1987: 21). Tyagarajan (2014: 32, 70, 93) proposes to see in the modern names, such as Kōṭṭaikarai, Māḷikaimēṭu, etc., a reminiscence of the ancient landscape, but I hesitate to follow him on this point.

<sup>10</sup> The development of the Bhakti movement—a religious movement based on intimate personal devotion between an individual and his chosen god, a path newly accessible to individuals of low social status and women—began in the Tamil-speaking South around the 6th or 7th century A.D. It found concrete expression in texts of vernacular languages, such as the Śaiva *Tēvāram* or the Vaiṣṇava *Divyaprabhandam*, and in the erection of monuments to house the deities. There is a monumental amount of secondary literature on the topic of Bhakti in the Tamil Country, of which I mention only a few examples here: Rangaswamy (1958); Narayanan and Veluthat (1978); Hardy (1983); Gros (1984); Pechilis Prentis (1999); Orr (2000: 22–25; 2014); Schmid (2005; 2014a; 2014b); Francis (2014); Francis and Schmid (2014; 2016); Gillet (2014a; 2014b; 2014c).



patronized by the Pallava kings. As we go further on in time, by the 8th century, royal temples were erected in stone. However, besides these royal monuments, which are the nexus of a potent visual royal discourse, temples patronized and managed by local communities were built in villages from at least the 7th century, in perishable materials and bricks mostly, but often rebuilt in stone in the course of the 10th century.<sup>11</sup> We would thus be in the presence of two rather distinct patterns of organization of these monuments, defined by the community that patronized them: the royal temple *versus* the local, or village temple. But nuances may be brought to this dichotomy, in the sense that a minor dynasty may patronize a temple—which then makes it a “minor royal temple”, a “minor majesty”—and that different social networks, besides the founding community, were specifically involved as donors, protectors of the endowments, etc., and were consequently associated with the temple. This will find an echo in the following study, as the functioning of these monuments responding to different social configurations, different discourses, and different modes of integration in the local society, will be stressed.

The Tamil-speaking South appears to be a unique region as regards its temples. Besides reflecting the development of an accomplished form of art and architecture, the stone temples of the Tamil Country are the repositories of innumerable inscriptions, sometimes covering entire walls. These documents, far less frequent in the rest of the Indian peninsula, are extremely valuable, for they do not solely record donations to the god enshrined in the sanctuary. They sometimes register orders and decisions, local as well as royal; land and water management measures; taxations; events in the locality, such as murders, birthdays; and more. If the ultimate intention of an inscription is often devotional, every element of the epigraph, such as a name or a profession, can convey information regarding traits and practices of the society where the temple is rooted. This explains why they are so commonly used in studies that attempt to map the social, political, economic, and religious organization of a site corresponding to the period of the engraving.<sup>12</sup>

However useful and informative the temples and their inscriptions may be, one should never lose the perspective that these archaeological documents are intrinsically biased. Both the temples and the inscriptions embody the view and the discourse of those who produce them, and thus what we can access

<sup>11</sup> See Gillet (2022).

<sup>12</sup> On the importance of inscriptions, which reveal current practices of “real individuals rather than (...) the normative ideals prevalent in much of the contemporary literature”, and the necessity of their treatment as archaeological objects, see the incisive presentation of Talbot (2001: 11–16). On the use of Tamil inscriptions more specifically, see Orr (2000: 26–36; 2006). On the history of publication of South Indian inscriptions, see Orr (2006); Subbarayalu (2012: 15–26). On the history of collecting inscriptions and the different theories surrounding this process in the colonial period, see Wagoner (2003).

today is a specific aspect of a specific community or communities inserted in a specific context.<sup>13</sup> This must not prevent us from proceeding with studies based on temples and inscriptions, but it is important to keep in mind, while analysing these documents, the partiality, and consequently the limitations of those sources. Moreover, it is equally essential to realize that these sources do not reflect the entirety of the society but concern only those who were active in and around the temples.<sup>14</sup> Although I do not deny the importance of the temple in structuring the society of this period, I would refrain from considering the temple as a necessarily unique and central point of urbanism—as Heitzman (1997: 107–115; 1987b), following many others, does—because the data we have are specifically inscribed on those temples. There may have been other important nodes of power that are no longer accessible. The communities involved in the life of a temple, or even simply connected to it at a point in time, whether founders, donors, dancers, potters, etc., are communities which retain some sort of power—financial, political, and/or religious—in the society. Other communities, because they did not want to be connected to a temple, or any other social group who did not have status high enough or access to wealth sufficient to be represented in these donations, are excluded from these records, although they certainly had a significant role to play in the functioning of the locality. The voice of those communities excluded from the sphere of the temples is lost for now, and it is to be hoped that archaeological digging may one day provide data enabling us to include them in our perception of the society and thus attain a comprehensive understanding of that period. Based on the temples and their inscriptions, this study consequently reflects mostly the point of view of the powerful, those possessing a high status in the society, and of those revolving around these monuments.

### **The constitution of a corpus**

Aware of those limitations, I have centred the present study of these four monuments upon the analysis of the inscriptions mainly, but have also included the analysis of the general organizational features of the temples, as well as remarks on their iconography and architecture. These remain peripheral, however, since this aspect was partly dealt with in previous scholarship. Indeed, in the sixties and seventies, the site of Paḷuvūr specifically kindled the interest of two scholars, S.R. Balasubrahmanyam and D. Barrett, who granted these temples

<sup>13</sup> See Talbot (2001: 14–15), who insists that although an inscription records an event or a transaction, thus recording an empirical fact, it is also a “discourse containing representations of the self and the world”; Cox (2016: 95–96).

<sup>14</sup> See Narayana Rao et al. (1992: 32); Orr (2000: 27); Veluthat (2012: 30).

a significant place in their respective studies on what they labelled “Cōla art”.<sup>15</sup> However interesting and pioneering the studies of Balasubrahmanyam and Barrett were, they remained at a rather general and descriptive level. In 1983, the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* dedicated the tenth chapter of the first volume to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars of Paḷuvūr. M.A. Dhaky, who wrote the chapter, did not develop much—the study of the site is contracted into only five pages and two plans (214–218). Five years later, B. Legrand-Rousseau was the first scholar to devote an entire monograph to the architecture and iconography of one temple complex of the site, the Avaṇikantarpa Īsvaraḡhattu Mahādeva (AIM). More recently, unfortunately accessible only to those who know Tamil, Kalaikkovan (2002) and Tyagarajan (2014) dedicated a book to Paḷuvūr and to the Pakaiviṭai Īsvaraḡhattu Mahāveva (PIM), respectively. The latter focuses essentially on the epigraphical corpus, and was a great resource in sorting out the fragments of inscriptions in this temple.

Inspired, on the one hand, by the empirical approach of Y. Subbarayalu (1973; 2012), Karashima et al. (1978), Karashima (1984), Heitzman (1997), Orr (2000), Talbot (2001), and Cox (2016)—with his particularly inspiring three points of entry, which are history, politics, and philology (2016: 9–26)—, who gathered large corpuses of primary sources upon which they built insightful analysis<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 13–33; 1966: 107–114; 1971: 30–38) and Barrett (1965: 11–14; 1974: 50–52, 71, 97–98). It is striking to note that Balasubrahmanyam (1963) chose the temples of Paḷuvūr as the representative of what he labelled the early phase of “Cōla art”, while he himself acknowledged that these temples were built by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. On the difficulty of defining a “Cōla art”, see Schmid (2014a: 13–16).

<sup>16</sup> These scholars do not often take a firm position regarding the theoretical state models elaborated and argued upon rather vigorously in the secondary literature since the 1960s, outlined in what follows. The feudal model, introduced by Kosambi (1956) and Sharma (2011), presupposes a peasantry whose status is equivalent to that of serfdom, deprived of their surplus labour and surplus produce, to the profit of the “manorial magnates”, in a predominantly agrarian society. The idea of the segmentary state, theorized by Burton Stein (1980; 2011), emerged against the centralized theory of the Cōla state outlined by Sastri (1935–37); Stein argues that the state is not unitary and centralized but rather its cohesion rests on fragmented smaller political units which are ritually bound to the anointed king of the centre. The integrative model, proposed by Chattopadhyaya (1994) and Kulke (1993; 2011), by far the most flexible and adaptable, focuses on the idea that the larger state society was possible through local state formations, transformations and integration of tribes and clans, expansion of caste, and appropriation of cults, emphasizing both the important role played by the relation between kings and Brahmins and the significant integrative role of royal patronage of temples. Heitzman (1987a; 1997: 11–20), after presenting the centralized, feudal, and segmentary state models, proposes to go beyond them and adopt the empiricist approach, resting on statistical and locational methodologies. Many scholars still discuss these models and take sometimes differing positions. Talbot (2001: 5–7) adheres to the model of Chattopadhyaya and Kulke and rejects the feudal model theorized by Sharma. Subrahmanyam (1999) discusses—and criticizes—mainly the model of the segmentary state. Peabody (2003: 3–8) does not even consider the feudal model but only the models of Stein and Dirks (1987), centred on royal gift-giving. Veluthat (2012: 22–29) focuses on South India, specifically on the views of Sastri and Stein, and ends up rallying the “feudal south Indian” model (2012: 259–268). Ali (2006: 6–7), following the work of Ronald Inden, considers himself somehow outside the debate on the structure of the state in analysing “the specific activities and ideas of the individual men who composed it”, but still comes back a few pages later (2006: 21–22) to the theories of feudalism and post-feudalism. Hawkes

and, on the other hand, by the works of Charlotte Schmid, L. Tyagarajan, and G. Vijayavenugopal, with their rather novel approach of studying a temple in its entirety, considering its whole epigraphical corpus in order to penetrate its history further,<sup>17</sup> I have proposed a complete overview of the epigraphy of the site, temple by temple. The work of these scholars convinced me that this way of working had now become a necessity: a comprehensive study of a site, which puts together and links the entirety of the material culture as well as the text of the inscriptions of all the monuments, will complement what has been established so far.

For the present investigation, I have thus gathered a corpus of 136 inscriptions in total from the four temples of Paḷuvūr. Although some of these epigraphs are posterior to the period of rule of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, I have nevertheless included them when they belong to the Cōḷa period, providing a certain coherence for this ensemble beyond the little kings. I have personally located every inscription *in situ*, photographed it, read it, verified and eventually corrected the text when the inscription was previously edited (87 of them), established the text when it was not (49 of them), and proposed an English translation for all of them. The translations are mostly literal and often imperfect, but engage with the notion of “transparency” so finely expressed by Cox (2016: 24). Furthermore, this has the advantage of offering an almost intelligible text to those who do not read Tamil inscriptions. With this translating endeavour, which raised numerous questions and uncertainties in its process, I hope I can contribute to these documents becoming accessible to a larger public, and follow thus the injunction of Noboru Karashima (2001: 57–58), who deplored the lack of editions and translations. The result of this work is gathered in Appendix I. I have chosen to exclude the *meykkīrttis* (Tamil versified eulogies) of the Cōḷa kings which preface some of the donations. This is a choice that may be criticized, for a *meykkīrtti* is a significant element in the global understanding of a corpus,<sup>18</sup> but since the nature of these eulogies is different from the donative part of the inscriptions, editing and translating them would have entailed another type of work. Moreover, they

(2014), describing the feudal, integrative, and segmentary models, highlights the lack of archaeological investigation. Looking at the large array of positions of scholars working on different periods and geographical areas, we may assume that all of these models seem to be convincing at some point and in some specific contexts, as Singh (2011) notices.

<sup>17</sup> Schmid (2005; 2014a); Tyagarajan (2014); Vijayavenugopal (2017; 2022); for the past few years, G. Vijayavenugopal has been working on the corpuses of various Śiva temples of the Tamil Country, such as Uṭaiyarkuṭi, yet to be published. I have extensively discussed this approach and its advantages with him. One could also mention the pioneer study of the site of Uttaramērūr by Gros and Nagaswamy (1970), even if the inscriptions are neither edited nor translated.

<sup>18</sup> See Francis and Schmid (2010); Cox (2016: 53–60). Short sentences preceding a title, such as *maturai koṇṭa* or *pāṇṭiyan talai koṇṭa* preceding the titles of Parāntaka I and Āditya II respectively, are considered as proto-*meykkīrttis* by Francis and Schmid (2010: xii–xv), and I have included them in my corpus. Full forms of *meykkīrttis* appear at the beginning of the 11th century, with Rājārāja I. In the AIM, out of seven inscriptions from the beginning of the 11th century (four from Rājārāja I and three from Rājendra I), five open with a *meykkīrtti* and one with the short version of Rājārāja

concern the Cōḷa kings, and their content would have little bearings on the understanding of our little kings. I have signalled in the Appendix, though, the presence of a *meykkīrtti* at the beginning of an inscription.

Most of the analyses that I make in the body of this book are based on these records, consistently referred to by their number, from #1 to #136, so that the reader can always access the text upon which my argument rests. To this corpus of 136 inscriptions from Paḷuvūr, I have added 14 epigraphs found in other sites, because they mention a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little king or a member of the dynasty. In some cases, I could not access the inscriptions personally, and I have then supplied the editions already existing. Those inscriptions are in Appendix 2, numbered from #137 to #150. Appendix 4 gathers a series of photos (from Fig. A.1 to Fig. A.97) providing a broad visual support to the reader.

### Plan of the book

The book is divided into five chapters. The first is a brief and tentative biography of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, constructed upon what we can infer from the inscriptions. It will provide a framework for the analysis of the temples which will occupy the following four chapters. For each temple, I will strive to present their nature, role, patrons, networks involved in the donations and the organization, the gifts, and all other information I can draw from the analysis of the materiality of the monument and from the inscriptions. The temples of Paḷuvūr attracted sponsorship and donations by various communities and individuals, rendering the status of each temple sometimes difficult to define; but we will nevertheless see some rather clear patterns emerging, of temples engulfed in the networks of the little kings, of the merchant community, of the village, and of the Brahmin community. The data gathered during the examination of each temple will be summarized in the conclusion, the temples linked, their interactions and the networks of power mapped, to present an overview of the constitution, the life, the developments, the societal organization of this little kingdom between the 9th and the 11th century. We are now ready to venture into the details of the investigation.

Ūs *meykkīrtti: cālai kalam aṛutta*. In the main shrine of the PIM, out of five legible inscriptions from this time (from Rājarāja I), only one has a *meykkīrtti*, while three have the contracted form *cālai kalam aṛutta*. On the Tiruttōṅṅamuṭaiyār temple (the goddess's shrine in the PIM), out of eight inscriptions from the 11th century (one from Rājarāja I and seven from Kulottuṅga I), four open with a *meykkīrtti*. There are no post-10th-century inscriptions in the Maṛavaṇīśvara and therefore no *meykkīrttis*. In the Ālantuṛai Mahādeva temple, out of thirty-two inscriptions from the 11th century (fifteen from Rājarāja I, four from Rājendra I, five from Kulottuṅga I, four from an unidentified Rājādhirāja, one from Vikramacōḷa, one from Kulottuṅga II, two from unidentified kings), eight open with a *meykkīrtti*, while eight begin with the short version of *cālai kalam aṛutta* or *kantaḷūr cālai kalam aṛutta* for Rājarāja I. The *meykkīrttis* thus seem to be used more often in inscriptions from the AIM and the Tiruttōṅṅamuṭaiyār.

# 1

## A tentative biography of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars

Before presenting the temples and the corpus of inscriptions which constitute the core of this study, I shall introduce, as briefly but also as completely as possible, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little kings, since they provide the frame to this work. None of the documents in which the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars appear supply a “narrative” of the dynasty, even a sketchy or truncated one. These little kings are ignored by Tamil literature, and they did not issue orders recorded on copperplates that are so valuable for the reconstruction of dynastic histories and discourses. What we know of these little kings is literally squeezed out of some names or sentences mostly found in stone inscriptions on the temples of Paḷuvūr. This situation renders any attempt to provide a detailed “Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars’ narrative” rather tentative, and perhaps almost vain.<sup>1</sup> That said, I will strive here to present the specifics concerning the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars and their rule that we can infer from the epigraphical material gathered in Appendices 1 and 2.

### The name

The name Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar may be analysed in different ways. Since the length of the vowels –e and –o is not distinguished in epigraphy, the name of the dynasty may be interpreted as Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar or Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. The last part of the compound, *araiyar*, is not problematic and means “chieftain”, “king”. Subbarayalu (2021: 4), who studies the evolution of this title and the diversity of its use, remarks that it was often post-fixed to lineage names for “small lineage chiefs ruling over small territories”. But two interpretations may be proposed

<sup>1</sup> On the inherent difficulty of reconstructing genealogies and narratives of dynasties in India, even in the case of well-known dynasties, see Henige (1975); Ali (2000); Salomon (2011). Regarding the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar dynasty, a few attempts at a reconstruction have nevertheless been made: a very brief survey was made, in Tamil, by Cuntareca Vandayar (1968); Balasubrahmanyam (1971: 36–37) provides a rather well-elaborated list of inscriptions and the sovereign each refers to; Balambal (1978: 177–189, 203 [genealogy table]), although elaborate, is perhaps the less accurate study; Govindasamy (1979: 31–37) proposes a surprisingly short and incomplete study; equal to Balambal in quality is Govindaraju and Manamalar (1994); the most thorough study of the dynasty, in my view, is that of Tyagarajan (2014: 54–61).

for the first two components.<sup>2</sup> The word *paḷu* has several meanings, but one in particular fits the present context: “tree laden with fruits, banyan tree”, from *paḷu-maram*. There is an obvious connection between the name of the dynasty, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, and the name of their little kingdom of Paḷuvūr, although we do not know if the dynasty took this name because they came to Paḷuvūr,<sup>3</sup> or if the place was so named because it was ruled by a family bearing this name. I would perhaps prefer the first option, because there were other Paḷuvūr in the region.<sup>4</sup> Paḷuvūr, literally “the village (*ūr*) of the banyan tree/trees (*paḷu*)”, would thus relate to the banyan tree, a common tree of the Tamil landscape. The name Ālanturai, “the place (*urai*) of the banyan tree (*ālam*)”, was bestowed upon one of the temples of the village, further confirming the meaning of “banyan tree” for *paḷu*. *Paḷu* in the titles of the sovereigns thus probably refers to the banyan tree as well.

The term *veṭṭu/vēṭṭu* remains to be interpreted. Let us consider the first possibility, *veṭṭu*, in its sense of “cutter”. Paḷu-veṭṭ-araiyar would thus mean the “banyan-cutter kings”. We could draw a parallel with names found in the context of the Pallava dynasty, as Emmanuel Francis pointed out to me. Kāṭavar and Kāṭuveṭṭi, along with its variants such as Kāṭuvaṭṭi, etc., are two names mentioned in inscriptions of the Pallava period (Francis 2013b: 370–371). While Kāṭavar (he [*avar*] of the forest [*kāṭu*]) was sometimes used from the time of Nandivarman II as a title for the kings, Kāṭuveṭṭi (cutters [*veṭṭi*] of forest [*kāṭu*]) seems to have often been used to refer to vassals of the Pallavas, and both are used mainly in local inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> Francis (2013b: 371) proposes that it may be a reference to the clearing activities of forest lands that the Pallavas encouraged.<sup>6</sup> However tempting this hypothesis may be, the second interpretation, in which *vēṭṭu* stands for “hunter”, giving thus the “banyan-hunter-kings”,

<sup>2</sup> I have discarded other possibilities of splitting the words such as: *paḷu-v-eṭṭu-araiyar* (the mature eight kings/the banyan tree eight kings) or *paḷu-v-eṭṭa[m]-araiyar/paḷuvu-eṭṭa[m]-araiyar* (the kings of the long banyan tree/trees/forest).

<sup>3</sup> This is what Balambal (1980: 74) suggests.

<sup>4</sup> I have visited another Paḷuvūr, today called Paḷūr, in the taluk of Trichy. The walls of the stone temple, which shows some architectural features from the 10th century, are inscribed with some interesting epigraphs: the first one, ARE 1918, no. 353, which remains unpublished as far as I know, is dated to the 40th year of *maturai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesari, i.e. Parāntaka I, that is around A.D. 947, and records a gift of gold to Parameśvara of Tiruppaluvūr of Viḷattūrṇātu by Āṭitta[n] Kaṛṇali Pirāṭṭi; SII 13, nos. 117 and 118, dated to the regnal year 5 of a Rājakesarivarman, record donations of land by Mahimālaiya Irukkuvēḷ alias Parāntakaṅ Viracōḷan to Parameśvara of Tiruppaluvūr of Viḷattūrṇātu. Mahimālaiya Irukkuvēḷ was a member of the Irukkuvēḷ dynasty and an active donor of the 10th century in the region of Koṭumpāḷūr. I visited another modern Paḷūr, in the taluk of Uṭaiyārpālaiyam, but I could not see any inscription in this site which would help identify the old name of Paḷuvūr.

<sup>5</sup> See for example ARE 1907, no. 542: a Kanarese inscription on a stela from Puṅganūr (Chittoor district), dated with the regnal year of Mahāvali Vānaracar Vijeyādityan Vīraccūḷamaṇi Prabhūmēru, probably a Bāṇa king, mentions a raid on Kōyatūr by Kāḍuvaṭṭi Muttarasan.

<sup>6</sup> Francis (2013b: 371) also suggests two other possibilities: a reference to the original land of the Pallavas where Kuṟumpars lived, and a more metaphoric reference, which would equate the cutting of a tree with the uprooting of other kings.

is the one retained without hesitation in all scientific literature as well as in the local tradition. Why? Firstly, probably because the figure of the *vēṭṭuvan*, the hunter, is recurrent in ancient Tamil literature, while the *veṭṭuvan*, the cutter, is not. Secondly, because the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars themselves claim, through the adoption of the title Maṛavaṅ/Maṛavaṅnār for their kings, to be Maṛavars, a specific tribe or clan of foresters and hunters.

### Maṛavars and warriors

The root of the name Maṛavar is to be found in the substantive *maṛam*, which according to the Tamil Lexicon (TL), means “valour, bravery” along with its variants such as “wrath, enmity, strength, victory, war, killing, etc.”. Evocations of Maṛavars who instil fear into the heart of those who encounter them pervades the Caṅkam literature and the ancient Tamil epics. Presented as fierce warriors who carry strong bows, as hunters, but also as cattle raiders and plunderers, they are an important component of the ancient society if we rely on the literary corpus.<sup>7</sup> Scholars often claimed that Maṛavars were employed in the armies of kings and, in reward for their services, received gifts of lands and villages, proposing to see this reward as one of the major factors of transformation from a tribal society into a kingdom society.<sup>8</sup> The case of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars may be a concrete illustration of this hypothesis: if the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars originally belonged to the Maṛavar tribe as they seem to claim through their names, we may be in the

<sup>7</sup> A few random references may illustrate the belligerent and fearful character of the Maṛavars. *Akanānūru* 53 mentions the inscribed memorial stones, at the crossroads of the desert track, of those who fell under the arrows of the Maṛavars; *Akanānūru* 67 evokes the memorial stones adorned with peacock feathers of the Maṛavars who fell in a fight; *Akanānūru* 89 vividly describes the fierceness of the Maṛavars engaged in battle, cutting off the heads of other warriors; *Akanānūru* 101 refers to the cattle-raiding activity of the Maṛavars; *Kuruntokai* 297 and 331 refer to the Maṛavars as plunderers and murderers of travellers; the Maṛavars may have had links with kings, as *Akanānūru* 13 and *Akanānūru* 77 suggest when referring respectively to a Teṇṇavaṅ (the Southern one, title of a Pāṇḍya king) Maṛavaṅ (line 6) and to a Vaṇavaṅ (title of a Cēra king) Maṛavaṅ (line 15). *Puṛaṇānūru* 380 probably also links a Maṛavaṅ to Pāṇḍyas (line 5: *teṇṇavar vaya maṛavaṅ*). In general, in the *Puṛaṇānūru*, Maṛavars are presented as warriors more than as highway plunderers. However, I could not find explicit references in the ancient body of Tamil literature to Maṛavars as chieftains under kings, as Gurukkal (2002: 143–144) asserts. Even Narayanan (1977: 72, 73), who regards the Maṛavars as cattle raiders, does not convince me with the few examples he presents. A significant text describing the Maṛavars is Canto 12 of the *Cilappatikāram*, one of the first Tamil epics, probably composed between the 2nd and 7th centuries A.D. It is titled the “Song of the Hunters” (*vēṭṭuva vari*), and is devoted to the Maṛavars, alternately called Eyiṅar, Vēṭar, and Kāṇavaṅ. All the traits of the Maṛavars mentioned above are depicted in this chapter: fierce warriors who live by their bows, as cattle raiders, or as plunderers.

<sup>8</sup> Narayanan (1982: 103–106; 1988a: 110, 111; 1988b: 19–20). Dirks (1976; 1982; 1987) describes, although in a much later period and in a much different context, the transformation of the clan of Maṛavars tribal hunters into chiefs and little kings, through the gift they first received as reward for their services (clearing up of forest, military services, etc.) and then from the gifts they made in their turn (see particularly Dirks 1987: 71–74, 94–95).



presence here of a case of the donation of a small territory as a reward for their involvement in the Cōḷa army.

Indeed, one inscription from the Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva temple evokes the battle of Vēḷḷūr in which the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar participated along with the Cōḷa king. In our inscription #97, dated to the 12th regnal year of Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 918–919), the lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Paratūr in Poykaikuruviṭam, the great chieftain of the army (*paṭai-peru-araiyan*), Nakkaṇ Cāttan, donated goats for a lamp to the temple for “the heroism and glory of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭan Amutaṇār, that day when he entered the fierce battle of Vēḷḷūr, [which] brought the army of Īlam [and] the Pāṇṭiyaṇār with (i.e. against) Perumāṇaṭikaḷ”. The same battle of Vēḷḷūr opposing the Pāṇḍya allied with the king of Īlam (Laṅkā) against the Cōḷa called Perumāṇaṭikaḷ is mentioned in another inscription of the same year engraved in the temple of Tiruppaṅkaṭal (SII 3, no. 99). This is the only clear reference to an involvement of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars in a conflict beside the Cōḷa king. But the records of Paḷuvūr saw recurrent appearances of several military figures: a Kṣatriya (#15), Kaikkōḷas<sup>9</sup> (#125, #26, #108), *peruntirām*.<sup>10</sup> Inscription #125 may confirm the military implication of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars when it mentions a certain “Kaikkōḷan Palatēvan Vaiyiri, who is in Iraṇamukarāman, the young [branch?] of the army of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭan Maṟavanār”, suggesting that the little king possessed or was leading an army.

## Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars and Kerala

Secondary literature often presents the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars as hailing from Kerala.<sup>11</sup> Their Keralese origins is indeed mentioned clearly, but only once, and

<sup>9</sup> The Kaikkōḷars often appear as warriors in the inscriptions, but from the 13th century, they are weavers. See Subbarayalu (2012: 229). In her book devoted to the weavers, Ramaswamy (1985: 14–16) assumes that, before the 13th century, they were sharing their time between weaving during times of peace and fighting during times of war. The inscriptions, which mention simply Kaikkōḷars without associating them with war and armies, must be a reference to weavers according to her. This hypothesis remains, in my view, tentative.

<sup>10</sup> Literally, *perun-tirām* means “big/superior” and “part/constituent/class”. Subbarayalu (2003: 451; 2012: 230) tells us it is equivalent to *perun-tanam/perun-taram*, that he interprets as superior or upper grade of employees in the Cōḷa government, but he adds (2012: 227–228) that *peruntaram*—and *ciṟutaram*—are grades specific to military offices. This is also what Sastri (1935–37: 463–464) seems to have suggested earlier. However, Heitzman (1997: 148 and footnote 9) identified some potters as belonging to the *ciṟutaram* of Rājārāja I, suggesting at least that the grade of *ciṟutaram* was not strictly reserved for military functions. Three inscriptions of our corpus, dated to the 4th (#112), 10th (#126), and 12th (#113) regnal years of Rājārāja, record donations of gold and lands by a certain Cuntaracōḷan, chief (*araiyan*) of the superior grade (*peruntirattu*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭan Maṟavaṇ.

<sup>11</sup> Balambal (1978: 178) associates the fact of coming from Kerala with a dynastic affiliation, that is belonging to the Cēra lineage. With this presupposition, she refutes the Kerala origin of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, because if they were from Kerala this meant to her that they were necessarily Cēra, and she cannot reconcile the idea of a Cēra being under the authority of a Cōḷa. The same assumption

not in their own records but in documents produced under the aegis of the Cōḷa kings. The Sanskrit part of the Aṅṅil copperplates of Sundaracōḷa (EI 15, no. 5), in the middle of the 10th century, gives the genealogy of the Cōḷa kings, as is the case in the other copperplates of the dynasty. Genealogies of the Cōḷa kings are mostly patrilineal. However, the genealogy of the Aṅṅil copperplates is particular in the sense that it introduces the mothers of two kings, who are the father and the grandfather of the currently reigning sovereign.<sup>12</sup> This genealogy tells us that Parāntaka I married a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar princess who begot the succeeding king, Ariṅjaya. The latter, in his turn, married a Vaidumba princess,<sup>13</sup> mother of the donor of the grant, Sundaracōḷa. The names of these queens are not given, but their family is briefly described. Here is what verse 22 tells us about the queen of Parāntaka:

(60) [. . .] paḷuvēṭṭa[ra]ya[r] par[ā]

(61) hvayasya kṣitibharttu[h] kila keraḷeśvarasya tanayā[m]u[du]vāha ra

(62) jalakṣmimiva mūrṭtāmavanīpatissa °eṣaḥ ||

This (eṣaḥ) Lord of the Earth (*avanī patis sa*) [i.e. Parāntaka I] married (*uduvāha > udvāha*) the daughter (*tanayām*) of the Lord of Keraḷa (*keraḷeśvarasya*), namely (*kila*) the bearer of the earth (*kṣitibharttuḥ*) also called (*parāhvayasya*) Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, [she who] incarnates (*mūrṭtām*) the royal majesty (*rajalakṣmimiva > rājalakṣmīmiva*).<sup>14</sup>

If their origins are indeed rooted in the Maṛavar tribe, they had eventually reached a position of power by the 10th century, recognizable not only through the title they are given in these Cōḷa copperplates, i.e. “Lord of Keraḷa” and “bearer of the earth”, but also through the fact that the already powerful Cōḷa kings sought marital alliance with them.

Surprisingly, no reference to their Keralese origins will ever reappear in any of their epigraphical records. We have to turn to another source to find a hint of

is followed by Govindaraju and Manamalar (1994: 151), who conclude that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars were of Cēra origin.

<sup>12</sup> On women in Cōḷa genealogies, see Orr (2016: 408–411).

<sup>13</sup> The Vaidumba family, too, can be counted among the minor dynasties. See ARE 1905, part II, para 28; ARE 1906, part II, para 52; ARE 1907, part II, para 44; Balambal (1978: 108–130). Their territory may be located in the south of the Āndhra territory and in Karnataka, where some inscriptions have been recovered. They seem to have come later to Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam, the north of the Tamil Country.

<sup>14</sup> I have consulted the original text on the facsimile, published in EI 15, no. 5. We note here that the *-lu-* of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar is the Tamil letter while the rest of the word is in Grantha script. The translation proposed by Gopinatha Rao (EI 15, no. 5, p. 68) is: “This same king married the daughter, resembling royal glory incarnate, of the Keraḷa king, who was also called Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar”.

a connection with Kerala. A single hymn of the *Tēvāram*, 2.34, assigned to the poet Campantar, is dedicated to an unspecified Śiva of Paḷuvūr—I shall come back to the question of the temple it is attached to. For now, let us point out that Malaiyālar Brahmins are described in three stanzas (4, 5, and 11, see Appendix 3), a reference which is unique to this corpus and thus seems specific to this site. Malaiyālar refers, according to the TL, to the “Inhabitants of mountainous tracts, as Travancore, Cochin, etc.” which gives the *Tēvāram*, and probably our hymn, as first occurrence. In principle, it could refer to any hilly region, but because it is later lexicalized as referring to the Kerala inhabitants, I assume that it is correct to consider the Malaiyālar of the *Tēvāram* as related to the Kerala Country. It is too specific an evocation to treat as general or fortuitous. The presence of Malaiyālar in the Paḷuvūr of the *Tēvāram* of the 7th–9th centuries, if we accept the commonly proposed dating, testifies to an undeniable relation between Kerala and Paḷuvūr. Paḷuvūr being the capital of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, it is difficult not to connect this surge of Malayāli Brahmins to a Kerala origin of the dynasty clearly stated in the Anpil copperplates. However, it is not possible to decide whether the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, if coming from Kerala, settled in Paḷuvūr and brought with them a suite of Malayāli Brahmins to conduct their rituals or, if, on the contrary, they came to Paḷuvūr because there was already an active community of Keralese Brahmins there.<sup>15</sup>

### A tentative chronology of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars

All inscriptions mentioning a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar are dated in Cōla kings’ regnal years, suggesting that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars recognized the Cōla kings as a superior authority.<sup>16</sup> No epigraphs dated in their own regnal years have so far been discovered, and we may thus assume that they never acquired independence vis-à-vis the Cōla dynasty. It is difficult, in fact sometimes impossible, to date their inscriptions precisely because the Cōla kings whose regnal years are used are usually simply referred to by a title, Rājakesarivarman and Parakesarivarman,

<sup>15</sup> Both the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva and the Pakaivītai Īsvaraḡhattu Mahādeva temples are believed to be associated with the mythological figure of Paraśūrāma, who atoned for the murder of his mother. See Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 28; 1966: 111, 113). Paraśūrāma is a mythological figure linked to the land of Kerala (see Veluthat 2009: 10), and his inclusion in the mythology of these temples may be reminiscent of the presence of Malayālis in Paḷuvūr.

<sup>16</sup> I have not dealt specifically with the Cōla dynasty and kingdom in this book, although it has to be constantly referred to since it constitutes the wider frame of the present analysis. Numerous studies have been devoted to it, beginning with the *magnus opus* of Sastri (1935–37). Besides that work, I more specifically relied on the works of Stein (1980); Hall (1980); Sethuraman (1980); Karashima et al. (1978); Karashima (1984); Champakalakshmi (1996); Heitzman (1997); Orr (2000); Veluthat (2009); Subbarayalu (2012); Cox (2016); Cane (2017). For an astute analysis of the historiography of the Cōla period, see more particularly Cox (2016: 9–16).

which they bear alternatively when they ascend the throne. For many records, identifying the king is mere guesswork. Moreover, the confusion regarding the succession of Cōḷa kings in the third quarter of the 10th and in the third quarter of the 11th century is such that any genealogical reconstruction remains highly tentative. But I could not resist the temptation to assign a chronological framework to my study, and for this I had to opt for a chronological succession of Cōḷa kings, however uncertain it may be. I present it here, with most of the dates being only speculative, and ignoring the filiation of the sovereigns which I am not concerned with as regards the Cōḷas. For the early Cōḷa period, that is up to Rājarāja I, I have followed the succession given by Sethuraman (1980). For the subsequent period, I have chosen the one proposed by Cox (2016). Although Cōḷa kings continued to rule throughout the 13th century, my chronology stops at Vikramacōḷa in the 12th century because the subsequent kings are not alluded to in the present study.

- Parakesarivarman Vijayālaya (?–c. 871)  
 Rājakesarivarman Āditya I (c. 871–c. 907)  
 Parakesarivarman Parāntaka I (c. 906/907–c. 954) easily identifiable when his title of Kōpparakesari is preceded by *matirai koṇṭa* (he who has taken Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas)  
 Rājakesarivarman Gaṇḍarāditya (c. 949/950–c. 958)  
 Parakesarivarman Ariṅjaya (c. 953–c. 960)  
 Rājakesarivarman Sundaracōḷa (c. 957–c. 973)  
 Parakesarivarman Āditya II (c. 960–c. 965)—sometimes said to be the one who took the head of the Pāṇḍya (*pāṇḍya talai koṇṭa*)  
 Parakesarivarman Uttamacōḷa (c. 971–c. 987)—easily identifiable when his title Kōpparakesarivarman is followed by his name Uttamacōḷa mainly at the end of his reign, especially during his last regnal year, i.e. his 16th regnal year  
 Rājakesarivarman Rājarāja I (985–1014)—easily identifiable when the specific title Rājarājakesari or Śrīmūmaṭṭicōḷa is used as well as the *meykkīrtti* beginning with *kāntalūr cālai kalam arutta*  
 Parakesarivarman Rājendra I (c. 1012–c. 1044)  
 Rājakesarivarman Rājādhirāja (c. 1018–c. 1054)  
 Parakesarivarman Rājendracōḷadeva (c. 1052–c. 1063)  
 Rājakesarivarman Rājamahendra (c. 1060–c. 1063?)  
 Rājakesarivarman Vīrarājendra (c. 1062–c. 1070?)  
 Parakesarivarman Adhirājendra (c. 1069–c. 1072)  
 Rājakesarivarman Rājendracōḷa/Kulottuṅga (1069–1122) [from the collateral branch of the Cāḷukyas of Veṅgī]  
 Vikramacōḷa (1118–1135)

Hampered with these chronological uncertainties, I shall nevertheless attempt to outline an approximate chronology of our little kings: I provide the number of the inscription referring to the little king—keeping in mind that a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar who appears in an inscription may not necessarily be the current ruler of Paḷuvūr—, and I briefly present the reasons which led me to this chronology. The documents we have access to do not provide explicit details concerning the relationship between two Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars: we may infer some relations such as father/son or brothers in some cases, since the first name in the Tamil tradition is usually that of the father. Otherwise, I assume they all belong to the same family because the name Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar precedes every one of their personal names, often preceded itself by the term of respect *Aṭikaḷ*.

Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṅ Kaṅṭaṅ—end of the 9th century?

#13 (RY 12), #14 (RY 22) of a Kōvirājakesarivarman

Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṅ Maṛavaṅ—end of the 9th century?

#15 (RY 22) of a . . . rivarman

The first two are often considered to have ruled during the reigns of Āditya I and Parāntaka I.<sup>17</sup> This hypothesis is based mainly upon the dating of the three inscriptions where their names appear, engraved on the AIM: #13, #14, and #15. I will discuss this dating later. Because Kumaraṅ, the first component of the name which usually refers to the name of the father, is common to the names of these two sovereigns, Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 16; 1966: 108) assumed that Kumaraṅ Kaṅṭaṅ and Kumaraṅ Maṛavaṅ were brothers. I find this argument rather convincing.

Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Amutaṅar—active in the reign of Parāntaka I

#97 mentions Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Amutaṅar in the 12th regnal year of *maturai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman, corresponding approximately to A.D. 918–919. He may have been the son of Kumaraṅ Kaṅṭaṅ, because his first name, Kaṅṭaṅ, refers to that of his father. This name seems to appear in #25, in the second part of the donation dated to the 16th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa, *circa* A.D. 987, which would preclude the possibility of its referring to the same sovereign. However, the letters are no longer legible and I could not verify the reading. Moreover, the record was greatly damaged, even in 1924, when the estampage

<sup>17</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 16–17; 60–63); Balambal (1978: 182); Tyagarajan (2014: 49, 54). *Contra* Govindasamy (1979: 35); Govindaraju and Manamalar (1994: 151); Gayatri (2012: 531), who place him between A.D. 1007 and 1020.

was made, and we cannot identify the role of this Amutaṅar. Considering the various uncertainties related to this inscription, it is impossible to determine whether there were two Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar named Kaṅṭaṅ Amutaṅar, one in 918 and one in 987, or if the later record refers to an older sovereign.

Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ—active from the RY 5 of Sundaracōḷa to the RY 9 of Uttamacōḷa

In #104, dated to the 9th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman and mentioning Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ, the donor is Kaucikaṅ Māraṅ, whom we know was active during the reign of Uttamacōḷa and the early years of Rājārāja I from other inscriptions. This Kōpparakesarivarman may thus be identified with Uttamacōḷa. Based on this identification, I assume that the other unidentified Rājakesarivarman and Kōpparakesarivarman whose regnal years are used to date epigraphs where Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ appears are Rājakesari alias Sundaracōḷa (#83: RY 5; #6: RY 10; #101: RY 12; #8: RY 13; #24: RY lost) and Parakesari alias Uttamacōḷa (#107: RY 8; #72 and #77: RY 9). The name Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ also appears in #89, dated to the 15th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman, again identified with Uttamacōḷa based on the donor, Kaucikaṅ Māraṅ. However, this epigraph mentions Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ as the one who graciously agreed that Kaucikaṅ Māraṅ should build this temple, an event that happened before the 9th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa. Consequently, I assume that the appearance of this Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar in the record does not imply that he was still ruling in the 15th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa.

Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Cuntaracōḷa—active in the RY 12 and 13 of Uttamacōḷa

Inscription #36 is dated to the 12th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uttamacōḷar, and records a donation made for the benefit of Tēvaṭi Pukaḷarai, daughter of Kaṅṭaṅ Tēvaṭi, lord of Nāvalūr. In the 13th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, Kaṅṭaṅ Tēvaṭi, lord of Nāvalūr, himself made a donation to the AIM by the grace of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Cuntaracōḷa (#37). Because the donor is the father of the woman for whom the first donation was made, I suppose that #37 is dated to the 13th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa. Consequently, #105 was probably engraved in the 12th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, who is Uttamacōḷa, because it mentions Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Cuntaracōḷa. Since the first name of this sovereign, supposed to refer to his father's name, is Kaṅṭaṅ, it is plausible that he was the son of Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ who ruled just before him. A younger brother of his, Kaṅṭaṅ Catturubhayāṅkaraṅ, is mentioned in the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman,

who is obviously Uttamacōla, in Uṭaiyārkuṭi (#145). However, this Kaṇṭaṇ Catturubhayaṅkaraṇ does not appear in the records of Paḷuvūr.

Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ—active from the RY 15 of Uttamacōla to the RY 15 of Rājarāja I

This Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ is the sovereign for whom we have the most numerous and clearest records. He appears in inscriptions referring to either Uttamacōla or Rājarāja I without ambiguity: #35, #48, #49, #112, #126, #127, #31, #12, #42, #44, #46. Based on these, the inscriptions where he is mentioned dated in the regnal years of an unidentified Kōpparakesarivarman (#19) or an unidentified Rājakesarivarman (#123, #124, #50, #125, #42, #44, #46) may be assigned to Uttamacōla and Rājarāja I, respectively. Because he shared the first same name, Kaṇṭaṇ, with his predecessor, we may infer that they were brothers, sons of Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ.<sup>18</sup>

There are a few Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars who I was not able to place chronologically:

Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Vikramāditya: #87, RY 8 of a Kōpparakesarivarman.

Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṇ Maturāntakaṇ: #111, RY 12 of a Kōpparakesarivarman.

S. Swaminathan, editor of inscriptions #87 and #111 in SII 32, assigns these two Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars to the time of Uttamacōla, but no internal elements enable us to confirm this, and the identification remains arbitrary.

Sites other than Paḷuvūr reveal the names of other Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, but again there is no way for us to assign a date with confidence. We find a Nampi Maṛavaṇ in the 19th year of a Kovirājakesarivarman in Tiruvaiyāru (#140); a Kōtaṇṭa Tappiltarman in the 2nd year of a Kōpparakesarivarman in Uṭaiyārkuṭi (#144).

Rare are the appearances of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars in epigraphy after the reign of Rājarāja I. A Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar of Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr is mentioned in the 8th year of Rājendra I (#130), but only through his queen, the donor, remaining unnamed himself. Their power was obviously declining at this point, since they are no longer represented in inscriptions. Outside their stronghold of Paḷuvūr, a very few references subsist after the reign of Rājarāja I, though it is not clear whether they retained a position of power: in Lālkuṭi, a certain Vellāṇaṇ Ceṇaṇ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan of Lālkuṭi is a signatory of a donation in the 35th year of Rājādhirāja (ARE 1928–29, no. 127, end of line 12, beginning of line 13); in Tiruppāmpuram, in the Nannilam taluk, district of Tanjavur, a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar

<sup>18</sup> *Contra* Balambal (1978: 185–186), who proposes that Kaṇṭaṇ Cuntaracōlaṇ and Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ are the same ruler.

makes a donation in the middle of the 12th or 13th century, depending on whether the Tribhuvanacakravartikaḥ Śrīrājarājatēvar used to date the inscription is Rājarāja II or III (#147). The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars of these inscriptions in Lālkuṭi and Tiruppāmpuram may have been descendants of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars of Paḷuvūr.

We do not know exactly what triggered the end of the rule of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars over their little kingdom of Paḷuvūr. The hypothesis of Subbarayalu (2012: 209) and Veluthat (2012: 137), who propose that the centralization process initiated under the reign of Rājarāja I may have changed the political situation, is worth considering.<sup>19</sup> According to them, the little kings of the minor dynasties were deprived of their autonomy and integrated into the Cōḷa administration as officers working directly under the king. Although we do not have any solid evidence to support their view in the case of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, the time frame they suggest for this integration process does coincide with the disappearance of those little kings as active political figures over Paḷuvūr.

### The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar women

There are two kinds of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar women: those from a different family and married into the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar minor dynasty, and those born into the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar family and married into another dynasty. Leslie Orr (2016) would call them “chiefly queens”, but because I chose “little kings” for their husbands, I propose to label them “little queens”.

Records referring to the first ones are found only on the site of Paḷuvūr, and in only two temples of the site, the Maṛavaṇīśvara and the Tiruvālanṭuṛai Mahādeva temple.<sup>20</sup> The earliest inscription is probably the one found in the Maṛavaṇīśvara (#69). It is dated to the 4th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, who may be Parāntaka I. The inscription is badly damaged, but we are able to read that the donor is the daughter (*makaḷār*) of someone whose name ends in -varaiyar, therefore probably a chieftain, and is the queen (*tēviyār*) of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar whose personal name is not given. The other three donations by Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar queens we find on the site are engraved in the Tiruvālanṭuṛai Mahādeva temple: Rāmaṇ Kōviyār, the queen (*deviyār*) of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Vikramāditya (#87); the unnamed queen (*deviyaṭikaḷ*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar

<sup>19</sup> I am less convinced, on the other hand, by the hypothesis of Balambal (1978: 189), who thinks that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars lost their political power because they merged into the Cōḷa family through marriages.

<sup>20</sup> In the context of minor dynasties, this contrasts with the more or less contemporaneous Irukkuvēḷ little queens actively involved in temple building (see Kaimal 2003) and with the dynamic 12th- and 13th-century little queens of the Vāṇakōvaraiyars, the Malaiyamāṅs, and the Kāṭavarāyars (see Orr 2016).



Kaṇṭan Maṛavaṇār (#106); and Vīraṇan Oṛriyūr, wife (*peṇṭāṭṭi*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar of Mannuperumpaḷuvūr (#130). It is quite surprising to discover that the latter made her donation in the 8th regnal year of Rājendracōḷa, because Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar kings do not appear in epigraphs after the reign of Rājarāja I, neither making donations nor supervising them. This inscription thus suggests that they were still present in Paḷuvūr, although we do not know exactly what the extent of their power was.

These records are not sufficient to give us a clear indication as to whom the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars kings married. Only one inscription gives us a hint. Engraved on the western wall of the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple, #72 records a donation of land for a lamp by the Koṅkaṇi Maḷavar Cenninampiyār, maternal uncle of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭanār. Because he is said to be a maternal uncle (*māmaṭikaḷ*) of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, we may surmise that the father of the latter married a Maḷavar princess from the Koṅkaṇi region, on the west coast.

The epigraphy does not reveal numerous examples of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar princesses marrying Cōḷa kings, but those which have reached us are clear enough to show that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars gave their daughters to the ruling Cōḷa king on more than one occasion, from the time of Parāntaka I to that of Uttamacōḷa at least. I have already referred to the first one earlier, the unnamed wife of Parāntaka I and mother of one of the future ruling king Ariṅjaya, mentioned in the Anpil copperplates. She may be the same daughter of the Lord of Kerala who married Parāntaka before his 15th regnal year, mentioned in the Utayēntiram copperplates of the Gaṅga Pṛthivīpati II (SII 2, no. 76, verse 8).<sup>21</sup> She may also be the same queen of Parāntaka, Arumoli Naṅkaiyār, daughter (*makaḷār*) of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, who is mentioned in an inscription of Tiruccenṅampūṅṭi recording a donation by a woman of her entourage in the 18th regnal year of Parāntaka I (#150).<sup>22</sup> Indeed, it seems to me unlikely that Parāntaka I married two Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar princesses—although not impossible—and I would therefore consider that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar princess of the Anpil copperplates is the Arumoli Naṅkaiyār of the Tiruccenṅampūṅṭi epigraph.

The next Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar princess married to a Cōḷa king is mentioned in an inscription of the 12th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa: six of his queens donated

<sup>21</sup> However, the name Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar is not given in this record. Parāntaka I seems to have married two princesses from Kerala: one who is the daughter of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar king and mother of Ariṅjaya, and one who is the daughter of the Cēra king, Kiḷāṇ Aṭikaḷ (SII 19, no. 408).

<sup>22</sup> Schmid (2014a: 208) is reluctant to identify the two. She (2014a: 205–209, 262–266) uses this inscription to include the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars in the network of influences in the region. I agree that they were certainly involved in it, considering that they made donations personally in temples not far from Tiruccenṅampūṅṭi, but this particular inscription of Tiruccenṅampūṅṭi was not made by the daughter of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar directly but by one of her attendants. Of course, the fact that the name of her family appears is certainly significant, but it may be a way for Kuṇavaṇ Curatoṅki, the donor, to make herself important by quoting two prestigious houses she is related to, the Cōḷas and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, whose capital was only about 30 km to the north-west.

to the temple of Cempīyaṅmātēvi, and the daughter of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar is one of them (#148). Her name is lost, but Cane (2017: 517–520 and footnote 1287) suggests that a queen of Uttamacōḷa called Nakkaṅ Viranārāyaṇi, who gave in a few temples of the Cōḷa kingdom (SII 3, no. 137; SII 32, part 2, no. 145; SII 32, part 2, no. 208) and as far north as Kāñcīpuram (SII 32, part 2, no. 222), may be the daughter of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar whose name is damaged in the inscription of the village Cempīyaṅmātēvi. Tyagarajan (2014: 51) seems to have reached the same conclusion because, in his list of the “Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar inscriptions”, he adds the inscription of Kōpurappaṭṭi (SII 32, part 2, no. 145 or SII 32, part 2, no. 208) mentioning a donation by the queen Viranārāyaṇiyār, queen of Uttamacōḷa, although the name Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar does not appear. If this identification is right, she would have claimed her lineage in the temple of Cempīyaṅmātēvi, but not in the others.

The marriage of a princess was mainly a political enterprise, and there were, for the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, other surrounding dynasties with whom it was useful to establish marital ties. One inscription testifies of an alliance with the Irukkuvēḷs. On the compound wall of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, in the 3rd regnal year of Rājarāja, #123 records a donation of silver vessels by the queen of Vikramacōḷa Ilaṅkovēḷar, daughter of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. Vikramacōḷa Ilaṅkovēḷar is almost certainly a ruling member of the Irukkuvēḷ dynasty. We thus have an Irukkuvēḷ queen here, born into the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar dynasty, who returned to her home to make a donation. We notice that she is not named in this epigraph, and that the donation is graciously approved by the ruling Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭan Maṛavanār, perhaps her father and, if not, certainly her close relative.

As was the case on the site of Paḷuvūr, where a queen of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar donated while the kings no longer appear in the epigraphy of the site (#130), a daughter of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, Cempiyāṅ Tēvaṭikaḷar, wife of a certain Muñṇai Vallavaraiyār, made a donation of gold in the 5th regnal year of Rājendracōḷa, inscribed in the temple of Vṛddhācalam (#149). The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar princess appears to be married into a family of chieftains, if we consider the title “araiyar” of her husband, and continues to claim her prestigious origin after males of the family she was born into have become silent.

## The Avanigandharva/Avanikantarpa Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva temple complex (AIM) of Avanikantarpapuram

The Avanigandharva Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva or Avanikantarpa Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva temple complex (AIM) is situated in the eastern quarters (Kīlayūr) of the modern village of Mēlappaḷuvūr (11°02′33.23″N 79°02′29.70″E and see Map I.2). Today it is known locally as the Ireṭṭaikōyil, literally the “Twin temples”, because the ancient core of the complex consists of two shrines side by side, each housing a *liṅga*. The inscriptions on the walls refer to these as the shrine of the southern side and the shrine of the northern side of Avanigandharva Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva. Their modern name, unrelated to ancient material, is Agastyeśvara for the southern shrine and Cōḷeśvara for the northern one.

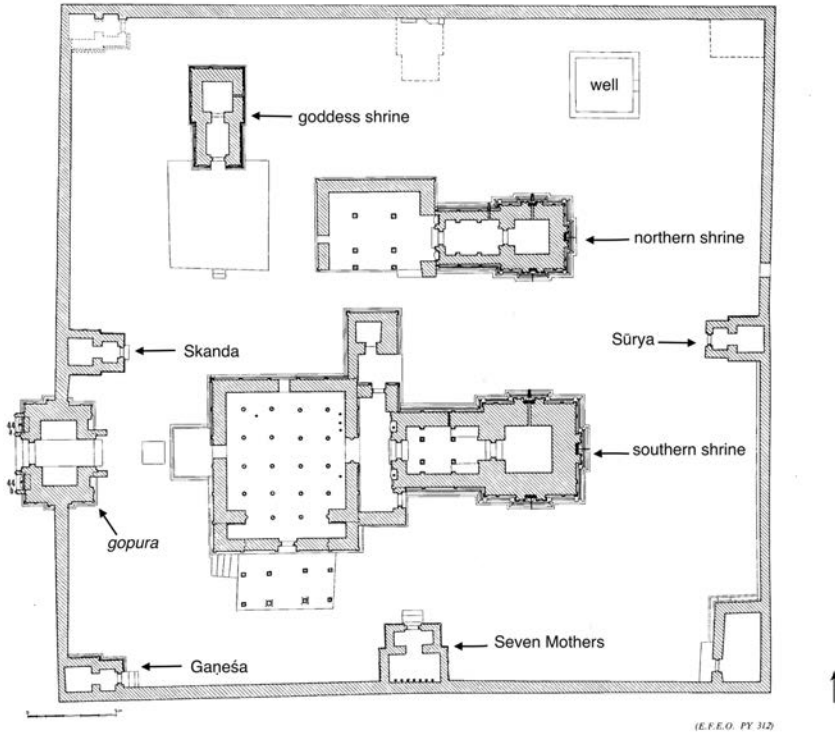
This bare-stone temple complex is under the control of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (HR&CE). While the ASI engaged in some renovation work in 1969–1970,<sup>1</sup> they never excavated the place or its surroundings and what we know today about this monument is based on observations of visible material only. The fact that this monument remains devoid of plaster has contributed greatly to its fame. Indeed, the AIM is the only monument of Paḷuvūr to have been extensively studied. It was never examined in its entirety though, embracing its complete epigraphical corpus, iconography, architecture, organization, and relation to the other temples of Paḷuvūr.<sup>2</sup> I hope I can partially fill this gap with the present study.

Let us present briefly the physical organization of the complex (see Plans 2.1–2.2).

The two granite stone shrines, made up of a sanctuary and an *ardhamandapa* (*avant-corps*), standing next to each other and opening to the

<sup>1</sup> IAR 1969–70: 107. The team of the ASI mainly conducted repairs on floors and roofs, and exposed the inscriptions on the base of the shrine.

<sup>2</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 14–25; 1966: 107–110) and Barrett (1974: 31, 38, 41, 50–52) provided a pioneering but rather general assessment of the temple. EITA (pp. 214–218) focused mainly on architecture. Legrand-Rousseau (1987) dedicated an entire monograph to this complex, analysing essentially its architecture and iconography; the two pages that Gayatri (2012: 531–532) dedicated to this temple do not contribute anything new.

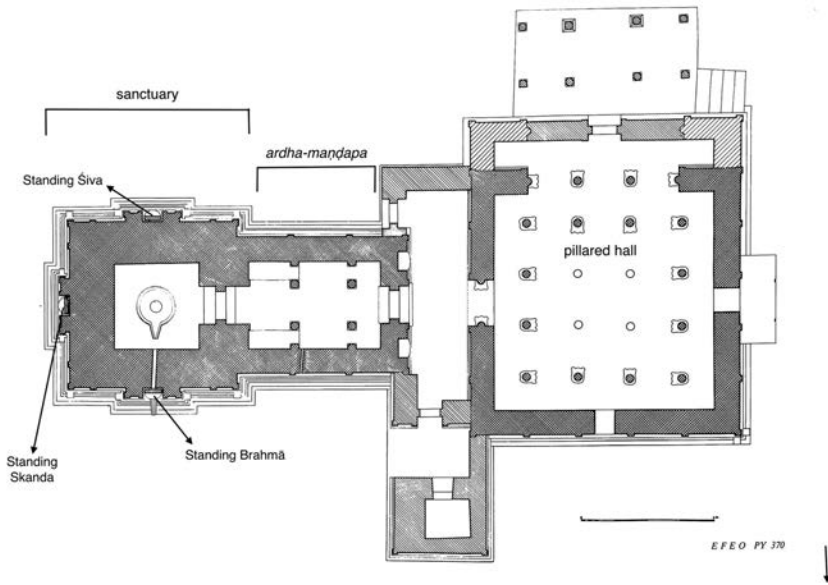


**Plan 2.1** The Avanigandharva/Avanikantarpa Īśvaragr̥h̥attu Mahādeva temple complex (AIM) of Avanikantarpapuram, general plan (©EFEO, PY 312 (1979), annotated by V. Gillet)

west,<sup>3</sup> constitute the core of the complex (see Appendix 4, Fig. A.1–Fig. A.2). The southern shrine is a little taller than the northern one. A *maṇḍapa* (pillared hall) made of yellowish sandstone, a soft stone easier to carve than granite and characteristic of Pallava royal monuments of the 8th and 9th centuries, was added in front of the southern shrine only (see Fig. A.3). Its roof rests on granite pillars with a seated lion at their base. This *maṇḍapa* was originally separate from the shrine, perhaps more or less contemporaneous,<sup>4</sup> hence reminding us of the

<sup>3</sup> Although the eastern direction seems to be preferred for the opening of a temple, it is rather common in the Tamil-speaking South to find temples opening to the west. *Contra* Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 23).

<sup>4</sup> Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 54–58, 67–68) believes that this *maṇḍapa* was built just after the shrine it precedes. She draws her conclusions upon the following elements: the first one is the presence of the titles inscribed on four pillars of this *maṇḍapa*, that she attributes to the founder of the shrine (I will come back to these inscriptions, our #23, later); she notices similarities between some architectural features of the shrine and the *maṇḍapa*, such as pilasters, capitals, entablature; she remarks that there are some differences between the bases of the two, especially the presence of the



Plan 2.2 Plan of the southern shrine of the AIM (©EFEO, PY 370 (1979), annotated by V. Gillet)

goddess *maṇḍapa* in front of the Pallava Kailāsanātha temple in Kāñcīpuram as well as the *maṇḍapa* of which only the base remains in front of the Mūvarkōyil in Koṭumpālūr. This group is surrounded by an almost completely square compound wall of about 40 metres, made of sandstone, with an entry on the western side, pierced not in the middle of the wall but slightly to the south, directly facing the taller shrine. This entry is crowned by a brick *gopura* (entry tower), which is now plastered. Abutting the inner side of this compound wall, small peripheral shrines (*parivāram*) were constructed, thus fitting a model known to the region south of Trichy in the 9th and 10th centuries. Out of the eight sub-shrines that we expect, only five remain, three of them made of sandstone, housing Gaṇeśa, the Seven Mothers, Sūrya, and a form of Subrahmaṇya (see Fig. A.4 to Fig. A.13). The Jyeṣṭhā lying in the northern side of the compound probably occupied a peripheral shrine no longer standing. All these deities so far fit the content of sub-shrines as described in an inscription from Tiruppalāṭṭurai (SII 8, no. 560): an Irukkuvēḷ little king donated land for the provision of a lamp and food offerings

small carvings in a frame depicting dancing scenes on the base of the *maṇḍapa*, but she concludes that it is related to the fact that sandstone was a material much softer than granite to carve, and adds that it should not be considered as a mark of a difference in time since this practice was found in other temples at the same period.

to the *parivāram* (line 28): *carppamatirukkaḷ* (Sapta Mātṛkas, l. 29), *kaṇavatiyār* (Gaṇapatiyār, l. 30), *cuppiramaṇiyar* (Subrahmaṇya, l. 30–31), *tirukkēṭṭaikilatti* (Jyeṣṭhā, l. 31), *tiruvaṭikaḷ* (unidentified deity, l. 32), *tukkaiyār* (Durgā, l. 32), *ātittapiṭṭār* (Sūrya, l. 33), *namaṇār* (Yama, l. 33).<sup>5</sup> There are no inscriptions in our temple which refer to the building of these parts. Following Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 68), I would tend to consider that the compound wall, the main entrance door, and the sub-shrines are contemporaneous with the *maṇḍapa* in front of the southern shrine, because they are all built with the same material, that is sandstone. Moreover, since the compound wall and its door are pierced in front of the southern shrine—suggesting that this shrine was the most important of the two—I propose that either they were all conceived together or the sandstone elements were added after the building in stone of the main shrines, although not necessarily a long time after.

I intentionally left aside the shrine dedicated to the goddess in the north-west corner of the complex, since it appears to be a later addition, constructed probably after the 12th century.<sup>6</sup>

The following study is an attempt to understand the status of this complex and the communities patronizing it. No foundation inscription was recovered, but the combined analysis of the epigraphical corpus and the materiality of the temple will help us determine the nature, the history and the role of this religious complex in Paḷuvūr during the reign of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars.

### Locating and naming the temple

In the inscriptions engraved on its walls, the AIM is stated to be located in a town, or in quarters, which bear the same name, *Avanikantarpapuram*/*Avanigandharvapuram*. Donations are sometimes made to Mahādeva of *Avanikantarpapuram* (see #1, #2, #3). The status of the land where it stands is a

<sup>5</sup> Cane (2017: 503, note 1245) also gives some examples of eight sub-shrines mentioned in inscriptions of the region, in *Eṇumpūr* (ARE 1913, no. 384), *Tiruppurampiyam* (SII 6, no. 21), and *Tiruppaṇamūr* (ARE 1939–40, no. 54). These inscriptions testify to a practice of sub-shrines surrounding a Śaiva shrine which was rather common in the 9th and 10th centuries, but many of them did not survive. We may mention here the still standing sub-shrines of *Tirukkattālai* (in the suburbs of Pudukkottai) and *Nārttamalai*, and the still visible base of the ones of the *Mūvarkōyil* in *Koṭumpālūr*. While many scholars touched upon the presence of sub-shrines in this period when dealing with those temples, I am not aware of any specific study on the subject.

<sup>6</sup> The walls and the base are devoid of ornaments, with very shallow niches marked by plain pilasters, preventing us from considering this building as pertaining to the early Cōla period. The architectural analysis of Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 63–65) leads her to propose a date between the 13th and 14th centuries, in accordance with a fragment of inscription embedded in the wall which I have excluded from my corpus because of its late date. She assigns (1987: 68–69) the remodelling of the temple in general—addition of corridors, reconstruction of some of the *parivāra* shrines—to the same period.

*devadāna*, literally a “gift to the god”, that is, land which belonged to the temple and whose revenues were used mainly for its functioning. One epigraph, #36, specifies that the AIM is in a *devadāna* of Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr, including thus Avanikantarpapuram in the larger division of Perumpaḷuvūr.<sup>7</sup>

There are several variants in the written name of the temple. Its most complete form is *avanikantarppa/avanikantarvva īśvaragrhattu vaṭavāyil śrīkōyil mahādeva*, for the northern shrine, and *avanikantarppa/avanikantarvva īśvaragrhattu tenvāyil śrīkōyil mahādeva*, for the southern shrine. This may be translated literally as “Mahādeva (Śiva) of the holy shrine (*śrīkōyil*) of the northern side (*vaṭa vāyil*) / of the southern side (*ten vāyil*) of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Kandarpa/Gandharva upon earth (*avanikantarpa*)”.<sup>8</sup> I shall analyse each term here:

1. *avani* is a Sanskrit word which means ‘earth’. We find it written either under its Sanskrit form *avani* or its Tamil form *avani* in an apparently random manner. The appearance of *amani* twice (#11 and #14) seems to be a mistake for *avani*. The script used for *avani/avani* is generally Tamil, except in #15, perhaps one of the oldest inscriptions of the complex, where the Grantha script—the southern script used for writing Sanskrit—is employed. In #14, engraved near #15 and belonging to the same period, only the *ma* of *amani* is in Grantha script.
2. The second element of the name is the one subject to the highest range of variants. Indeed, we find all kinds of spelling combinations mingling Tamil and Grantha letters—here the italics transcribe the Grantha letters while the Roman letters transcribe Tamil—: *kaṅtarpa*, *kaṅtarppa*, *kaṅtarppa*, *kandharvva*, *kandhavva*, *kandhavva*, *kantaṛva*, *gandhavva*, *kantappa/vva*,<sup>9</sup> *kantavva/ppa*, *kantappa*, *kantavva*, *kantaṛvva*. On the one hand, this may refer to Kandarpa, a Sanskrit name of the god Kāma, written in its Tamil form *kantarpa/kantarppa/kaṅtarpa/kaṅtarppa*,<sup>10</sup> and, on the other hand, to Gandharva, celestial beings well-versed in dancing and singing, written again in its Tamil forms *kantarva/kantarvva/kaṅtarva/kaṅtarvva*.<sup>11</sup> In many cases it is impossible to differentiate with certainty

<sup>7</sup> It is possible that the existence of a modern Kīlaiyūr in Mēlappaḷuvūr is an echo of the existence of this ancient enclave of Avanikantarpapuram, in Perumpaḷuvūr.

<sup>8</sup> I thank here Dominic Goodall and Yuko Yokochi for their precious comments on this name.

<sup>9</sup> ‘ppa/vva’ indicates that it is difficult to differentiate the letters and that either of them might be read.

<sup>10</sup> The letter for the voiced dental consonant ‘ḍ’ does not exist in Tamil: a ‘ḍ’ of a Sanskrit word is written ‘ṭ’ in Tamil. The letters ‘ṇ’ and ‘ṛ’ belong only to Tamil, and are often used indifferently in place of the ‘n’ and ‘r’ of a Sanskrit word, although ‘n’ and ‘r’ exist in Tamil. Therefore, all these spellings in a Tamil context may very well refer to the Sanskrit Kandarpa.

<sup>11</sup> The letter ‘g’ or ‘gh’ does not exist in Tamil and is replaced by ‘k’. The letter ‘t’ is pronounced ‘ḍ’ when placed between two vowels.

the *ppa* and the *vva*, and therefore it is not always easy to decide which word is referred to. However, the occasional use of Grantha script for *ga* and *dha* indicates that Gandharva may be, finally, the intended meaning. Unless both were meant.

3. *iśvaragrhattu* is again a mix of Sanskrit and Tamil. There are two Sanskrit words, *iśvara*, Lord, and *gr̥ha*, shrine, to which the Tamil ending *-m* was added (put in the oblique form *-ttu*, it marks here the genitive case). In almost all the occurrences of this word, the Grantha script is used, thus providing the proper Sanskrit spelling. In only one instance, in inscription #14, amongst the oldest, the spelling differs in an unexpected way: instead of the common *gr̥ha* written in Grantha script, we find its Tamil rendering *kara* instead, but also written in Grantha script.
4. Mention of a southern shrine and a northern one, *vaṭavāyil śrīkōyil* and *tenvāyil śrīkōyil*, does not appear before the 9th regnal year of Sundaracōḷa (#35), and then it appears mostly on the northern shrine (#31, #34, #36). Only #10 on the southern shrine mentions the Mahādeva of the *tenvāyil śrīkōyil* in the 6th regnal year of the reign of Rājarāja I. All the other inscriptions recording donations to Mahādeva are made to the Mahādeva of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*iśvara*) of Avāṅikantarpa, without differentiating the shrines. However, the two shrines are often explicitly alluded to (*iraṇṭu taḷiyilum*) in the details of the donations from the earliest inscriptions in the temple: #1, #2, #6, #12, #13, #14, #15, #32, #33.

The records on the site of Paḷuvūr are exclusively composed in Tamil. Tamil language, written in Tamil script, is the most commonly used language in the epigraphy of the Tamil Country which began to cover the walls of the stone temples by the 9th century.<sup>12</sup> But before this time, from the 6th century A.D. onwards, Sanskrit was an important epigraphical language of the Tamil Country, found mostly on documents related to the Pallava dynasty, and is thus considered to

<sup>12</sup> The use of Tamil in epigraphy has a long history: the first epigraphical records from the second century B.C., engraved on the brow of caves, were in Tamil (Mahadevan 2014); it was the language of the hero stones from the 5th–6th centuries onwards (Rajan 2000; 2001); the first long inscription recording the organization of some temples and lands, palaeographically dated from around A.D. 500 and engraved on a boulder in Pūlāṅkuricci, is in Tamil (Subbarayalu 2001; Gillet forthcoming b); while Tamil appears in the “business” part of the Pallava copperplates by the 6th century (Paḷaṅkōyil copperplates, edited by Subramaniam 1959), and will continue to be used throughout, the first Pāṇḍya copperplates in the 7th century are entirely in Tamil, including the royal genealogy (Iḷaiyāṅputtūr copperplates, edited by Subbarayalu in *Āvaṅam* 18, 1–15); early records of the Pāṇḍya dynasty in the 7th century are in versified Tamil (Ēṅāti inscription, see Vijayavenugopal 1995); the Muttaraiyar little kings contributed to put Tamil in the forefront with their calligraphic Tamil inscriptions recording the deeds of their kings in Centalai in the 8th century (Francis 2013a: 376–382; Schmid 2020). On the history of Tamil in the South Indian epigraphy during the Pallava period, see Francis (2013a), who criticizes the theory of vernacularization—that is, the rise of vernacular languages following a Sanskrit model—developed by Pollock (2006).



be the language of political, intellectual, and religious elites, incarnating royalty and power, providing a sense of universality at the pan-Indian level.<sup>13</sup> Because it was mostly used in the Pallava sphere, and after them mainly in the copperplates of the major dynasties for the presentation of their genealogies, it seems that Sanskrit retained an aura of prestige, even if this question is still debated.<sup>14</sup> It is, I think, what may have led some of the public persona of the Tamil-speaking South to engrave their inscriptions in Sanskrit during or after the 9th century, while Tamil prevails: by claiming in Sanskrit that he vanquished all powerful kings of the area and that he built the Mūvarkōyil in Koṭumpāḷūr (SII 23, no. 129), an Irukkuveḷ little king probably wanted to state that he belonged to the circles of powerful and literate kings, in the wake of the Pallavas; by stating in a bilingual Sanskrit/Tamil inscription that he rebuilt a temple in stone in Govindaputtūr, less than 20 km to the east of Paḷuvūr, Ampalavaṇ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṇ appears as a notable who seeks higher social recognition.<sup>15</sup> Apart from these clear-cut cases, Tamil and Sanskrit often mingle in the inscriptions themselves, going from a simple Sanskrit loanword to a proper merging of the two languages, that is, the mixed language known as Maṇipravaḷam. The variety of cases encountered prevented scholars dealing with this subject from proposing a fixed pattern for the repartition of Sanskrit and Tamil.<sup>16</sup>

The name *avaṇikantarpa īsvaraḡrhattu mahādeva* differs from the common name structure we encounter for Tamil Śaiva village temples, at least between the 9th and the 12th centuries—that is, “name of the place (sometimes with a genitive case) + Mahādeva”, i.e. “Mahādeva of this place”, or with a Tamil equivalent for Mahādeva.<sup>17</sup> Some of the inscriptions of the AIM, assigned to the middle of the 10th century, follow this name structure, and the temple is that of Mahādeva of Avaṇikantarpapuram. But the other epigraphs of the site use its more

<sup>13</sup> For the theory of the Sanskrit cosmopolis and the aesthetic power of this language, see Pollock (2006). Francis (2017: 434–436; 2021: 73–74), while embracing the theories of Pollock, enlarges them by also recognizing the impact of the association of this language with the brahmanical communities, one of the widespread arguments for the success of this language in epigraphy before the monumental work of Pollock. For other insightful critics of Pollock’s theories, see Francis (2013a; 2021); Orr (2009; 2013); Ali (2011).

<sup>14</sup> See Orr (2009: 111), who concludes: “Whether or not any of these actors would have considered that the employment of those usages that we today identify as ‘Sanskritic’ had the effect of enhancing their prestige or that of their undertakings is an open question”.

<sup>15</sup> For a study of Govindaputtūr, the figure of Ampalavaṇ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṇ, and his bilingual inscriptions, see Gillet (2022).

<sup>16</sup> On multilingualism in inscriptions in general, and its many sub-categories, see Francis (2021). On the use of Tamil and Sanskrit in the epigraphical context of the Tamil-speaking South, see Orr (2009; 2013).

<sup>17</sup> Among many others, see the following names of temples from the same region: Tiruneṅtāpattu Mahādeva in the temple of Tillaisthānam (SII 3, no. 113); Tiruttavatturāi Mahādeva in the temple of Lāḷkuṭi (SII 4, no. 531); Tirukurankāṭutturāi Mahādeva in Āṭutturāi (SII 23, no. 356); Tirupperunturāi Mahādeva in Centalai (SII 6, no. 445); Śrīvijaiyamankalattu Mahādeva in Govindaputtūr (SII 19, no. 272). The Mahādeva is sometimes replaced by a Tamil equivalent: for example, *ālvār* (SII 3, no. 144, in Āṭutturāi) or *uṭaiyāṇ* (SII 19, no. 358, in Govindaputtūr).

elaborate name with additional Sanskrit components. Naming a temple with a rather long combination of Sanskrit words, seemingly not always clearly understood, appears to me thus as an indication that this monument is affiliated with superior spheres or that its status is higher than that of a simple village temple.<sup>18</sup> We will see that its inner organization seems to confirm that it holds a peculiar place in Paḷuvūr. Moreover, the structure of the name borrows from many of the Pallava temples: Name + *īśvara* + *grha*.<sup>19</sup> The first component is often the name of a Pallava king himself, indicating that he was the founder or that the temple was founded in his honour. But what or who Avaṇikantarpa was is impossible to determine. It gave its name to the place, Avaṇikantarpapuram, that is, literally “the city (*puram*) of Avaṇikantarpa”; and then to the temple, “Mahādeva of the temple of the Lord of Avaṇikantarpa”. It would have been tempting to see the name of a king—since a king is usually the incarnation of Kāma, the god of love, on earth, but may also be equal to a Gandharva upon earth—but as Leslie Orr pointed out to me, there is no Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little king bearing this name, as far as the epigraphy tells us. Avaṇikantarpa may also have stood for the name of the place, or for the name of the god (“Mahādeva of the temple of the Lord [who is] Avaṇikantarpa”), although it would be rather uncommon.

### Dating the temple

Three inscriptions, #13, #14 and #15, particularly elegantly engraved and well aligned, occupy the middle space of each wall section of the southern face of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*. In the central section, #13 is dated with the 12th regnal year of a Rājakesarivarman (see Figure 2.1). It is flanked, on the adjacent wall sections,

<sup>18</sup> I have located another temple of the region named with a combination of Sanskrit elements: besides the common “Tiruttavatturai Mahādeva”, the Lord of the Śaiva temple of Lālkuṭi is also called “Tiruttavatturai *īśvarabhaṭṭārar*” (SII 4, nos. 532, 536; SII 13, nos. 240, 325; SII 19, nos. 113, 146, etc.). I have noticed some similarity in the functioning of the Lālkuṭi temple and the AIM, such as the presence of the *paṭṭaiyars*. Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars also gives to the Lord of Lālkuṭi (see Appendix 2, inscriptions #137, #138). However, we would need a thorough study of the epigraphy of Lālkuṭi to be able to go further in our understanding of those shrines and the link between their names, their status, and their organization.

<sup>19</sup> Laḷitāmkurapallaveśvaragrha is the name of the cave temple in Trichy founded by Mahendravarman I, whose title is Laḷitāmkura (IP 35); the Dharmarāja maṇḍapa (IP 49), the Dharmarāja ratha (IP 47), and the Gaṇeśa ratha (IP 48) in Mahābalipuram are called Atyantakāmapallaveśvaragrha; the cave temple of Cāluvaṅkuppam is named Atiraṇaçaṇḍapallaveśvaragrha (IP 66); the structural temple of Kūram is called Vidyāvinītapallavaprameśvaragrha (IP 46); the shrine of the son of Rājasimha, Mahendravarman, in the Kailāsanātha of Kāñcīpuram, is named Mahendravarmeśvaragrha (IP 69); one of the small shrines at the entrance of the same temple is called Nityavinīteśvaragrha (IP 57). The Mukteśvara temple of Kāñcīpuram, bearing the name Dharmamahādeśvaragrha (IP 80), was thus probably founded by a Pallava queen. The same structure is given to the names of Vaiṣṇava temples, with Viṣṇu replacing Īśvara: the Shore temple of Mahābalipuram is called Narapatīsimhapallavaviṣṇugrha (IP 319) and the Vaikuṅṭhaperumāl in Kāñcīpuram is named Parameśvaraviṣṇugrha (IP 107).



Figure 2.1 Inscription #13, AIM (©EFEO, photo by F. L'Hernault)

by two inscriptions dated with the 22nd regnal year of a Rājakesarivarman (#14; Figure 2.2) and the 22nd regnal year of a king whose name is lost (#15; Figure 2.3). Although the donors are different, the content of the inscriptions is quite similar and concerns a donation of land for a lamp in each of the two shrines. Based on palaeography, these inscriptions were assigned to the reign of Āditya I, at the end of the 9th century.<sup>20</sup> I am somewhat convinced by the identification of this Rājakesari with Āditya I, because another Rājakesari would take us into the second half of the 10th century, which would not fit the script of these three certainly older inscriptions. Moreover, the inscriptions #14 and #15 have *pullis*, a dot above the syllable to mark the dropping of the vowel, which is rarely found in 10th-century inscriptions. Thus, if these epigraphs do not tell us who founded the temple, they indicate that it was probably already standing in stone by the end of the 9th century.

Four pillars of the pillared hall in front of the southern shrine bear beautifully engraved titles (#23). These pillars, with seated lions at their base, closely resemble the ones found in the temples of the Pallava dynasty (see Figure 2.4). They face the four directions (see Plan 2.2). The engraved ones are grouped together, on the southern side of the *maṇḍapa*, surrounding someone entering the temple through the southern entrance. As we have already seen, this part of the complex was probably contemporaneous to the stone shrine it precedes, and

<sup>20</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 16–17, 60–63; 1966: 107–108); Barrett (1965: 3–4; 1974: 50); Balambal (1978: 181–182); Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 40–41).



Figure 2.2 Inscription #14, AIM (the first eight lines) (photo by V. Gillet)



Figure 2.3 Inscription #15, AIM (©EFEO, photo by F. L'Hernault)



**Figure 2.4** Inside the pillared hall; the pillars on the right side of the picture are those bearing the inscription #23 (©EFEO/IFP, no. 08659-03, photo by S. Natarajan, 1980)

the latter may have been standing in stone already at the end of the 9th century. I suppose that the pillars are original elements to this structure, even if they are of granite while the base of the *mandapa* is built in sandstone, because the style of the lions as well as the inscriptions would fit this period. Although palaeography is not a very precise dating tool, the inscriptions engraved on their shaft do appear to be amongst the oldest inscriptions of the temple: I think the script—with its *pullis*—would fit well into the end of the 9th century (see Figure 2.5), aligning with the tentative date assigned to the three inscriptions on the southern face of the *ardha-mandapa* (#13, #14, #15) mentioned above.<sup>21</sup> The language of those

<sup>21</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 17); Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 68). The latter describes the pillars (1987: 57–58). They are curiously ignored in other publications.



Figure 2.5 Inscription #23, pillar 1 (©AIIS, Acc No.006405, Neg no. 92.88, 1968)

inscriptions is a mix between Tamil and Sanskrit, mingling Tamil and Grantha letters (the latter are marked with italics here):

Lion pillar 1: *svasti śrī* maṛavaṇ mānadhanaṇ

Lion pillar 2: *svasti śrī* kaṅkamāttāṇṭaṇ

Lion pillar 3: *svasti śrī kaliyukanirmmalan* ||

Lion pillar 4: *svasti śrī °araiyakaṅ/! °arai °uli* ||

“Fortune! Prosperity! Maṛavaṅ (Tamil) who is rich in honour (*mānadhanan*, Sanskrit with a Tamil ending); Fortune! Prosperity! He who is the sun (*māttāṅṭan*, Tamil from Sanskrit) of the Kaṅka [Gaṅga country? Gaṅga dynasty?]; Fortune! Prosperity! He who is immaculate (*nirmmalan*, Tamil from Sanskrit) in the Kaliyuga.” I could not make sense of the last title, in which *arai* (Tamil) may refer to politics or something which is in half. Because of their meaning, they appear to be titles borne by kings, although we do not recognize the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar ones we know from other inscriptions, except in the first Maṛavaṅ Mānadhanan. Hence, because of this Maṛavaṅ, I assume that these are *birudas* of a little king of Paḷuvūr. Pillars engraved with multiple titles of a king remind us of some of the Pallava monuments, where Pallava kings engraved their titles on pillars of the temples they founded.<sup>22</sup> Based on this parallel, may we contemplate the possibility that a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar participated in the construction of this complex at the end of the 9th century? This is what Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 68) proposes as well. We may also consider the possibility that a little king sponsored the construction of this *maṅḍapa* only.

The resemblance between the AIM and another temple, the Mūvarkōyil of Koṭumpālūr, is striking in my view, and a comparison between the two may bring some interesting insights regarding the date, the understanding of the distribution of the shrines in the complex, and perhaps, the patrons. The Mūvarkōyil of Koṭumpālūr (10° 32' 30.54"N; 78° 31' 09.36"E) is located about 80 km, as the crow flies, to the south-west of Paḷuvūr. This is the heart of the territory of another minor dynasty, the Irukkuvēḷs. Koṭumpālūr is their capital, but, unlike the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars and their queens who are not much represented outside their little kingdom of Paḷuvūr, the Irukkuvēḷs often appear in inscriptions in temples from the district of Trichy in the north to the district of Pudukkottai in the south: kings made donations to already existing temples, Irukkuvēḷs women founded temples.<sup>23</sup> Like the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, the Irukkuvēḷ little kings appear

<sup>22</sup> The most illustrious example we have is the cave temple of Trichy, the Lalitāmkurapallaveśvaragrha, where pillars are engraved with numerous graphically ornate *birudas* of Mahendravarma I at the end of the 6th century (IP 34). We find royal titles, too, on a pillar from the Ekāmbaranātha in Kāñcīpuram (IP 21), in the cave temple of Pallāvaram (IP 28), in the Shore temple (IR 41–42, IP 316, 318), in the Dharmarāja ratha (IP 39, 317), in the Kōṭikaḷ maṅḍapa (IP 61) at Mahābalipuram, in the Kandasvāmin temple in Tiruppōrūr (IP 67), on a pillar of a *maṅḍapa* in Rājendrapaṭṭiṅam (IP 359), and on pillars of the Mātāṅgeśvara in Kāñcīpuram (IR 96). We may add the Kailāsanātha in Kāñcīpuram, where royal titles of the founder are engraved, not on pillars but on bases of chapels all around the compound wall (IP 55–56), with a similar purpose.

<sup>23</sup> Inscriptions mentioning an Irukkuvēḷ appear in the temples of the following villages: Kuṭumiyāṅmalai (Iluppūr taluk, Pudukkottai district), Tiruppaḷātturai (Pāpanācam taluk,

to have pledged allegiance to the Cōla dynasty, in whose reign they date their inscriptions. They may have fought at their side in military campaigns: an inscription from Tiruveṅkāṭu (Cīrkāli taluk, Nagapattinam district) refers to the death of the son of Ciriyaṅvēḷāṅ of Koṭumpālūr who died in Īlam (Śrī Lankā) in the 3rd regnal year of Sundaracōḷa (SII 5, no. 980). The Irukkuvēḷs probably had an army too, as a *peruntaram* of Vīracōḷa Ilaṅkōvēḷar of Koṭumpālūr donated to the temple of Uyyakoṅṭa Tirumalai (SII 3, no. 98).<sup>24</sup> Koṭumpālūr, the capital of the Irukkuvēḷs, is a multi-temple site, like Paḷuvūr, with three monuments: the Mūvarkōyil, the Aivarkōyil, and the Muccukuṅṭeśvara. I shall here concentrate upon the Mūvarkōyil, which closely resembles the AIM, although an understanding of the whole site and the interactions between the temples might also bring some insights. But this painstaking work has not yet been undertaken for Koṭumpālūr, and I therefore cannot properly compare the sites—nor the involvement of the little kings in their capital.

The Mūvarkōyil was made of three shrines built next to each other, each housing a *liṅga*. Only two remain standing today, although their *ardha-maṅḍapa* have collapsed. They open towards the west, and a large platform was raised in front of the three, probably a *maṅḍapa* which has now disappeared. The shrines were encircled by a compound wall inside which peripheral shrines were constructed. These are no longer extant, but we see some traces of their bases, amounting probably to twelve. There are only two inscriptions, both engraved on the central shrine: one is a long foundation inscription that reveals the name of the founder and enables us to classify this temple amongst the rather rare ascertained royal temples.<sup>25</sup> This inscription is in versified Sanskrit, engraved in Grantha characters, a language that is used mainly, in this Tamil-speaking South, in foundation inscriptions of the Pallava royal temples, as we have already seen. The beginning of the inscription was on the *ardha-maṅḍapa* which is now collapsed, and it is thus lost along with its possible dating. The first two legible stanzas record the genealogy of the founder, presenting his ancestors who conquered the Maḷava Country and vanquished the Caḷukki. The

Tanjavur district), Uyyakoṅṭa Tirumalai (Srirangam taluk, Trichy district), Allūr (Srirangam taluk, Trichy district), Antanallūr (Srirangam taluk, Trichy district), Paḷūr (Srirangam taluk, Trichy district), Tiruccenturāi (Srirangam taluk, Trichy district); Naṅkavaram (Kuḷittalai taluk, Karūr district), Tiruivalūr (Tiruviṭaimarutūr taluk, Kumbakonam district); Tiruveṅkāṭu (Cīrkāli taluk, Nagapattinam district). On the question of Irukkuvēḷ women founding temples and Irukkuvēḷ-related sculpture workshops, see Kaimal (2003).

<sup>24</sup> On the meaning of *peruntaram*, see *supra* Chapter 1, footnote 10.

<sup>25</sup> The foundation inscription (IPS 14 and SII 23, no. 129) is on the southern façade of the central shrine, while the second inscription (IPS 104 and SII 23, no. 130) is located on the northern side of the same shrine. The latter is a donation which is now lost but is preceded by a thirty-line *meṅkīrtti* of Rājendracōḷa I.



king Samarābhirāma married a Cōla princess, Anupamā (st. 3), mother of the founder Bhūti Vikramakesari (st. 4). This king vanquished the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas (st. 5), and, from Koṭumpālūr (st. 6), ruled over the earth (st. 7). He married Karṛaḷi and Varaguṇā, who gave him sons (st. 8). He established these three shrines in his name and the name of his two spouses (st. 10), and gave a monastery to the ascetic Śrī Mallikārjuna, a Kālamukha (st. 9, 11, 12).

This epigraph thus attests that the temple was founded by the Irukkuvēḷ king Bhūti Vikramakesari, and accounts for the existence of three shrines next to each other: the central shrine was probably the one dedicated to the king, while the two flanking it were likely dedicated to his queens. I suppose the one in the middle to be related to the little king because it bears the inscription recording the foundation by the latter, and because it was the central one, reminding us of the archetypal image of the sovereign surrounded by his two wives. There remains the question of the dating of his reign and thus of the foundation of the temple, which has been debated by several scholars and placed between the end of the 9th and the end of the 10th centuries.<sup>26</sup> I would personally be in favour of the 9th century for various reasons. First of all, Bhūti Vikramakesari is said to have fought the Pallava, and the Pallava dynasty collapsed at the very end of the 9th century, making the 10th century a more remote possibility. The Vīrapāṇḍya that the Irukkuvēḷ defeated need not be the Pāṇḍya king who is supposed to have ruled in the second half of the 10th century (IEP 90–114), but may simply be the heroic (*vīra*) Pāṇḍya king, unnamed as the Pallava king was. Moreover, if we surmise that only one Irukkuvēḷ queen bore the name Varaguṇā and only one the name of Karṛaḷi, then the Bhūti Vikramakesari of our Koṭumpālūr inscription was also called Parāntaka Iḷaṅkovēḷar, Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅkovēḷar, and Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅkovēḷar alias Maṛavam Pūti.<sup>27</sup> Assuming that

<sup>26</sup> Heras (1934) proposed the 7th century for this temple, but this hypothesis may be entirely discarded today. Some scholars have proposed the end of the 9th century—sometimes up to the early 10th century—for the construction of this temple (Aiyer 1967: 195–208; Krishnan 1985: 222; Soundara Rajan 1985: 233–234; Govindasamy 1979: 6–21) while another group of scholars preferred the third quarter of the 10th century (Sastri 1933 and 1935; Balasubrahmanyam 1960 and 1964). Barrett (1974: 86) assigned the temple to what he labelled the “second phase”, that is between A.D. 940 and 970, based on an architectural analysis, although he noticed a resemblance with an earlier phase.

<sup>27</sup> In Tillaisthānam, Varaguṇa Perumāṅār, wife of Parāntaka Iḷaṅkovēḷar makes a donation in the 13th regnal year of an unidentified Rājakesarivarman (SII 3, no. 113). Again in the 13th regnal year of a Rājakesarivarman, a Naṅkai Varaguṇa Perumāṅār, uterine sister of the Cōla king, makes a donation in Lālkuṭi (EI 20, no. 3C). In Tiruppalātturai, Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅkovēḷar alias Maṛavaṇ Pūtiyār (SII 8, no. 560) makes a donation of land for lamps and food for the *parivāram* deities in the 27th regnal year of a Rājakesarivarman. In the same temple and in the reign of probably the same king, Rājakesarivarman, whose regnal year is lost, two donations by two queens are made: . . . *iḷaṅkovēḷar teviyār . . . yā . . . kuṇa perumaṅār* (probably Varaguṇa Perumaṅār, queen of Parāntaka/Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅkovēḷar) (SII 8, no. 568) and *teṇṇavaṇ iḷaṅkovēḷar āyina maṛavaṇ pūtiyār teviyār nankai karraḷippirāṭṭiyār* (Naṅkai Karṛaḷi Pirāṭṭiyār, queen of Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅkovēḷar alias Maṛavaṇ Pūtiyār) (SII 8, no. 581). Nakkaṅ Vikkiramakesariyār of Koṭumpālūr, queen of Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅkovēḷar



**Figure 2.6** General view of the AIM, from the south-east corner (photo by V. Gillet)

the *Teṅṅavaṅ* *Ilāṅkovēḷar* alias *Maṇavam Pūti* who donated to the temple of *Tirukkōyilūr* in the 16th year of the Pallava *Nandivarman* is the same (IP 129), we may place this king at the end of the 9th century and consider the *Rājakesarivarman* and the *Parakesarivarman* under whose reign his name appeared to be *Āditya I* and *Parāntaka I*.

An architectural similarity between the *Mūvarkōyil* and the AIM has been noticed more than once.<sup>28</sup> Their resemblance is striking when we consider their general appearance (Figures 2.6 and 2.7); the configuration of their roofs (Figures 2.8 and 2.9), façades, and pilasters; and the composition and shape of their base (Figures 2.10 and 2.11), with the friezes of mythical lions almost

alias *Maṇavaṅ Pūtiyār*, makes a donation in the temple of *Tiruccenturaḷ* in the second year of a *Parakesarivarman* (SII 8, no. 615). Is she a third queen or one of those two, but under a different name taken from the other name of her husband, *Vikramakesari*? His daughter, *Pūti Āticcapiṭāriyār*, is married to the son of *Parāntaka I*, *Arikulakesariyār*, i.e. *Ariṅjaya* (SII 3, no. 96).

<sup>28</sup> EITA (pp. 217–218); Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 23).



Figure 2.7 General view of the Müvarköyil in Koṭumpāḷūr, from the north-east corner (photo by V. Gillet)



Figure 2.8 Southern face of the roof of the southern shrine of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet)



Figure 2.9 Eastern face of the roof of the central shrine of the Müvarköyil (photo by V. Gillet)



Figure 2.10 Southern façade of the southern shrine of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet)



Figure 2.11 Eastern façade of the southern shrine of the Mūvarkōyil (photo by V. Gillet)

identical. I suppose that this likeness in their architecture enables us to argue in favour of the contemporaneity of the two temple complexes, confirming the end of the 9th century for the AIM. We may further note that while the style of their sculptures and their iconographical programmes are different, we find some images common to both, such as the Śiva carrying his *liṅga* on his shoulder, or the Śiva walking with his *vīṇā*.

Their plan, made of multiple shrines facing west, a separate *maṇḍapa* in front of them, and a compound wall with peripheral shrines, is very similar, although not absolutely identical. This is a significant point since these two are the only examples of such a temple organization I am aware of in the region. Using this correspondence, I assume that the taller southern shrine of the AIM, with standing deities in its niche, is dedicated to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little king, and the smaller northern one, with seated deities, to his queen. I believe these two shrines to have been conceived and built together, for they display the same architecture and iconography. The entrance of the compound wall is not pierced at its centre but on the southern side, facing the southern shrine, suggesting the pre-eminence of the southern shrine—that is the king's shrine?—over the northern one.

Does this resemblance in architecture and organization with the Mūvarkōyil indicate that the same workshop was called upon for the building of these two temples, as Padma Kaimal (2003) supposes for monuments built by members of the Irukkuvēl dynasty? Considering the close resemblances, I suppose it would be very plausible. And may we go further in our assumptions, and consider the AIM to have been also founded by little kings, namely, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars? The epigraphical corpus of the two complexes are extremely different—while there are only two inscriptions on the Mūvarkōyil, including a foundation inscription in Sanskrit, pointing to this monument as mainly related to the little king, there are numerous epigraphs in the AIM, indicating the significant involvement of other communities, as we shall see, and no foundation inscription. Foundation inscriptions are scarce in the region at that period, and it is often difficult to identify the patron of a temple. However, the absence of a foundation inscription today does not necessarily indicate that the temple was not patronized by an important individual, as it is the case for the temple of a Muttaraiyar little king in Nārttamalai: we know that the little king Cāttam Pūti Iḷaṅkoṭi Araiayar was the founder of the structural stone temple of the site because it was stated in an inscription on the base recording the renovation of the monument by another individual after some storm damaged it.<sup>29</sup> No such inscription or information could be retrieved in the AIM or in the other temples of Paḷuvūr. The royal titles engraved on the pillars of the *maṇḍapa* indicate the involvement of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar at a point, but they do not necessarily attest to the foundation of the whole complex by the little kings.

### The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars in the AIM

The epigraphic corpus of the AIM, made up of thirty-seven inscriptions, begins most likely at the end of the 9th century, and extends up to the 15th regnal year of Rājendracōḷa I, i.e. around A.D. 1027 (#11).<sup>30</sup> The power of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars faded during the reign of Rājarāja I, and the little kings are no longer mentioned directly in the inscriptions by the time of his son Rājendra I. Therefore, we may say here that the epigraphic life of the AIM corresponds approximately to the

<sup>29</sup> IPS 11-A. The edition, given on p. 13, reads the name Cemputi, but Cāttam Pūti is clearly written. We were able to verify it during the workshop Archaeology of Bhakti.

<sup>30</sup> We cannot assess the object of the donation for three of them (#4, #20, #27), because it is either lost or incomplete. There are two inscriptions on loose stones near the southern shrine, and a fragmentary one on a stone embedded in the goddess' shrine which I have not included in the corpus because they are not engraved on the shrines and they belong to the post-Cōḷa period and thus are beyond the scope of this study.

ruling period of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, indicating a connection of some kind between this temple and the minor dynasty.

An overview of the content of the inscriptions, organized in a tentative chronological order will now help us better understand the role of this temple in Paḷuvūr and the networks gravitating around it. We begin with the remark that there is no record of donations made by a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little king or queen, but fourteen of the inscriptions nevertheless mention a little king. We encounter the following cases:

1. Donations in #13, #14, and #15 are made by individuals by the grace of (*prasādattināl*) Kumaraṅ Kaṅṭaṅ and Kumaraṅ Maṛavaṅ, at the end of the 9th century.
2. In the 960s, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅar gives orders regarding the tax system (#5, #6), seems to grant a request regarding the same tax system (#24), and orders (*aruḷ ceyyum*) a donation of land (#8).
3. In the very early 980s, a donation of metal is made by an individual by the grace (*aruḷāl*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ Cuntaracōḷaṅ (#37).
4. In the 980s, a record regulating a donation made at the beginning of the 10th century, registered in the first part of the inscription, mentions Kaṅṭaṅ Amutaṅār, who perhaps supervised the first part of the donation in the time of Parāntaka I (#25).
5. Still in the 980s, Kaṅṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ is the first signatory of a long order regarding the change of name of a village (#19); perhaps he agrees for a donation of land by an individual (#12) and orders (*aruḷi ceyya*) a donation of gold (#35).
6. This same Kaṅṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ is probably the one whose Kaikkōḷar founded the *balipīṭha* in front of the southern shrine (#26).
7. Around A.D. 996, an inscription suggests that the Śrīkāryam examines the temple affairs for the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ (#31).

The role of the little kings as recorded in the inscriptions of this temple is mostly to give orders regarding taxes and supervise or agree to donations of land and gold made to the god of the AIM by individuals. The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars undertake this role in only two temples of the site, namely, the AIM and the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār, a shrine in the precincts of the PIM founded in the second half of the 10th century by a little king. Neither Cōḷa kings (apart from dating the record) nor queens appear in the epigraphy of the site before A.D. 1022 (#30), which corresponds to a time when the presence of the little kings in the epigraphy faded. Until then, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars seem to hold an exclusive position of authority, since many of the transactions recorded on the walls of the AIM go through their gracious approval. The vocabulary used for signifying their approval is that of important

characters, even sometimes royal. Direct speech and expressions such as *enru aruḷi ceyya* (he graciously ordered, saying), *aruḷi ceyyum* (who graciously ordered), *prasadāttināl* (by the grace of), etc., are used for the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, who gave direct orders or approved a donation (#5, #6, #8, #13, #14, #15, #19, #35, #37, #50, #89, #104, #123). Two inscriptions, #6 and #24, mention a *śrīmukam*, that is a royal order, during the reign of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. In both cases, it seems to be issued by the little king. The epigraph #24 is damaged and some parts are no longer legible, but the second line does give the name of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ. The structure of the inscription suggests that Nānkaṇṭaceṭṭi, a chieftain (*araiyaṇ*) of a place whose name is lost, made a request for a group of merchants, the Tōtappattikārcceṭṭi, to follow the tax system in place at Nantipuram. He made this request to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar and then, later in the inscription, the royal order (*śrīmukam*) comes to the lord (*kiḷavaṇ*) of Tattaṇūr, Vēḷāṇ Ciṅtamāni. Because the request is made to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar mentioned at the beginning of the inscription, I think it would make more sense to imagine that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar himself issued the present royal order. The little kings are thus presented as detaining a degree of autonomy over the administration of their small kingdom of Paḷuvūr. Moreover, the fact that these types of epigraphs are located almost exclusively in the AIM confirms a specific link between the little kings and the AIM.

Three inscriptions engraved on the southern shrine of the AIM, probably belonging to the time of Sundaracōḷa, record orders from the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar king to follow the tax system of Nantipuram:<sup>31</sup> #5, #6, and #24. The same formula is used three times: *paṇṭai nantipuramarṛātiyē*, which may be translated as “the old (*paṇṭai*) Nantipuram being otherwise (*marṛu*) the model (*ātiyē*)”. Nantipuram is another name of Āyirattaḷi, an important town of the Tanjavur district during the Cōḷa period of the 10th century.<sup>32</sup> Somehow it became the

<sup>31</sup> Sundaracōḷa is called the king of Nantipuram in a commentary of the *Vīracōḷiyam* according to Sastri (1935–37: 157, 525).

<sup>32</sup> The equivalence between Āyirattaḷi, literally “the [place of] thousand temples”, and Nantipuram/Nandipuram, literally “the city of Nanti/Nandi”, is attested in inscriptions of the same period from Tiruccātturai (SII 19, no. 294: *nandipuram āṇa āyirattaḷi*) and Tiruppaḷaṇam (SII 19, no. 13: *nantipuram āṇa āyirattaḷi*), both in the taluk of Tanjavur. Many of the donors of Tiruccātturai came from Āyirattaḷi. In spite of its name, no temple seems to have survived: IAR (1964–65, p. 23), records the finding of a ruined Śiva temple and some *lingas* scattered nearby, in an Āyirattaḷi said to be 6.43 km west of Tirukkāṭṭupallī. The long inscription in the temple of Tanjavur which records the placing of 398 women in the temple quarters (SII 2, no. 66) mentions women coming from Āyirattaḷi, said to be in Niyamam. It is probably the one IAR is referring to, since Niyamam is about 4 km west of Tirukkāṭṭupallī. But this Āyirattaḷi may be different from the one Sastri (1935–37: 392) locates in the estuary of the Kāvēri, therefore east of Tirukkāṭṭupallī. The latter is likely to be the one mentioned in the Small Leiden copperplates, from where Kulottuṅga I emitted orders (EI 22, no. 35), and which is also called Āhavamallakulakālapuram. It may be the same Āyirattaḷi as the one where, in the early 13th century, Māgarvarman Sundara Paṇḍya I is said to have been anointed after conquering Tanjavur and Uṛaiyūr (EI 22, no. 10).



reference for the taxes for Paḷuvūr, perhaps because it was, at this point, either a capital of the Cōḷas, or an important commercial centre. In fact, it may have been the reference for other little kings too. Indeed, two unusual copperplates were, in 1913–14, in the possession of a certain Muthuswamy Konar in Tiruceṅkōṭu, in the Salem District (SII 3, nos. 212 and 213). There is no information on the exact place where they were found. They are dated with the 5th and 10th regnal year of a Kōrājakesarivarman, which was identified with Rājarāja I in ARE 1913–14, no. 10, and in SII 3, nos. 212 and 213, but with Sundaracōḷa by Cane (2017: 512). None of them explain the reason for this identification, but I consider both identifications to be plausible. The text engraved on these plates appears as any inscription concerning a simple land grant would appear on the walls of a temple. The first set of copperplates (SII 3, no. 213), dated to the 5th regnal year of Rājakesarivarman, records a donation of land to the stone temple of an unidentified Tūciyūr by Kollimalavaṇ Orriyūraṇ Piratikaṇṭavarman. The second set of plates (SII 3, no. 212A) bears two rather short inscriptions. The first one, dated to the 10th regnal year of Rājakesarivarman, is particularly significant for us. It registers an order by Maḷavaraiyaṇ Cuntaracōḷaṇ regarding taxes to be received from the Nagarattārs of Tūciyūr on full-house sites and half-house sites that he fixed as permanent. The fines and the faults must be levied following the practice at Nantipuram (*taṇṭaṇ kurram uḷḷatu nantipura marcāti koḷvatākavum*, lines 5–6). The second inscription on the same plate records that Kollimalavaṇ Piratikaṇṭaṇ Cuntaracōḷaṇ donated land to the temple of Tūciyūr when his father fell in Laṅkā, probably the Maḷavaraiyaṇ Cuntaracōḷaṇ of the above order. It thus seems that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars were not the only little kings to adopt the Nantipuram taxation policy, and that the Maḷavar kings, also involved in the Cōḷa military campaigns, followed it as well.

We note a total absence of references to a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar in inscriptions engraved under the reign of Parāntaka I, easily recognizable by his title of *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman, on the southern shrine as well as on the northern shrine (#1, #2, #3, #4, #16, #17, #18, #28, #32, #33). This seems rather curious and difficult to explain. Might this absence be connected to the fact that the king himself participated in military campaigns, as stated in #97, which is dated with the 12th regnal year of Parāntaka I? An inscription in Tiruvaiyāru (#142) confirms that Kaṇṭaṇ Amutaṇār was not in Paḷuvūr because he personally made a gift to this temple in the 14th regnal year of Parāntaka I. This, however, does not entirely account for an absence of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars in the epigraphy from the 24th regnal year of Parāntaka I, whose reign spanned at least 40 years.

If there were no Cōḷa kings directly intervening on the site of Paḷuvūr during the reign of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, one inscription engraved on the northern shrine of the AIM, #30, introduces a Cōḷa queen. It registers that, at the request of his queen, Rājarāja I relinquished the share owed to him from the lands for

the benefit of the temple of Ūkaṅkuṭi, a *devadāna* of the AIM. We learn that, as is to be expected although never expressed in the corpus, the Cōḷa king was collecting his share out of the revenues on the land belonging to the temple.<sup>33</sup> No Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar appears in this inscription: we are in the 27th regnal year of Rājarāja, and the power of the little kings had probably already begun to fade. If it is common for Cōḷa queens to give to temples of the region, this particular donation may have been motivated by the fact that the donor is personally connected to the site: Nakkaṅ Pañcavaṅ Mātēviyār, the wife of Lord Śrī Rājarājadevar, is also the daughter of the god of Avaniṅkantarapuram of Paḷuvūr, that is, a temple woman of the AIM.

### The nature of the donations in the AIM

The inscriptions engraved on the southern shrine from the earliest, at the end of the 9th century, to the middle of the 10th century, until the end of the reign of Parāntaka I, exclusively concern simple donations of lands for burning a lamp in the temple (#13, #14, #15, #1, #2, perhaps #3) or donations of gold either for burning a lamp (#16, #17) or for a golden plate for the forehead of the god (#18, first donation of #32). The content of the records diversifies after the middle of the 10th century. Donations of gold or land for a lamp for the god continue to be made (#25, #7, #9, #10), with one being made as atonement for a murder, or in memory of the one murdered (#11). Apart from donations for lamps, metal is given for making an image of Gaṇapati, with a pedestal and a halo, which can be taken out for procession during festivals (#37). Donations of land now have other purposes too: the revenue of the donated land is used to provide food offerings (#12, #22), and to pay for the dance teacher (#21). One inscription records the donation of land by the temple officials to an individual, and the details of taxation are given (#8); another one records an order of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar to the Nāṭṭārs, fixing a ceiling for the payment of taxes when they make their assessment of the land, a land which was donated to an individual (#19). Besides the donations of land and gold in this second half of the 10th century, there are three orders by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar on the regulation of taxes, which seem to concern mostly commercial transactions (#5, #6, #24).

These types of order are not engraved on the northern shrine: the inscriptions on this smaller shrine mainly concern donations for lamps. Inscriptions #33,

<sup>33</sup> We may wonder whether the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars were actually paying tribute to the Cōḷa kings as subordinate rulers were supposed to do. See Ali (2006: 36); Veluthat (2012: 140–141). There is no reference to such a practice in our epigraphical corpus.

#28, and #31 are gifts of land for a perpetual lamp; #34, #35, #29, gifts of gold for a lamp; the second donation of #32 and #36 are the only donations of goats for providing *ghee* for lamps<sup>34</sup> in the temple, which is rather surprising considering that this type of gift is one of the most common, even in other temples of Paḷuvūr. The only inscription recording a donation that differs from the others is #30, the latest inscription on the northern shrine, dated to the 27th regnal year of Rājarāja I. As mentioned above, it records the intervention of Nakkaṇ Pañcavaṇ Mātēviyār, queen of Rājarāja I, in the matter of the allotment of her husband's share to the god of Ūkaṅkuṭi, a *devadāna* of our AIM.

Thus, in the AIM, donations of land to the god, donations which had the highest status, occupy the foreground, followed by gold. Here, we see the temple acquiring a significant amount of land. This resembles the situation described by Veluthat (2003: 63–66, 76), where a temple is becoming a “landed magnate”; that is a temple which had control over a large amount of wealth in land, and where power rested, extending its dominion over large spans of the agrarian society.<sup>35</sup>

These donations provide scanty details regarding the ritual activities in the temple. There were a lot of lamps, embodying a living faith. Apart from that, we understand that there were festivals: an unnamed festival (*tiruvilā*) during which a bronze image of Gaṇapati is taken into procession (#37); some food was distributed in the temple on specific days, such as Saṃkrānti, Appikaiviṣu, Cittiraiṣu, but we do not know for whom (#22);<sup>36</sup> and a dance teacher was allotted to the temple (#21), and I therefore suppose that dance was a part of the ritual activities of the temple, which is confirmed by the presence of dancers attached to it, as we shall see.

<sup>34</sup> We do not know whether the milk of the goats was used directly for producing the *ghee* for the lamps or if the wealth they produced was used to buy *ghee* made from cows. In either case, getting *ghee* for the lamp was a process which required the involvement of shepherds.

<sup>35</sup> However, Heitzman (1997: 58) insists upon the fact that, “in the absence of direct references in the deeds to the transference of kani, it is not possible to state that donations to temples, monasteries or Brahmana communities were anything other than revenue assignments. [...] ‘Gifts of lands’ in the vast majority of cases were arrangements for transfers of upper shares, i.e. state revenue. It was possible to effect this transfer without depriving the state of its revenue, by depositing a lump sum that yielded interest towards tax payment to the state, and then transferring the actual agrarian produce to the donee. Under these circumstances, the real donation was often money, and the actual ownership of the land, i.e. its status as kani, did not change.” Because our inscriptions never provide details about this aspect, it is not certain that the temple acquired the rights over the lands in all cases.

<sup>36</sup> Another donation for food offerings was made in A.D. 1067 (#22). If it is engraved in the AIM, it nevertheless concerns food offerings for “Viṣṇubhaṭṭār [and] Viṇṇakara, . . . [of?] Pavittiramāṅikka of this village”. I could not identify this Pavittiramāṅikka. May it refer to a donation made to the Viṣṇu temple located in Ciṟupaḷuvūr, the one I have not included in this study? Or to another Viṣṇu temple near the AIM that has today disappeared? I cannot decide with the present material at hand.

## Networks of actors in and around the AIM

The overview of the networks involved in the many transactions recorded in the AIM will now give us an idea about the social groups connected to the temple and to the village of Avaṅikantarpapuram, where it is located.

There are only four individual donors whose status is not given: Vēṭṭakkuṭāṅ Vaṭukan̄ Mātavan̄ of Poykaikkuruviṭam, at the end of the 9th century (#14); Aticūraṅ of Maḷapaṭi, . . . Kōppaṭi . . . Perumpaḷuvūr, perhaps in the 4th regnal year of Parāntaka I (#25); Tanaṭi Kāmakkōṭaṅār, in the 24th regnal year of Parāntaka I (#32); and Kaṅṭaṅ Neriyāṅ, in the 36th regnal year of Parāntaka I (#1). They come from nearby villages, Poykaikkuruviṭam, being probably in the adjacent Poykaināṭu, and Maḷapaṭi, likely to be the modern Tirumaḷapaṭi of the Ariyalūr taluk.

Other donors are presented as landowning lords, *kiḷār* and *uṭaiyār*:<sup>37</sup> Ūraṅ Piṭāraṅ, *kiḷāṅ* of Kurukāṭi, made a donation in the 36th year of Parāntaka I (#2); Kāṭaṅ Pūti, *uṭaiyāṅ* of Nelvāyil in Mikolaiviḷānāṭu in the 26th year of Parāntaka I (#33). A certain Akaṅ Kaliyaṅ Araṅkaṅ, whose status is not given, made a donation for his wife, Tēvaṭi Pukaḷarai, in the 12th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa. This woman is stated to be the daughter of Kaṅṭaṅ Tēvaṭi, *uṭaiyāṅ* of Nāvalūr (#36). A year later, this Kaṅṭaṅ Tēvaṭi, *uṭaiyāṅ* of Nāvalūr, himself made a donation to the god (#37). The first donation was thus made by the husband of Tēvaṭi Pukaḷarai, perhaps because she was ill and, when she recovered, her father made a donation in his turn. The geographical division of Kurukāṭi and Nāvalūr is not stated, and I thus assume that they were nearby villages. However, Nelvāyil in Mikolaiviḷānāṭu is rather distant, about 50 km, as it is situated in the modern taluk of Trichy, according to Subbarayalu (1973: no. 64).

One donor of the second half of the 10th century is an oilmonger (*caṅkarappāṭi*) called Mallaṅ Caṅkaraṅ of Paḷuvūr (#7). Two Vīracōḷa Aṅukkaṅ, a title that literally means “companion of Vīracōḷa”, are involved in donations: Vīracōḷa Aṅukkaṅ Ciṛiyappi Maḷapaṭi of Avaṅikandhavvapuram in the 9th regnal of probably Sundaracōḷa (#35) and Vīracōḷa Aṅukkaṅ Kuṅavaṅ Taraṅivallaṅ of this Avaṅikandhavvapuram in the 17th regnal year of probably

<sup>37</sup> The term *uṭaiyāṅ*, literally “he who possesses”, probably refers to a landowning individual. See Karashima et al. (1978: xlvi); Subbarayalu (2012: 126–127); Veluthat (1996: 88; 2012: 96–97); Cox (2016: 45). Because of his status of landowner, he may have acquired political power in the locality, and therefore Uṭaiyārs are sometimes considered as leaders or chiefs. To keep the ambiguity and the reference to a landowning status, I have chosen to translate Uṭaiyāṅ with the simple word “lord”. The same statement applies for other landowners, such as Kiḷāṅ or Kiḷavāṅ, that I have also translated with “lord”.

Sundaracōla (#29).<sup>38</sup> It is not clear what kind of function these titles entailed. Leslie Orr (personal communication), taking the meaning of their title literally, suggested that they were connected to the Cōla court. But Subbarayalu (2012: 230) proposed that these titles were borne by those in charge of the protection of temples. If the latter is correct, these guards would have been assigned to the protection of the temple of Avaṇikantarapuram.

Two other donors are clearly connected to a military function. The first one at the end of the 9th century, Potukan Perumān, is a Mahāṣivaṣettu Kṣatriya, although I do not know what Mahāṣivaṣettu may refer to (#15). But it is rather rare in the epigraphy of this region and period to find someone clearly defined as a Kṣatriya. The second donor is Mātevaṇ Iraṇamukarāman, a Kaikkōlar, the one who built the altar in front of the southern shrine, somewhere towards the end of the 10th century (#26; Fig. A.14).

These types of donors are quite common in the temples of the region. However, a community that we shall now consider, the *tēvaṇār makaḷ/makaṇ* (literally daughters/sons of god), donated rather often to the AIM and seem thus to constitute an important force of this temple.

### The *tēvaṇār makaḷ/makaṇs* (daughters/sons of god) of Paḷuvūr

If some scholars proposed to take *tēvaṇār* as a reference to a chieftain, making these *tēvaṇār makaḷs* daughters of flesh-and-blood chieftains,<sup>39</sup> the in-depth study of these figures by Leslie Orr (2000) settles the matter for good, I believe, in favour of interpreting *tēvaṇār makaḷs* and *makaṇs* as daughters and sons of god. They are individuals attached to a temple, making them temple women and temple men. They were often believed in secondary literature to be dancers, ancestors of the Devadāsis, but Orr (2000: 5) broadens her definition of these individuals, considering “a temple woman to be a woman—who may or may not

<sup>38</sup> Another one, Vīracōla Vaṇukkan Kuṇavaṇ Nakkan of Avaṇikantarapuram of Paḷuvūr, thus coming from the same place as the others, gives gold for lamps in the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple more than 16 years later (#91).

<sup>39</sup> *Tēvaṇ* refers primarily to a god, but may also be used for a person, usually a sage or a king (TL). Hence the interpretation of *tēvaṇār makaḷ* as daughters of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars by Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 21); Govindasamy (1979: 35). Balambal (1978: 179–180) even considered the first Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar ruler to be Pakaiviṭai Īśvarattu Tēvaṇār, based on our inscription #13, which mentions the *tēvaṇār makaḷ* Nakkan Pūti. She continued to interpret the *tēvaṇār makaḷs*, that she sometimes read *tēvaṇār makaṇs*, as children of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars in her presentation of the dynasty. This interpretation led her into quite some difficulties (1978: 183–184). She is followed by Govindaraju and Manamalar (1994).

be a prostitute or a dancer—who is associated with a temple, either by having some kind of regular service function in a temple or because her primary social identity is defined with reference to a temple”. From the 9th century onwards, the *tēvaṇār makaḷs/makaṇs* are probably the donors who are the most represented as a “community” in this AIM temple complex:

1. Nakkaṇ Pūti, son (*maka* > *makaṇ*) of the god (*tēvaṇār*) of the Lord (*iśvarattu*) [of] Pakaiviṭai of Paḷuvūr in this country, makes a donation of land for a lamp in the 12th regnal year of probably Āditya I (#13);
2. Nakkaṇ Kaṇṭa Pirāṭṭi, daughter (*makaḷ*) of the god (*tēvaṇār*) of this temple (*ittali*), daughter (*makaḷ*) of Nakka . . . Natiri, makes a donation of land for a lamp in the 16th regnal year of probably Uttamacōḷa (#9);
3. Nakkaṇ Akkāra Naṅkaiyār, daughter (*makaḷār*) of the god (*tēvaṇār*) of this temple (*ittali*), queen (*deviyār*) of Piḷḷai Cēramāṇār, makes two donations, each of 12 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold, for a lamp in the 6th regnal year of probably Rājarāja I: one engraved on the southern shrine (#10) and one on the northern shrine (#34);
4. Nakkaṇ Kariya Vīranaraṇi, daughter (*makaḷ*) of the god (*tēvaṇ*) of the Lord (*iśvarattu*) [of] Pakaiviṭai, makes a donation of land for a lamp in the 11th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#31);
5. Nakkaṇ Kumarakkaṇ, daughter of Na . . . periya Araṅkapiṛāṇ, daughter (*makaḷ*) of the god (*tēvar*) of this temple (*ittali*), makes a donation of land for food offerings in the 15th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#12);
6. Nakkaṇ Paṅcavaṇ Mātēviyār, the wife (*deviyār*) of Lord (*uṭaiyār*) Śrī Rājarājadevar, the daughter (*makaḷ*) of the god (*tēvaṇār*) of Avaṅikantarpapuram of Paḷuvūr, requests the Cōḷa king to abandon his shares from the revenues to the benefit of the god of Ūkaṅkuṭi, a *devadāna* of the AIM, in the 27th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#30).

Paḷuvūr had a place of choice amongst the sites identified by Orr (2000: 59, footnote 31, 219–220, 140–144), namely, Kāñcīpuram, Tiruvārūr, Tiruviṭaimarutūr, Tiruccātturai, and Takkolam, where a specifically high concentration of *tēvaṇār makaḷs* is found. We also note that *tēvaṇār makaḷs/makaṇs* is the term exclusively used for temple women and men on this site, the other terms such as *tēvaraṭiyār* or *taḷiyilār* never being mentioned.<sup>40</sup>

It is fairly clear in our corpus that *tēvaṇār* refers to a god, and to a god of a specific temple. Nakkaṇ Kaṇṭa Pirāṭṭi (#9), Nakkaṇ Akkāra Naṅkaiyār (#10 and #34), Nakkaṇ Kumarakkaṇ (#12) are the daughters of “the *tēvaṇār* of this

<sup>40</sup> Orr (2000: 142) cites only three inscriptions from Paḷuvūr mentioning *tēvaṇār makaḷs*—the other inscriptions were unpublished and so she did not have access to the text. Moreover, she refers to a *tēvaraṭiyār* in this corpus, but I have not found it.

temple”, which implies that it is the temple where this inscription is engraved, that is the complex of the AIM. Nakkaṅ Pañcavaṅ Mātēviyār (#30) is said to be the daughter of the *tēvaṅār* of Avaṅikantarpapuram of Paḷuvūr. Considering the entire epigraphical corpus of the temple, especially #1 and #2, which call the god to whom the donation is made Avaṅikantarpapurattu Mahādeva, it becomes clear that the *tēvaṅār* of Avaṅikantarpapuram is the Śiva enshrined in this temple, and thus Pañcavaṅ Mātēviyār may have been a temple woman attached to the AIM. Two of the donors belong to another temple, the Pakaiviṭai Īśvaraḡhattu Mahādeva (PIM), the one close to the AIM, which I will study in the next chapter: Nakkaṅ Pūti, son of god of the Lord [of] Pakaiviṭai of Paḷuvūr (#13) and Nakkaṅ Kariya Vīranaraṅi, daughter of the god of the Lord (*īśvarattu*) [of] Pakaiviṭai (#31). Daughters and sons of god were apparently attached only to those two temples of Paḷuvūr.

Daughters of god appear more often as donors than sons of god, corroborating the pattern outlined by Orr (2000: 58, footnote 28, 219). In fact, only one donation by a son of god, Nakkaṅ Pūti, is registered in the AIM (#13). However, the word we read is *maka* deprived of its final letter, and I thought that this may be due to a *sandhi*, where the final *ṅ* is dropped before the next *n* of Nakkaṅ. But it is also possible that the last letter was forgotten, so that *maka* would stand for *makaḷ* and not *makaṅ*, as I suggested.

The honorific character of their position, resonating with the vibrant Bhakti *ethos* of that period that Orr (2000: 52–54, 58–60, 63) stressed, is rather evident in these donations. Because they possessed land that they gave to the god (#13, #9, #31, #12), as well as gold (#10, #34), we may surmise that they constituted a rather wealthy group in this locality. Orr (2000: 73–74) proposed that they may have accrued assets through inheritance from their mothers or through the temple which rewarded them financially for their service, but there is no information in our records regarding their acquisition of wealth.

All their names begin with Nakkaṅ.<sup>41</sup> One of their parents is sometimes named, although it is not always possible to decide whether it is their father or mother, and they are quoted twice as daughters: the daughter of god Nakkaṅ Kaṅṭa Pirāṭṭi is the daughter of Nakka . . . ai Natiri, her mother (#9); the daughter of god Nakkaṅ Kumarakkaṅ is the daughter of Na . . . periya Araṅkapiṛāṅ (#12). The latter sounds like a man’s name, and #12 would thus be one of the rare occurrences of a temple woman presented as the daughter of a man (Orr 2000: 154). However, it is rather common to find females bearing male names,

<sup>41</sup> Nakkaṅ is not exclusively used by *tēvaṅār makaḷs* and *makaṅs*, but is a very common name in the region. See Karashima et al. (1978: li–lii). In our corpus of Paḷuvūr, other male figures have the component Nakkaṅ as part of their name: a Paṭṭuṭaiyāṅ of the AIM (#3); the Śrīkāryam Kaucikaṅ Māraṅ (#35, #49, #50, #91, #104, #123, #124); a chief of the army of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar (#97); a Vīracōḷa Aṅukkaṅ (#91); landowners (#31, #72, #92, #102, #113, #127). If Orr (2000: 147–149) recognizes that it is a common name, she nevertheless notices that it is often borne by *tēvaṅār makaḷs* especially, and supposes that it refers to the god.

such as the donor herself, Nakkaṅ Kumarakkaṅ, and it is also possible that Araṅkapirāṅ refers in fact to a woman.

Besides the mention of one of their parents, we find two occurrences of the mention of a husband, during the reign of Rājarāja I only. This indicates that they may marry and still keep their title of daughters of god, two states which do not appear to be incompatible, as they will later be for Devadāsi (Orr 2000: 155–157). The prestige attached to being a daughter of god must be very high considering the status of their husband, because in these two cases he is a king. Nakkaṅ Akkāra Naṅkaiyār, a *tēvaṅār makaḷ* of the AIM, is the queen (*deviyār*) of Piḷḷai Cēramāṅār, probably a prince or king of the Cēra dynasty of Kerala (#10, #34). Nakkaṅ Paṅcavaṅ Mātēviyār, also a *tēvaṅār makaḷ* of the AIM, is one of the queens of Rājarāja I (#30).<sup>42</sup> Orr (2000: 42, footnote 8, 213) notes that these two are the only *tēvaṅār makaḷs* she encountered in her whole corpus who became queens.<sup>43</sup> That seems to make the daughters of god of Paḷuvūr rather special.

The exact function of the daughters and sons of god who appear on the site of Paḷuvūr is not given. One inscription, though, in the nearby PIM mentions the same Nakkaṅ Kariya Vīranarāṅi, daughter of the god of the PIM, who is also a dancer (*kūttapiḷḷai*) (#41), corroborating what has often been suggested, that these daughters of god were dancers attached to a temple. One instance is not enough to ascertain that this was the case for all of them, or that it was their only function. But we also notice that dance practice may have had an important role in the functioning of these temples, as other donations of this AIM, although they do not mention explicitly the daughters/sons of god, refer to dancers attached to this temple: in the 20th regnal year of Parāntaka I, a dancer (*kūttapiḷḷai*) of this temple (*ittali*), called Kumili Taruṅavalli, gave 10 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold for a lamp (#16); twenty years later, a dancer (*kūttapiḷḷai*) of this temple, Nakkaṅ Ayyārṛaikaḷ, gave land for burning a lamp (#28). This practice of

<sup>42</sup> Balambal (1978: 187) thinks the latter is the daughter of the Paḷuvēttaraiyar Kaṅṅaṅ Maṅavaṅ, because she is a *Tēvaṅār makaḷ* and the scholar identifies *Tēvaṅār* as a chieftain. Veluthat (2012: 136) has surprisingly adopted this position too. Cane (2017: 80, 325) identified a Paṅcavaṅ Mātēvi, queen of Rājarāja I, as a donor to the temples of Tiruvīaimarutūr (SII 13, no. 133) and Tiruppukaḷūr (ARE 1927–28, no. 47). She did not appear as a *tēvaṅār makaḷ* in those inscriptions, suggesting that she claims her status only in the temple she comes from.

<sup>43</sup> Two male royal figures pertaining to the Gaṅga dynasty are called sons of Mahādeva Lord of Paṅkaḷaṅaṅṅaṅ (*paṅkaḷaṅaṅṅaṅ mahādeva makaṅār/makaṅ*). A certain Cempiyāṅ Pṛthivikaṅkaraiyar in the 26th regnal year of a Rājakesarivarman assigned to the end of the 9th century (SII 13, no. 319) and Pirutikaṅkaraiyar in the 11th regnal year of a Parakesarivarman assigned to the early 10th century (SII 19, no. 286), identified as belonging to the Gaṅga dynasty, made two donations in the Śiva temple of Tiruppaḷaṅam. The terms used to allude to them, *paṅkaḷaṅaṅṅaṅ mahādeva makaṅār/makaṅ*, seem to present them as sons of the god, that is temple men. However, I was not able to identify a specific temple of Paṅkaḷaṅaṅṅaṅ on the one hand, and, on the other, we do know of the existence of a Gaṅga king called the son of a man who is *paṅkaḷaṅaṅṅaṅ mahādeva* through other epigraphic evidence (Kannaradeva Pṛthvigaṅgaraiyar alias Attimallar, son [*makaṅār*] of Vayiri Aṅṅiyan, lord of Paṅkaḷaṅaṅṅaṅ [*paṅkaḷaṅaṅṅaṅ mahādeva*], in a lithic inscription in Cōḷapuram, in the ancient Paṅkaḷa country, published in EI 7, no. 26C). This case remains ambiguous.



dancing attached to this temple continued in the reign of Rājendra I. Indeed, in his 5th regnal year, a royal order came: officials and priests of the temple gave to Kuṇacilan Cantiracekaran alias Mūvēntacikāmaṇi Nirtta Viḷupperaiyan<sup>44</sup> and his descendants the land rights (*kāṇi*)<sup>45</sup> for the dance teaching (*naṭṭavam*), which means that they probably gave the rights over a land which was meant to support the teaching of dance in this temple (*ikkōyil naṭṭuvakāṇi*) (#21).

A connection may be established with the state temple Rājarājeśvara in Tanjavur, where, in the 29th regnal year of Rājarāja I, a house was assigned to each of 398 women of the temple quarters (*talicērippenṭukaḷ*), coming from various temples and villages, in a long and famous inscription (SII 2, no. 66).<sup>46</sup> Indeed, nine of them came from Paḷuvūr: the 126th, the 166th, the 251st, the 343rd, and the 396th women are respectively named Āṭavallāl, Nakkaṇ Arikulakesari, Nakkaṇ Paḷuvūr, Nakkaṇ Ātitti, and Nakkaṇ Vāṇavaṇmātēvi, all from the Pakaiviṭtai Īśvaram of Paḷuvūr; the 395th woman is Nakkaṇ Poṟkeci of the Avaṇikesari Īśvaram of Paḷuvūr (the AIM most probably); the 165th and 351st women are respectively Nakkaṇ Tuṭṭi and Nakkaṇ Peṟratiru of Avaniyamtaṟpapuram in Paḷuvūr (Avaṇikantarpapuram probably); the 397th woman, Nakkaṇ Ariyāl, is just said to come from Paḷuvūr. It is difficult to ascertain that they were all dancers attached to the temple, as has often been suggested,<sup>47</sup> but we may nevertheless notice that the persons following the enumeration of women are dance teachers (*naṭṭavañceyya naṭṭavam*), singers, and musicians.

### The assemblies of the AIM corpus

As already mentioned, all the inscriptions engraved on the northern shrine record simple donations, with donors being individuals, dancers or daughters of god. But the range of actors and the contents of the inscriptions on the southern shrine is much wider. We see the appearance of different kinds of assemblies and communities, which seem to have acquired a significant role in and around the temple.

<sup>44</sup> The structure of the name is similar to that of one of the dance teachers mentioned after the 398 temple women of the Tanjavur inscription that I mention just below: Araiyaṇ Sundaracōḷaṇ alias Arumoḷi Nirttamārāyaṇ, Kumaraṇ Vaṭavāyil alias Mummaṭicōḷa Nirttapperaiyaṇ, etc. (SII 2, no. 66).

<sup>45</sup> On the term *kāṇi* and the rights over the lands that it refers to, see Heitzman (1997: 54–66, 74–78); Subbarayalu (2012: 221).

<sup>46</sup> On the networks of transactions in this temple and their impact on Cōḷa sovereignty, see Spencer (1969); Heitzman (1991; 1997: 121–142).

<sup>47</sup> It began with the introduction of SII 2, no. 66, p. 259 and continued in the very abundant literature which dealt, even just in passing, with this unusual inscription. The caution of Orr (2000: 33–34), who considers this inscription atypical enough not to place it at the center of her study on temple woman, and not to draw too many conclusions based on its reading, is very much welcome in my view. *Contra* Leucci (2016: 271).

## The merchant communities

The Nagarattārs are members of the Nagaram, that is an assembly, or simply a town, of merchants where they lived and carried out their activities.<sup>48</sup> Avanikantarpapuram/Avanigandharvapuram may have been a merchant town, if we accept that most of the places ending with –puram are associated with commercial centres.<sup>49</sup> This would explain the pervasiveness of the Nagarattārs in the corpus of this temple, where they appear by the end of the 9th century. The Nagarattārs of Avanikantarpapuram are those who protect the endowment of land for a lamp to the god of the AIM made by a certain Veṭṭakkuṭaṅ Vaṭukaṅ Mātavaṅ of Poykaikuruviṭam (#14) and the one made by Mahāśivaśettu the Kṣatriya, Potukaṅ Perumāṅ (#15). In #16 of the same year, the Nagarattārs are those receiving the donation of gold made by the dancer of this temple, Kumiḷi Taruṅavalli, as well as those in charge of supplying the *ghee* to be burnt in the lamp. As in #16 but in the second half of the 10th century, #25 and #35 record that two Nagarattārs of this town are taking a part of, or all the gold which was given as a donation for a lamp so that the interests continue to be generated. This looks like a case of money lending by the temple.

These merchants continue to be present on the Paḷuvūr scene in and after the 10th century. In the 12th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa, a donation of goats is protected by the same Nagarattārs of Avanigandharvapuram before being protected by the Panmāheśvaras, a group of devotees attached to a temple who usually protect the endowments (#36). In the 10th regnal year of Parakesarivarman, who may be Sundaracōḷa, an order from Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅar came to regulate the taxes of Avanigandharvapuram, following the model set up at Nantipuram, for the Nagarattārs of Avanigandharvapuram (#5). A year later, at the request of a certain Karampiyaṅ Parāntakaṅ, chieftain (*perararaiyaṅ*) of Karuviṭai, another order came from that same little king, to establish the regulation of taxes following the model of Nantipuram (#6). This time, it is said that the tax system must be applied to different groups: the Pātamūlams of this temple, the two Nagarams, and the twelve groups (*kalaṅai*). I will come back later to the Pātamūlams, and will leave aside the “twelve groups” which are not very clear.<sup>50</sup> This inscription tells

<sup>48</sup> On Nagaram and Nagarattārs, including their link with the religious and political centres, see Hall (1980; 2001); Champakalakshmi (1996); Heitzman (1997: 109; 2001); Karashima et al. (2011); Veluthat (2012: 218–222).

<sup>49</sup> See Swaminathan (1998: 105); Subbarayalu (2012: 217).

<sup>50</sup> Sastri (1935–37: 490, 588) considered *kalaṅai* as professional groups, but remains quite vague. Subbarayalu (2012: 219) proposed to take the *kalaṅai*, or *panimakkal*, as servicing groups, including herdsmen and artisans. Among the few examples he gives in his note 42, is our inscription #6. However, what the *kalaṅais* are in #6 is far from clear.

us that there were two Nagarams in the locality. If Nagaram does refer to an assembly or a specific group of traders, they may then have been organized according to the nature of their commerce, having different assemblies for different kind of activities. The very damaged inscription #24 seems to refer to another regulation of taxes following the Nantipuram model, but this time includes another merchants group, the Tōtappattikārcceṭṭi.<sup>51</sup> The Nagaram is quoted at the end, along with an individual, as having instigated the engraving of this order concerning the Tōtappattikārcceṭṭi.

Two inscriptions of the 15th regnal year of Rājendracōla I, #22 and #11, are the latest of the corpus of this temple. They no longer mention the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, but the Nagarattārs still appear to constitute an important force of the locality. In #22, an unidentified royal voice utters an order about a donation of land for food offerings to Viṣṇubhaṭṭārar [and] Viṇṇakara, perhaps at the request of Mukkorkilān Aṭikaḷ, queen of Lord Śrī Rājendracōladevar. The Nagarattārs of Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr appear at the very beginning of the inscription, in the first-person plural, and they are probably those who receive the order. We notice that they are said to belong to Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr, the part of Paḷuvūr to the west of Avaṇikantarapuram where the PIM is located. The queen Mukkorkilān Aṭikaḷ appears again at the beginning of #11, without our being able to understand her role, following the mention of the Nagarattārs of Paḷuvūr, in the first-person plural again. The first part of the inscription records that a certain Araṅkaṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ murdered Cōmaṇ Puvani and escaped. For the deceased, the Nagarattārs made a donation for the burning of a perpetual lamp in the neighbouring temple of Mahādeva of the Lord (*iśvarattu*) of Pakaiviṭṭai of Paḷuvūr (PIM). The nature of the donation is not given here, but it is probably land because a group made up of Śaiva Brahmins, Vaḷainciyars (for Vaḷaṅciyar, another merchant guild) of Paḷuvūr and oilmongers are in charge of using paddy for burning the lamp. This paddy must be the produce of the land given. The second part of the inscription refers to another murder, that of an oilmonger Kumili Manappaṇ, for whom the Vaḷaṅciyārs of Paḷuvūr have given 50 *kācus* (unit of money) for a lamp to burn in the AIM. But after this donation, the Nagarattārs also give land and a house to the widow of the deceased and her brother. We see, therefore, that besides the Nagarattārs, the Vaḷaṅciyars, another trading community, are present on the site. They have some links with the oil traders, another merchant community, since they seem to support one of their deceased as well as the remaining family.

<sup>51</sup> Subbarayalu (2003: 337) defines them as a merchant group in his dictionary and he gives our #24 as the first occurrence of this term.

Merchant/trading communities were therefore quite active in the locality of the western Paḷuvūr, with mainly Nagarattārs of Avaṅikantarpapuram from the end of the 9th until the end of the 10th century. By the end of the 10th century, we see a diversification of the merchant communities, with the appearance of Tōtappattikārcceṭṭi, oil traders, Vaḷaṅciyars and Nagarattārs, extending to Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr. The AIM is the only temple of Paḷuvūr where they are so lavishly represented. The fact that the Nagarattār community protected the endowments or handled the donations in this shrine shows that they were closely associated with this temple.<sup>52</sup>

### The Nāṭṭārs

The Nāṭṭārs are men belonging to a territorial assembly based on the geographical and administrative division called *nāṭu*.<sup>53</sup> In the 15th year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, who is probably Uttamacōla, the Nāṭṭārs of Kuṅṅrakkūrṅam received an order from Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṅaṅ Maravaṅ, recorded in #19. A *kāṅi* was given to the chieftain (*kōṅār*) of Viṅaiṅaṭu, lord (*uṭaiyaṅ*) of Karuppūr, Veṅkaṭavaṅ Araṅkaṅ alias Cempiyaṅ, the name of the village was changed, and annual taxes on the land were fixed at 25 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold. The name of the donor is not stated, but it may be the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar king himself. He sent an order to the Nāṭṭārs for them to enter into their records the changes that the donation implied (change of name, authorization to change or revoke the rights of the earlier occupants, and a fixed rate for taxes) and instructed them to collect the correct amount of taxes after assessing the land.<sup>54</sup> The Nāṭṭārs accepted the order of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, and a list of thirty-three signatures recognizing the order, with the signature of the little king himself at their head and followed mostly by landowning lords (*uṭaiyār*), seals the record.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Karashima et al. (2011) propose that the Nagaram was controlled by the state at the beginning of the Cōla period. Amongst their examples, are our #5 and #6.

<sup>53</sup> The *nāṭu* was essentially made up, it seems, of a grouping of agrarian villages, called *ūr*. The Nāṭṭārs, which literally means those belonging to the *nāṭu*, is an assembly which was already used by royalty for assessment of land and tax paying by the time of the Pallavas. They are thus considered as state agents. On these questions, see Subbarayalu (1973: 19–49; 2012: 129–132); Veluthat (2012: 178–199). Stein (1980: 90–140) devoted many pages to the *nāṭu* that he placed at the centre of the political model of the region.

<sup>54</sup> This is one of the rare inscriptions of the corpus between the 9th and the 11th century which provides significant details about land donation and land rights, and in which the temple is not directly involved. On land rights, social stratification and the involvement of the temples/Brahmins in land management, see Veluthat (1996). The king sending an order to the Nāṭṭār, in a similar manner, after he donated the land, is rather common. One of the earliest instances is found in the Tamil portion of the Paḷlaṅkōyil copperplates of the Pallavas, in the middle of the 6th century (Subramaniam 1959).

<sup>55</sup> This inscription is taken as reference for the illustration of the role of the Nāṭu assemblies in Sastri (1935–37: 503–504), and again quoted (1935–37: 529) as an example of fixed taxes (*nilai irai*).

If the Nāṭṭārs appear in an inscription of this shrine, they nevertheless do not intervene directly.

## The Sabhā

A Sabhā is an assembly of Brahmins often related to a Brahmin settlement such as a *brahmadeya*.<sup>56</sup> While the Sabhā plays a significant role in the Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva temple, which is in a *brahmadeya*, it does not intervene in the transactions recorded in the AIM, set in a *devadāna*, a land regulated by the temple. However, a single appearance of a Sabhā is found in #17 in the 25th regnal year of Parāntaka I. It records that the Sabhā of Uttamataranicuturvetimaṅkalam, a place which I was not able to identify, got 19 *kaḷaṅcus* of fine gold from Caṇḍeśa of this temple, which is a metaphorical way of saying that it got the amount from the temple. We have here a case of money lending by the AIM temple to a Sabhā of a probably neighbouring village. But money lending needs a compensation: with the interest on this gold, the Sabhā is committed to supply some *ghee* every day, probably for a lamp for the god of the AIM.

We note the absence of the *ūrār* community, which is the village-assembly made up of peasants and landowners.<sup>57</sup> Although they seem to have been a rather important force in the society of the period we are concerned with, they are not represented in the corpus of inscriptions of Paḷuvūr, except perhaps in one epigraph of the Tiruṭṭōṟamuṭaiyār (#48).

## The temple organization

Through the analysis of the epigraphical corpus engraved on this AIM, we can list different functions related to the temple itself as part of the religious service or of temple management activities. In fact, it is not easy to differentiate the two.

### We the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple, we the Seven

Out of the four still-standing temples of Paḷuvūr, the AIM is the only one in which Paṭṭuṭaiyārs are evoked.<sup>58</sup> In his dictionary, Subbarayalu defines them

<sup>56</sup> For a detailed presentation of the Sabhā, see Sastri (1935–37: 492–502); Gros and Nagaswamy (1970: 101–111).

<sup>57</sup> On the *ūrār*, see Subbarayalu (2012: 124–129).

<sup>58</sup> There were Paṭṭuṭaiyārs in the Tiruṭṭōṟamuṭaiyār temple, apparently, as we shall see later.

as a group of people in charge of performing the rituals in a Śiva temple. Their name literally means that they are those who possess (*uṭaiyār*) the *paṭṭu*. *Paṭṭu* has two meanings: (1) a silk cloth, and in that case it could refer to a type of silk cloth which was characteristic of their priestly function; (2) a hamlet or a village, which would make them lords of land belonging to the temple. In the epigraphs of the AIM, the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs are said to belong to this temple specifically, even when referred to in the nearby PIM temple (#45). Paṭṭuṭaiyārs are found in other temples of the region, such as Lālkuṭi for instance (#137), but in the AIM they are said to be seven, which is a feature specific to this temple, as far as I am aware. The Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of the AIM are mentioned from the 9th-century inscriptions onwards (#13, #14, #15) and throughout the 10th century, up to the reign of Rājendracōla I in the first half of the 11th century (#11). This means that the fact they were Seven is a structure inherent to the AIM, from the earliest period. Although the role of the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs is often believed to be the undertaking of religious duty, they appear, in all the twelve inscriptions where the group of Seven is mentioned,<sup>59</sup> to be at the receiving end of the land or the gold given, and are in charge, with the revenues generated by the land or the gold, of burning the lamp which is the ultimate goal of the donation. So, while they have a religious duty, they also have a management duty, these two categories not being hermetic. One of the later inscriptions of this corpus, dated to the 15th regnal year of Rājendracōla I (#11), adds that the Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs did possess some rights over the land of this temple (*ittalik kāṇiyuṭaiya paṭṭuṭaiyōm eluvōm*).

As Leslie Orr pointed out to me, there is a specific vocabulary used when there is a land donation that is received by the Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs: *apōhanam kiṭaṅta bhūmi*, literally “the land that was lying without enjoyment”. This expression is a mix of Tamil and Sanskrit, and it is written in different ways in the inscriptions, mingling Tamil and Grantha scripts in a rather irregular manner—as we encounter in the name of the temple itself. The given land was tilled because it was lying unused, before being given to the god, into the hands of the Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs. Such a distinctive association between a group managing the temple and a formula used in the records, which does not appear in other records of the site for land donations, raise some questions regarding the drafting of this official temple documentation: the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs often appear in the first-person plural, suggesting they issue the records, but were they themselves involved in the wording of the donations? Who was actually drafting the records? Did the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs choose the specific mix of Sanskrit and Tamil to underline a higher status in the religious hierarchy? These are not questions I can answer based on the material I gathered, but we

<sup>59</sup> #1, #2, #7, #9, #11, #13, #14, #15, #28, #29, #33, #35.

may nevertheless suggest that the wording of the inscriptions was significant, not randomly chosen, and certainly related to the social representation of the communities involved.

### Tēvakaṇmis

The Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple do not seem to have had the exclusivity in handling the object of the donation. We have already seen that in one instance, the Nagarattārs undertake this function (#16). In two other instances, this role is assumed by the Tēvakaṇmis, literally “the temple officers”: in the 26th regnal year of Parāntaka I, the Tēvakaṇmis converted the donated gold into 180 goats and undertook with this to burn a perpetual lamp in both the shrines (#32); in the 15th regnal year of Rājarāja I, the Tēvakaṇmis took the donated land in hand and assumed the charge of converting its revenues into food offerings (#12). If the Tēvakaṇmis performed religious duties, they also endorsed a more practical and administrative role, managing some of the donations, as did the Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs.

### Temple officials as land donors

On one occasion only, during the reign of Parāntaka I, a Paṭṭuṭaiyāṇ is named: Īśvaraṇ Nakkaṇ (#3). A part of the inscription has been built over, and it is unfortunately no longer possible to determine his exact role, but he seems to be buying land, perhaps to donate it. In two other instances, Paṭṭuṭaiyārs appear as land donors along with other temple servants/officials. In the 12th regnal year of a Rājakesari who may be Sundaracōḷa, a group of officials joined and presented themselves in the first-person plural: we the Tēvakaṇmis, we the Patipātamūlams, we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs, we the Camaiyars (#8). The Patipātamūlam, literally the root (*mūlam*) of the feet (*pāta*) of the Lord (*pati*), is probably a category of priests (the Patipātamūlārs or Patipātamūlattārs) related to the main shrine or god. The Camaiyārs literally means those of the religious creed (*camayam*). It is possible that all of them assumed a role in the religious ritual as well as in the temple management. The role of these different groups is not described, but it is stated that they have shares in the temple (*ittali paṅkuṭaiyōm*). The fact that they gave land rights (*kāṇi*) to a certain Veṭṭakkuṭaiyāṇ Kovintaṇ Kaṭampaṇ of Poykaikkuruviṭam does not, I assume, mean that they possessed land in their personal name or even as a group, but that they could decide about allocation of land rights belonging to the temple. In the 5th regnal year of Rājendracōḷa I, another coalition, this time made up of Patipātamūlārs, Paṭṭuṭaiyārs, Pañcācāriyars,

and Tēvakaṇmis, donated land (#21). The new actors here are the Pañcācāryas, literally the five spiritual guides, who correspond to a kind of Śaiva priests according to the epigraphical dictionary of Subbarayalu. The situation in this inscription is most probably the same as in #8, namely, a donation of land belonging to the temple, suggesting that these groups of priests or temple management officers have, as a group at least, the authority to donate temple lands or transfer their rights. But this time, it is interesting to note that the person to whom the land rights are given is a dance master called Kuṇacilan Cantiracekaran alias Mūvēntacikāmaṇi Nirtta (the dance master) Viḷupperaiyaṇ. This donation of temple land was thus made to support the practice of dance training attached to the temple which was apparently still current in the first half of the 11th century.

We also note that the Pātamūlam is included in the list of those who are concerned by tax regulations following the model of Nantipuram, besides the two Nagarams and the twelve groups (#6). This may mean that the Pātamūlam could produce a type of taxable wealth, perhaps concerning temple lands. This remains unclear.

### The Śrīkāryam

By the time of Uttamacōla, and all through the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājendracōla I, an office related to the management of the temple affairs was created in the Cōla kingdom. It was called Śrīkāryam, literally the “holy duty”, which may refer either to the position of the officer or to the duty itself. It is followed by a verb such as examine (*ārāy-tal*) or do (*cey-tal*). Although we do not know the exact scope of his task, we may assume that he supervised donations made to a temple, ensuring that they were entered in the books and accounted for, verifying the accounts of the temple, etc. Subbarayalu (2012: 237–238) notes that temples were administered only by local assemblies before the reign of the Cōlas, and that creating the Śrīkāryam office was a way for the Cōla kings to exert control over the temples, probably because they were a very important source of revenue. This statement implies that the Śrīkāryam was appointed by the Cōla king and was under his authority. A direct appointment of the Śrīkāryam by the Cōla king may indeed be mentioned in Kōṇēr irājapuram.<sup>60</sup> However, the situation does not seem to always be so straightforward: Heitzman (1997: 149, footnote 10, 175) notices that the Śrīkāryams were often appointed following local decisions; Veluthat (2012: 152) gives some examples where a Śrīkāryam is said to be under the orders of an *adhikāri*, a

<sup>60</sup> SII 3, no. 151 A; Cane (2017: 397–398).



*kanmi*, a *senāpati*, another Śrīkāryam who was a *kiḷavān*, suggesting that the situation may be different depending on the temple.<sup>61</sup> Three inscriptions refer to the examination of a Śrīkāryam in the AIM. The first mention of the office of Śrīkāryam on the site of Paḷuvūr is found in this temple, while recording a gift of metal for a Gaṇapati by a lord of Nāvalūr in the 13th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa (#37). The Śrīkāryam is unnamed. It may be Kaucikaṇ<sup>62</sup> Nakkaṇ Mārapiraṇ, although he assumes this position clearly only by the 16th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa, as we shall see later. Kaucikaṇ Nakkaṇ Mārapiraṇ appears only once in the transactions engraved on the AIM, in the second part of #35, dated to the 16th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa, when two Nagarattārs borrow the money of a previous donation and convey the interest to the temple. Kōṇ Aṭikaḷ is the name of the successor of Kaucikaṇ Nakkaṇ Mārapiraṇ, for he is the one appearing in #31, dated with the 11th regnal year of Rājarāja I. This inscription is particularly enlightening: it says that Kōṇ Aṭikaḷ of the temple examines the sacred affairs for (dative *-kku*) Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ. Based on this instance, may we surmise that the Śrīkāryam worked under the authority of the little king, although we do not know neither how nor who appointed him? We can say for now that the Śrīkāryam intervened in these three records only as a supervisor of donations, perhaps reporting to the little king, and not as a donor. Because the context and the donors of these three donations are different, I am not able to establish a pattern for his involvement.

### The Paṇmāheśvaras

It is very common to find a formula at the end of an inscription stating that a group of Śaiva devotees protect the endowment registered. This means that they guarantee that what has been given will be used according to the record and that the goal of the donation is respected. We know neither who these Māheśvaras were exactly nor how many they were or how they were selected. They are present in all the temples of Paḷuvūr. We notice though that their protection is not stated systematically in the AIM, and even rather scantily when the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs are handling the donation (#25, #28, #29, #36). Perhaps the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs handling the donation was itself a guarantee that it would be respected.

<sup>61</sup> On Śrīkāryam, see Desayar (2005); Subbarayalu (2012: 227, 237–238); Veluthat (2012: 107–108); Cane (2017: 397–398). An in-depth study of the epigraphical corpuses of these temples where a Śrīkāryam appears may help us better apprehend the identities and the pattern of functioning of those important local figures.

<sup>62</sup> Kaucikaṇ, also spelled Kausikaṇ, Kavicikaṇ, etc., indicates that this individual is a Brahmin belonging to the Kausika *gotra*.

## The iconographical programme of the AIM

We may now look at the iconography to complete our understanding of the temple. Blandine Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 87–109) has made an extensive iconographical study of this shrine, where she identifies, describes and locates all the sculptures on the temple. Unless otherwise stated, I will follow all her identifications. Her careful analysis of the style of the sculptures and their ornaments, the numerous comparisons she makes with other statues of the region, led her to qualify these sculptures as “Early Cōla”, which means that she situates them around the end of the 9th century, confirming further what the architecture and the epigraphy suggested. Based on her work, I will then attempt to outline an iconographical programme, and try to link it with what we have been able to draw from the temple complex in the preceding pages.

The two shrines of the AIM have only one large niche per façade, occupied by a sculpture. The themes are identical in the southern and northern shrines, but the sculptures differ in that the gods depicted in the former are standing, while they are sitting in the latter. On the stone superstructure, sculptures are placed in small niches in the centre of each storey—three on the superstructure of the southern shrine and two on the northern shrine, one above the other, in a vertical continuation of the larger image which adorns the main niche. This group of images set on a vertical axis reflects a single theme for each façade. I shall deal with the façades of the two shrines considered together and organized according to direction.

### The northern direction

Brahmā occupies the main niche of the façade, following the iconographic principle set in the temples from the 9th century onwards.<sup>63</sup> Standing on the southern shrine and sitting on the northern shrine, the three-headed figure holds the rosary and the water vase in his upper right and left hands respectively. His lower right hand is in the absence-of-fear gesture (*abhaya*), while his lower left hand rests on his hip or lap. The two sculptures overhanging Brahmā on the northern shrine are other depictions of the same god, also seated but with some variations in the sitting posture and the hair dress. However, the sculptures overhanging the Brahmā on the southern shrine depict Śiva. The lowest one is a seated Śiva carrying a *liṅga* on his shoulder.<sup>64</sup> The middle one

<sup>63</sup> On the appearance of Brahmā and his role in the iconographical programmes of the temples of the Tamil Country, see Schmid (2014a: 107–145).

<sup>64</sup> On this figure, also interestingly present on the superstructure of the Mūvarkōyil in Koṭumpālūr, see Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 89–91; 1991). I do not necessarily agree with her hypothesis of this image being linked with the Śaiva sect of the Lingayats. I assume that it had to do

is a seated form of Śiva, who seems to carry the trident and a sort of fly whisk in his upper hands.<sup>65</sup> The highest sculpture is a standing Śiva, whose hair is tied up like those of an ascetic, who carries in his lower hands a bowl and a snake, and probably a stick on his shoulder in his upper left hand. These various attributes lead to the identification of the form of Śiva the mendicant, wandering through the world after cutting off the fifth head of Brahmā.<sup>66</sup> This is an echo of the Brahmā on the ground floor, perhaps a way to claim the superiority of Śiva, who shattered the pride of Brahmā.

### The eastern direction

The façades of the eastern direction are those whose theme differs the most from the other Śaiva temples of the region. While we usually find a form of Viṣṇu, Ardhanārīśvaramūrti, or Liṅgodbhavamūrti, the eastern façades of the AIM shrines are under the auspices of Skanda.<sup>67</sup> This deity is known by other names, such as Kārttikeya, Kumāra, Subrahmaṇya, Mahāsenā, or Murukaṇ, a name specific to the Tamil Country. Retracing the development of this deity would go beyond the ambit of this study, but it is important here to remember that this god embodies a particularly important entity of the Tamil-speaking South. The South Indian deity as we know him in the 9th century is born out of the mingling of a northern tradition where he is known as the son of Agni and Śiva, the supreme warrior, Lord of the army, and a southern tradition where he is Murukaṇ, one of the most popular ancient gods of the Tamil

simply with the expression of the double aspect of Śiva, his iconic as well as aniconic aspect (Gillet 2007: 32, 43; 2010: 175).

<sup>65</sup> Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 94) identified him with Kaṅkālāmūrti. I think that there are not enough elements in this image itself to propose such an identification, but the theme would resonate with the upper image, as the author herself (1987: 96) remarked.

<sup>66</sup> Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 96) names this figure Bhikṣātanāmūrti. I hesitate to name the deity as such because the boundaries between this form and the Kaṅkālāmūrti, a similar wandering form of Śiva carrying the skeleton of Viṣṇu on his shoulder, is blurred, and we cannot see the end of the stick leaning on his shoulder. It may be a fly whisk as well as a skeleton. On the difficulty in differentiating the two, see Gillet (2010: 117–120).

<sup>67</sup> Skanda in the rear main niche of a temple is not unusual in the same period in the other regions of the Indian peninsula, such as the Āndhra Country (see for instance the temples of Alampūr), Orissa (see the temples of Bhubaneshwar), Madhya Pradesh (see Casile 2009: 221, 224, 255–256, 274, 277, 294, 317). But it is quite rare in the Tamil Country, and I am aware of only one, Kiliyaṇūr, with a Skanda depicted in the rear niche. This shrine is mentioned in Barrett (1974: 64) and Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 88). On these Subrahmaṇyas in the AIM, see L'Hernault (1978: 148–149, 153–154), and Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 100). The latter (1987: 101, ph. 91) identifies a Subrahmaṇya on the western face of the superstructure of the northern shrine, where I can see only a seated male divine figure but without the attributes of Skanda that the author recognized.

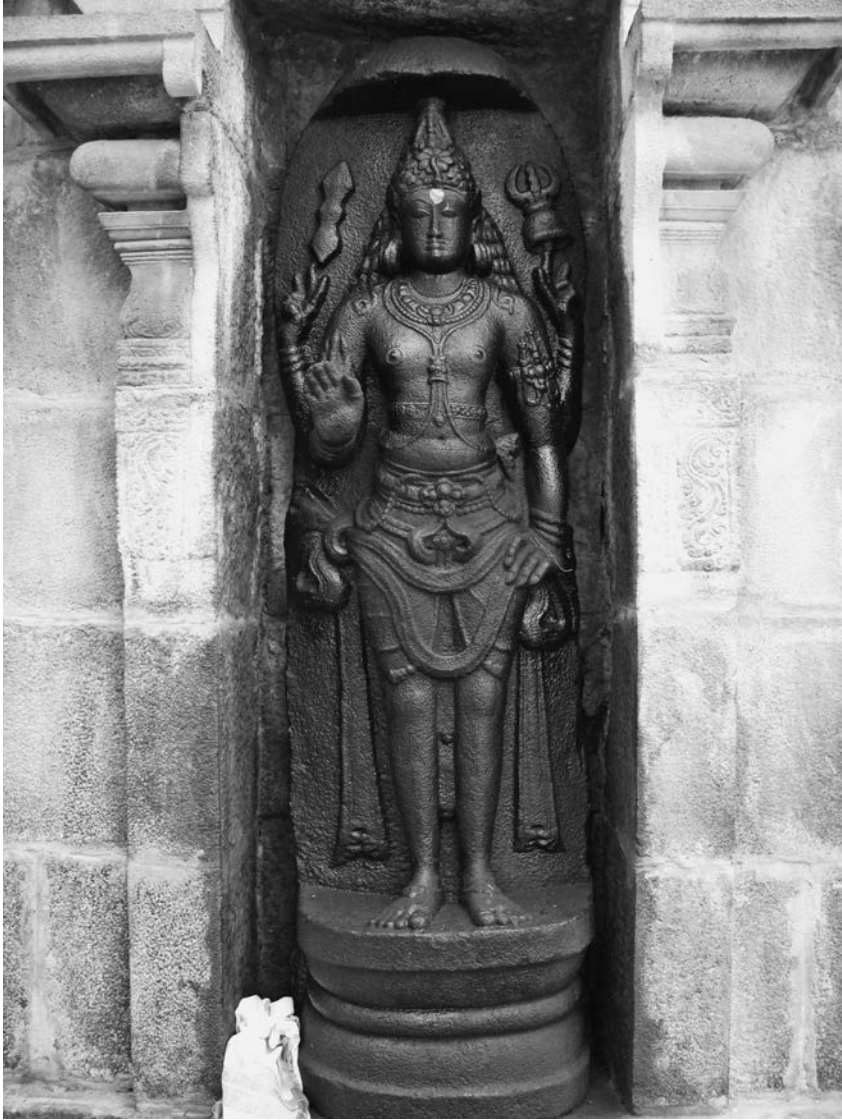
lore, the young and beautiful one, god of love but fearful and terrible who has ghosts as followers.<sup>68</sup> Pervading the southern iconography from the 7th and 8th centuries, he assumed many facets: he might embody the image of the prince, the future king; he might represent the supreme Head of the army, the great warrior, embodying the role of Indra; he might appear as a deity dear to Brahmins, under the name of Subrahmaṇya, borrowing many characteristics from Brahmā.<sup>69</sup> But because he was one of the oldest gods of ancient Tamil literature, he is also believed to embody the southern identity. All these traits, mingled in the figure of Skanda, make his inclusion in the panel of deities used in a temple significant.

Skanda is depicted in the main niches of the eastern façades of both the shrines of the AIM (see Figures 2.12 and 2.13). He displays the features expected of the young deity—the conical headdress and the double thread crossed over the chest. He carries in his upper hands a faceted *vajra*<sup>70</sup> and an attribute whose upper part is made up of a trident while the lower part is a bell. The trident, archetypal attribute of his father Śiva, places him under his filiation. Moreover, trident and bell are related to battle, and even if his lower hands are making the gesture of absence of fear (*abhaya*) and resting on his hip, he appears as a warrior figure. I have connected the figure of Skanda with the figure of Indra elsewhere (Gillet 2016b), overlapping in their position as commander of the army. The fact that this Skanda is placed in the eastern direction, the direction over which Indra is supposed to preside, reinforces this link between the two deities, and enhances the warrior aspect of this figure. The one on the northern shrine is encircled by a fiery halo. This halo is reminiscent of the ones of those encircling bronzes—one even being mentioned (*prabha*) in the AIM in a donation of a Gaṇapati to be taken in procession (#37)—and it may be purely decorative in the case of Skanda. However, I think another explanation would be possible. Given that Agni is one of the fathers of Skanda, I wonder if the halo of fire could not refer to this double fatherhood of the young Skanda, the fire here embodying the veiled presence of Agni.

<sup>68</sup> In fact, the northern figure of Skanda is much more complex and ambiguous than just being the son of Agni, Śiva, and the Chief of the army. For an in-depth portrait of this god and his northern development, see Mann (2012). See Gillet (forthcoming a) for his appearance in the first centuries of the first millennium in the Āndhra Country and his “descent” to the Tamil-speaking South. See Filliozat (1973); Clothey (1978); L’Hernault (1978); Gillet (2014 b; 2014c; 2016a; 2016b) for the form he takes in the South.

<sup>69</sup> For Skanda as the image of the future king, see L’Hernault (1978: 49–86); Schmid (2014c). For Skanda as a great warrior, equivalent to Indra, see L’Hernault (1978: 102–111); Gillet (2016b). For the link between Skanda and Brahmā, see L’Hernault (1978: 139–173); Schmid (2014a: 126–130).

<sup>70</sup> This weapon, depicted as a double diamond-shaped short attribute, is rather enigmatic. It is discussed in L’Hernault (1978: 145–151), who identifies it with a faceted *vajra* (thunderbolt). For a more thorough analysis, see Schmid (2014d).



**Figure 2.12** Skanda in the niche of the eastern façade of the southern shrine of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet)

In the niches of the above storeys, Skanda continues to be depicted. He occupies the highest niche of the superstructure of the southern shrine—the lowest one being empty and the middle one filled by a depiction of a god whose characteristics can no longer be determined. On the northern shrine, he is also



**Figure 2.13** Skanda in the niche of the eastern façade of the northern shrine of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet)

visible seated in the highest niche of the roof, holding unidentified attributes in his upper hands, but making the gesture of the absence of fear, and perhaps holding a manuscript in his lower hands. I could not identify the figure in the lowest niche of the superstructure.

As we have seen earlier, several elements point to this temple being somehow connected to the minor dynasty of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. The iconographical programme may reflect this link too, standing out from the expected programme of the region in the same period: the choice of Skanda, chief of the army, as one of the main figures structuring the shrines may reflect, I think, the military activity that seems to have been one feature of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars upon which they built their power and probably their renown. We cannot exclude the possibility that this deity was also chosen to emphasize the southern identity of the little kings, as Maravars.

### The southern direction

From the time of the Pallavas, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, the ascetic figure of the teacher seated under a tree, dishevelled, has been adopted to adorn every niche of the southern façades.<sup>71</sup> If this almost inevitable image of the temples of the Tamil Country is present on the superstructure of both the shrines of the AIM—in the two niches of the roof of the northern shrine and in the middle one of the southern shrine—this is not the one chosen to fill the other niches. The sculpture of the main niche of the northern shrine does not appear as the familiar dishevelled teacher pictured above, but may be a variant, holding the attributes often carried by Dakṣiṇāmūrti: a flower and a rosary in his upper hands; his lower hands hold a manuscript and make the gesture of knowledge (see Figure 2.14). He is represented as a sort of well-adorned and princely figure of a seated Śiva wearing a tall tiara. May this choice again reflect a link with the little kings, with an adapted form of the teacher, echoing a (little) royalty presented as religious, literate, and educated? The main image in the niche of the southern shrine is, on the other hand, far from any representation of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. It is a hieratic standing Śiva, carrying in his upper hands the axe and the deer, two common attributes of the god. If then the common form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti is present on the southern façades of both the shrines, it is relegated to the superstructure, leaving the ground floor to more generic forms of Śiva.

### The western direction

I was able to observe only the highest sculptures adorning the niches of the superstructure on the western face. The one of the northern shrine is a seated figure, identified by Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 101–102) with Viṣṇu, but which

<sup>71</sup> For Dakṣiṇāmūrti in Pallava temples, see Gillet (2010: 79–113).



Figure 2.14 Śiva in the niche of the southern façade of the northern shrine of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet)

could also be Śiva, since his attributes are no longer discernible. However, the one on the southern shrine is rather interesting: it depicts a standing Śiva playing the *vīṇā* (see Fig. A.15). The presence of a Śiva musician overhanging the entrance seems to be echoing the tradition of dance in this temple, represented by



the dancers attached to this monument, as Padma Kaimal suggested to me. It is also tempting, as Leslie Orr pointed out to me, to relate this image of Śiva the musician with the name of the temple, in case Gandharva is meant instead of Kandarpa. It places the temple and its devotees under the auspices of music and dance, and gives a celestial echo to the musicians and dancers attached to, and performing in the temple.

There is not a single depiction of a goddess in the niches of these two shrines of the AIM, not even an Ardhanārīśvaramūrti. The statues adorning the main niches are thus exclusively male figures. The only appearance of a female is on one pilaster of the eastern façade of the southern shrine: a small carved bas-relief depicts two scenes of a goddess's fight,<sup>72</sup> the lower one being easily identifiable as Mahiṣāsūramārdinī, the goddess fighting the buffalo-demon. She comes as an echo of the warrior figure that Skanda is, presiding over this façade.

There are small bas-reliefs carved on the base of the sandstone pillared hall in front of the southern shrine. Only those of the western and northern façades are still visible. I was able to identify only one mythological scene, that is a probable Gajasamhāramūrti, Śiva killing the elephant, on the southern side of the western base (see Fig. A.16). But the others do not seem to have a mythological dimension, and dancers are the most common depictions (Fig. A.17). Again, I believe that we may relate these depictions of dancing figures to the presence of dancers attached to this monument.

Goddesses are present in the compound, but are relegated to the sub-shrines, surrounding the main god. As mentioned earlier, Seven Mothers occupy the oblong shrine on the southern side (see Fig. A.4 to Fig. A.11). Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 106) remarks that the Kaumarī carries the same attributes as the Skandas depicted on the shrine (see Figures 2.12 and 2.13). It is an interesting point because one of the attributes of Skanda, the half-trident half-bell, is quite unusual and the fact that it is also found in the hand of the goddess links her directly to her male counterpart of this site: they have been conceived as an *ensemble*. A Jyeṣṭhā also probably occupied one of the small shrines now collapsed, and her stela lies on the northern side of the compound. The other shrines shelter other male deities: Skanda, Sūrya, and Gaṇeśa. A word needs to be said about this Skanda, occupying the western shrine, and so facing the same direction as the Skandas on the main monuments (see Fig. A.13). We can identify him with Skanda on the basis of the attributes he carries in his upper hands, the faceted *vajra* and the half-trident half-bell, narrowing further the link with the ones on the rear walls of the shrines and with the Kaumarī amongst the Seven Mothers.

<sup>72</sup> Dagens (1988: 165) identifies the upper scene with a depiction of Andhakāsuramūrti. However, the character holding the trident clearly has a large pair of breasts, and I thus agree with Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 74–75) that it is a goddess.

However, there is a large trident protruding behind his shoulders. This trident behind the shoulders or the head is usually reserved for guardian figures.<sup>73</sup> This Skanda may then endorse a supplementary guarding role when placed in the sub-shrine.

There are a few sculptures now kept inside the *maṇḍapa* in front of the southern shrine. The largest one is a depiction of Gaṅgādharamūrti, the form of Śiva receiving in his locks of hair the Gaṅgā coming down to earth (see Fig. A.18). The scene has been given a typically 10th-century treatment, which consists in emphasizing the jealousy of Pārvatī, standing at the side of Śiva, who is embracing her in an attempt to reassure her. This would be the only appearance of goddesses at the side of the main god. However, it is impossible to know where this stela was placed and thus to define its possible role in the iconographical programme. Next to this stela, we find a sculpture of Sūrya (see Fig. A.19) and another one of Brahmā. They are of very delicate facture, probably hinting at the early 10th century. I think it is possible that this Sūrya, at least, may have been the original one in the sub-shrine on the eastern side, because the one we see today may belong to a later period.

<sup>73</sup> Lockwood et al. (2001: 7–20).

### 3

## The Pakaiviṭai Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva temple (PIM) and the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār of Maṇṇupperumpaluvūr

The Pakaiviṭai Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva temple (PIM) is a Śiva temple known today under the name of Sundareśvara and located in the western part of Mēlappaluvūr (11°02'33.19"N; 79°02'18.47"E). It opens to the east and faces the AIM directly, at a distance of about 275 metres on a perfectly straight east-west axis (see Map I.2). This configuration reminds us of the disposition of the temples of the Pallava dynasty in Kāñcīpuram, also organized in pairs and facing each other.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions of the temple indicate that it is in Maṇṇupperumpaluvūr, literally the exceedingly (*maṇṇum*) big (*perum*) Paḷuvūr, of Kuṇṇakkūṛram. One inscription of the AIM from the 11th century (#11) mentions the tank of Pakaiviṭai-caturvedimaṅgalam. The ending of Caturvedimaṅgalam suggests that there was a *brahmadeya* related to the temple in this period at least, although no *brahmadeya* is mentioned in the inscriptions of the monument itself. While scrutinizing the site on Google Earth, I have spotted the traces of a rather large tank to the west of the PIM, in the reservoir (see Map I.2). I could not locate it *in situ*, and I thus cannot confirm that it is an ancient structure, but because of its alignment with the PIM, I think they may have been connected at some point.

The temple is associated with the legend of Paraśurāma: one of the wells of the compound is called Paraśurāma *tīrtham*, considered to be the place where he washed away his sin after killing his mother.<sup>2</sup>

Studying this temple is a daunting task. It underwent many renovations, starting perhaps in the 10th century, and it must be quite different today from what it was then. The latest substantial renovation was done in 2015, entirely transforming the main sanctuary with heavy layers of cement and painting. Many fragments of inscriptions have been reused in the construction and reconstruction of parts of the temple over the centuries. I have collected all of them as

<sup>1</sup> Gillet (2010: 325; 2021b).

<sup>2</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1966: 111, 113); Tyagarajan (2014: 38–41). In fact, the temple is also linked to the father of Paraśurāma, Jamadagni, who is said to have come here. This is probably how a beautiful sculpture of Agni in the temple came to be locally identified with Jamadagni.

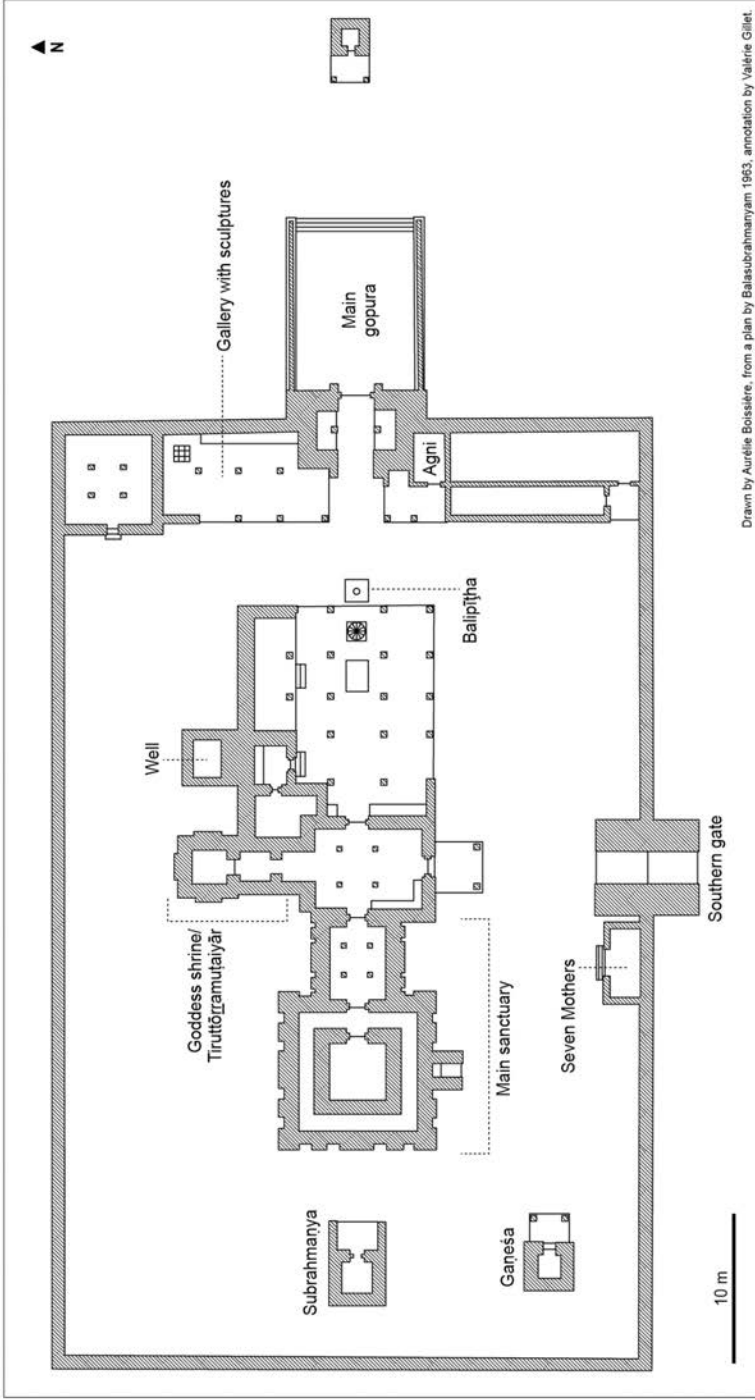
far as I am aware, but I have included in this study only those that contain some words significant for this study, that is the name of a temple, of a donor, or of a donee.<sup>3</sup>

“Pakaiviṭai Īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva” is the name found in the inscriptions of the main shrine, at the centre of the compound (see Plan 3.1). The complex is surrounded by a compound wall (c. 60 m x 40 m) pierced by two entries, one in the east with a *gopura* facing the sanctuary and flanked by two exquisite door-guardians, and one in the south, devoid of door-guardians. The main shrine opens to the east, and shelters a *linga*. The sanctuary and its *ardha-maṇḍapa* are made entirely of sandstone. The walls are composed of plain sections separated by pilasters. A niche occupies the centre of each façade, but because they are very shallow and narrow, it is unlikely that the niches could have contained stone sculptures. In fact, the blocks of sandstone do not seem to have been polished very well, and I wonder if they were intended to be plastered and painted; the shallow niches of each façade would thus have received painted images of the gods. Architectural features are very different from what we have seen in the AIM: there is a central projection, including the main niche, in the middle of every façade; there is no frieze of decorative *ganās* below the roof; the base is not made of the same components, deprived of the lions’ frieze and the lotus-shaped lower part (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The *balipīṭha* in front of the shrine may have been built at the same time—it is made of the same yellowish sandstone.

As far as I could see before the latest major renovation in 2015, the walls were entirely plain, all the inscriptions relegated to the base. The renovation work unearthed the lowest part, engraved with inscriptions which had never been noticed before: the inscriptions of the southern and western bases are still visible, although no longer clearly legible; but I could only observe and photograph in haste the beginning of those of the northern base, which were later covered with a cement floor and are unfortunately lost today. Most of the numerous fragments reused in the compound wall refer to the PIM, and were thus a part of constructions no longer extant.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 25–28; 1966: 111–113) was the first to describe this temple. Barrett (1965: 13–14; 1974: 85, 111) mentioned it rather briefly, assigning it to the second half of the 10th century. Even briefer is Dhaky (EITA vol. I part 1, p. 218), who dedicated only a few lines to it, in the category of “temples of uncertain origin”, and who identified a resemblance with the later Pallava foundations. Govindaraju and Manamalar (1994: 153) and Gayatri (2012: 532–533) also mentioned it in passing. Tyagarajan (2014), who published the complete epigraphical corpus of the site, which was extremely useful for me in identifying and reading those inscriptions, proposed the most well-thought-out and complete analysis of this monument.

<sup>4</sup> I was not able to retrace the history of the renovation of this temple, which is not under the protection of the Archaeological Survey of India (AIS) but under the control of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (HR&CE). As far as I know, the latter does not keep annual reports recording the renovations undertaken, as the ASI does, or, if it does, the reports are not accessible to the public.



Drawn by Aurélie Boissière, from a plan by Balasubrahmanyam 1963, annotation by Valérie Gillet.

**Plan 3.1** The Pakaiṣṭai Īṣvaragṛhattu Mahādeva temple (PIM) (drawn by Aurélie Boissière, from a plan by Balasubrahmanyam 1963, annotated by Valérie Gillet)



**Figure 3.1** Southern façade, sanctuary, and *ardha-maṇḍapa*, main shrine of the PIM (©EFEO/IFP, no. 06575-04, photo P.Z. Pattabiramin, 1974)

There is no foundation inscription for the PIM. The inscriptions in this temple are not earlier than the 10th century, with #45, #38, and #39 being dated from the 2nd, 5th, and 10th regnal years of unidentified Parakesarivarmans, while the others are clearly assigned to the reigns of Āditya II and Rājarāja I. However, while there are no records apparently predating the 10th century, the inscription #13 of the AIM records a donation by Nakkaṅ Pūti, son of the god of the Lord (*iśvarattu*) [of] Pakaiviṭai of Paḷuvūr in this country. I have suggested earlier that this inscription may belong to the end of the 9th century. If this hypothesis is correct, then the PIM was already in existence at the end of the 9th century, as was the AIM.

The goddess's shrine, on the northern side of the entrance of the main shrine, is built in granite and is placed in its expected location (see Fig. A.20). Indeed, from



Figure 3.2 Western façade of the sanctuary of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet)

*circa* the 12th century onwards, it became customary to add a goddess's shrine at the entrance to Śaiva temples. Its place and its architecture point to a shrine posterior to the main shrine. However, the study of the inscriptions engraved on this shrine reveals an entirely unexpected situation: the shrine was in fact a 10th-century Śiva temple built by a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār, whose stones were reused for constructing the goddess's shrine. In this chapter, I shall investigate separately material of both these temples, the PIM and the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār inside the compound, and I will then attempt to understand how they functioned together.

### *The Pakaiviṭai Īśvaragrhattu Mahādeva temple (PIM)*

#### Naming the temple

“Pakaiviṭai Īśvaragrhattu Mahādeva” literally means Mahādeva (Śiva) of the shrine (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Pakaiviṭai. Pakaiviṭai may be interpreted as “he who is a bull (*viṭai*) to his enemies (*pakai*)” or “he who causes distress (*viṭai*) to his enemies (*pakai*)”. Pakaiviṭai is a Tamil compound,

and its meaning would fit the title of a king. It is consistently written in Tamil script, and is followed again with the Sanskrit *īśvaragr̥ha*, written mostly in Grantha, with the Tamil ending –m or –ttu. Whenever there are variations in the name, it is mostly on the Sanskrit word *īśvaragr̥ham*: “pakaiviṭai īśvagirahattu mahadevakkku” (#38), “pakaiviṭai īśvarattu mahādevarkku” (#41, #46), but never on Pakaiviṭai. I would argue, as I did for the name of the AIM, that such a combination of Tamil and Sanskrit words is a statement that this temple was associated with some high spheres of the society.

Two inscriptions give an alternate name to the god, besides Pakaiviṭai *īśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva*: Paḷuvūr Nakkar, i.e. the Nakkar of Paḷuvūr.<sup>5</sup> The first is dated to the 10th regnal year of an unidentified Kōpparakesarivarman, thus probably somewhere in the second half of the 10th century (#39), and the second to the 24th regnal year of Rājarāja I, *circa* A.D. 999 (#64). While Nakkar, the equivalent of Nakkaṅ, comes from the Sanskrit *nagna* meaning ‘naked’, it is also a very common Tamil name, a name that was borne almost systematically by *Tēvaṇār makaḷs* in this temple, and by some other persons with a high status in the locality. It refers to the form of Śiva wandering naked, as a mendicant.

### Sons/daughters of god and dancers in the PIM

It is not clearly established that all *Tēvaṇār makaḷs* and *makaṅs* are dancers, but some of them clearly are. This is the case of Nakkaṅ Kariya Viranaraṇi, daughter of the god of this temple and a dancer (*kūttapiḷḷai*), who donated four *kaḷaṅcus* of gold to provide food for 18 people on the days of Saṃkrānti, in the 11th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#41; Fig. A.21). The same year, she gave some land for a lamp in the AIM (#31). She is also probably the donor of land for a lamp for the god of the PIM in the reign of the same king (#42), making her a rather active donor in both these temples. She is clearly said to belong to the PIM.

As we have already seen, Nakkaṅ Pūti, son of the god of the PIM, made a donation of land for a lamp in the AIM at the end of the 9th century (#13); in the 5th regnal year of an unidentified Kōpparakesarivarman, somewhere in the second half of the 10th century probably, the dancer (*kūttapiḷḷai*) of this temple, Nakkaṅ Kiṭaṅtaperumāṅ, donated 10 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold for one lamp for the PIM (#38). The PIM is also said to have a *taḷiccēri*, an area around the temple where the dancer *Tēvaṇār makaḷ* Nakkaṅ Kariya Viranaraṇi had a house (#31): it is near the festival street (*viḷāviti*), near something lost but

<sup>5</sup> A fragment, inserted in the base on the western side of the entrance of the southern *maṇḍapa*, which is not included in the corpus because it is a part of a description of land, also mentions “ippaḷuvūr nakkaṅkku”. See Tyagarajan (2014: 144).



belonging to the PIM (*paikaiṇṭai īśvarattu devarkku*), and near the garden, probably the temple garden.

### Other donors in the PIM

Only four inscriptions in which I could identify the donor remain to be considered:<sup>6</sup>

1. In the 10th regnal year of an unidentified Kōpparakesarivarman, Āttiyaṅ Śivadāsaṅ Cōlappiraṅ alias Uttamacōla Brahmātarāyar of Pūvaṅūr, a *brahmadeya* of Veṅṅikkūrṅram, gives 96 goats for a perpetual lamp for the PIM, also called Nakkar of Paḷuvūr (#39). Pūvaṅūr of Veṅṅikkūrṅram is far from Paḷuvūr: Subbarayalu (1973: no. 138) located it in the present-day Maṅṅārkuṭi taluk, that is around 60 km to the south-east.
2. During the reign of Rājarāja, Pekiyār Aḷiyānilai Viccātiri gives 10 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold for a perpetual lamp for the PIM (#46); the donor is related to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṅaṅ Maṅavaṅ but in a manner which is not expressed.
3. An individual, . . . Nakkaṅ alias . . . Pallavaraiyāṅ, donated something for a lamp for the PIM in the reign of a certain . . . Mummaṭicōla, perhaps Rājarāja I (#43; Fig. A.22).
4. In a fragmentary inscription (#61) most probably dated to the reign of Kulottuṅga I, a certain Nāṭṭan Cokkan alias the chief (*nāyaka*) of Tillai . . . ṅaṅ, lord (*uṭaiyāṅ*) of Tirucciṅṅampalam, may be the donor of an unidentified gift. He appears to be a landowning lord and perhaps a chief of Cidambaram, one of the most popular southern holy places connected with the dance of Śiva.

A fragmentary epigraph (#60), engraved on a stone reused in the building of the northern wall of the first *maṅḍapa*, is quite intriguing. The fragment runs over six lines. Line 5 refers to the Śrīkāryam called Kaucikaṅ Nākapiraṅ Māṅaṅ, who was active in Paḷuvūr at the end of the reign of Uttamacōla and in the first four years of Rājarāja I. He gave something which is lost. However, the last line registers the beginning of the title of the mother of Uttamacōla, the queen Cempiyāṅ Mahādevi, one of the great patrons of temples in the region: *śrī uttamacōlatēvarai tiruvayīru vāyṭta pirāṭṭiyār*.<sup>7</sup> Does this belong to the same inscription? Or is it the beginning of another one? It is impossible to say. However,

<sup>6</sup> There is perhaps a fifth one recording a donation of 96 goats by a shepherd of Paḷuvūr possibly called Aṅṅitiraṅ Cōlai Muttāṅ Korai Cirāḷḷai, but it is found on two fragments (#65 & #66) inserted into the compound wall and the name of the temple is lost.

<sup>7</sup> On this popular figure of the 10th-century Tamil Country, see Cane (2017).

if the title of the queen is given it is probably to register one of her donations, and I would surmise that she made one to the god residing in this temple.

Therefore, the donors of this temple are *Tēvaṇar makaḷs*, dancers, lords, individuals related to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, and perhaps a Cōḷa queen. We notice that the Nagarattārs or merchant guilds, which constituted one of the important communities of the AIM, are absent from the epigraphs engraved in this temple: they made a donation to the PIM (#11), but it is engraved on the walls of the AIM.

### The internal organization of the temple

Most of the inscriptions are incomplete or fragmentary, and it is thus difficult to draw clear conclusions regarding the organization of the temple. Some of the inscriptions which seem to be complete, such as #38, #39, and #42, mention neither those receiving the donation—gold, goats, or land—nor those in charge of supplying the lamps or the food offerings. The epigraphs possibly mentioning this, #41 and #46, are damaged where it is expected to be written. Only #39 and #46<sup>8</sup> end with the customary formula calling upon the protection of the Paṇmāheśvaras.

The first part of a donation engraved in the AIM, #11, in the 15th regnal year of Rājendra I, *circa* A.D. 1027, states that four Śivabrahmaṇas, who possess the *kāṇi* (right of possession) over lands of the temple, the Vaḷainciyars (for Vaḷañciyar, a merchant guild) of Paḷuvūr, and the oilmongers were the members of the group in charge of burning a lamp in the PIM with the produce of the land given by the Nagarattārs in memory of the murdered Cōmaṇ Puvani. Because the second part of the inscription, dealt with earlier, recorded another donation for a lamp in the AIM, and that it was handled by the Seven Paṭṭutaiyārs, the group specifically in charge of the affairs of the AIM, it is possible to think that these Śivabrahmaṇas, Vaḷainciyars, and oilmongers were somehow involved in the affairs of the PIM.

### The PIM and its relation to the AIM

The question of the relation between the AIM and the PIM is interesting. It is clear that the two temples are somehow related. An unfinished inscription, #45, dated with the 5th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, sometime in the 10th century, records something made to the PIM by the Paṭṭutaiyārs of the AIM. It is

<sup>8</sup> The fragments #65 and #66, if they belong to the same inscription, also end with the formula of the protection of the Paṇmāheśvaras.

impossible to know whether it was a donation, an order or something else, but the presence of these officers of the AIM in a record of the PIM suggests a link between the two temples. Furthermore, *Tēvaṇar makaḷs* and *makaṇs* attached to the PIM endowed the AIM from the end of the 9th century (#13, #31) as well as the PIM (#41, #42). These daughters and sons of gods, also dancers as in the case of Viranaraṇi (#31, #41, #42), were thus attached to one of those two temples, and gave to either one of them. We notice that while a *Tēvaṇar makaḷ/makaṇ* attached to the PIM made donations to the AIM, the opposite did not happen, or there is, at least today, no trace of such records. Would this indicate a kind of hierarchy between the two temples, and point to the fact that it was more prestigious to endow the AIM? This is perhaps the same idea that we see emerging behind another donation by the Nagarattārs to the PIM, not engraved on the latter but on the AIM (#11).

### The PIM and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars

The fact that the PIM is clearly mentioned as being located in Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr, and that this Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr is said to be the place of residence of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars (#50, #130), naturally associates the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars with this temple.<sup>9</sup> But based on the corpus of inscriptions of the PIM, little can be inferred regarding the nature of the link between the PIM and the minor dynasty. As in the AIM, no Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar made a direct donation to the PIM. The name of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṇavaṇ appears in only two inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja I on this shrine: #46 where the name of the donor, Pekiyār Aḷiyānilai Viccātiri (might this be the name of a woman?), is preceded by the name of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, but without any indication of what their relation might be; if the donor as well as the purpose of the donation recorded in #44 is lost, the beginning mentions the Śrīkāryam, whose name is also lost but who is probably directly related to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. This instance strengthens what we have supposed earlier, that is a Śrīkāryam of Paḷuvūr reporting to the little king. The Śrīkāryam Kōn Aṭikaḷ supervises in #42 a donation of the dancer Viranaraṇi, the same donor whose donation in the AIM (#31) he supervises, as mentioned earlier. But the little kings do not seem to be summoned often in the epigraphy of this temple, and their presence is rather diffuse. This radically changes with the appearance of the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār, to which we shall now turn.

<sup>9</sup> Tyagarajan (2014: 72) suggests that the palace of the little kings was located south-west of the temple because of the name this area currently bears, that is Mālikaimēṭu, literally the palace-mound.

## The Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār: a lost royal shrine

All records concerning the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār are found inside the compound of the PIM, on the goddess shrine only.<sup>10</sup> Its inscriptions provide enough elements for us to assemble a part of the puzzle constituted by the history of this shrine during the time when it was still a Śaiva shrine. Here I will cross the time boundary that I fixed for the present study, that is the Paḷuvūr of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars which ends by the reign of Rājendracōla I, because the 12th century appeared particularly relevant in this case for the understanding of the dynamics of this shrine in the wider Paḷuvūr.

The name of the temple calls for some comments. In the earliest inscriptions of the second half of the 10th century, we read “Tirutoṭammuṭaiya mahādeva” (#48) and “Tirutoṭam uṭaiya mahādeva” (#49), which literally means ‘Mahādeva (Śiva) who possesses (uṭaiya) the holy (tiru) toṭam’. One meaning of the verb *toṭu-tal*, that is “to play a musical instrument”, would fit the present context of Perumpaḷuvūr quite well since there are dancers attached to the temple, giving “Śiva who possesses the playing of musical instruments”. But it would then be difficult to reconcile such an interpretation with the name spelled “Tiruttōṭṭamuṭaiyār” in #50 only a few years later. For this one, two interpretations seem to be possible: either we take it as *tōṭṭam*, and translate it as “Śiva who possesses the holy garden”, or we consider it as a variant of *tōṛram*, and thus have “Śiva who possesses a holy appearance”. The second option would probably be a better interpretation, and this is what subsequent inscriptions called the temple at least a century later. For this reason, I think it would be more plausible to envisage the *tirutoṭam* of the first inscriptions as a mistake for *tirutōṭṭam*.<sup>11</sup> I have thus chosen to call this temple the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār.

### The Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār of the 10th century and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ

There are three inscriptions, #48, #49, and #50, from the second half of the 10th century, spread over only a few years. Inscriptions #48 (see Fig. A.23) and #49 (see Fig. A.24), dated to the 16th regnal year of Uttamacōla, *circa* A.D.

<sup>10</sup> Many scholars did not notice that the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār and the PIM were originally two different temples. See Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 25–26); Govindaraju and Manamalar (1994: 153) even assign the temple to the reign of Aditya I, though they claim it was constructed under the reign of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ, whom they locate in the last quarter of the 10th century. Only Tyagarajan (2014: 78–83) distinguishes the two temples through his study of the complete epigraphical corpus.

<sup>11</sup> There would thus be the same mistake twice: #48 and #49 are assigned to the same regnal year and seem to have been written by the same hand.

987, record donations by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ to the Śiva of Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār in Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr of Kuṇṛakkūrram. In the first donation, the little king himself gives 96 goats for a perpetual lamp for the god (#48). The inscription is incomplete, but we understand that Kaucikaṇ Nakkaṇ Mārapirāṇ, the Śrīkāryam, supervises the donation. The goats are probably taken by “those of the village” (*ūrōm*) of Maṛavaṇēri. The second donation (#49) is made by the same king; he gives 30 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold to provide *ghee* for two perpetual lamps for the Śiva of Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār. This gold is entered into the account after the examination by the Śrīkāryam Kaucikaṇ Nakkaṇ Mārapirāṇ of Maṅkalam, and the Caṅkarapāṭiṣ, the oilmongers, of Malainakaram take this gold and commit to supplying the oil for the lamp every day. The Tamil name of the temple differing from names composed with Sanskrit words such as AIM or PIM and the status of those handling the donations—*ūrār* of a village bearing the title of the king, oilmongers—are elements pointing to a temple which would be under the control of local communities, to which the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar ties himself by making donations of goat and gold.

However, inscription #50 (see Figs. A.25–A.26), issued a few years later, tells us otherwise. This epigraph presents the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ in a specific light. He speaks in the first person, and narrates the story which leads to the gift, in a “piece of political theatre,” as Cox (2016: 5) would say: it is about land rights (*kāṇi*) possessed by the Paṭṭuṭai of the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār, the holy temple that I built; when I was residing in Cēṇāpuram of Milātu,<sup>12</sup> Kaucikaṇ Nakkaṇ Māraṇ, the Śrīkāryam of this temple, came to me and requested me to give these *kāṇis* of the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār to Ilaṅkōti Sūryaṇ of the Kāśyapagotra, the Paṭṭuṭaiyāṇ of Tirucciruvalantai. The order ends with a series of names: the one who wrote the inscription, Udaya Divākaraṇ, and another, Ātittāṇ Cippāṭtaṇ, Taccācāriyaṇ of Laḷkoṭṭūr (probably for Mikoṭṭūr) in the *nāṭu* of Keṭālaneṇmali of Cempiyaṇ Maṛaināṭu, whose role is not defined. His title Taccācāriyaṇ may suggest that he is an architect.

The information this epigraph reveals is valuable. We see that donations of lands belonging to the temple are sanctioned by the little king. The Śrīkāryam, who supervises the affairs of this temple—we will see that he, in fact, supervises donations by individuals related to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars or Perumpaḷuvūr—seeks the approval of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar for a donation concerning temple lands, further confirming that the Śrīkāryam office is under the authority of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. We learn that there were Paṭṭuṭaiyārs in this temple, and that they possessed land rights, as in the AIM. These land rights could be transferred,

<sup>12</sup> I have not been able to identify Cēṇāpuram, but Milātu, a kingdom of little kings located around Tirukkōyilūr, is well known to the epigraphy. See Subbarayalu (1973: 76–77); Govindasamy (1979: 37–42). Cox (2016: 44) refers particularly to these chieftains when he presents the “martial dynasts analogous in their culture and royal comportment to the Cōḷas themselves”.

at the request of the Śrīkāryam and at the order of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar: the land rights belonging to the Paṭṭuṭaiyāṅ of this temple were made to the Paṭṭuṭaiyāṅ of another temple, Tirucciruvaḷantai, which I could not identify.<sup>13</sup>

We also learn incidentally that Kaṇṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ is the one who built the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār. The temple was built in brick, as a later inscription to which I will return suggests (#52). It had, most likely, a base made of stone, where the 10th-century inscriptions were engraved. But its current place and orientation—fitting with that of the goddess's shrine but not with that of another Śaiva sanctuary—precludes us from considering that this was its initial location, and the question of its original placement and its relation to the PIM remains to be addressed. To begin with, the three 10th-century inscriptions are engraved on the western base of the shrine, and are complete. Their palaeography fits well into the 10th century, and they were not necessarily recopied at a later stage. The integrity of the inscriptions was thus preserved during the displacement of the shrine, and I assume this was possible because the stones were near its present-day location: this would probably not have been the case had the stones been brought from outside the compound. Consequently, I think it is more reasonable to assume that the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār was, from its inception, included in the compound of the PIM. If it was indeed in the same compound as the PIM, its role and the relation between the two shrines is a thorny question. Indeed, the two sanctuaries do not seem to be connected, in the sense that inscriptions on each monument do not refer to one another, unlike the PIM and the AIM for example. Because of this apparent hermeticism, I suggest we can exclude the possibility that this Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār was conceived as the twin shrine of the PIM, echoing the AIM facing them a couple of hundred meters away.<sup>14</sup> It would be tempting to imagine Kaṇṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ building a shrine next to the PIM to create a mirror of the AIM, and enclose Perumpaḷuvūr, where the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars resided, in a web of twin shrines. But the hypothesis which would perhaps fit the present context better is that Kaṇṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ founded a shrine in a prestigious temple near his residence, anchoring his presence over this temple and enhancing the renown of his lineage.

### Reviving the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār at the end of the 11th century

While the PIM continued to stand and its god to be worshipped, the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār, although probably in its precincts, was abandoned.

<sup>13</sup> It would be tempting to identify the Tirucciruvaḷantai with the Tiruvālanturai, but too many syllables are different and it is difficult to justify that the second was meant here.

<sup>14</sup> This is the hypothesis retained by Tyagarajan (2014: 84).

During the reign of Kulottuṅga I, between *circa* A.D. 1069 and 1122, a certain Vāṇakōvaraiyāṅ Cuttamallan Uttamacōla Ilaṅkeśvaran, belonging to another minor dynasty of the Tamil Country, the erstwhile Bāṇa lineage, became an important character of Paḷuvūr. He does not appear in the inscriptions of the AIM nor of the PIM, but he is an important actor in the epigraphical corpus of the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār. In many of the inscriptions where he appears the regnal year is no longer legible, and it is thus not possible to trace his donations chronologically. One epigraph, #52 (see Fig. A.27), claims that he is the builder of this shrine: worship had ceased in the temple of Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār since it was ruined and its bricks scattered; Vāṇakōvaraiyāṅ Cuttamallan Uttamacōla Ilaṅkeśvaran rebuilt it in stone, along with the eight sub-shrines, the *gopura*, and the compound wall, and restored the worship; he did this for the welfare of Cakkaravarttikaḷ Śrī Kulottuṅgacōladevar and changed the name of the temple to Kulottuṅgacōla Īśvaram. Unlike the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, who never summoned the figure of Cōla kings in their epigraphs, the Vāṇakōvaraiyar, who had acquired an important position in Paḷuvūr as a temple patron, if not a governor, claimed his attachment to the Cōla royal figure.<sup>15</sup> The Vāṇakōvaraiyar, by restoring a—minor—royal temple and rebuilding it entirely in stone, made a statement of power, inscribing himself in the wake of his predecessor. The falling into ruins, at the end of the 11th century, of the temple the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars built indicates that they had not maintained it for quite some time. The unfinished #53 begins with the statement that Vāṇakōvaraiyāṅ Uttamacōla Ilaṅkeśvaran built this stone temple for the welfare of the sacred body of Kulottuṅgacōladeva in his 30th regnal year. The regnal year of Kulottuṅga is lost in #55, but the inscription records that the same Vāṇakōvaraiyāṅ gave land to the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār for the daily expenditure of the holy service for this god. In the 32nd year of Kulottuṅga I, a long inscription (#54), recording a royal order about tax exemptions of a *devadāna* land, twice ostentatiously repeats that the Kulottuṅga Īśvaramuṭaiyai alias Tiruttōrram was built by Ilaṅkecuvaraṅ in the big Paḷuvūr of Uttuṅkavaḷanāṭu, although he does not have any role in the donation. It even states that this temple is now in a place called Kulottuṅgacōlanallūr alias Tillaikkuṭi. The new name of the temple, Kulottuṅga Īśvaramuṭaiyar, has thus given its name to the area where it is located. The second name, Tillaikkuṭi, literally ‘the place/residence (*kuṭi*) of

<sup>15</sup> Orr (2018: 350–352) does present the Bāṇas and their queens as important temple patrons in the Tamil Country during this period. However, the location and extent of their territory, if they had any, is not clear. The bond that united the Vāṇakōvaraiyars and Kulottuṅga I may be rooted in the Kalinga wars that the Cōla king waged sometime before his 26th regnal year, as we find a verse of the *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi* referring to a Muṭikoṇṭacōla Vāṇakōvaraiyaṅ mounting his elephant when marching in the campaign to Kalinga. For this verse 365 of the *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi*, composed during the reign of Kulottuṅga, and its translation, see Cox (2016: 168). For a study of this literary Tamil piece, see Cox (2016: 153–171).

Tillai, seems to somehow associate Paḷuvūr and Cidambaram, of which Tillai is another name.<sup>16</sup>

After being rebuilt in stone by Vāṇakōvaraiyāṇ Cuttamallan Uttamacōḷa Ilaṅkeśvaran, the temple was probably abandoned once again, because, at a point I cannot locate with certainty, the stones of the shrine were used to build the goddess's shrine. If the temple was still active, I doubt that it would have been dismantled to build another shrine. There are some fragments of inscriptions inserted in the walls, some pieces of the base bearing inscriptions which were put next to each other but do not match (#48), and some with missing beginnings (#51), indicating that the temple was rebuilt after these inscriptions were engraved. It thus seems that this shrine espoused the fame and the fate of the sovereigns who built it: first the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ, after the fall of whom it collapsed, and then Vāṇakōvaraiyāṇ Cuttamallan Uttamacōḷa Ilaṅkeśvaran, after whom it was probably abandoned again. The stones could then be reused for another shrine, following the practice common in the 12th and 13th centuries of building a shrine for the goddess at the entrance to a Śaiva temple.

### The Kaṇṭīśvaramuṭaiyār: a lost *paḷlipaṭai*?

Two inscriptions, #62 in the precincts of the PIM and #135 in the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva, both unfortunately fragmentary, seem to hint at the existence of a *paḷlipaṭai* called Śrīkaṇṭīśvara. *Paḷlipaṭais* are believed to be temples erected for a deceased king, but there was not enough archaeological excavation to ascertain whether the king was buried under it or it was simply built in memory of him.<sup>17</sup> I have not been able to locate #135, but its existence seems to be confirmed by a picture published by Tyagarajan (photograph not numbered), who edited the text (Tyagarajan 2014: 152–153). This *paḷlipaṭai śrīkaṇṭa ī[[śvaram]]* is preceded by *eṭupitta*, “which was constructed”, but the name of the builder is lost. It is followed by the name of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ, but it is impossible to determine his role. Because of the name Śrīkaṇṭīśvara, I would agree with Tyagarajan (2014: 94–95) that this monument was probably intended for a little king whose name was Kaṇṭaṇ—that is, the father of Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ mentioned in the inscription. However, I would not follow this author when he proposes (2014: 94–95) to locate this *paḷlipaṭai* inside the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, a theory that I consider far-fetched, since there are no other

<sup>16</sup> On Cidambaram and Kulottuṅga, see specifically the analysis of Cox (2016: 176–200).

<sup>17</sup> On *paḷlipaṭai*, see Nilakantha Sastri (1935–37: 452–453); Balasubrahmanyam (1966: 18–20); Veluthat (2003: 71–72).



references to this memorial monument in the epigraphical corpus and since this Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple seems to be anchored in an entirely different sphere, as we shall see. None of the temples extant in Paḷuvūr are suitable candidates, in my view, for a *paḷḷiṭṭai*. Therefore, I would prefer to assume that if there was a *paḷḷiṭṭai* in Paḷuvūr, it no longer exists.

An inscription dated to the 10th regnal year of a Kulottuṅga, probably the first because most of the inscriptions on this goddess's shrine pertain to his reign, provides an interesting insight into this Kāṇṭiśvaramuṭaiyār which appears to have been rather important at that time, but is not said to be a *paḷḷiṭṭai* (#56). An order of Āticaṇḍeśvara of the temple of Śrīkaṇṭiśvaramuṭaiyār, the Lord of big Paḷuvūr of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷanāṭu alias Kuṅṅrakkūṅṅam on the northern bank, came to the executors of temple endowments of this temple and the Śrī Māheśvarars, upon the request of Pañcavarāyar (the five kings?), lords of Cīraikkā, chieftains who conquered this country.<sup>18</sup> Caṇḍeśvara Tēvar commanded that something, whose name is lost, be raised in the temple of Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār. The inscription remains unfinished. It distinguishes the Śrīkaṇṭiśvaramuṭaiyār and the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār, where it is engraved. It does not provide any clue, though, about the identity and the location of this Kāṇṭiśvaramuṭaiyār, but suggests that, by the end of the 11th century at least, it was quite an important shrine.

## The sculptures

Many of the statues set in the surrounding shrines or in the gallery in this complex seem to pertain to the 10th century. It is no longer possible to decide to which temple—the PIM or the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār—these sculptures originally belonged. Abutting the southern side of the compound wall, an oblong-shaped shelter houses a group of Mothers: Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇāvī, Varāhī, Indrāṇī, and Cāmuṇḍā (see Fig. A.28 to Fig. A.34). They are accompanied, in their cella, by two forms of Śiva: one is a seated form of the god, holding a trident and a rosary (Fig. A.35), and the other is a dancing form of Śiva, raising his leg vertically (Fig. A.36). Balasubrahmanyam (1963) does not mention these sculptures of Śiva. If this image of the dancing god appeared in the Tamil Country in a royal context in the 8th century, in the 10th century it often referred to a dance competition between Śiva and his consort.<sup>19</sup> But here, there is no consort depicted on the stela, and it is not possible to ascertain that

<sup>18</sup> I was not able to identify these five kings.

<sup>19</sup> See Gillet (2010: 162–169) for the appearance of this image in a royal Pallava context in the early 8th century. See Shulman (1980: 213–220) and Smith (1996: 136, 143–144) for this episode in the mythology of the temples of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu and Cidambaram.

this sculpture refers to the myth of the competition. Although today it is placed in the Seven Mothers' cella, we do not know what its original place was. I would add that the presence of this rather large statue echoes the fact that dancers were attached to the PIM, thus perhaps fitting more specifically the latter.

The location of this shelter of the Mothers reminds us of the shrines of surrounding deities referred to in the case of the AIM and other temples of the region. As an 11th-century inscription mentions, there were *parivāra* shrines in the precincts of this complex: Vāṇakōvaraiyan Cuttamallan Uttamacōḷa Ilaṅkeśvaran rebuilt the Tiruttōrṛramuṭaiyār in stone, the eight subordinate temples (*aṣṭaparivārālaya*), the *gopura*, and the compound walls (*prākāraṅka!*) (#52). The Mothers most likely occupied one of them.

There are other small shrines on the western side of the compound, although they do not abut the compound wall. Their appearance is rather composite, and it is not easy to assign a date to them. Some of them do not look older than a few centuries and shelter idols from the same time. But the one placed on the western side of the compound contains a Subrahmaṇya whose style would fit the 10th century, perhaps the second half (Fig. A.37). He carries the *vajra* and the coq in his upper hands, differing from the sculptures in the AIM. I would assign also the Caṇḍeśa who occupies the small shrine on the northern side of the temple to the same period.

A group of statues are now placed in a row in the gallery of the temple, on the eastern side. I think the oldest ones amongst this group are an impressive and delicately carved seated Agni<sup>20</sup> (Fig. A.38) and a standing Śiva leaning on his bull carrying the axe and the deer in his upper hands (Fig. A.39). They may belong to the 10th century, contemporaneous with the dancing Śiva, and perhaps with the Mothers, and the Caṇḍeśa. Belonging probably to the same century, although a little more difficult to place in time, are a rather hieratic seated Jyeṣṭhā (Fig. A.40) and a tall Viṣṇu standing very straight (Fig. A.41). A sculpture of Bhikṣāṇamūrti has today disappeared (Fig. A.42).<sup>21</sup> A small stela of Śiva and his consort as well as a Bhairava may be later sculptures. Because these statues

<sup>20</sup> He is locally identified with Jamadagni, the father of Paraśurāma. Balasubrahmanyam (1966: 111) seems to adhere to this local interpretation, followed by Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 22, fig. 99). I do not follow them on this hypothesis, because Jamadagni and Agni are two distinct characters. The presence of Agni is rather rare in the temples of South India, especially such a large one. The lack of parallel makes it difficult for us to understand where he may originally have been placed.

<sup>21</sup> In 1956, this sculpture was located in a Śiva temple called Cokkanāṭaṅ (that is probably the PIM), according to the photo-archives of the EFEO/IFP. This is confirmed by Balasubrahmanyam (1963: fig. 20; 1966: fig. 64). However, in two pictures of the same photo-archives but taken in 1973 (no. EFEO-IFP06101-2 and 3), the sculpture is said to be located on the road between Mēlappaḷuvūr and Lālkuṭi. The statue could have been displaced, but the setting of the pictures of the photo-archives of 1956 and 1973 is the same, and I thus wonder if there was not a mistake of location for one of them.

are not placed in their original positions and because it is quite difficult to establish the sequences of the different constructions in this compound, it has not been possible for me to establish an iconographical programme. My remarks remain at the level of a mere statement regarding the presence of these statues in this temple without my being able to go further with the interpretation.

## 4

# The Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple of Cīrupaḷuvūr

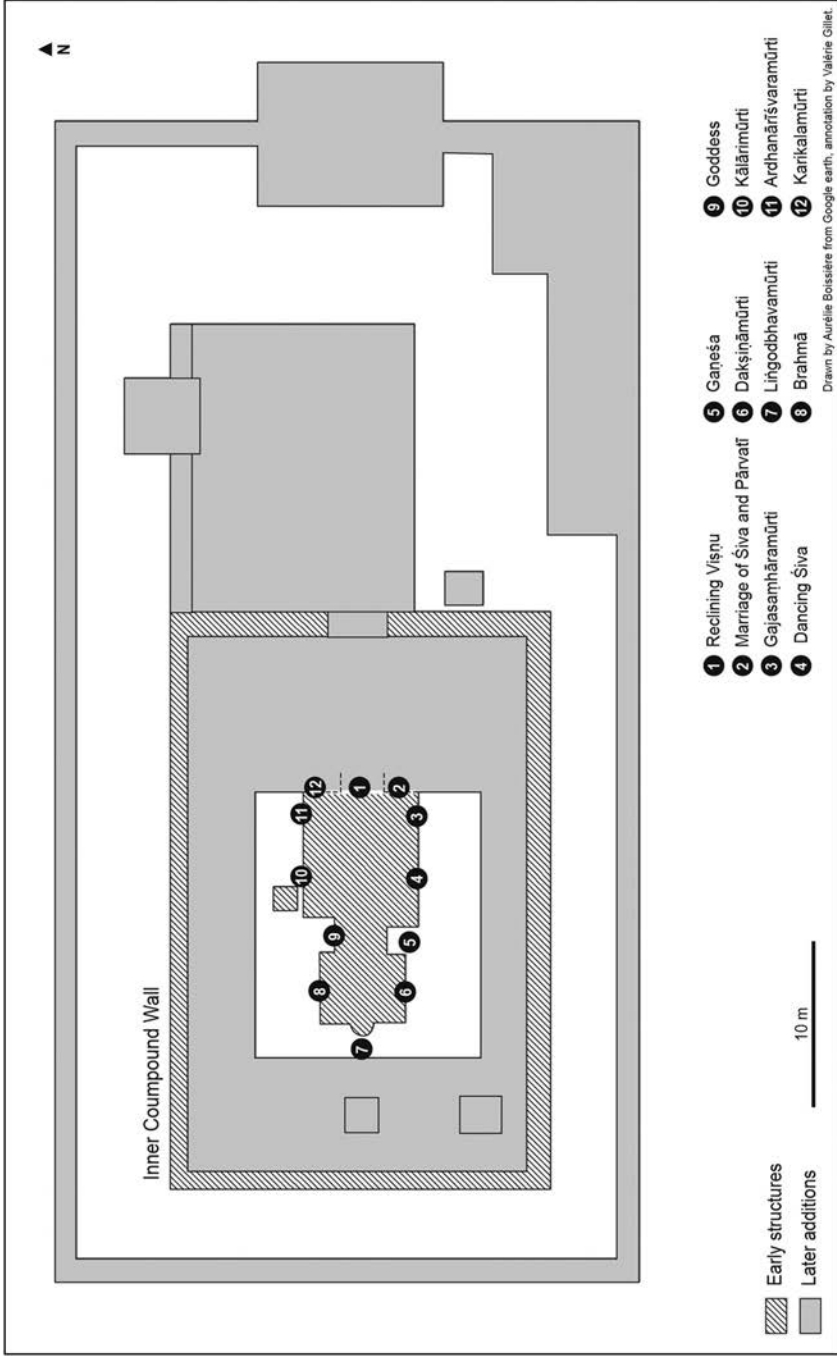
The Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, also called Ālanturāi Mahādeva and sometimes Vaṭamūleśvara in some publications, is today locally known under the name Tiruvālanturāiyār Kōyil.<sup>1</sup> This temple is located in the northern part of the busy village of Kīlappaḷuvūr, literally the Eastern Paḷuvūr, on the southern bank of a large tank now almost dry (11° 02'34.24"N; 79° 04'04.09"E, Map I.2). Dedicated to Śiva, it opens to the east. The monument is made up of a main shrine with an *ardha-maṇḍapa* and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*, surrounded by a compound wall, the inner side of which is converted into a gallery (see Fig. A.43 to Fig. A.48; Plan 4.1). At a later period, other pillared halls and *maṇḍapas* were added in front of it. This ensemble is surrounded by another compound wall made of stone (35 m × 70 m) and pierced by an entrance in the middle of the eastern part topped by a *gopura*. The main shrine with the contemporaneous *maṇḍapa* is made of stone. But its roof is today plastered and painted, and we do not know if it was originally made of stone or of brick. Legend associates this temple with the place where Paraśurāma expiated the sin of killing his mother.<sup>2</sup>

I have gathered a corpus of sixty inscriptions in the Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, many of them in rather good condition, ranging between the early 10th century—if not earlier—and the 12th century.<sup>3</sup> When they geographically locate the temple, the epigraphs unequivocally mention that the temple is in Cīrupaḷuvūr, literally “the small (*cīru*) Paḷuvūr”, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṛakkūrṅam. With the AIM and the PIM in Mēlappaḷuvūr, we were in the ancient big Paḷuvūr (Perumpaḷuvūr/Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr). With the Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, we are now in the small Paḷuvūr, and in a Brahmin settlement (see Map I.2). This Cīrupaḷuvūr has been known since the end of the 9th century: in the Vaikuṅṭhaperumāl temple of Uttaramērūr, an individual purchased a piece of

<sup>1</sup> A brief study of this temple is found in Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 28–33; 1966: 113–114; 1971: 31–35); Barret (1965: 11–13; 1974: 28 [on the architecture of the base], 35–36 [the walls], 71 [about a part belonging to the reign of Parāntaka I], 97–98 [on the temple being reconstructed in or before A.D. 984]); a bare mention in EITA (p. 218), on which Gayatri (2012: 533) relies.

<sup>2</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 28; 1966: 113); Tyagarajan (2014: 38–41).

<sup>3</sup> I have excluded from this study the later inscriptions, such as the ones pertaining to the Vijayanagara period, which are engraved on the base of the gallery surrounding the main shrine (ARE 1926, no. 251; ARE 1926, no. 252; ARE 1926, no. 253).



Plan 4.1 Tiruvāntūrai Mahādeva temple (drawn by Aurélie Boissière from Google Earth, annotated by Valérie Gillet)

land from someone from Cīrupaḷuvūr, in the 15th regnal year of the Pallava Kampavarman.<sup>4</sup>

### Naming the temple in Tamil

From the earliest inscriptions until today, the temple has retained its name: Ālantur<sub>ai</sub>. Cīrupaḷuvūr Tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> Mahādeva is the form of the name the most commonly encountered in the inscriptions, but we also find the following variants:

1. in the reign of Uttamacōḷa: ittiruvālamtur<sub>ai</sub> mādevar (#90); cīrupaḷūr tiruvālamtur<sub>ai</sub> māhātevar (#91); cīrupaḷuvūr mahādevarkku tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> uṭaiyār (#110); cīrupaḷuvūr mahādevar (#111);
2. in the reign of Rājarāja I: ivvūr tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub>/tiruvālamtur<sub>ai</sub>/tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> (#92); tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> devar (#102); cīrupaḷuvūr tiruvālamtur<sub>ai</sub> mahādevar (#112); cīrupaḷuvūr tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> uṭaiya mahātevar (#124, #125); cīrupaḷuvūr tiruvāntur<sub>ai</sub> uṭaiya mahātevar (#126); ivvūr tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub>/tiruvālantu (#129);
3. in the reign of Rājendracōḷa I: cīrupaḷuvūr tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> ālvār (#109);
4. in the reign of a Rājādhirāja: cīrupaḷuvūr uṭaiyār tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> uṭaiya nāyaṅār (#119); cīrupaḷuvūr uṭaiyār (#122);
5. in the reign of a Kulottuṅga: cīrupaḷuvūr tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> uṭaiyār (#116); tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> uṭaiyār (#117);
6. unknown king: cīrupaḷuvūr tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> uṭaiya mahātevar (#134); . . . ḷuvūr tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> uṭaiyār (#136);

The words Ālvār, Nāyaṅār, or Uṭaiyār may appear to qualify Śiva in place of Mahādeva or Deva. The core of the name, Ālantur<sub>ai</sub>, is almost always included, whatever shape the name takes. Only twice is the god referred to as the Lord (*mahādevar*, #111, and *uṭaiyār*, #122) of Cīrupaḷuvūr.

Tiruvālantur<sub>ai</sub> is entirely Tamil, departing from the Sanskrit character of the names of the AIM or the PIM. It is made up of three Tamil words: *tiru*, ‘holy’; *ālam*, ‘banyan tree’; *tur<sub>ai</sub>*, ‘place, location, *ghat*’, giving the general meaning of “the holy place of the banyan tree”. As mentioned earlier, it is difficult not to draw a parallel between the names of Paḷuvūr and Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, since *paḷu* also means “banyan tree”. While the village (*ūr*) takes the name of Paḷu (banyan tree),

<sup>4</sup> IP 216; SII 6, no. 314. In this inscription, *cīrupaḷuvūr<sub>ar</sub>* is made of *cīrupaḷuvūr* + suffix *-ar*: he/they of Cīrupaḷuvūr. Mahalingam interpreted it as an *ūr<sub>ar</sub>* of Cīrupaḷuvūr, but for this we should have had *cīrupaḷuvūr-ūr<sub>ar</sub>*. However, it is not impossible that the scribe left out a letter.

Ālanturai may have been chosen for the temple, because it was a familiar name for temples in the region.<sup>5</sup>

It is significant, in my view, that this temple retained its ancient name. It is, in fact, the only temple of the site still bearing the name it received in the Cōla-period inscriptions. The AIM and the PIM—as well as the Maṛavaṇiśvara that we will study later—had original names composed of Sanskrit words, pointing to monuments founded and managed by higher spheres of the society. But when the power of the communities gravitating around them faded, these names became meaningless, and the temples were assigned new names, such as Agastyeśvara, Cōleśvara, Ireṭṭaikōyil, Sundareśvara, Paśupatiśvara. The fact that the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva is still known under its old name is, I think, a first testimony of it being originally anchored in a more popular context.

### From brick to stone: reconstructing the temple

As in most of the shrines of this period and in this region, there is no foundation inscription on this temple. The earliest inscriptions we can date with certainty belong to the reign of Parāntaka I (c. 907–950), starting from his 10th regnal year. However, there are several inscriptions dated with the regnal years of Kōrājakesarivarman whom we cannot identify: they may be Āditya I, at the end of the 9th century, or Gaṇḍarāditya or Sundaracōla, both in the second half of the 10th century.

Engraved on the northern wall of the main shrine in the 9th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman that I identify with Uttamacōla, *circa* 980, #104 (see Fig. A.49) registers a gift of twenty goats for food offerings for Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva by Kaviciyaṅ Nakkaṅ Mārapirāṅ alias Nampi Āruraṅ of Maṅkalam of Maṅkalanāṭu who, having held the position of superintendent (*mēl-nāyakam-āy*), built the sacred stone temple of Tiruvālanturai of Cīrupaḷuvūr, “when Aṭikaḷ, the officer of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṅāṅ, graciously ordered”. Six year later, #89 (see Fig. A.50), engraved on the southern wall of the *mukhamandapa*, gives a similar statement: Kausiyaṅ Māraṅṅ, lord of Maṅkalam in Maṅkalanāṭu, also called Mārapiraṅ, donor of five goats for *ghee*

<sup>5</sup> Establishing a sort of network of Ālanturai temples, Schmid (2005: 89–94) took note of four sites with temples called Ālanturai, besides Paḷuvūr: Puḷḷamaṅkai (district of Tanjavur), Anpil Ālanturai (district of Trichy), Antavaṅallūr (Antanallūr in the district of Trichy), and Ēmappērūr (taluk of Tirukkōyilūr). She proposes (2005: 92–93) a link between the Ālanturairaiyars and the region governed by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, since three of the sites are not far from Paḷuvūr. This hypothesis prompted her to restore the word *paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar* in an inscription of Puḷḷamaṅkai (her inscription 13) which is no longer legible. Even if a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar were a donor to the Ālanturai of Puḷḷamaṅkai, I do not think this would be enough evidence to link these places with Paḷuvūr and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, the only tangle association being that they bear a similar component in their names.

for the sacred bath and of land for the supply of flowers for use in worship, is said to have “built [this temple] by the grace of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ who built the Śrīkōyil”. Kaucikaṇ/Kaviciyaṇ/Kausiyaṇ Nakkaṇ Mārapiraṇ/Māraṇ—and all the declensions of his name—is the Śrīkāryam that we already encountered in the AIM (#38) and in the Tiruttōṛṛamuṭaiyār (#49, #50), also active in this Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, as we shall now see. He hailed from Maṅgalam, where he probably possessed land, in Maṅgalanāṭu, identified by Y. Subbarayalu (1973: no. 60 and Map 11) as a locality a few kilometres to the east of Tiruvārūr, in the taluk of Naṅṅilam. It is about 70 km, as the crow flies, to the south-east of Paḷuvūr.

According to #104 and #89, Kaucikaṇ Mārapiraṇ built the stone temple. But because there are many inscriptions on the walls of this temple preceding these two records, it is very likely that what he in fact did was to rebuild in stone a temple made of bricks.<sup>6</sup> Examples of temples converted from brick to stone are numerous in the region of the Kāvēri in the course of the 10th century: older temples made of bricks or perishable material, probably with a stone base, were rebuilt entirely in stone by important figures, and the earlier inscriptions copied. The vocabulary used in #89 (*eṭupitta*: caused to build) and #104 (*ceyvitta*: caused to make) is common for stating the reconstruction in stone of an earlier brick temple. Patronizing the conversion of a temple from brick to stone, especially if the shrine was one of those belonging to a network of local Bhakti, was a deed which enhanced the social, religious, and eventually political status of the sponsor.<sup>7</sup> Kaucikaṇ Mārapiraṇ, by sponsoring the reconstruction in stone of this temple and by donating thereafter to the god of this place, grounded himself in the locality and heightened his social status. What is more, the claim in #104 and #89 that he built it after an order or by the grace of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, tied him up to the highest social sphere of the society of Paḷuvūr.

We also notice that #89 refers to the construction of a Śrīkōyil by Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ: Kaucikaṇ built [the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple] by the grace of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ who built the Śrīkōyil. The qualification of Śrīkōyil, Śrī (holy) being the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil ‘Tiru’ which prefixes the majority of temple names, is employed for only three temples on the site of Paḷuvūr: for the AIM (#10, #12, #35, #36), for the Tiruttōṛṛamuṭaiyār

<sup>6</sup> I thus agree with Barrett (1965: 11–13; 1974: 97–98), who assumed that this temple was built in the 15th regnal year of Uttamacōla and the inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka recopied, *contra* Balasubrahmanyam (1971: 32–34), who, using archaeological arguments, proposed that the temple dated back to the time of Parāntaka I and that only the *mukha-maṇḍapa* may have been added in the time of Uttamacōla.

<sup>7</sup> On the question of reconstructions of temples in stone, and the enhancement of social prestige, see Gillet (2022). The question regarding the earlier inscriptions and their re-engraving remains: were all the inscriptions we see today on this shrine previously engraved on the monument? If so, where were they engraved? If not, how was the selection made and by whom? The present study of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple does not provide even partial answers to these questions.



(#50), and for the no longer extant Śrīkaṇṭiśvara.<sup>8</sup> The latter two are said to have been built by a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, as we have seen. However, the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār as well as the Śrīkaṇṭiśvara were founded by a successor of Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ, and we may thus exclude the possibility that either one of them is the Śrīkōyil of #89. There remains the AIM, but the dates of the reign of Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ, in the second half of the 10th century, preclude considering him as the founder of the AIM, since there are inscriptions belonging to an earlier period. With the data at our disposal, it is not possible to identify the Śrīkōyil of #89 with certainty.

If we can thus infer that the temple, that is the ensemble probably including the shrine, its *ardha-maṇḍapa* and its *mukha-maṇḍapa*, was rebuilt in stone by Kaucikaṇ Mārapiraṇ a little before A.D. 980, date of #104, it is difficult to outline more precisely the other steps regarding constructions and renovations in this complex. A group of inscriptions on the outer western face of the inner compound wall, all dated with different regnal years of Rājarāja (#123, #124, #125, #126, #127, #128, #129) and one with the 8th regnal year of Rājendraçōla I (#130), are engraved neatly next to each other, obviously by the same hand, as if they were all engraved at the same time (see Fig. A.51). Hence, two hypotheses emerge: either these donations were recorded on palm leaves and had to be copied onto the temple at some point, this wall offering a plain surface where all of them could fit easily, or the wall was constructed, or reconstructed, after the 8th regnal year of Rājendraçōla I and these inscriptions recopied. In the second case, we do not know where these epigraphs were inscribed earlier, on a previous compound wall or somewhere else.

### The iconography of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva

There is a single niche on each façade of the shrine and its *ardha-maṇḍapa*, occupied by a statue. The organization of these images corresponds to the iconographical programme of most of the Cōla-period Śaiva village shrines: Dakṣiṇāmūrti (Fig. A.52), Liṅgodbhavamūrti (Fig. A.53), and Brahmā (Fig. A.54), respectively in the southern, western, and northern niches of the sanctuary; Gaṇeśa, and the goddess standing on the buffalo's head opposed to each other on, respectively, the southern and northern faces of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* (Figs. A.55–A.56; Plan 4.1). The little window above the Liṅgodbhava's niche is sculpted with a Narasiṃha, recalling the fact that this façade is also the one dedicated to Viṣṇu; above Brahmā, there is a Gajasamhāramūrti, one of the terrible forms of Śiva, dancing while holding the skin of the elephant he has just killed above his

<sup>8</sup> The Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva is not called Śrīkōyil in the inscriptions, although some of the temple employees are called Śrīkōyiluṭaiyār (#109; #112).

head. The roof of the sanctuary is plastered, with colourful seated deities corresponding to the theme of the façade: Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the south, seated Viṣṇu in the west and seated Brahmā in the north. Two elegant door-guardians flank the entrance to the sanctuary (Fig. A.57).

There are no small sculpted panels narrating mythological episodes on the base of the shrine as there often are in the early 10th-century temples of the region.<sup>9</sup> However, on the base of the roof of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, little carved windows fortunately remain devoid of plaster and we can see the illustration of some divine episodes involving mainly Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. They depict, on the southern face, from right to left: Kṛṣṇa dancing on the snake Kaliya; Tripurāntakamūrti, with Śiva represented on his chariot driven by Brahmā and about to discharge his arrow at the demon in front of him (Fig. A.58); the baby Kṛṣṇa lying down on the banyan leaf. On the northern face, we see from right to left: Śiva the mendicant, walking in the forest and seducing a woman; Kṛṣṇa dancing with pots; Kālārimūrti, that is Śiva stamping on the god of death, Kāla, to save his young devotee represented clinging to the *liṅga* (Fig. A.59); two figures kneeling and adoring something which is no longer visible. I cannot discern any meaningful pattern for the organization of these images.

The iconography of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* presents some interesting variants compared to other early Cōḷa-period temples of the region (Plan 4.1). Two rather large niches on each façade contain sculptures of Śiva, with parts carved in the round. We meet with the sculptures of the eastern face, distributed on each side of the door, when we enter the temple. In the niche on the northern side, Śiva is represented as Kaṅkalamūrti, carrying a stick with a body hanging from the end, the body of Viṣṇu whom he killed during his wandering after he had cut off Brahmā's head (Fig. A.60); in the niche of the southern side, the divine couple is represented, with Śiva taking Pārvatī by the hand, probably at their wedding (Fig. A.61). Above the entrance, a two-handed Viṣṇu lying on the snake bed is carved (Fig. A.62). On the southern façade, we encounter a Gajasamhāramūrti (Fig. A.63) and a dancing Śiva (Figs. A.64–A.65), while Śiva killing the god of death, Kāla (Fig. A.66), and Ardhanārīśvaramūrti, Śiva half-male half-female, leaning on his bull (Fig. A.67) occupy the niches of the northern façade.<sup>10</sup> All these sculptures fit stylistically into the middle of the 10th century, to which the reconstruction of the stone shrine is assigned, with a gracefulness in the treatment of the faces and the movements that will be lacking in the subsequent

<sup>9</sup> See Schmid (2014a: 63–103, 341–368), who studied these little depictions in the temple of Tiruccenampūṭi.

<sup>10</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 30, 33; 1971: 34) is not very clear when describing the location of the sculptures, and he mentions neither the dancing Śiva nor the Gajasamhāramūrti of the southern faces. Moreover, he situates the Ardhanārīśvaramūrti and the Kālārimūrti on the eastern side. Was this a mistake or were these images in places other than the ones they are in today? Barrett (1974: 97–98) does not mention them either.

period. Only the Ardhanārīśvaramūrti set in the niche of the northern façade, a little stouter and stiffer than the others, seems to belong to a slightly later period. It may have replaced the sculpture on the same theme that is now located on the southern side of the gallery, possibly older.

The theme and organization of the sculptures chosen to adorn the niches of a temple may be seen as a sort of visual statement made by its patron. This is usually the case in royal temples, the iconography of such shrines embodying a visual discourse of the dynasty. But it is also the case in village temples reconstructed by eminent patrons, the queen Cempiyaṅ Mahādevi being the most emblematic. The monuments she is said to have reconstructed display an iconographical programme that appears to be her signature. The village-shrine iconography is maintained on the sanctuary, with Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the south, the Liṅgodbhavamūrti in the west, and Brahmā in the north, but provides a more elaborate programme on the walls of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*: the niches of the southern façade contain a dancing Śiva and an Agastya beside the usual Gaṇeśa while Gaṅgādharamūrti and Bhikṣāṭanamūrti are set in the niches of the northern façades beside the goddess.<sup>11</sup>

The organization of the iconographical programme of the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple resembles the one found in the temples reconstructed by the Cōḷa queen at approximately the same period, characterized by a single sculpture in the niches of the sanctuary and a multiplication of images on the *maṅḍapas* in front of it. But they are not identical, and the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple develops its own principles, that I have not encountered anywhere else. Firstly, it is the *mukha-maṅḍapa*, and not the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, which is adorned with the additional sculptures. Secondly, apart from the dancing Śiva,<sup>12</sup> none of the themes found in the temples reconstructed by Cempiyaṅ Mahādevi—the Gaṅgādharamūrti, the Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, and Agastya—are present. I cannot outline a specific meaning from the sequencing of the images of the *mukha-maṅḍapa* of the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple, especially since it is not ascertained that the statues are in their original place. We notice that a few of them are mingling war and dance (Gajasamhāramūrti, dancing Śiva, Kālārimūrti). May we draw a parallel with the themes already encountered in the AIM? Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ, official perhaps working under the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, rebuilt this popular shrine entirely in stone; while he preserved the original setting of statues in the niches of the shrine and the *ardha-maṅḍapa* and ordered the recopying of older donations, he visually signed his involvement by inventing

<sup>11</sup> See Cane (2017) who mentioned, when dealing with the temples where Cempiyaṅ Mahādevi was involved, their iconographical programmes, as well as the discussions about them in secondary literature, found mostly in the works of Balasubrahmanyam and Barrett.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion on the dancing Śiva in the posture usually called *ānaṅḍa-tāṅḍava*, see Kaimal (1999); Schmid (2014a: 116–118).

a prestigious, and probably costly, iconographical programme in the niches of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*. His prestige was enhanced—and perhaps that of the little king who approved or ordered the enterprise—in the locality.

There are other sculptures in the precincts of the temple. A Caṇḍeśa, who seems to belong to the 10th century, occupies the shrine on the north-eastern side of the main sanctuary, where he must have been placed originally (#Ph68). We note that another Caṇḍeśa looking rather old too, probably from the same period, is amongst a group of statues gathered on the southern side of the gallery (Fig. A.69). It is difficult to decide whether there were two Caṇḍeśas in the original setting of the temple, or if one was replaced by the other in a short period of time. The Subrahmaṇya who occupies the small shrine, now closed by a grill, on the western side of the sanctuary also looks as if it belongs to the 10th century. It is difficult to evaluate this with certainty though, since I have seen only parts of the statue, the rest being heavily covered with cloth (Fig. A.70). Amongst the statues aligned on the southern side of the gallery, we notice a large Brahmā, the Ardhanārīśvaramūrti mentioned above, a rather small pair of individual statues depicting Sūrya and Candra, and a group of small Seven Mothers, carved on separate stones (Fig. A.71 to Fig. A.77). Except the Brahmāṇī, who seems to belong to a much later period, they may pertain to the 10th century. I assume that the Jyeṣṭhā lying outside on the northern side of the *gopura* was cast out from the temple because of the aura of inauspiciousness surrounding her today (Fig. A.78). However, she most probably belonged to the temple in the 10th century, when she was envisaged as an essential component of the entourage of the god Śiva. Might these statues, or some of them at least, have occupied sub-shrines no longer extant? The Mothers, Jyeṣṭhā, and Subrahmaṇya most probably. For the others, it is difficult to decide.<sup>13</sup>

A few words must be said about the present state of the sculptures on the monument. In 2015, an important renovation took place. Renovations and embellishments have been a very prestigious juncture in the life of a temple since olden days, as the inscriptions testify. Not only were the roof of the shrine and the *gopura* repainted in bright colours, but the walls of the sanctuary were covered with a pink layer of fresh paint. Fortunately, it did not obliterate the numerous inscriptions engraved on the temple. What happened to the statues is more regrettable: the dancing Śiva of the southern *mukha-maṇḍapa*, the Brahmā of the northern façade of the sanctuary, the goddess on the northern face of the

<sup>13</sup> I would like to mention a series of bronzes belonging to the temple, well protected behind bars in the entrance hall. The most impressive of these is a dancing Śiva placed today in a separate shrine on the northern side of the entrance to the main shrine, probably belonging to the Cōla period. See Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 33). Barrett (1965: 25–26, figs. 64–6669) mentioned only two bronzes, Śiva leaning on his bull and Tripurāntakamūrti, that he assigned to the last quarter of the 10th century.

*ardha-maṇḍapa*, and the Kālārimūrti of the northern face of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* have been replaced by coarse stucco images. I was able to locate the pieces of the broken goddess, the Brahmā, and the upper part of the body of the Kālārimūrti, discarded outside the *gopura*, near the Jyeṣṭhā, in 2015, just after the renovation (Fig. A.79 to Fig. A.82). While the Jyeṣṭhā today remains, possibly protected by the inauspiciousness attached to her, I could no longer spot the others. Their whereabouts remain unknown.

### The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars in the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple: an ostentatious manifestation

In contradistinction to the pattern that I noticed in the other temples of Paḷuvūr, where the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars do not appear as donors, the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple attracts direct donations by the little kings themselves or by those in their immediate sphere, wives, and offspring.<sup>14</sup> They are never mentioned as validating a donation as they do in the AIM, suggesting that they neither supervised nor interfered with the donations made to this temple. It was amongst the duties of a king, who needed to ingratiate himself with the local communities, to make gifts and patronize temples and *brahmadeyas*. But the gift had an effect in return: if it brought material benefit to the donee, it was a way for the donor to acquire merit, recognition, and legitimacy.<sup>15</sup>

#### Tiruvālanturainallūr

Land donations to temples are rather common, especially as we go further on in time. These lands thus become *devadānas*, literally gifts to the god. They constitute an important economic resource managed by the temple which would generate revenue to sustain the religious activities of the temple, such as supplying holy food, flowers for worship, or salaries of employees. We have seen that land donations had a high status and that almost all the donations made to the AIM were of land. In the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, this is not the most

<sup>14</sup> Out of the sixty inscriptions that I have gathered in this temple, eleven record donations by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars or their immediate family. This involvement led Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 41) to the assumption that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars had moved their headquarters to Ciṛupaḷuvūr by the 10th century. As we shall see, I do not adhere to this hypothesis.

<sup>15</sup> Chattopadhyaya (1994: 203–209) lengthily develops this concept and the interdependence between religious and temporal powers. See also Dirks (1987: 52, 94–95), who envisions the gift to Brahmins and temples as instrumental for the transformation from the status of chieftains to little kings; Heitzman (1997: 139–140), who proposes that the donor acquires a position of authority; and Veluthat (2012: 70–71), who presents a more pragmatic view about the benefits of those donations.

common type of gift: out of sixty inscriptions in which we can identify the nature of the donation, twenty-five concern lands. It seems that the transaction concerning the land of Tiruvālanturainallūr and involving a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar may be the earliest one.<sup>16</sup> It began in the 5th regnal year of Sundaracōla, *circa* A.D. 962 (#83; Fig. A.83). The Sabhā—Brahmin assembly—of Ciṟupaḷuvūr sells to Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ a village-land (*ūrnilam*) called Cemputaṟkuṭi, which is a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṟakkūrṟam.<sup>17</sup> The second part of the inscription is unfortunately lost, and we do not know what the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar is said to have done with this land. But, in the 9th regnal year of Uttamacōla, that is around A.D. 980, #77 tells us that Cemputaṟkuṭi is also called Tiruvālanturainallūr, and that Maṟavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ, having bought it, gave it to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple. This inscription then deals with the allotment of shares of the land to different employees: one share for the potters to supply the daily pots needed, six shares for the Brahmin to perform the cult, four shares for those watering the temple garden, two shares for two trumpeters, two shares for burning a lamp in the Maṟavaṇīśvara temple, two shares for smearing the temple with cow dung. The rest of the inscription is lost. The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar thus gave a piece of land, which became a *devadāna*, and supplied rather precise instructions for its use. I will come back later to the allocation of shares for the burning of a lamp in the Maṟavaṇīśvara temple, a temple built probably by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars near the present one. In my view, the fact that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar provided the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple with a *devadāna* which would support the daily expenses of the temple according to his wish, especially when it made this temple supply a lamp in the nearby temple related to the little dynasty, was, besides a public act of devotion, a political act. By giving to this temple, he acquired merit and claimed it in the public sphere, thus increasing his visibility, tying himself up to the temple and, by extension, to the locality where the temple was.

A dance festival took place in Tiruvālanturainallūr. In the 6th regnal year of probably Uttamacōla, #76 records a donation of one and a half *kaḷaṅcu* of gold and three *kalams* (measure of volume) of paddy as wages in kind for the Cākkai (dancer) of Alaiyūr<sup>18</sup> to dance three dramas. This seems to be set in Tiruvālanturainallūr for the Cākkaikūttu (a type of dancing) to be danced for the sacred festival of Aśvam in the month of Appikai. The name of the donor is not stated but, because the *devadāna* was given by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar and because

<sup>16</sup> Only #84, recording a land donation to Caṇḍeśa of Tiruvālanturai, without specifying the purpose, by an individual named Cāvānti Tāmotiran Kōṟraṇ, is dated to the 8th regnal year of a Kōvirājakesarivarman whom I could not identify. The title Rājakesari is borne by Āditya I, Gaṇḍarāditya, Sundaracōla, and Rājarāja I, and it is impossible for us to know to which king it refers.

<sup>17</sup> The Sabhā as a seller of land is, according to Subbarayalu (2012: 116–123), the most common case between A.D. 850 and 985. It is however the only occurrence in our corpus.

<sup>18</sup> Alaiyūr is probably the same village as the one mentioned in #102, a *brahmadeya* of Milipaṟṟu in Poṅkaināṭu, that is between 8 and 10 km to the south of Paḷuvūr.

of the presence of dancers in the AIM and the PIM, two temples to which the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars are somehow tied, I wonder if we may not consider the donor to be the little king.

We know there was a tank in Tiruvālanturainallūr: #89 registers the allocation of a parcel of land in the middle of the two reservoirs in the tank of Tiruvālanturainallūr, for the daily supply of *tumpai* flowers by Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ. The last mention of this land of Tiruvālanturainallūr alias Cemputarkuṭi, *devadāna* of the god of Tiruvālanturai of Ciṇrupaḷuvūr, is found in an inscription from the 4th regnal year of Rājendracōla, when describing the boundaries of a piece of land which was donated (#115).

### The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little kings and queens give goats and gold

Three Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little kings made donations to the god of Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva in the second half of the 10th century. The first little king to donate personally was Maṇavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ: in the 12th regnal year of a Kōrājakesarivarman, who is probably Sundaracōla, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṇavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ gave ninety goats for a perpetual lamp for Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturai of Ciṇrupaḷuvūr (#101). In the 12th regnal year of Uttamacōla, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Cuntaracōlaṅ raised the stakes: he gave twice the amount, that is 180 goats for two perpetual lamps (#105). This is the highest number of goats given in a single donation to the temple. Besides the goats, the king donated a specific amount of metal for a standing lamp. Another lavish donation was made only a few years later by Kaṅṭaṅ Maṇavaṅ. In the 3rd regnal year of Rājarāja I, while Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ was acting as Śrīkāryam, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Maṇavaṅ worshipped the sacred feet of Mahādeva of the Tiruvālanturai of Ciṇrupaḷuvūr and donated 75 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (#124). Instructions are given for the use of the gold: 20 *kaḷaṅcus* for two forehead plates of gold, five *kaḷaṅcus* for five gold flowers, 40 *kaḷaṅcus* for three forehead plates on the day of Uttara Ayanam Sankrāṁti, again 5 *kaḷaṅcus* for gold flowers, and 5 *kaḷaṅcus* for plates. Five years later, the same Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Maṇavaṅ again endowed the temple with 90 goats. But this time, it is in memory of Nampān, lord (*kiḷavan*), the Vellāḷān resident of Mallūr in Kuṇṇakkūrṇam, killed by the Kaikkōḷān Palatēvan Vaiyiri, one of his soldiers (#125).

A Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar whom I was not able to place with certainty in the chronology of the dynasty, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṅ Maturāntakaṅ, gave ninety goats for a perpetual lamp in memory of Vīrakali Araṅkaṅ, a resident of Mutukuṭi of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam, apparently killed in a brawl by a certain Mātēvaṭikaḷ (#111). Unlike the previous example, the roles of these two are not given and we do not know what their relationship with the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar was.

All the donations of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar women are gathered in this temple—and one in the nearby temple of the Maṛavaṇīśvara. In the 8th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, Rāmaṇ Kōviyār, queen of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Vikramāditya, made a donation of twenty-two goats for the supply of one handful of *ghee* (#87).<sup>19</sup> The purpose is not given, but we understand that it was meant for a lamp, though not a perpetual one, for which ninety goats are required. We may wonder why a queen would not have invested more in her donation; but the name of the queen, and thus that of the king, appears and this was perhaps the important point. In the 7th regnal year of Rājarāja, an unnamed wife of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ donated a piece of land for food offerings three times a day (#106). Another queen donating in the temple remains unnamed, but she is presented through her husband and father: queen of Vikramacōḷa Ilaṅkovēḷar, a little king of the Irukkuvēḷ dynasty, and daughter of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar (#124). She gave silver vessels for the god of Tiruvālanturāi in the 3rd regnal year of Rājarāja I. This is the only donation in the whole corpus of the Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple which is made by the grace of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ. Around A.D. 1020, in the 8th regnal year of Rājendra I, at a time when the decline of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar kings had begun if we consider their disappearance from the epigraphical corpus of the site, the queen is named but not the king. Vīrāṇan Orṟiyūr, wife (*peṇṭāṭṭi*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar of Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr, placed 50 *kācus* in the care of the Sabhā of Cīrupaḷuvūr to provide for the bathing of the deity on Cittirai Viṣuvu, Appicai Viṣuvu, Uttarayanam and Dekṣaṇayanam as well as for food offerings (#130).

The direct involvement of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little kings as well as that of members of their close family in the donations to this Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva is a rather specific feature on the site of Paḷuvūr. As mentioned earlier, the reconstruction in stone of this village temple by Kaucikaṇ Mārapiraṇ was made with the blessing—or by the order—of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar; thereafter, they both donate to the temple. The little kings and their family thus invested in this religious place in a rather ostentatious manner. They may have been drawn to this place because of its religious aura, seeking protection for their lineage and military enterprises, acquiring merit for themselves and their kin. But at the same time, the little kings and queens become visible, acquiring merit in the public eye, their gifts embodying their grandeur and liberality, which are the ingredients necessary to consolidate the role of a sovereign. By tying

<sup>19</sup> With another donation of twenty-two goats made by the chieftain (*araiyaṇ*) of Perumpuliyūr Maṇaṅkuṭi in Poykaināṭu, Tēvaṇ Nāṭṭi, and inscribed next to it on the southern façade of the main shrine (#86), this donation of goats for a lamp is amongst the smallest made to the Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple.



themselves up to powerful divine—and local—entities, they incorporate it in their little kingdom.

### Gifts of little kings in the post-Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar period

It is quite interesting to note that the same process of donations to this village temple by sovereigns continued during the reign of Kulottuṅga I, when the Vāṇakōvaraiyars appeared in the forefront of the political scene of Paḷuvūr, perhaps holding the office of governors. Indeed, two donations in the 20th regnal year of Kulottuṅga I (c. 1089), were made by members of the Vāṇakōvaraiyar lineage: a certain Vāṇakkōvaraiyan Cuttamallan Cōḷa . . . Cuntaran alias Cōḷavāṇ Kōvaraiyaṇ, also called Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyan, probably the same as the one who rebuilt the Tiruttōrramuṭaiyār, gave thirty-two cows for a perpetual lamp (#94); the mother of Vitarāja Payaṅkara Vāṇakōvaraiyar gave a piece of land for an enigmatic Cuntaran Viccātiriyāḷvār of the Cōḷa line (#131). In the 6th regnal year of Vikramacōḷa (c. 1124), Cuttamalan Muṭikoṇṭān alias Virudharājabhayaṅkara Vāṇakōvaraiyan, probably the son of the previous donor, gave a piece of land for the supply of food offerings and for an evening lamp (#132).<sup>20</sup> He gave to Mahādeva Lord (*iccuram-uṭaiya*) of Muṭikoṇṭacōḷa in Vākumai Vāṇaviccātiranallūr. Because of #131 and #132, I wonder if the place where the temple is located was not given a new name related to the dynasty of the Vāṇakōvaraiyars, that is, Vāṇaviccātiranallūr, literally “the good village (*nallūr*) of the Vāṇa who is a *vidyādhara* (*viccāтира* > *viccātarar*)”. But these two donations, although engraved on the compound walls of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, may have been intended for another temple nearby, no longer extant, related to the Vāṇakōvaraiyars.

In the 3rd regnal year of Kulottuṅga II, that is, *circa* 1136, a Vāṇakōvaraiyan appears, but his personal name is not given and he is the one who shows the palm leaf document where the donation is written (#133).<sup>21</sup> This is the last mention of their names in the epigraphical corpus of Paḷuvūr and it looks as though the glory of the Vāṇakōvaraiyars in Paḷuvūr did not last long after the reign of Kulottuṅga I.

<sup>20</sup> Orr (2018: 351) notes the presence of a Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ Cuttamallan Muṭikoṇṭān in the inscriptions of the temple of Arakaṅṭanallūr, a few kilometres north of Tirukkōyilūr. See ARE 1934–35, nos. 184–185. This is probably the same person since ARE 1934–35, no. 184 is dated to the 43rd regnal year of a Kulottuṅga, possibly the first, and ARE 1934–35, no. 185 to the 5th regnal year of Vikramacōḷa. His mother must have donated to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva when he was young, in the 20th regnal year of Kulottuṅga I.

<sup>21</sup> I have identified this king as Kulottuṅga II based on the *meykkīrtti* at the beginning of the inscription (see Subramaniam 1983: 121–131), *contra* Orr (2018: 351), who assigns this inscription to the reign of Kulottuṅga I. She identifies him as Arānparān Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ. However, I am not sure Arānparān and the Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ are the same person in this inscription. I think Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ may be the one showing the palm leaf order (*paṇai kāṭṭi*), perhaps to Arānparān the Piṭṭār (musician?) of this temple.

## The officers of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars as donors

### Becoming a Śrīkāryam

I have identified in the corpus of Paḷuvūr two Śrīkāryams who seem to have reported to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, Kaucikaṅ Nakkaṅ Mārapiraṅ and his successor Kōṅ Aṭikaḷ. They intervened in some donations made to the AIM, the PIM, and the Tiruttōrṛamuṭaiyār. In the Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, only Kaucikaṅ Nakkaṅ Mārapiraṅ appears: he is a prominent figure.<sup>22</sup> Besides being identified as the one who rebuilt the temple in stone, he made a few donations himself. We notice that he never donated for a lamp, but that his three endowments concerned mostly the functioning of the temple. He began with a small donation of twenty goats for curd-rice three times a day in the 9th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa, engraved on the northern façade of the shrine itself (#104, Fig. A.84). The description of the donation is very brief, while the inscription insists at length on the fact that he was the one who built the stone temple, while he was a superintendent (*mēlnāyakamāy niṅru*), perhaps of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. He is not said here to have taken up the function of Śrīkāryam. Six years later, #89, again stating that Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ is the one who built this temple but still not presenting him as the Śrīkāryam, records another small donation of five goats for providing *ghee* for the sacred bath during Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti, as well as a small parcel of land for providing *tumpai* flowers daily to the god (Fig. A.85). It is only from the year after, the 16th year of Uttamacōḷa, that Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ is explicitly said to hold the office of Śrīkāryam, when he gave a piece of land for supplying food offerings on the day of Uttira Saṃkrānti (#90).

After that, he did not intervene as a donor, but as the Śrīkāryam, supervising donations made by others. We remark that he does not appear in all records, and in fact only in a very few selected cases: in a donation by Vīracōḷa Vaṇukkaṅ Kuṇavaṅ Nakkaṅ of Avaṅikantarpapuram of Paḷuvūr, perhaps a type of officer, as we have seen, related to Perumpaḷuvūr and the area where the little kings were established (#91); in a donation by the daughter of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar and Irukkuvēḷ queen (#123); and in a donation by Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ (#124). Thus, it seems that the Śrīkāryam intervened only in selected donations made by figures somehow related to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar court and Perumpaḷuvūr, and did not control the ordinary affairs of the Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple.

<sup>22</sup> One inscription dated to the 10th regnal year of Rājarāja (#79), that is, after the office of Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ, refers to a Śrīkāryam, but it is damaged and we cannot read the name of the officer. The presence of a Śrīkāryam attached to this temple continues after Rājarāja I, as #136 suggests.

## Other officers of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars

Military officers of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars donated to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple. One inscription recording a gift by a military officer of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Amutaṇār, *circa* 919, summoned the figure of the little king (#97). Nakkaṇ Cāttaṇ, lord of Paratūr in Poykaikuṟuviṭam, great chieftain of the army, donated ninety goats for a perpetual lamp for the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Amutaṇār, who fought the battle of Vēllūr. He added ten goats for *ghee* for the sacred bath every Ayaṇa Saṃkrānti, twenty-four goats for *ghee* for the sacred bath every lunar month on the day of Puṇarpūcam, the *nakṣatra* of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Amutaṇār, four goats for *ghee* for the sacred bath on the day of Kārttikai of Kārttikai month, and five goats for *ghee* for a lamp on Kārttikai. The goats given thus amount to 133, a rather high number compared to other donations to the temple. The setting of a special bath for the deity on the birthday of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar did bring him publicly to the forefront.

Another military man belonging to the army of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar made three donations to Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturai, in the early years of Rājarāja I. The donations were made for his own sake, and not, as previously, for the sake of his little king, who is simply mentioned as his superior. Cuntaracōḷaṇ, chieftain (*araiyaṇ*) of the big group (*peruntirattu*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṟavaṇ, gave 12 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold for a perpetual lamp in the 3rd regnal year of Rājarāja I (#112), a piece of land for supplying *tumpai* flowers for garlands in the 10th regnal year of the same king (#126) and, two years later, another piece of land for the supply of incense to the temple (#113).

An officer (*kaṇmi*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ, lord of Āraṇinallūr in Kuṇṟakkūṟram, Kaṇṭaperuntiṇaiyār of Kuṇṟanāṭu alias Maṇapperumaicuvāmi, gave ninety goats for a perpetual lamp in the 8th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa (#107). The term *kaṇmi* simply refers to an official. The nature of his duty is not described here, although the term *peruntiṇai* included in his name may suggest that he was involved in accounting work. The same person made a similar donation, ninety goats for a perpetual lamp, to the temple of Govindaputtūr (#146; Map A2.1 in Appendix 2).<sup>23</sup>

We notice that the officers of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars appeared to be making donations to this temple more often than they did to the other temples of Paḷuvūr. I think this observation strengthens the idea of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva as a temple enshrining a powerful deity anchored in local devotion. Military men especially may have chosen this temple to acquire merit and to seek the divine protection so necessary in their line of duty.

<sup>23</sup> See also Gillet (2022).

## Networks of donors and nature of donations in the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple

Apart from donations made by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars and circles related to them, the temple of Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva attracted donations from different kinds of donors. For the sake of clarity, I have decided to divide this presentation according to specific and significant segments of time.

### First half of the 10th century

We count six donations assigned with certainty to the reign of Parāntaka I, spread between his 10th and 37th regnal years. All of these are donations of ninety goats for a perpetual lamp for Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturai.

The following donors are:

1. Mallan̄ Kallarai, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Maṇalūr, of Ērikīlnāṭu of Toṅṭaināṭu (#96);
2. Taṅṭi Aṭikaḷ of Uppaḷappāṭi of Viṛaikkūrṛam (#80);
3. Cāvānti Caṅkaraṅ Iravi, Brahman (*brāhmaṇaṅ*) of this town, i.e. Ciṛupaḷuvūr (#103);
4. Nantiṅkaṭatti, a woman (*peṅṭāṭṭi*) of the women's quarters (*vēlattir*) of Kaṅṭarātittar in Tanjavur (#81);
5. Aṭikaṅḷavi, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Iṭaiyārṛuppātticūrai (#82);
6. Maṅṅarakuṭi, a *kaṅṭaṅ* (member of the assembly) of Muṅpālai in Miḷalaikkūrṛam in Pāṅṭināṭu (#98).

### Second half of the 10th century and beginning of the 11th century

I have not included here the inscriptions registering donations after the decline of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, that is, after the reign of Rājendracōla.<sup>24</sup> The content of the epigraphs varies quite significantly during this period:

1. Maturāntakan̄ Kaṅṭarātittan gives ninety goats for a perpetual lamp in the 12th regnal year of Uttamacōla (#110);

<sup>24</sup> See inscriptions #119, #120, #121, #122, assigned to the reign of a Rājādhirāja, and #116, #117, #118, #133, #134, assigned to Kulottuṅgas. I have dealt with #94, #131, and #132 above, because of the involvement of the Vāṅakōvaraiyārs. Moreover, I have not considered here that the inscriptions dated to an unidentified Rājakesari belonged to the reign of Āditya I at the end of the 9th century, nor that the unidentified Parakesaris may be Parāntaka I, but these are of course possibilities that we cannot exclude.

2. Vīracōla Vaṇukkaṇ Kuṇavaṇ Nakkaṇ of Avanikantarpapuram of Paḷuvūr gives 17 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold for twelve lamps three times a day in the 16th regnal year of Uttamacōla (#91);
3. Cuvari . . . gives a piece of land, for a purpose which is lost, in the 10th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#79);
4. Caṅkaran Vaṭuki, Brahmin wife of Nakkan Śrīkaṅṭan of Alaiyūr, a *brahmadeya* of Miliparru in Poykaināṭu, and her husband (as her guardian) give land for the supply of food offerings in the 10th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#102);
5. Cāvānti Tirunīlakaṅṭan Civan of Ciṇupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam, and his son Civan Nakkan buy and give a piece of land but the purpose is not detailed,<sup>25</sup> in the 10th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#127);
6. A plot of land in Veṭṭakkuṭi, a *devadāna* of Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva, is assigned, probably by the temple management which remains unnamed, to the supply of food offerings in the 10th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#128);
7. Aiyāraṇ Kāṇan, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Teṇpālaṇpāṭi of this *nāṭu*, gives probably ninety goats for a perpetual lamp for Kuṅciramallaṇ Murukkan, Kaikkōlaṇ of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, who was stabbed and died, in the 12th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#108);
8. Cāvānti Bhaṭṭan Centan Ātittan of Ciṇupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṇṇakkūrṇam gives a piece of land to Caṇḍeśa of Tiruvālanturai without stating the purpose, in the 19th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#129);
9. the wife/queen (*tēviyār*) of Vaṇānuṭeyār, Naṭṭaṇ (the dancer?) Ceyaḷ Naṅkai, gives something lost for a perpetual lamp in the 20th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#93);
10. Pālācīriyaṇ Ravi Ravi of Cāttamaṅkalam of Ciṇupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam alias Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṭu, Kiraṇ Ilakkuvaṇ . . . and Kaṭaṇ Poṇṇacey, the Brahmin wife of . . . ṇaṇ Caṭaiyaṇ gives a piece of land to the god of Tiruvālanturai for a purpose unstated or lost in the 24th regnal year of Rājarāja I (#114);
11. Cāvānti Nārāyaṇaṇ Centaṇ of Ciṇupaḷuvūr buys and gives a piece of land to Caṇḍeśa of Tiruvālanturai in a lost regnal year of Rājarāja I (#92);
12. Nilaiyaṇ Vempaṇ, a shepherd (*maṇṇṛāṭi*) of this village gives ninety goats for a perpetual lamp in the 4th regnal year of an unidentified Kōpparakesarivarman (#99);

<sup>25</sup> Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṇ Maṇavaṇ is mentioned in this inscription, but his role is not clear. He seems to obtain and hand over the land, but he does not appear to be the donor. Might the two donors have bought the land from the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar?

13. Tēvaṅ Nāṭṭi, chieftain (*araiyaṅ*) of Perumpuliyūr Maṅarkaṭuṭi in Poykaināṭu, gives twenty-two goats to burn a lamp in the 5th regnal year of an unidentified Kōpparakesarivarman (#86);
14. Vyāpāri (merchant) Kuṇavan of the northern side, who resides in Pāmpuṇi in Pāmpuṇikūrṛam, gives copper vessels for incense in the 13th regnal year of an unidentified Kōpparakesarivarman (#78);
15. Cāvānti Tāmotiran Kōṛraṅ, a Brahmaṇan of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, buys and gives a piece of land to Caṅḍeśa of Tiruvālanturāi in the 8th regnal year of an unidentified Kōrājakesarivarman (#84);
16. Nakkaṅ Kāṭaṅār of Paḷuvūr gives ninety goats for a perpetual lamp in the 10th regnal year of an unidentified Kōrājakesarivarman (#85);
17. Nilaiyaṅ Pukaḷaṅ, a shepherd (*maṅṛāṭi*) of this village gives sixty goats—forty-five goats for *ghee* to burn a day-lamp and fifteen goats for something lost on Uttaramayaṅam Saṅkrāṁti—in the 10th regnal year of an unidentified Kōrājakesarivarman (#100);
18. the mother (*tāy*) of she (*ivaḷ*) [Kaṅṭarāṭitti], Aṛiṅcimātēvaṭikaḷ, a woman servant (*peṅṭāṭṭi*) of Pāṅṭimātēviyar our queen (*nampirāṭṭiyār*), gives something unstated for burning a lamp in the 5th regnal year of Rājendracōḷa I (#95).

Goats for a lamp were the only gift made to the Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi in the first half of the 10th century, a situation which greatly differs from the one in the AIM, where mainly land was offered. In the second half of the century, gold and land were offered beside goats, for lamps but also for the functioning of the temple and its rituals: garlands, vessels, incense, food offerings, probably intended for the Brahmins, staff, and perhaps devotees. The religious activity seems thus to have increased in this period.

Let us now look at the identities of the donors based on the list given above. Out of the twenty-four inscriptions listed, five introduce women donors. Three appear as independent donors: Nantiṅkaṭatti, a woman (*peṅṭāṭṭi*) of the women's quarters (*vēḷattir*) of Kaṅṭarāṭittar in Tanjavur (#81);<sup>26</sup> Naṭṭaṅ Ceyaḷ Naṅkai, wife of Vaṅānuṭeyār, who remains unidentified (#93); and Aṛiṅcimātēvaṭikaḷ, a woman/servant (*peṅṭāṭṭi*) of the Pāṅḍya queen (#95).<sup>27</sup> In #102, the donor Caṅkaran Vaṭuki is the wife of the Brahmin Nakkan Śṛikaṅṭan of Alaiyūr, a

<sup>26</sup> On *peṅṭāṭṭi* and the *vēḷam*, see Orr (2000: 40–41; footnote 5, 212–213); Ali (2007). The *vēḷam*, a sort of “palace establishment”, is not necessarily named after ruling kings. Here it is named after the son of the ruling king.

<sup>27</sup> We do not know where this queen was residing, but a Pāṅḍya queen may have travelled in the Cōḷa region around that time since one of her donations is recorded in Tiruvāḷūr (SHI 23, no. 46), in the 3rd regnal year of Rājendracōḷa I (Gillet 2021a: 41–46). The donor of #95 may thus be a servant of the same queen.

*brahmadeya* of Miliparṛu in Poykaināṭu. The husband is present in the inscription, as a donor too it seems, but also as her guardian. The Brahmin wife of a certain . . . ṇaṅ Caṭaiyaṅ, Kaṭaṅ Poṇṇacey of #114, is included in a group of two other male donors.<sup>28</sup>

Uṭaiyārs—who are landowners and, by extension, perhaps chieftains—(#96, #82, #108); a chieftain (*araiyar*) (#86); an officer of Avaṅikantarpapuram, that is, a Vīracōla Aṅukkaṅ perhaps in charge of temple protection (#91); a member of an assembly (#98); Brahmins (#103, #84); perhaps a merchant (*vyāpāri*, #78); and shepherds (#99, #100) were the donors whose status is given. There were also donors who were simply named, without their social status being specified (#110, #127, #129, #114, #92, #95). Amongst them, Maturāntakaṅ Kaṅṭarātittan of #110 calls for some comments. His name is composed by titles borne by Cōla kings, which would signify here Kaṅṭarātittan, son of Maturāntakaṅ, the latter being a name of Uttamacōla. Two years earlier, that is in the 10th regnal year of Uttamacōla, a man bearing the same name, hence probably the same person, gave ninety goats to the Śiva temple in Karuttaṭṭāṅkuṭi, a suburb of Tanjavur (SII 5, no. 1405). In the 7th regnal year of Rājarāja I, the same person possibly, who seemed to have acquired an important official position, visited the Śiva temple in Tiruvallam (taluk of Gudiyatam, Vellore district), worshipped the god, and restored a previous donation then waning (SII 3, part I, no. 49). Barrett (1974: 102, 106) and Hultsch, the editor of SII 3 (p. 102), identified this donor as a possible, but otherwise unknown, son of Uttamacōla. I tend to think that it would have been indicated in one of the records if he had indeed been a prince. However, officials being named after their kings is rather common, and I agree that he was certainly someone who became a high-ranking official in the reign of Rājarāja I.

We thus see that donors in this temple were rather diverse individuals, sometimes with explicit social positions but not necessarily so. However, one element is quite striking: half of the donors are not from Paḷuvūr.<sup>29</sup> The places where they come from may be listed as follows:

1. Maṇalūr, of Ērikīlnāṭu of Toṅṭaināṭu (#96);
2. Uppaḷappāṭi of Vīraikkūrṛam (#80);

<sup>28</sup> We may mention here an inscription from the 5th regnal year of a Rājādhirāja recording the donation of land that a woman, Pukkamokaṅ Aṅṭatiru, inherited after the deaths of her husband and his brother, who were musicians (#119). This suggests that she acquired a certain autonomy after their deaths. On women holding properties in the Cōla period, see Orr (2000: 72–73).

<sup>29</sup> In two cases, the place of origin of the donor is not stated (#110 and #93), and in one case is probably lost (#79). We also notice that the number of donors from Paḷuvūr increases as time passes.

3. Tanjavur (#81);
4. Iṭaiyārṛuppātticūrai (#82);
5. Muṇpālai in Miḷalaikkūṛram in Pāṇṭināṭu (#98);
6. Alaiyūr, a *brahmadeya* of Miliparṛu in Poykaināṭu (#102);
7. Teṇpāḷaṇpāṭi of this *nāṭu* (#108);
8. Perumpuliyūr Maṇarṅkuṭi in Poykaināṭu (#86);
9. Pāmpuṇi in Pāmpuṇikūṛram (#78).

Teṇpāḷaṇpāṭi is located in “this *nāṭu*”, that is Kuṇṛakkūṛram where Paḷuvūr is set.<sup>30</sup> Poykaināṭu (Subbarayalu 1973: no. 97 and Map 7) and Viṛaikkūṛram (Subbarayalu 1973: no. 68 and Map 7) are the neighbouring geographical divisions, immediately to the south and the south-east, therefore about 8–10 km south of Kuṇṛakkūṛram. Donors from these places were thus more or less neighbours. But the other places are more distant. Tanjavur is further to the south, about 30 km as the crow flies. I suppose that Iṭaiyārṛuppātticūrai is situated in the Iṭaiyārṛunāṭu corresponding to the modern Lālkuṭi, about 33 km south-west as the crow flies.<sup>31</sup> Pāmpuṇikūṛram is situated further, about 80 km to the south-east. Pāṇṭināṭu, around Tirumeyyam and Pudukkottai, as well as Toṇṭaināṭu, around Kāñcīpuram, are even further to the south and to the north respectively. Devotees, or public figures, hence came from afar to donate to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple. This may indicate that the popularity of this temple went far beyond local circles.

### **Assemblies and temple officers: a village temple organization**

#### The Sabhā of Ciṛupaḷuvūr

Although there is a Śrīkāryam in this temple at least by the 16th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa, his role seems to be restricted to endowing the temple himself or supervising some of the donations made by individuals belonging to the circles of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, as we have seen. He does not appear to assume any significant role in the daily management of the temple affairs. The Sabhā

<sup>30</sup> Subbarayalu (1973: no. 52.7). He (1973: 19) uses this inscription as one of the examples to confirm the equivalence between the terms *nāṭu* and *kūṛram*.

<sup>31</sup> I suppose that this is Lālkuṭi because of the link which seems to exist between the two places: see Appendix 2. There are, however, other place names including the word Iṭaiyārṛu, according to the lists given by Subbarayalu (1973): Iṭaiyārṛukuṭi in Kumbakonam and Papanasam taluks (no. 33), Iṭaiyārṛukuṭi in Naṇṇilam taluk (no. 62), Iṭaiyārṛu in Tirukkōyilūr taluk (no. 160), Iṭaiyārṛūr in Pāṇṭimaṅgalam, corresponding to the modern Tirumeyyam taluk (no. 222).



of Cīrupaḷuvūr is the body that intervened in many of the transactions related to the temple in the 10th century. This enables us to put this temple in the category of village temples, that I would define mainly on the basis that it is administered and managed by the assembly of Brahmins of the village where the temple is located. Goats, which were the most common donations to this god, were sometimes given in the care of those of the Sabhā, who would be in charge of supplying the oil for the lamp (#80, #81, #85, #86, #87). The members of the Sabhā did not handle the goats themselves; their role would have been to receive the goats, hand them over to shepherds, and supervise the supply of *ghee* to the temple out of the flock, probably to the priests who would light the lamp. If most of the gifts of goats for a lamp do not mention the Sabhā, they do not mention anyone else either, and we may thus assume that the Sabhā was the supervising body even in these cases (#82, #96, #97, #98, #99, #100, #101, #103, #104, #105, #107, #110, #111, #125). The role of the Sabhā in handling the herds and flocks donated to the temple continued after the 10th century, since a record of the end of the 11th century mentioned that two Śivabrahmaṇas, Civāyantiri, lord (*uṭaiyar*) of Cīṙṙampalam and Civāyan Cuttamallan, likely members of the Sabhā as suggested in the epigraph, handled the thirty-two cows donated to the temple for a lamp (#94). In another inscription from probably about the same period, the Śivabrahmaṇas handling the thirty-two cows given for a perpetual lamp were not said to belong to the Sabhā but simply to possess the *kāṇi* (*kāṇiyuṭaiya*) of this temple (#134).

The Sabhā was never mentioned as a body handling the revenues of the land in the case of land donations for the supply of flowers, lamps, or food offerings. Land was donated to Caṇḍeśa of Tiruvālanturai—which means to the temple, since Caṇḍeśa is the “accountant” of Śiva (#84, #92, #129)—or directly to Mahādeva (#126, #127, #128), but no officer or administrative body is evoked. However, the Sabhā is presented as the one selling land in at least three cases, indicating that they controlled some of the land in Cīrupaḷuvūr: in the 5th regnal year of Sundaracōla, they sold village-land (*ūrnilam*) to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little king (#83); in the 10th regnal year of Rājarāja I, the Sabhā of Vaṭṭakāṭṭil<sup>32</sup> of this town sold one *vēli* (measure of land) to the donor who would then give it to the god (#102); in the 12th regnal year of Rājarāja I, Cuntaracōlan, chieftain of the big group of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, bought the donated land from those of the Sabhā of this Cīrupaḷuvūr (#113). This continues to be the case at the end of the 11th century, when the mother of a Vāṇakōvaraiyar is stated to have bought the land

<sup>32</sup> I could not figure out what *vaṭṭakkāṭṭil*, literally “in (-il) the round (*vaṭṭa*) presentation/showing (*kāṭṭu*)” refers to exactly.

she gave from the Sabhā of Cīrupaḷuvūr in the 20th regnal year of Kulottuṅga I (#131).

The Sabhā handles a money donation in only one case. Engraved in the 8th regnal year of Rājendracōḷa I, #130 records that the 50 *kācus* donated by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar queen for the bath of the deity and the supply of food offerings to the temple were handed over to the Sabhā of Cīrupaḷuvūr, who was then in charge of doing whatever was necessary.

### Temple officers and priests

We encounter, although rarely, references to two kinds of temple personnel in the inscriptions of the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva: the Tēvakaṇṇmis, literally “officers of god”, who are the temple officers, and the Śrīkōyiluṭaiyārs, literally the “Lords of the Holy shrine”, who may be priests or officers involved in temple affairs.

In the 13th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, an individual donated a vessel to burn incense (#78). The donation is concluded by the expected formula of protection. The three following lines, apparently added later because the engraving is a little shallower than the rest of the inscription, append a detail: this copper vessel will be placed in front of Gaṇapati by the Tēvarkaṇṇmis (Fig. A.86). The latter were thus not originally involved in the donation but may have been added later because there was a need to specify the placement of the vessel, either because of a later decision or to settle a disagreement. The role of the Tēvakaṇṇmis appears to be rather limited, this being their only appearance in a 10th century record in this temple.

In the 4th regnal year of Rājarāja I, the Śrīkōyiluṭaiyārs of this Tiruvālanṭurai were those receiving the 12 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold that were given by Cuntaracōḷaṇ, an army man of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṇavaṇ. They committed to supply the *ghee* needed for a perpetual lamp for Mahādeva (#112). This suggests that the Śrīkōyiluṭaiyārs of this Tiruvālanṭurai played a rather significant role in the management of the temple, as the Sabhā did. This is confirmed a few years later by #109: in the 6th regnal year of Rājendracōḷa I, the Śrīkōyiluṭaiyārs of this temple took 15 *kācus* out of the temple treasury to supply food to the temple.<sup>33</sup> It is interesting to note that there is no reference to a superior authority authorizing this direct debiting of the temple treasury and that the Śrīkōyiluṭaiyārs appear to hold a rather high position in the administration of the temple, in spite of their appearing only twice in the corpus of the long 10th century.

<sup>33</sup> This debiting of 15 *kācus* is preceded by a mention of a land donation but without details. I do not understand the connection between the two.

The temple thus seems to have been administered essentially by the Sabhā and the Śrīkōyiluṭaiyārs, although we note the possible presence of Tēvakaṇmis. This is confirmed by an epigraph engraved on the nearby Maṛavaṇiśvara temple. Dated to the 36th regnal year of Parāntaka I, #73 records an unusual donation of gold to the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva by a certain Cāṭṭaṇ, the holy man (*aṭikaḷ*) of Tiruvārūr, lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Intaḷūr, for water-lifts to be used for giving water to the cows and their calves as well as for watering the Palmyra grove and the temple garden. Four lords of this temple (*ittirukkōyiluṭaiya*), Pālāciriyaṇ Mūvāyiravaṇ<sup>34</sup> Kumaraṇ, Emmimār, Āpāti, and Kaviciyaṇ Kumaraṇ Mūvāyiravaṇ took the gold to implement the donation. It was the Sabhā that protected this endowment, probably supervising the terms of this donation.

By at least the middle of the 11th century, royal orders by Cōḷa kings regarding the taxation of temple lands were addressed to different bodies administering the temple: to the Tēvakaṇmis of the temple of the Lord (*uṭaiyār*) of Ciṛupaḷuvūr and those responsible for the superintendence (*kaṅkāṇi ceyvārkaḷukkum*) of the Śrī Māheśvaras, in the 11th regnal year of a Rājādhiraḷa (#122); to the Tēvakaṇmis of the temple of Tiruvālanṭurai Uṭaiyār of Paḷuvūr, the ones responsible for the superintendence (*kaṅkāṇi ceyvārkaḷukkum*) of the Śrī Māheśvaras and the one in charge of sacred affairs (*śrīkāryam cevānukku*) in the 3rd regnal year of a king whose name is lost (#136). We note that the different administering bodies of the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva in this period were much more elaborate than in the 10th century.

### Paṇmāheśvaras

When the inscriptions are complete, they are almost invariably<sup>35</sup> concluded by the formula of the protection of the Paṇmāheśvaras, a group of Śaiva devotees who oversaw the respecting of the terms of the donation. This situation markedly contrasts with the one in the AIM, where the Paṇmāheśvaras had a minimal role and the protection of the endowments was sometimes taken over by the Nagarattārs.

<sup>34</sup> Mūvāyiravaṇ literally means “he of the three thousand”. A community of three thousand Brahmins is known about in Cidambaram, the *tillai mūvāyiravar*. See TL; the dictionary of Subbarayalu; Cox (2016: 179, 188–197). Were these characters of Paḷuvūr related to Cidambaram, or were there other communities of three thousand Brahmins? Our reference to the *mūvāyiravar*, whether belonging to Cidambaram or not, would appear to be the earliest epigraphical one.

<sup>35</sup> Only four complete inscriptions do not call for the protection of the Paṇmāheśvaras: in the 10th century, #89, recording a donation by Kaucikaṇ Māraṇ, and in the late 11th or early 12th century, #119, #120, #121, recording royal orders from the Cōḷa king on the regulation of taxes. The latter were signed by the king’s officials.

### The Śiva of Paḷuvūr in the *Tēvāram*

The *Tēvāram* is a compilation of poems believed to have been written by three Śaiva Saints, Appar, Campantar, and Cuntarar, between the 7th and the 9th centuries. Every poem is attached to a temple of the Tamil Country, shaping the Śaiva religious landscape of the second half of the first millennium, and embodying the emergence of the Bhakti movement expressed in a vernacular language.<sup>36</sup> The temples to which they are attached are in general village temples, that is, temples managed by local communities, often by the Brahmin assembly of the village where the god is enshrined.<sup>37</sup> These shrines are thought to have been old places of worship and powerful devotion, mingling a deity of a place and a more pan-Indian and puranic Śiva. These assumptions led scholars to identify the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple with the temple of Paḷuvūr sung in the hymn 2.34 of Campantar in the *Tēvāram* (see Appendix 3).<sup>38</sup>

We need first to assert that the Paḷuvūr of this hymn is our Paḷuvūr, because there was more than one Paḷuvūr in the region. Malayāḷi Brahmins are evoked in three of the stanzas, which is unique in the *Tēvāram* and appears thus as a specificity of this place. I suppose that this element is sufficient to associate the Paḷuvūr of 2.34 with the Paḷuvūr of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, because the latter were probably of Keralese origin and, although the hymn may refer to a time preceding the first occurrence of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little king in the epigraphy, it would explain the presence of Brahmins from Kerala in this place.

The Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple, managed by the Brahmin assembly of the village, attracting all kinds of devotees from faraway places, receiving the attention of the little kings living nearby, getting donations from military men for perhaps securing their endeavours and seeking protection, enlightened by the numerous lamps that were offered to the god out of devotion, appears to me as the ideal candidate in Paḷuvūr for the hymn 2.34.

But we are then puzzled by the fact that its name, Ālanṭurai, is not given in the hymn. Indeed, it is a name that was borne by other temples sung in the *Tēvāram* and expressedly claimed as such, and it is surprising for the poet not to mention it.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps the name of Paḷuvūr, which literally means the

<sup>36</sup> For the *Tēvāram* poems, see the ones edited by T.V. Gopal Iyer as well as the *Digital Tēvāram*. The body of secondary literature on the *Tēvāram* is enormous. I will cite here only a few: Rangaswamy (1958); Spencer (1970); Gros (1984); Pechilis Prentis (1999); Chevillard (2000); Veluppillai (2013); Francis (2014); Orr (2014); Schmid (2005; 2014a; 2014b).

<sup>37</sup> A complete survey of the inscriptions of the temples sung in the *Tēvāram* would, however, be necessary to confirm that they all fall under local assembly's administration.

<sup>38</sup> Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 15, 28; 1966: 113); Tyagarajan (2014: 32–34).

<sup>39</sup> See Schmid (2005: 88–94) on the Ālanṭurai of Puḷḷamaṅkai as well as the other Ālanṭurais of the Tamil Country.

Banyan-tree-village, already conveyed the notion of a banyan tree and, consequently, the poet deemed it unnecessary to state the name of Ālanturai. Another possibility is that the name of Ālanturai was bestowed on this shrine after the hymn was composed, and it would have been simply called the Śiva of Paḷuvūr before that.

## The Maṛavaṇīśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva of Cīrupaḷuvūr

Hidden today by concrete and thatched houses, abutting the garden of the police station, the small temple of the Maṛavaṇīśvaragr̥hattu Mahādeva, commonly called Paśupatiśvara temple, is standing in Kīlappaḷuvūr (11° 2'32.79"N; 79° 4'7.17"E; see Map I.2). It was almost abandoned until 2018, but in 2019, people of the locality cleared the rubbish accumulated in its surroundings, installed a wooden portico in front of the shrine, installed an iron gate at the entrance, and raised banners with the name of the temple, which reverted to its old name, that is, the Maṛavaṇīcuvarar Makātēvar. Worship resumed, although no dedicated priest had yet been assigned.

The Maṛavaṇīśvara temple is located only about 100 metres, from sanctuary to sanctuary as the crow flies, to the south-east of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, and opens in the same direction. It is entirely made of stone, comprising a sanctuary and an *ardha-maṇḍapa* only (Fig. A.87 to Fig. A.92).<sup>1</sup> Its roof has collapsed and there is no compound wall surrounding it. Its architecture is rather plain, with minimal ornamentation, except for the frieze of lively *gaṇas* just below the roof. The base of the temple is no longer visible, engulfed by the ground earth—and may be engraved with inscriptions so far unknown, which could be revealed the day they clear the dirt. A main niche is set on each of the façades, but only the elegant Dakṣiṇāmūrti remains in its place in the southern one (Fig. A.93). A sculpture of Viṣṇu is placed in front of the northern niche; its style looks a little less refined than that of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti (Fig. A.94). Apart from those, there are an unfinished sculpture of apparently a goddess, a stela of Jyeṣṭhā now placed at the entrance (Fig. A.95), two guardians which seem to pertain to different sets because their size is different (Fig. A.95 and Fig. A.96), and a large half buried bull, facing the main cella. The observation of the structure, the architecture, and the rather minimalistic iconography would suggest that this temple was perhaps built somewhere in the 10th century. Observations related to its place, in the locality as well as compared to the other temples, and related to the analysis of the corpus of inscriptions engraved on its walls are elements which will lead us to

<sup>1</sup> The temple is briefly studied in Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 29–30; 1971: 30–31).

interesting conclusions regarding the patronage and the role of this monument in the social, political, and religious dynamics of Paḷuvūr.

### The Maṛavaṇīśvaragṛhattu Mahādeva and the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temples

There is no foundation inscription in this temple, nor any mention of a founder in the inscriptions recording donations. The earliest epigraph may be assigned to the 4th regnal year of Parāntaka I, that is, around A.D. 911, suggesting that the temple already existed at that time.<sup>2</sup> I observed nine inscriptions in this temple, but only eight donations, since the incomplete #71 and #74 seem to refer to the same donation. The epigraphical corpus of this temple has the least amplitude amongst the temples of Paḷuvūr, ranging between perhaps the 4th regnal year of Parāntaka I (#69) and the 10th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman (#75). If the latter is Uttamacōḷa, the inscription would thus be assigned to *circa* A.D. 980, which would constitute the terminus *ante quem* to this epigraphical corpus. There are fragments of much later inscriptions on blocks of stones inserted into the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, suggesting that there was more in this temple than we can see today, and that some parts have been remodelled. An unintelligible post-13th-century inscription is also engraved on the doorjamb of the entrance, but it seems to be on a re-used stone (ARE 1926, no. 223).

Out of the eight donations engraved on this temple, three donations were made to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple only, and one seems to have been made to both the temples. As it happens, these seem to be the earliest inscriptions on this temple. I assume #69 (see Figure 5.1), dated to the 4th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, whom I think may be Parāntaka I, to be the earliest inscription because of its palaeography.<sup>3</sup> The script is rather round, with large letters, and resembles the one used in the inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka I in the AIM. This inscription also occupies a whole section of the southern façade, where the earliest inscriptions are often engraved. The record is extensively damaged, but we do understand that it registers a donation of something which is lost for a perpetual lamp to the Maṛavaṇīśvaragṛham of Ciṛupaḷuvūr by the daughter (*makaḷār*) of . . . varaiyar . . . , queen (*tēviyār*) of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, whose personal name is no longer legible. The inscription continues, but only a few letters are

<sup>2</sup> Govindaraju and Manamalar (1994: 153) assign the construction of this temple to the reign of Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ, to whom they assign the dates of A.D. 960–985, thus after the reign of Parāntaka I.

<sup>3</sup> Tyagarajan (2014: 49) also assigns it to Parāntaka I. If it is not Parāntaka I, then the Kōpparakesarivarman may be identified with either Ariṇṇjaya Cōḷa (c. A.D. 957), Āditya II (c. A.D. 964), or Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 975). But because most of the inscriptions belong to the time of the latter in the nearby temple and that the script looks different, I would exclude the possibility that this inscription is dated to the time of Uttamacōḷa.



Figure 5.1 Beginning of inscription #69, Maravanīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet)

legible on the left side at the beginning of each line. They suggest the presence of the words Tiruvālanṭuṟai, Sabhā, and *kaḷaṅcu*, which lead me to suppose that the second part recorded a donation to the Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva, and that the Sabhā probably received the gold.

Epigraphs #67 and #73 are respectively dated with the 29th and 36th regnal years of *matirai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman, title of Parāntaka I. Because the regnal year 33 is clearly legible in #68, and this elevated regnal year is supposed to be found only for Parāntaka I, ARE 1926, no. 220 has assigned this epigraph to this king, even if there is no space for the *matirai koṅṭa* in front of the damaged . . . *sarivarman*. The script of #68 (see Figure 5.2) is identical to the one of #67 (see Figure 5.3), placed just above, and hence I would also assign it to Parāntaka I.

In #67, a donation of goats for a lamp for Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva was made by a donor whose name is lost. In #68 and #73, the donors did not come from Paḷuvūr. In #68, lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Cīṟra . . . of . . . nāṭu, Vicciyaṅ . . ., gave goats and perhaps gold for a perpetual lamp for Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭuṟai of Cīrupaḷuvūr. Although we cannot identify the place of origin of Vicciyaṅ, he clearly came from another village and even perhaps another region. Three years later, Cāṭṭaṅ the holy man (*aṭikaḷ*) of Tiruvārūr, lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Intaḷūr, made a donation (#73; see Figure 5.4). Tiruvārūr is easily identifiable: it is quite distant from Paḷuvūr, about 70 km to the south-east. We have seen that donors sometimes came from





Figure 5.2 Inscriptions #68 and #70, Maravanīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet)



Figure 5.3 Inscriptions #67 (first six lines) and beginning of #68, Maravanīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet)

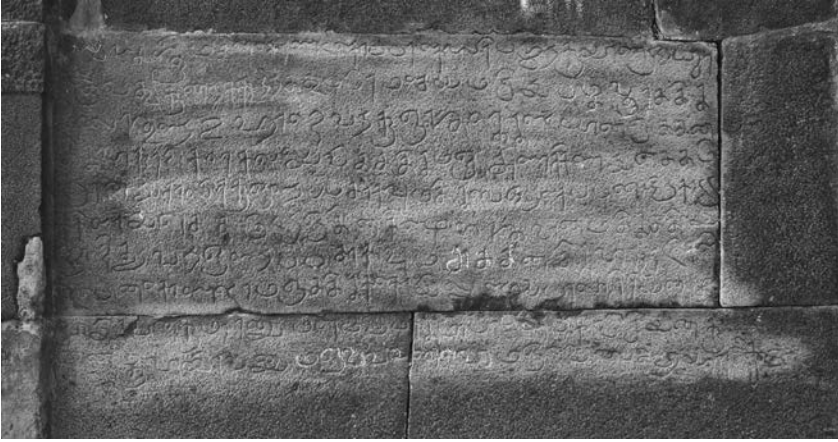


Figure 5.4 Inscription #73, Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet)

far away to donate to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva and this continued to be the case in this temple. As mentioned earlier, this epigraph #73, provides important information on the functioning of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva: Cāttan̄ gave gold to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva for setting up water-lifts to water cattle and gardens, and the gold was received by four Śrīkōyilutaiyārs of the temple and supervised by the Sabhā of the village. No inscriptions on the Tiruvālanturai provide this level of detail for the handling of donations. I assume that the details had to be specified because the donation is not recorded in the Tiruvālanturai itself but in the nearby Maṛavaṇīśvara, and this would require a higher degree of explanation and guaranty for the implementation of the donation.

It is not possible to determine who decided that these donations should be engraved on the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple rather than on the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva. Was it a wish of the donor? Or was it a decision taken by the administrators of the temples? I assume that the choice of this Maṛavaṇīśvara as the support for an inscription was not incidental. Indeed, we do not know where the inscriptions of the same period were engraved on the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva, since the temple was probably built in brick and the inscriptions of the first half of the 10th century recopied when it was rebuilt in stone. But it is possible that this Maṛavaṇīśvara was already in stone in this period, and epigraphs might have been engraved on the shrine itself. This may have made a difference. It was probably prestigious for donors of the first half of the 10th century to have their donations to the Tiruvālanturai engraved on the stone walls of a shrine which, as we shall see, was probably related to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars.

### Donations to the Maravaṇīśvaram

There are four donations made to the Maravaṇīśvaram, all registered in the reign of Kōpparakesarivarman, likely to be Cōḷa kings ruling in the second half of the 10th century:

1. Two brothers, Vārakkiyaṅ Iravi Vaṭukaṅ and his younger brother Iravi Tattaṅ of Tirunallūr, a *brahmadeya* of Mīraikkūrṅam on the northern bank, donate a piece of land to Caṇḍeśvara Bhaṭṭarar of Maravaṇīśvaram of Cīrupaḷuvūr, without assigning a specific purpose to this donation, in the 8th year of a Kōpparakesarivarman (#71 is the beginning of the inscription only on the western façade and #74 is the full inscription on the northern façade).
2. The Koṅkaṇi Maḷavar Cenninampiyār, maternal uncle of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maravaṅ Kaṇṭaṅ, sells a piece of land to Caṇḍeśvara Paṭārar of Maravaṇīśvara, that is to the temple, and with the money, along with the revenues of some land, he commits to supply the daily *ghee* for a perpetual lamp. The land sold to Caṇḍeśa becomes temple land, that is a *devadāna*. A certain Cāvānti Māraṅ Māraṅ of Cīrupaḷuvūr is also said to have sold a piece of land to Caṇḍeśa, but I do not understand his role in this donation. It is engraved in the 9th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, whom I identify with Uttamacōḷa because of the name of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar (#72; Fig. A.97).
3. The Nāṭṭārs of Kuṅṅakkūrṅam give ninety goats for a perpetual lamp to the Lord (*uṭaiyār*) of Maravaṇīśvaram of Cīrupaḷuvūr in the 10th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman (#75).
4. A very damaged inscription records a donation by...rāṭi Tuṭakkaṅ Virāna..., probably a shepherd (*maṅṅrāṭi*) for some *ghee* for MaravaṇīśvaragrĤattu Mahādeva, in a lost regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman (#70; last four lines in Figure 5.2).

The donors to this shrine are rather eclectic. Two individuals from Mīraikkūrṅam (corresponding to the Tanjavur district, south of Paḷuvūr) and the maternal uncle of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, therefore his immediate circle, contribute to increase the amount of temple land, through their donation or sale of land. We know from #19 in the AIM that the Nāṭṭārs came for the assessment of land. They must have come to Paḷuvūr and donated to this shrine perhaps during one of those missions. Finally, a shepherd also donated to this temple, probably for a lamp.

## The Maṛavaṇīśvaram and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars

Apart from the final formula invoking the protection of the endowment by the Paṇmāheśvaras, there is no indication of a specific set of people involved in the organization and administration of this Maṛavaṇīśvara temple: no priest, no officer, no Sabhā. We should turn to other elements to envision the significance and the role of this temple in the locality.

Let us begin with the name of the temple, which I think is relevant. Maṛavaṇīśvaraḡṛhattu Mahādeva—or sometimes the shorter form Maṛavaṇīśvaram—is structured on the same model as the Avaṇikantarpa Īśvaraḡṛhattu Mahādeva and the Pakaiviṭai Īśvaraḡṛhattu Mahādeva. This combination of Sanskrit and Tamil in the name of the temple is possibly a claim to a belonging to higher spheres of the society. It literally means “Mahādeva of the shrine (*ḡṛhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Maṛavaṇ”. Maṛavaṇ is one of the emblematic titles of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar kings. The mix of Tamil and Sanskrit, the structure of the name, the inclusion of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar name Maṛavaṇ in it, indicating that he is the one who built the temple or for the sake of whom this temple was built, point to a temple associated with the minor dynasty.

The queen and the uncle of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar gave to this shrine. But the donation of the queen seems to link the Maṛavaṇīśvara to the nearby Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva, since she apparently gave to both (#69). There is an echo in the Tiruvālanturai: the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ gave land for the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva to support various activities in the temple, including the burning of a perpetual lamp for the god of Maṛavaṇṇiccuvaram (Maṛavaṇīśvaram) (#77). These epigraphs, #69 and #77, do attest to a specific link between the two temples as well as between this Maṛavaṇīśvara and the little kings.

The location of the temple is, in my view, one of the keys to understanding its role. I have established, I hope, that the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva was a village temple, connected to popular Bhakti, managed by the local assembly of Brahmins. But it was crucial to the strengthening and maintenance of mundane power to support such a temple, and we consequently see the multiplication of gifts to this god by the little kings and their immediate circles. Now, I also propose that building the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple next to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva, facing the same direction and placed slightly before it, as a duplication of the popular shrine, may be a strategy to benefit from its popularity and enhance the image of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. While the Maṛavaṇīśvara is hardly visible today because of the collapse of the roof and the houses constructed all around, this was probably not the case in the 10th century. It would have been hard to miss for devotees entering the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple. Moreover, it was perhaps built in stone, a prestigious material, from the time it was erected and

could accommodate on its walls the engraved donations made to the popular shrine: this may have been another way for the little kings to establish ties with the nearby powerful entity, to gain protection as well as legitimation and maintenance of their power over the locality.

I wonder if the pair that comprises the Maṛavaṇīśvara and the Tiruvālanturai might not prefigure the situation of the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār, which was built in the second half of the 10th century in the vicinity of the PIM. There are some differences between the two pairs: the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār was built in brick with a stone base only, and in the precincts themselves of the PIM; the epigraphy of both the shrines do not refer to each other, like in the pair that constitutes the Tiruvālanturai and the Maṛavaṇīśvara; the PIM was in the *devadāna*, in Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr where the palace was located, and was not administered by the Sabhā, unlike the Tiruvālanturai, in the *brahmadeya* and managed by the Brahmin assembly. But in spite of the different dynamics between the temples, the fact that a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar may have founded a second shrine near an already existing one, thus constituting a pair, appears to me as an echo of a process at work in Paḷuvūr: there are twin shrines in the AIM, a connection between the AIM and the PIM, the addition of the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār near the PIM and of the Maṛavaṇīśvara near the Tiruvālanturai. This may reflect the multiplicity of the networks active in Paḷuvūr, and the pervasiveness of the little kings who attempt to make their presence more tangible through the construction, renovation, and then gifting to shrines, adapting their mode depending on the temple, the communities revolving around it, and its functioning.

# Conclusion

## The configuration of social and political powers of Paḷuvūr through its religious centres

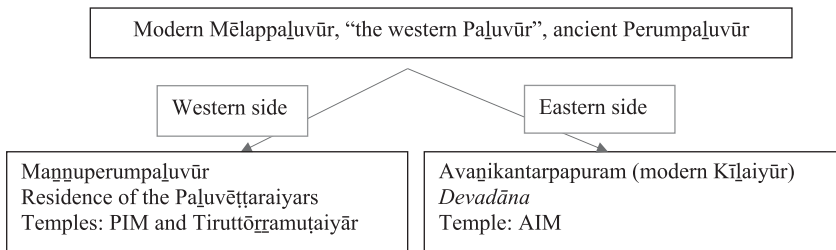
Attentive scrutiny of the archaeological material identified on the site of Paḷuvūr brings to the foreground many elements which may be woven together for a clearer reconstruction of the past. Without excavating what lies under the ground, the history we can piece together goes back to the end of the 9th century at the earliest with the appearance of stone temples. The study conducted in this book was based mainly on a corpus of 136 Tamil inscriptions ranging between the 9th and 12th centuries, engraved all over five temples in Paḷuvūr, the AIM (Avaṇikantarpa Īsvaraḡhattu Mahādeva), the PIM (Pakaiviṭtai Īsvaraḡhattu Mahādeva), the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār, the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva, and the Maṛavaṇīśvara temples. My goal was to outline the different communities and networks of powers, crystallized around the temples, which structured the site of Paḷuvūr during this period. We thus saw, from the end of the 9th century, the emergence of a minor dynasty, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, ruling over the rather small territory of Paḷuvūr. Probably coming originally from Kerala, they were warriors who assisted the Cōḷas in their military campaigns; the latter perhaps rewarded them with a small territory to rule over. The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars never seem to have claimed independence from the Cōḷa power, as other minor dynasties did for short periods. The regnal years of the Cōḷa kings were used to date the epigraphs of the entire site until the 13th century, suggesting that these kings were, theoretically, considered as the supreme authority. However, concretely, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars appear as those who held the highest political power over their little kingdom, never summoning the figure of the Cōḷa kings: they enacted decrees on lands and taxes, perhaps issued royal orders, and supervised the Śrīkāryam—the officer scrutinizing the affairs of a temple, a function which appeared around the third quarter of the 10th century, probably mostly related to economic and landowning matters. The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars thus seem to have enjoyed a certain autonomy regarding the governance of their own territory; or at least this is the way in which they wanted to be perceived. It is unfortunately impossible to undertake a proper comparison with the other little kings of the Tamil-speaking South in this period. Indeed, the work of gathering and editing the entire epigraphical corpuses on the sites where they appear as

donors or in other capacities, through which we can carve a finely grained understanding of them as well as their interactions with other communities and local powers, has not yet been conducted. I hope the present study will be a stepping stone for further attempts at scrutinizing sites where minor dynasties are involved to better evaluate their role, discourse, and functioning. The decline of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars is perceptible by the end of the reign of the Cōḷa Rājarāja I solely through their disappearance from the epigraphical corpus of the site. We have to wait until the end of the 11th century, in the reign of Kulottuṅga I, to see another powerful family, the Vāṇakōvaraiyars, acquire a certain political power over Paḷuvūr.

### Mēlappaḷuvūr

I shall begin with Mēlappaḷuvūr, which appears to have been the centre of the political power. The inscriptions tell us that the AIM and the PIM, along with the Tiruttōṛramuṭaiyār, today in the premises of the latter, are located in Perumpaḷuvūr, the “big Paḷuvūr”, constituting the western hamlet of Paḷuvūr and corresponding to the village today called Mēlappaḷuvūr. But a detailed reading of the inscriptions on these temples brings another level of precision. In fact, the AIM, situated in the eastern quarters (today Kīḷaiyūr, literally the eastern village) of Mēlappaḷuvūr, is built in a *devadāna*, that is land which belonged to the god and thus to the temple, whose revenues were used for supporting the expenses related to temple activity. The quarters where it is located were called Avaṇikantarapuram. The nearby PIM, on the other hand, is located in the quarters called Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr, the “exceedingly great Paḷuvūr”. These quarters, never stated to be a *devadāna*, are probably “exceedingly great” because this may have been the place where the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little kings had set up their headquarters, as suggested by #50 or #130. At this stage, it may be useful to summarize this complicated setting with a small table (see Table 6.1 and also Map I.2).

**Table 6.1** The organization of Mēlappaḷuvūr



The scrutiny of the materiality of the monuments, the content of the inscriptions, the network of donors, the nature of the donations, the organization and administration, are various elements that helped us identify the communities related to the temples under consideration, and thus the role they played in the social configuration of Paḷuvūr.

Let us begin with the AIM. Composed of two shrines side by side, opening to the west, and once surrounded by eight peripheral shrines and a compound wall, the AIM is made entirely of stone. I have gathered a corpus of thirty-seven epigraphs in this temple, ranging from the end of the 9th to the early 11th century. Two of these epigraphs were direct orders by a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little king regarding the regulation of taxes for the Nagarattārs; one concerned a royal decree by a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar for another merchant community, the Tōtappattikārcceṭṭi, again regarding the regulation of taxes; one concerned an order by a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar to the Nāṭṭārs for fixing taxes on some donated lands. The rest of the inscriptions mainly dealt with donations that were made, as expected, mostly for lamps, but also for food offerings, movable idols, forehead plates for the god, clearance of a tank, and maintenance of a dance master. The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars never appeared as donors in this corpus, but were omnipresent as those validating, often graciously (*aruḷi*), the donations. Their role thus emerged as mostly a supervising and regulating one.

The merchant communities were an important component of the network involved in the affairs of this temple. Localities whose name ends in –puram are often believed to be merchant towns, hence pointing to Avaṇikantarapuram as a merchant town. Avaṇikantarpa, the “Gandharva upon earth” or “Kandarpa (Kāma) upon earth”, is the core of the name of both the temple complex (Avaṇikantarpa Īśvaragrhattu Mahādeva) and the town where the monument is (Avaṇikantarapuram), suggesting that they were intrinsically connected. The analysis of the epigraphical corpus confirmed the crucial role of the merchant communities in the temple, not only in donating but also in receiving orders and protecting the donations. Another important group of donors was the *Tēvaṇar makaḷs* and *makans*, literally daughters and sons of god, attached to a temple that was either the AIM or the PIM. These figures have drawn a certain amount of scholarly attention, and it was often said that they were dancers and the ancestors of Devadāsīs. One of our *Tēvaṇar makaḷs* is in fact said to be a dancer, so we could confirm that, even if not all of them were necessarily dancers, dance was a possible function of these temple servants. Dance seems to have been one of the activities performed in this temple, as, besides the notable presence of dancers attached to the temple, a piece of land was given for the maintenance of the dance masters. Consequently, it is plausible to envisage that dance was included in rituals and festivals, although no specific rituals were described.



We also noticed that the gift of land, a prestigious gift, is the most common in this shrine, making the AIM a powerful landed magnate, a status from which it probably drew significant power in the locality. Gifts of gold are also encountered, but the gift of goats, although it is an ordinary gift in many temples of the region, is rare.

Other observations may be added to the previous ones: the temple bore a long name with Sanskrit components; it was entirely built in stone by the end of the 9th century, a noble and perennial material used by wealthy communities, often royal ones, in this period; the architecture and the specific organization—made of twin shrines constructed together—of the complex is strikingly similar to another of the “Minor Majesties”, that is the Mūvarkōyil of Koṭumpālūr, a temple built by one of the Irukkuvēl little kings, made of three shrines dedicated to the little king and his two queens; titles of the little kings, mixing Sanskrit and Tamil, were engraved on four pillars of the separate *maṇḍapa* in front of the southern shrine; the iconography, embodying a visual discourse, is significantly different from that found on the surrounding temples, emphasizing the figure of Skanda, who may represent the martial character of the little kings; and the uniqueness of the presence of a well-defined group of Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs, who probably constituted a group of religious and administrative personnel, handling the donations, points to a specific status of the temple. In my view, all these elements woven together present this religious complex as being associated with powerful social and political entities of the locality that are mainly the merchant communities and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. The fact that the engraving of inscriptions almost ceases after the decline of this minor dynasty in the first half of the 11th century seems to strengthen this association.

The PIM stands only about 275 metres from the AIM, and they face each other, engulfing Perumpaḷuvūr in a web of Śaiva shrines. Its status is problematic to outline, perhaps because the inscriptions are less numerous—only about seventeen, more damaged in general, and often incomplete. The poor state of the inscriptions is mostly due to the fragile nature of sandstone used to build this shrine, and their incompleteness to the numerous changes and renovations the monument underwent. There was a salient connection between the AIM and the PIM. Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of the AIM donate to the PIM. *Tēvaṇar makaḷs* and dancers (*kūṭṭapillai*), belonging to the PIM, gave to the AIM as well as to the PIM, suggesting a link between the two. Considering that there were dancers attached to this temple too, dance was probably an element of the functioning of the PIM, as was the case for the AIM. This is confirmed by the fact that temple women, often thought to be dancers, belonging to both these temples of Paḷuvūr, were sent to the Rājarājeśvara temple in Tanjavur, the state-temple of the Cōḷas.

The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars did not appear in the inscriptions as often as they did in those of the AIM. However, I assumed for several reasons that the temple was somehow integrated into their networks: it is located in Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr, which is the area where the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars had established their residence; the name is constructed on the same model as the AIM, made of a mix of Sanskrit and Tamil; the temple was built in sandstone, a stone that was used mostly in Pallava royal temples and for some elements in the AIM; gold and land continued to be the most common gifts, suggesting the higher status of the shrine. However, its status appears to be different from the AIM, and, if there are daughters and sons of god as well as dancers, the merchant communities are not represented in this monument. May we consider, perhaps a little boldly, this shrine to be a local older shrine invested later by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars because it was prestigious and located in the place where they settled? One fragmentary inscription suggested that a donation of land was made by an important man of the locality, Kaucikaṅ Mārapiṅ, officer of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars who would become Śrīkāryam. It is interesting to note that he was instrumental in the process of reconstructing and investing a village temple nearby, the Tiruvālanuṭṭai Mahādeva. He may have had a similar role in this temple. There is another fragment, just below, which contains the titles of the Cōḷa queen Cempiyaṅ Mahādevi, hinting at a possible gift from her. She is well known for her investment in village temples, and the PIM may have been one of them. Donations continued to be made and engraved in this temple after the disappearance of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, indicating that, unlike the AIM, its activity and fame went beyond the circle of this minor dynasty.

If the PIM was indeed originally a local temple, its integration into the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar circle may have been further enacted through the construction of another shrine in its precincts. The Tiruttōṭṭaramuṭaiyār no longer exists, and we cannot pinpoint its exact location. But its stones, engraved with the inscriptions that lead to the reconstruction of its history, were reused and assembled into a shrine for the goddess after the 12th century. No foundation inscription was recovered, but three epigraphs registered a donation by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṅaṅ Maṅavaṅ of Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr, supervised by Kaucikaṅ Mārapiṅ, the Śrīkāryam. The record of one of those three donations (#50) elaborately referred to the construction of this holy shrine by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar himself in the second half of the 10th century. These donations of the king were the only ones remaining from the 10th century, and therefore we do not know if someone else endowed the shrine or if the donations were exclusively made by the little king. He gave goats and gold for lamps, but also land rights to the *paṭṭuṭais*, probably the priests attached to the shrine. It is conceivable that these land rights were given to generate revenue to support temple activities. This shrine was built of brick with a stone base and, certainly because of its close connection to

the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, was abandoned after the dynasty lost its power. No strong local political power rose immediately after the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. The next lineage which seems to have acquired a certain authority over Paḷuvūr is that of the Vāṇakōvaraiyars during the reign of Kulottuṅga I, at the end of the 11th century. An inscription on the wall mentioned that the temple made of brick was abandoned and ruined, and that the Vāṇakōvaraiyar Cuttamallaṅ Uttamacōlaṅ Iḷaṅkeśvaraṅ rebuilt it in stone, restored the worship which had stopped and renovated the eight peripheral shrines, the *gopura*, and the compound wall. The Vāṇakōvaraiyar adopted the same processes as the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar may have done to establish their influence over the PIM, that is rebuilding the shrine of the Tiruttōṛamuṭaiyār. It is interesting to note that the Vāṇakōvaraiyar intervened in this specific shrine in the PIM while he seemed to have ignored the AIM. The PIM was still active after the fall of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars and it was perhaps more advantageous for the new political power to invest in this temple which remained visible in the locality, instead of the AIM whose activity may have declined after the disappearance of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars.

### Kīlappaḷuvūr

Walking 3 km to the east of Mēlappaḷuvūr one encounters another village with a very different bustling atmosphere but belonging to the same ancient kingdom. This is the village of Kīlappaḷuvūr, the “Eastern Paḷuvūr”, corresponding to the ancient Cīrupaḷuvūr, that is, the “Small Paḷuvūr”. I suppose that the distinction between a small and a big Paḷuvūr was not based on their dimensions but on social status: while the big Paḷuvūr with its magnificent temples was occupied by the minor dynasty, and wealthy merchant communities, the small Paḷuvūr was a *brahmadeya*, that is a village of Brahmins administered by a Brahmin assembly (the Sabhā), with a local village temple at its centre. This temple is the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva. It has the highest number of inscriptions on its walls, about sixty-one, belonging to the Cōla period that concerns this study, between roughly the early 10th and the 12th century. A few elements point to considering this monument as a village temple, that is a religious institution founded by and depending on local communities: its name has remained the same from the first attested epigraph until today, suggesting that it did not depend on the sponsorship of temporary social and political powers; its name, in Tamil and referring to a banyan tree, is encountered in other ancient village temples of the region; the majority of the donations consisted of goats for lamps, a type of endowment common in village temples; many donors were individuals coming from neighbouring regions but also from distant ones, suggesting that the fame of this shrine was widely spread; the Sabhā of Cīrupaḷuvūr was the main body handling

the donations, and the affairs of the temple were thus in the hands of the local assembly of Brahmins.

Such a popular temple would have attracted the attention of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. Indeed, while the little kings did not make donations personally to the other temples of Paḷuvūr, they lavishly gave gold and goats to the god of this one. They even gave a piece of land, Tiruvālanṭuṟaiṇallūr, which became a *devadāna*, for the support of potters, for Brahmins conducting the worship, for water for the garden, etc. I think they may also have sponsored a dance festival in this *devadāna*, which was perhaps another way to enhance their visibility. Close circles of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars also contributed significantly to the life of this temple. Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar women, daughters and queens, although rather discreet in the other temples, were benefactors of the Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva, through donations of goats for lamps, land for food offerings or vessels. Officers of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, mostly military, also donated to the temple. If their endowments contributed to the visibility of their little kings, I suppose that this was not necessarily the primary purpose: it may have been important for a military man to give to this popular shrine for acquiring merit and calling for protection during his martial endeavours. Another officer of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ, held a key role in the remodelling of this temple. He was an officer of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar who assumed the role of Śrīkāryam, that is someone in charge of supervising the temple affairs, by the 16th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa at least. By the grace of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar under the authority of whom he was probably placed, Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ rebuilt the Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva in stone before the 9th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa, *circa* A.D. 980, anchoring himself in the locality. If the sanctuary displayed an iconographical programme in accordance with the other village temples of the region, the sculptures which adorn the large *maṇḍapa* built in front are abundant and their arrangement is unique. I assumed this was a way for Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ, and through him the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, to visually mark their specificity and presence, a process which is also perceptible in the temples that the Cōḷa queen Cempiyaṅ Mahādevi reconstructed, with the setting up of a specific iconographical programme. However, despite the significant involvement of the Śrīkāryam Kaucikaṅ Mārapiraṅ and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, they did not control the donations, and the organization of the temple remained in the hands of the Sabhā. If the Śrīkāryam was occasionally mentioned as supervising a donation, we noticed that it was only in cases where the donor was directly related to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars: the kings themselves, their daughters, or an individual from Avaṅikantarpapuram, where the AIM is. If the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars appeared rather prominently in this temple, directly or indirectly, we saw that this monument remained a village temple which escaped their direct control. They built, however, another temple, the Maṟavaṅiśvara, set up like an echo to the Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva, only 100 metres away.

There is no foundation inscription in this temple, but its full name, Maṛavaṇīśvaraḡhattu Mahādeva, is a first indication that it was related to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar minor dynasty: we encounter the name structure which was given to the AIM and the PIM, and Maṛavaṇ is a title borne by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. The association with the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars is further strengthened by a donation that the little king made to the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva, a donation of land for the support of different activities in the Tiruvālanṭurai but adding to the list a lamp to be burnt in the Maṛavaṇīśvara. Thus, I assumed that the reason for such a temple to be built in this particular place, so close to the village temple which attracted popular devotion, was for the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars to establish an effective and visible bond with the Tiruvālanṭurai, benefiting from its fame, gaining merit, acquiring visibility. The link between the Tiruvālanṭurai and the Maṛavaṇīśvara was also evident in the epigraphy of the latter, at least in the first half of the 10th century. Indeed, three donations recorded on the Maṛavaṇīśvara during this period were made to the Tiruvālanṭurai, and one, by a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar queen, seems to have been made to both the temples. The choice of the Maṛavaṇīśvara to record a donation to the Tiruvālanṭurai may have been motivated by the fact that the latter may not have been built in stone before the second half of the 10th century. The few donations engraved after this time are made exclusively for the benefit of the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple. We may even go further. Since there are no donations in the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple beyond the 10th regnal year of a Kōpparakesarivarman who may be Uttamacōla, and since this date corresponds roughly to the reconstruction in stone of the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva, I assumed that the reconstruction in stone of the Tiruvālanṭurai may have caused the Maṛavaṇīśvara to fall into disrepair. I thus believe that the Tiruvālanṭurai and the Maṛavaṇīśvara temples were intrinsically related: the erection of the latter followed rather rapidly by its neglect is warranted by the existence, popularity, and reconstruction in stone of the former.

There may have been some activities in the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple after the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar period, as the reuse of some fragments of later inscriptions on the *maṇḍapa* and at the entrance indicate. But it is impossible today to assess the activity of this shrine after the decline of the dynasty. It is obvious, though, that worship was not active there over the centuries because until a few years ago the temple was literally abandoned. This contrasts with the nearby Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva, which seems to have enjoyed an almost continuous popularity. Indeed, the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva continued to function in the post-Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar period, substantiating the hypothesis that this temple is a village temple whose activity is independent of the rise and fall of political powers. Donations continued to be made, recorded in long and complex inscriptions regulating taxes on land and produce; and royal orders from the Cōla kings concerning tax regulations came to this temple in the 12th century, addressed to

different groups handling the temple affairs. This shows that the administration of the temple had diversified and expanded since the 10th century, when only the Sabhā and some Śrīkōyiluṭaiyars were involved.

This study of the social, political, and religious configuration of Paḷuvūr between the end of the 9th and the 12th century through its four—or more precisely—five temples specified the existence of a small kingdom governed by the minor dynasty of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. Diverse groups were represented in the social organization of Paḷuvūr, through the transactions inscribed on the temples in which they were involved. Besides the little kings, we thus saw the significant impact of merchant communities, daughters and sons of god, dancers, military men, landowning lords from Paḷuvūr and beyond, and Brahmins, all considerably involved in the functioning of those monuments. The small size of Paḷuvūr with its hub of still-standing monuments thus provided an exceptionally clear overview of the possible relations between distinct temples, allowing us to fathom complexities related to temple sponsorship, organization, and functioning as well as the way those religious monuments, accruing wealth but enabling others gravitating around them to accrue merit and power, become the place for the fabrication of political discourses and powers, specific social configurations, and religious practices.

## APPENDIX I

# THE EPIGRAPHICAL CORPUS OF PAḶUVŪR

The inscriptions gathered in this Appendix are organized per temple and per façade, in chronological order for each façade. I have excluded from this Appendix the fragments which do not disclose significant information such as the name of a temple, of a god, the name of a donor, or any other possibly relevant character.

For each inscription, I have provided the following details: (a) name of the shrine bearing the inscription; (b) location of the inscription; (c) whether I have personally located and read the inscription *in situ* or not; (d) bibliographical references; (e) internal dating of the inscription; (f) possible identification of the Cōḷa king whose regnal year is used and tentative date of the inscription; (g) name of the person with whom I read the inscription, if any; (h) remarks.

I have adopted the following conventions for the editions, which I chose to make as diplomatic as possible: Roman letters are used for the transcription of the Tamil script and italics for the Grantha script; I have not restored the length of the vowels ‘e’ and ‘o’ in the edition, unmarked in the original epigraph, but I have restored them when the word appears in bracket in the translation; when the vowels ‘ī’ and ‘ū’ appear in the original text, they appear in the edition too, otherwise they appear in the translation only, as for the ‘e’ and ‘o’; I have marked initial vowels in the original text in the following manner ‘‘a, ‘‘e, ‘‘i, etc.; I have not supplied missing characters in the edition itself but restored the complete word in brackets in the translation only; I have kept in the edition eventual mistakes that appear on the stone; the square brackets signify that a character or a passage is not clearly legible; the double square brackets in the editions are used to mark a letter or a passage which was clear when it was established in an earlier edition but which is no longer legible; the double curly brackets in the translations signify that I restored the characters no longer legible or missing that may be safely inferred; the use of ‘/’ indicates two alternative readings; curly brackets mark a comment which is not a part of the original text; ellipsis points mark an illegible passage, for which I was not able to evaluate the number of missing letters; when I could evaluate the number of illegible characters, I have marked each of them with a ‘X’, but this, of course, remains tentative; ‘//’ indicates a change of surface, such as a pilaster, another wall section, etc.; ‘k.’ stands for the abbreviation used in the original text for the word *kaḷaṅcu*; for the sake of clarity, I have not indicated when my edition differs from previous ones, except for significant elements, for which the details are given in footnotes; I have excluded the *meḷkkīrttis* from the editions, and simply marked the lines they occupy.

I have taken a great care in locating and reading the inscriptions *in situ* to establish editions that are as accurate as possible. N. Ramaswamy Babu (EFEO) accompanied me in much of the fieldwork that I undertook and was of significant help. I then read a large number of the inscriptions of this corpus with Pr. G. Vijayavenugopal (EFEO), some of the inscriptions with Emmanuel Francis, and others with Nicolas Cane and Uthaya Velupillai. I have mentioned in the preamble of each inscription when I have read the

epigraph with any of them. All the mistakes in locating, editing, and translating found in this corpus are nevertheless entirely mine.

The translations are as literal as possible, rendering the uncertainties and approximations of the original text. The consequence of this choice is that the English text is often awkward and unclear. I have supplied in brackets and in italics the original word in the translation so that the reader can understand my choices of translation. I have kept the original words for units of measure in the translations: *mā*, *cey*, and *vēli* are measures of land; *kaḷaṅcu* is a small measure of weigh, often used for gold; *kalam*, *patakkū*, *nāli*, *kurūṇi*, *tūṇi*, *uḷakku*, and *uri* are measures of capacity; *kācu* is a unit of money.

## AVANIKANTARPA/AVANIGANDHARVA ĪŚVARAĠRHATTU MAHĀDEVA TEMPLE (AIM)

### SOUTHERN SHRINE

#### NORTHERN FAÇADE

#1. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) lowest inscription on the central wall section of the *ardha-maṅḍapa* of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 368; (e) 36th regnal year of *matirai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 943); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, N. Cane, U. Velupillai.

- (1) *svasti śrī* matirai koṅṭa kopparakecaripaṇmarki yā
- (2) ṇṭu 36 °āvatu °avaṇikaṅṭarṭapurattu mahadevark
- (3) ku kaṅṭaṅ ne[r/r]iyāṅ tirutta kuḷattin kil °apohanaṅ kiṅṭa
- (4) [ta *bhūmiyai* macakki °itin nir kiṅṭanta nilaXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX ri]
- (5) t[u °uṭu]mpotiy āmai tavaḷṅtatu °epperpaṭṭatu °uṅṇilam °olivinri[y]
- (6) [°aka]veriyum puṛaveriyum miṅaṇṇum vaḷaiyir curru °epperpaṭṭatum tāṇi[X]
- (7) [ya] X koṅṭu °iraṅṭu taḷiyilum °oro noṅṭāviḷakku °erippomāṅo X
- (8) °it X ḷi paṭṭuṭaiyom °eḷuvom

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 36th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. For Mahādeva of Avaniṅkaṅṭarṭapuram, Kaṅṭaṅ Neṛiyāṅ/Nēriyāṅ, when he improved (*tirutta*) [the land which] was lying (*kiṅṭanta*) without enjoyment (*apōhanaṅ*) under (*kīḷ*) [the irrigation] of the tank (*kuḷattin*), having prepared (*macakki*) the land (*bhūmiyai*) . . . the land where the turtles (*āmai*) crawl (*tavaḷṅtatu*) and the lizards (*uṭumpu*) run (*ōṭi*) (i.e. uncultivated lands), the inner lands (*uṅṇilam*) of whatever name (*epperpaṭṭatu*) were exempted (*olivinriya*), the *akavēriyum*, the *puṛavēriyum*, the *miṅaṇṇum*,<sup>1</sup> and whatever name

<sup>1</sup> Literally: the inner lake (*aka-v-ēri-y-um*), the outer lake (*puṛa-v-ēri-y-um*), and the gold that the fishes are (*miṅa-p-ponṇ-um*). The interpretation of the *miṅaṇṇum* was suggested to me by E. Francis. I did not translate the original words because it is not clear whether they refer to proper ponds and fishes, as their literal meanings suggest, or to types of lands and other elements. For similar expressions, see #7.



(*eppērpaṭṭatum*) inside [this land] (*vaḷaiyir curru*); having taken (*koṇṭu*) . . . , we will burn (*erippōmānō*{*m*}) a perpetual lamp respectively (*orō<sup>2</sup> nontāvilakku*) in the two temples (*iraṇṭu taḷiyilum*), we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple (*paṭṭuṭaiyōm*), we the Seven (*eḷuvōm*).<sup>3</sup>

#2. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) lowest inscription on the easternmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 369; (e) 36th regnal year of *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 943); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal and E. Francis.

- (1) *svasti śrī matirai koṇṭa kopparakecaripaṇmakki yāṇṭu*
- (2) 36 vatu kuṇṇarakūṇṇattu *devatānam* °*avanikaṇṭarparapurattu*
- (3) *mahadevarkku kurukāṭi kiḷāṇ* °*ūraṇ piṭāraṇ* °*ittali devatānam pa*
- (4) *cuṅkuḷattūr* °*apohaṇaṇ kiṭaṇṭa bhūmiyai macakki kuṭutta nirnila*
- (5) *m nāṅku māvum* [param] XX [macak] XI °*iraṇṭu māvum kalam taṅkāri macakka*
- (6) I °*iraṇṭu māvum* °*āka ni[la]m* °*eṭṭu māvum koṇṭu* °*itināl*
- (7) *vanta pokam koṇṭu* °*irav[u]m pakalu* °*iraṇṭu taḷiyilum* °*oro no*
- (8) *ntāvilakku* °*erippomānom* °*ittali paṭṭu* °*uṭaiyom eḷuvom*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 36th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. For Mahādeva of Avaniṅantarpapuram, a *devadāna* of Kuṇṇakkūṇṇam, the lord (*kiḷāṇ*) of Kurukāṭi, Ūraṇ Piṭāraṇ, after preparing (*macakki*) the land (*bhūmiyai*) which was lying (*kiṭaṇṭa*) without enjoyment (*apōhaṇam*) in Pacuṅkuḷattūr, a *devadāna* of this temple (*ittali*), gave (*kuṭutta*) four *mās* (*nāṅku māvum*) of wet land (*nirnilam*), two *mās* (*iraṇṭu māvum*) of prepared land (*macakkal*) . . . and two *mās* (*iraṇṭu māvum*) of prepared land (*macakkal*) [in Kalam Taṅkāri?]; having taken (*koṇṭu*) [these] eight *mās* (*eṭṭu māvum*) of land, having taken (*koṇṭu*) the produce (*pōkam*) which has come (*vanta*) from these (*itināl*), we will burn (*erippōmānōm*) one perpetual lamp respectively (*orō nontāvilakku*) in the two temples (*iraṇṭu taḷiyilum*), we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple (*ittali paṭṭu uṭaiyōm*), we the Seven (*eḷuvōm*).

#3. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the northern façade (above #4); (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) lost regnal year of *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, N. Cane, and U. Velupillai; (h) the end of the inscription is built over by a wall, rendering impossible a full translation.

- (1) *svasti śrī matirai koṇṭa kopparakecaripanma[rku] yāṇṭu* {built over}
- (2) *kuṇṇakkūṇṇattu tevatānam* °*avanikaṇṭarparapu* {built over}

<sup>2</sup> Instead of considering *oro* as a variant of *oru*, G. Vijayavenugopal convinced me to take *orō* as a distributive of *oru*, that is *oru oru*, i.e. one each.

<sup>3</sup> Paṭṭuṭaiyārs and eḷuvār each have a first-person plural marker (*-ōm*), suggesting that it could be taken as two separate groups, that is, the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs and the Seven, or as a single group, made of Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs. It makes more sense, in my view, to interpret this sequence which appears regularly in the inscriptions of this temple complex as the Seven Paṭṭuṭaiyārs.

- (3) *li śāsana baddha vaṇṇakkuṭaiya kallarai kollattil* {built over}  
 (4) *ttaiḷip paṭṭu °uṭaiyān °īśvara nakkaṇ vi[lai]koṇṭu* {built over}  
 (5) *raṇṇēn ittaḷi vaṇṇakku cetu kaṭamaip paṭ[ṭa] poṇṇukku* {built over}

Line 1: Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the . . . year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai.

Line 2: . . . Avaniṅantaṭṭapaṭṭa{{ram}}, a *devadāna* of Kuṇṇakkūṭṭam;

Line 3 is difficult to interpret:

1. *śāsana baddha*: bound by the charts;<sup>4</sup>
2. *vaṇṇakkuṭaiya*: who/which possesses (*uṭaiya*) the verification of the gold or the coins (*vaṇṇakku*);<sup>5</sup>
3. *kallarai* literally means ‘stone chamber’, usually associated with funerary disposal. Because Kallarai is also a part of the name of a donor of the Ālanturai Mahādeva temple (#96), I think it might refer here to the name of the donor;
4. *kollattil* may be interpreted in different ways: (1) in Kollam [not connected with *kallarai*], Kollam being the name of an ancient town in Kerala;<sup>6</sup> (2) Kallarai Kollam may be two parts of a toponym or of an anthroponym;

Line 4: the Paṭṭuṭaiyān of this temple, Īśvara Nakkaṇ, bought (*vilaikoṇṭu*) . . . ;

Line 5: I, . . . raṇ, having checked the gold (*vaṇṇakku cetu > ceytu*) of this temple (*ittaiḷi*) . . . , for the gold (*poṇṇukku*) which falls (*paṭṭa*) as *kaṭamai*-tax . . .

#4. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) lowest inscription on the westernmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the northern façade (below #3); (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) 38th (?) regnal year of *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 945); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal and E. Francis; (h) the end of the inscription is built over by a wall and the record is unfinished.

- (1) *svasti śrī*<sup>7</sup> // *matirai koṇṭak kopparakecaripanmakki yāṇṭu mu* {built over}  
 (2) °eṭṭā<sup>8</sup> °āvatu kuṇṇakkūṭṭattu °avanikaṅtaṭṭapa °īśvaḡṛhattu {built over}  
 (3) ṭai °ittaiḷi vaṇṇa {unfinished}

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the [38th] year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai . . . of the temple (*ḡṛhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Avaniṅantaṭṭapa (i.e. Kaṅtaṭṭapa upon earth), a *devadāna* of Kuṇṇakkūṭṭam, . . . the checking of coins and gold (*vaṇṇa* for unfinished *vaṇṇakku*?) of this temple (*ittaiḷi*) . . .

<sup>4</sup> This term is found in the lexicon established by Vijayavenugopal (2010: 348) and translated as “Share holders bound by the royal gift deed”.

<sup>5</sup> For the meaning of *vaṇṇakku*, “he who controls the quality of jewels and gold”, see the dictionary of Subbarayalu (2003: 534). The date of the first occurrence he gives is 1042. If it indeed refers to the same word, our *vaṇṇakku* would precede the one given by Subbarayalu.

<sup>6</sup> Kollam is also used to refer to an era, beginning in A.D. 824 and often used in Kerala (see Salomon 1998: 189–90).

<sup>7</sup> *svasti śrī* is added on the pilaster.

<sup>8</sup> The date is most probably 38: *mu*{*ppattu*} *eṭṭu āvatu*. Thus, we may supply about four letters at the end of each line of #3 and #4.

#5. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) middle inscription on the central wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 365; SII 13, no. 208; (e) 10th regnal year of Kōrājakesarivarman; (f) probably Sundaracōḷa (c. A.D. 967); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, N. Cane, and U. Veluppillai.

- (1) *svasti śrī* ko °irācacecarivanmaṛku yāṅṭu 10 °āvatu paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar
- (2) maṛavaṅ kaṅṭaṅār °avanikandhavvapurattu maṅrupātu °epperpaṭṭatu paṅ
- (3) ṭai nantipuramaṛṛāṭiye koḷka °eṅṛaruliḥceyya kaḷliṅ mel ve
- (4) ṭṭikkollaḷ perrār °avanikandhavvapurattu nakarattār ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōrājakesarivarman. When Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅār graciously ordered (lit. having said, graciously made, *eṅṛu-aruliḥceyya*): “take (*koḷka*) the tax collection (*maṅrupātu*) of whatever name (*eppērppaṭṭatu*) of Avanikandhavvapuram, the old (*paṅṭai*) Nantipuram being otherwise (*maṛru*) the model (*āṭiyē*), the Nagarattārs of Avanikandhavvapuram obtained (*perrār*) to get [it] engraved (*veṭṭi-kolla*) on stone (*kaḷliṅ mēl*).

#6. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) middle inscription on the easternmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 367; SII 13, no. 215; (e) 11th regnal year of Kōrājakesarivarman; (f) probably Sundaracōḷa (c. A.D. 968); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, N. Cane, and U. Veluppillai; (h) this inscription may have been engraved after the one below (#2): its line 7 is tightly engraved, and lines 8 to 11 continue on the pilaster, probably because there was not enough space below; the content of this inscription is also connected to #24, which is damaged but has a similar structure and in which the same *vēḷaṅ* is mentioned.

- (1) *svasti śrī* ko °irācacecar[i]vamaḷku yāṅṭu 11 °āvatu °aṭikaḷ paḷuvēṭṭarai
- (2) yar maṛavaṅ kaṅṭaṅārkkū karaṃpi[ya]ṅ paṛāntakaṅāna karuviṭaipperarai
- (3) yaṅ viṅṅappam °emperumāḷ paḷuvūr °i[ra]ṅṭu taḷi patiyump pātāmūlamum °iraṅṭu nagaramu
- (4) m paṅṅniraṅṭu kalaṅaiyum maṛru[m] °epperppaṭṭāriyūmṅ kiḷpaṭa kalpaṭṭa
- (5) maṅrupātuṃ mel maṅruvaṅavum ma[r]rum °epperppaṭṭānavum paṅṭai nantipurama
- (6) [rā]ṭiye koṅṭaruḷuvatu °eṅṛu viṅṅap[pa]ṅ ceyya nāmum paṅṭai nantipuramaṛṛutiye
- (7) koḷkaveṅṛu tattan[ū]r kiḷavaṅ vēḷāṅ [c]iṅṭāmaṅikkū śrī mu[ka]m va[ra ca] nṛāṭit[[taval niṛkka ka]]llil // mel veṭṭik {the next lines are only on the pilaster}
- (8) koṅṭom
- (9) °iraṅṭu taḷipa
- (10) tiyūm pātamu
- (11) lattom

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 11th year of Kōrājakesarivarman. [This is] the request (*viṅṅappam*) of Karaṃpiyaṅ Paṛāntakaṅ alias Karuviṭaipperararaiyaṅ to Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅār. Saying (*eṅṛu*): “the above tax collection (*mēl maṅruvaṅavum*) and whatever name besides [these] (*maṛrum eppērppaṭṭānavum*) and the tax collection (*maṅrupātuṃ*) on stone (*kalpaṭṭa*) below (*kiḷpaṭa*) [from] the Pātāmūlams of the whole place with two shrines (*iraṅṭu taḷi patiyūm pātāmūlamum*)

of Paḷuvūr of our Lord (*emperumāḷ*), the two Nagarams (merchant towns), the twelve groups (*kaḷaṇai*), and anyone with whatever name besides [them] (*marrum eppēppaṭṭāriyūm*) [is] that which is graciously taken (*koṇṭaruḷuvatu*), the old (*paṇṭai*) Nantipuram being otherwise (*marru*) the model (*ātiyē*), he made the request (*viṇṇappaṇ ceyya*). To Vēḷaṇ Ciṅtāmaṇi, lord (*kiḷavaṇ*) of Tattaṇūr, the royal order (*śrīmukam*) came (*vara*): “We also (*nānum*) take (*koḷka*), the old (*paṇṭai*) Nantipuram being otherwise (*marru*) the model (*ātiyē*); we, the Pātāmūlams (*pātāmūlattōm*) of the whole place with two temples, have to engrave (*veṭṭi koṇṭōm*) on the stone (*kalliḷ mēl > kallil mēl*) so that it stays (*nirṅka*) as long as the sun and the moon last.

#7. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the wall section immediately to the west of the niche of Brahmā, northern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 371; SII 13, no. 227; (e) 12th regnal year of Kōrājakesarivarman; (f) Cōḷa king unidentified; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, N. Cane, and U. Velupillai.

- (1) {blank space} *svasti śrī ko °irājake[ca]*
- (2) *ripaṇmaṅku yāṇṭu 12 °āvatu kuṇṅakkūr*
- (3) *ṛattu devadāṇam °avanikandha[r]vva °īśvaraḅṛhattu mahā*
- (4) *devarkku °ivvūr mallan ātittaṅ kuḷam °apohanaṅ*
- (5) *kiṭanta bhumiyai paḷavūrc caṅkarappāṭi mallan caṅ*
- (6) *karaṅ °ikkuḷamuṅ kalli kaḷanayūṅ kalli vaitta viḷa*
- (7) *kku °oṅṛu °ivviḷakku °oṅṛum °ikkuḷattiṅ poka[n] X*
- (8) *[ka]veriyum puṛaveriyil [[kaḷaniyaḷ]]<sup>9</sup> pokaṅ koṇṭu*
- (9) *canṛātittavat °iravum pakal[um] °oru noṅṭaviḷakku °eri*
- (10) *ppomānom °ittaḷi paṭṭuṭaiyom °eḷuvo*
- (11) *m °ikkuḷattiṅ miṇaṭai po[[ak] kuḷattile kalluvatā*
- (12) *kavum °itu paṇṅmāheśvara rakṣai ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōrājakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of the temple (*ḅṛhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Avānikandharvva, a *devadāna* of Kuṇṅakkūrṅam; the tank Mallan Ātittaṅ of this village [and] the land which lies (*kiṭanta*) without enjoyment (*apōhanam*); Caṅkarappāṭi (oilmonger) Mallan Caṅkaraṅ of Paḷuvūr (*paḷavūr > paḷuvūr*), having cleared (*kalli*) this tank (*ikkuḷamum*) and having cleared (*kalli*) the field (*kaḷanayum*), gave (*vaitta*) one lamp (*viḷakku oṅṛu*); [for] this one lamp (*ivviḷakku oṅṛum*); having taken (*koṇṭu*) the produce (*pōkaṅ*) of this tank (*ikkuḷattiṅ*) [and] the produce (*pōkaṅ*) of the land (*kaḷaniyaḷ?*)<sup>10</sup> in the *akavēri* (*{a}kavēri*) and the *puṛavēri*,<sup>11</sup> we will burn (*erippōmāṅōm*) a perpetual lamp night and day as long as the sun and the moon endure, we, the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple (*ittaḷi*), we the Seven (*eḷuvōm*); we must clear (*kalluvatākavum*) in the tank (*kuḷattilē*), in order to dig (*poḷḷa*) [for] an elevated (*mī*) road/bank (*naṭai/aṭai*) of this tank (*ikkuḷattiṅ*). This is under the protection of the Paṇṅmāheśvaras.

<sup>9</sup> This word, which appears in the edition of SII, is no longer legible.

<sup>10</sup> The meaning of *kaḷaniyaḷ* remains unclear to me. It may come from *kaḷaṇi*, which means paddy field or agricultural tracts.

<sup>11</sup> For these expressions, see #1.

#8. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) upper inscription, on the eastern and middle wall sections of the northern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, engraved over the two consecutive wall sections; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 370; SII 13, no. 236; (e) 12th regnal year opposite to one of Kōrājakesarivarman; (f) probably Sundaracōḷa (c. A.D. 969); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī ko °irājakecaripanmakku yā[ṇṭu] // 12 °āvati [n]etirāmāṇṭu kuṇṛakkūrṛattu deva[dā]*
- (2) *ṇam °avaṇikandhavva °īśvaragrhattu devaka // [n]mikaḷomum patipātamulattomum paṭṭuṭaiyomum*
- (3) *camaiyattomu maṛṛum [°i]ttaḷi paṅkuṭaiyom °epper // paṭṭomum °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar maṛavaṇ*
- (4) *kaṇṭanār °aruḷice[yyu]m poykaikkuṟuviṭattu ve // ṭṭa[kku]ṭaiyāṇ kovintaṇ kaṭampaṇukku kuṭinikkā deva*
- (5) *tānamāka cantrātittavaṛ kāṇice[yti] kuṭutta n[i]lam °ittaḷi teva // dānam viṛaikkūrṛattu pacuṅkuḷattūr ve[ṭṭapperu][[ṇap]]*
- (6) *paṭa nilam °irupattunāl veliyālum veli nūrṛirupa[t]iṇ [ka]lam // [[kāṇikkakaṭāṇāka vaṇṭa]] nellu °i[ruṇṭāyirattu eṇṇūrṛu °e]*
- (7) *ṇpa[ti]ṇ kalamum tiruvaivāraṇoṭokku marakkālāl [kār] pātiy[u]m // picāṇam pātiyom vāṭākkakaṭāṇ °enkaḷ taraviṇāley pacuṅkuḷattūri*
- (8) *ley [°aḷa]ppa[t]ākavum ivvūr viḷakkeṇṇaic cey muṇṇu kalmel ve // [[ṭṭi][ṇa]nikki °uṇṇilam o[ḷi]viṇṇi vaḷaiyil cuṛṛu °uṭumpoṭi y[ā]maitava*
- (9) *ḷnta [ni]lamuṛṛum kāraṅkiḷamai °uṭpaṭa [ciṛṛiṛai] ciṛupaṅkum °ivaṇe // y peṛuvataḷakavum avurk<sup>12</sup> kaḷaṅcum perumāl koḷḷil kovintaṇ kaṭampaṇe*
- (10)<sup>13</sup> *X X X X tākavuvu kulaiyuṅ kurampuṅ ceyvatākavu[m] X X p[er]ppaṭṭatum [°i]tt[ā] // kavum °iṛukka va[ṇṭa] X ṇa/ḷa tu °enkaḷaic collātey iṛuttuk ka[ṭa]mayile*
- (11) *y vaiccuk koḷḷap peṛuvataḷakavum cāsaṇam peṛruṭai[yā]r peṛuvatellā // m peṛuvataḷakavum °ipparicu cantrātittavat kuṭinikkā devadāna[mākak kā]ṇi*
- (12) *ceytu kuṭuttom veṭṭakkuṭaiyāṇ kovintaṇ kaṭampaṇu[k]ku devakanmikaḷomum // m patipātamulatto[mu]m paṭṭuṭaiyomum camaiyattomu maṛṛum °ittaḷi paṅku[ṭ]ai*
- (13) *[yo]mum °iva[kaḷ] paṇi[kka] °e[ḷ]u[ti]ṇeṇ ivuvūr madhyastaṇ °eṛa[ṇ] maḷavāṭiyāṇa bra // hmapṛyane[ṇ] °ivai [°eṇ] °eḷuttu ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year opposite to one (*etirāmāṇṭu*) of Kōirājakesarivarman. Of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Avaṇikandhavva, a *devadāna* of Kuṇṛakkūrṛam, we the Devakanmis (*devakanmikaḷom*), we the Patipātamūlams (*patipātamūlamōmum*), we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs (*paṭṭuṭaiyōmum*), we the Camaiyārs (*camaiyattōmum*),<sup>14</sup> and, besides (*maṛṛum*), whoever (*eppēppaṭṭōmum*) have shares in this temple (*ittaḷi paṅkuṭaiyōm*); Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭanār graciously ordered (*aruḷceyyum*, lit. graciously made); to Veṭṭakkuṭaiyāṇ Kovintaṇ Kaṭampaṇ of

<sup>12</sup> I cannot make any sense of this word and do not see what it can refer to.

<sup>13</sup> This line was omitted in the edition of SII. It is quite damaged.

<sup>14</sup> Devakanmis or Tēvakanmis: those who perform the religious duty of god/officials of god/temple officials; Patipātamūlam: the root of the feet of the Lord/priests/officials of the main shrine;

Poykaikkuruviṭam, without removing the labourers (*kuṭi nikkā*),<sup>15</sup> as a *devadāna*, having made [it] into a *kāṇi* as long as the sun and the moon endure, a land was given (*kuṭutta nilam*); the land (*nilam*) which falls (*paṭa*) in Veṭṭapeṟu[ṇam], in Pacuṅkuḷattūr of Viṟaikkūrṟam, a *devadāna* of this temple, for 120 *kalams* per *vēli* for all 24 *vēlis*, [equal to] 2,880 *kalams* of paddy (*nellu*) accrued (*vaṅta > vanta*) as land-tax (*kāṇikkaṭaṅāka*), we will have to measure (*aḷappatākavum*) in Pacuṅkuḷattūr from our own (*eṅkaḷ*) tax collection (*taraviṅālēy*) the *vāṭākkāṭaṅ*-tax [for] half (*pātiyūm*) of the rainy season (*kār*) and half of the non-rainy season (*picāṇam pātiyūm*) with the [standard] stone measure (*marakkālāl*) Tiruvaṅyāraṅ (*tiruvaṅyāraṅoṭokku*); having removed (*nikki*) what was engraved (*veṭṭina*) on the stone (*kaḷ mēl*) before (*munṇu*) [about] the land (*cey*) [for] lamp oil (*viḷakkeṅṅai*) of this village (*ivvūr*), having exempted (*oḷiviri*) the inner lands (*uṅṅilam*), the complete (*murṟum*) uncultivated (lit. where the turtles (*āmai/yāmai*) crawl (*tavaḷnta*) and the lizards (*uṭumpu*) run (*ōṭi*)) lands (*nila*) being included (*curru*, lit. surrounded) in the circle (*vaḷaiyil*), he himself (*avaṅē*) must obtain (*peruvatākavum*) the small share tax (*cirupaṅkum*), the *cirirai*-tax, including (*uḷpaṭa*) the *kārāṅkiḷamai*-tax, Kovintaṅ Kaṭampaṅ himself (*kaṭampaṅē*), if the Lord (Perumāl > the king? the god?) gets (*koḷḷil*) all the gold (*kalaṅcum*); . . . grouping (*kulaiyūm*) and bunds (*kurampum*) must be made (*ceyvātākavum*) and that of whatever name (*eppēpaṭṭatum*) has to be placed (*ittākavum?*); do not tell us (*eṅkaḷaic collātiyē*) . . . which has come (*vanta*) to pay (*irukka*); having paid (*iruttu*), having placed (*vaiccu*) the *kaṭamai*-tax, [they/we?] must obtain (*peruvatākavum*) so that [they/we] take (*koḷḷa*); they/we must obtain (*peruvatākavum*) all they/we obtain (*peruvatu-ellām*) for those who get (*perruṭaiyār*) this order (*cāsaṅam*). In this manner (*ipparicu*), as long as the sun and the moon endure (*cantrātittavat*), without removing the labourers (*kuṭi nikkā*), as a *devadāna*, having made a *kāṇi*, we gave (*kuṭuttōm*) to Veṭṭakkuṭaiyāṅ Kovintaṅ Kaṭampaṅ, we the Devakaṅmis, we the Patipātāmūlams, we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs, we the Camaiyars, and whoever has shares in this temple besides [these]. When they (*ivaḷ*) ordered (*paṅikka*), I have written (*eḷuttinēṅ*), I the Madhyasthan of this village (*ivvūr > ivvūr*), Eraṅ Maḷavaṭi alias Brahmaṇṇyan, I have written these (*ivai*).

#9. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the northern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 366; SII 19, no. 402; (e) 16th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) perhaps Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 987); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* [ko][[ppara]]keca
- (2) *ripanmaṅkku yāṅṅu* 16
- (3) °āvatu kuṅṅakkūrṟattu teva

Paṭṭuṭaiyārs: some kind of priests or temple officials; Camaiyars: those of the religious creed (*camayam*)/the religious ones/those of the religious textbooks.

<sup>15</sup> It is not settled whether there is a physical eviction of the previous tenants or if only their rights were revoked. On this question, see Tirumalai (1987: 93–98); Veluthat (2012: 160, 229–230). Heitzman (1997: 70–74) presents this term as “the former cultivators excluded” (*kuṭi nikkā*) and “without the exclusion of the cultivators” (*kuṭi nikkā*).

- (4) tām °avaṇikantarva °īśvagr̥ha  
 (5) ttu m̄hādevaṛkku °ittali  
 (6)<sup>16</sup> tevaṇār makaḷ nakka X ai natiri ma  
 (7) kaḷ nakkaṇ kaṇṭa pirāṭṭi °ittali  
 (8) tevatānam po[ykai]nāṭṭu [°ū]<sup>17</sup>  
 (9) kaṇkuṭi °apohanaṇ kiṭanta bhū  
 (10) miyai kalli macakki kuṭutta [ṇir ṇi]  
 (11) lam °iraṇṭu pū viḷaiyak kuṭutta nila  
 (12) m ṇāṇāṅkumā °iṇṇāṅku māvuṇ  
 (13) koṇṭu °itiṇil °iraṇṭu pūvum  
 (14) viḷainta bhogaṇ koṇṭu °o  
 (15) ru nontāviḷakku cantrātittava  
 (16) l °erippommānom °ittali  
 (17) p paṭṭai[yom °eluvom]  
 (18) °itu panmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 16th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Mahādeva (*māhādeva* > *mahādeva*) of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Avaṇikantarva, a *devadāna* (*tēvatām* > *tēvatānam*) of Kuṇṛakkūṛram, the daughter of god (*tēvaṇār makaḷ*) of this temple (*ittali*), daughter (*makaḷ*) of Nakka . . . ai Natiri, Nakkaṇ Kaṇṭa Pirāṭṭi,<sup>18</sup> having cleared (*kalli*) and transformed (*macakki*) the land (*bhūmiyai*) which was lying (*kiṭanta*) without enjoyment (*apōhanam*) in Ūkaṇkuṭi in Poykaināṭu, a *devadāna* of this temple, she gave (*kuṭutta*); she gave (*kuṭutta*) four *mās* of land for producing (*viḷaiya*) two crops (*pū*) of wet land (*ṇir nilam* > *nir nilam*); having taken (*koṇṭu*) all these four *mās* (*iṇṇāṅku māvuṇ*), having taken (*koṇṭu*) the produce (*bhogaṇ*) yielded (*viḷainta*) in the two crops (*pū*) of this [land of four *mās*] (*itiṇil* > *itaṇil*), we the Paṭṭaiyārs (*paṭṭaiyōm* > *paṭṭaiyōm*) of this temple, we the Seven (*eluvōm*), will burn (*erippōmānōm*), as long as the sun and moon endure, one perpetual lamp. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#10. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the northern façade of the sanctuary, on the two consecutive wall sections on the eastern side of the niche of Brahmā; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 364; SII 13, no. 153; (e) 6th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; identified with Gaṇḍarāditya by Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 62–63) and Balambal (1978: 183); identified with Rājarāja I in SII; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) inscription similar to #34.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirāca* // [[kesaripan]] // makku yāṇṭu 6 °āvatu kuṇṛakku  
 (2) ṛrattu devatānam °ava // nikantar // ppa °īśvagr̥hattu tenvāyi śrī  
 (3) koyil mahādevaṛku °it[t]a // ḷi teva // ṇār makaḷār piḷḷai ceramāṇār [d]e  
 (4) viyār ṇakkaṇ °akkāra naṇ // kaiyār ca // ntrādittavar °iravum pakalum °eri [vai]  
 (5) tta ṇondāviḷakku °onriṇuk // ku paṭi °uḷa // kkiṇāl nicatam °uḷakku peyy eriya  
 (6) vaitta poṇ 12 m paṇṇi // ru kaḷāṅcu °i // vviḷakkeriya vaitta [ti]rāviḷakko

<sup>16</sup> Lines 6 and 7, containing the name of the donor, were omitted in the edition of SII.

<sup>17</sup> Ūkaṇkuṭi may also be read Urakaṇkuṭi.

<sup>18</sup> Pirāṭṭi can mean Lady, in which case her name could be translated as Lady Nakkaṇ Kaṇṭa. However, it can also imply that she is the wife of Nakkaṇ Kaṇṭa.

- (7) [[ṇṛu]] ṇirai 215<sup>19</sup> °iruppunā // rāyam °u // [l]paṭa ce[ruvi]ṭaiyāl 215 °itu pa  
 (8) *nmāyeśvara rakṣai*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 6th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of the holy shrine (*śrīkōyil*) of the southern side (*tenvāyi* > *tenvāyil*) of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*iśvara*) [of] Avānikantarppa, a *devadāna* of Kuṇṛakkūṛram, the daughter of god (*tēvaṇār makaḷār*) of this temple (*ittalī*), wife/queen (*deviyār*) of Piḷḷai Cēramāṇār, Nakkaṇ Akkāra Naṅkaiyār, gave (*vaitta*) to burn (*eri* > *eriya*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the moon and the sun last (*canṛādittavar*), one perpetual lamp (*nondāvilakku onṛinukku*); [she] placed (*vaitta*) 12 *kalañcus* of gold (*pon*) to burn (*eriya*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicatam*) with this *uḷakku*-measure (*paṭi uḷakkiṇāl*); for this lamp to burn (*ivviḷakkeriya*), [she] gave (*vaitta*) 215 standard weigh (*ṇirai*) for one standing lamp (*tirāviḷakkoṇru*), 215 by the *ceruviṭai* measure (*ceruviṭaiyāl*) including (*ulpaṭa*) iron (*iruppu*) and led (*nārāyam*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#11. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the base of the northern façade of the sanctuary and the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, begins below the niche of Brahmā; four lines are engraved on the round part of the base (*kumuda*), and six lines on the flat lower part of the base (*jagati*); (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 372; (e) 15th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uṭaiyar Śrī Rājendracōladeva; (f) Rājendracōla I (c. A.D. 1027); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, N. Cane, and U. Veluppillai; (h) *meykkīrtti* of Rājendracōla, lines 1 to 6; because the inscription is built over at the end, I cannot give a continuous translation.

- (1–5) *svasti śrī {meykkīrtti}*  
 (6) {end of the *meykkīrtti* below the easternmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, in its middle} kopparake[sa]rivanmarāna °uṭaiyar *śrīrājentrira* {blank space} cōladevaṛkku yāṇṭu 15 °āvatu vaṭakarai °uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṇṭu[k] kuṇṛakkūṛrattup paḷuvūr nakarattom nampirāṭṭiyār mukkoṛkiḷān aṭikaḷ {built over}  
 (7) laṅkai makaṇ comāṇṇ puvaniyaip paṭak kuttip ponav araṅkaṇ paṭṭaṇai nāṅkaḷ avaṇai pokāmey // {broken} ṇ pu[va] // niyai {broken} ti nakarattom paḷuvūr pakaiviṭaiy iśvarattu *mahādevarkku* pakalum °iravu cantirāti {blank space} ttaval °eriya vaitta tirunot[ā]<sup>20</sup>viḷakku °oṇṛu vaittum °araṅkaṇ paṭṭaṇaik kaṇṭāl kaṇṭārēy kilākka peṇvatākavum paḷuvūr nakarattom tirunontāvilak {built over}  
 (8) tuṅ koṇṭu °ittevatānam °iṇṇāṭṭu pakaiviṭai *catuvvetimaṅkalattu* kuḷa maṭai kuḷapaṭṭuk kiṭakka °i // {broken} [kku]ḷaṅ // kalli °iv[vū]r aṭuttu mutalāy k kūṭi varum nellile[y] [ °ā]ṇṭu varai tevakālāl muppatiṅ kala nel {blank space} luk koṇṭu °ittirunontāviḷa X °erikkakkaṭavomānom °ikkoyil kāṇiyuṭaiya *śivabrāhmaṇar* nālvom paḷuvūr vaḷaiñciyarum caṅkarappāṭiyāru[m] {built over}

<sup>19</sup> We read °uḷ *karu* on the stone. However, G. Vijayavenugopal suggested to me that it corresponds to the number 215 written in letters (°u for 2; l for 100; k for 1; ru for 5). I followed his suggestion, since it works very well with the end of the line, where the same number is given in numbers.

<sup>20</sup> After this word, the line continues a little higher. The stones are not properly aligned.



- (9) vūr caṅkarappāṭiyāṅ X kumiḷi manappaṅai kāṅāk kol paṭṭu °ivaṅ paṭṭamaiyil [ca] X ṅap paṭa [°ey]cārai °ariyā X // {broken} [kumiḷi][i] manappaṅaic cāt // ti paḷuvūr vaḷaiñci[ya]rom °ivvūr °amani[gandha]vva °iśvarattu mahādevaṅkku °iravum pakalum °eriya {blank space} vaitta nontāviḷakku °oṅṛiṅu[kku] vaitta kācu 50 °ikkācu °aiṅpatum koṅṭu °ittevar tevatānam kaṅṭaṅ °eriyāna dirttak kuḷatte kalli muṅpu X riñcu varuki {built over}{built over}
- (10) X X X cantrādittavar °erikkakaṭavomānom °ittalik kāṅiyuṭaiya paṭṭuṭaiyom °eḷuvom kumiḷi man X // X ṅ muṅpu ceytu varuki[ṅ] // [ra] maṅaikālum °itukkupaṭum na[ṅ]ceyum puṅceyum °ivaṅ maṅavāṭṭikkum °iva {blank space} ṅavaṅkattākkum cantrā X X var °i[ko]yili ce[y]tu kuṭuttom paḷuvūr nakarattom

Fortune! Prosperity! {meykkīrtti}

Line 6: [This is] the 15th year of Kōpparakesarivarman alias Lord (uṭaiyar) Śrī Rājendracōladeva. We the Nagarattārs (nakarattōm) of Paḷuvūr of Kuṅṛakkūṛram of the Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅaṭu on the northern bank (vaṭakarai), our queen (nampirāṭṭiyār) Mukkoṅkilāṅ Aṭika<sup>21</sup> . . .

Line 7: Having pierced (kutti) so that the son (maṅaṅ) of . . . laṅkai, Cōmaṅ Puvani, dies (paṭa), he went (pōna); we (nāṅkaḷ) will not let him (avaṅai) go (pokāmēy), [he] Araṅkaṅ Paṭṭaṅ [the murderer]; [on behalf of? {cāt}{ti?}] . . . Puvani, we the Nagarattārs (nakarattōm), for Mahādeva of the Lord (iśvarattu) of Pakaiviṭai of Paḷuvūr, [we] gave (vaitta) to burn (eriya) day and night, as long as the sun and the moon endure; one (oṅṛu) perpetual lamp (tirunontāviḷakku > tirunontāviḷakku) was placed (vaittum); if one sees (kaṅṭāl) Araṅkaṅ Paṭṭaṅ, those who have seen him (kaṅṭārēy) have to inform (kilākka > kiḷākka<sup>22</sup> peruvatākavum) {other possible interpretation: must get him (peruvatākavum) so that he is afflicted (kilākka from kilāy)}; we the Nagarattārs of Paḷuvūr . . . a sacred perpetual lamp (tirunontāviḷak) . . .

Line 8: Having taken (koṅṭu) . . . ; the sluice (maṭai) of the tank (kuḷam) of Pakaiviṭai-caturvedimaṅgalam of this nāṭu (innāṭṭu) of this devadāna (ittevatānam), having fallen (paṭṭu) in the tank (kuḷa), was lying (kiṭakka); having dug (kalli) the tank (kuḷaṅ); having taken (koṅṭu) thirty (muppatin) kalams (kala > kalam) of paddy (nellu) by the measure Tēvakāl for one year (āṅṭu varai), from the paddy (nellilēy) which came (varum) gathered (kūṭi) as capital (mutalāy) in the name of (aṭuttu, lit. having joined, having come near) of this village, we will have to burn (erikkakkaṭavomānōm) this perpetual lamp (ittirunontāviḷakku), we the four (nālvōm) Śivabrahmaṅas who possess (uṭaiya) the kāṅi of this temple (ikkōyil), the Vaḷaiñciyars (for Vaḷaiñciyar, a merchant guild) of Paḷuvūr and the oilmongers (caṅkarappāṭiyārum) . . .

Line 9: . . . Kumiḷi Manappaṅ, the oilmonger (caṅkarappāṭiyāṅ) of {{Paḷuvūr/this town (... vūr)}, having fallen (paṭṭu) [under] an unseen (kāṅā) stick (kol); since he (avaṅ) died (paṭṭamaiyil), without knowing (ariyā . . .) those who aimed (eycārai > eytārai) when . . . fell (paṭa), on behalf (cātti) of Kumiḷi Manappaṅ, we the Vaḷaiñciyars of Paḷuvūr, to Mahādeva of the Lord (iśvarattu) [of] Amanigandhavva (amani > avani) of this village (ivvūr), gave (vaitta) to burn (eriya) night and day;

<sup>21</sup> The same queen appears in #22. She seems to be the wife of Rājendracōla.

<sup>22</sup> This interpretation was proposed by G. Vijayavenugopal.

fifty *kācus* were given (*vaitta*) for one perpetual lamp; having taken (*koṇṭu*, i.e. with) these fifty *kācus*, having dug (*kalli*) the *tīrtha* tank (*dirṭta kuḷattē* > *tīrṭta kuḷattē*) alias the tank (*eriyāna* > *ēriyāna*) Kaṇṭaṇ [in] the *devadāna* of this god (*ittēvar*); . . . which has come (*varuki*{*nra*}) . . . before (*munṇu*) . . .

Line 10: . . . as long as the sun and the moon endure, we will have to burn (*erikkakaṭavōmānōm*), we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs (*paṭṭuṭaiyōm*), we the Seven (*eḷuvōm*), who possess (*uṭaiya*) a *kāni* of this temple (*ittali*); Kumili Man{{appa}}ṇ having made (*ceytu*) [a deed?] earlier (*munṇu*), having made (*ceytu*) tax-free (*iraiyilil*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, to the wife (*manavāṭṭikkum*) of he (*ivaṇ*), and to his wife's brother (*ivaṇ avarkku-attākkum*),<sup>23</sup> the houses (*maṇaikālum* > *maṇaikaḷum*?) which have come (*varukinra*), and the wetlands (*naṇceyum*) and the dry lands (*puṇceyum*) which fall (*paṭum*) to this (*itukku*, i.e. along with the houses?), we the Nagarattārs of Paḷuvūr have given (*kuṭuttōm*) . . .

### EASTERN FAÇADE

#12. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) engraved across the two wall sections on the northern side of the niche of Skanda on the eastern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 363; (e) 15th regnal year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 1000); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, N. Cane, and U. Veluppillai; (h) *meykkīrtti* of Rājarāja I from lines 1 to 5.

(1–5) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}

- (6) kovirājarājarāja[keca]ripanmaṅku yāṇṭu 15 °āvatu // kuṇṛakkūrṛattu tevatā
- (7) X m avāṇiyanta XX [śvara]ttu °iraṇṭu śrikoyi // l mahādevaṅkum °itta
- (8) li tevar makaḷ na XX periya °araṅkapirāṇ makaḷ // nakkaṇ kumarakkaṇ °itte
- (9) var tevatānam [po] X kaiyāṇṭu °ūkaṅkuṭi °apo // hanam kiṭanta *bhumiya*
- (10) °iraṇṭu puvum [va] XX t tirutti °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭarai<sup>24</sup> // yar kaṇṭaṇ maṇavaṇār °a
- (11) {cement} // XXX [ṇā]ya[ttu] tiṅkaḷ *sa*
- (12) {damaged} *sam*[kr]ānti potu tiṅkaḷ toru // m °amutu ceyya °oro
- (13) {damaged} tu °arici XX kuttal *de* // varnāliyaḷ nā ṇāliya
- (14) {damaged} māka °arici kuṇṇiyāka °eṭṭu // ttiṅkaḷ nālikaḷ °arici
- (15) {damaged} [°ap]pikai viṣuvukku °iruvadeva[rkku] // mc citti[r]ai viṣuvukku
- (16) m [°uttara] XX [X] [kkum] X [°uṇṇa]maya XX // ttukkumāka [°a/8] XX tū<sup>25</sup>ṇi
- (17) [yu]m °oro *deva*[r]ku kaṇi °amutukku nāli nā // liyu ney amutukku nāli
- (18) nāliyum tayir XX kku nāli nāliyum °a // ṭaikkāy amutukku nāli
- (19) nāliyum °aka nel[lu] kuṇṇiyāka °āṇṭu va // rai kalamumāka tiruvamu
- (20) °arici nāṇṇiṇi °uḷpṭaṇa nelli nākka // laṇe tūṇiyum °ik<sup>26</sup>
- (21) koyil kaṇavatiya[r]kku °arici °irunāli tiruvamu // tukku tiṅkaḷ °aṇṇāliyaḷ
- (22) nelli °e[lu] XX i nā nāliyum °iva[cata]kku<sup>27</sup> // cattakūli kalattuvāy ku
- (23) {cement} // {cement} t[ū]ṇi nā
- (24) ṇālikkum na[kkaṇ] kumarakkaṇ kalli macakki // kuṭutta nilam X °oru mā

<sup>23</sup> *attāṇ* has many meanings and refers to different possible relationships: father's sister's son; maternal uncle's son when elder; wife's brother; elder sister's husband.

<sup>24</sup> The *-ai* is on this side of the wall section, and the *-r* is engraved after the pilaster.

<sup>25</sup> The *tū* is written like *tura*. Same for the *rū* and the *tū* in line 20.

<sup>26</sup> The first part of the *-o* is at the end of this line.

<sup>27</sup> There is no meaning for this word. My reading is perhaps wrong.

- (25) [mun]nilam kaikkoṅṭom devarkaṅmi // kaḷom °innivantam cev  
 (26) vi[tam/tom] nām °itu panmāheśvara rakṣai

{meykkīrtti} [This is] the 15th year of Kōvirājarājarājesarivarman. To Mahādeva of the two (*iraṅṭu*) holy temples (*śrīkōyil*) of the Lord ({{i}}śvarattu) of Avaṅikantarppa (*avanīyanta*{{rppa}} > *avanīkanta*{{rppa}}), a *devadāna* (*tēvatā*{{na}}*m*) of Kuṅṅrakkūṅṅam, the daughter of god (*tēvar makaḷ*) of this temple (*ittali*), daughter (*makaḷ*) of Na. . .periya Arāṅkapirāṅ, Nakkaṅ Kumarakkaṅ, having renovated (*tirutti*) . . . two complete crops (*iraṅṭu pūvum*) [for] the land (*bhūmiyai*) which lies (*kiṭanta*) without enjoyment (*apōhanam*) in Ūkaṅkuṭi of Poykaināṭu, a *devadāna* of this god (*ittēvar*), . . . Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṅaṅ Maṅavaṅār . . .,<sup>28</sup> for making (*ceyya*) holy food (*amutu*) every (*tōrum*) month (*tiṅkaḷ*) on each time (*pōtu*) on Saṅkrānti . . . as (*āka*) . . . four *nālis* (*nā nāliyāl*), by the *tēvarnāli* [measure], of pounded rice (*arici* . . . *kuttal?*); . . . eight *kuruniṅis* (*kuruniyāka*) of rice (*arici*) for the day (*nālaiṅku*) of the month (*tiṅkaḷ*) . . . for the Appikaiviṅṅu day . . . rice (*arici*) . . . for the two gods (*iruvadevarkku*) for Cittiraiviṅṅu day, . . .; one *nāli* (*nāli nāliyum*) for vegetable food offerings (*kaṅṅi amutu*) for each god (*orō devarku*); one *nāli* (*nāli nāliyum*) for ghee food offerings (*ney-amutukku*); one *nāli* (*nāli nāliyum*) for curd food offerings (*tayir-a*{{mutu}}*kku*); one *nāli* (*nāli nāliyum*) for areca nut food offerings (*aṭaiṅkāy-amutukku*); as [one] *kuruni* of paddy (*nellu*), as [one?] *kalam* (*kalamum*) for one year (*aṅṅu varai*), [one] *tūṅi* and four *kalam*s (*nā-k-kalanē*) of paddy (*nellu*) included (*uḷpaṭa*) in four *tūṅis* (*nārrūṅi* > *nāl tūṅi*) of rice food offerings (*tiruvamu arici* > *tiruvamutu arici*); for Gaṅapatiyar of this temple (*ikkōyil*), two *nālis* (*iru nāli*) of rice (*arici*); four *nālis* (*nā nāliyum*) . . . of paddy as that (*aṅ*) *nāli* (*nāliyāka*) of the month (*tiṅkaḷ*) for holy food offerings; four *nālis* and *tūṅi* . . . as per *kalam* (*kalattuvāy*) for the wages for labour (*cattakūli*) [*ivacatakku?*]; Nakkan Kumarakkaṅ, having dug (*kalli*) and having prepared (*macakki*) [the land], gave (*kuṭutta*) one *mā*; we, the Devarkaṅmis, have taken in hand (*kaikkoṅṭōm*) this old land (*munnīlam?* Or *mūnnīlam*, i.e. three lands?). We (*nām*) will cause to make (*cevvittōm*) this endowment (*innivantam*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

## SOUTHERN FAÇADE

#13 (Figure 2.1). (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the central wall section of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅṅapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 357; SII 13, no. 235; (e) 12th regnal year of Kōvirājesarivarman; (f) probably Āditya I (c. A.D. 883); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirājakeśaripammaṅku yaṅṅu* 12<sup>29</sup> °āvatu
- (2) kuṅṅrakūṅṅrattu °avanīkantappa/vva °iśvaragrhattu mahadevarku °innāṭṭu paḷuvūr
- (3) pakaiviṅṅai °iśvarattu tevanār maka nakkaṅ pūti paḷuvēṭṭarayaṅ kumaraṅ kaṅ
- (4) ṅaṅ prasādattiṅṅāl °aruḷiceyya °ittali tevatānam °ūkaṅkuṭi °abho[ha]

<sup>28</sup> The role of this little king is difficult to determine because the next line is no longer legible. The °a after his name may be the beginning of *aruḷiceyya*, or another similar expression beginning with *aruḷi*, indicating that he may accept, validate, or grant the request made by the *tēvaṅār makaḷ*.

<sup>29</sup> The edition of SII reads 13.

- (5) ṇaṅ kiṭaṅta *bhūmiyai* kalli °iraṅṭu pū[vū] m viḷaiya macakki kuṭu
- (6) tta nilam °eṭṭu mā °ippūmiyil poṅta pokaṅ koṅṭu °iraṅṭu taḷi
- (7) lu °oro noṅṭāviḷakku °iravum pakalum °erikkakaṭavom °ittali paṭ
- (8) tu °uṭaiyom °eḷuvom

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. To Mahādeva (*mahādevarku* > *mahādevarkku*) of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Avānikantappa/vva, of Kuṅṅakkūrṅram, Nakkaṅ Pūti,<sup>30</sup> son of god (*tēvanār maka* > *tēvanār makaṅ*)<sup>31</sup> of the Lord (*īśvarattu*) [of] Pakaiviṭai of Paḷuvūr in this country, by the grace of (*prasādattināl*) Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṅ Kumaraṅ Kaṅṭaṅ who graciously ordered (*aruḷicceyya*) [the following]: having worked on the soil (*kalli*) of this land (*bhūmiyai*) which was lying (*kiṭaṅta*) without enjoyment (*abhohaṅam*) in Ūkaṅkuṭi, a *devadāna* of this temple, having prepared the land (*macakki*) so that two crops (*iraṅṭu pūvūm* > *pūvūm*) grow (*viḷaiya*), [he, i.e. Nakkaṅ Pūti] gave eight *mās* of this land; having taken (*koṅṭu*, i.e. with) the produce (*pōkan*) which came (*poṅta*) out of this land (*ippūmiyil*), we, the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple (*ittali*), we the Seven (*eḷuvōm*), have to burn (*erikkakaṭavōm*) night and day a perpetual lamp respectively (*orō nontāviḷakku*) in the two temples (*iraṅṭu taḷilu* > *taḷiyilum*).

#14 (see Figure 2.2). (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the easternmost wall section of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, upper inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 360; SII 13, no. 298; (e) 22nd regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) probably Āditya I (c. A.D. 893); SII identifies the king with Rājarāja I; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the *puḷḷis* (the dots added above the letter to signify that the vowel is dropped) are marked, which would confirm a date in the 9th century.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirājakesaripanmmatku yāṅṭu yirupattiraṅṭāvatu kuṅṅakkūrṅrattu*
- (2) °amanikantavva/ppa °īśvarakarattu mahādevarku poykaikkuruviṭattu veṭṭakkuṭāṅ
- (3) vaṭukaṅ matavaṅ paḷuveṭṭaraiyaṅ kumaraṅ maṅavaṅ *prasāhā*
- (4) *dattaṅāl aruḷicceyya* °ittaliṭ tevatāṅam °ūkaṅkuṭi °apohanaṅ kiṭaṅ
- (5) ta *bhumiyaik* kalli °iraṅṭu pūvūm viḷaiya macakkik kuṭutta niriṅlam °eṭṭu mā °ip
- (6) pūmiyil poṅta pokaṅ koṅṭu °iraṅṭu taḷi °ilum °oro *nandāviḷakku* °ira
- (7) vum pakalum °erippomāṅom °ittaliṭ paṭṭuṭaiyom °eḷuvom °ivvīḷakku
- (8) *rakṣippār* °amanikantapurattu nakarattār aṭiyēṅṅalaimelaṅa ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 22nd year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of the temple (*karattu* > *grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Amanikantavva/ppa (*amani* > *avani*) of Kuṅṅakkūrṅram, Vēṭṭakkuṭāṅ Vaṭukaṅ Mātavaṅ (*matavaṅ* > *mātavaṅ*) of Poykaikkuruviṭam, by the grace of (*prasāhāttaṅāl* > *prasādattināl*) Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṅ Kumaraṅ Kaṅṭaṅ who graciously ordered (*aruḷicceyya*, lit. graciously

<sup>30</sup> The editor of SII as well as G. Vijayavenugopal think that Nakkaṅ Pūti is the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. I propose that the *tēvanār makaṅ* Nakkaṅ Pūti is the donor, and that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar appears to validate the donation.

<sup>31</sup> The *ṅ* of *makaṅ* was probably dropped because it was followed by a word beginning with *n*, *nakkaṅ*. However, it is also possible to consider that they forgot the final *l* and we would thus have *makaḷ*. The fact that Nakkaṅ Pūti sounds more like a male name would not be a problem, women often bearing male names.

made) [the following]: having worked the soil (*kalli*) of the land (*bhūmiyai*) which was lying (*kiṭanta*) without enjoyment (*apōhanan*) in Ūkaṅkuṭi, a *devadāna* of this temple (*ittali*), having prepared the land (*macakki*) so that two crops (*iraṅṅu pūvum*) grow (*viḷaiya*), [Vēṭṭakkuṭāṅ Vaṭukanṅ Mātavanṅ] gave (*kuṭutta*) eight *mās* of wet land (*nīrnilam*); with (*koṅṅu*) the produce (*pōkaṅ*) which came (*ponṅa*) out of this land (*ippūmiyil*), we, the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple (*ittali*), we the Seven (*eḷuvōm*), will burn (*erippōmāṅōm*) night and day a perpetual lamp respectively (*orō nandāviḷakku > nontāviḷakku*) in the two temples (*iraṅṅu taḷiilum*). The Nagarattārs of Amanikantapuram will protect (*rakṣippār*) this lamp (*ivviḷakku*). May their feet be on my head (*aṭi-y-eṅ-talai-mēlaṅa*).

#15 (see Figure 2.3). (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, upper inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 355; (e) 22nd regnal year of . . . rivarman; (f) probably Āditya I (c. A.D. 893); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the *pullis* (the dots added above the letter to signify that the vowel is dropped) are marked, which would confirm a date in the 9th century; the western part of the inscription is built over by the wall of the *mukha-maṅḍapa*, but we can restore some words because the inscription is similar to #13 and #14.

- (1) {built over} *ripammaṅku yāṅṅu °irupattiraṅṅāvatu*
- (2) {built over} °*avanikantappa °iṣvaragrhattu mahādevarkku ce*
- (3) {built over} *mahaṣivaṣettu kṣatriyaṅ potukaṅ perumāṅ*
- (4) {built over} *yūṭa paḷuveṭṭaraiyaṅ kumaṅṅ maṅavaṅ prasa*
- (5) {built over} *naṅ kiṭanta bhūmiyaik kalli °eṭṭu māc cey nīr*
- (6) {built over} *la pokaṅ koṅṅu °iraṅṅu taḷi °ilum °oro nan*
- (7) {built over} *koṅṅom °ittaliṅ paṭṭuṭai °om °eḷuvom °ivvi*
- (8) {built over} *ntarṅapurattu nakarattār °iddharmmam rakṣippār aṭi °en*

. . . [This is] the 22nd year of {{Kōvirājakesa}}rivarman. To Mahādeva of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*iṣvara*) [of] Avānikantappa . . . Mahāṣivaṣettu the Kṣatriya, Potukaṅ Perumāṅ {probably the donor} . . . by the grace (*prasa*{{*dāttināl*}}) of Paḷuveṭṭaraiyaṅ Kumaṅṅ Maṅavaṅ . . . having worked (*kalli*) on the land (*bhūmiyai*) which lies (*kiṭanta*) {{without enjoyment (*apōhanan*)}}, [Mahāṣivaṣettu the Kṣatriya, Potukaṅ Perumāṅ, gave] eight *mās* (*eṭṭu mā*) and one *cey* of wet land (*nīr*{{*nīlam*}}) . . . with (*koṅṅu*) the produce (*pōkaṅ*) {{of this land}}, {{we will have to burn}} one perpetual lamp (*nan*{{*tāviḷakku*}}) in each (*orō*) of the two temples (*iraṅṅu taḷi ilum*) . . . we, the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple, we the Seven, have taken (*koṅṅōm*) {{the produce to burn the lamps}}. The Nagarattārs of {{Avānika}} ntarṅapuram will protect (*rakṣippār*) this endowment (*iddharmmam*). I am a servant (*aṭi-en*).<sup>32</sup>

#16. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the easternmost wall section of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, lower inscription (the last line is engraved on the ledge); (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 358; (e) 20th (?) regnal year of *matirai*

<sup>32</sup> This is probably the beginning of the final expression “May their feet be on my head” (*aṭi-y-eṅ-talai-mēlaṅa*). However, this would mean that there is a 9th line engraved under the wall, but the

*koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 927); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* matirai koṇṭa kopparakecarivaṇmakki yāṇṭu [20]<sup>33</sup> °āvatu kuṇṇrakūr̥ra
- (2) °avanikaṇṭarppapurattu mahādevarkku °ittali kuttapiḷ[!]<sup>34</sup>ai kumiḷi tar[u]ṇavali
- (3) li °oru nontāviḷakku *cantrādittaval* °eriya vaita poṇ patin ka
- (4) laṅcu °ippoṇ patin kaḷaṅcum koṇṭom koṇṭu °oru no
- (5) ntāviḷakkukku nicatam °uḷakku ney °aṭṭuvomāṇom °ava
- (6) ṇikantavappurattu nakarattom °ivvaṇ<sup>35</sup>

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 20th (?) year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken (*koṇṭa*) Madurai. To Mahādeva (*mahādevarkku* > *mahādevarkku*) of Avanikaṇṭarppapuram [in] Kuṇṇrakūr̥ram, the dancing child (*kūṭṭapiḷḷai*) of this temple (*ittali*), Kumiḷi Taruṇavalli, to burn (*eriya*) one perpetual lamp as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave (*vaita* > *vaitta*) ten (*patin*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold; we have taken (*koṇṭōm*) all the ten *kaḷaṅcus* (*kaḷaṅcum*) of this gold; having taken [them] (*koṇṭu*), we will supply (*aṭṭuvōmāṇōm*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicatam*) for a perpetual lamp, we the Nagarattārs of Avaṇikantavappuram . . .

#17. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the southern façade of the sanctuary (8th line continues on the pilaster and the 9th line goes through the pilaster and on the next wall section); (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 359; (e) 25th regnal year of *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 932); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* mati
- (2) rai koṇṭa kopparakecaripa
- (3) ṇmakki yāṇṭu 25
- (4) °āvatu °uttamataranica
- (5) tuvvetimaṅkalattu
- (6) *sabhaiyom* °ittali ta
- (7) *ṇḍiśvararītai* koṇṭu kaṭa
- (8) va tippokku cempon // °oṇpatin
- (9) kaḷaṅcu °ippoṇṇāl pa // licai nicati // °uḷakku ney °aṭṭuvommāṇom °uttama
- (10) tarani *sabhayom* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 25th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. We of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyōm*) of Uttamataranic-caturvedimaṅgalam, from Caṇḍeśvara (*taṇḍiśvarar-ītai*) of this temple (*ittali*), take (*koṇṭu kaṭava*) nineteen

following line belongs to another later inscription, #18. The latter would then begin after the final expression of #15, in continuation of the 9th line.

<sup>33</sup> ARE proposes 37th year, but I cannot see it. There may be another number after the 20 that I read, but, if there was, it is no longer legible.

<sup>34</sup> This reading was suggested *in situ* by N. Ramaswamy.

<sup>35</sup> There are a few illegible letters after this *ivvaṇ*.

(*onpatiṅ*) *kaḷaṅcus* of pure (*tī-pokku*, lit. which entered fire) fine gold (*cem-poṅ*); with the interests (*palicai*) of this gold (*ipponṅāl*), we will supply (*aṭṭuvōmmānōm*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicati*), we of the *Sabhā* of *Uttamatarani*.

#18. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, lowest inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) lost regnal year of {{*Mati*}}*rai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the western half of the inscription is built over by the wall of the *mukha-maṅḍapa*.

- (1) {built over} *rai koṅṭa kopparakecaripaṅmakki yā*
- (2) {built over} *maṅaiṅ poṅṅum taṅṭap poṅṅum ta*
- (3) {built over} *X ṅā[r va]cca poṅ muppatu ṅāl paṭṭam mū*

{{This is the year ... }} of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken {{*Madu*}}*rai*; ... the gold from the houses (*maṅaiṅ poṅṅum*) and the gold from the fines (*taṅṭap poṅṅum*) ... gave (*vacca > vaitta*) thirty (*mūppatu*) [*kaḷaṅcus*] of gold (*poṅ*) for four (*ṅāl*) forehead-plates (*paṭṭam*) ...

#19. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the two wall sections on the eastern side of the niche of Śiva on the southern façade of the sanctuary and on the southernmost wall section of the eastern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 356; SII 19, no. 378 [lines 1 to 37]; SII 32, part 2, no. 166 [lines 1 to 37]; *Āvaṅam* 3.2 [complete inscription]; (e) 15th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 986); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal and E. Francis; (h) the inscription is not engraved continuously: I have given the details in the edition itself. Lines 38–96 record a list of signatures which may have been added later, because the script is slightly different from the first part (lines 1–37).

- (1)<sup>36</sup> *svasti śrī kopparakecaripaṅmaṅḥkku yā*
- (2) *ṅṭu 15 °āvatu kuṅṅakkūṅṅattu nāṭ*
- (3) *ṭomukku °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar kaṅṭaṅ ma*
- (4) *ṅavaṅṅār °innāṅṭtu °uṅṅattūṅṅ paḷam*
- (5) *perum paḷaṅ kuṭiyu X nikki karuppūru*
- (6) *ṅaiya veṅkaṅavaṅ °araṅkaṅṅāṅna cem*
- (7) *piyaṅ viṅaiṅṅāṅṭtu koṅṅārkkku janma*
- (8) *bhumiyaṅkak karuppūr eṅṅum periṅṅāl kā*
- (9) *ṅiceytu °itukku °aṅṅaivaṅṅam tāla*
- (10) *c cemmai poṅ °irupattaiyaṅ kaḷaṅ*
- (11) *cum canṅrādityaṅval nilai °i<sup>37</sup>ṅaiy āvatākaṅvum nā*
- (12) *ṅu taraṅ ceyyum potu °irupattaiyaṅ*
- (13) *kaḷaṅcum allatu °eraṅ taraṅ ceyyāta*
- (14) *tākaṅvum °ipparicu canṅrādittavat kāṅi*
- (15) *yākaṅ ceytu kuṅṅuttom nāṅṅār niṅ*

<sup>36</sup> Lines 1–22 are engraved on the southern façade, on the lower half of the wall section immediately to the east of the niche of Śiva.

<sup>37</sup> This initial *-i* was forgotten and added as a small letter under the line.

- (16) kaḷum °ipparicu ceytu kuṭuṅkaḷ eṅṅaruḷi  
(17) cceyya nāṭṭomum °iṅṅāṭṭu °urattū  
(18) rai paḷam perum paḷaṅ kuṭiyu nikki karuppū  
(19) r eṅṅum peyar ākki °āṭṭaivaṭṭam nilai  
(20) yīrai tālac cemmai poṅ °irupattai  
(21) yaṅ kaḷaṅcākki nāṭṭom taraṅ ceyum po  
(22) ṅ °irupattaiyaṅ kaḷaṅcum allatu eṅṅat ta  
(23)<sup>38</sup> raṅ ceyyātātākavum °i  
(24) pparicu karuppūruṭaiya ve  
(25) ṅkaṭavaṅ °araṅkaṅṅa  
(26) cempiyaṅ viṅaiṅāṭ  
(27) ṭu koṅārkkku *janmapūmiyāka*  
(28) karuppūr eṅṅum [pe]yar[i]ṅṅāl  
(29) *cantrātittaval kāṅiyāka* °a  
(30) ṅaiyolai ceytu kuṭuṭ  
(31) tom kuṅṅakkūrṅṅattu nāṭ  
(32) ṭom [ci]ṅṅaiyūm °aṅa  
(33) {line impossible to read}  
(34)<sup>39</sup> °ivai paḷuveṭṭaraiyaṅ [kaṅṭa]ṅ maṅa  
(35) vaṅṅeṅ °ivai eṅṅeluttu X °ipparicu °i  
(36) cainto marutūruṭaiya kāṅṅaṅ mā[ṅu]yaṅe  
(37) ṅ °ivai yeṅṅeluttu {the end of the line is blank}  
(38)<sup>40</sup> {illegible line}  
(39) [ṅa/ḷa]ṭṭār [°a]ṅaiyo X la XX  
(40) l eḷuttelutaṅṅaraiy eḷutiya  
(41) XX mallūruṭaiya caṅkaṅ nāke  
(42) X kamāṅṅeṅ °eḷuttu[p] puttūru  
(43) ṭaiya tū[caṅi] koṅe °eṅattu  
(44) °āraṅitallūr °uṭaiya ceruvan  
(45) [°u]ta co[mi]tevaṅ cuvāmi °ettu  
(46) cāṭṭaṅūr uṭaiya tiṅeyāṅ mā  
(47) yilaṭṭi °eḷuttu {space} melmarut  
(48) ttūr uṭaiya tiṅaiyāṅ kuṭitara  
(49) ṅki °eḷuttu paṭṭuṭaiya [c]iṅka  
(50) ṅeyyorāṅ eḷuttu  
(51) °umapaḷakkāṅattūr uṭai  
(52) ya °oṅṅepāmpaṅ<sup>41</sup> eḷu  
(53) ttu °āṅpāṅ<sup>42</sup> cukūr u  
(54) ṭaiya cāṭṭaṅ nampaṅ e  
(55) ḷuttu<sup>43</sup> kuṅṅūr uṭaiyaṅ ṅe

<sup>38</sup> Lines 23–33: on the southern façade, on the lower half of the easternmost wall section.

<sup>39</sup> Lines 34–37: on the southern façade, on top of the wall section immediately to the east of Śiva (above line 1).

<sup>40</sup> Lines 38–64: on the southern façade, on top of the easternmost wall section.

<sup>41</sup> This can also be read *oṅṅaṅ* instead of *oṅṅeṅ* and *parampaṅ* instead of *pāmpaṅ*.

<sup>42</sup> This can also be read *āṅparaṅ*.

<sup>43</sup> There seems to be a punctuation sign between the two words.



- (56) {line difficult to read because of cement}  
(57) ttu vākūr uṭaiya °oneṅ  
(58) [va]mpal eḷuttu [||] [°ali/yi]mi Xe  
(59) °uṭaiya ve[li]taraṅki °eḷuttu  
(60) °āttūr uṭaiya cāttan tara  
(61) X °eḷuttu [||] kuḷattūr uṭaiya  
(62) °aṇaiyaṇamutaṅ eḷuttu  
(63) varākupāṭi °uṭaiya māntanp  
(64) peraiyaṅ eḷuttu {blank space}  
(65)<sup>44</sup> [caṅ]kaṇamur uṭaiya kāra XX mu  
(66) kaṅ °eḷuttu XXX °uṭaiya  
(67) vaṭukaṅ pūtiy eḷuttu || timmi  
(68) yuṭaiya cuntara coḷapperunti  
(69) ṅ[ai]y eḷuttu || puttūr uṭaiya °ā  
(70) ramālakkon peraiya  
(71) ṅ eḷuttu [pe]raṅconiyu  
(72) ṭaiya °araiyaṅāccaṅ e  
(73) ḷuttu || ciṅkaraṅattūr uṭai  
(74) ya perumāṅ maḷapāṭiy eḷu  
(75) XXXXXX ppati °uṭaiya  
(76) kali[yiva] XXX y [e]ḷut  
(77) tu || kūraṅ X ṭaiya maṇava ko  
(78) ṅ perun X ṇai °eḷuttu  
(79) kaṇakāṭtur uṭaiya vempa  
(80) ṅuḷveli °eḷuttu  
(81) pokaliy uṭaiya kaṅṭama  
(82) laiyyama X ṅ eḷuttu  
(83) kiḷiyu[ṭai]ya nāraṅaṅā  
(84) X ṅkay eḷuttu XXX  
(85) ṇiy uṭaiya kaṅṭap pe XX  
(86) ṅ eḷuttu ciṅkaṅamur uṭai  
(87) ya paṭaipperaiyaṅa[*ddhay*]āra  
(88) ṅ eḷuttu || °aruṅkarayil<sup>45</sup> u  
(89) ṭaiya °āccaṅ nakkaṅ e  
(90) ḷuttu {space} °āṇaiṅallū  
(91) r uṭaiya nakkaṅ kumaṅ eḷut  
(92) tu {space} vaṭavacukūr uṭaiya nirupa/va  
(93) X kacarama[lai]ya XX ṅ [e]ḷu[ttu]  
(94) mālvaḷiyil uṭaiya mana  
(95) vakoṅ pe[rai]yaṅ eḷu  
(96) ttu ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 15th year of Kōpparakesarivanman. To us, the Nāṭṭār of Kuṅrakkūrāram, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭan Maṇavaṅar [ordered]: having removed (*nīkki*) the old (*paḷaṅ*) cultivators (*kuṭiyum*) and the old

<sup>44</sup> Lines 65–96: on the southernmost wall section of the eastern façade.

<sup>45</sup> This can also be read *aruṅkāyil*.

(*paḷam*) name (*pērum*) of Uṛattūr of this *nāṭu*, as birth-land (*janma bhūmiyai*) to the chieftain (*kōṇār*) of Viṛaināṭu, lord (*uṭaiyaṅ*) of Karuppūr, Venkaṭavaṅ Araṅkaṅ alias Cempiyaṅ, having made it into a *kāṇi* (*kaṇi-ceytu*) with the name (*pēriṅāl*) of Karuppūr (*karuppūr eṅṅum*); to this (*itukku*), every year (*āṭṭai-vaṭṭam*), twenty-five (*irupattayaṅ*) *kaḷāncus* of wordly (*tālam*)<sup>46</sup> fine gold (*cemmai poṅ*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, are set (*āvatākavum*) [as] a permanent tax (*nilai irai*); having come (*pōtu*) to make (*ceyyum*) the assessment (*taraṅ*) of this *nāṭu*, the assessment (*taraṅ*) should not be made (*ceyyātākavum*) more than (*allatu ēra*, lit. so that it does not rise above) twenty-five *kaḷāncus*; in this manner (*ipparicu*), having made (*ceytu*) [it] into a *kāṇi* (*kāṇiyāka*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, we gave (*kuṭuttōm*); when he<sup>47</sup> graciously ordered (*aruḷicceyya*, lit. graciously made) “you also (*ninkalūm*) the Nāṭṭār, having made (*ceytu*) in this manner (*ipparicu*), you give (*kuṭuṅkaḷ*)” (*eṅṅru*), we, all the Nāṭṭār (*nāṭṭōmum*), having removed (*nikki*) the old (*paḷaṅ*) cultivators (*kuṭiyum*) and the old (*paḷam*) name (*pērum*) of Uṛattūr of this *nāṭu*, having taken (*ākki*, lit. having become) the name (*pēyar*) of Karuppūr (*karuppūr eṅṅum*), having fixed (*ākki*, lit. having become) twenty-five *kaḷāncus* of wordly (*tāla*) fine (*cemmai*) gold (*poṅ*) for permanent tax (*nilai irai*) every year (*āṭṭai-vaṭṭam*), we the Nāṭṭār (*nāṭṭōm*), when making (*ceyyum*) the assessment (*taraṅ*) above (*ēra*) which is not (*allatu*) twenty-five *kaḷāncus* of gold (*poṅ*); in this manner (*ipparicu*), as birth-land (*janma-pūmiyāka*) to the chieftain (*kōṇār*) of Viṛaināṭu, lord (*uṭaiya*) of Karuppūr, Venkaṭavaṅ Araṅkaṅ alias Cempiyaṅ, as *kāṇi* (*kāṇiyāka*), as long and the sun and the moon endure, with the name Karuppūr, having made (*ceytu*) the palm-leaf (*ōlai*) drum-beating (*arai*),<sup>48</sup> we gave (*kuṭuttōm*), we the Nāṭṭār (*nāṭṭōm*) of Kunṛakkūrṅam; all small taxes (*cirriṛaiyum*) . . .

These (*ivai*), I Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ, I have written (*eṅṅ-eḷuttu*) these (*ivai*); we have agreed (*icaintōm*) in this manner (*ipparicu*); I the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Marutūr, Kāṭaṅ Māṛuyaṅ, I have written (*eṅṅ-eḷuttu*) these (*ivai*).

[That which is] signed (*eḷutiya*, lit. written) by the signatories (*eḷutaṅār-ai*), having signed (*eḷuttu*) . . . I, lord (*uṭaiya*) of . . . mallūr, Caṅkaṅ Nake . . . kamāṅ, have signed (*eḷuttu*); I, lord of Puttūr, Tūcaṭikōṅ, have signed (*eṅṅattu > eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Āraṇitallūr, Ceruvanuta Cōmitēvaṅ Cuvāmi, has signed (*ettu > eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Cāṭṭaṅūr, Tiṇeyāṅ Māyilaṭṭi, has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Mēlmaruttūr, Tiṇaiyāṅ Kuṭitaraṅki, has signed (*eḷuttu*); the Paṭṭuṭaiyāṅ Ciṅkaṅeyyoṛaṅ has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Umapaḷakkāṅattūr, Oṅṅpāmpaṅ, has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Āṅpāṅcukūr, Cāṭṭaṅ Nampaṅ, has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Kurūr, Ne . . . ; the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Vākūr, Oṅṅvampal, has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of . . . , Velitaraṅki, has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Āttūr, Cāṭṭaṅ Tara . . . , has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Kuḷattūr, Aṅaiyaṅamutaṅ, has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Varākupāṭi, Māṅṭaṅṅperaiyaṅ, has signed (*eḷuttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Caṅkaṅamur,

<sup>46</sup> *tāla* is clearly legible, but it is very difficult to make sense of it here in relation with gold. It means, besides “earth” and “world”, “Palmyra tree, metal plate, tongue”.

<sup>47</sup> The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṅ is probably the one uttering the order.

<sup>48</sup> It is traditionally considered that they were reciting the text inscribed on the palm-leaf along with the beating of the drum, and here *arai-tal* should be taken as referring to the beating of the drum.

Kāra . . . mukaṅ, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of . . . , Vaṭukaṅ Pūti, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Timmi, Cuntara Cōḷapperuntiṅai, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Puttūr, Āramāḷakkōṅ Peraiyaṅ, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Peraṅconī, Araiyaṅāccaṅ, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Ciṅkaraṅṭtūr, Perumāṅ Maḷapāṭi, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of . . . ppaṭi, Kaliyiva . . . , has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Kūraṅ{{ku}}, Maṛava Kōṅ Perun{{ti}}ṅai, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Kaṛakāṭṭūr, Vempaṅuḷveli, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Pokaḷi, Kaṅṭamalaiyama . . . ṅ, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Kīḷi, Nāraṅaṅā . . . ṅkay, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of . . . , Kaṅṭappe . . . , has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Ciṅkaṅamur, Paṭaiṅperaiyaṅ *Addhayāraṅ*, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Aruṅkarayil, Āccaṅ Nakkaṅ, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Āṅaiṅallūr, Nakkaṅ Kumaraṅ, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Vaṭavacukūr, Nirupa/va . . . Kacaramalaiya . . . ṅ, has signed (*eluttu*); the lord (*uṭaiya*) of Mālvāyil, Manavaḷkōṅ Peraiyaṅ, has signed (*eluttu*).

#20. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the wall section to the west of the central niche of the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) lost regnal year of Kōrājake{{sarivarman}}; (f) unidentified king; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) this is just the beginning of an unfinished inscription.

- (1) *svasti śrī ko ° irājak[e] XXX maku*
- (2) *yāṅṭu {unfinished}*

Fortune! Prosperity! . . . year of Kōrājakesarivarman . . .

#21. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the base of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa* (four lines on the round-shaped part of the base (*kumuda*) and one line on the lotus-shaped part (*jaḡati*)); (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 361; (e) 5th regnal year and 135th day of Kōpparakesarivarman Uṭaiyār Śrī Rājendradeva; (f) Rājendracōḷa I (c. A.D. 1057); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, and N. Cane; (h) the western part of the inscription is built over by the wall of the *mukha-maṅḍapa*; lines 1 and a part of line 2 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Rājendracōḷa I.

- (1) {built over} {*meykkīrtti*}
- (2) {built over} {*meykkīrtti* that ends before the corner} *kopparakecaripanmarāna uṭaiyār śrī rājentraradevaṅku yāṅṭu // 5 ° āvatu ° uttuṅkatu*
- (3) {built over} X [paṭṭu]ṭaiṅ paṅcācāriya *devarkanmiḷaḷom ° enkaḷukku ° ikkoyil naṭṭavakkāṅi ° uṭaiya kuṅacilan cantiracekaranāṅa muventacikāmaṅi nirtta viḷupparaiyaṅku naṭṭavakkāṅipum ° ivan tam appan cantāṅ kuṅacilan ° anupavittu varukiṅa meymaṭ // ṭu X kāṅiyāka kalvet*
- (4) {built over} *volai vijairājentra muventaveḷār eḷuttināl yāṅṭu 5 ° āvatu nāl nūṅṅu muppataiṅcināl piraśādaṅ ceytaruḷi vanta tirumukappaṭiye naṭṭavap paṅku mu[tal] nāṅku māvum kuṅacilaṅ cantiracekaranāṅa muventacikāmaṅi nirtta viḷup // paraiyanukku kāṅiyāka*
- (5) {built over} X [ṅṭu] māvum cantāṅ kuṅacilan makkaḷukku kāṅiyāka kuṭuttom patipātamulaṅ paṭṭuṭaiṅ paṅcācāriya *devakanmiḷaḷom*

{*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 5th year of Kōpparakesarivarman, Lord (*uṭaiyār*) Śrī Rājendradevar. . . . Uttuṅkatu{{ṅkavaḷanāṭu}} . . . Paṭṭuṭais, Pañcācāriyas, we the Devarkanmis (*devarkanmikaḷōm*),<sup>49</sup> to us (*eṅkaḷukku*); to Kuṇacilan Cantiracekaran alias Mūvēntacikāmaṇi Nirtta (the dance master) Viḷupparaiyan,<sup>50</sup> who possesses (*uṭaiya*) all the *kānis* of the dance teaching (*naṭṭavakkāṇipum* > *naṭṭuvakkāṇiyum*)<sup>51</sup> of this temple (*ikkōyil*), as hereditary right (*kāṇiyāka*) of beating the small drum (*meymaṭṭu*) which comes (*varukiṛa*), after Cantaṅ Kuṇacilan, father (*appan*) of him (*ivan tam*) which has the *kāṇi* of the dance teaching (*naṭṭavakkāṇi*), enjoyed possession (*anupavittu*) . . . palm-leaf (*v-ōlai*) . . . was engraved on stone (*kalveṭ . . .*).<sup>52</sup> By the writing (*eḷuttināl*) of Vijairājendra Mūvēntavēḷār, in the 5th year and 135 days (*nāl nūrru muppataiñcināl*), having graciously done (*ceytaruḷi*) the grace (*pirasādam*) that is the royal order (*tirumukap-paṭiyē*) which has come (*vanta*): as *kāṇi* to Kuṇacilan Cantiracekaran alias Mūvēntacikāmaṇi Nirtta (the dance master) Viḷupparaiyan, four *mās* (*nāṅku māvum*) as first (*mutal*) share (*paṅku*) for the dance teaching (*naṭṭavam*) and as *kāṇi* to the descendants (*makkaḷukku*) [of] Cantaṅ Kuṇacilan, two (? {{*ira*}}ṅṅu) *mās*; we have given (*kuṭuttōm*), the Patipātāmūlars, the Paṭṭuṭais, the Pañcācāriyars, we the Devakanmis.

#22. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the base of the southern façade of the sanctuary (four lines on the round-shaped part of the base (*kumuda*) and six lines on the lotus-shaped part (*jagati*)); (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 362; (e) 15th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivar{{man}} Uṭaiyar Śrī Rāje{{ndra}}cōḷadeva; (f) Rājendracōḷa I (c. A.D. 1067); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) lines 1 to 7 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Rājendracōḷa I.

- (1-7) {*meykkīrtti* which ends line 7, on the middle projection, just after the slab} kopparakesaripama X X X °uṭaiya // r śrī rāje X X // cōḷadeva X kku yāṅṅu 15 °āvatu vaṭakarai °uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷanāṭṭu kuṅṅakkūṛṛattu maṅ
- (8) ṅupperumpaluvūr nakarattom °uṭaiyār śrī rājentracōḷadevar nampirāṭṭiyār mukkorikilān aṭ[i]kaḷ // °ivvū me // ṛṛaṅkuḷamāna cuttamalinallūrk kalluvitta pavittiramāṅikka pereri[kkiḷ] nirmilattilley °iraṅṅu māc cey X vūr pavit // tiramāṅikka X X // viṅṅa[kara vi]ṅṅubhaṭṭārakaṅṅku tiruvamutukku kuṭukka veṅṅu tiruvāymoḷintaruḷi kallil veṭṭuvittu kku
- (9) kka ve[ṅṅu] °aruḷic cetuvar nakarattom *prasātappaṭṭu* °iraiyili kuṭutta nilamāvatu cuttamalivatikku kiḷa // kku °irājentraco // la vāykkālukku vaṭakku mutarṅṅkaṅṅṅṅu mutarṅṅ catuttu terkaṭaiya nilam °oru māvum 2 kaṅṅṅṅṅu ṣattirattu terkaṭaiya XX °oru mā // vum °ivvū[r] X // °iṭṭa XXX paṭi nilam °iraṅṅu māvum °ittevarṅṅu tiruvamutukku kuṭuttu °ittirukkoyil kāṇiyāka kuṭukka

<sup>49</sup> As suggested by G. Vijayavenugopal as well as by N. Cane, the Paṭṭuṭais and the Pañcācāriyas seem to be the Devakanmis, that is, the temple officers of this shrine.

<sup>50</sup> This name has the same structure as the one borne by the dance masters of the inscription of Tanjavur after the list of 398 women relocated in the temple quarters (SII 2, no. 66).

<sup>51</sup> It probably refers to the hereditary right on the land which enables payment for the charge of teaching dance.

<sup>52</sup> G. Vijayavenugopal proposed to supply *kalveṭtu kuṭutta-v-ōlai*, “the palm leaf which gave a stone inscription”.

(10) *ṇiyāka* [p]paṛṇṇuṭaiya koṭanūr pāratāya nārāyaṇaṅ tiruviṇṇa niṅ[ra]ṇukku  
 kāṇiyāka kuṭuttu °ini // lam °iraṇṇu māvukku // cantrādittavar °iraī  
 °eppērpaṭṭitum paḷuva nakarattome °irukaṭavomākavum °iparicu  
 cantrādittavar °iraīyiliyāka kuṭuttom XX//XX ma pa XX// heśvara rakṣai ||

{*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 15th year of Kōpparakesarivarman, Lord (*uṭaiyar*) Śrī Rājendracōladevar. We the Nagarattārs of Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr of Kuṅṅrakkūrāram of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅnāṭu of the northern bank (*vaṭakarai*); Mukkorkilān Aṭikaḷ, our queen, [queen of] Lord (*uṭaiyār*) Śrī Rājendracōladevar; “give (*kuṭukka*) two *mās* and one *cey* (*iraṇṇu māc cey*) in this wet-land (*nīrnilattillēy*) [which is] under [the irrigation] (*kil*) of the big tank (*perēri*) Pavittiramāṇikka (lit. the pure rubis) which was caused to be dug (*kalluvitta*) in Cuttamalinallūr alias Mēṅṅraṅkuḷam of this village (*ivvū > ivvūr*) for the holy food offerings (*tiruvamutukku*) for Viṣṇubhaṭṭār [and] Viṇṇakara, . . . [of?] Pavittiramāṇikka of this village” (*eṅṅru*), he graciously uttered the order (*tiruvāyomolintaruḷi*); having caused to engrave (*veṭṭuvittu*) on the stone (*kallil*), [when he] graciously said (*eṅṅru aruḷi*): “give” (*kukka > kuṭukka*), we the Nagarattārs will do (*cetuvār*); having got into (*paṭṭu > paṭi?*, i.e. as per) the royal order (*prasāta*), this is the land (*nilam-āvatu*) given (*kuṭutta*) without taxes (*iraīyili*): one *mā* of land (*nilam oru māvum*) when one reaches the southern side (*terku aṭaiya*) of the first square (*mutar catuttu > mutal caturattu*) of the first water-channel (*mutark kaṅṅāṅṅru*), to the east (*kiḷakku*) of Cuttamalivati (*cuttamalivatikku*) [and] to the north (*vaṭakku*) of the canal (*vāykkālukku*) [called] Rājendracōḷa; and one *mā* (*oru māvum*) . . . when one reaches the southern side (*terku aṭaiya*) of the resting-house (*ṣattirattu > cattirattu* or *ṣattirattu > catturattu*, the square division?) of the two water-channels (2 *kaṅṅāṅṅru*); and two *mās* of land (*nilam iraṇṇu māvum*) in the place (*paṭi*) . . . of this village (*ivvūr*). Having given (*kuṭuttu*) [these lands] for the holy food offerings (*tiruvamutukku*) for this god (*ittevarkku*); to give (*kuṭukka*) as *kāṇi* of this temple (*ittirukkōyil*), having given (*kuṭuttu*) as *kāṇi* to Pāratāyan Nārāyaṇaṅ Tiruviṇṇaniṅraṅ of Koṭanūr, who possesses (*uṭaiya*) the lands (*paṅṅru*) as *kāṇi* (*ṇiyāka > kāṇiyāka*), we the Nagarattārs of Paḷuvūr (*paḷuva nakarattōmē*) must suppress (*irukaṭavomākavum*) the taxes (*iraī*) of whatever name (*eppērpaṭṭitum > eppērpaṭṭatum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, for the two *mās* (*iraṇṇu māvukku*) of this land (*i-nilam*); in this manner (*i-paricu*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, we have given (*kuṭuttōm*) as exempted of tax (*iraīyiliyāka*). . . This is under the protection of the Pa{{nmā}}heśvaras.

## IN THE MAṅṅDAPA

#23 (Figure 2.5). (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on four lion pillars, in the pillared hall in front of the shrine; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 376; (e) no internal dating; (f) titles of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little kings, although impossible to identify, from perhaps the second half of the 9th century; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) carefully engraved, with *pullis*; the titles are made of a mix of Tamil and Sanskrit.

Lion pillar 1: *svasti śrī maṅṅavaṅ mānadhanaṅ*

Lion pillar 2: *svasti śrī kaṅṅamāttāṅṅaṅ*

Lion pillar 3: *svasti śrī kaliyukanirmmalan* ||

Lion pillar 4: *svasti śrī °araiyaṅṅ/! °arai °uli* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! Maṛavaṅ who is rich in honour (*mānadhanan*);

Fortune! Prosperity! He who is the sun (*māttāṅṅan*) of the Kaṅka [country? dynasty?];

Fortune! Prosperity! He who is immaculate (*nirmmalan*) in the Kaliyuga;

Fortune! Prosperity! {I could not make sense of the last title, in which *arai* (Tamil) may refer to politics or something which is half}.

#24. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the eastern wall of the pillared hall, facing the sanctuary, on the southern side of the door; (c) inscription personally located, but it is placed in a dark corner, which made it difficult to read *in situ*; I was not allowed to take pictures because it was too close to the sanctuary; I thus rely mainly on the edition of SII; (d) ARE 1924, no. 374; SII 13, no. 344; (e) lost regnal year of {{Kō}}rājakesariva{{rman}}; (f) Legrand-Rousseau (1987: 132) identifies him with Āditya I; Subbarayalu, when dealing with the word Tōtappattikārcceṭṭi in his dictionary (2003), gives this inscription as first occurrence and assigns it to 956 (Gaṅḍarāditya? Sundaracōḷa?); I think this Rājakesarivarman may indeed be Gaṅḍarāditya or Sundaracōḷa; (g) inscription read with E. Francis and N. Cane; (h) the inscription is today much more damaged than when the estampage was made, and the edition SII established from it; I kept the “. . .” of the edition in SII which signifies that there are illegible letters, but we do not know how many; there are strong parallels with #6, which helps in understanding the structure, not clear because of the lacunas.

- (1) [[*svasti śrī ko*]] °irājakeca[[*riva . . . ku.. ca . . .*]]
- (2) ṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiya maṛava[[*ṅ kaṅṅan . . .*]]
- (3) ṅāvaṅ °araiyaṅ ṅānkaṅṅaceṭṭi<sup>53</sup> viṅṅap [[. . .]]
- (4) [[*tota*]]pattikārcceṭṭikaḷḷaiyum ivakaḷ pa[[*ṅi . . .*]]
- (5) °emperumāḷ paṅṅai nantipuramaṅṅrāṅṅiye [[*ke . . .*]]
- (6) [[. . . raṅ kaṅṅaṅṅi . . .]]
- (7) [[. . . ppe . . . maṅcantaṅṅai]] koḷa [[*veṅṅu . . . cca*]]
- (8) [[*ya[tū]* tattaṅṅūr kiḷavaṅ veḷāṅ]] ciṅṅtāmaṅṅikku [[*śrīmukam*]] vara nakaramum [[*kā*]]
- (9) ṅaṅ parame[[*śvara*]]ṅ [[*°evalāl*]] canṅrādīṅṅavaḷ kallile veṭṭivittu ko
- (10) ṅṅōm tota[[*pa*]]ttikkāṅṅarom ||

Fortune! Prosperity! {{This is the . . . year of Kō}}rājakesariva{{rman}}. . . {{A}}ṭikaḷ Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṅ Kaṅṅan, [upon] the request (*viṅṅappam*) of Nānkaṅṅaceṭṭi, chieftain (*araiyaṅ*) . . . ṅāvaṅ, all the Tōtappattikārcceṭṭi, . . . the order/service (*paṅṅi*) of him/them (*ivakaḷ* > *ivarkaḷ*?) . . . our Lord (*emperumāḷ*), the old (*paṅṅai*) Nantipuram being otherwise (*maṅṅu*) the model (*āṅṅiye*) . . . when the royal order (*śrīmukam*) came (*vara*) to the lord (*kiḷavaṅ*) of Tattaṅṅūr, Veḷāṅ Ciṅṅtāmaṅṅi, and at the instigation (*ēvalāl*) of Kāṅṅaṅ Parameśvaraṅ [and?] of the Nagaram (*nakaramum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, we the Tōtappattikāṅṅar must engrave (*veṭṭivittu koṅṅōm*) on stone (*kallilē*).

<sup>53</sup> This may also be read: *nānkuṅṅaceṭṭi*.

#25. (a) AIM, southern shrine; (b) on the eastern wall of the pillared hall, facing the sanctuary, on the northern side of the door; (c) inscription personally located, but it is placed in a dark corner, which made it difficult to read *in situ*; I was not allowed to take pictures because it was too close to the sanctuary; I thus rely mainly on the edition of SII; (d) ARE 1924, no. 373; SII 19, no. 105; SII 32, part 2, no. 17; (e) 4th regnal year of Parakesarivarman (first part) and 16th regnal year of Śrī Uttamacōḷa Parakesarivarman (second part); (f) the first Parakesarivarman is probably Uttamacōḷa; the first part of the record would thus be assigned to c. A.D. 975, and the second part to c. A.D. 987; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, and N. Cane; (h) the inscription is today much more damaged than when the estampage was made, and the edition SII established from it; I kept the “. . .” of the edition in SII which signifies that there are illegible letters, but we do not know how many.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparake[[caripaṇma]]<sup>54</sup>kki [yāṇ]
- (2) [[tu]] 4 °āvatu kuṇṇrakūrṛattu tevatāṇam [[. . .]]
- (3) [[°avaṇi . . . pa]] °i[[śva]]ragrhattu mahadevar [[. . .]]
- (4) [[. . . tu perumpa]]lu[[vur . . .]]
- (5) koppāṭi maḷapāṭi °aticūraṇ [[. . . tiruno]]
- (6) [[ṇ]]tāviḷakku cantrāṭittavalam °i[raṇu]m pakalum nicata
- (7) [[m u]]lakku ney °erikka vaitta poṇ [pa]ttu °ippon
- (8) [pat]tilum °ivvūr °iraṇṭu nakarattārum koṇṭu kaṭa XX<sup>55</sup> ṇa poṇ 5 m cum<sup>56</sup> ko
- (9) [[ṇṭu]] palicai iṭṭuvārāṇirṅka śrī uttamacoḷa<sup>57</sup> [[ko]]pparakecaripa
- (10) [[ṇma]]rkku yāṇṭu 16 [[°āvatu]] °aṭikaḷ pa[[lu . . . r . . .]]yar kaṇṭaṇ
- (11) [[°amuta]]ṇār °aru XX<sup>58</sup> [[. . . vaṭṭam . . .]] lattu
- (12) {illegible}
- (13) [[. . . cantrāṭi]]ttaval
- (14) [[. . . no]]m °ittaliṭṭaṭṭai
- (15) [. . . itu]] panmāheśvara rakṣai

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 4th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva (*mahadevar* > *mahādevar*) of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Avani{{kantarp}}pa, a *devadāna* of Kuṇṇrakūrṛam, Aticūraṇ of Maḷapāṭi, . . . Kōppāṭi . . . Perumpaḷuvūr,<sup>59</sup> to burn (*erikka*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicatam*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, for a perpetual lamp (*tirunoṅtāviḷakku*), gave (*vaitta*) ten [*kalañcus* of] gold (*poṇ pattu*); in these ten [*kalañcus* of] gold (*ippon pattilum*), two Nagarattārs of this town having taken (*koṇṭu*) . . . , having taken (*koṇṭu*) five . . . of gold . . . , so that the interests (*palicai*) continue to be produced (*iṭṭuvārāṇirṅka* > *iṭṭuvārā-ṇirṅka*); [this is] the 16th year of Kōpparakesarivarman Śrī Uttamacōḷa. Aṭikaḷ Paḷu[*vēṭṭariyar*] Kaṇṭaṇ Amutaṇār . . . as long as the sun and the moon endure . . . the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple (*ittali*) . . . This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

<sup>54</sup> An electric box has been fixed on the inscription since the edition of SII.

<sup>55</sup> SII's edition proposes *vatā* but it does not look like it on the stone.

<sup>56</sup> SII's edition omits the *m* after the 5 and reads *kācum*, while the *kā* is clearly not written.

<sup>57</sup> SII's edition adds *tēvar* after Uttamacōḷa, but there is not space for it.

<sup>58</sup> SII's edition reads *ñcce*, but I cannot recognize these letters.

<sup>59</sup> Kōppāṭi may literally mean “the town of the king”. But it may be a part of the name of the donor.

## ON THE BASE OF THE BALIPĪṬHA AT THE ENTRANCE

#26 (Fig. A.14). (a) AIM; (b) on the base of the *balipīṭha*, western face, facing the entrance; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) no internal dating; (f) no mention of a Cōḷa king; (g) inscription read with E. Francis and U. Veluppillai.

- (1) {broken} *ti śrī* °aṭikaḷ pa[lu]veṭṭaraiyar kaikkoḷ  
 (2) {broken} mātevan °iraṇamukarāman °eṭuppitta *dhvajapīṭam*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This] Dhvajapīṭam (lit. flag-platform) was built (*eṭuppitta*) by the Kaikkōḷar [of] Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, Mātevan Iraṇamukarāman.

## FRAGMENT LOCATED OUTSIDE THE ENTRANCE

#27. (a) AIM; (b) on a fragment of a corner of a shrine, outside the entrance; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) regnal year lost of *matirai koṇṭa* {{Kōpparakesarivarman}}; (f) Parāntaka I; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *X sti śrī* matirai koṇṭa {broken}  
 (2) ḷaiyār °aṭiṇa[ṭu] {broken}  
 (3) *kā[s]yapaṇ* viṭukaṇ cāt {broken}

Fortune! Prosperity! {{This is the year . . . of Kōpparakesarivarman}} who has taken Madurai. . . . Kāśyapaṇ Viṭukaṇ Cāt{{taṇ}} {name of the donor?}.

## NORTHERN SHRINE

## NORTHERN FAÇADE

#28. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) on the central wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 386; SII 32, part 1, no. 51; (e) 40th regnal year of *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 947); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the script is similar to #29, on the adjacent wall section, assigned to the reign of Sundaracōḷa by the editors of SII; although they may belong to different periods, the two inscriptions are likely to have been engraved at the same time.

- (1) *svasti śrī* matiraik koṇṭa kopparakecaripanmakku yā  
 (2) ṇṭu 40 °āvatu kuṇṇakkūrṛattu *devadāṇam* °avanikandhavva °ī  
 (3) *śvaragrhattu daṇḍhi* °īśvara paṭārar iṭai °ittaliḷ kūtṭappiḷai  
 (4) nakkaṇ °ayyāṛṛaṭikaḷ ittaḷi *devadāṇam* poykaiyānā  
 (5) ṭṭu °ūkaṇkuṭi °apohaṇaṇ kiṭaṇṭa *bhumiyai* vilaikku koṇ  
 (6) ṭu kalli °iraṇṭu pūvum viḷaiya niriṇilam nāṇku māvum  
 (7) °itiṇ poṇṭa *bhogaṇ* koṇṭu *cantrātittavat* °oru no  
 (8) ṇṭāviḷakku °iravum pakalum °erippomānom °ittali // *mahāde* XX<sup>60</sup>  
 (9) ppaṭṭuṭaiyom °eḷuvom °itu *panmāheśvara rakṣai*

<sup>60</sup> *mahādeva*. . . does not appear in the edition of SII 32. It is added on the pilaster, as if in continuation of the line, although it is not expected here. I wonder if it was added later, and why. Based on the meaning, we can exclude that it belongs to the inscription on the adjacent wall section.



Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 40th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. From (*iṭai*) Daṇḍhi Īśvara Paṭārar (Caṇḍeśvara) of the shrine (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Avānikandhavva, a *devadāna* of Kuṇṛakkūṛram, a dancer (*kūttappilai* > *kūttappīlai*) of this temple (*ittali*) Nakkaṇ Ayyārṛṭikal, has bought (*vilaiḱku koṇṭu*) a land which was lying (*kiṭaṅta* > *kiṭanta*) without enjoyment (*apōhaṅai*) in Ūkaṅkuṭi in Poykainātu, a *devadāna* of this temple; having prepared [the land] (*kalli*), having taken the produce (*bhōgaṅ*) which has come (*poṅta*) from this (*itin*), [that are] four *mās* of wet land (*nīrnilam*) which yield (*viḷaiya*) two crops (*iraṅṭu pūvum*), we will burn (*erippōmānōm*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, one perpetual lamp night and day, we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs [of Mahādeva?] of this temple, we the Seven. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#29. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 387; SII 13, no. 279; (e) 17th regnal year of Kōrājakesarivarman; (f) this king was identified with Sundaracōḷa (c. A.D. 974 [?]) by the editors of SII and with Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 1002) by Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 20); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the script is similar to #28, on the adjacent wall section.

- (1) *svasti śrī* ko °irācacecaripa[n]makku yāṅṭu
- (2) 17 °āvatu kuṇṛakūṛrattu *devadānam* °avani
- (3) *kandhavva* °īśvaṅṛhattu *mahādevaṅku* °ivavanikandha
- (4) vvaṅpurattu viracōḷa °aṅukkaṅ kuṅavaṅ taraṅ[i]val
- (5) laṅ vaytta viḷakku °oṅṛu nilaiṅviḷakkum poṅ pattiṅ
- (6) kaḷaṅcup °ippoṅ patiṅ kaḷaṅcuṅ koṅṭu °iravum paka
- (7) lum °oru noṅṭāviḷakku *cantrātittaval* °eppo
- (8) mānom °ittaliṅ paṭṭuṭaiyom °eluvom °itu *panmā °e*
- (9) *śvara rakṣai* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 17th year of Kōrājakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of the shrine (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśva* > *īśvara*) [of] Avānikandhavva, a *devadāna* of Kuṇṛakkūṛram, Viracōḷa Aṅukkaṅ Kuṅavaṅ Taraṅvallaṅ of this Avānikandhavvapuram gave (*vaytta* > *vaitta*) for one (*oṅṛu*) lamp (*viḷakku*) [which is] a standing lamp (*nilaiṅviḷakkum*) ten *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*poṅ pattiṅ kaḷaṅcu*); having taken (*koṅṭu*, i.e. with) these ten *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*ippoṅ patiṅ kaḷaṅcuṅ*), night and day (*iravum pakalum*), for one perpetual lamp (*oru noṅṭāviḷakku* > *oru noṅṭāviḷakku*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, we will burn (*eppōmānōm* > *erippōmānōm*), we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple, we the Seven. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#30. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) on the eastern wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 385; (e) 27th regnal year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman alias Rājarājadeva; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 1022); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal, E. Francis, N. Cane, and U. Veluppillai; (h) *meykkīrtti* of Rājarāja I, lines 1 to 13.

- (1–11) {*meykkīrtti*}
- (12) {*meykkīrtti*} *śrī kovirājarāja*

- (13) kecaripaṇmarāṇa śrī rājarājadēvarkku yāṇṭu °iru  
 (14) pattu °eļāvatu paļuvūr °avaṇikantavva °īśvarattu devatā  
 (15) ṇam rājentiraciṅkavaļanāṭṭup poykaināṭṭu °ūkaṅku  
 (16) ṭi devarkku nikki °ulakaļantu °eṛiṇa nilattāl °uṭaiyār  
 (17) śrī rājarājadēvar koṇṭaruļum nellu toļāyirattu °o  
 (18) ru pattu °eļukalaṇe patakku 8 ṇāļiyum °ittevarkku veṇ  
 (19) ṭum ni[va]ntaṅkaļukku °uṭaiyār śrī rājarājadēvar deviyar paļuvūr<sup>61</sup> °a  
 (20) vaṇikantavvapurrattu devaṇār makaļ nakkaṅ paṅcavaṇ māte  
 (21) viyār viṇapattāl devakke kuṭuttaruļi yāṇṭu °irupattu  
 (22) °eļāvatu mutal °ittevarkku ṇivantam [p]eṛuvārkkē  
 (23) ṭuttaruļi variyil °iṭṭatu ||

{meykkīrtti} [This is] the 27th year of Śrī Kōvirājarājakesarivarman alias Śrī Rājarājadēvar. For the god (*devarkku*) of Ūkaṅkuṭi in Poykaināṭu in Rājentiraciṅkavaļanāṭu, a *devadāna* of the Lord (*īśvarattu*) Avaṇikantavva of Paļuvūr, having removed (*nikki*),<sup>62</sup> having measured (*aļantu*) the world (i.e. the land?) (*ulaku*), with the land (*nilattāl*) which increased (*eṛiṇa*), when the Lord (*uṭaiyār*) Śrī Rājarājadēvar has graciously taken (*koṇṭaruļum*) the 917 (*toļāyirattu* > *toļļāyirattu oru pattu eļu*) *kalams*, 1 *patakku*, and 8 *nāļis* of paddy (*nellu*) for the endowments (*ṇivantakaļukku*) wanted (*veṇṭum*) for this god (*ittevarkku*); upon the request (*viṇapattāl* > *viṇṇapattāl*) of the wife (*deviyar*) of Lord (*uṭaiyār*) Śrī Rājarājadēvar, the daughter (*makaļ*) of the god (*devaṇār*) of Avaṇikantavvapuram of Paļuvūr, Nakkaṅ Paṅcavaṇ Mātēvīyār, [it was] graciously given (*kuṭuttaruļi*) to the god himself (*devakkē* > *devarkkē*); from (*mutal*) the 27th year onwards, only to the ones who obtain (i.e. who handle) (*peṛuvārkkē*) the endowment (*ṇivantam* > *nivantam*) for this god (*ittevarkku* > *ittēvarkku*), it has been graciously given (*kuṭuttaruļi*); this has been put (*iṭṭatu*) in the tax-register (*variyil*).

### EASTERN FAÇADE

#31. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) engraved across the two wall sections on the southern side of the niche of Skanda on the eastern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 384; (e) 11th regnal year of *cālai kalam aṛutta* Kōvirājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 996); (g) inscription read with E. Francis, N. Cane, and U. Veluppillai; (h) the pilaster separating the two wall sections is engraved across from line 10, and the pilaster on the right side of the inscription is also engraved across from line 14.

- (1) *svasti śrī cā* // lai ka[lam a]ṛutta ko  
 (2) *virājarājakeca* // ripanmaṛkkku yāṇṭu  
 (3) 11 °āvatu ku // X [ra]kkku X ṛattu teva  
 (4) [tāna] XXXX // XXXXXX [°i]  
 (5) *śva* X ttu vaṭa // XXXX koyil

<sup>61</sup> The *-lu* is written in small letters as if it was forgotten and added later.

<sup>62</sup> There are two possible interpretations here: either “having removed (*nikki*) for the god (*devarkku*) [of] Ūkaṅkuṭi” or “having removed (*nikki*) Ūkaṅkuṭi for the god (*devarkku*) [of] Avānikantarpapuram”.

- (6) XX ādevar̥kku // [° a] X kaḷ [pa]luveṭṭa  
 (7) [raiyar]r kaṇṭaṇ // maṇavaṇākkku śrī kāyya  
 (8) m arākiṇra koyi // l koṇ aṭikaṇ meṇā  
 (9) yattu pakaivi // ṭai °īśvarattu teva  
 (10) ṇ X [kaḷ] ṇa[k]ka // ṇ vira // {cement} // [° i]<sup>63</sup>  
 (11) val °iravum pakalu // °eriyu X // ḷakku 1 °oṇṇukku devar °u // ḷa  
 (12) kkāl nicatam °uḷak // ku ne // y eriya vaitta nentāviḷa  
 (13) kku °oṇṇiṇukkuk // kuṭut // ta [° e]ṇ paṅkaraiyu vanta pa  
 (14) kaivi °īśvarattu ta // ḷicceri // vaṭa ciraḷil nakkaṇ peṇṇamai // paṅkukku  
 (15) meṇku viḷāviti // kku vaṭa // kkum pakaiviṭai °īśvarattu // devarkku nā  
 (16) X kupatta paṅkarai // kkuk ki // ḷakkum tiruveḷip[pa]ḷa[kaṇ] // toṭṭattu[k]  
 (17) k[u] teṇku naṭuvu[paṭa] // paṅkarai // yum cuṭṭi van[ta Xe] XXX // XXX llu  
 (18) marṇum °ippaṅkā[ḷ] // va XX<sup>64</sup> tu // °eperpaṭṭatum kuṭu XXX // tevarkku ca  
 (19) ntrādittavat °oru no // ṇṭāviḷa // kku vaitteṇ kariya viranaraṇi // X yaṇ<sup>65</sup>

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 11th year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman who distributed vessels at the *cālai*. To {{Mah}}ādevar of the temple (*kōyil*) of the northern side (*vaṭa*{vāyil}) of the Lord (*īśva*{ra}ttu) . . . , a *devadāna* of Kuṇṇrakkūṇṇam (*ku*{ṇ}rakkū{r}rattu), {{Nak}}kaṇ Vīra{{naraṇi}}, daughter (*makaḷ*) of god (*tēvaṇ*) of the Lord (*īśvarattu*) [of] Pakaiviṭai [which is] under the supervision (*mēṇāyattu* > *mēṇāyakattu* > *mēl nāyakattu*) of Kōṇ Aṭikaṇ of the temple (*kōyil*), who examines (*arāykinra* > *ārāykinra*) the sacred affairs (*śrī kāyyam* > *śrī kāryyam*) for Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṇavaṇār (*maṇavaṇākkku* > *maṇavaṇārkkku*); she (*ival*), for one *uḷakku* ({u}lakku 1 *oṇṇukku*) by the *devar-uḷakku* [measure] to burn (*eriyu*{m}) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), gave (*vaitta*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicatam*) to burn (*eriyā*); that which have come (*vanta*) from half (*araiyum*) of my share (*eṇ paṅku*) was given (*kuṭutta*) for one perpetual lamp (*nentāviḷakku* > *nontāviḷakku*): to the west (*meṇku*) of the share (*paṅkukku*) that Nakkaṇ got (*peṇṇamai*) in the northern (*vaṭa*) row of houses (*ciraḷil*) of the temple quarters (*taḷicceri*) of the Lord (*īśvarattu*) [of] Pakaivi{ṭai}, to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the festival street (*viḷāviti*), to the east (*kīlakkum*) of half a share (*paṅku-arai-kkuk*) of . . . patta for the god (*devarkku*) of the Lord (*īśvarattu*) [of] Pakaiviṭai, to the south (*teṇku*) of the garden (*tōṭṭattukku*) of Tiruvēḷi Pālakaṇ; having pointed out (*cuṭṭi*) half the share (*paṅk-araiyum*) that falls (*paṭa*) in the middle (*naṭuvu*), that which has come (*vanta*) . . . and besides (*marṇum*); with this share (*ippaṅkāḷ*), [I?] have given (*kuṭu*{ttēn?}) . . . and whatever falls [within] (*epēṇpaṭṭatum* > *eppēṇpaṭṭatum*); I, Kariya Viranaraṇi . . . , have placed (*vaitteṇ*) one perpetual lamp, as long as the sun and the moon endure, for the god (*tēvarkku*).

## SOUTHERN FAÇADE

#32. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the southern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE

<sup>63</sup> There is one letter on the pilaster on the right side for the lines 10 and 11. From line 14 onwards, this pilaster is systematically engraved.

<sup>64</sup> These are two signs which I cannot understand.

<sup>65</sup> The illegible letter may be the vowel *-e*, thus giving *yeṇ*.

1924, no. 378; (e) 24th and 26th regnal years of *matirai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 931 and 933); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* matirai koṅṭa kopparakecaripaṅ[ma]kki
- (2) yāṅṭu 24 °āvatu kilpaliḥaip poṅṅṇu taṅṭa
- (3) poṅṅṇu maṅaiḥ poṅṅṇum taṅṭi kāmako[ṭa]
- (4) ṅār °ārācci °il vacca poṅ muppatu na[ll]e
- (5) paṭṭamūṅṅru || yāṅṭu 26 °āvatu maṅai
- (6) ppoṅṅṇum nakar vālcci poṅṅṇum kālpāṭṭa
- (7) mum taṅṭi vaitta poṅ 20 kālaṅcu °ippoṅ
- (8) ṅāl °āṭu nūṅṅru °eṅpatuṅ koṅṭu °iraṅṭu taḷi
- (9) °ilum °oro nontāviḷakku °erippipar tevakaṅmikaḷ
- (10) ḷom ||<sup>66</sup>

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 24th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. The gold (*poṅṅṇu*) of the lower interest (*kilpaliḥai*), the gold (*poṅṅṇu*) of the fines (*taṅṭa*) and the gold (*poṅṅṇum*) of the houses (*maṅai*), *Taṅṭi Kāmakoṅṭaṅār*, in the examination [of the accounts] (*ārācciyil*), gave (*vacca*) thirty-four [*kālaṅcu* of] gold and three (*mūṅṅru*) forehead plates (*paṭṭam*). [This is] the 26th year. Having collected (*taṅṭi*) a quarter (*kāl*) of the rent/tax (*pāṭṭa*), the gold (*poṅṅṇum*) of the town inhabitants (*nakar vālcci*) and the house gold (*maṅaiḥ poṅṅṇum*), twenty *kālaṅcu* of gold were given; with this gold (*ippoṅṅṅāl*), having taken (*koṅṭu*) 180 (*nūṅṅru eṅpatuṅ*) goats (*āṭu*), we the Tēvakaṅmis will cause to burn (*erippipar*) a perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku*) in each (*orō*) of the two temples (*iraṅṭu taḷiilum*).

#33. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) engraved across two wall sections, the central and the eastern ones, of the *ardha-maṅḍapa* of the southern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 380; (e) 26th regnal year of *matirai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 933); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the pilaster separating the two wall sections is engraved.

- (1) *svasti śrī* matirai koṅṭa kopparakecaripaṅ // makku yā // ṅṭu 26 °āvatu kuṅṅrakkūṅṅrattu deva
- (2) tāṅam °avaṅikaṅṭa[r]papurattu mahadevarkku // miko // laiviḷānāṅṭu nelvāyil °uṭaiyāṅ kāṭaṅ pūti
- (3) °ittaiḷi tevatāṅam °ūkaṅkuṭi °apohaṅaṅ kiṭaṅṭa // bhumi ma // cakki kuṭutta ni[r]nilam ṅālu māvam koṅṭu °ira
- (4) vum pakalum °ippokaṅṭa pokaṅ koṅṭu °o // ru no // ṅtāviḷakku °erippo °ittaiḷi paṭṭu °uṭai
- (5) yom °eḷuvom ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 26th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. To Mahādeva (*mahadeva* > *mahādeva*) of *Avaṅikaṅṭarpapuram*, a *devadāna* of *Kuṅṅrakkūṅṅram*, *Kāṭaṅ Pūti*, lord (*uṭaiyāṅ*) of *Nelvāyil* in *Mikolaiviḷānāṅṭu*, having prepared (*macakki*) the land (*bhūmi*) which was lying

<sup>66</sup> An ornamented punctuation sign marks the end.

(*kiṭanta*) without enjoyment (*apōhaṇaṇi*) in Ūkaṅkuṭi, a *devadāna* of this temple, gave (*kuṭutta*) four *mās* (*ṇālu māvum*) of wet land (*nīrnilam*); having taken (*koṇṭu*) [these], having taken (*koṇṭu*) the produce (*pōkaṇi*) which have come [from] this (*ip-pokaṇta* > *ip-pōnta?*), night and day (*iravum pakalum*), we will burn (*erippō* > *erippōm*) one perpetual lamp (*oru noṇṭāviḷakku*), we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple (*ittaḷi*), we the Seven (*eḷuvōm*).

#34. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) engraved across two wall sections on the eastern side of the niche of Śiva on the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 383; SII 13, no. 154; (e) 6th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; identified with Gaṇḍarāditya by Balasubrahmanyam (1963: 62–63); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the inscription is similar to #10: same donor, same words; from line 7, the pilaster separating the two wall sections is engraved.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirācake // caripanmaṅkku yā*
- (2) *ṇṭu 6 °āvatu kunrakkūra // ttu devatānam*
- (3) °*avanikantarppa °iśva // raḡṛhattu vaṭa*
- (4) [vāyi] ko[yi]l *mahādevark // ku °ittaḷi devanar [ma]*
- (5) *kaḷār piḷḷaiyār ceramā<sup>67</sup> // nār deviyar nakkan*
- (6) °*akkara[ṇi] naṅkaiyār ca // ndrādittavar °iravu*
- (7) *m pakalum °eriya vai // tta ṇo // ntāviḷakku 1 kku*
- (8) *ku paṭi °uḷakkiṇāl ṇica // tam °uḷa // kku ṇey yeriya*
- (9) *vaitta pon 12 m paṇ // ṇiru kaḷañ // cu °ivviḷakku °eriya*
- (10) *vaitta trara viḷakkoṅru // ṇirai °uṭk // karu °iruppu ṇarāyam*
- (11) °*uḷpaṭa ceruviṭaiyāl 100 // 90 la // m °itu paṇmayeśva*
- (12) *ra rakṣai*

Fortune! prosperity! [This is] the 6th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of the shrine (*kōyil*) of the northern side (*vaṭa vāyi* > *vaṭa vāyil*) of the temple (*ḡṛhattu*) of the Lord (*iśvara*) [of] Avanikantarppa, a *devadāna* of Kunrakkūṅram, Nakkan Akkaraṇi Naṅkaiyār, daughter (*makaḷār*) of god (*devanar*) of this temple (*ittaḷi*), wife/queen (*deviyar*) of Piḷḷaiyār Ceramānār, gave (*vaitta*), for one perpetual lamp (*noṇṭāviḷakku 1 kku* > *nontāviḷakku 1 kku*) to burn (*eriya*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure; for one *uḷakku* by the *uḷakku* measure (*paṭi uḷakkiṇāl*) of *ghee* (*ney* > *ney*) to burn (*eriya*) every day (*ṇicatam* > *nicatam*), [she] gave (*vaitta*) 12 *kaḷañcus* of gold; [she] gave (*vaitta*) for this lamp (*ivviḷakku*) to burn (*eriya*), 190 (*lam* > *kalam?*) by the standard measure (*ceruviṭaiyāl*) including (*uḷpaṭa*) iron and led (*iruppu ṇarāyam* > *iruppu narāyam*) in the inner core (*uṭkkaru*) of the standard weigh (*ṇirai* > *niṛai*) of one standing lamp (*trara viḷakkoṅru* > *tara viḷakkoṅru*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#35. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) engraved across two wall sections on the western side of the niche of Śiva on the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and

<sup>67</sup> This could also be read *comā* instead of *ceramā*.

read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 382; SII 13, no. 201; SII 32, part 1, no. 64 and part 2, no. 215; (e) 9th regnal year of Kōrājakesarivarman and 16th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uttamacōla; (f) since the second part of the donation was recorded in the reign of Uttamacōla (c. A.D. 987), the first Rājakesarivarman must precede Uttamacōla and may thus be identified with Gaṇḍarāditya (c. A.D. 958) or Sundaracōla (c. A.D. 966); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) some lines continue over the pilaster on the right side and even a little further on the next wall section as well as on the ledge below; the second part of the inscription seems to have been added later, because the letters are written more closely than in the first part.

- (1) *svasti* // *śrī* ko °irācake // caripaṇ // maṅku yāṅṭu 9 °ā
- (2) *vatu* ku // ṅrakkūrṛattu *de* // *vatāṇa* // m °avaṅikandhavva
- (3) °*īśvagr* // *ha*<sup>68</sup> // *ttu mahādevar* va // *ṭavāy* // *śrī* koyilukku °a
- (4) *vaṅikandha* // *vvapurattu* viraco // *la* °aṅu // kkaṅ *ciṛiyappi* maḷapa
- (5) *ṭi cantrāti* // *ttavallum* vai // *tta* no // *tāvilakku* °onṅri[nik]
- (6) *ku paṭiyu* // *lakkiṅāl* nicatam *uḷa* // *kku* ne<sup>69</sup> // *y eriya* vaitta *poṅ*
- (7) 10 *paṭiṅ* ka // *laṅcum śrī* kopperake // *caripaṅma* // *kku* yāṅṭu °uttamacōlakku 1[[6]] // °āvatu °a // *ṭikaḷ* paḷu
- (8) *veṭṭarai* // *yar kaṅṭaṅ* maṅavaṅār °aru // *ceyya* // *śrī kāyyam* °ārāyāṅiṅkka *iraṅṭu* nakara // *ttārum* *ciṛi* // *yappi* maḷa
- (9) *vāṭi* vai // *tta poṅ* *paṭiṅ* kaḷa // *ṅcum* ko // *ṅṭu* °iraṅṭu *nakarattārum* *palicai* °iṭṭu // *vārāṅiṅkiṅṅra* // *ṅa poṅ* // *paṭiṅ* // *kaḷa*
- (10) *ṅcum śrī* // *kāyyam* °ārāyāṅiṅṅra // *kausiṅkaṅ* // *nakkan mārapirāṅ* °ārācciyil [°i] // *ppon* *pati* // *n kaḷaṅcu* // *m vāṅki* // *koṅṭu*
- (11) *cantrādittava* // *l* °iravum *pakalum* °oru no // *ntāviḷa*
- (12)<sup>70</sup> *kku* °erippom °ānom °ittaliṅ pa
- (15) *ṭṭuṭaiyom* °eḷuvom °itu *panmāheśvara rakṣai* ||<sup>71</sup>

Fortune! prosperity! [This is] the 9th year of Kōrājakesarivarman. To the holy shrine (*śrī kōyilukku*) of the northern side (*vaṭavāy*) [of] Mahādevar of the temple (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśva* > *īśvara*) [of] Avaṅikandhavva, a *devadāna* of Kuṅṅrakkūrṛam, Vīracōla Aṅukkaṅ Cīriyappi Maḷapāṭi of Avaṅikandhavvapuram gave (*vaitta*), as long as the sun and the moon endure; he gave (*vaitta*) ten (*paṭiṅ*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*poṅ*), to burn (*eriyā*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicatam*) by the *uḷakku* measure (*paṭiyuḷakkiṅāl*) for one perpetual lamp (*notāvilakku onṅrinukku* > *nontāvilakku onṅrinukku*). [This is] the 16th year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uttamacōla. While Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Maṅavaṅār graciously ordered (*aruceyya* > *aruḷiceyya*), while [he, Kausiṅkaṅ] was examining (*ārāyāṅiṅkka*) the sacred service (*śrīkāyyam* > *śrīkāryam*), the two Nagarattārs (*iraṅṭu nakarattārum*) having taken (*koṅṭu*) all the ten *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*poṅ*) given (*vaitta*) by Cīriyappi Maḷavāṭi, both the Nagarattārs (*iraṅṭu nakarattārum*) put (*iṭṭu*) the interests (*palicai*) which have come (*vārāṅiṅkiṅṅra*) from these ten

<sup>68</sup> The *ha* was probably forgotten and added later on the little ledge in between.

<sup>69</sup> The *-e* of the next syllable *-ye* is on this wall section.

<sup>70</sup> This line is engraved on the ledge.

<sup>71</sup> The punctuation mark for the end is ornamented.

(*patin*) *kaḷaṅcus*; while Kauśikan Nakkān Mārapirāṇ was examining (*ārāyāniṅra*) the sacred service (*śrīkāyāṃ > śrīkāryāṃ*), in [his] examination (*ārācciyil*), having taken (*koṅṭu*) the ten *kaḷaṅcus* of this gold (*ippon*), we the Paṭṭuṭaiyārs of this temple (*ittali*), we the Seven (*eḷuvōm*), will burn (*erippōmānōm*) one perpetual lamp (*oru nontāviḷakku*), night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#36. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) upper inscription engraved across two wall sections, the central and the eastern ones, of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the southern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 379; SII 19, no. 308; SII 32, part 2, no. 99; (e) 12th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uttamacōḷa; (f) Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 983); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī kōpparakesarivammaṅku yāṅṭu °uttamacōḷa // raṅku 12 °āvatu kuṅṅrakkūrṅṅattu maṅṅṅupperumpāḷuvūr*
- (2) *devatāṅṅam °avaṅṅikkantavva °iśvagrṅṅhattu mahādevarkku vaṭavāy śrī koyilukku // nāvalūr uṭaiyāṅ kaṅṅṅaṅ ṅevaṭi maḷaṅṅ tevaṭi puḷaḷaṅṅaiḷku °ivaḷ*
- (3) *bharttār akan<sup>72</sup> kaliyaṅ °araṅkaṅ °iddevarkku °i[[ra]]vum pakalum °eriya vai // tta nontāviḷakku °oṅṅiṅṅukku nīcatam ney nārāyattāl ce °uḷakkuku vaiitta*
- (4) *cāvāmūvāpperāṭu toṅṅṅūrṅṅāru °ivvāṭu koṅṅṅom maṅṅavaṅṅ // nerī maṅṅṅāṭi muṅṅṅaṅ caṅkaṅṅum [tā]ḷi °eraṅṅum periyāṅ caṭaiyaṅṅum pe*
- (5) *riyāṅ pīcaṅkaṅṅum kecaṅ maḷapāṭiyum kavariṅṅu[ra]ttu maṅṅṅāṭi vaṭukaṅṅ vai // ykāvāṭikaḷum cuṅṅaiḷkaṅṅa<sup>73</sup>ṅum centan vaṭukaṅṅum kaṅṅṅan °eḷuva // ṅu<sup>74</sup>*
- (6) *m °iṅṅṅey °aṭṅṅuvomānom °ivvaṅṅaivo // m °itdhanmam rakṅṅiṅṅpar °avanikandhavvaṅṅu[[rattu na]]karattār panmāheśvara // rakṅṅai ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uttamacōḷar. To Mahādeva of the shine (*grṅṅhattu*) of the Lord (*iśva > iśvara*) [of] Avaṅṅikkantavva, a *devadāna* of Maṅṅṅupperumpāḷuvūr of Kuṅṅrakkūrṅṅam, to the holy shrine (*śrī kōyilukku*) of the northern side (*vaṭavāy*), for Tēvaṭi Puḷaḷaṅṅai, daughter (*maḷaḷ*) of Kaṅṅṅaṅ Tēvaṭi, lord (*uṭaiyāṅ*) of Nāvalūr, Akaṅ Kaliyaṅ Araṅkaṅ, husband (*bharttār*) of her (*ivaḷ*), gave (*vaiitta*) to burn (*eriya*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*) to this god (*iddevarkku*); he endowed (*vaiitta*) for one *uḷakku* and one *cey* (*ce > cey?*) by the *nārāyāṃ* measure (*nārāyattāl*) of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nīcatam*) for one perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku oṅṅiṅṅukku > nontāviḷakku oṅṅiṅṅukku*), ninety-six (*toṅṅṅūrṅṅāru*) undying and non-ageing great goats (*cāvāmūvāpperāṭu*). Having taken (*koṅṅōm*) these goats (*ivvāṭu*), we the shepherds (*maṅṅṅāṭi*) of Maṅṅavaṅṅēri, Muṅṅṅaṅ Caṅkaṅṅ, Tāḷi Eraṅṅ, Periyāṅ Caṭaiyāṅṅ, Periyāṅ Pīcaṅkaṅṅ, Kecaṅ Maḷapāṭi, and the shepherds (*maṅṅṅāṭi*) of Kavariṅṅuram Vaṭukaṅṅ Vaiykāvāṭikaḷ, Cuṅṅaiḷkaṅṅṅaṅ, Cēntaṅ Vaṭukaṅṅ, Kaṅṅṅaṅ Eḷuvaṅṅ, we are those (*ivvaṅṅaivo*) who will supply (*aṭṅṅuvōmānōm*) this *ghee* (*iṅṅṅey*). The Nagarattārs of Avānikandhavvaṅṅuram will

<sup>72</sup> SII 19 and 32 read *bharttā cukaṅṅ*. However, I cannot read *cu*, but *ra* or some letter resembling the *ra* (*ka* or *na*).

<sup>73</sup> The *ṅṅa* are written one above another. Same for the *ṅṅa* of *kaṅṅṅan* in the same line.

<sup>74</sup> SII reads [*ivaṅṅai*]vo. However, I cannot see any letters after the *ṅṅu*.

protect (*rakṣippar*) this donation (*itdhanmam*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#37. (a) AIM, northern shrine; (b) on the easternmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the southern façade, lowest inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 381; SII 19, no. 327; SII 32, part 2, no. 121; (e) 13th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōla (c. A.D. 984); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopperakesarivammakku yāṇṭu 13 °āvatu kunṛakkūrṛattu deva
- (2) tāṇam °avaṇikantaṛvva °iśvagrihattu mahādevaṛṅku °aṭikal paḷuve
- (3) ṭṭaraiyaṇ kaṇṭaṇ cuntaracoḷan °aruḷāl śrī kāyṃam mārākiṅṛa nāvalūr uṭai
- (4) yān kaṇṭan tevaṭi tiruviḷā °eḷuntaruḷa °aṭṭuvitta gaṇa
- (5) patiyārum piṭamum *prabhaiyum* °āka niṛai 715<sup>75</sup> °ivaṛṅku ce
- (6) ta porpū niṛai

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 13th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of the shrine (*grihattu*) of the Lord (*iśva* > *iśvara*) [of] Avaṇikantaṛvva, a *devadāna* of Kunṛakkūrṛam, by the grace (*aruḷāl*) of Aṭikal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ Cuntaracōḷaṇ, while he<sup>76</sup> was examining (*ārākiṅṛa*) the sacred service (*śrīkāyṃam* > *śrīkāryam*), the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Nāvalūr, Kaṇṭan Tēvaṭi, caused to put (*aṭṭuvitta*) a weigh (*niṛai*) of 715 so that it becomes (*āka*) Gaṇapatiyār, a platform (*piṭa*) and a halo (*prabha*), so that [Gaṇapati] graciously raises (*eḷuntaruḷa*) on festival days (*tiruviḷā*). For him (*ivaṛṅku*, i.e. Gaṇapati), a weighing measure (*niṛai*) [for a] golden flower (*porpū*) was made (*ceyta*).

## PAKAIVIṬAI ĪŚVARAGRĤATTU MAHĀDEVA TEMPLĒ (PIM)

### MAIN SHRINE DEDICATED TO ŚIVA

#### SOUTHERN FAÇADE

#38. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) on the upper part of the base (*pattika*) of the central wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the southern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 397; SII 19, no. 140; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 2, 117–118); (e) 5th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Cōla king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the *puḷḷi* appears on some of the letters only; I have spotted the beginning of an inscription (just *svasti śrī*) on the eastern part of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, on the same upper part of the base.

- (1) *svasti śrī* koppara[[ke]]caripaṇmakki yāṇṭu °aṅcāvatu kunṛakkūrṛattu maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr pakai

<sup>75</sup> This number is written with the following signs: 7 + 100 + 10 + 5.

<sup>76</sup> This is probably a reference to Kaucikaṇ Māraṇ, since we are probably in the reign of Uttamacōla. Śrīkāryam can also refer to the person itself, and therefore it could equally be translated as “while the Śrīkāryam was examining [the temple affairs]”.



- (2) viṭai °iśvagirahattu mahadevakkku<sup>77</sup> °itaḷik kūttapiḷḷai nakkaṇ kiṭaṅtaperumāṇ  
vaitta viḷakku °onrunā  
(3) I poṇ 10 pattu

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 5th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Mahādeva (*mahadevakkku* > *mahādevarkku*) of the shrine (*girahattu* > *grhattu*) of the Lord (*iśva* > *iśvara*) [of] Pakaiviṭai [lit. a bull/distress (*viṭai*) for his enemies (*pakai*)] of Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr [lit. the exceedingly (*maṇṇum*) big (*perum*) Paḷuvūr] of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam, the dancing child (*kūttapiḷḷai*) of this temple (*itaḷi* > *ittaḷi*) Nakkaṇ Kiṭaṅtaperumāṇ placed (*vaitta*) ten [*kalañcus*] of gold (*poṇ*) with one (*onrunāl*) lamp (*viḷakku*).

#39. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) on the upper part of the base (*pattika*) of the southern façade of the sanctuary, to the east of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 398; SII 19, no. 266; SII 32, part 2, no. 82; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 4, 119–120); (e) 10th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) perhaps Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 981); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the last two lines are inscribed after the corner, as if in continuation of the previous lines.

- (1) *svasti śrī kopperakecaripaṇmaṛkkku yāṇṭu pattāvatu kuṇṇakkūrṇattu ma[ṇ] //  
nupperumpa // ḷuvūr [pa]kaiviṭai [ °iśvara]gr[ha]ttu mādeva<sup>78</sup>*  
(2) *r paḷuvūr nakkarkku veṇṇikkūrṇattu brahmadeyam pūvaṇūr °attiyaṇ śivadā // saṇ  
colappi // [ra]ṇṇāṇa °uttamacō[ḷa bra]hmātarāyar [ca]ntra<sup>79</sup>*  
(3) *tittavar nikka vaitta viḷa °onru ṇontāviḷakku [ °onru]ṇukku<sup>80</sup> vacca °āṭu toṇ //  
ṇūrṇāru nilai // viḷakku °onru ceruviṭaiyāl niṇai nāṇūrṇu*  
(4) *palam pan[māhe]*  
(5) *śvara rakṣai ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Nakkar of Paḷuvūr, Mahādeva (*mādeva* > *mahādeva*) of the shrine (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*iśvara*) [of] Pakaiviṭai of Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam, Āttiyaṇ Śivadāsaṇ Cōlappiraṇ alias Uttamacōḷa Brahmātarāyar of Pūvaṇūr, a *brahmadeya* of Veṇṇikkūrṇam, for removing [the darkness/the disease?] (*nikka*) as long as the sun and the moon endure, put (*vaitta*) one lamp (*viḷa onru* > *viḷakku onru*); for one perpetual lamp (*ṇontāviḷakku onrunukku*), he gave (*vacca* > *vaitta*) ninety-six (*toṇṇūrṇāru*) goats (*āṭu*); for one standing lamp (*nilai viḷakku onru*), four hundred (*nāṇūrṇu*) *palams* of the standard measure (*niṇai*) by the *ceruviṭai* measure (*ceruviṭaiyāl*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#40. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) on the upper part of the base (*pattika*) of the southern façade of the sanctuary, to the east of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in continuation of #39; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) SII 19, no. 266; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 3,

<sup>77</sup> The first *k*, which has a *pulli*, was probably intended for a *r*.

<sup>78</sup> The line which continues after the corner is in fact line 4, and cannot be read in continuation of this line.

<sup>79</sup> Same remark as in the previous note, except that the line which continues is line 5.

<sup>80</sup> This part: *vaitta viḷa °onru ṇontāviḷakku [ °onru]ṇukku* is missing in the edition of SII and that of Tyagarajan.

118–119); (e) 4th regnal year of *pāñṭiyaṇai talai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Āditya II (c. A.D. 964); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) this is just the beginning of an inscription.

- (1) [[*svasti śrī*]] [pāñṭiya]nait ta[lai] koṇṭa kopparakecarivanmakku [[yāṇ]]tu [[4]]  
[°āva]tu kuṇṛakkūr̥ra // [ttu] maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr pa[kai]viṭai 7

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 4th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who took the head of the Pāñḍya. {{To the Lord}} [of] Pakaiviṭai of Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr of Kuṇṛakkūr̥ram...

#41 (Fig. A.21). (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) on the upper part (*pattika*) and the middle part (*kumuda*) of the base of the southern façade; begins on the western side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti and goes until the central part of the base; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 399; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 7, 123–124); (e) 11th regnal year of *cālai kalam arutta* Kōvirārājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 996); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* cālai [[kalam a]]rutta [ko]vi[rā]ja[rā]jakecaripaṇmakku yāṇṭu 11 [[°ā // vatu]] kuṇṛakk[ū]r̥ra // ttu maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr pakaiviṭai °ī // *svarattu mahā* // *devarkku* °ittali t[e]vanā[r] makaḷ kūtṭapi[llai] na[kka]n kar[i]ya viranaraṇi
- (2) [ye]n °idevaṛku tiṅkaḷ caṅ[[kirā]n]ti potukku *sa[n]gra[n]ti* nān[ru] tiru °a]mutu *kāṭṭa* // *pattēṭṭuku* [[kut]] // tal tiruvamutu °arici *devanāliyaḷ* // nāñāliyum kaṛi // °amutukku nellu nāliyum tayiramutu °uriyum neyyamutu °oru piṭiyum
- (3) [[°aṭaikkāya]mutu nālum tiru[vamutu]<sup>81</sup> °aṭavaṛkku [ne]llu [3]<sup>82</sup> nāliyu kuṇṛ[vā]ḷukku nā[li][yu] // [[m]] °itta[nai] // yum tiṅkaḷ toṛum *sa[n]grānti* na nā[ya] // {part not engraved or lost} // °amutu ceyvikka vaitta poṇṇ nār kaḷaṅcu °ippon nārkaḷa
- (4)<sup>83</sup> ṅcuṅ koṇṭu X tta XXX
- (5) ti [ca] XX ṅkak koṇṭom °i XX
- (6) XXX mukkāle mu Xm °ic XX

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 11th year of Kōvirārājavarmān who distributed vessels at the *cālai*. For Mahādeva of the Lord (*iśvara*) [of] Pakaiviṭai of Maṇṇupperumpaḷuvūr of Kuṇṛakkūr̥ram, I, the daughter of god (*tēvanār makaḷ*) of this temple (*ittali*), the dancing child (*kūtṭapiḷlai*) Nakkan Kariya Viranaraṇi, to present (*kāṭṭa*, lit. to show) holy food offerings (*tiru amutu*) on that day (*nāñru*) on Saṃkrānti (*saṅgrānti*) for one time (*pōtukku*), on Saṃkrānti (*caṅkirānti*) on the lunar month (*tiṅkaḷ*) for this god (*idevaṛku*), for eighteen (*pattēṭṭuku*) [people? portions?]: four *nālis* (*nāñāliyum*) by the *devanāli* [measure] (*devanāliyaḷ*) of

<sup>81</sup> it is possible that there is a *-ku* after *amutu*.

<sup>82</sup> There are three bars one under the other, which I interpreted as the number 3.

<sup>83</sup> Lines 4 to 6 are engraved on the middle part of the base (*kumuda*). They do not appear in the edition established by Tyagarajan, probably because they were not visible at that time. Indeed, during the renovation of 2015, the lower part of the base was uncovered and inscriptions on this part became visible.

husked rice of holy food offerings (*kuttal tiruvamutu arici*), one *nāli* (*nāliyum*) of paddy (*nellu*) for vegetable food offerings (*kaṛi amutukku*), one *uri* (*uriyum*) of curd food offerings (*tayir-amutu*), one handful (*oru piṭiyum*) of ghee food offerings (*neyy-amutu*), four areca nut food offerings (*aṭaikkāy amutu*), 3 *nālis* (*nāliyu*) of paddy (*nellu*) for those who join (*aṭavaṛ*) the holy food offerings (*tiruvamutu*), and one *nāli* (*nāliyum*) for the pounded rice (*kuruvāluḱku*); to make (*ceyvikka*) some food offerings (*amutu*) . . . on every (*tōrum*) Saṃkrānti (*saṅgrānti*) of the lunar month (*tiṅkaḷ*) for all this (*ittañaiyum*), [1] gave (*vaitta*) four (*nār*) *kalañcus* of gold (*pon*); having taken (*koṇṭu*) these four *kalañcus* of gold (*ippon nārḱ kalañcu*) . . .

### WESTERN FAÇADE

#42. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) on the upper part (*pattika*) of the base of the western façade, on the central projection; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 6, 121–123); (e) lost regnal year of *cālai kalam arutta* Kōrājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) on the middle part (*kumuda*), there are some illegible remains of letters which may belong to the same inscription as in the case of #41 on the southern façade; the inscription is not continuous, and the edition is thus difficult to establish (the one established by Tyagarajan is quite confusing): there are three lines, but some stones are not engraved and one stone is missing.

- (1) {corner broken} *sti śrī cālai kalam arutta korājarāja*[kecaripa]nmak[ku] {broken} // {stones not inscribed or damaged} // {stone not inscribed or damaged} // {stone missing} // XXXX//XXXXX//XXXXXXXXXX ya *śrī* kāyamm āraṅiṅra koyil konaṭikaḷ me/pe
- (2) {corner broken} *ykatu cantrātittaval pakal* [li]ra[vu] °eriya *vaitta non*[tā] X // {stones not inscribed or damaged} // {stone not inscribed or damaged} // {stone missing} // XXXX//XX na XX ya // XXXX<sup>84</sup> meṛ[k]kum viḷāṅṅi teruvukku vaṭakkum tiruveḷipaṭṭāl kaṅto
- (3) X<sup>85</sup> ttukku teṛku paṅku °araiyum °itināl tevatānaṅkaḷil van // {stones not inscribed or damaged} // {stone not inscribed or damaged} // {stone missing} // ya vatten // Xkka viranaraṅ[i] // yen

Fortune! Prosperity! . . . of Kōrājarājakesarivarman who who distributed vessels at the *cālai*. . . Kōn Aṭikaḷ of the temple (*kōyil*), who examines (*ārāykinṅra* > *ārāykinṅra*) the sacred affairs (*śrīkāyamm* > *śrīkāryam*) . . . ; . . . gave (*vaitta*) to burn (*eriya*) day (*pakal*) and night (*iravu*) as long as the sun and the moon endure (*cantrātittaval*) a perpetual lamp (*nontā*{*viḷakku*}) . . . to the west (*mērkum*) of . . . , and to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the street (*teruvukku*) of the festival street (*viḷāṅṅi*), and to the south (*teṛku*) of . . . with the coming out (*tiruveḷipaṭṭāl*) [for water?], and half a share (*paṅku araiyum*); {{that which comes (*van*{*ta*})?} in the *devadānas*

<sup>84</sup> Tyagarajan reads *hattu* before *mērkku*, but I cannot see it.

<sup>85</sup> Tyagarajan suggests *ṭta* before *ttukku*, but I am not sure there is enough space. However, the edge of the corner may have been broken after he established his edition.

(*tēvatānaṅkaḷil*) of these four (*itināl*) [boundaries?], . . . I {{Na}}kka Vīranaraṇi gave (*vattēn* > *vaittēn*) . . .

#43 (Fig. A.21, Fig. A.22). (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) on the middle part (*kumuda*) of the base, on the southern side of the western façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) inscription not noticed and unpublished; (e) lost regnal year of . . . Mummaṭṭiccōla; (f) perhaps Rājarāja I; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* X {cement + surface damaged} XXXX mu[mmaṭṭi]
- (2) ccolaṛkku yā[n] {cement + surface damaged} XXX [m] paḷuvūr pa[kai]
- (3) X [tai] X [śvarattu] {cement + surface damaged} XXXXXXXXX
- (4) X [ye] o[ru] no[n] {cement} XXX [ya *devata*] {illegible}
- (5) XXX nakkaṅāṇa {cement} XX [ppa]llavaraiyān vaitta tiruviḷa
- (6) {cement} [lam] X ṭṭa vaitta X

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the . . . year of . . . Mummaṭṭiccōla. . . of the Lord ({{i}}śvarattu) of Paki{{vi}}ṭai of Paḷuvūr . . . Nakkaṅ alias . . . Pallavaraiyān gave (*vaitta*) for a lamp (*tiruviḷa*{{kku}}); he gave (*vaitta*) . . .

#### NORTHERN FAÇADE

#44. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) on the middle part (*kumuda*) of the base, between the *ardha-maṅḍapa* and the sanctuary; (c) personally located but read only on pictures; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) lost regnal year of *cālai kalam arutta Kōrājarājakesarivarman*; (f) Rājarāja I; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) I noticed this inscription in 2015, while they were renovating the temple; unfortunately, it has now disappeared under cement; I have read the inscription only on pictures that I then took, and later on pictures provided by N. Cane.

- (1) [*svasti śrī* cā[lai] kalam arutta korājarāja[ke]ca {illegible}]
- (2) X [lu]veṭṭaraiyar kaṅṭan maṛava[nar]kkāy śrī kāyyam °ārā[ki]ṅṛa koyil {illegible}
- (3) XXX [nā]takaṅ X ta[ṅak]kil XXXXX ṅ vaitta [po] {illegible}

Fortune! Prosperity! . . . Kōrājarājakesari{{varman}} who distributed vessels at the *cālai*. . . of the temple (*kōyil*) who examines (*ārākiṅṛa*) the sacred affairs (*śrīkāyyam* > *śrīkāryam*) who has become (*āy?*) for the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭan Maṛavanar . . . gave (*vaitta*) . . .

#### INSIDE THE MUKHA-MANḌAPA

#45. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) inside the *mukha-maṅḍapa*, on the southern side of the entrance door, on the wall facing the entrance of the sanctuary, upper inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*, but today covered with paint and partly with cement; N. Cane provided me with pictures preceding the renovation of 2015 which were very helpful; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 1, 117); (e) 2nd regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Cōla king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the inscription is unfinished.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakesaripaṅmaṛku [[yā]ṅṭu 2 °āvatu ku
- (2) ṅṛakūrṛattu maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr [[pakaivi]]ṭai °iśvaragr̥ha
- (3) tu mahadeva[[ṛku]] °avanikantarpa °iśvaragr̥[ha]ttu paṭṭu °u

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 2nd year of Kōpparakesarivarman. {{To}} Mahādeva (*mahadeva* > *mahādeva*) of the shrine (*grhatu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Pakaiṣṭai of Maṅṅupperumpaluvūr of Kuṅṅakkūrṅram, the Paṭṭu{{ṭaiyārs}} of the shrine (*grhattu*) of the Lord (*īśvara*) [of] Avānikantarpa. . .

#46. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) inside the *mukha-maṅṅapa*, on the southern side of the entrance door, on the wall facing the entrance of the sanctuary, lower inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*, but today covered with paint and partly with cement; N. Cane provided me with pictures preceding the renovation of 2015 which were very helpful; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 5, 120–121); (e) lost regnal year of Kōrājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) [*svasti śrī ko °i*]rājarājake[[*saripar*]]*mmakku* yāṅṅu XXX
- (2) [[*tu*]] kuṅṅakūrṅrattu maṅṅumpe[[*ru*]]*mpaluvūr*p pakaiṣṭai
- (3) [[*°iś*]][*va*]rattu ma[*ha*]devarkku °aṭi[[*ka*]] paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar kaṅṅa[ṅ]
- (4) [[*maṅṅa*]]vaṅṅār pekiyār °aḷiyānilai [[*vi*]]ccātiriyēn °ira[vum pa] [[*ka*]]
- (5) [[*m °e*]]riya *cantri*[*tta*]val °eriya °oru [[*nontāviḷakkukku*]] vaitta po
- (6) [[ṅ 10]] pattu °ipōṅ pati[[ṅ ka]][[*la*]][[ṅcu]]ṅ koṅṅu non[[*tā*]]
- (7) {cement}
- (8) {illegible} *heśvara rakṣai*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the . . . year of Kōrājarājakesarivarman. For Mahādeva (*mahadeva* > *mahādeva*) of the Lord (*īśvarattu*) [of] Pakaiṣṭai of Maṅṅupperumpaluvūr of Kuṅṅakkūrṅram, I, Pekiyār Aḷiyānilai Viccātiri [of?]<sup>86</sup> Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṅaṅ Maṅṅavaṅ, to burn (*eriya*) night (*iravum*) and day (*pakam* > *pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure (*cantrittaval* > *cantrāṭittaval*), gave (*vaitta*) ten (*pattu*) 10 [*kaḷaṅcus*] of gold (*pon*) for a perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakkukku*) to burn (*eriya*); having taken (*koṅṅu*) the ten *kaḷaṅcus* of this gold (*ipōṅ*) . . . This is under the protection of the {{Paṅṅmā}}heśvaras.

#47. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) inside the *mukha-maṅṅapa*, on the northern side of the entrance door, on the wall facing the entrance of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; the inscription was located behind a big wooden chest that the priest removed (August 2018) for us to access the inscription; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) lost; (f) lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the inscription seems to be continuous, but some of the stones are damaged and the inscription cannot be read in full; it goes across the pilaster which is in the middle and goes down to the bottom of the wall; the inscription is damaged, but some legible letters are difficult to identify; the edition given here is therefore highly tentative, and a translation impossible (we only can make out the name of the temple and that it deals with a donation of land).

- (1) {illegible} // {illegible} [mman]
- (2) {illegible} // XX [tan] // {illegible} Xlara XX
- (3) {illegible} // kalat[tu] // {illegible} [°amuta]
- (4) XXX maḷa XXXX // XXXX // {illegible} XXX
- (5) {illegible} // XXXX // {illegible} XXXX

<sup>86</sup> The link between the donor and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar remains unclear to me.

- (6) XXXXXXXX vi XX // XXXX // XXX {illegible}
- (7) la X cilappottat[u] // [°uraiyu] // m tu {illegible}
- (8) X [pakai]viṭai °śva // XX [tai] // [ya] XX {illegible}
- (9) {illegible} // [ku śrī] X // {illegible}
- (10) {illegible} // ṭaiyani // XX mu {illegible}
- (10) XXXXXX [°u]ṇ // ṇilattu // ku kiḷa X {illegible}
- (11) XXXXXXXX yu[m ta] // XXXX // X la XX {illegible}
- (12) XX tai ko X [yun] ca // tu XXX // [vai] XXX {illegible}
- (13) ṭai °śvarattilla // XXXX // [ṇṇru] tiru X {illegible}
- (14) tiruvenkaṭavāyikkā // XX te X // [rkila p[o]] XXX cci
- (15) va [°ā]trayaṇ mahāde // XXXX // nārāyaṇaṇ XXXX
- (16) XX ya X ka X la XXX // XXXX // {illegible}
- (17) XXX ṇ paṇ [ti]ru // Xivat // {illegible}
- (18) [ke] XXX ṇeṇ varṛ[ina] // layāvā/var // {illegible}
- (19) [ta ni]la[m]āvatu °iv // vūr mā[n] // {illegible}
- (20) XX ta XX tu °irāti XXXX // XXXX // {illegible}

## GODDESS SHRINE

### WESTERN FAÇADE

#48 (Fig. A.23). (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on the southern side of the western façade of the sanctuary; begins on the lowest part of the base (*jagati*) and continues above, on the curved part (*kumuda*) of the base; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 395; SII 19, no. 403; SII 32, part 2, no. 194; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 1, 128–129); (e) 16th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uttamacōla; (f) Uttamacōla (c. A.D. 987); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the next stone on the curved part of the base is also engraved with a three-line inscription, but it is a fragment belonging to another inscription.

- (1) [sva]sti śrī kopparakecaripamaki yāṇṭu °uttamacōlakku yāṇṭu pa
- (2) tiṇ °ārāvatu kuṇṛakkūratu maṇṇuperumpaḷuvūr tiruṭṭammuṭaiya
- (3) māhatevaṛkku °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar kaṇṭaṇ maṇavanār
- (4) vai °ita °oru nontāviḷakku °eriya nicati °uḷakku neykku vaitta<sup>87</sup>
- (5) [c]āvāmuvaṇ perāṭu 96 °ito[ṇ]<sup>88</sup>
- (6) X ṇ nakaṇ mārapirāṇ °ārācciyil
- (7) vom °ānnoṃ maṇavaneri °ū[[ro]]
- (8) heśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 16th year of Kōpparakesarivarman, the year of Uttamacōla. For Mahādeva (*māhatēva* > *mahātēva*) of Tiruṭṭammuṭaiyar (*tiruṭṭammuṭaiya* > *tiruttōṭṭammuṭaiya*) in Maṇṇuperumpaḷuvūr (*maṇṇu* > *maṇṇu*)

<sup>87</sup> The inscription continues above, on the curved part of the base.

<sup>88</sup> We expect a continuation, but on the next stone, there it is a fragment of another inscription. This shows that stones from the temple have been re-used and not always placed in the proper order.

of Kuṇṛakkūr̥ram (*kuṇṛakkūr̥ratu* > *kuṇṛakkūr̥rattu*), Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ placed (*vai ita* > *vaitta*) for one perpetual lamp (*oru nontāviḷakku*) to burn (*eriyā*), placed (*vaitta*) for one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*neykku*) every day (*nicati*) ninety-six undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*). {{With these ninety-six great goats: *iton* . . . ?}} in the examination (*ārācciyil*) of Nakaṇ Mārapirāṇ . . . , we the villagers (*ūrōm?*) of Maṛavaṇēri will have to . . . This is under the protection of {{Panmā}}heśvaras.

#49 (Fig. A.24). (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on the lowest part of the base (*jagati*) of the western façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 2, 129–130); (e) 16th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uttamacōḷa; (f) Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 987); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* || koparakesaripaṇmakku yāṇṭu °utamacoḷakku ru<sup>89</sup> pati °ārāvatu kuṇṛakūr̥rattu maṇṇuppe {plain stone inserted here} ruppāḷuvūr tirutoṭam °uṭaiya mahateva
- (2) r̥kku °aṭikaḷ paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar kaṇṭaṇ maṛavaṇanār vaitta nontāviḷakku °iraṭunu[k {plain stone inserted here} ku] nicati tevanāḷiya[l] °uriy ney °aṭuvatāka
- (3) vaitta poṇ 30 m °ipon muppatin kaḷaṇcum maṅkalattu kaucikaṇ nakkan ma {plain stone inserted here} rapirāṇ °ārācciya[l] °ippon koṇṭu nica
- (4) tam [uri]y ney °eṇṇai °aṭṭuvit[ā]ka °ānnoṃ malainakaratta caṅkarapā X {plain stone inserted here} yom °ivai pamāheśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 16th year of Kōpparakesarivarman Uttamacōḷa. For Mahādeva (*mahātēva* > *mahātēva*) of Tiruttōṭṭamuṭaiyar (*tirutōṭam uṭaiya* > *tirutōṭṭamuṭaiya*) in Maṇṇuperumpaluvūr (*maṇṇu* > *maṇṇu*) of Kuṇṛakkūr̥ram, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇ placed (*vaitta*) for two (*iraṭunukku* > *iraṇtanukku*) perpetual lamps (*nontāviḷakku*), placed (*vaitta*) thirty [*kaḷaṇcus*] of gold (*poṇ*) for the supply (*aṭuvatu āka*) of one *uri* of *ghee* (*ney*) by the *tēvanāḷi* [measure] every day (*nicati*). These thirty *kaḷaṇcus* of gold [are] in the examination (*ārācciyal* > *ārācciyil?* under the supervision?) of Kaucikaṇ Nakkan Maṛapirāṇ of Maṅkalam. Having taken (*koṇṭu*) this gold (*ippon*), we the Caṅkarapā{{ti}}s (oilmongers) of Malainakaram (*malainakaratta* > *malainakarattu?*) will have to supply (*aṭṭuvitākānnoṃ*) oil (*eṇṇai*) [for] one *uri* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicatam*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#50 (Fig. A.25, Fig. A.26). (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on the lowest part of the base (*jagati*), on the central projection of the western façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 394; SII 13, no. 98; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 3, 130–131); (e) 4th regnal year of Kōrājakesarivarman; (f) probably Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 989); (g) first four lines of the inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* korājakesarivarmmaṅki yāṇṭu 4 °āvatu koṭṭunāḷ irunūr̥runā[l]iṇāli kuṇṛakkūr̥rattu maṇṇupperu

<sup>89</sup> We clearly see a *ru* although we expect a *p*. It could also be °*a*, but we do not see the bar on the right side. Tyagarajan ignores this letter.

- (2) m paḷuvūr °aṭikaḷ paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṅ kaṅṭaṅ maṛavaṅeṅ °eṭuppitta śrī koyil  
tiruttoṭṭamuṭaiyār koyal paṭṭuṭaiḱkāṅiyā
- (3) vatellām nāṅ milāṭṭuc ceṅāpuratte °irukka °ittevarkku śrī kāyyam āraḱiṅṛa  
kavicikaṅ [n]akkaṅ māraṅ iṅakku vantu collat tiru
- (4) cciruvāḷantaip paṭṭuṭaiyāṅ kaśyapakotrāṭṭiḷaṅkoti sū[ryya]ṅukku  
°ittiruttoṭṭamuṭaiyār koyil XX<sup>90</sup> kkāṅiyānatellām candrādittavar nikka<sup>91</sup>
- (5) ṅ °ikkāṅ<sup>92</sup> °ivaṅe °anubhavikkavum viṛakavum °orriṅvaikkavum maṛṅum [[°e]]
- (6) [[ṅ]] ceytu kuṭṭeṅ °ikkāśyapakotrattu °iḷaṅkoti sūyyaṅukku paḷu
- (7) [[ṅ]] °ivai °udaya divākaṅ eḷuttu °ivai cempiyaṅ maṛaiṅāṭṭuk ke
- (8) [[ṭā]]la neṅmalināṭu la<sup>93</sup>kkōṭṭūr taccācāriyaṅ [°ā]tittaṅ cippāṭṭa // ṅṅeṅ<sup>94</sup>

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 4th year of Kōrājakesarivarman, the current day (*kōṭṭunāḷ*) of 204 days (*iru nūrru nāli nāli*). I, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṅ Kaṅṭaṅ Maṛavaṅ of Maṅṅuperumpaḷuvūr in Kuṅṅakkūrṅam, [about] all (*ellām*) that has become (*āvatu*) the hereditary land right (*kāṅi*) of the Paṭṭuṭai of the temple (*kōyal* > *kōyil*) of Tiruttoṭṭamuṭaiyār, the holy temple (*śrī kōyil*) which I have caused to build (*eṭuppitta*); while I (*nāṅ*) was staying (*irukka*) in Cēṅāpuram of Milāṭu (*milāṭṭuc ceṅāpurattē*); when Kavicikaṅ Nakkaṅ Māraṅ who investigates (*āraḱiṅṛa*) the holy service (*śrīkāyyam* > *śrīkāryam*) for this god (*ittēvarkku*), having come to us/me (*iṅakku vantu*), told (*colla*, i.e. informed about this *kāṅi*); to Iḷaṅkōti Sūryaṅ of the Kāśyapagotra (*kaśyapakotrāṭṭu*), the Paṭṭuṭaiyāṅ of Tirucciruvāḷantai, I (*ēṅ*) have given (*kuṭṭeṅ*) all (*ellām*) that has become *kāṅi* (*kāṅiyānatu* > *kāṅiyāvatu*?) . . . of this temple (*kōyil*) of Tiruttoṭṭamuṭaiyār, as long as the moon and the sun endure (*candrādittavar*), having made (*ceytu*) besides (*maṛṅum*) the mortgage (*orriṅvaikkavum*), the conquering (? *viṛakavum*), and the enjoyment of possession (*anubhavikkavum*) of him (*ivaṅē*) Nikkaṅ Ikkāṅ (a name? *nikkaṅ* > *nakkaṅ*?); those (*ivai*) are the fruits (*paḷuṅ* > *paḷaṅ*) for Iḷaṅkōti Sūryaṅ of this Kāśyapagotra (*ikkāśyapakotrattu*); those letters (*eḷuttu ivai*) [are those of] Udaya Divākaṅ; I, Ātittaṅ Cippāṭṭaṅ, Taccācāriyaṅ of ḷakkoṭṭūr (> *mikoṭṭūr*?) in the *nāṭu* of Keṭālanenmali of Cempiyaṅ Maṛaiṅāṭu.

#51. (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) begins on the northern part of the curved portion (*kumuda*) of the base of the western façade of the sanctuary and continues on the central projection; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 396; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 5, 133–134); (e) 15th regnal year of Rājakesarivarman Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kolottoṅkacōḷatēvar; (f) probably Kulottuṅga I (c. A.D. 1084); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the beginning is missing, confirming that the temple was reconstructed.

- (1) [[r]]ājakecaripanmarāna cakkara[[va]]ttikaḷ śrī kolo // toṅka // coḷateva[[r]]ku  
yāṅṭu patin °aiṅcāvatu vaṭakarai °uttu[n] [[ka]]tuṅkavaḷaṅāṭṭu

<sup>90</sup> SII and Tyagarajan read *kaṅ*, but I do not think that matches what we see today.

<sup>91</sup> The inscription continues of the same lower part of the base, but is engraved on the northern part, that is unexpectedly on the left side of the first part of the inscription.

<sup>92</sup> Tyagarajan (2014: 131) reads *kācu*. But the *ṅ* is quite clear in my view.

<sup>93</sup> Tyagarajan reads *mikoṭṭūr*, but I do see a *la* or a *li*.

<sup>94</sup> These last letters are engraved on the side.



- (2) yāvatu °ivvūr pavitti[[ramā]ṅnikkap pereriyi // [ṅ] ki[ḷ] ni // ṅnilattu °iraṅamukarāmaṅ tūmpukku kiḷakku māṅak kūrū nilam mukkāṅi nikki °ita[[ṅ] kiḷa]]kkum tenpārke
- (3) vāṅakovaraiya[[ṅ] cu]]ttamallaṅ °u // ttama // colaṅṅṅān °ilaṅkeśvaraṅeṅ °itu panmāyeśvara rakṣai

. . . [This is] the 15th year of Rājakesarivarman Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kolottonkacōḷatēvar. . . of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅaṅu on the northern bank (*vaṭakarai*) . . . this is (*āvatu*) . . . the southern [boundary] (*tenpārke*{*llai*}) [is] to the east (*kiḷakkum*) of this (*itaṅ*), having removed (*nikki*) three *kāṅis* (*mūkkāṅi*) of land (*nilam*) [which are] the eminent (*māṅa* > *māṅam?*) shares (*kūrū*) [which are] to the east (*kiḷakku*) of the sluice (*tūmpukku*) [named] Iraṅamukarāmaṅ of the wet land (*nīrnillattu*) [which is] under [the irrigation] (*kīḷ*) of the great lake (*peru ēriyiṅ*) [called] Pavittiramāṅikka (lit. the pure, *pavittira*, gem, *māṅikka*) of this vilage (*ivvūr*) . . . I, Vāṅakōvaraiyaṅ Cuttamallaṅ Uttamacōḷaṅṅān Ilaṅkeśvaraṅ. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#52 (Fig. A.27). (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on the northern side of the main niche of the western façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 393; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 7, 136–137); (e) lost regnal year of Tiripuvaṅa Cakkaravarti{{kaḷ Kulottu}}ṅkacōḷatēvar; (f) Kulottuṅga I; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) there is a *meykkīrtti* of Kulottuṅga I from line 1 to line 7; the first four lines are hardly legible, and for the lines 5 to 7, only the first part of the line is legible; in his edition, Tyagarajan supplies the whole *meykkīrtti*, but I do not know if he could read this part of the inscription today no longer visible or if he supplied what was expected.

- (1–7) {*meykkīrtti*}
- (8) *marāṅa tiripuvaṅa cakkaravarti*<sup>95</sup>
- (9) ṅkacōḷatevarckku yāṅṅu
- (10) vāṅakovaraiyaṅ cuttamalan °ut<sup>96</sup>
- (11) ṅke[śvaran ku] [[ṅrakṅṅṅamāna °uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷa]]
- (12) nāṅṅu mannum perum paḷurumur tiruttoṅṅamuṅaiya *mahā*
- (13) *devar* [k]oyil munpu °iṅṅakaiyāl ceytamatuk ku[ḷai]ya
- (14) m vanta tiruvārātanaiyūm inṅri °iruntaṅṅattu cakkaravar[[ttika]]
- (15) *śrī* kulottuṅkacōḷadevar tirumeni kalliyāṅa [[ti]]rume
- (16) niyāka kulottuṅkacōḷa °iśvaramenṅu tirukkarṅṅai [[°e]unta]]
- (17) [[ruḷivi]] [ttu tiruvārātanai] [[yum]]<sup>97</sup>
- (18) °aṅṅaparivārālaya topura prākāraṅkaḷ ceyv[[it]]tā[n]
- (19) vāṅakovaraiyaṅ cuttamallaṅ °uttamacōḷan [°ila]
- (20) ṅkeśvaran ||

{*meykkīrtti*}. [This is] the . . . year of Tiripuvaṅa Cakkaravarti{{kaḷ Kulottu}}ṅkacōḷatēvar. Vāṅakōvaraiyaṅ Cuttamalan Ut{{tamacōḷa Ila}}ṅkeśvaran; the temple (*kōyil*) of Mahādeva of Tiruttōṅṅamuṅaiya of Maṅṅuperumpaḷuvūr

<sup>95</sup> Tyagarajan reads: *kaḷ śrī kolottu* after *cakkaravarti*.

<sup>96</sup> Tyagarajan proposes: (*tamacōḷanān °ila*), the brackets suggesting that he supplies it.

<sup>97</sup> The line continues to be engraved, but Tyagarajan does not mention it and it is covered with cement.

(*mannum perum paḷurumur* > *manṇuperumpaḷuvūr*) of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam alias Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṇāṭu having stayed (*iruntaṭattu* > *iruntiṭattu*) completely without (*inṇi* > *iṇṇi*) ritual activity (*vanta tiruvārātanaiyum*), when that which was made (*ceytamatu* > *ceytatu*) before (*munpu*) with bricks (*iṭṭakaiyāl*) was scattered (*kulaiyam* > *kulaiyum*); for (*āka*) the good fortune (*kalliyāṇa*) of the sacred body (*tirumēni*), the sacred body (*tirumēni*) of Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulottuṅkacōḷadevar, [he] having caused to raise (*eḷuntaruḷivittu*) the holy stone temple (*tirukkaraḷi*) called (*eṇṇu*) Kulottuṅkacōḷa Īśvaram, he has made (*ceyvittāṇ*) the complete ritual activity (*tiruvārātanaiyum*), the eight subordinate temples (*aṣṭaparivārālaya*), the *gopura* (*topura* > *gopura*), and the compound walls (*prākāraṅkaḷ*), [he], Vāṇakōvaraiyan Cuttamallan Uttamacōḷan Ilaṅkeśvaran.

#53. (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on the wall of the sanctuary of the western façade, on the southern side of the niche; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 392; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 8, 137–138); (e) 30th regnal year of Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulottuṅkaḷ; (f) Kulottuṅga I (c. A.D. 1099); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the beginning of the inscription is missing, but the first two lines we can read are part of the *meykkīrtti* of Kulottuṅga I; this inscription is a fragment inserted into the wall, and the end of all lines are missing.

(1–2) {*meykkīrtti*}

- (3) k[[e]]cari[panmarāna] cak[[kara]][vatti]kaḷ śrī kulottu
- (4) rku yāṇṭu 30 °āvatu vāṇakova[r]ai X
- (5) [n] °uttamacōḷanān °ilaṅkeśvaranen [ku]
- (6) °uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṇāṭtu mannumpe[ru]
- (7) [ku]lottuṅka cōḷateva tirumeni ka[[l]]
- (8) yāka nān tirukkaraḷi °eḷuntaruḷivitt[a/u]
- (9) XXX ṭaiya XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX<sup>98</sup>

{*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 30th year of . . . kesarivarman Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulottuṅkaḷ . . . I Vāṇakōvarai{{ya}}n Uttamacōḷanān Ilaṅkeśvaran, [in] Mannumperu{{mpaḷuvūr}} . . . Ku{{ṇṇakkūrṇam alias}} Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṇāṭu, I (*nān*) have caused to raise (*eḷuntaruḷivitta*) the stone temple (*tirukkaraḷi*) for (*āka*) . . . sacred body (*tirumēni*) of Kulottuṅkacōḷatēva . . .

#### NORTHERN FAÇADE

#54. (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on both sides of the niche of the wall of the northern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) lines 1–22 (on the eastern side of the niche): ARE 1924, no. 390; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 9, 138–140); lines 23–31 (on the western side of the niche): ARE 1924, no. 391; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 10, 140–141); (e) 32nd regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman Tripuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulottuṅkacōḷadevar; (f) Kulottuṅga I (c. A.D. 1101); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) lines 1 to 6 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Kulottuṅga I.

(1–5) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}

- (6) {end of *meykkīrtti*} kovirājake[[cari]]pan[[ma]]

<sup>98</sup> This line is not in the edition of Tyagarajan. It is, however, covered by cement, and cannot be read today.

- (7) rāṇa tripuvanac [[ca]]kkaravattika| śrī kulottuṅkacō|adeva  
 (8) rkku yāṅṭu muppattiraṅṭāvatu tripuvana cakkaravart[ti] ko[ne]  
 (9) rinmai [[ko]][ṅ]ṭāṅ °uttuṅkavaḷanāṅṭu periya paḷuvūril [[°ilaṅ]]  
 (10) [kecu]varaṅ [e][[tu]]ppitta tiruttoṛṛamāna kulottuṅkacōla [[°īśvaramu]]  
 (11) ṭaiya mahādevaṅ tevakanmikaḷukku [[tillaikkuṭiyāna kulottuṅka]]  
 (12) cōlanallūr kulottuṅkacōla °īśvaramuṭaiyārkkku [[yāṅṭu muppa]]  
 (13) ttiraṅṭāvatu mutal tevatānamāka °iṭṭu ṅam variyilār °eḷuttiṭṭu °uḷva  
 (14) rip pottaka kāṭṭac connom °uḷvarippaṭi kaikko[[!ka °eṅru tirumantira °o]]  
 (15) lai vaḷava nārāyaṅap pallavaraiyar °eḷuttiṅāl yāṅṭu muppa[[tti]]raṅṭāva  
 (16) tu ṅālmunṅūrōrupatināl piracātaṅ [[ceyaruḷi vanta tirumukappa]]ṭiyam  
 (17) [[yāṅṭu muppattiraṅṭāvatu tevatāna °iraiyili °iṭṭa paṭikku pura]]  
 (18) vari paḷuvū[[ri]]l °ilaṅkecuvaran °eṭuppitta kulottuṅkacōla °īśvara  
 (19) m °uṭaiyārkkku yāṅṭu muppattiraṅṭāvatu mutal °antarāyam °uḷ  
 (20) paṭa tevat[[āna]]m °iraiyili °iṭṭa kuṅṛakkū<sup>99</sup>māna °uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷa  
 (21) nāṅṭu ti[[lai]]kuṭiyāna<sup>100</sup>  
 (22) reṭṭe mu[[m]]māvaraiyināl °antarāyam °uḷpaṭa māṭai nūṛu<sup>101</sup>  
 (23)<sup>102</sup> [[patteḷe mukkāle mukkāvaraiyum yā]]ṅṭu muppa  
 (24) [t]tiraṅṭāvatu mutal °antarāyamuṭpaṭa tevatāna °i  
 (25) rai °ili °iṭṭamaikku nākaṅ ko[[ṛra °eḷu]]tinālum ciṛṛā  
 (26) [[mūr uṭaiyān °eḷuttiṅālum kaṅkaikoṅṭacōla müventave]]  
 (27) ḷār °eḷuttiṅālum puravu[vari ti]ṅaikkaḷattu mukave[[ṭti na]]  
 (28) llārṛūr uṭaiyān °eḷuttiṅālum [pura]vuvari[tti]ṅaikk  
 (29) kaḷattu mukaveṭṭi veḷḷūr uṭaiyār °eḷuttiṅālum  
 (30) puravu vari tiṅaikkaḷa nāyakam °ilaṅkārikuṭaiyār °eḷutti  
 (31) nālum vanta °uḷvarippaṭiyum || panmāyeśvara rakṣai

Fortune! Prosperity! {meykkīrtti}. [This is] the 32nd year of Kōvirājakesarivarman Tripuvana Cakkaravattika| Śrī Kulottuṅkacō|adeva; Tripuvana Cakkaravarti Konerinmai Kōṅṭāṅ; for the temple officers (tēvakanmikaḷukku) of Mahādeva of Kulottuṅkacōla Īśvaramuṭaiya alias Tiruttoṛṛam which was built (eṭupitta) by Ilaṅkecuvaraṅ in the big (periya) Paḷuvūr (paḷuvūril) of Uttuṅkavaḷanāṅṭu; for Kulottuṅkacōla Īśvaramuṭai of Kulottuṅkacōlanallūr alias Tillaikkuṭi; from (mutal) the 32nd year (yāṅṭu muppattiraṅṭāvatu), having placed (iṭṭu) as (āka) devadāna, we (ṅam > nam) the tax collectors (variylār) have placed (iṭṭu) the writing (eḷuttu) [i.e. entered in the register], in order to show (kāṭṭa) the book [i.e. register] (pottaka) of the local tax (uḷvari), [we] said (connōm): “you undertake (kaikkoḷka) as per (paṭi) the book of the local taxes (uḷvari)” (eṅru); by the writing (eḷuttiṅāl) of Vaḷavan Nārāyaṅa Pallavaraiyar of the royal order (tirumantira) on palm-leaf (ōlai), [in] the 32nd year and 310 days (nāḷ), the royal order (tirumukappaṭiyam) has come (vanta), having graciously granted (piracātam-ceytu-aruli); [this is] the 32nd year. For the Kulottuṅkacōla Īśvaramuṭaiyār built (eṭupiṭṭa) by Ilaṅkecuvaran in Paḷuvūr (paḷuvūril), the tax officer (puravari > puravuvvari),<sup>103</sup> as per the copy (paṭikku) which granted (iṭṭa) the

<sup>99</sup> There is space for the expected *ṛra*, but these letters do not seem to be engraved.

<sup>100</sup> The rest of this line is not engraved. There is just a *la* further, in the middle of the line.

<sup>101</sup> Last line on the eastern side of the niche.

<sup>102</sup> First line on the western side of the main niche.

<sup>103</sup> It is not clear whether Ilaṅkecuvaran is a *puravuvvari* or not.

tax-exempted (*iṛaiyili*) *devadāna*; from (*mutal*) the 32nd year, . . . alias Tillaikuṭi of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷanāṭu alias Kuṅṅakkūṛṅṅam granted (*iṭṭa*) an exemption of tax (*iṛaiyili*) for the *devadāna* including (*uḷpaṭa*) *antarāyam* (tax levied by the local bodies); with . . . eight (*eṭṭe*) and three *mās* and a half (*mūmāvaraiyināl*), the gold coins (*mātai*) including (*uḷpaṭa*) the *antarāyam* [for an amount of] 117 and three quarters (*mukkālē*), three quarters and a half (*mukkāvaraiyum*); from (*mutal*) the 32nd year, for the establishment (*iṭṭamaikku?*) of the tax-free (*iṛaiyili*) *devadāna*, including the *antarāyam*, this is the signature (*eḷuttinālum*) of Nākaṅkōṛṅṅa; this is the signature (*eḷuttinālum*) of the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Ciṛṛāmūr; this is the signature (*eḷuttinālum*) of Kaṅkaikoṅṅacōḷa Mūvēntaveḷār; this is the signature (*eḷuttinālum*) of the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Nallūr, the official (*mukaveṭṭi*), accountant of the revenue department (*puravuvuri tiṅaikaḷam*); this is the signature (*eḷuttinālum*) of the lord (*uṭaiyār*) of Veḷḷūr, the official (*mukaveṭṭi*), accountant of the revenue department; this is the signature (*eḷuttinālum*) of the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Ilaṅkāri, the chief (*nāyakam*) accountant of the revenue department, according to (*paṭiyum*) the local tax (*uḷvari*) which has come (*vanta*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN FAÇADES

#55. (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on the curved part of the base (*kumuda*) of the eastern and northern façades; starts on the eastern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 389; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 6, 134–135); (e) lost; (f) Kulottuṅga I; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the first line is the beginning of the *meykkīrtti* of Kulottuṅga I; the end of the inscription is missing, and I could make a translation line by line only; there is a fragment a little further on the same base, which may have belonged to this inscription, but it cannot be connected to the part we read.

- (1) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*} {end of the line missing}
- (2) kuṅṅakkūṛṅṅattu maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūrt tiru // [t]toṛṅṅamuṭaiya mahādevaṛku vāṅakovaraiyaṅ cuttamallaṅ [°u] // tta[[maco]] // laṅṅān °ilaṅkeśvara[n]eṅ °i[tevaṛ]kku tiruccēṅṅaṅ[ṭai][p] puṅamāka pūmi ceytu kuṭutta paric[[ā]] // [vatu °ippa] // ḷuvūr naka[[ra]]ttār iṭai [[nā]][ṅ] mukkaḷai[ṅ] {end of the line missing}
- (3) [[llai] mahātevi viṅṅakar āḷvār nilattukku vaṭak // kum vaṭapāṅkellai °iraṅamukarāmaṅ vāykkālukku teṅkum kiḷakku cuttamali va // [ti]kku me // ṅkum °āka nāṅkellaikkum °uṭpaṭa nilam °orumā °iṅṅilam °orumāvum tirutti °itevaṛkku // [tiruppa] // ṭimāṅṅrukku [t]evatānamāka ca {end of the line missing}

Line 1: Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkīrtti*} . . .

Line 2: For Mahādeva of the Tiruttōṛṅṅamuṭaiya in Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr of Kuṅṅakkūṛṅṅam, I, Vāṅakōvaraiyaṅ Cuttamallaṅ Uttamacōḷaṅṅ Ilaṅkeśvaran, having made (*ceytu*) the land (*pūmi*) as (*āka*) cultivable land (*puṅam*) for the daily expenditures of the holy service (*tiruccēṅṅaṅṭai*) for this god (*ittevaṛkku*), gave (*kuṭutta*); that is (*āvatu*) the manner (*paricu*); I (*nāṅ?*) of the Nagarattārs (*nakarattār iṭai*) of this Paḷuvūr (*ipaḷuvūr*), three (*mū*) *kaḷaṅ*{*cu*}s . . .

Line 3: the . . . boundary (*llai*, probably the southern boundary) is to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of Mahādevi Viṇṇakar Ālvār; the northern boundary (*vaṭapārṅkellai*) is to the south (*terkum*) of the water channel (*vāykkālukku*) Iraṇamukarāmaṇ and to the west (*mērkum*) of the Cuttamali channel (*vatikku*) to the east (*kiḷakku* = a mistake for *kīlpārṅkellai* that we expect here?); thus (*āka*) [are] the four boundaries (*nāṅkellaikkum*) of the one *mā* (*orumā*) of land (*nilam*) which falls within (*uṭpaṭṭa*); having renovated (*tirutti*) this one *mā* (*orumāvum*) of land (*innilam*), as (*āka*) *devadāna* for articles of offerings (*tiruppaṭimārṅukku*) for this god (*ittēvaṅṅku*) . . .

### EASTERN FAÇADE

#56. (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on the wall of the eastern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 4, 132–133); (e) 10th regnal year of Kulottuṅkacōlatēvar; (f) probably Kulottuṅga I; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) this façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* is today accessible only through a locked room which was built after the rebuilding of the goddess shrine; Tyagarajan located it incorrectly.

- (1) *śrī* kulottuṅka [[coḷa]]
- (2) [[teva]][rku yā]ṅṅtu 10 vatu
- (3) [[XX pūrvapakṣattu X °a]]
- (4) [[ṣṭami]]yu[[n]] tiṅkaṭ[[ki]amaiyum ca]]
- (5) t[[ai]]yamumāna °in[rū va]ṭakarai kuṅṅra
- (6) k[ū]ṅṅramāna °uttuṅkatuṅka[va]ḷa]nāṅṅtu
- (7) pperiyapaḷuvūr °uṭaiyār *śrī*ka[ṅ]ṅi[[śva]]
- (8) ramuṭaiyār koyil [ °ā]ticaṅṅe[śva]ra [śāsa]
- (9) nam °ikkoyil tāṅṅattomum *śrīmā*
- (10) *heśvararum* °innāṅṅtu piṭṭitta mutali
- (11) [ka]ḷ ciṅṅaikkāvuṭaiyār paṅcavarāyār [[vā]]
- (12) [[y]] kelviyāl caṅṅeśvara tevar °āt[eśa]
- (13) ttāl °ivvūr °uṭaiyār tiruttoṅṅramu
- (14) ṭaiyār koyalil tirunā XXXXX<sup>104</sup>
- (15) varai °eḷuntaruḷivitta °ivvūr ve

[This is] the 10th year of Śrī Kulottuṅkacōlatēvar. Today (*inru*) alias (*āna*) Tiṅkaḷkiḷamai (Monday) and Cataiyam, on the *aṣṭami* of . . . the first half of the lunar month (*pūrvapakṣam*), [this is] the order (*śāsanam*) of Āticaṅṅeśvara of the temple (*kōyil*) of Śrī Kaṅṅiśvaramuṭaiyār, the Lord (*uṭaiyār*) of big Paḷuvūr (*periyappaḷuvūr*) of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅṅaṅṅtu alias Kuṅṅrakkūṅṅram on the northern bank (*vaṭakarai*); we the executors of temple endowments (*tāṅṅattōmum*) of this temple (*ikkōyil*) and the Śrī Māheśvarars, upon the request (*kēlviyāl* > *kēlviyāl*) of Paṅcavarāyār (the five kings?), Lords (*uṭaiyār*) of Ciṅṅaikkā, chieftains (*mutalikaḷ*) who conquered (*piṭṭitta*) this country (*innāṅṅtu*), by the command (*ātēcattāl*) of Caṅṅeśvara Tēvar, have

<sup>104</sup> This is completely illegible. Tyagarajan reads: *vukkaraca*, but I'm not sure he is right in proposing these letters. And he has omitted the *va* at the beginning of the next line.

caused to raise (*eḷuntaruḷivitta*) *tirunā*. . .*varai* in the temple (*kōyalil* > *kōyilil*) of Tiruttōḷṟamuṭaiyār, the lord (*uṭaiyār*) of this town (*ivvūr*), . . . of this town (*ivvūr*) . . .

#57. (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) on the southernmost wall section of the eastern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 4, 132–133), published in continuation of the previous one (#56); (e) lost; (f) lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) this façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* is today accessible only through a locked room which was built after the rebuilding of the goddess shrine; Tyagarajan located it incorrectly; this inscription is a fragment, on a stone reused for building the shrine.

- (1) ttuṅkacoḷa [ °śva][[ramu]]
- (2) ṭaiyār koyilil taṭa
- (3) veṇmali kaṇavati [ °i]
- (4) la[n̄]kecuvara °ācāriyanā
- (5) na kaṇavati °irācanukku kuṭu[[t]]
- (6) ten °ivaṇaiṭṭe ta

. . . I gave (*kuṭuttēn*) to Kaṇavati Irācan alias Kaṇavati Ilaṅkecuvara Ācāriyan of Taṭaveṇmali in the temple (*kōyilil*) of {{Kulo}}ttuṅkacōḷa Īśvaramuṭaiyār . . .

#### INSIDE THE MAṆḌAPA AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE GODDESS SHRINE

#58. (a) PIM, goddess shrine; (b) inside the *mahā-maṇḍapa* at the entrance, a *dvārapālī* has been built in front; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 8, 146–147); (e) lost; (f) lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) this inscription may be a fragment.

- (1) [pa]ṅik[ka] °eḷut[i]nen tirukko[[yil karaṇa]]ttān paḷuvūr uṭai
- (2) [yān cirāḷa]n āyirattirun[[ūṟruvan]] neḷuttu

I have written (*eḷutinēn* > *eḷuttinēn*) to order (*paṅikka*); the writing (*eḷuttu*) of he of the 1,200 (*āyiratt-iru-nūṟruvan*) Cirāḷan, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Paḷuvūr, the accountant (*karaṇattān*) of the holy temple (*tirukkōyil*)

#### MAṆḌAPA OF THE SOUTHERN ENTRANCE

#59. (a) PIM, main shrine; (b) above the base of the small *maṇḍapa* of the southern entrance to the main shrine; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 400; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 9, 125–126); (e) regnal year lost of Tiripuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷatēvar; (f) probably Kulottuṅga I; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the eastern part of the inscription is missing, and I thus propose a translation line by line.

- (1) [[*svasti* [//] śrī tiripuvanac cakkaravattikaḷ]] śrī kolottu[[n̄ka]]coḷa[tevaṟku y][[ā]]  
{end of the line missing}

- (2) [kaṅkai] // [[ko][ṅṅa]coḷapurattu[[p p]]irān °akapparivāratu kaikko[[la]] {end of the line missing}  
 (3) [ṭa °i]śva // [[ramuṭai]]yār ko[yili]l taḷiyilān vālavantā[!] {end of the line missing}  
 (4) [°ā]ta[c]iri // [[yāṅe]]n °eṭupitta [[co]][pā]nam ||

Line 1: Fortune! Prosperity! {{This is the}} . . . year of Tiripuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kolottuṅkaḷatēvar . . .

Line 2: . . . Kaikkōḷa of the inner (*aka*) suite (*parivāratu*) of the Lord (*pirān*) of Kaṅkaikoṅṅacōḷapuram . . .

Line 3: In the temple (*kōyilil*) of . . . Īśvaramuṭaiyār, Taḷiyilān Vālavantā . . .

Line 4: . . . I, Ātaḱiriyān, have built (*eṭupitta*) the stairs (*cōpānam* > *cōpāṅam*)

### ON THE NORTHERN WALL (OUTER FACE) OF THE FIRST MAṆḌAPA

#60. (a) PIM; (b) on the northern wall (outer side) of the first *maṅḍapa* when we enter, near the well; on the eastern side of the group of three inscriptions; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 12, 149 [fragment 1]); (e) lost; (f) lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) fragment; the last line is intriguing: *śrī uttamacōḷatēvarai tiruvayīru vā* is the beginning of the formula which refers to Cempīyan Mahādevī = *śrī uttamacōḷatēvarai tiruvayīru vāyitta pirāṭṭiyār* (for other variants, see Cane 2017: 122). Unfortunately, we can no longer read it, and there is no estampage because it was not noticed in the AREs. Although it is impossible to verify, the few letters that we can still guess today do match the edition of Tyagarajan. May it be the beginning of another inscription which was engraved in continuation? Or a part of the same inscription which refers to different donations?

- (1) k kīl nīrnilam tiruveṅkaṭavāyikkāl vaṭaḱirakil [°i]ṭaiva  
 (2) maṅkalattu yi[rā] tri X [tāṅa]tattān māme[[rūr]] nilattu  
 (3) ḷḷa °aṭa[m]āna nilattukku [[kiḷakkuv]] vaṭapārḱellai [[cūr]]  
 (4) koṅṅa vilaip poruḷ tippokku[c ce]mpon kācu [[ni]]  
 (5) llil veṭṭuvittu[k ku]ṭutte nākapi[rāṅ] mā[[raṅe] me]]  
 (6) muṭaiya *maha*[[tevaṅku śrī °uttamacōḷatevarai tiruvayīru vā]]

Lines 1–3: description of a land;

Line 4: mention of gold and money;

Line 5: having caused to engrave (*veṭṭuvittu*), I have given (*kuṭuttēn*), I Nākapiraṅ Māraṅeṅ;

Line 6: for Mahādeva (*mahadeva* > *mahādeva*) of . . . muṭaiya, Śrī Uttamacōḷatēvarai . . . sacred womb (*tiruvayīru*)

#61. (a) PIM; (b) on the northern wall (outer side) of the first *maṅḍapa* when we enter, near the well; in the middle of the group of three inscriptions; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 12, 149 [fragment 2]); (e) regnal year lost of Tripuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī {{Kulottuṅka}}; (f) probably Kulottuṅga I; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) fragment, placed upside down.

- (1) [[ma]]rāna t[i]r[i]puvanac cakkaravatt[ika] śrī
- (2) ti[[nnārā]]vatu kunṛakkūrāmāna °uttoṅka
- (3) [[ṭa]] °iccuramuṭaiyār koyilil kāṇi °uṭaiya civa
- (4) [°u]ḷi[tā]rum nāṭṭan cōkkanāna tillai[nā]yaka
- (5) [[tā]]n tiricciṛrampalamuṭaiyān paṇmāye[ccu]
- (6) [[v]]āṇan parameccura paṭṭan °uḷiṭṭārum muppa

Line 1: name of the king: Tirupuvana Cakkaravattika! Śrī . . .

Line 2: number ending with six (*pattinnārāvatu? mūpattinnārāvatu?*) for the regnal year. . . . Uttoṅka{{toṅgavaḷanāṭu}} alias Kunṛakkūrām . . .

Line 3: Civa . . . , lord (*uṭaiya*) of the hereditary land right (*kāṇi*) in the temple (*kōyilil*) of. . . . Iccuramuṭaiyār

Line 4: including (*uḷiṭṭārum*) . . . , Nāṭṭan Cokkan alias the chief (*nāyaka*) of Tillai . . .

Line 5: . . . ṭan, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Tirucciṛrampalam (Cidambaram), Panmāheśvara . . .

Line 6: including (*uḷiṭṭārum*) . . . vāṇan Parameccura Paṭṭan, . . .

## ON THE CAṆDEŚVARA SHRINE

#62. (a) PIM, shrine of Caṇdeśa; (b) on the upper part of the base (*pattika*) of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 15, 152 [fragment 1]); (e) lost; (f) lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) fragment; the first two lines are today covered with cement; there is a photograph (without legend) at the end of Tyagarajan (2014), which I think corresponds to this inscription; with it, I could confirm his reading, although with some difference (he reads *śrī kaṇṭa īśvara* while I read *śrī kantāśva*).

- (1) [[rkkiya maramum maṛṛum kī] nokkiya
- (2) ppallippaṭai śrī kantāśva]
- (3) [[cu]]ṭṭivanta °īrai sitdhāya
- (4) [[ku]]tirai neyyum pitānāli[[yum]]

Line 1: . . . *nōkkiya* (= which saw?) + *kī* (=east/under) + *maṛṛum* (besides) + *maramum* (all the trees?) . . .

Line 2: . . . Śrī Kantāśvara Paḷlipaṭai . . .

Line 3: . . . which has come (*vanta*) + tax (*īrai*) + *sitdhāya*? . . .

Line 4: about some amount of *ghee*

#63. (a) PIM, shrine of Caṇdeśa; (b) the eastern wall; (c) not personally located; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: no. 14, 150–151); (e) lost; (f) lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) fragment; I could not find this inscription and I thus give the edition of Tyagarajan.

- (1) °āṇṭār tiruveṇṇainalluruṭaiyān
- (2) jayatarāṇ terinta kaikoḷarukkuk kottu



- (3) varkaḷum kūrūceyvārkaḷum niyamattomum ku  
 (4) paṭavarum mayil veṭṭaikkaṛarum °ivvaṇaivom  
 (5) nkaḷ maṭappuramākak kuṭutta nilamāvatu kīlpārḱellai

Line 1: ... the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Tiruveṇṇainallūr ...

Line 2: ... to the Kaikkōḷar (*kaikoḷarukku*) who knew (*terinta*? Probably for *terinta*, to destroy) Jayatarāṇ (a name of a person or of a place?) ...

Line 3: ... the officers who apportion (*kūrūceyvārkaḷum*) and we of the religious duty (*niyamattōmum*) ...

Line 5: ... this is the land (*nilamāvatu*) that was given (*kuṭutta*) as (*āka*) cultivable land (*puram*) to the *maṭam* (*maṭa*) of . . . : the eastern side boundary (*kīlpārḱellai*) ...

### COMPOUND WALL

#64. (a) PIM, compound wall; (b) on a stone inserted in the compound wall, on the northern side; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1924, no. 401; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 8, 124–125); (e) 24th regnal year of Śrī Virājarājakesarivarman alias Śrī Rājarājatēvar; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 1009); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) lines 1 to 7 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Rājarāja I.

(1–5) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}

(6) {*meykkīrtti*} *śrī* [[virā]]jarājake[[carivarm]]

(7) [[marā]]kiya *śrī* rājarājatevarkku yāṇṭu °i[ru]pattu nalāvatu[p pa]lūvūr  
 pakai[[vi]]

(8) [[ṭai]] [ °śvarattu] *mahā*[d]evar pa[lū]vūr nakka[r]eṇṇum tirunā[[mam  
 u]]ṭaiya *mahā*

Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 24th year of Śrī Virājarājakesarivarman who has become (*ākiya*) Śrī Rājarājatēvar. Mahādeva of the Lord (*śvarattu*) [of] Pakaiviṭai in Paḷuvūr, the Lord (*uṭaiya*) of the sacred name (*tirunāmam*) called Paḷuvūr Nakkar...

#65. (a) PIM, compound wall; (b) on a stone inserted in the compound wall, on the northern side; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) lost; (f) lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) too fragmentary to propose a translation; may be connected to #66.

(1) {illegible}

(2) yāṇ muttaṇ [[korai] cirā]lai paṭa X

(3) ṭṭamāṭṭātu °avaṇ taṅkaḷ nā[lū] XX

(4) X [ṇ]c cātti °avaṇukku °āka °aṇitiraṇ colai X

(5) X lum °eriya vaitta nontāviḷakku °oṇ[ru]

(6) X ṇūru toṇṇūrum °ivai paṇmā X

#66. (a) PIM, compound wall; (b) on a stone inserted in the compound wall, on the northern side; (c) I could not locate the inscription; (d) Tyagarajan (2014: 6, 145–146

[fragment 4]); (e) lost; (f) lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) I give here the edition of Tyagarajan;<sup>105</sup> this fragment may be connected to #65.

- (1) ʔaiyārkkū °ippaḷuvūr °irukkum
- (2) maṅṛāṭi °aṇitiraṅcolai °a
- (3) kola koṅṛa muttaṅṇai kāri
- (4) °aṇitiraṅcolai korai cīrāḷ
- (5) tevarkkū cantirātittavaṛ °iravum
- (6) vaiṭṭa cāvāmūvāp perāṭu
- (7) ... śvara rakṣai ||

If we put the two fragments (#65 and #66) together we have the following text, for which I propose a tentative translation (it may refer to a donation of goat for a lamp for someone who died):

- {nothing} // (1) ʔaiyārkkū °ippaḷuvūr °irukkum  
 (1) {illegible} // (2) maṅṛāṭi °aṇitiraṅ colai °a  
 (2) yāṅ muttaṅ [korai] cīrāḷḷai paṭa X // (3) kola koṅṛa muttaṅṇai kāri  
 (3) ʔṭamāṭṭāṭu °avaṅ taṅkaḷ nā[lu] XX // (4) °aṇitiraṅ colai korai cīrāḷ  
 (4) X [ṅ]c cāṭṭi °avaṅṅukku °āka °aṇitiraṅ colai X // (5) tevarkkū cantirātittavaṛ °iravum  
 (5) X lum °eriyā vaiṭṭa nontāviḷakku °oṅ[ru] // (6) vaiṭṭa cāvāmūvāp perāṭu  
 (6) X ṅūru toṅṅūrum °ivai paṅmā X // (7) ... śvara rakṣai ||

... for the Lord (. . . ʔaiyārkkū) . . . the shepherd (*maṅṛāṭi*) Aṇitiraṅ Cōlai Muttaṅ Korai Cīrāḷḷai (?) . . . who resides (*irukkum*) in this Paḷuvūr . . . was killed (? *paṭa*{*k*}*ola koṅṛa*) . . . Aṇitiraṅ Cōlai . . . to him (*avaṅṅukku*), on behalf of (*cāṭṭi*) . . . to the god (*tēvarkkū*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, night (*iravum*) and day (*paḷalum*), gave (*vaiṭṭa*) to burn (*eriyā*); he gave (*vaiṭṭa*) for one perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku oṅru*) ninety (*toṅṅūrum*) undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmūvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*). They (*ivai*) are under the protection of the Paṅmāheśvaras.

## MARAVANĪŚVARA TEMPLE

### SOUTHERN FAÇADE

#67 (Figure 5.3). (a) Maṛavaṅīśvara temple; (b) on the eastern side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, on the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 221; (e) 29th regnal year of *Mati*{*rai koṅṭa Kōpparakesarivarman*}; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 936); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī mati* {broken}
- (2) ṅṭu 29 XX tu [ku] XX {broken}

<sup>105</sup> I replaced the *ī* of the edition of Tyagarajan by *i*, because the *ī* are not marked in the fragment I have located (#65).

- (3)  $\text{ḷuvūrt tiru[vala]ntuṛai XX}$  {broken}  
 (4)  $\text{ttu brahmade[ya]XXXXXXXX}$  {broken}  
 (5)  $\text{candrādityaXXXXXXXX}$   
 (6)  $\text{ḷakkiṇukkuc cāvā [mu]}$  {broken}

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 29th year of {{Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken}} Madu{{[rai]}}. . . Tiruvalantuṛai . . . of {{Cīrupa}}ḷuvūr . . . a *brahmadeya* of . . . as long as the sun and the moon endure . . . undying and non-ageing great goats (*cāvām*{{[ūvāpperātu]}}) for a lamp ({{[vi]}}*ḷakkiṇukku*) . . .

#68 (Figures 5.2, 5.3). (a) Maṛavaṇīśvara temple; (b) on the eastern side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, on the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 220; (e) 33rd regnal year of a king whose title is lost; (f) probably Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 940); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) although there does not seem to be enough space for the full title *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman to have been engraved, I suppose that the Cōla king whose regnal year is mentioned is Parāntaka I because the script is similar to #67, assigned to this king.

- (1)  $\text{svasti śrī}$  {broken} *saripanmaṛku yāṇṭu*  
 (2)  $33^\circ \text{ā XX kuṇṛa[kku] XX}$   $\text{tu XXX ci}$   
 (3)  $\text{ṛupaḷuvūrt ti X vālanu[r]ai [ma]hā[de] XXX nā}$   
 (4)  $\text{ṭṭuc ci[ṛrak] X y uṭ[ai]yāṇ vicc[i]yaṇ XXXXXX vi}$   
 (5)  $\text{ṭṭepper}^{106} \text{X ya X ca X di[t]ya XXXXXXXX}$   
 (6)  $\text{me}^\circ \text{eriyā vai X [no] X tāvi[ḷakku] XXXXXXXXXX}$   
 (7)  $\text{vāmūvāpperā X vaiṭta}^\circ \text{āṭu toṇ}$  {broken}  
 (8)  $\text{ḷakkeriya vai[t]}$  {broken}  $\text{kku}^\circ \text{oṇ}$  {broken}  
 (9)  $^\circ \text{ivviḷa[kkiṇu] XXXXXX kkaḷaṇṅyu śvarar ra Xai}$

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 33rd year of . . . sarivarman. {{For}} Mahāde{{[va]}} of Ti{{[ru]}}vālanuṛai of Cīrupaḷuvūr, . . . of Kuṇṛakkū{{[ṛram]}} the Lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Cīṛra. . . of . . . nāṭu, Vicciyaṇ . . . , gave (*vaiṭ*{{[ta]}}) to burn (*eriyā*) . . . , as long as the sun and the moon endure (*ca*{{[ntrā]}}*ditya*{{[val]}}), a perpetual lamp (*no*{{[n]}}*tāviḷakku*); he gave (*vaiṭta*) undying and non-ageing great goats ({{[cā]}}*vāmūvāpperā*{{[ṭu]}}); . . . goats (*āṭu*) were given (*vaiṭta*) to burn (*eriyā*) a perpetual lamp ({{[nontāvi]}}*ḷakku*); . . . for this lamp (*ivviḷakkiṇu*{{[kku]}}) . . . *kaḷaṇṅcu* (*kaḷaṇṅyu* > *kaḷaṇṅcu*) . . . under the protection (*ra*{{[kṣ]}}*ai*) of the {{Panmā he}}śvarar.<sup>107</sup>

#69 (Figure 5.1). (a) Maṛavaṇīśvara temple; (b) on the western side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, on the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 222; SII 19, no. 109; (e) 4th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) because of the script similar to #67 and #68, I agree with Tyagarajan (2014: 49), who

<sup>106</sup> Can also be read *po* instead of *per*. We cannot decide unless we have a parallel.

<sup>107</sup> The *panmāhe* is not engraved.

assigns it to Parāntaka I (A.D. 911); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the edition of SII comprises only six lines.

- (1) [sva]sti śrī kōpparakecaripaṇmaṅku yā[[ṇ]]tu nāṅkā
- (2) [[va]]tu °ivvāṇṭ[ai] XXXXXX [[pirama]]teyam ci
- (3) [[rūpa]u]]vūr maravaṇ °ī[śvaraḡha] [[t]] XXXX vēṭṭarai
- (4) XXXXXX [te]viyār [ke] XXXX varaiyar makaḷā
- (5) [r] XXXX {broken} XX [[kalu]]m °oru nantāvilak
- (6) ku XX {broken} XXXX [bhaiya] X [nai]vva<sup>108</sup>
- (7) {line illegible} [m]
- (8) {line illegible}
- (9) tiruva {mostly broken}
- (9) bhai {mostly broken}
- (10) nila {mostly broken}
- (11) laṅc {mostly broken}

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 4th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. . . . of the shrine (*ḡraha*{*tu*}) of the Lord (*iśvara*) [of] Maṇavaṇ in Cīrūpa]uvūr, a *brahmadeya* . . . , the queen (*tēviyār*) of . . . {{Pa]u}}vēṭṭaraiyar, daughter of (*makaḷār*) . . . varaiyar, . . . one perpetual lamp (*oru nantāvilakku* > *nontāvilakku*) . . . Tiruv{{ā]lanturāi}} . . . {{Sa}}bhai . . . land (*nila*{*m*}) . . . {{ka}}laṅc{{u}} . . . {besides her donation to the Maṇavaṇīśvara, the queen may also give to the Tiruvā]lanturāi temple}.

#70 (Figure 5.2). (a) Maṇavaṇīśvara temple; (b) on the eastern side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, on the southern façade of the sanctuary, below #68; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) lost regnal year of a Kōppara{{kesarivarman}}; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) kōppara X X X X X X X [ku] yā {broken} vatu kuṇṛakkūrattu cīrūpa]u  
{broken}
- (2) [maṇa]ṇi XXXXXXXX [rā]ṭi t[u]ṭakkaṇ virāna XX
- (3) tti[ṇe]vi XXXXXXXX °e]u °e]iṇāla ney °e X
- (3) nā]i X ṇ XXXX śva XXX

[This is] the year . . . of Kōppara{{kesarivarman}}. . . . Maṇa]ṇī{{śvara}} of Cīrūpa]uvūr of Kuṇṛakkūrattu . . . the shepherd ({{man}}rāṭi) Tuṭakkaṇ Virāna. . . . seven (*e]u*) seven *nā]is* (? *e]iṇāla* > *e]unā]i*) of *ghee* (*ney*) . . .

## WESTERN FAÇADE

#71. (a) Maṇavaṇīśvara temple; (b) on the lower part of the northern side of the main niche of the western façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 219-A; SII 19, no. 211-A; (e) 8th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) inscription

<sup>108</sup> SII does not read any of the letters of this line.

unfinished; this is the same beginning as #74, and I assume that the text it was about to record was the same.

- (1) kopparakesaripa[n̄ma]kku yāṅṭu 8 °āvatu vaṭakarai miṛaikkūrṛattu *brahmadeyam* [ti]ru<sup>109</sup>
- (2) lūr vārakkiyaṅ °iravi vaṭukaṅṅṅu °ivaṅ [ra]mpi °iravi tattaṅṅum °ivviruv[o]<sup>110</sup>
- (3) kuṅṛakūrṛattu *brahmadeyam* ciṛupaḷuvūr ma[ra]

[This is] the 8th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. We two (*ivviruvō*{*m*}), Vārakkiyaṅ Iravi Vaṭukaṅ and his younger brother (*ivaṅ rampi* > *ivaṅ tampi*) Iravi Tattaṅ, of Tiru{{nal}}lūr, a *brahmadeya* of Miṛaikkūrṛam on the northern bank, . . . Maṛava{{ṅśvara}} of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṅṛakūrṛam . . .

#72 (Fig. A.97). (a) Maṛavaṅśvara temple; (b) on the southern side of the main niche of the western façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read in situ; (d) ARE 1926, no. 219; SII 19, no. 237; SII 32, part 2, no. 59; (e) 9th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 980); (g) first four lines of the inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecarivaṅmakku yāṅṭu 9 °āvatu kuṅṛakkūrṛattu *brahmadeyam* ṅā<sup>111</sup>
- (2) ciṛupaḷuvūr maṛavaniśvagrihattu mahādevarkku °aṭikaḷ paḷuvetṭaraiyar maṛavaṅ kaṅṭanār māma
- (3) ṭikaḷ maḷavar konkaṇi cenninampiyār vaitta viḷakku °oṅṛu °itanukku nilamāvatu ciṛupaḷuvūrc
- (4) cāvānti māraṅ māraṅṅ maṛavaniśvarattu caṅḍeśvara paṭararkku viṛrukuṭutta nilaṅ ceṅkkūḷattiṅ tūm
- (5) piṅ kiḷ kiḷkaḷaṅṅiṅ peruvāykkālīṅ vaṭavāykkāl nāṅ viṛruku[[ṭutta]] nilatuk[[ku]]
- (6) k[[i]]ḷpārkkellai toḷūrp pālāśrīya[[n]] *bha*[[ṭṭa]]n nakkan nārāyaṅṅum tamp[i] māṅ nilattukkum ciṛu
- (7) paḷuvūrc cāvānti haṣṭaṅ °iravi mahāyeśvaran anubha[vi]kkinṛa ni[[lat]]tukku mekkum tenpārkkellai peruvāykkālukkum
- (8) vaṭakkum melpārkkellai terpoku [°o]ḷukkaikkuk kiḷakkum va[[ṭapā]]ṛkkellai °eḷumā vāykkālukkut terkkum °ivvicai
- (9) tta perunānkellaiyilk kiṅaṅṛu °uḷpaṭa °irumāvaraic caiyyum X X X X X nen °iccaṅḍeśvara paṭararkku viṛru koṅṭa pon 1[5] k. [[viṛru]]
- (10) °iccaṅḍeśvara paṭārar °iṭaiye °innilam °irumāvaraic caiyyum 15 k. poṅ kuṭuttuk koṅṭu °itanil pokam nicati °uḷa
- (11) [kku] ney nontāviḷakku °erippataṅṅkku vaiyitten maḷavan ko[[ṅ]]kaṅi ce[[ntina]] mpiyen °itu *panmāheśvara rakṣai* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 9th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of the shrine (*grihattu* > *grhattu*) of the Lord (*iśva* > *iśvara*) [of] Maṛavan in Ciṛupaḷuvūr,

<sup>109</sup> SII reads *vica* after *tiru*. However, I could not see any letters.

<sup>110</sup> We see only the left part of the *-o*. SII adds an *-m* at the end, but there is no space for it.

<sup>111</sup> This letter is unexpected here. SII omits it, but it is very clearly engraved. It could also be a *ce*, and in that case it would be connected to the *ci* at the beginning of the next line.

a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṛakkūṛram, the Koṅkaṇi Maḷavar Cenninampiyār, maternal uncle (*māmaṭikaḷ* > *māmaṇ aṭikaḷ*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maḷavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇār, gave (*vaiṭta*) one lamp (*viḷakku oṇṇu*); for this (*itanukku*), as land (*nilamāvatu*), I Cāvānti Māraṇ Māraṇ of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, having sold (*viṛru*) to Caṇḍeśvara Paṭārar (*caṇḍeśvara paṭararkku*) of Maḷavanīśvara (*maḷavanīśvarattu*), I gave (*kuṭutta*) the land (*nilaṇ*); for this land (*nilattukku*) which I have given (*nāṇ kuṭutta*), having sold, to the northern water channel (*vaṭavāykkāl*) of the great water channel (*peruvāykkālīṇ*) on the lower field (*kīḷk-kaḷaṇi*) under [the irrigation of] (*kīḷ*) of the sluice (*tūmpīṇ*) of the pure tank (*ceṅkkulaṭṭiṇ*), the eastern boundary (*kīḷpārkkellai*) [is] to the west (*mēkkum* > *mēṛkkum*) of the land of Pālāsīriyan Bhaṭṭan Nakkan Nārāyaṇan Nampimār of Toḷūr and of the land (*nilattukku*) which is in possession of (*anubhavikkiṇṇa* > *aṇupavikkiṇṇa*) Cāvānti Haṣṭan Iravi Mahāyeśvaran of Ciṛupaḷuvūr; the southern boundary (*tenpārkkellai*) [is] to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the great water channel (*peruvāykkālukku*); the western boundary (*mēḷpārkkellai*) [is] to the east (*kīḷakkum*) of the water channel (*oḷukkai*)<sup>112</sup> which flows (*pōku*) south (*ter* > *ten?*); the northern boundary (*vaṭapārkkellai*) [is] to the south (*terkkum*) of the water channel (*vāykkālukku*) of the seven *mās* (*eḷumā*); one eighth (*irumāvarai*) of a *cey* (*caiyyum* > *ceyyum*) including (*ulpaṭa*) the well (*kiṇaṇu*) in the four boundaries (*perunānkellaiyilk*) thus divided (*ivvicaiṭta*), having sold (*viṛru*) to this Caṇḍeśa Paṭārar, I have taken fifteen *kaḷaṇcus* of gold, having sold (*viṛru*); having given (*kuṭutta*), having taken (*koṇṭu*, i.e. with) fifteen *kaḷaṇcus* of gold and one eighth (*irumāvarai*) of a *cey* (*caiyyum* > *ceyyum*) of this land from (*iṭaiyē*) this Caṇḍeśa Paṭārar, with the produce (*pōkam*) of this (*itanil*), I will give (*vaiyṭtēn* > *vaiṭtēn*) every day (*nicati*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) to burn (*erippataṛkkku*) a perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku*), I the Koṅkaṇi Maḷavaṇ Cenninampi. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

## NORTHERN FAÇADE

#73 (Figure 5.4). (a) Maḷavanīśvara temple; (b) on the eastern wall section of the northern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 218; (e) 36th regnal year of *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 943); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī matirai koṇṭa kopparakesaripanmaṛku yāṇṭu* 36
- (2) °āvatu kuṇṛakkūṛrattup piramateyam ciṛupaḷuvūrt tiru
- (3) [va]lāntuṛai mahādevaṛku °intaḷūr uṭaiyāṇ cāṭṭaṇ
- (4) tiruvārūr aṭikaḷ kalluvitta tirumaṅcuṇak kiṇaṇu °ettam i
- (5) ṭṭu kaṇṇu kālikku °iraippatākavum tiruveṅkaip paṇaṅkāṭṭu
- (6) kkiṇaṇu °ettam iṭṭu °itiṇ kiḷai nantavāṇam tirutti ca
- (7) ndrādityavaṛ °iraippatākavum cāṭṭaṇ tiruvārūr aṭikaḷi
- (7) ṭa poṇ koṇṭom °ittirukkoyil uṭaiya pālāciriyaṇ mu

<sup>112</sup> I could not find the meaning of *oḷukkai* in any of the dictionaries. But it probably comes from the verb *oḷuku*, to flow. Consequently, I suppose that it is related to water flowing.

- (8) vāyiravaṇ kumāraṇum °emmimārum āpāti[yu]m kaviciyaṇ ku  
 (9) maraṇ mūvāyiravaṇum °ivvaṇaivom °ivai *sabhaiyār rakṣai* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 36th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭuṛai of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* (*piramateyam*) of Kuṇṛakkūrṛam, Cāttaṇ the holy man (*aṭikaḷ*) of Tiruvārūr, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Intaḷūr [gave]; having set (*iṭṭu*) the water-lift (*ēttam*) for the well (*kiṇaru*) Tirumañcuṇam, which was caused to be dug (*kalluvitta*), [we] have to draw water (*iraippatākavum*) for the cows (*kālikku*) and the calves (*kaṇru*); having set (*iṭṭu*) the water-lift (*ēttam*) for the well (*kiṇaru*) of the palmyra grove (*paṇai-kāṭṭu*) of Tiruveṅkai, having improved (*tirutti*) the flower garden (*nantavāṇam* > *nantavaṇam*) to the east (*kīlai*) of this (*itiṇ*), [we] have to draw water (*iraippatākavum*) as long as the sun and the moon endure; we have taken (*koṇṭōm*) the gold (*poṇ*) which was placed (*iṭa* > *iṭṭa*) by Cāttaṇ the holy man (*aṭikaḷ*) of Tiruvārūr, [we] the lords (*uṭaiya*) of this temple (*ittirukkōyil*) Pālāciriyaṇ Muvāyiravaṇ Kumāraṇ, Emmimār, Āpāti, and Kaviciyaṇ Kumaraṇ Mūvāyiravaṇ, we are those (*ivvaṇaivōm*). This is under the protection of the Sabhā of those (*ivai*).

#74. (a) Maṛavaṇiśvara temple; (b) on the western side of the main niche of the northern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 216; SII 19, no. 211; (e) 8th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecar[[i]]paṇmaṛku yāṇṭu 8 °āvatu vaṭakarai miṛai[kkurra]
- (2) ttu *brahmadeyam* tirunallūr vārakkiyaṇ °iravi vaṭukaṇum °iravi tattaṇum °ivvi
- (3) ruvom kuṇṛakkūrṛattu *brahmateya*ñ cīrupaḷuvūr maṛavaṇiśvarattu *caṇḍe*
- (4) *śvara* bhīṭararkku nāṅkaḷ viṛrukkuṭutta nilamāvatu cīrupaḷuvūr ceṅkuḷattu tū
- (5) mpiṇ kiḷ kiḷkaḷaṇi peruvākkāliṇ vaṭavākkāl °eṅkaḷ °iraṇṭu māvukku kiḷpār
- (6) kellaḷi caṅkaraṇ iraviyūn [t]ampimāru nilattukku meṛkun teṅpārkellai puḷḷa
- (7) maṅkalattu pālāciriyaṇ nārāyaṇaṇ iraviyūn tampiyum °aṇubhavikiṇṇa nilat
- (8) tukkum peruvāyikkālukkum vaṭakkum melpārkellai cāttaṇaṅkalattu pā
- (9) lāciriyaṇ °akikiran °aṇubhavikkiṇṇa nilattukkum caṭaiyaṇ kiraṇ °aṇubhavikkiṇṇa
- (10) nilattukuṅ kiḷakkum vaṭapārkellai °iccaṭaiyaṇ kiraṇ °aṇubhavikkiṇṇa [nila]ttukku
- (11) vārakkiyaṇ ūr ṇilakaṇṭahomāciyār kalattil ākiṇṇa nilattu ceṭṭi māṛi *stri[dha]*nam
- (12) peṛṛuṭaiya[rom] [ °ā][[!]] [ki]ṇṇa nilattukku teṛkum °ivvicaitta perunāṅkellai[[yi]] l [ °a]kap
- (13) paṭṭa nilam °iraṇṭu mā mikutik kuṛaimai °uḷḷa[ṭa]ṅka [[viṛ]]rukkuṭuttu koṇṭa v[i]laiporuḷ t[i]ppo
- (14) kkuccempon °eṇ kaḷacum kaiyile koṇṭu °eṅ ka[la]ṅcukkum vilaiikkaṛa viṛrup poruḷarak koṇṭu °itu[[v]]e
- (15) vilaiyāvaṇam ākavum veṛu poruḷmāvaṛuti [p]oru[[t]]cilavu kāṭṭa kaṭavaraṅṛi viṛ
- (16) ru vilaiyāvaṇaṅ ceytu kututtom cīrupaḷuvūr maṛavaṇiśvattu *caṇḍeśva*
- (17) *ra* bhīṭararkku °iravi vaṭukaṇum °iravi tattaṇum °ivviruvom paṇmāyeśvara *rakṣai*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 8th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. We two (*ivviruvōm*), Vārakkiyaṇ Iravi Vaṭukaṇ and Iravi Tattaṇ of Tirunallūr, a

*brahmadeya* of Miṛaikkūr̥ram on the northern bank (*vaṭakarai*), to Caṇḍeśvara Bhaṭṭarar (*bhiṭarar > bhaṭṭarar*) of Maṛavaṇiśvaram of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṇṛakkūr̥ram, we (*nāṅkaḷ*), having sold (*viṛru*), we gave (*kuṭutta*) the land as follows (*nilamāvatu*): for our (*eṅkaḷ*) two *mās* (*iraṇṭu māvukku*) on the northern channel (*vaṭavākkāl*) of the great channel (*peruvākkālīṅ*) of the lowland (*kīlkaḷaṇi*) under [the irrigation] (*kīl*) of the sluice (*tūmpin*) of the pure tank (*ceṅkuḷam*) of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, the eastern boundary (*kīlpār̥kellai*) [is] to the west (*mērkun*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of Tampimār and Caṅkaraṇ Iravi; the southern boundary (*tenpār̥kellai*) [is] to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the great water channel (*peruvāykkālukkum*), and to the land (*nilattukkum*) which is possessed (*aṇubhavikīṅra*) by Pālāciriyaṅ Nārāyaṇaṅ Iravi and his younger brother (*tampiyum*) of Puḷlamaṅkalam; the western boundary (*mēlpār̥kellai*) is to the east (*kīlakkum*) of the land (*nilattukuṅ*) which is possessed (*aṇubhavikīṅra*) by Caṭaiyaṅ Kiraṅ, and to the land (*nilattukkum*) which is possessed (*aṇubhavikīṅra*) by Pālāciriyaṅ Akikiraṅ of Cāttamaṅkalam; the northern boundary (*vaṭapār̥kellai*) [is] to the south (*teṛkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) managed (*āḷkiṅra*) by they who got (*peruṭaiyarōm*) the property of the wife (*strīdhanam*) of Ceṭṭi Māri (a merchant?) of the land (*nilattu*) which is (*ākiṅra*) in the palm-leaf document (*kalattil*) of Vāraḷkīyaṅ Ūr Nilakaṇṭaḥomāciyār, and to the land (*nilattukku*) which is possessed (*aṇubhavikīṅra*) by this Caṭaiyaṅ Kiraṅ (*iccaṭaiyaṅ kiraṅ*); in these four boundaries (*perunāṅkellaiyil*) thus determined (*ivvicaitta*), having sold (*viṛru*) [the land] including (*uḷḷataṅka*) the excess (*mikuti*) and shortages (*kuṛaimai*) of the two *mās* of land which fall within (*aka paṭṭa*), having given (*kuṭuttu*), having taken (*koṇṭu*) in hand (*kaiyilē*) eight (*eṅ*) *kaḷaṅcus* of pure gold (lit. pure gold which entered fire, *tīppōkkuceṃpon*), the produce (*vilaiporuḷ*) taken (*koṇṭa*); having sold (*viṛru*) for a complete (*aṛa*) price (*vilaiḷkku*) of eight *kaḷaṅcus*; having taken (*koṇṭu*) for the complete (*aṛa*) money (*poruḷ*); this is the only (*ituvē*) sale document (*vilaiyāvaṇam ākavum*); they do not have to show (*kāṭṭakaṭavar aṅri*) any other (*vēru*) final settlement document (*poruḷ māvaruti*) and document for expenditures (*poruḷ cilavu*); having sold (*viṛru*), having made (*ceytu*) the sale document (*vilaiyāvaṇaṅ*), we have given (*kuṭuttōm*) to Caṇḍeśvara Bhaṭṭarar of Maṛavaṇiśvara of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, we the two (*ivviruvōm*), Iravi Vaṭukaṅ and Iravi Tattaṅ. This is under the protection of the Paṅmāheśvarar.

#75. (a) Maṛavaṇiśvara temple; (b) on the western wall section of the northern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 217; SII 19, no. 268; (e) 10th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *śrī* kopparakesaripaṅmaṅku yāṅṭu 10 °āvatu ciṛupaḷuvūr maṛa
- (2) vaṇiśvaramuṭaiyār̥kku kuṇṛakkūr̥rattu nāṭṭār cantirātita
- (3) val °iravum pakalum nontāvilakkonṛiṅukku ney °eri
- (4) ya °uḷakkāka vaitta °āṭu tonṇūru paṅmāyeśvara rakṣai

Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For the Lord (*uṭaiyār*) of Maṛavaṇiśvaram of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, the Nāṭṭār of Kuṇṛakkūr̥ram, for one *uḷakku* (*uḷakkāka*) of *ghee* (*ney*) for one perpetual lamp (*nontāvilakkonṛiṅukku*) to burn (*eriyā*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave (*vaitta*) ninety goats (*āṭu tonṇūru*). This is under the protection of the Paṅmāheśvarar.



## TIRUVĀLANTUṚAI MAHĀDEVA TEMPLE

ENTRY TO THE SHRINE, EASTERN FAÇADE OF THE  
MUKHA-MANḌAPA

#76. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the eastern façade of the *mukha-manḍapa*, on the southern side of the entrance, on the northern side of the sculpture of Śiva and Pārvatī; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 250; SII 19, no. 171; (e) 6th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōla (c.A.D. 977); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kōppara[[k]e
- (2) caripaṇmaṅku yāṇṭu
- (3) 6 °āvatu kuṇṇakūṛra
- (4) ttu *brammadeyam* ciṛu[pa]lu
- (5) vūr tiruvālanturāit
- (6) t[e]vatāṇatil tiruvāla
- (7) ntuṛainallūr[i]le[[y]]
- (8) [°a]ppikai °aśvattiruvī[[ā]]
- (9) [vu]kku [va] [[ntu]] cākkaikūttu
- (10) °āṭakkaṭava °alaiyūrc cākkai
- (11) ku muṇṇaṅkam māṭa nivanta
- (12) m ceta poṇ kaḷaṅcarai
- (13) nellu mukkalam koṛru
- (14) °itu *panmāheśvara rakṣai* [||]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 6th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. In Tiruvālanturāinallūr in the *devadāna* [of] Tiruvālanturāi of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūṛram, the Cākkaikūttu (a type of dancing) which has to be danced (*āṭakkaṭava*) having come (*vantu*) for the sacred festival (*tiruvīḷāvukku*) of Aśvam in [the month of] Appikai; the endowment (*nivantam*) made (*ceta* > *ceyta*) to the Cākkai (dancer) of Alaiyūr to dance (*māṭa* > *āṭa*) three plays (*muṇṇaṅkam*) [is] one and a half *kaḷaṅcu* (*kaḷaṅcarai*) of gold (*poṇ*), three *kalams* (*mūkkalam*) of paddy (*nellu*) [as] wages in kind (*koṛru*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#77. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the eastern façade of the *mukha-manḍapa*, on the northern side of the entrance, on the northern side of the sculpture of Kaṅkalamūrti; the inscription continues on the pilaster, and probably on the wall on the northern side of the pilaster, but the letters on this part are no longer legible; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 249; SII 19, no. 238; SII 32, part 2, no. 58; (e) 9th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōla (c. A.D. 980); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti* kōpparakesari
- (2) paṇmaṅku yāṇṭu 9 °ā
- (3) vatu ciṛupaḷuvūr tiruvā[la]
- (4) ntuṛai *mahādevarku* paḷu<sup>113</sup>
- (5) veṭṭarayar maṛavaṅkaṅtanār

<sup>113</sup> The -e of the -ve next line is at the end of this line.

- (6) vilaikku koṇṭu kuṭutta ce  
 (7) mpu[taṛ]kuṭiyāṇa tiruvā[lantu]  
 (8) ṛainallūr nivantam cey  
 (9) ta paṭiyāvatu paḷuvur ve[ṭṭa]  
 (10) kkovāṇ pacuvati nakarattā  
 (11) ṇāṇa karuviṭai peruṅkucava  
 (12) ṇukkum ūrā[ṇā/ṇa]ccaṇukkum  
 (13) muṇṭaṇ nakarattāṇukkum  
 (14) nilaṇ kallaṛaikkum  
 (15) nicata[m] mūṇru kuṭuvai  
 (16) yum nicatam mūṇru caṭṭi //  
 (17)<sup>114</sup> yum maṇru  
 (18) m veṇṭum  
 (19) kalamum iṭa  
 (20) kkuṭutta pa  
 (21) ṅkoṇru  
 (22) m °ārāti  
 (23) ṇai ceyum  
 (24) [pi]rāmaṇa  
 (25) ṇukku [paṅ]ku  
 (26) X [ru]m [na]  
 (27) ntavāṇa  
 (28) miṛai[p]  
 (29) pār °iruva  
 (30) rkku paṅku  
 (31) nālum //  
 (32)<sup>115</sup> kāḷam °ira  
 (33) ṇṭiṇukku  
 (34) paṅkiran  
 (35) ṭum maṛava  
 (36) ṇṇicuvava  
 (37) ttu tevarku  
 (38) nontā  
 (39) viḷakku °e  
 (40) rikka paṅku  
 (41) °iraṇṭu tiru  
 (42) meḷukku pa  
 (43) ṅku °oṇru  
 (44) tiruppaḷ  
 (45) ḷittām //<sup>116</sup>

Prosperity! [This is] the 9th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi of Cīrupaḷuvūr, Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭanār, having bought

<sup>114</sup> First line engraved on the pilaster.

<sup>115</sup> On the same pilaster, but on the northern face.

<sup>116</sup> The inscription continues on the next wall section and does not seem to be built over as mentioned by the editors of SII. It is in a very bad condition though, and cannot be deciphered.

(*vilakku koṅṭu*, lit. having got for a price), gave (*kuṭutta*) Tiruvālanturaṅgallūr alias Cempuṭarkuṭi; this is the manner (*paṭiyāvatu*) [in which] the grant (*nivantam*) was made (*ceyta*): to the big potter (*peruṅ kucavaṅkukku*) of Karuviṭai alias the Nakarattāṅ Vēṭṭakkōvaṅ Pacuvati of Paḷuvūr, to Ūrāṅccaṅ, to Muṅṭaṅ Nakarattāṅ, and to Nilāṅ Kallarai, to give (*iṭa*) the pots (*kalamum*) that are needed (*veṅṭum*) beside (*maṅṅum*) every day (*nicatam*) three (*mūṅṅru*) narrowed-mouth pots (*kuṭuvaṅṅum*) and every day (*nicatam*) three (*mūṅṅru*) earthen pots (*caṭṭi*), he gave (*kuṭutta*) one share (*paṅkoṅṅru*); to perform (*ceyum*) the worship (*ārāṭiṅai* > *ārāṭaṅai*), six (? {{ā}}ṅṅum) shares (*paṅku*) for the Brahmins/Brahmin (*pirāmaṅṅaṅkku*); four (*nālum*) shares (*paṅku*) for the two (*iruvarkku*) who water (*iraippār*) the temple garden (*nantavāṅam* > *nantavaṅam*); two shares (*paṅkiraṅṅum*) for the two (*iraṅṅiṅkku*) trumpets (*kālam*, i.e. trumpeters?); two shares (*paṅku iraṅṅu*) to burn (*erikka*) a perpetual lamp (*nontāvilakku*) for the god (*tēvarku*) of Maṅṅavaṅṅicuvaram (Maṅṅavaṅṅiṅvaram); one share (*paṅku oṅṅru*) for the cleaning of the temple floor with cow dung (*tirumelukku*), {last legible word: *tirupaḷḷittāṅam* > *tirupaḷḷittāṅam* = garland for an idol} . . .

#78 (Fig. A.86). (a) Tiruvālanturaṅgallūr Mahādeva temple; (b) on the eastern façade of the *mukha-maṅṅapa*, on the southern side of the entrance, on the southern side of the sculpture of Śiva and Pārvaṭi; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 113; SII 5, no. 674; (e) 13th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the engraving of the last three lines is shallower than the previous lines, and I assume that they were added later; we also note that the word *ceppu kalacappāṅai* is written three times differently.

- (1) *svasti śrī* koppa[ra]
- (2) ke[ca]ri[va][[nma]]ṅṅkku yāṅ
- (3) ṭu 13 °āvatu kuṅṅakkū
- (4) ṅṅrattu [*brahma*]deyam ciṅṅu
- (5) paḷuvūrt ti[ruvā]lantaṅṅai
- (6) [*ma*]hāde[va]ṅṅkku pāmpu
- (7) ṅṅikkūṅṅrat[tu] pāmpuṅi
- (8) [°i]rukkuṅṅ vyāpār[i] kuṅṅa
- (9) van vaṭavāyillēn kuṭutta
- (10) kalayappāṅai niṅṅai ceruviṭai
- (11) yāl °eḷupatu ceppukalaiyappā
- (12) l[ai] °itu pamāheśvara rakṅṅai ||
- (13) °icceppukkalacappā[ṅai vā]
- (14) ṅṅki gaṅṅavatiyār [[°a]]ṅṅṅṅ
- (15) viccom devakanmi[kaḷ][[om]]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 13th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturaṅgallūr of Ciṅṅupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṅakkūṅṅam, I of the northern side (*vaṭavāyillēn*) Vyāpāri Kuṅṅavan, who reside in Pāmpuṅi in Pāmpuṅikkūṅṅam, have given (*kuṭutta*) a vessel to burn incense (*kalayappāṅai* > *kalacappāṅai*); seventeen (*eḷupatu*) by the *ceruviṭai* standard weigh (*niṅṅai*) [for] a copper (*ceppu*) vessel for incense (*kalaiyappāṅai* > *kalacappāṅai*). This is under the protection

of the Panmāheśvaras. Having received (*vānki*) this copper vessel for incense (*icceppukkalacappānai*), we the Devakanmis will place it (*aṭṭuviccōm*) [in front of?] Gaṇapati (*gaṇavatiyār*).

#79. (a) Tiruvālantuṛai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the eastern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, on the base on both sides of the door; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) 10th regnal year of *cālai kalam arutta* . . . Rājarā{{jakesarivarman}}; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 995); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) there are many illegible passages.

- (1) {built over} XXX cālai kalam arutta XXX rājarā XXXX X ṅṭu 10 °āvatu kuṅṛa XX rattu bra XXXXXX vān XXXX ṇan XXXXX // {door} // XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX ṇṇa virru ku[ṭu] XX [ni]lattukk[u] [ki] XXXX °ivvar[kka] lu[ku] XXXXXXXXXXXX
- (2) XXX kum teṅpārkellai °itevar XXXXXX pār[kel]lai °u[ḷ] ci[ru] va X ykka XXX XXXX puṛa vāykkālukkku XXXX // {door} // XXXXXXXXXXX ttu XXX meṅkum teṅ[yā]kellai pallar X yaṅ nārāyaṇaravi nilattukku vaṭa ka X X mipāla X X X tirumikramaṅ nārāyaṇac comāciyār brāhmaṇi
- (3) [ni]lattukku ki[par] vaṭapārkellai vākkayaṅ X X X X X X X vikkiṅṛa nilattukkum XXXX [vi] XXXX nāṅkellaiyu[ḷ]lakappaṭṭa nilam mikutikkuraimai [°uḷ]lataṅka n[ila]m // {door} // laip poḷatiyap pokku cempon kaḷaiṅciḷ pottatu paḷuvūr nakara X X X lla [ko]ṅṭa pon °eḷu ka[lai]ṅcaraiyum °āvaṅakkaḷile kaiccel koṅṭu vilaiikkaravi
- (4) ṛru villai °āvaṅaṅ ceytuk kuṭutten tiruvāla XXXXX ṅ[ṭ]eśvarakku XXXXXX ṅ °inila XXX pay vilai °āvaṅamum poruḷ māvanti poruḷ cila XXX // {door} // XX XX kkar virrup poru[ḷ] koṅṭu virru vilai °āvaṅaṅ ce[tuk] kuṭutten ti[ru] XXXX tuṛai caṅṭeśva X kku °uṅṇ<sup>117</sup> cuvariyeṅ °ivaṅṇukku mutukaṅṇāy °iṅnilam
- (5)<sup>118</sup> {beginning illegible} kuṭutten °ikkoyil śrī kāryam °ārāykiṛa [ko] // {door} // {nothing visible after the door}
- (6) {beginning illegible} ma cāttamaṅkalattup pā XXXXXXX // {door} // [vata] X °ā[kata] XX {cement for the unti} X [k]kunā XX [k]kuṭu XXXXX paḷuvūr XXX kka[ruya] kuḷattut tenvāy maṭaik kiḷ nāṅ XXX // X la XX
- (7) {illegible} mmiypārkellai [pālar] XXXXXXX // {door} // XXXXXXX [nal] {cement for the alm box} XXX °inni X m XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX [la]nāṅ viṅkiṅṛa °araimāvukku kiḷpārkellai XX // ni[lait] X
- (8) {beginning covered by the cement floor} m vaṭapārkellai pālla XXXXXXX // {door} // XX [°uṅ] {cement for the unti} māvum viṅ XXXX ko XXXXX pal XX kku cempon paḷuvūr nakarakall[ar/ā] koṅṭa pon °aṛu // {not sure it continues}
- (9) {covered by the cement floor} // {door} // {covered by the cement floor + alm box} X la X miyaṅ [ti] XX teva X // {cannot see any letters}

Line 1: [This is] the 10th year of Rājarā{{jakesarivarman}} who distributed vessels at the *cālai*. Deals with a land donation which was bought and given (*virru kuṭu*);

<sup>117</sup> This word could also be read °uḷaṅ/°uḷa/°uṅṇa/°uḷla, etc.

<sup>118</sup> The next four lines, on the lotus-shaped part of the base, are not very legible. Some parts are covered by the cement floor.

- Line 2: about the boundaries of the given land. Two names appear, probably those occupying the neighbouring lands: Nārāyaṇaravi and Tirumikramaṇ Nārāyaṇa Cōmaciyār Brāhmaṇi;
- Line 3: end of the description of the four boundaries of the given land (*nāṅkellaiyu!! akappaṭṭa nilam*); about some gold, seven and a half *kaḷaṅcus* were taken;
- Line 4: “I have given (*kuṭuttēṇ*), having made (*ceytu*) the sale (*villai > vilai*) agreement (*āvaṇai*)”; mention of the final sale document (*vilai āvaṇamum poru! māvanti > māvaṇuti poru!*) regarding the sale agreement; mention of Caṇḍeśvara of Tiru{{vālan}}tuṛai to whom the land is given [?]; the name of the donor may be Uṇaṅ Cuvāri (*cuvariyeṇ*);
- Line 5: mention of the Śrīkāryam of the temple;
- Line 6: mention of someone (?) from Cāttamaṅgalam; again, land boundaries are given: under [the irrigation] (*kīl*) of the sluice (*maṭai*) [which is] on the southern side (*tenvāy*) of the tank (*kuḷattu*);
- Line 7: continuation of the description of the land boundaries;
- Line 8: continuation and probably end of the description of the land boundaries; mention of the gold taken (*koṅṭa*) by the *nakarakallā* of Paḷuvūr (standard stone measure of the Nagaram of Paḷuvūr? See #92 and #123 which mention *nakarakallāl*);
- Line 9: too fragmentary.

## SOUTHERN FAÇADE

### SANCTUARY AND ARDHA-MANḌAPA

#80. (a) Tiruvālantūrai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the southern façade of the sanctuary, on the eastern side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, on the westernmost wall section; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 236; (e) 19th regnal year of *maturai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 926); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī*
- (2) *maturai ko*
- (3) *ṅṭa koppa*
- (4) *rakecaripaṅmaṛ*
- (5) *ku yāṅṭu 19 ° ā*
- (6) *vatu kuṅṛakkūṛṛattu*
- (7) *brahmadeyam ciṛu*
- (8)<sup>119</sup> *paḷuvūrti ti // ruvālantūrai mahā*
- (9) *devarkku ° o // ru nontāviḷakku*
- (10) *candrādival // ° erippatār viṛai*
- (11) *kkūṛṛattu ° u // ppaḷappāṭi taṅṭi*
- (12) *° a[ti]kaḷār // ° ivvūr sabhaiyyā*
- (13) *r vacam kuṭu // tta cāvāmuṅvāppe*

<sup>119</sup> From this line onwards, and up to line 17 included, the left side pilaster is inscribed.

- (14) rāṭu 90 // °ittoṇṇūru °ā  
 (15) ṭṭālum ni // catam nārāyattu  
 (16) °uḷakku ne // y °aṭuvār °ānār  
 (17) °iccirupa // luvūr *sabhaiyyā*  
 (18) r [°i]tu pa[ṇ]māhe  
 (19) *śvara rakṣai* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 19th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. To Mahādeva of Tiruvalāntuṭurai of Ciṟupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṛakkūṛram, for a perpetual lamp (*oru nonttāviḷakku* > *oru nontāviḷakku*) to burn (*erippatār*) as long as the sun and the moon endure (*candrādival* > *candrādīval*), Taṇṭi Aṭikaḷ of Uppalappāṭi of Viṟaikkūṛram gave (*kuṭutta*) ninety undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmūvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*) in the care of (*vacam*) those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyyār*); those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyyār*) of this Ciṟupaḷuvūr will supply (*aṭuvār ānār*) an *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) by the *nārāyam* [measure] every day (*nicatam*) with all these ninety (*ittoṇṇūru*) goats (*āṭṭālum*). This is under the protection of the Paṇmāheśvaras.

#81. (a) Tiruvalāntuṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the southern façade of the sanctuary, on the eastern side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, on the central wall section; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 241; (e) 22nd regnal year of *maturai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 929); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svastī*  
 (2) *śrī maturai*  
 (3) koṇṭa koppa  
 (4) rakesaripaṇma  
 (5) ṛkku yāṇṭu 20  
 (6) 2 °āvatu kuṇṛa  
 (7) kkūṛṛattu ciṟu  
 (8) paḷuvūrt tiru  
 (9) vālantūrai ma  
 (10) *hādevār*kku tañ  
 (11) cāvūrk kaṇṭarāṭi  
 (12) ttar veḷattir  
 (13) peṇṭāṭṭi nanti  
 (14) ṅkaṭatti vaicca  
 (15) °oru nonttāviḷa  
 (16) kku °eriyā °ivūr  
 (17) *sabhaiyyār vaca*  
 (18) m kuṭutta cāvā  
 (19) muvāperāṭu  
 (20) 90 °itto  
 (21) ṇṇūru °āṭṭāl  
 (21) lum nicatam nā  
 (22) X yattāl °uḷa

- (23) X neyi °āṭṭu  
 (24) XX [°a]nār °ic  
 (25) ci[rupaḷuvūr] sa  
 (26) *bhaiy[ā]r °itta X*  
 (27) *māhe[śva] XX [kṣai]*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 22nd year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. To Mahādeva of Tiruvalānturai of Cīrupaḷuvūr of Kuṇṛakkūrṛam, a woman (*peṇṭāṭṭi*) of the women's quarters (*vēlattir*) of Kaṇṭarātittar in Tanjavur, Nantiṅkaṭatti, placed (*vaicca*) to burn (*eriya*) one perpetual lamp (*oru nontāviḷakku > nontāviḷakku*), in the care (*vacam*) of those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyār*) of this village (*ivūr*), gave (*kuṭutta*) ninety undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmūvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*); with all these ninety goats (*ittonṇūru āṭṭāllum*), those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyār*) of Cīrupaḷuvūr will supply (*āṭṭu[{}vār}{}anār*) one *ulakku* of *ghee* (*neyi > ney*) by the *nārāyam* [measure] (*nārāyattāl*) every day (*nicatam*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#82. (a) Tiruvalānturai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 239; (e) 26th regnal year of *maturai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 933); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti*  
 (2) *śrī*  
 (3) *maturai*  
 (4) *koṇṭa ko*  
 (5) *pparakecaripanmaṭ*  
 (6) *ku yāṇṭu 26*  
 (7) °āvatu kuṇṛakkū  
 (8) *rṛattu brahmadeya*  
 (9) *m cīrupaḷuvūrt ti*  
 (10) *ruvālanturai maha*  
 (11) *de[va]rkku °iṭaiyār*  
 (12) *rūppātti[cū]rai*  
 (13) *kkuṭaiyāṇ °a[ti]kaṇi*  
 (14) *ḷavi vaitta non*  
 (15) *tāviḷakkoṇṇerriya*  
 (16) *vaitta cāvāmuvāppe*  
 (17) {space} *rāṭu 90 °itu*  
 (18) {space} *panmāhe*  
 (19) *śvara rakṣai*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 26th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. To Mahādeva of Tiruvalānturai of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṛakkūrṛam, lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Iṭaiyārṛuppātticūrai, Aṭikaṇiḷavi, placed (*vaitta*) to burn (*eriya*) one (*onru*) perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku*), placed (*vaitta*) ninety undying and non-ageing great goats (*cāvāmūvāp perāṭu*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#83 (Fig. A.83). (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the wall section on the western side of the niche of Gaṇeśa on the southern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 118; SII 5, no. 679; (e) 5th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) probably Sundaracōḷa (c. A.D. 962); (g) first seven lines read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the inscription is unfinished, but the second part might have been on the same wall, on the other side of the niche of Gaṇeśa, today covered by the wall of the *mahā-maṇḍapa*; the -v- and sometimes the -p- have an unusual form: they are curved in the middle.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirājakesarivaṇ*
- (2) makku yāṇṭu 5 [[°āva]]tu kuma X nā X
- (3) ru kkuṇṇakkurṇattu *brahmadeyam* ci[ru]
- (4) [pa]lūvūr *sabhaiyom* viṇṇa [°ūr]nila vi
- (5) l[ai]yāvaṇam °āṭikaḷ paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar ma
- (6) raṇaṇ kaṇ[ṭa]ṇārkkku viṇṇukkuṭutta °ūrāva
- (7) tu kkuṇṇakkurṇattu *brahmadeyam* cempuṭarṇkuṭi
- (8) X cempuṭarṇkuṭi nilattukku kiḷpārṇkellai [[tā]]
- (9) pameṇṇru [p]er collappaṭukiṇṇa °ūrnilattu
- (10) [[kku]][m] kaḷalaikuṭi °ūrnilattukku mekkut tenp[ā]
- (11) [[r]]kellai °ikkaḷalaikuṭi °ū[ni]lattukkum kūḷapāṭi
- (12) [[°ū]]rnilattukkum melpārṇkellai °ik
- (13) kūḷapāṭi °ūrnilattukkum °uṇṇattū
- (14) r °ūrnilattukkum kiḷakku vaṭapār[ke]
- (15) llai °ivvuṇṇattūr °ūrnilattukkum
- (16) [[tāpa]][mākiya] [[°ūrnilattukkum]]
- (17) ṭerku °ivvicaitta perunāṇke
- (18) llaiyuḷakapaṭṭa nilam vaḷaiyiṇ cūṇṇu
- (19) muṇṇu muṇṇilamoḷiviṇṇiye ni
- (20) rnilamum puṇṇeyum meṇṇeyyu
- (21) m kiṇaṇum kuḷamuṇ koṭṭakāramum maṇ
- (22) ruṇ kaṇṇumey pāḷum puṇṇuṇ ṭerṇ[[i]]
- (23) yum cuṭukāṭum °uṭpaṭa maṇṇum ep
- (24) perppaṭṭa nilamum °innilam eḷuṇ
- (25) ta maramum marappayaṇum maṇṇum u
- (26) ṭumpoṭi yāmai tavaḷntate
- (27) pperppaṭṭatum nāṇkaḷ °ic
- (28) cempūṭakkuṭi *sabhaiyār* [paka]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 5th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. [kumaganāyaru?]. We the Sabhā (*sabhaiyōm*) of Ciṇṇupalūvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam, sold (*viṇṇa*) a village-land (*ūrnilam*); having sold (*viṇṇu*), [we] gave (*kuṭutta*) to Aṭikaḷ (*āṭikaḷ* > *aṭikaḷ*) Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṇaṇ Kaṇṇaṇār [with a] sale document (*vilaiyāvaṇam*), that which is the village (*ūrāvatu*) of Cempuṭarṇkuṭi, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam; the eastern side boundary (*kiḷpārṇkellai*) to the land of Cempuṭarṇkuṭi [is] to the west (*mēkku* > *mērkkku*) of the village-land (*ūrnilattukku*) of Kaḷalaikuṭi and of the village-land which is called (*collappaṭukiṇṇa*) by the name (*pēr*) “Tāpam” (*tāpam-eṇṇu*); the southern side boundary (*tenpārṇkellai*) [is] to the {[north of]} the village-land of Kūḷapāṭi and to the village-land of this



Kaṭalaikuṭi; the western side boundary (*mēlpārkkellai*) [is] to the east (*kīlakkū*) of the village-land of Ūrattūr and the village-land of this Kūḷappāṭi; the northern side boundary (*vaṭapārkkellai*) [is] to the south (*terku*) of the village-land which became (*ākiya*) Tāpam and to the village-land of this Ūrattūr; the land which falls inside these four great boundaries (*perunāṅkellaiyulaḷapaṭṭa*) have thus been divided (*ivvicaitta*); without exemption (*oliviṅṅiyē*) of the land inside (*uṅṅilam*) the entire area (*vaḷaiyil curru murrum*), the land (*nilamum*) and whatever (*marrum eppēppaṭṭa*) is included (*uḷpaṭa*): wet lands (*nīrnilam*), dry lands (*puṅceyum*), wet lands (*meṅceyum*), water channels (*kiṅarum*), tanks (*kuḷamum*), granaries (*koṭṭakāramum*), cow stalls (*maṅrum*) and the calves (*kaṅrumēy*), the barren lands (*pālum*), the ant-hills (*purrum*), the mounds (*terriyum*), the burning grounds (*cuṭukāṭum*), the trees (*maramum*) which grow (*eḷunta*) in this land (*innilam*) and the wealth (i.e. fruits) of the trees (*marappayaṅum*), uncultivated lands (lit. the land where the turtles (*āmai*) crawl (*tavaḷntatu*) and the lizards (*uṭumpu*) run (*ōṭi*)) and whatever name (*eppēppaṭṭatum*) besides (*marrum*), we (*naṅkaḷ*) of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyār*) of Cempūtakkuṭi . . .

#84. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the round part of the base (*kumuda*) of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*; the first line starts on the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, but the subsequent lines begin a little before, on the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 242; SII 13, no. 188; (e) 8th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) many passages are no longer legible, covered with a layer of grease from the lamps burning in front of Gaṅapati, but the editors of SII could read them; the right side of the inscription is built over.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirājakesarivanmakku yāṅṅu 8 °āvatu* [[kuṅṅa]][kkūrṅa][[tu brahmade]]yam ciṅṅaḷuvūr [[brahmaṅa]]n cāvānti [[tāmotiran koṅṅaṅ °ivvūr tiruvālan]] {built over}
- (2) *kkīl vāykkā // li vaṭavāy // kkāl nāṅ v[ī]ṅṅuk kuṭutta nilattukku kīlpākkellai °ivvūr* [cā][[vā]][nti] [[nārāyaṅa]]n pāṅṅa[[ṅum]][t tam][[pimārum]] nilattu[kku] [[me]][kku][[m tenpākkellai °ivvūr]] {built over}
- (3) *tāṅṅ pe<sup>120</sup>rumakka // ḷ nilattu // kku kīlakkum vaṭapārkkellai °ivvūr cāvānti tevan* *subrahmaṅyan ṅi*lattu[kku te]ṅṅkum °iv[[vi]]c[ai]tta perunā[n]kke<sup>121</sup>laiyulaḷakappa [[ṅṅa] [[uṅṅilam oliviṅṅi taṭi °iraṅṅa]] {built over}
- (4) *ṅcaraikkum viṅṅu // vilaiyā // vaṅam caitu kuṭuttan tāmotiran koṅṅaṅ [ °ittiruvā] lanturāi* [[caṅḍeśadevaku °itu panmāheśvara rakṅai]]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 8th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. I, a Brahmaṅan of Ciṅṅaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṅakkūrṅam, Cāvānti Tāmotiran Kōṅṅaṅ, . . . Tiruvālan{{turāi}} of this village (*ivvūr*) . . . the northern channel (*vaṭavāykkāl*) in the eastern channel (*kīl vāykkāli* > *vāykkālil*) . . . having bought (*viṅṅu*), I (*nāṅ*) gave (*kuṭutta*) [the following land]: the eastern side boundary (*kīlpākkellai* > *kīlpārkkellai*) of the land (*nilattukku*) is to the west (*mēkkum* > *mērkkum*) of the land of Cāvānti

<sup>120</sup> The vowel -e is engraved before the first -p while it should be before the second -p.

<sup>121</sup> The vowel -e is engraved before the first -k while it should be before the second -k.

Nārāyaṇan Pāṇṭaṇ and his younger brother (*tampimārum*) of this village (*ivvūr*); the southern side boundary (*tenpālkkellai > tenpārkkellai*) . . . ; . . . is to the east (*kīlakkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of . . . taṇ Perumakkaḷ (the great people); the northern side boundary (*vaṭapārkkellai*) is to the south (*teṛkkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of Cāvānti Tēvan Subrahmaṇyan of this village (*ivūr > ivvūr*); having exempted (*oḷivinri*) the inner land (*uṇṇilam*) which falls inside (*akappaṭṭa*) the four great boundaries (*perunānkellaiu!*) which have been thus divided (*ivvicaitta*), two (*iraṇṭa*) measuring rods (*taṭi?*) . . . having bought (*viṛru*) for half {{{*kaḷaṇcu*}}} {{{*kaḷaṇ*}}} *caraikku*) . . . , having made (*caitu > ceytu*) a sale agreement (*vilaiyāvaṇam*), I Tāmotiran Kōṛran gave (*kuṭuttēn*) to Caṇḍeśvara of this Tiruvālanturai. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#85. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the easternmost wall section of the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 240; SII 13, no. 210; (e) 10th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī*
- (2) *kovirājake*
- (3) *saripaṇmaṛku*
- (4) *yāṇṭu 10 ° ā*
- (5) *vatu kuṇṇakkūrṛa*
- (6) *ttu brahmadeya*
- (7) *m ciṛupaḷuvūrt ti*
- (8) *ruvālanturai maha*
- (9) *devarkku nontāvi*
- (10) *ḷakku ° oṇ[ṛ]ru [° eri]ya*
- (11) *paḷuvūr nakaṇ kāṭa*
- (12) *nār iv // vūr sabhaiyār vacam*
- (13) *kuṭutta // cāvāmuṇvā perāṭu*
- (14) *90 // ° ittonṇūru*
- (15) *° āṭṭā // lum nicatam nārā*
- (16) *yattā // l ° uḷakku ney aṭ*
- (17) *ṭuvo // m ° ānom [[° icci]ru]*
- (18) *paḷu // vūr sabhaiyom [° i]*
- (19) *tu panma // heśvara [rakṣai]*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. To Mahādeva (*mahadeva > mahādeva*) of Tiruvālanturai of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrṛam, to burn (*eriyā*) one (*oṇṛru > oṇru*) perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku*), Nakaṇ Kāṭanār of Paḷuvūr, gave (*kuṭutta*) ninety undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuṇvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*) in the care of (*vacam*) those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyār*) of this town (*ivvūr*); we, the Sabhā (*sabhaiyōm*) of this Ciṛupaḷuvūr, will have to supply (*aṭṭuvōmāṇōm*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) by the *nārāyam* [measure] (*nārāyattāl*) every day (*nicatam*) with all these ninety goats (*ittonṇūru āṭṭālum*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras (*panmaheśvara > panmāheśvara*).

#86. (a) Tiruvālantūrai Mahādeva temple; (b) of the southern façade of the sanctuary, on the western side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, on the central wall section; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 238; SII 19, no. 144; (e) 5th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti*
- (2) *śrī*
- (3) kōppara
- (4) kecaripaṇma
- (5) ṛku yāṇṭu 5
- (6) °āvatu kuṇṇa
- (7) kkuṇṇattu *bra*
- (8) *hmadeyam* ciṛu
- (9) paḷuvūrt tiru
- (10) vālantūrai *ma*
- (11) *hādevarkku* poy
- (12) kaināṭṭu perumpu
- (13) liyūr maṇaṅkuṭi
- (14) °araiyaṇ teva[ṇ]
- (15) nāṭṭi [ru] viḷa
- (16) kkeriya °oru pi
- (17) ṭiya neyyikku
- (18) [°i]ccirupaḷu
- (19) vūr *sabhaiyā*
- (20) [r] vacam kuṭutta
- (21) cāvāmuvā perā
- (22) ṭu 22 °itu
- (23) *panmaheśva*
- (24) [ra rakṣai]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 5th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālantūrai of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṇṇakkūṇṇam, the chieftain (*araiyaṇ*) of Perumpuliyūr Maṇaṅkuṭi in Poykaināṭu, Tēvaṇ Nāṭṭi, to burn (*eriyā*) a lamp (*viḷakku*), for one handful (*oru piṭiya*) of *ghee* (*neyyikku*), gave (*kuṭutta*) in the care of (*vacam*) those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyār*) of this Ciṛupaḷuvūr twenty-two undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmūvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras (*panmaheśvara* > *panmāheśvara*).

#87. (a) Tiruvālantūrai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the southern façade of the sanctuary, on the western side of the niche of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, on the easternmost wall section; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 237; SII 19, no. 212; SII 32, part 2, no. 55, 167; (e) 8th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti*
- (2) *śrī*
- (3) kōpparake

- (4) caripaṇmaṛ
- (5) kku yāṇṭu 8
- (6) °āvatu kuṇ[ra]kk[ū]
- (7) r̥rattu *brahmadeya*
- (8) m cirupaḷuvūrt
- (9) tiruvālanṭurai // mahā[[*deva*]]
- (10) rkku paḷuveṭṭarai // yar vikra[[*mā*]]
- (11) [*di*]tyar *deviyār* rāma // ṇ kovi[[*yā*]]
- (12) r *candradityaval* °oru pi // [[*ṭi neyy a*]]
- (13) ṭṭuvarāka °ivvūr *sabhai* // yār vaca[m]
- (14) kuṭutta °āṭu [22]<sup>122</sup> // °itu [panmā]
- (15) *heśvara rakṣai*

Fortune! prosperity! [This is] the 8th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṭakkūr̥ram, the queen (*deviyār*) of Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar Vikramāditya, Rāmaṇ Kōviyār, gave (*kuṭutta*) twenty-two goats (*āṭu*) in the care (*vacam*) of those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyār*) of this village (*ivvūr*), so that they supply (*aṭṭuvarāka*) one handful (*piṭi*) of *ghee* (*ney*), as long as the sun and the moon endure. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#88. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the lowest part of the base (*jagati*) of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) 16th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) I think there was a second line which is today almost invisible.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecaripanmakku yāṇṭu patinārāvatu {illegible} X X *śrī* ko {built over}

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 16th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. . . .

## MUKHA-MANḌAPA

#89 (Fig. A.50; Fig. A.85). (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the western side of the niche of Gajasaṃhāramūrti, on the southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 245; SII 19, no. 384; SII 32, part 2, no. 170; (e) 15th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 986); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecariva
- (2) *nmaṛ*ku yāṇṭu 15 °āvatu kuṇ
- (3) rakūr̥rattu *brahmadeyam* c
- (4) c[i]rupa[lu]vūr tiruvālanṭurai
- (5) *mahādevarkku* °uttaramayanam
- (6) parr̥iṇa °ayaṇa sakirāntikku

<sup>122</sup> The editions of SII propose 12. It is possible, but I think there is a 2 before the 10, which can be seen rather clearly on pictures preceding the recent painting.

- (7) °āṭi °aruḷa maṅkalanāṭṭu maṅkala  
 (8) ttu maṅkalamuṭaiya kauci  
 (9) yaṅ māraṇaṇeṅ °āṭi °aruḷa [va]  
 (10) tta ney nā[rā]yattāl °ai  
 (11) ntu liyāl °āṭu °aṅcu śrī  
 (12) koyil eṭuppicca paḷa  
 (13) veṭṭaraiyar maṇavan  
 (14) kaṅṭaṅaṅār °aruḷalāl  
 (15) l eṭupitta mārapiraṅ va  
 (16) ttitu °ivane tiruvālan  
 (17) tuṇainallūrku kuḷattil [ °i]  
 (18) raṅṭerippaṭikkku naṭuve[ṅ]  
 (19) [r]ey mākāṇi nilam[u]m ni[ca]  
 (20)<sup>123</sup> nic[[ca nāli tumpai]] [pū] °aṭṭa  
 (21) teva[r]nāl[i]yāl °aṭṭuv[ā]rkku  
 (22) [[vaittu]]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 15th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai of Ciṇṇapaḷuvūr, a *brahmadēya* of Kuṇṇakkūṇṇam, for the sacred bath (*āṭi aruḷa*) [during] Saṃkrānti (*sakirānti*) which is encompassed (*paṇṇiṇa ayaṇa*) in the summer solstice (*uttaramayanam* > *uttarāyaṇa*), I Kausiyaṅ Māraṇaṅ, lord (*uṭaiya*) of Maṅkalam in Maṅkalam in Maṅkalanāṭu, for the sacred bath (*āṭi aruḷa*), gave (*vatta* > *vaitta*) five goats (*āṭu aṅcu*) for five *nālis* (*aintu liyāl* > *aintu nāliyāl*) of *ghee* (*ney*) by the *nārāyam* [measure]; that which has been put (*vattitu?*) [by] Mārapiraṅ who built (*eṭupitta*) by the grace (*aruḷalāl* > *aruḷāl*) of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar (*paḷavēṭṭaraiyar* > *paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar*) Maṇavan Kaṅṭaṅaṅ who built (*eṭupicca*) the Śrī Kōyil; he himself (*ivanē*) gave (*vaittu*) a whole *mākāṇi* (a measure) of land (*nilamum*) in the middle (*naṭuvenṇēy*) of the steps (*paṭikkku*) of the two tanks (*iraṅṭēri*) in the tank (*kuḷattil*) of Tiruvālanṭuṇainallūr for those who supply (*aṭṭuvārkkku*) with a god's measure (*tēvarnāliyāl*) in order to supply (*aṭṭa*) a *nāli* of *tumpai* flowers (*pū*) every day (*nicanicca* > *nicatam*).

#90 (Fig. A.64). (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the wall section on the western side of the niche of the dancing Śiva, on the southern façade of the *mukha-maṅḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 244; SII 19, no. 406; SII 32, part 2, no. 199; (e) 16th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 987); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* ko[ppara]  
 (2) k[e]caripanmaṅkkku yāṅṭu pa  
 (3) tin nārāvatu °ittiruvāla  
 (4) mtuṇai mādevaṅkkku °utti  
 (5) ra °ayaṇa saṅkirāti potu  
 (6) tiruvamutukku °arici kuttal

<sup>123</sup> The last 3 lines are engraved on the upper part of the base, under the wall section, and are not very clear.

- (7) °aṅkuṟuṇiyu[m] neyyamutu
- (8) nāḷiyum tayiramutu kuṟuṇiyu
- (9) m kaṟiyamutum gaṇavatiyar
- (10) kku paṅkuṇit tiruvōṇatti
- (11) ṅāṅṟu °aval °amutu tū
- (12) ṇiyum teṅkāy pattum
- (13) caṅkkalai patanṇalamum {space at the end of the line}
- (14) °ittanāikkum āka devatānam
- (15) veṭṭamkkuṭi vaṅṅiccey mayak
- (16) ki cantirātitaṅṅ ceyvittān
- (17) śrī kāryam °ārāṅca māra[pi]rā ṅa
- (18) mpiyeṅ °itu panmāheśvara
- (19) rakṣai ||

Fortune! prosperity! [This is] the 16th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of this Tiruvālamtuṟai, on the day of Uttira Saṅkrānti (*saṅkirāti*), for one time (*potu*) of holy food offerings (*tiruvamutukku*): five *kuṟuṇis* (*aṅkuṟuṇiyum*) of pounded rice (*arici kuttal*), one *nāḷi* (*nāḷiyum*) of ghee food offerings (*neyyamutu*), one *kuṟuṇi* (*kuṟuṇiyum*) of curd food offerings (*tayiramutu*), vegetable food offerings (*kaṟiyamutum*), one *tūṇi* [measure] (*tūṇiyum*) of flat rice food offerings (*aval amutu*) for Gaṇapati on Tiruvōṇam day (*tiruvōṇattināṅṟu*) in the month of Paṅkuṇi, ten coconuts (*teṅkāy pattum*) and ten (*patanṇ?*) *palams* [measure] of sugar (*caṅkkalai* > *carckkarai*); for all this (*ittanāikkum āka*), having prepared for cultivation (*mayakki*) the burnt land (*vaṅṅiccey?*) in Veṭṭamkkuṭi of the *devadāna*, I Mārapiraṅ Nampi who examines (*ārāṅca*) the sacred affairs (*śrīkāryam*) have caused to be made (*ceyvittān*) [the food offerings] as long as the sun and the moon endure. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#91. (a) Tiruvālamtuṟai Mahādeva temple; (b) on a stone reused in the wall constructed between the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa* and the *mukha-maṅḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 114; SII 5, no. 675; SII 32, part 2, no. 200; (e) 16th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 987); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecaripaṅmaṅḅku yāṅṅu
- (2) 16 °āvatu kuṅṅakkūṅṅattu *brahmadeyam* ciṟupaḷu
- (3) r tiruvālamtuṟai *māhātevaṅṅ*ku *śrīkā[r]yyam* °ārākīra
- (4) *kaūśikaṅ* nakkaṅ mārapiraṅ °ārāciyal paḷuvū
- (5) r °avaṅṅikantaṅṅpapurattu viracoḷa vaṅṅukka
- (6) ṅ kuṅavaṅ [nakkaṅ vacca] cantiviḷakku [muṅṅu ka]
- (7) lai XXX [[°iravum pakalum °ākapp]] paṅṅiraṅṅtukku
- (8) m vaitta po[ṅ] pa[ti]ṅṅe[lu] ka[la]ṅ[cum]
- (9) ko[[ṅṅu *sandhiviḷakku* paṅṅiraṅṅtu nakkaṅ]]
- (10) {illegible}

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 16th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva (*māhātēva* > *mahātēva*) of Tiruvālamtuṟai of Ciṟupaḷuvūr (*ciṟupaḷur* > *ciṟupaḷuvūr*), a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṅakkūṅṅam, in the examination (*ārāciyal* > *ārāciyil*) of

Kauśikaṅ Nakkaṅ Mārapirāṅ who examines (*ārākiṛa* > *ārākiṅṛa*) the sacred affairs (*śrī kāryyam*), Vīracōla Vaṇukkaṅ Kuṇavaṅ Nakkaṅ of Avanikantarppapuram of Paḷuvūr gave (*vacca* > *vaitta*) for an evening lamp (*cantiviḷakku*); for twelve (*paṇṇiraṅṅukkum*) [lamps] night and day (*iravum pakalum āka*) three (*munru* > *muṅru*) times (*kalai?*) a day, he gave (*vaitta*); having taken (*koṅṭu*) seventeen (*paṭiṅṅelu*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*poṅ*) for twelve (*paṇṇiraṅṅu*) evening lamps (*sandhiviḷakku*), Nakkaṅ . . .

#92. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the western part of the *mukha-maṅḍapa*, under the dancing Śiva, engraved on the three parts of the base: lines 1–3, on the upper part; lines 4–6: on the middle part; lines 7–8: on the lower part; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 248; (e) lost regnal year of {{{*cālai kala*}}}*m arutta* Kō{{vi}}rājarājakesa{{rivarman}}; in 1926, ARE read the 10th regnal year; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 995); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) {built over} XXXm arutta ko X rājarājakesa XXXXyā XXX °ā XXXXXXXXttu *brahmadeyam* ciṛupaḷu[vūr] [cāvanti] nārāyaṅaṅ ceṅtaṅeṅ viṛru
- (2) {built over} X ṅam °ivūr ti[ruv]āllaṅṅurai jaṅṅ[isva]rakkum nāṅ viṛru kuṭutta nilam °āvatu °ivvūr mellaikkaruṅ kuḷattu kuḷacey maṭaik kiḷ nāṅ viṛruk kuṭutta
- (3) {built over} X X kellaṅ paṭṅaṅ pūtaṅ mā[ra]ṅṅuḷḷiṅṅār] nilattukku meṅkum teṅpārkkellai vāykkālukku vaṭakkum miypārkkellai nakkaṅ ūraṅ °anubha
- (4) {built over} XXXX nilattukku kiḷakkum vaṭapārkkellai °i XX yamaṅṅaṅi XX °uḷḷiṅṅār nilattu teṅkum °i[nnaṭuvūr] XXXXXm °araikkāl ceyum va[r]
- (5) {built over} poruḷ ceṅpoṅ nakarakallā[!] mü kaḷaṅcum °āvaṅkaḷiye kaiccelak koṅṭu °inilam °araikkāl ceyūm mikuti curukkam °uḷḷaṭa X
- (6) {built over} X c[[e]tu kuṭutten tiruvālamtuṛai jaṅṅeṅvarakku cāvanti nārāyaṅa ceṅtaṅeṅ °inilattukku °ituve vilaiy āvaṅamum poruḷ
- (7) {built over} XXXXXXXXXX latu ve[ru] poruḷ mā[la]rutiyyolai cilaXXXXX
- (8) vālaṅṅurai jaṅṅeṅvarakku cāvanti nārāyaṅaṅ ceṅtaṅaṅ [°i]tu *paṇmāheṅvara rakṅai*

. . . [of] Rājarājakesari who distributed. . . I, Cāvanti Nārāyaṅaṅ (*nārāyaṅaṅ* > *nārāyaṅaṅ*) Cēṅtaṅ of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of . . . , having bought (*viṛru*) . . . to Caṅḍeṅvara (*jaṅṅiṅvara* > *caṅṅeṅvara*) of Tiruvāllaṅṅurai (*tiruvāllaṅṅurai* > *tiruvālaṅṅurai*) of this town (*ivvūr*), this is the land (*nilam āvatu*) that I (*nāṅ*) gave (*kuṭutta*), having bought (*viṛru*); having bought (*viṛru*), I gave (*nāṅ kuṭutta*) [the land] under [the irrigation of] (*kiḷ*) of the sluice (*maṭai*) of the tank-land (*kuḷacey* > *kuḷacey*) of the tank (*kuḷattu*) Mellaikkaruṅ of this town (*ivvūr*) . . . the {{{eastern}}} boundary (*ellai*) is to the west (*mēṅkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of those including (*uḷḷiṅṅār*) Paṭṅaṅ Pūtaṅ Māṅaṅ . . . ; the southern boundary (*teṅpārkkellai*) is to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the water channel (*vāykkālukku*); the western side boundary (*miypārkkellai*) is to the east (*kiḷakkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) . . . enjoyed (*anubha* {{{vitta}}}) by Nakkaṅ Ūraṅ; and the northern boundary (*vaṭapārkkellai*) is to the south (*teṅkum*) of the land (*nilattu*) including (*uḷḷiṅṅār*) . . . ; in the town (*ūr*) in this *nāṭu* (*innāṭu*) . . . half a quarter (*araikkāl*) of *cey* (*ceyyūm* > *ceyyum*) . . . and three (*mū*) *kaḷaṅcus* with the standard stone measure of the *nakara* (*nakarakallāl*) of pure gold for the amount (*poruḷ*) . . . having taken (*koṅṭu*), so that it goes out of the hands [i.e. it is not in the possession of the others anymore] (*kaiccela*) in the

registration office (*āvaṇakaliyē*), I gave (*kuṭuttēṇ*), having made (*cetu > ceytu*) . . . including (*uḷḷaṭa{{ṅka}}*) the excess (*mikuti*) and the deficiencies (*curukkam*) for half a quarter of *cey* of this land (*inilam*) to Jaṅṅeśvara of Tiruvālamtuṛai, I Cāvānti Nārāyaṇa Cēṭṭaṇ; for this land (*nilattukku*), this itself (*ituvē*) is the sale document (*vilaiy āvaṇamum*) . . . there is no other (*vēru*) final sale price document (*poruḷ mālarutiyy > māvaṛuti olai*) . . . to Jaṅṅeśvara of {{Tiru}}vālan̄tuṛai, Cāvānti Nārāyaṇa Cēṭṭaṇ (*cēṭṭaṇ > cēṭṭaṇ*). This [is] under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#93. (a) Tiruvālan̄tuṛai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the eastern part of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, on the round part (*kumuda*) of the base, under the niche of Gajasam̄hāramūrti; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 247; (e) 20th regnal year of Rājarājatēvar; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 1005); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī rājarājatevar̄ku yāṅṭu 20 °avatu kuṅṛakkūṛrattu brahmadeyam °icirupaḷuvūr tiruvālan̄tuṛai mahā*
- (2) *devarkku vaṇā[nuṭe]yār teviyār nāṭṭaṇ ceyāḷ naṅkai vacca non X X v[i] X X X X XXXX*
- (3) [vai] XXXX

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 20th year of Rājarājatēvar. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālan̄tuṛai of this Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṛakkūṛram, the wife/queen (*tēviyār*) of Vaṇānuṭeyār, Nāṭṭaṇ (*nāṭṭaṇ > naṭṭaṇ?*, the dancer) Ceyāḷ Naṅkai, gave (*vacca*) a perpetual {{lamp}} . . .

#94 (Fig. A.64). (a) Tiruvālan̄tuṛai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the eastern side of the niche of the dancing Śiva, on the southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 246; (e) 20th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman Tripuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷatēvar; (f) Kulottuṅga I (c. A.D. 1089); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the *meykkīrtti* of Kulottuṅga I is engraved lines 2 to 17; this inscription was difficult to decipher on the stone, and N. Ramaswamy Babu was of great help.

- (1)<sup>124</sup> *svasti śrī*
- (2–17) {*meykkīrtti*}
- (18) *ta XX ya kovirāca // kecaripanmarā*
- (19) *ṇa tiripuvanac cakkaravar // ttikaḷ śrī*
- (20) *kolottuṅkacōḷa // tevar̄kku yā*
- (21) *ṅṭu 20 °avatu vaṭa X // X °uttu*
- (22) *[ṅ]katuṅkavaḷanāt[ṭu] // kku[ṅrakkū]*
- (23) *ṛrattu brahmadeyam cīru // paḷuvūrt tiruva*
- (24) *lan̄tuṛai mahātevar̄ku // vāṇak[o]va*
- (25) *raiyan cuttamallan co[ḷa] // [ku] XX cun[taran]*

<sup>124</sup> Lines 1 to 34 are engraved on the western wall section and the pilaster on the eastern side of the niche of dancing Śiva.



- (26) [ °ā]ṇa kaṅkaikoṅṭa // coḷavā[ṇ]  
 (27) kovaraiyaṅṇ vaiṭ // ta tirunon  
 (28) tāviḷakk XXXX kka X // [ṭa] XX muppat  
 (29) tiraṅṭu muppattinṇri X // [k]aikōṅ  
 (30) ṭom kaiko XXXXX // XX [hmaṇa]  
 (31) r XXXX naka XX [turu] // vāḷantu<sup>125</sup>  
 (32) XXX kXX śrī kaṅṭa // n XX yāṅ X  
 (33) XXXX [vaṅake] ti // [ya]m X kku[ṭi]  
 (34) XXXX m XXXXX // [ka °erika] XX  
 (35)<sup>126</sup> m civāyanti  
 (36) ric ciṅṅampala  
 (37) m uṭaiyar[num]  
 (38) X m civāyaṅ [cu] X  
 (39) tamallanum X  
 (40) ṇṇiṭṭa civabra  
 (41) hmaṇaro XX  
 (42) X [vi]ḷak X  
 (43) °oṅṅum sa  
 (44) ntirāṭittavar  
 (45) kaikkōṅṭu  
 (46) °erikkakaṭavom  
 (47) kaṅkaikoṅ  
 (48) ṭacoḷa vāṇa  
 (49) kovaraiya X  
 (50) [vi]ṭṭa vi[ḷa]  
 (51) [kkaṅ]vo X  
 (52) °ivvūr sabhai  
 (53) yom °itu pān  
 (54) māyeśvara ra  
 (55) [kṣai]

Fortune! Prosperity! {meykkirtti}. [This is] the 20th year of Rājakesarivarman Tripuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷatēvar. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi of Ciṅṅupaḷuvūr, a brahmadeya of Kuṅṅrakkūṅṅam of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅaṅaṅu on the northern {{bank}} (vaṭa{{karai}}), I Vāṅakkōvaraiyan Cuttamallan Cōḷa . . . Cuntaran alias Cōḷavāṅ Kōvaraiyaṅ placed (vaiṭta) for a perpetual lamp (tirunontāviḷakku) . . . thirty-two (muppatiraṅṭu) . . . ; without (inṇri) the thirty (mupattu), we have taken in hand (kaikkōṅṭōm); . . . Tiruvālanu{{rai}} . . . Śrīkaṅṭan . . . ; Civāyantiri, lord (uṭaiyar) of Ciṅṅampalam and Civāyan Cuttamallan . . . we Śivabrahmaṅars, for one lamp (viḷakku oṅṅum), as long as the sun and the moon endure, having taken in hand (kaikkōṅṭu), we will have to burn (erikkakaṭavōm); we the Sabhā (sabhāiyōm) of this village (ivvūr) [will have to burn a lamp with that which has been placed (iṭṭa?) by] Kaṅkaikoṅṭacōḷa Vāṅakkōvaraiyan. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

<sup>125</sup> The -ai is at the end of the line. The next line thus probably starts with a r.

<sup>126</sup> Lines 35 to 55 are engraved on the eastern wall section on the eastern side of the niche of dancing Śiva.

## WEST AND SOUTH FAÇADES OF THE SANCTUARY

#95. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the lower part of the base (*jagati*); begins on the southern side of the base of the western façade and continues on the western side of the base of the southern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 235; (e) 5th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman Śrī Rājendracōladevar; (f) Rājendra I (c. A.D. 1089); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the *meykkīrtti* of Rājendracōla I is engraved in lines 1 and 2.

- (1) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}
- (2) {*meykkīrtti*} kopperakesarivanmarāṇa śrī // °irājendra[co]la devarkku yāṇṭu 5 °āvatu °uttuṅkatoṅkavalānāṭākiya kuṅṛakkūttu // *brahmade* X
- (3) ṅ °arumoḷi tevan poki paṭṭan kaṅṭarātittikku °āka °ivaḷ tāy nampirā // ṭṭiyār pāṅṭimāteviyār peṅṭāṭṭi °arīṅcimātevaṭikaḷ °ittiruvālanturai mahā // *devar*[kku]
- (4) °ivviḷakku °eriya [v]aitta centarā nilaiviḷakku 1 [nā] ceruviṭaika[ḷāl] // nūṛru °aimpatin pala X nā[rā]yattar nīcatam °uḷakku neyy eriya vaittu °itu // [panma]

Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 5th year of Kōpparakesarivarman Śrī Rājendracōladevar. On behalf (*āka*) of Arumoḷi Tēvan Pōki Paṭṭan Kaṅṭarātitti<sup>127</sup> [of] the *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṛakkūṛram (*kuṅṛakkūttu* > *kuṅṛakkūṛrattu*) which has become (*ākiya*) Uttuṅkatoṅkavalānāṭu, the mother (*tāy*) of she (*ivaḷ*) [Kaṅṭarātitti], Arīṅcimātevaṭikaḷ, a woman/servant (*peṅṭāṭṭi*) of Pāṅṭimāteviyār our queen (*nampirāṭṭiyār*), to Mahādeva of this Tiruvālanturai, gave (*vaitta*) to burn (*eriya*) this lamp (*ivviḷakku*); for 1 standing lamp (*nilaiviḷakku*) in pure metal (*centarā*), having given (*vaittu*) 150 (*nūṛru aimpatin*) palms with 4 (*nā*) *ceruviṭais* (*ceruviṭaikaḷāl*) to burn (*eriya*) 1 *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nīcatam*) [by the] *nārāyattar* [measure]. This {is under the protection of the} Panmāheśvaras.

## WESTERN FAÇADE OF THE SANCTUARY

#96. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the northernmost wall section on the northern side of the niche of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti, on the western façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 119;<sup>128</sup> SII 5, no. 680; (e) 10th regnal year of *maturai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 917); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī*
- (2) *maturai koṅ*

<sup>127</sup> Kaṅṭarātitti is a female name, and she is perhaps the wife or the daughter of Arumoḷitēvan Pōki Paṭṭan. Indeed, Paṭṭan is usually a male's name, indicating a Brahmin. One of the meaning of *pōki* according to the TL is palanquin-bearer. Because Arumoḷitēvar is a name of Rājarāja, it is possible that Kaṅṭarātitti is the wife or the daughter of Paṭṭan, who is a palanquin-bearer of the king. This Arumoḷitēvan Pōki Paṭṭan may be from the *brahmadeya* mentioned before his name. The donor Arīṅcimātevaṭikaḷ, a woman of the entourage of the Pāṅṭya queen, seems to be the mother of Kaṅṭarātitti.

<sup>128</sup> ARE 1926, no. 233, wrongly located on the western façade, corresponds in fact to this inscription.

- (3) ʃa kopparake[sa]
- (4) ripanmaṛku yāṇ
- (5) ʃu 10 °āvatu ci
- (6) ṛupaḷuvūrt ti
- (7) ruvālanturāi
- (8) mahādevarkku to
- (9) ṇṭināṭṭu °erikiḷ
- (10) nāṭṭu maṇalūr uṭai
- (11) yāṇ mallāṇ kalla
- (12) ṛai candrādityavāl °oru
- (13) nontāviḷakkeriya
- (14) nicatam °uḷakku ney
- (15) kku vaitta cāvāmuvāp
- (16) perāṭu 90 °itu panmā
- (17) heśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. For Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, the lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Maṇalūr, of Ērikīḷnāṭu of Toṇṭaināṭu, Mallāṇ Kallaṛai, to burn (*eriyā*) one perpetual lamp (*oru nontāviḷakku*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave (*vaitta*) ninety undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*) for one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*neykku*) every day (*nicatam*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#97. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the wall section immediately on the southern side of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti on the western façade; the left-side pilaster is inscribed from line 8, and pilasters on each side are engraved from line 12; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 231; SII 32, part 1, no. 18; (e) 12th regnal year of *maturai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 919); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the edition of SII proposes a line division which differs from mine.

- (1) svasti śrī
- (2) maturai ko
- (3) ṇṭa koppara
- (4) kecarivanmar
- (5) ku yāṇṭu 10
- (6) 2 °āvatu °iv
- (7) vāṇṭu perumāṇa
- (8) ʃikaḷoṭu pā // ṇṭiyaṇār °iḷap paṭai
- (9) kuṇantu ve // ḷḷūr [°asti]kaṭai ceya
- (10) nāṇṛu paḷu // veṭṭaraiyar kaṇṭaṇ °a
- (11) mutaṇār vira[śrī] // °uṇṭāvateṇṛu poy
- (12) kaikuṛuvīṭat // tu paratūr uṭaiyāṇ paṭai<sup>129</sup> // ppe[ra]
- (13) rayāṇ nakkaṇ cā // ttaṇ kuṇṛakūrṛattu ciṛu // paḷuvūrt

<sup>129</sup> The -ṭ is on the pilaster.

- (14) tiruvālantu // [r]ai [ma]hādevarku candrādi // tyavāl  
 (15) {space} °i // ravum pakalum °oru tiru[v] // viḷakku  
 (16) °eriya nicatap // paṭi nārāyattāl °uḷakku // nekku vai  
 (17) tta cāvāmuṅvā // p perāṭu 90 m °ayaṅa sa[n̄i] // kirāntika[[]]  
 (18) ṭoṟum °āṭiya // ruḷu ney °aṅṅāḷikku vai // tta °āṭu  
 (19) 10 m paḷuve // ṭṭaraiyar kaṅṭaṅ amutaṅār // tiruna {space}  
 (20) kṣattiri[k]ai // [pu]ṅarpūcatti nāṅru ti // ṅkaḷ ṭo  
 (21) {space} rum // °iru nāḷi ney °āṭiyaru // ḷa vaitta  
 (22) °āṭu 24 m k // āttikai kāttikai nāṅru // °āṭi °a  
 (23) ruḷa ney nāḷik // ku vaitta °āṭu 4 m kā // ttikai  
 (24) viḷakku °eriya vait // ta ney [5 n.<sup>130</sup>] kku vait // ta °āṭu  
 (25) °aṅcum °itu // panmāheśvara rakṣai

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. On this year (*ivvāṅṭu*), saying (*eṅṅru*): “that which is (*uṅṭāvatu*)<sup>131</sup> the heroism (*vīra*) and glory (*śrī*) of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Amutaṅār, that day (*nāṅru*) when he entered (*ceya*, lit. made) the fierce battle (*asti-kaṭai*) of Vēḷḷūr, [which] brought (*kuṅṅantu* > *koṅṭu vantu*) the army of Īḷam [and] the Pāṅṭiyaṅār with (i.e. against) Perumāṅaṭikai (*perumāṅaṭikalōṭu*)”, the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Paratūr in Poykaikuṟuviṭam, the great chieftain of the army (*paṭai-peru-araiyaṅ*), Nakkaṅ Cāttāṅ, for Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai in Cīrupaḷuvūr of Kuṅṟakkūṟṟam, for one sacred lamp (*oru tiruviḷakku*) to burn (*eriya*) night (*iravum*) and day (*pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, placed (*vaitta*) for one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*nekku*) by the *nārāyam* measure (*paṭi nārāyattāl*) every day, ninety undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuṅvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*); he placed (*vaitta*) ten goats (*āṭu 10m*) for five *nāḷis* (*aṅṅāḷikku*) of *ghee* (*ney*) [for] the sacred bath (*āṭiyaruḷu*) every (*ṭōrum*) *Ayaṅa Saṅkirānti*; he placed (*vaitta*) twenty-four goats (*āṭu 24m*) [for] the sacred bath (*āṭiyaruḷa*) for two (*iru*) *nāḷis* of *ghee* (*ney*) every (*ṭōrum*) lunar month (*tiṅkaḷ*) on the day (*nāṅru*) of Puṅarpūcam, the *nakṣatra* (*tirunakṣattirikai*) of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Amutaṅār; he placed (*vaitta*) four goats (*āṭu 4m*) for a *nāḷi* of *ghee* (*ney*) [for] the sacred bath (*āṭiyaruḷa*) on the day (*nāṅru*) of Kāttikai of Kāttikai [month]; and he placed (*vaitta*) five goats (*āṭu aṅcum*) for five *nāḷis* of *ghee* (*ney*) which was given (*vaitta*) to burn (*eriya*) a lamp (*viḷakku*) on Kāttikai. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#98. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the central wall section on the southern side of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti on the western façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 230; (e) 37th regnal year of *maturai koṅṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 944); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) X  
 (2) maturai ko  
 (3) ṅṭa koppara  
 (4) kecaripaṅmaṟ

<sup>130</sup> This glyph may be a symbol for *nāḷi*. There is a similar one in #100.

<sup>131</sup> The word-split and translation of *uṅṭu-āvatu* was suggested to me by E. Francis.

- (5) ku yāṅṅu [3]0
- (6) 7 °āvatu ku[ṅ]
- (7) rakkūrṅattu bra
- (8) hmadeyam ci
- (9) ruṅaḷuvūrt ti
- (10) ruvālanṅurai ma
- (11) hādevarkku pā
- (12) ṅṅināṅṅu miḷa
- (13) l[ai]kkūrṅattu mu
- (14) ṅpālaik kaṅa
- (15) ttāṅ maṅa
- (16) [ṅ]kuṅ[i ca]ndrādi[ṅya]
- (17) val [°e]riya nica
- (18) tam nārāyat
- (19) tāl °uḷakku ne
- (20) ykku vaitta cā
- (21) vāmuvaṅ pe
- (22) rāṅṅu 90 °i
- (23) tu panmāhe
- (24) [śvara rakṅai]

. . . [This is] the [3]7th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. For Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṅurai in Ciṅruṅaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṅrakkūrṅam, Maṅaṅkuṅi, a *kaṅattan* (member of the assembly) of Muṅṅpālai in Miḷalaikkūrṅam in Pāṅṅināṅṅu, to burn (*eriya*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave (*vaitta*) ninety undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuvā*) great goats (*perāṅṅu*) for one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*neykku*) by the *nārāyam* [measure] every day (*nicatam*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#99. (a) Tiruvālanṅurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the central wall section on the northern side of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti on the western façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 228; SII 19, no. 110; (e) 4th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) svasti
- (2) śrī kop
- (3) parakesaripa
- (4) nmaṅku yāṅ
- (5) ṅu 4 °āvatu ku
- (6) ṅrakkūttu bra
- (7) hmadeyam ciṅru
- (8) pa[ḷuvūr]t tiru
- (9) vālanṅu
- (10) rai mahādeva
- (11) rkku °ivvūr maṅ
- (12) rāṅṅi nilaiyaṅ
- (13) [ve]mṅaṅ candrā
- (14) dityal °oru tiruvi

- (15) ḷakkeriya nicata
- (16) nārāyattāl
- (17) °uḷakku neykku
- (18) vaitta cāvāmu
- (19) vāp perāṭu 90
- (20) °itu panmahe
- (21) śvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 4th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṇṛakkūrṛam (*kuṇṛakūttu* > *kuṇṛakkūrṛattu*), Nilaiyaṅ Vempaṅ, a shepherd (*maṅṛāṭi*) of this village (*ivvūr*), to burn (*eriyā*) one sacred lamp (*oru tiruviḷakku*), as long as the sun and the moon endure (*candrādityal* > *candrādityaval*), for one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*neykku*) by the *nārāyam* [measure] every day (*nicata* > *nicatam*), gave (*vaitta*) ninety undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmūvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#100. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the wall section immediately on the northern side of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti, on the western façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 232; SII 13, no. 209; (e) 10th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī*
- (2) kovirājakeca
- (3) sarivanmaṅṛkku yā
- (4) ṅṭu 10 °āvatu
- (5) kuṇṛakkūrṛattu
- (6) {space} *brahmadeya*
- (7) cīrupaḷuvūrt tiruvā
- (8) lanturāi *mahādevarku*
- (9) °ivvūr maṅṛāṭi nilaiya
- (10) ṅ pukaḷaṅ vaitta [ °ā ]ṭu
- (11) 60 °ivarṛuḷp paka
- (12) l viḷakkeriya nica
- (13) tam [ °ā ]ḷakku neykku 40
- (14) 5 °āṭu nikki niṅṛa °ā
- (15) ṭu 15 m °uttaramayaṅa
- (16) m [paṛṛu] sa[ṅ]kirānti nāṅṅ
- (17) ṛāṭiyaruḷa vaitta canay
- (18) 15 [sa]y<sup>132</sup> °itu panmā
- (19) *heśvara ra[kṣai]*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṛakkūrṛam, Nilaiyaṅ Pukaḷaṅ, a shepherd (*maṅṛāṭi*) of this village (*ivvūr*), placed (*vaitta*) sixty goats (*āṭu*). In these (*ivarṛuḷ*), having removed (*nikki*) forty-five goats (*āṭu*) for one *uḷakku*

<sup>132</sup> These two glyphs may be an abbreviation for a measure, perhaps *nāḷi*. See also #97.

(*ālakku* > *ulakku*) of *ghee* (*neykku*) every day (*nicatam*) to burn (*eriyā*) a day-lamp (*pakal viḷakku*), fifteen goats (*āṭu*) remained (*ninṇa*); fifteen *nālis* (?) of *ghee* (*canay* > *ney*) were placed (*vaitta*) for the sacred bath (*āṭiyaruḷa*) on that day (*nāṇṇru* > *nāṇru*) of Sāṅkirānti falling in Uttaramayaṇam. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#101. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the southernmost wall section of the western face; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 229; SII 13, no. 229; (e) 12th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) probably Sundaracōḷa (c. A.D. 969); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī*
- (2) *kovirājake*
- (3) *sariṇmaṅka* ya
- (4) ṇṭu 12 °ā
- (5) *vatu kuṇṇakkūrṇa*
- (6) *ttu brahma[d]eya[m]*
- (7) c[īru]paḷuvūrt
- (8) *tiruvālanturai ma*
- (9) *hadevarkku °aṭikaḷ*
- (10) *paḷuveṭṭaraiyar maṇava*
- (11) ṇ kaṇṭaṇār *cantrādityava*
- (12) l °iravum pakalum °oru ti
- (13) *ruviḷa[kkeri]ya n[i]catap*
- (14) *paṭi nārāyattāl °u*
- (15) *lakku neykku vai*
- (16) *tta cāvāmuvāp pe*
- (17) *rāṭu 90 °itu panmā*
- (18) *heśvara rakṣai ||*

Fortune! prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. To Mahādeva (*mahadeva* > *mahādeva*) of Tiruvālanturai of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar Maṇavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇār, as long as the sun and the moon endure, for one *ulakku* of *ghee* (*neykku*) with a *nārāyam* [measure], every day (*nicata*) for one (*oru*) sacred lamp (*tiruviḷakku*) to burn (*eriyā*) day and night (*iravum pakalum*), gave (*vaitta*) ninety undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#102. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the base of the western façade; begins on the northwest corner and ends at the end of the central projection; the first three lines are on the round part (*kumuda*); the remaining lines are on the lower part (*jaḡati*); (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 234; (e) 10th regnal year of *kantaḷūr cālai kala*{*m arutta* Kōrājarājakesarivarman}; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 995); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* [kantaḷūr cālai kala] {illegible} // Xāṇṭu // 10 °āvatu poykaināṭṭu [mipilaṅṅu] paramateyam [°a]laiyūr nakkān *śrī* [ka]ṇṭaṇ *brāhmaṇa* caṇ
- (2) *karān vaṭukiyeṇ kunakkūrṇattu brahmadeyam cīrupaḷuvūr tiruvālan // tuṇai // devarkku nān °atdhayāma tiruvamutukku vacca °arici nānāḷiyum kaṇi °amutum neyyamutum tayi °amu*

- (3) tumkkumāka °aṭṭik kuṭutta nilamāvatu ceṅkuḷattil tūmpikkiḷ // [puṛa] vāka // kāṅkarai nān °aṭṭik kuṭutta kāṅcekkū kilpārḱellai vaṭukan pūta nilattukku mekkum
- (4) tenpārḱellai °uḷ ciṛuvākkālukku vaṭakkum mipārḱkel X // te X par // ku vaḷikku kilakkum vaṭapār XXlai XXXXXX terkkum °ivvicaicca perunāṅke // lai
- (5) ṅālu[ma]kap paṭṭa nilam kālpikka[r] ceyyum °eṅ pirāhmaṇi caṅkaraṅ vaṭuki // kku mutuka // ṅṅāy cantratittavar °addhayāma tiru °amutukku °aṭṭuviccu °aṭṭolai [ce]yviccuk kuṭtten nakkān cika
- (6) XX neṅ °ivvūr va[ḷ]takāṭṭil sabhaiyār pakkal vilaikoṅṭa veliyum °i // vvūr cāv // ānti nārāyaṇan pacuvati °iṭai nanu vilaiḱkuk koṅṭa [meliyam °ā]ka °ippuṛaṇi °iruveliyum tiru °amu
- (7) {illegible} °amutukkum neyy °amutukkum[āka] kuṭtten caṅkaraṅ vaṭukiyeṅ // °itukku // m mutukaṅṅāy puṛaṇi °iruveliyum kuṭtten vāḱkiyan nakkān cikaṅṭanen °itu parmāyeśvara rakṣai

Fortune! Prosperity! . . . [This is] the 10th year of {{Rājarājakesarivarman who distributed}} vessels at the *cālai* of Kantaḷūr. I, Caṅkaraṅ Vaṭuki, Brāhmin wife (*brāhmaṇa* > *brāhmaṇi*) of Nakkan Śrikaṅṭan of Alaiyūr, a *brahmadeya* of Milipaṅṅu in Poykaināṭu, for the god (*devarkku*) of Tiruvālantūrai of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṅṅakkūṅṅam, I (*nān*) placed (*vacca* > *vaitta*) for the holy food offerings in the first part of the night/midnight (*atdhyāma* > *ardha-yāma*); this is the land (*nilamāvatu*) which was given (*kuṭutta*) having poured [water] (*aṭṭi*) for (*āka*) four *nālis* (*nānāli*) of rice (*arici*), vegetable food offerings (*kaṛi amutu*), ghee food offerings (*neyyamutu*), and curd food offerings (*tayi amutu* > *tayir amutu*); I (*nān*) gave (*kuṭutta*), having poured [water] (*aṭṭi*), uncultivated land (*kāṅkarai* > *kāṅkarai*) as cultivable land (*puravāka*) under [the irrigation] (*kīl*) of the sluice (*tūmpi*) in the pure tank (*ceṅkuḷattil*); for the quarter land (*kāṅcekkū* > *kāṅceyḱku*), the eastern side boundary (*kilpārḱellai*) is to the west (*mēkkum* > *mērkkum*) of the land (*nilatukku*) of Vaṭukan Pūta; the southern side boundary (*tenpārḱellai*) is to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the inner (*uḷ*) small (*ciṛu*) canal (*vāḱākkukku* > *vāyḱkālukkukku*); the western side boundary (*mipārḱellai*) is to the east (*kīlakkum*) of the path (*vaḷikku*) . . . ; the northern side boundary (*vaṭapār{{kel}}lai*) is to the south (*terkkum*) of . . . ; all the quarter (*kāḷppikar?*) of *cey* (*ceyyum*) [is] the land (*nilam*) which falls (*paṭṭa*) inside (*āka*) all these four (*nālum*) great four boundaries (*perunāṅkellai*) thus divided (*ivvicaicca* > *ivvicainta*); as guardian (*mutukaṅṅāy*) for Caṅkaraṅ Vaṭuki, my (*eṅ*) Brahmin wife (*eṅ pirāhmaṇi*), having caused to give (*aṭṭuviccu*) for the holy food offerings (*tiru amutukku*) in the first part of the night/at midnight (*addhayāma*) as long as the sun and the moon endure, having caused to make (*ceyviccu*) the endowing palm-leaf (*aṭṭu-ōlai*), I have given (*kuṭuttēn*), I Nakkan Cika. . . n; one *vēli* (*vēliyum*) which was bought (*vilaikoṅṭa*) from (*pakkal*) those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyār*) of Vaṭṭakāṭṭil of this town (*ivvūr*) and two *vēlis* (*iruvēliyum*) of this land (*ipūraṇi*) as Meliyam (a name?) which I (*nanu* > *nan*) bought (*vilaikoṅṭa*) from (*iṭai*) Cāvanti Nārāyaṇan Pacuvati of this town (*ivvūr*), I have given (*kuṭuttēn*) for the ghee food offerings (*neyy amutukkum āka*) and the holy food offerings . . . (*tiru amu X X X amutukkum*), I Caṅkaraṅ Vaṭuki; for all this (*itukkum*), I have given (*kuṭuttēn*) two *vēlis* (*iruvēliyum*) of land (*puṛaṇi*) as guardian (*mutukaṅṅāy*), I Vāḱkiyan Nakkan Cikaṅṭan. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.



## NORTHERN FAÇADE

## SANCTUARY AND ARDHA-MANḌAPA

#103. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the northern façade; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 225; (e) 19th regnal year of *maturai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 926); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī*
- (2) *maturai ko*
- (3) *ṇṭa koppa*
- (4) *rakesaripaṇma*
- (5) *ṛkku yāṇṭu 19*
- (6) *°āvatu ciṛupaḷuvū*
- (7) *rt tiruvālanturāi*
- (8) *mahādevarkku °ivvū*
- (9) *r brāhmaṇaṇ cāvān*
- (10) *ti caṅkaraṇ °iravi ca*
- (11) *drādittaval °oru*
- (12) *nontāviḷakku °iravu*
- (13) *m pakalum °eriya vai*
- (14) *tta ney nārāyatta*
- (15) *°uḷakku neyā[ram] vai*
- (16) *tta °āṭu toṇṇūru*
- (17) *vai paṇmāheśvara ra*
- (18) *kṣai ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 19th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, the Brahman (*brāhmaṇaṇ*) Cāvānti Caṅkaraṇ Iravi of this town (*ivvūr*) gave (*vaiitta*) to burn (*eriya*) night (*iravum*) and day (*pakalum*) one perpetual lamp (*oru nontāviḷakku*), as long as the sun and the moon endure; [he] gave (*vaiitta*) [for] one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) by the *nārāyam* [measure] (*neyāram?*), [he] gave (*vai > vaiitta*) ninety (*toṇṇūru*) goats (*āṭu*). {{This is}} under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#104 (Fig. A.49, Fig. A.84). (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the wall section on the eastern side of Brahmā on the northern façade of the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1987–88, no. 122; SII 32, part 2, no. 57; (e) 9th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 980); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī koppa*
- (2) *rakesarivarmmakku y*
- (3) *āṇṭu 9 °āvatu °a*
- (4) *ṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraya*
- (5) *r maṛavaṇ kaṇṭaṇā*
- (6) *r kaṇmi °aṭikaḷ °a*
- (7) *riḷicceyya ciṛupa*

- (8) *ḷuvūr tiruvālantu*
- (9) *rai*<sup>133</sup> *tirukkaraḷi meṇāya*
- (10) *kamā niṅru ceyvitta*
- (11) *maṅkalanāṭṭu maṅkalattu*
- (12) *kaviciyaṅ nakkaṅ māraṇi*
- (13) *rāṇāṅ nampiyāruṅ tiruva*
- (14) *lanturaḷi mahādevarkku*
- (15) *muṅru cantikku vaitta*
- (16) *tayiramutu nārāya nāli*
- (17) *XXI nāṭuri nāṭurikku*
- (18) *m vaitta cāvāmuṅvāp*
- (19) *[[perā]]ṭu °irupatu °itu*
- (20)<sup>134</sup> *[panma]he*
- (21) *[śvara rakṣai]*
- (22)<sup>135</sup> *°ivvar[p] pa*
- (23) *ṅmāheśva*
- (24) *XXX*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 9th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. Kaviciyaṅ Nakkaṅ Māraṇi alias Nampi Āruṅ of Maṅkalam of Maṅkalanāṭṭu who, having stood (*niṅru*) in the position of superintendent (*meṇāyakamā* > *mēl-nāyakam-āy*), caused to make (*ceyvitta*) the sacred stone temple (*tirukkaraḷi*) of Tiruvālanturaḷi of Ciṟupaḷuvūr, when Aṭikaḷ, the officer (*kaṇmi*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuveṭṭaraiyaṅ Maṟavaṅ Kaṅṅānār, graciously ordered (*ariḷicceyya* > *aruḷicceyya*); for Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturaḷi, [he] placed (*vaitta*) for three (*muṅru*) times a day (*cantikku*), he placed (*vaitta*) for . . . *nāṭuri* [measure] . . . *nārāyam nāli* of curd food offerings (*tayiramutu*), twenty (*irupatu*) undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuṅvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras; {{the protection}} of those Panmāheśvaras.

#105. (a) Tiruvālanturaḷi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the wall section to the west of the niche of the goddess, on the northern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, lower inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 120; SII 5, no. 681; SII 32, part 2, no. 111; (e) 12th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 983); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the first line seems to be an attempt; then it starts on the left side pilaster, over the wall section and on the right side pilaster; for line 5, the pilasters are not engraved.

- (1) *svasti śrī koparak*
- (2) *svasti // śrī kopparakecaripaṅmaṅku yāṅṅṅu 12 // °āvatu*
- (2) *kuṟak XX tu // brahmadeya ciṟupaḷuvūr tiruvālantu // rai maha*
- (3) *[devarkku] // °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyaṅ kaṅṅan cuntira // coḷanar va*
- (4) *[[tta no]] // [t]tāvilakku °iraṅṅu °iravum pakalum °eriya ca // ntirāti*

<sup>133</sup> The *-ai* is at the end of line 8.

<sup>134</sup> Lines 20–21, engraved at the bottom of the pilaster, are not in the edition of SII.

<sup>135</sup> Lines 22 to 24, on the front part of the same pilaster, repeat the protection formula, and probably belong to the same inscription. They are not in the edition of SII either.

- (5) ttavar °eriya nārāyattāl nicatam °uriya ney °e  
 (6) rikka vaitta cāvāmuvā perāṭu nūrru °enpatu // °erikka va  
 (7) cca nilaiviḷakku °iraṇṭu tirāmuvoṭṭai [°u]ca // ra[m] niṛ[ai]  
 (8) [pa][[nma]][[he]  
 (9) śvara ra  
 (10) [kṣai] ||  
 (11) °itu<sup>136</sup>

Fortune! Prosperity! Kōpparak . . . Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurāi of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrram (*kuṇṇak*{*ūrattu*} > *kuṇṇakk*{*ūrattu*}), Aṭṭikal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭan Cuntiracōḷanar gave (*vatta* > *vaitta*) for two (*iraṇṭu*) perpetual lamps (*nottāviḷakku* > *nontāviḷakku*) to burn (*eriya*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, to burn (*eriya*); he gave (*vaitta*) 180 (*nūrru enpatu*) undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*) to burn (*erikka*) 1 *uri* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicatam*) by the *nārāyam* [measure]; for a standing lamp (*nilaiviḷakku*) to burn (*erikka*), he placed (*vacca* > *vaitta*) 2 (*iraṇṭu*) *tirāms* and 3 (*mū*) pairs (*oṭṭai* > *orrai*?) of elevated weigh (*ucaram niṛai*?). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

Both the editions proposed by SII do not read the *panmāheśvara rakṣai* on the pilasters and read the following fragment (on the base of the pilaster between the inscription on the left and a fragment on the right) in continuation of the line 7. However, I would present it separately because the script appears to be different, less carefully engraved. Although it probably concerns the same donation, I think it may have been added later.

- (1) [[kalveṭṭu paṭi tarānilai]  
 (2) viḷakku muṇṇum ce  
 (3) ppuk kuṭam 1-ṛum  
 (4) [°ā]ṭavalārai °ā  
 (5) ṭṭukinṇa cempo  
 (6) [r] kūṭam °iṭṭatu

As per the stone inscription (*kalveṭṭu paṭi*), three (*muṇṇum*) metal standing lamps (*tarānilaiviḷakku*), one copper (*ceppu*) water-pot (*kuṭam*), a pure golden house (*cempon kūṭam*)<sup>137</sup> to bath (*āṭṭukinṇa*) Āṭavalār (Śiva the dancer); that is to be placed (*iṭṭatu*).

#106. (a) Tiruvālanṭurāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the wall section to the west of the niche of the goddess, on the northern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, upper inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 226; SII 13, no. 171; (e) 7th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) probably Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 992); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the inscription is unfinished.

<sup>136</sup> The *itu panmāheśvara rakṣai* is not engraved in the expected order: line 8 is on the eastern side pilaster, at the bottom; lines 9–11 are on the other side, on the pilaster which is on the western side of the inscription.

<sup>137</sup> G. Vijayavenugopal proposes, rightly in my view, to interpret this as a golden platform.

- (1) *svasti śrī* ko[vi]rācacecar[i]pan[mar]
- (2) kku yāṅṅu [°e]lāvatu ku[nṛakkūrṛatu]
- (3) *brahmadeyam* ciṛupaḷuvūr ti[ruvā]lantu
- (4) *rai* [mahāde]varkku °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭa[r]ai
- (5) yar kaṅṅan maṛavaṅṅar *deviyaṭikaḷ* tiruvamutukku *ca*
- (6) *nṛādittavaṛ* potiru nāḷiyāka munṛu potukkum
- (7) °arici °aru nāḷikkum vaitta nel patakku pataku nel[lu]
- (8) kkuṅ koṅṅu kuṅṅutta nilam icciṛupaḷuvūr ceṅkuttiṛa

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the seventh year of Kōvirājakecarivarman. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṛakkūrṛam, the wife (*deviyaṭikaḷ*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṅan Maṛavaṅṅar, for holy food offerings (*tiruvamutukku*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, put (*vaitta*) one *patakku* [measure] of paddy (*nel*) for six (*aru*) *nāḷis* of rice (*arici*) for three times (*munṛu* > *munṛu pōtukkum*) as [i.e. at the rate of] (*āka*) two *nāḷis* (*iru nāḷi*) for one time (*pōtu*); the land (*nilam*) which was given (*kuṅṅutta*), having taken (*koṅṅu*) for all the *patakku* of paddy (*nellukkum*), Ceṅkuttiṛa . . . of this Ciṛupaḷuvūr . . .

#107. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the wall section to the east of the niche of the goddess, on the northern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, upper inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 121; SII 5, no. 682; (e) 8th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) probably Sundaracōḷa (c. A.D. 962); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) an electrical box today hides a part of the inscription.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kovirājakeca[r]ipa]
- (2) nmarkku yāṅṅu 8 °ā[va][[tu °aṭi]
- (3) kaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar [maṛa][[van kaṅṅanā]]
- (4) r kanmi kuṅṛakūrṛattu [[°āraṇinallūr uṭai]
- (5) yā[[n]] maṅṅapperu[[maicuvāmiyāṅa kuṅṅanā]]
- (6) ṭṭu kaṅṅaperu[[ntiṅṅaiyār ciṛupaḷuvūr]] ti
- (7) ruvālanṭu[[rai mahātevakku ca]
- (8) [[ntirādittaval °iravum pakalum °o]]ru
- (9) nontāvi[la]kku [[°eriyā vaitta ney nārā]]
- (10) yattāl nicaṭam uḷakku [°u]lakkukku vaitta cā
- (11) vāmuvāppe<sup>138</sup>rāṭu toṅṅūru °itu
- (12) *panmāheśvara rakṣai* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 8th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. An official (*kanmi* > *kaṅṅmi*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṛavan Kaṅṅanār, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Āraṇinallūr in Kuṅṛakkūrṛam, Kaṅṅa Peruntiṅṅaiyār (accountant) of Kuṅṅanāṭu alias Maṅṅapperumaicuvāmi, to Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, gave (*vaitta*) to burn (*eriyā*) one perpetual lamp (*oru nontāviḷakku*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, for one *uḷakku* (*uḷakku uḷakkukku*) of *ghee*

<sup>138</sup> The vowel –e is before the first–p. This is a mistake.

(*ney*) by the *nārāyam* [measure] every day (*nicatam*), gave (*vaitta*) ninety (*tonṇūru*) undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmūvā*) great goats (*perātu*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#108. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the easternmost wall section of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, on the lower part; (c) personally located but not legible enough to be read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 122; SII 5, no. 683; (e) 12th regnal year of *cālai kalam arutta* Kōvirājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 997); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the inscription is very shallowly engraved, and can no longer be read; I was able to identify it with the one published in SII only through a few letters; the edition I give here thus follows SII 5, from which I removed the added letters and punctuation which are not in the original; the inscription is unfinished.

- (1) *svasti śrī* cālai kalam arutta kovirājarājakesarivanmakku yāṅ
- (2) ṭu 12 °āva kuṅṛakkūrṛattu *brahmadeyam* ciṟupaḷuvūr tiruvālanṭurai ma
- (3) *hādevvakku* °iṅṅā[ṭ]ṭut teṅpāḷaṅpāṭi °uṭaiyān °aiyāraṅ
- (4) kāṇaneṅ [°a]ṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar kaikkoḷaṅ kuciramalla
- (5) ṅ murukka[n]ai paṭak kuta °ivaṅai cātti *cantrādityaval* °iravu pakalum
- (6) °eri vaiṭa tiruṅantāviḷakku °oṅṛukku nārāyattāl ney °u[la]kku[kku] perā

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman who distributed vessels at the *cālai*. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai of Ciṟupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṛakkūrṛam, I, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Teṅpāḷaṅpāṭi of this country (*nāṭu*), Aiyāraṅ Kāṇan; when Kuṅciramallaṅ (*kucira* > *kuṅcira*) Murukkan, Kaikkōḷaṅ of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar was stabbed (*kuta* > *kutta*) and died (*paṭa*); on behalf of him (*ivaṅai cātti*), [I] placed (*vaiṭa* > *vaitta*) for one perpetual lamp (*tiruṅantāviḷakku* > *tiruṅontāviḷakku oṅṛukku*) to burn (*eri* > *eriyā*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, for an *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) by the *nārāyam* [measure], ... great goats (*perā*{*ṭu*}) ...

#109. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the round part of the base (*kumuda*) of the northern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the sanctuary; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 227; (e) lost regnal year of ... Kōppara{{kesarivarman}}; (f) Rājendra I; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) lines 1–2 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Rājendra I.

- (1–2) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}
- (3) {*meykkīrtti*} kōppara {layer of black grease} °uttuṅka X X X X X nāṭākiya kuṅṛakkūrṛattu *brahmadeyam* ciṟupaḷuvūr tiruvālanṭurāiy °āḷvār nilam<sup>139</sup> corṛi kuṭuttu // pāṅṭarattu // °irinta kācil °ikkoyil *śrī* koyiluṭaiyom koṅṭa kācu 15 °ikkācu patiṅ °aiṅṭum koṅṭu comittāl ne // yyamutu // potu
- (4) °oru piṭiyāka nicatam muppiṭi neyyamutu ce[y]taru[la] {layer of black grease} [°itu] *cantrādityaval panmāheśvara rakṣai* ||

<sup>139</sup> The *-la* was added under the *-m*, perhaps because it had been forgotten.

Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkīrtti*} . . . Having given (*kuṭuttu*) a land (*nilam*)<sup>140</sup> [to] the Lord (*ālvār*) of Tiruvālanturai of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrṇam alias Uttuṅka{{tuṅkavaḷa}}nāṭu; from the *kācus* (*kācil*) which stay (*irinta* > *irunta*) in the accountant office (*pāṇṭāram*), we the Śrīkkōyiluṭaiyars of this temple (*ikkōyil*) took (*koṇṭa*) fifteen *kācus*; having taken (*koṇṭu*) these fifteen (*paṭiṇ aiṅtum* > *aiṅcum*) *kācus*, to graciously make (*ceytaruḷa*) three handfuls (*mūppiṭi*) of *ghee* food offerings (*neyyamutu*) every day (*nicatam*) as [i.e. at the rate of] (*āka*) one handful (*oru piṭi*) for one time (*pōtu*) of *ghee* food offerings (*neyyamutu*).<sup>141</sup> This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras, as long as the sun and the moon endure.

### MUKHA-MANḌAPA

#110. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the northern façade of the *mukha-manḍapa*, behind the shrine of Caṇḍeśa; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1987–88, no. 125; SII 32, part 2, no. 110; (e) 12th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivaman; (f) probably Uttamacōla (c. A.D. 983); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecaripaṇmaṅku yāṅṭu 12 °ā
- (2) vatu kuṇṇakkūrṇattu *brahmadeyam* cīrupaḷuvūr *mahā*
- (3) *devarkku* tiruvālanturai °uṭaiyārkkku maturāntakaṇ kaṅṭarā
- (4) tittan vaiytta viḷakku 1 °onṇum no[n]ṭāvilaku °eriya vaiytta
- (5) cāvāmuvāp perāṭu toṇṇūrṛinnāl nicati °uḷakku ney °itu *panmā*[ka]
- (6) *śvara rakṣai*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivaman. To Mahādeva of Cīrupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṇṇakkūrṇam, to the Lord (*uṭaiyār*) of Tiruvālanturai, Maturāntakaṇ Kaṅṭarātittan gave (*vaiytta* > *vaitta*) [for] 1 lamp; he gave (*vaiytta* > *vaitta*) to burn (*eriya*) one perpetual lamp (*onṇum nontāviḷakku*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicati* > *nicatam*) with ninety (*toṇṇūrṛinnāl*) undying and non-ageing (*cāvāmuvā*) great goats (*perāṭu*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#111. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple; (b) the westernmost inscription on the westernmost wall section of the northern façade of the *mukha-manḍapa*, behind the shrine of Caṇḍeśa; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1987–88, no. 124; SII 32, part 2, no. 112; (e) 12th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivaman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecaripaṇnamakku yāṅṭu
- (2) 12 °āvatu kuṇṇakkūrṇattu *brahmadeyam* cīru
- (3) paḷuvūr *mahādevarkku* °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar
- (4) kumaṇṇ maturā[n]takaṇṇ mātevaṭikaḷuṅ ku
- (5) ṇṛakkūrṇattu mutukuṭi °irukku virakali °araṅka[nu]m kilāccu // virakali °araṅkaṇ<sup>142</sup>
- (6) paṭa avanec cātti vaitta nontāviḷakku °onṇu °o

<sup>140</sup> It is difficult to make sense of the word *corri/cōrri*, which is after *nilam*. I thus did not attempt to translate it.

<sup>141</sup> I cannot make sense of *cōmittāl* or *cōlittāl*. Might it be a kind of measure for the *ghee*?

<sup>142</sup> These two words are added on the pilaster, between lines 4 and 5.

- (7) ru viḷak[ke]riya vaicca °ātu tonṇūruṅ koṅṭu nicatam  
 (8) nārāyatāl °uḷakkum °iravum paka[lu]m °e  
 (9) riya vaiytta cantirātittaval |  
 (10) °itu panmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Ciṟupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṇṇakkūrṟam, I Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṅ Maturāntakaṅ; Mātēvaṭikaḷ and Vīrakali Araṅkaṅ who stays (*irukku* > *irukkum*) in Mutukuṭi of Kuṇṇakkūrṟam having been angry [at each other] (*kilāccu*), Vīrakali Araṅkaṅ fell (*paṭa*); on behalf (*cātti*) of he (*avanē*), [I] gave (*vaitta*) one perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku*); to burn (*eriya*) one lamp (*oru onru viḷakku*) [I] gave (*vaiicca* > *vaitta*) ninety (*tonṇūrum*) goats (*ātu*); with (*koṅṭu*) [them], one whole *uḷakku* (*uḷakkum*) by the *nārāyam* [measure] every day (*nicatam*) to burn (*eriya*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*) will be placed (*vaiytta* > *vaitta*), as long as the sun and the moon endure. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#112. (a) Tiruvālanturaḷ Mahādeva temple; (b) on the northern façade of the *mukha-maṅḍapa*, on the part facing west, on the wall built over the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, upper inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 115; SII 5, no. 676; (e) 4th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman Śrīmumaṭicōḷa; (f) probably Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 989); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) svasti śrīX<sup>143</sup> kovirājakesarivanmaku yāṅṭu [śrī]mu  
 (2) [ma]ṭicoḷakku nāllā °āvatu °aṭikaḷ paḷu[ve]  
 (3) ṭṭaraiyar kaṅṭaṅ maṟavaṅṇār peruntirattu  
 (4) °araiyan cuntaracōḷaṅ kuṇṇakkūrṟattu *brahma*  
 (5) teyam ciṟupaḷuvūrt tiruvāllamtuṟai *mahā*  
 (6) devarkku *cantradityaval* °iravum pakalum °eriya  
 (7) vaitta viḷakku °onru °ivviḷakku °erikka vai  
 (8) tta poṅ paṅṇiru kaḷaṅcu °ippon paṅṇiru ka  
 (9) laṅcuṅ koṅṭu *cantrādityaval* °iravum pakalum tiru  
 (10) nuntāviḷakku °erippom °āṅṅom °ittiruvālam  
 (11) tu[r]ai śrīkoyi °uṭaiyom °itu paṅmāyeśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 4th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman Śrīmumaṭicōḷa. Cuntaracōḷaṅ, chieftain (*araiyan*) of the superior grade (*peruntirattu*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭaṅ Maṟavaṅṇār, to Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturaḷ (*tiruvāllamtuṟai* > *tiruvālanturaḷai*) of Ciṟupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūrṟam, gave (*vaitta*) for one lamp (*viḷakku onru*) to burn (*eriya*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, he gave (*vaitta*) twelve (*paṅṇiru* > *paṅṇiru*) *kaḷaṅcu* of gold (*poṅ*) so that this lamp (*ivviḷakku*) burns (*erikka*); having taken (*koṅṭu*) these twelve (*paṅṇiru*) *kaḷaṅcu* of gold (*ippon*), we will have to burn (*erippōmāṅṅom*) one sacred perpetual lamp (*tirununtāviḷakku* > *tirunontāviḷakku*) night and day (*iravum pakalum*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, we, lords (*uṭaiyōm*) of the Holy shrine (*śrīkōyi* > *śrīkōyiḷ*) of this Tiruvālanturaḷ (*tiruvāllamtuṟai* > *tiruvālanturaḷai*). This is under the protection of the Paṅmāheśvaras.

<sup>143</sup> There is a sign which I do not recognize. Might it be a sort of full stop after the opening formula?

#113. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the northern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, on the part facing west, on the wall built over the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, lower inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 116; SII 5, no. 677; (e) 12th regnal year of *cālai kalam arutta* Kōvirājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 998); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) I have followed the edition given in SII 5 for the last four lines because they are no longer legible. They are engraved on the upper part of the base, in continuation of the inscription, but we see only traces of letters. I can guess the *cuntaracōlanēṇ* at the end of line 13.

- (1) *svasti śrī cā // lai kalam arutta kovirājarājakesaripanmakku yāṇṭu 12 °āvatu kuṇṇa*
  - (2) *kūrṛattu bra // hmadeyam ciṇṇapaḷuvūrt tiruvā[la]mturāi mahādevarkku °aṭikaḷ paḷu<sup>144</sup>*
  - (3) *veṭṭaraiya // [r]p perumtiṇṇattu [°a]raiyaṇ cunṭaracōlanṇēṇ °ivūr [°i]rukkum<sup>145</sup>*
  - (4) *veḷḷāḷaṇ // kaiṇṇu °ūṇaṇ [°ā]r °iṭai nāṇ vilaikoṇṭu °uṭaiya bhumi puṇṇi °i*
  - (5) *vūr cāvāṇ // ti pūtaṇ comanār perāl [°a]niya nāmakaraṇatā[ḷ] cutṭapaṭṭa kayi[na]*
  - (6) *ruḷ °ā[ru] °ic // ciṇṇapaḷuvūr sabhaiyār pakkal vilaikoṇṭu °iṇakku viṇṇa bhumikku*
  - (7) *[ki]pārkel // lai karuviṭai °eri niṇṇu tekku ṇokkip poṇṇa °oḷukkaikku me*
  - (8) *ṛkum teṇ // pārkellai paṭṭaṇ pūtaṇ māṇṇutampimārum nilattukku [vaṭa]*
  - (9) *kkum miṇṇāṇ // kellai nilakaṇṭaṇṇum tampimārum X X nilattukku kiḷakkum va[ṭapā]*
  - (10) *ṛkellai na // [rā]yaṇa °iraviyūm nārāyaṇa nakkaṇṇum nilattu[kku teṛkkum]*
- [[ (11) . . . nilam puṇṇiṇṇiḷu[m o]ḷukaiyilum koṇṭu kuṭuṭ[ta] . . .  
 (12) ṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyarp perumtiṇṇattu araiyaṇ cunṭara[co]  
 (13) ḷaṇṇēṇ tiruppukkaikku kuṭutten araiyaṇ cuntaracōlanēṇ  
 (14) [itu panmā]heśvarar rakṣai]]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman who distributed vessels at the *cālai*. To Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi (*tiruvālanturāi* > *tiruvālanturāi*) of Ciṇṇapaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṇakkūṇṇam, I, Cuntaracōlan, chieftain (*araiyaṇ*) of the superior grade (*peruntirattu*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar, I have bought (*nāṇ vilaikoṇṭu*) from (*iṭai*) Veḷḷāḷaṇ Kaiṇṇu Ūṇaṇār who resides (*irukkum*) in this village (*ivvūr*), the land (*bhumi puṇṇi*) which I possess (*uṭaiya?*); having bought (*vilaikoṇṭu*), from (*pakkal*) those of the Sabhā (*sabhaiyār*) of this Ciṇṇapaḷuvūr, Kayinaruḷ Āru which indicated (*cutṭapaṭṭa*) by a foreign (*aniya* > *aṇṇiya?*) naming (*nāmakaraṇatāl*) the name of (*pērāl*) Cāvānti Pūtaṇ Comanār of this town (*ivvūr*); for the land (*bhumikku*) sold (*viṇṇa*) to me (*iṇakku*): the eastern side boundary (*kīlpārkellai*) is to the west (*mēṛkum*) of the lane (*oḷukkaikku*) dug (*poṇṇa* > *poḷḷa?* or *pōṇṇa*, which goes?) looking (*nōkki*, i.e. turned towards) to the south (*tekku* > *teṛkku*) stopping (*niṇṇu*) at the Karuviṭai lake (*ēri*); the southern side boundary (*teṇpārkellai*) is to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the land of Paṭṭaṇ Pūtaṇ Māṇṇ and Tampimār; the western side boundary (*miṇṇāṇ*) is to the east (*kiḷakkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) . . . of Nilakaṇṭaṇ and Tampimār; the northern

<sup>144</sup> The *-e* of the next line *-ve* is at the end of this line.

<sup>145</sup> The *-e* of the next line *-ve* is at the end of this line.



side boundary (*vaṭapārkkellai*) is to the south (*terkkum*) of the land of Nārāyaṇa Iravi and Nārāyaṇa Nakkaṇ; ... the land (*nilam*) ... having taken (*koṇṭu*) in the land (*puṇaiyilum*) and the lanes (*olūkaiyilum*), was given (*kuṭutta*) ...; I Cuntaracōḷan, chieftain (*araiyaṇ*) of the superior grade (*peruntirattu*) of Aṭiḱal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, gave (*kuṭuttēn*) for the holy smoke (*tiruppukkaikku* > *tiruppukaikku*, i.e. for burning incense), I the chieftain (*araiyaṇ*) Cuntaracōḷan. This is under the protection of the Paṇmāheśvaras.

#114. (a) Tiruvālanṭuṛai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the base of the northern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 243; (e) 24th regnal year of Śrī Rājarājatēvar; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 1009); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) line 1 and a part of line 2 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Rājarāja I; the inscription is built over at the beginning; too fragmentary and too many illegible passages to be able to propose a complete translation.

- (1) {built over} {*meykkīrtti*}
- (2) {built over} X X X X X X X *śrī* rājarājatevarkku yāṇṭu °irupattu nālāvatu °uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṇṭaiya kuṇṛakkūrṛattu *brahmadeyam* ciṛupaḷuvūrc cāttamaṅ[ka]lattup pālāciri[ya]ṇ ravi °iraviyum ki[r]jaṇ °ilakkuvaṇ X m °i X X [va]pa[mu] X X X X X X [ṇa]ṇ caṭaiyaṇ *brahmāṇik* [ka]ṭaṇ poṇṇaceyum °immapoṇ[*dhiṛra*]n {illegible passage} kāṇi nilattukku
- (3) {built over} {illegible passage} kkum teṇpārkkellai {illegible passage} [ni]lattukku {illegible passage} °ivvicaitta perunāṅkellai[yu]ḷḷiṭṭa paṭṭa nilam[k] kāṇi ceyyuṇ kaṇa[rṛum] °ikkiṇar[r]i X nālopātin[i]r °oli[ya] XX [k kuṭu]ttom ti[ruva]
- (4) {built over} {impossible to read} °iXXX vālanṭu tevarkku viṛruk kuṭutta nilattukku kiḷpārkkellai pālāciriyaṇ nārāyaṇaṇ [°olorkanāra]ṇ *brāhmaṇi* nilattu {illegible passage} nilattukku vaṭakku {illegible}
- (5) {built over} {illegible} kellai palaci X X X X rāyaṇaṇ °olo[rkaṇaṇ] *brāhmaṇi* nilattuttukkum °ivvicaitta perunāṅkellai X X X [ppa]ṭṭa nilamākāṇi ceyyum mikuta[k ku]ṛaimai °uḷḷaṭa {illegible passage}
- (6) {built over} {beginning difficult to read} cantirāṭittavaṛ X X X vaiccitu °itu paṇmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Lines 1–2: {*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 24th year of Śrī Rājarājatēvar. Pālāciriyaṇ Ravi Ravi of Cāttamaṅkalam of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṛakkūrṛam alias Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṇṭu, Kiraṇ Ilakkuvaṇ ... and Kaṭaṇ Poṇṇacey, the Brahmin wife (*brāhmaṇi*) of ... ṇaṇ Caṭaiyaṇ ... for the hereditary right of the land (*kāṇi nilattukku*) ... (*immapoṇḍhiṛra*?)

Line 3: we gave (*kuṭuttōm*) a land [which boundaries are described];

Line 4: for the land (*nilattukku*) that was bought (*viṛru*) and given (*kuṭutta*) to the God (*tēvarkku*) of this {{Tiru}}vālanṭu{{ṛai}}; description of the boundaries of another land: the eastern boundary (*kiḷpārkkellai*) ... of the land of the Brahmin wife (*brāhmaṇi*) of Pālāciriyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ [Olorkanāra]ṇ ... to the north (*vaṭakku*){m} of the land (*nilattukku*) ...

Line 5: again, mention of the land of the Brahmin wife (*brāhmaṇi*) of Pālāciriyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ [Olorkanāra]ṇ; end of the boundary description;

Line 6: This was given (*vaiccitu* > *vaittitu*) ... as long as the sun and the moon endure. This is under the protection of the Paṇmāheśvaras.

#115. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on the northern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, engraved around the window; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 117; SII 5, no. 678; (e) 4th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivaman Śrī Rājendracōladevar; (f) Rājendra I (c. A.D. 1016); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1)<sup>146</sup> [sva]sti śrī [koppara]kesa[ri]vanmarāṇa śrī °irājendracōladevar[k]
- (2) ku yāṇ[ṭu] 4 °āvatu °uttu[n]katoṅkavalānāṭākiya kuṇṛakūr[ra]
- (3) ttu [bra]hmadeyam ciṟu[pa]lūvūr tiruvālanturāi devar deva
- (4) tānam [[ce]]mputar[kuṭi] °āna [ti]ruvālanturainallū nampi °ār kuḷat[ti]
- (5) l melai[ma]ṭaikkiḷ niṇṛum [va]ṭakku nokki nerpoṇa vāykkāluḷku [[meṛ]]
- (6) kum teṇ[p]ārṅkellai ka[rai]kku vaṭakkum miypārkellai vāṇava[ka]lūḷku [[kiḷa]
- (7) kkum va[ṭap]ārṅkellai vāy[kkā]lūḷku teṛkum [°inaṭuvupa]ṭṭa nila[m]
- (8) mummā[varai]c ceyyum °ivv[ūr]
- (9) c[e]ruvāṭi [t]ūtuvanṇāṇ tiruvāla
- (10) [n]turāi[p] p[e]raiyāṇ tirutiṇa X [ni]la
- (11) m [°i]devar [[nampirāṭṭi]]yāku n[ica]tam
- (12) °oru potaik[[ku]] tirumutarici °irunāḷi
- (13) kkum °inilam °ivvūr °aṭaiko
- (14) ṇṭāṇe °i[nila]m °uḷu[tu pa]yir °eṛri mur
- (15) rūtṭum koṇṭu[vantu] tirumurṛattu
- (16) °aḷappatākavu[m] °iṇ[[ṇu]]m °idevarkku
- (17) [turu]nontāviḷakk[ikku] °i[cce] [[ru]] [v]āṭi [[tūtuvaṇ]]
- (18) [tiruttin ni]lam °iccemputa[rkuṭitā]ṇṭa[n] kuḷa
- (19) ttin kiḷ nilattukku kiḷpār[[kelai]] kiḷ kuḷa[ta]kku [[me]]
- (20) r̄kum te // r̄kellai vāykkāl[lu] [[kku]] vaṭakkum miy
- (21) pārkellai karaikku kiḷa[[kku]]m vaṭapārkel
- (22) lai [°o]ṭaikku teṛkum °ina[[ṭu]] [vu]paṭṭa nilam °e
- (23) llām kaka[[ṭai]] [y]yaṭṭuc [[c]eyi]lum [[ce]vāṭi]]
- (24) pokam ko[ṇṭu] °oru ti[ru]n[[on]]
- (25)<sup>147</sup> tāviḷakkuḷku vaittatu °uttamatāni °uṭai
- (26) yāṇ kovintaṇ mātevaṭikaḷ nāyyaka
- (27) ttu vaittana °itu panmāheśvara ra
- (28) kṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 4th year of Kōpparakesarivarman alias Śrī Rājendracōladevar. To the west (*mēṛkkum*) of the canal (*vāykkāluḷku*) which goes straight (*nēr pōṇa*) looking (*nōkki*) to the north (*vaṭakku*), stopping (*niṇṛum*) east (*kiḷ*) of the western (*mēlai*) sluice (*maṭai*) in the tank (*kuḷattiḷ*) of Nampiyār in Tiruvālanturainallūr alias Cemputarṅkuṭi, a *devadāna* of the god (*devar*) of Tiruvālanturāi of Ciṟupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṛakkūrṛam; the southern side boundary (*teṇpārṅkellai*) is to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the bank (*karaikku*); the western side boundary (*miypārkella*) is to the east (*kiḷakkum*) of Vāṇavakaḷ; the northern side boundary (*vaṭapārṅkellai*) is to the south (*teṛkum*) of the canal

<sup>146</sup> The first twenty-four lines are engraved on the eastern side of the window.

<sup>147</sup> From this line, the inscription is engraved on the western side of the window.

(*vāykkālukku*); three *mās* and a half (*mūmmāvarai*) of land (*ceyyum*) [is] the land (*nilam*) which falls (*paṭṭa*) in this middle (*iṇaṭuvu* > *innaṭuvu*); the land (*nilam*) improved (*tiruttiṇa* > *tiruttiṇa*) by the great chieftain (*peraiyaṇ* > *peraraiyaṇ*) of Tiruvalānturai, Ceruvāṭi Tūtuvaṇaṇ of this town (*ivvūr*); for two *nālis* (*irunāli*) of rice holy food offerings (*tiruvamutarici*) for one time (*oru pōtai*) every day (*nicatam*) for our queen (*nampirāṭṭiyāku* > *nampirāṭṭiyārkkku*) of this god (*idevar*) [i.e. the goddess], the lessee/cultivator himself (*aṭaikōṇṭāṇē*) of this town (*ivvūr*) of this land (*inilam*), having ploughed (*uḷutu*) this land (*inilam*), having raised (*ērri*) the crops (*payir*), having brought (*koṇṭuvantu*) the complete produce (*murrūttum*, lit. the complete, *murrum*, food, *ūṭtu*), it has to be measured (*aḷappaṭākavum*) in the courtyard (*tirumurrattu*); in addition (*iṇnum*), for a perpetual lamp (*tirunontāviḷakkikku*) for this god (*idevarkku*), the land (*nilam*) which was prepared for cultivation (*tiruttiṇa*) by this Ceruvāṭi Tūtuvaṇ [is]: the eastern side boundary (*kīlpārkkellai*) of the land (*nilattukku*) under [the irrigation] (*kīl*) of the tank (*kuḷattin*) of the place (*āṇṭan* > *āṇṭai/āṇṭu?*) of this Cempuṭarḷkuṭi is to the west (*mērkum*) of the eastern (*kīl*) tank (*kuḷatakku* > *kuḷattukku?*); the southern side boundary (*teṛkellai*) is to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the canal (*vāykkālukku*); the western side boundary (*mīypārkkellai*) is to the east (*kīlakku*) of the bank (*karaikku*); the northern side boundary (*vaṭapārkkellai*) is to the south (*teṛkum*) of the water channel (*ōṭai*); having taken (*koṇṭu*) the produce (*pōkam*) of Cevāṭi (> Ceruvāṭi?) in all the land (*ceyilum*) [called] Kakaṭaiyyam [and] all (*ellām*) the lands (*nilam*) that fall (*paṭṭa*) in this middle (*inaṭuvu*), one sacred perpetual lamp (*tirunontāviḷakku*) will be placed (*vaittatu*); it [the lamp] will be placed (*vaittana*) [for?] the headship/greatness (*nāyvakattu?*) [of] Kovintaṇ Mātēvaṭikal, lord (*uṭaiyaṇ*) of Uttamatāni. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

## INNER COMPOUND WALL

### SOUTHERN OUTER FAÇADE

#116. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall,<sup>148</sup> (b) on the eastern side of the southern outer face of the compound wall, lower inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 101; SII 5, no. 662; (e) 5th regnal year of Tripuvana Cakkaravattikal Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷatēvar; (f) probably Kulottuṅga I (c. A.D. 1074); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) tiripuvana cakkaravarttikal śrīkolottuṅkacōḷatevarkku yāṇṭu 5 vatu tevatāṇam  
 °iraiyili °iṭṭapaṭikku °ulvarippaṭi cōḷamaṇṭalattu °iśvara stānaṅkaḷil  
 munṇūrṇarupatu koyilukku koyilāl nilam ve
- (2) liyāka iṭa tiruvāymoḷintaruḷiṇa nila munṇūrṇarupatiṇru velikku °uḷalākak  
 kunṛakkūrāmāṇa °uttuṅkatuṅvaḷanāṭṭuc ciṇupaḷuvūrt tiruvālanturai  
 °uṭaiyārkku veṇṭum nimantaṅkaḷukku °iruppatāṇa puvaṇamuḷutu

<sup>148</sup> The term “inner compound wall” refers to the smaller *prakāra* surrounding the sanctuary. This compound is itself surrounded by a larger compound wall on which I have not located any inscription.

- (3) *ṭaivaṇaṇāṭṭup poykaināṭṭu kaṇṭarātittaccaruppetimaṅkalattup piṭākai karuṇākaraṇallūrril °iṭukiṛa nilattukku °ūrkkāṇakkuc cemaṅkalam uṭaiyān °eḷuttiṭṭa kaṇakkuppaṭi tiruvaraṅka[va]ṭikkuk kiḷakku [1] catiratt[u]m<sup>149</sup> kontakka mātevivāykkā*
- (4) *lukku vaṭakku 8ṅ [kū]<sup>150</sup> 1 catirattuṅ kaṇṭarāttitavatikkuk kiḷakku °aṛiṅciya vāykkālulukku vaṭakku 1 [tu]<sup>151</sup> 4 ṅ tuṇṭattum °ivvatikkuk va[ṭa]kku mutarṅkaṇṅārru 1 catirattum XX [2ṅ] catirattum 3 X [2ṅ] catiratum X<sup>152</sup> [ṭu]kiṛa nilam mun °iṛai kaṭṭiṇap*
- (5) *paṭi tavirntu yāṅṭu X<sup>153</sup> pacāṅ mutal X °iṛaiyili °iṭṭa tarampeṛra X nta X [ma] XXX °itaramili nilattum °uḷḷaḷa vaḷakkak kuṛainta nilattu °opāti XXXXXX<sup>154</sup> ka X 1 li X nila °opāti paḷaviṛai X [20] XX nta niccayitta kilattāl XXXX*
- (6) *XX niccayittilāta nilattāl paḷaviṛai °opāti XXXXXX XX 20 XXXXXX X X pāti paḷaviṛai X 30 XXX niccayitta nilattāl XXXX niccayittilāta nilattāl paḷaviṛai XXX XXXXX*
- (7) *XXXX °ippaṭi tavira yāṅṭu 5 vatu pacāṅa mutal veli 1 kku XXX °āka °iṛaikattina kāṇikkāṇa XXX pattārākki X kāpaṅmum yāṅṭu [5 va]tu pacāṅa mutal tevatāṅam °iṛaiyili °iṭṭamaikku °ivai puravuvāri [cika]raṅa nā*
- (8) *yakam pon[nū]ḷāṅ eḷuttu °ivai puravuvāri cikaṛaṅa nāyakam °iḷāṅkarikuṭaiyāṅṅ eḷuttu °ivaipuravuvāri cikaṛaṅa nāyakam paṅṭaṅainallūrr uṭaiyāṅ eḷuttu °i[vai] puravuvāri cikaṛaṅa nāyakam vāṅakaṅ ettu °ivai*
- (9) *puravuvāri cikaṅattu mukaveṭṭi ta[ṅ]cāvūr kiḷavaṅ eḷuttu °ivai puravuvāri cikaṅattu mukaveṭṭi teṅkūr uṭaiyāṅ eḷuttu °ivai puravuvāri cikaṅattu mukaveṭṭi vaṭakaiy uṭaiyāṅ eḷuttu °ivai puravuvāri cikaṅattu mu*
- (10) *[kaveṭṭi] talainār uṭaiyāṅ eḷuttu °ivai °ilā[ṭa]ttaraiyaṅ eḷuttu °ivai vayanāṭṭaraiyaṅ eḷuttu °ivai kaḷappāḷa rājan eḷuttu panmāheśvara rakṣai || °in[ṅi]lam °iṭuvittār °araḷaṅ pāranayar ||*

[This is] the 5th regnal year of Tiripuvaṅa Cakkaravarttika| Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷatēvar. For the endowments (*nimantaṅkaḷukku*) wanted (*vēṅṭum*) for the lord (*uṭaiyarkku*) of Tiruvālanturāi of Ciṛupaḷuvūr of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅaṅu alias Kuṅṛakkūrṛattu as fund (*uṭalāka*) for 360 *vēlis* (*vēlikku*) of land (*nila*) graciously spoken by the sacred mouth (*tiruvāymōḷintaruḷiṅa*, i.e. royal order) which placed (*iṭa*) as a *vēli* (*vēliyāka*) of land (*nilam*) for each temple (*kōyilāl*) for the 360 (*munṅūrṛarupatu*) temples (*kōyilukku*) among the Śiva temples (*iśvara stānaṅkaḷil*) of Cōḷamaṅṭalam, as per the local tax (*uḷvaripaṭi*), for the assessment (*iṭṭapaṭikkukku*) of the exemption of tax of the *devadānam*; for the lands (*nilattukku*) placed (*iṭukiṛa*) in Karuṅākaraṅallūr, a hamlet (*piṭākai*) of Kaṇṭarātitta-caruppetimaṅkalam, in

<sup>149</sup> The word *catirattum* has been added under the line. It was probably forgotten when they engraved the inscription.

<sup>150</sup> It resembles a sort of *kū*. SII editor says that it is the symbol for *kaṇṅārru*. It is possible, but I have not found this symbol in any lists.

<sup>151</sup> SII editor says that it is a symbol for *catirattu*.

<sup>152</sup> SII editor proposes, in square brackets, “3 kaṇṅārru 3 catirattum °i”. However, I see only one letter that I cannot read, perhaps a symbol. There are possibly some letters added under the line, but they are not clear.

<sup>153</sup> There is one complicated symbol, unknown to me, that the editor of SII reads: 5 *vatu*.

<sup>154</sup> All these letters are symbols which I am not able to read.

Poykaināṭu in Puvanamuḷatuṭaiṅānāṭu, as payments (*iruppatāṇa*); in accordance with the accounts (*kaṇakkuppaṭi*) entered/written (*eḷuttiṭṭa*) by the lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Cemaṅkalam, the village accountant (*ūrkaṇakku*); {I do not attempt a translation of the lines 3–7 which describe the land and the taxes, because it is filled with abbreviations which I was not able to read}. For the donation (*iṭṭamaikku*) of temple-land (*devadāna*) free of tax (*iraivili*) from (*mutal*) the crop (*pacāṇa*) of the 5th year (*yāṇṭu 5 vatu*), the head of the revenue department (*puravuvvari cikaraṇa nāyakam*), Ponnūlāṇ, signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); the head of the revenue department (*puravuvvari cikaraṇa nāyakam*), lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Iḷaṅkārīku, signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); the head of the revenue department (*puravuvvari cikaraṇa nāyakam*), lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Pantaṅainallūr, signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); the head of the revenue department (*puravuvvari cikaraṇa nāyakam*), Vāṇakaṇ, signed (*ettu > eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); an official (*mukaveṭṭi*) of the revenue department (*puravuvvari cikaṇattu > cikaraṇattu*), lord (*kiḷavaṇ*) of Tanjavur, signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); an official (*mukaveṭṭi*) of the revenue department (*puravuvvari cikaraṇattu*), lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Teṅkūr, signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); an official (*mukaveṭṭi*) of the revenue department (*puravuvvari cikaraṇattu*), lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Vaṭakai, signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); an official (*mukaveṭṭi*) of the revenue department (*puravuvvari cikaraṇattu*), lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Talainār, signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); the chieftain (*araiyaṇ*) of Vayanāṭu signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*); the king (*rājan*) Kaḷappāḷa signed (*eḷuttu*) those (*ivai*). {{This is under}} the protection of the Panmāheśvaras. He who caused this land (*innilam*) to be bestowed (*iṭuvittār*) [is] Araḷan Pāranayar.

#117. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the eastern side of the southern outer face of the compound wall, upper inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 100; SII 5, no. 661; (e) 6th regnal year of Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷatēvar; (f) probably Kulottuṅga I (c. A.D. 1075); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī kolottuṅkacōḷatevarkku yāṇṭu °ārāvatu tiruvālanṭurai °uṭaiyārkkku °aṭaikkāiyamutu ceyitaruḷa nā*  
 (2) *rāyaṅaṇ °umaiyāṅṭāḷḷiṭṭa °i[lai]ttaṭṭi °onṟināl °iṭai °irupattu muppalane kaicu panmāheśvara rakṣai ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 6th year of Kolottuṅkacōḷatēvar. For the Lord (*uṭaiyārkkku*) of Tiruvālanṭurai, to graciously prepare (*ceyitaruḷa > ceytaruḷa*) areca nut food offerings (*aṭaikkāiyamutu > aṭaikkāyayamutu*), Nārāyaṅaṇ Umaiyāṅṭāḷ placed (*iṭṭa*) with one (*onṟināl*) betel-plate (*ilaittaṭṭi*) the weigh (*iṭai*) [of] twenty-three *palams* (*irupattumuppalanē*) and a quarter (*kaicu*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#118. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the southern outer face of the compound wall; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 256; (e) 14th regnal year of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷadevar; (f) probably Kulottuṅga I (c. A.D. 1083); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the inscription is unfinished.

- (1) *svasti śrī tribhuvanac cakkaravattika| śrī kolottuṅkacōladevaṛku yāṅṭu 14 °āvatu vaṭakarai °uttuṅkattuṅkavaḷaṅāṅṭtu kuṅṛakkūrṛattu brahmadeyam ciṛupaḷuvūr paḷuvūr cāntira X ntan nārāyaṇa bha*
- (2) *ṭṭaṇum cāttamaṅkalattu pālāciriyaṅ vinā[ya]ka paṭṭaṇum °uḷḷiṭṭa peruṅkuṛi mahāśabhāiyom nila X [v]i[lai]yāvaṇam teṅkarai nitavin[o]tavaḷaṅāṅṭtaṭuk kiḷāṅkūrṛattu pūṅ[cu]ṛṛū[r u]ṭai*
- (3) *yāṅ cokkaṅ tiruvaiaṛuṭaiṇa*<sup>155</sup>

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 14th year of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattika| Śrī Kolottuṅkacōladevar. We of the great assembly (*peruṅkuṛi*) of the Mahāśabhā, including (*uḷḷiṭṭa*) Cāntira . . . ntan Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭaṅ of Paḷuvūr, in Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Kuṅṛakkūrṛam of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅāṅṭu on the northern bank (*vaṭakarai*), and Pālāciriyaṅ Vināyaka Paṭṭaṅ of Cāttamaṅkalam; a sale document (*vilaiyāvaṇam*) [for] the land (*nila* . . .); Cokkaṅ Tiruvaiaṛuṭaiṇa . . ., lord (*uṭaiyaṅ*) of Pūṅcuṛṛū of Kiḷāṅkūrṛam of Nitavinotavaḷaṅāṅṭu on the southern bank (*teṅkarai*) . . .

#119. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the southern outer face of the compound wall; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 258; (e) 5th regnal year of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattika| Śrī Rājādhirājadevar; (f) Rājādhirāja I or II; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; this unpublished inscription was difficult to decipher and understand, and I could not have done it without his help and explanations.

- (1) *svasti śrī tribhuvanac cakkaravattika| śrīrājādh[i]rājadevaṛku yāṅṭu °aṅcā*
- (2) *vatu kuṅṛakkūrṛattu brahmadeyaṅ ciṛupaḷuvūr °uṭaiyār tiruvālanturaiyuṭai*
- (3) *ya nāyaṅārku °ivvūr °irukkum °ampanatti viṛṛiruṅṭāṅ paṅcanetikku pukka[moka]ṅ*
- (4) *°aṅṭatiru °ivaṅ °ennakamuṭaiyaṅum °i[va]ṅ °uṭaṅ piṛaṅṭā[nu]m °abhāvattu [°eṅnu]ṭā*
- (5) *y varukira °ikkūṅṛakkūrṛattuk kiḷkkuril [°am] °araikkāṅiyil °eṅ °akamuṭaiyaṅ eṭa[t]tuk kū*
- (6) *ru °araiyum °ivaṅ °uṭaṅ piṛaṅṭa [°e]ṅ koḷu[ṅ]taṅ tiruvālanturai kāṅiyāṅa opāṭiyil °i*
- (7) *vaṅ viṛṛutu kāle °araikkāl kūru pokki °itukku commāy [°i]vaṅ °abhāvattu °eṅṅūṭāy varu*
- (8) *kiṛa kūru °araikkāl °āka °araiyey araikkāl paṛṛālum °uḷḷa °irāvīrukkaiyum yā[ ] pāṭṭuk kilipā*
- (9) *ṭṭu piḷavūrkkaḷ cappāṅi °uḷḷiṭṭu °am[pa]ṅattoḷilāl °eṅkaḷiṅ avar cey toḷil °eppeṛpaṭṭu*
- (10) *[tum] °ittiruvālanturai [°u]ṭaiya nāyaṅārkuṭ tirumeṛ pūccukkuṭalāka [°i]ṅṅ[ā] ya[ṅā]r śrī pāṭṭu n[ir]varttuk ku {few letters not legible}*
- (11) *n [°i]ṅṅta °aṅṭa[ta]ruveṅ ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 5th year of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattika| Śrī Rājādhirājadevar. For Nāyaṅar of (*uṭaiya*) Tiruvālanturai, Lord (*uṭaiyār*) of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṛakkūrṛam, Pukkamokaṅ Aṅṭatiru, for Ampanatti Viṛṛiruṅṭāṅ Paṅcaneti who stays (*irukkum*) in this town (*ivvūr*), he (*ivaṅ*) my

<sup>155</sup> Another possible reading is: *tirujavayāruṭaiṇa*. It does not make much sense.

husband (*enn akamuṭaiyānum*) and his (*ivan*) brother (*uṭaṇ piraṇtānum*) having died (*abhāvattu*), in half a *kāṇi* in the share (*kurṛil*) (*am?*) on the east (*kīl*) of this Kuṇṛakkūṛṛam which has come (*varukira*) as my own (*ennutāy*); having removed (*pokki*) the share (*kūru*) of an eighth (*araikkāl*) of this quarter (*kālē*) [which is] that which was sold (*virṛutu*) [by] him (*ivan*) in the extra land (*opāiyil*) which have become a *kāṇi* (*kāṇiyāna*) of Tiruvālaṅṭurai [of] my younger brother (*koḷuṅṭaṇ*), his (*ivan*) brother (*uṭaṇ piraṇta*), and half (*araiyum*) a share (*kūru*) that was the place (*eṭattu* > *iṭattu*) of my husband (*eṇ akamuṭaiyan*); for this (*itukku*), as my own (*commāy*), he (*ivan*) having died (*abhāvattu*), the share (*kūru*) which has come (*varukira*) as my own (*ennuṭāy* > *ennutāy*), with all the agricultural lands (*parrālum*) as (*āka*) half a quarter (*araikkāl*), half and half a quarter (*araiyēy araiikkāl*); and whatever name (*eppērpaṭṭutum*) the profession (*cey tolil*) of he (*avar*) who is ours (*eṅkaḷin*) [similar] with the profession of lute-players (*ampanattoḷil* > *ampanattoḷil*), including (*ullitṭu*) the clapping of hands (*cappāni*) with the *piḷavūrkkavu* [?], the Kili song (*pāṭṭu*) [competition song?], the Yā song (*paṭṭu*) during the whole night (*irāvurukkaiyum* > *irāvaikkum*); as capital (*uṭalāka*) for smearing the sacred body (*tirumer puccukku*) of Nāyaṅār, Lord of this Tiruvālaṅṭurai, {{I gave}}, having poured water (*nirvarttu*) [on/for] the sacred (*śrī*) feet (*pāṭṭu* > *pātattu*) of this Lord (*innāyaṅār*), I, Aṅṭataru (>*aṅṭatiru*).

#120. (a) Tiruvālaṅṭurai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the southern outer face of the compound wall; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 259; (e) 11th regnal year and 219 days of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Rājādhirājadevar Tribhuvana Cakkaravatti Kōnerinmai Koṅṭāṇ; (f) Rājādhirāja I or II; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; this unpublished inscription was difficult to decipher and understand, and I could not have done it without his help and explanations.

- (1) *svasti śrī tribhuvanac cakkaravattikaḷ śrīrājādh[i]rājadevarḷu yāṅṭu patinonḷu nāl*  
°irunūṛṛoru pattonpatināl *tribhuvanac cakkaravat*
- (2) *ti konerinmai koṅṭān kunṛakkūṛṛamāna °uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷanāṭṭurkaḷilārḷku*  
°innāṭṭurkaḷ[munp[u] paḷaṅkāṇiyā[la]y °anubhoki
- (3) *ttu varukira[varkaḷai]t tavira °irāc[u]kulavārtal °irājentracolap perārṛukkuk*  
*teṛkuppāṭṭa nāṭukaḷil °ūrārātal °ālvānukkup pattonpa[tā]*
- (4) *varaiyum rājarājap peruvilai koṅṭom enṛātal kuṭivilai koṅṭom enṛātal rājarājap*  
*peruvilaikoṅṭār pakkal vilai koṅṭom enṛāta*
- (5) *l °anubhokikkap pe[rā]tārkaḷākavum rājentracolap perārṛukkut teṛkuḷlār p[i]npu*  
*vilakoḷlavum peṛātārkaḷākavum kuṭi nikkitt tevatāna[p pa]lliccantam ni*
- (6) *ttoṛpaṭṭi °iraiyiliyāna °ūrkaḷi kiḷaṭacārān vāraṇavāciyum ciṛuka[nū]ru[m]*  
*kallikamum tuṭariyum kuṛiṅcippāṭṭiyum ulliṭṭa °ūrkaḷ °iraiyili [°i]ṭuva[ta]rḷku*  
*munpu kāṇiyuṭai*
- (7) *[ya] kāṇiyāḷarek kāṇiyāka kaikkonṭu °anubhokittuk kaṭamaiyirukkavum*  
*rājentracolap perārṛukku vaṭakkulḷār °anubhogikku[miṭattup pa[laṅ]*  
*kāṇiyāḷarait ta*
- (8) *[vira marṛu] X X ku X °anubhogikkap peṛātā X X X X X X X X X X X X X X*  
*pallavarājan namakkuc connamaiyil °ippaṭṭi ce[yyakkaṭa] X X X X X X X X X X<sup>156</sup>*

<sup>156</sup> The line does not seem to continue; it is shorter than the others.

- (9) XXXXXX[lankāṇiyālar] °anupavi[kka]XXXX °anupavikka °elutinān tirumantira °olai X X X {aicōlamüventave}lān °eluttitt̄ār nilakaṅkaraiy[ar] [vāṇākovariyay nantipanmar] malaiyappiyā[rayar ka]nakaracāttipattaraicar villavarācar

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 11th year and 219 days of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Rājādhirāja Tribhuvana Cakkaravatti Kōṇerinmai Koṅṭāṇ. For those who are in the villages (*urkaḷilārku* > *ūrkaḷilārku*) of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅaṇāṭu alias Kuṅṛakkūrṛam, except (*tavira*) those who came (*varukiravarkaḷai*), having enjoyed (*anubhokittu*) as the old *kāṇi* (*paḷaṅkāṇiyāḷlay*) before (*munpu*) in the villages (*ūrkaḷ*) of this *nāṭu* (*innāṭtu*); until the 19th year (*pattonpatāvaraiyum*) of the Lord (*ālvānukku*), whether those of the villages (*ūrār-ātal*) in the *nāṭus* (*nāṭukaḷil*) which fall (*paṭṭa*) in the south (*terku*) of the great river (*perārṛukku*) Rājendracōḷa of the royal clan (*irācukulavārtal*), whether (*enṛātal*) we got (*koṅṭōm*) the high price (*peruvilai*) of Rājarāja, whether (*enṛātal*) we got (*koṅṭōm*) the tenant price (*kuṭivilai*), or whether (*enṛātal*) we got (*koṅṭōm*) the price (*vilai*) from (*pakkal*) those who get (*koṅṭār*) the high price (*peruvilai*) of Rājarāja, they should not get (*perātārkaḷākavum*) to enjoy (*anubhogikka*), those who are (*uḷḷār*) in the south (*terku*) of the great river (*perārṛukku*) Rājendracōḷa should not get (*perātārkaḷākavum*) [the possibility] to buy (*vilaikoḷḷavum*) afterwards (*pinpu*); having removed the labourers (*kuṭi nikkī*), as tax-free (*iraiyiliyāṇa*) *devadāna*, *paḷḷiccantam* (land given to Jains or Buddhists) and *nittorpaṭṭi* (?), in order to put (*iṭuvataṛku*) tax-free (*iraiyili*) villages (*ūrkaḷ*) including (*uḷḷitta*) Aṭacārān Vāraṇavāci, Ciṛukanūr, Kallikam, Tuṭari, Kuṛiṅcippāṭi, east (*kīḷ*) of the villages (*ūrkaḷi* > *ūrkaḷ*); except (*tavira*) those of the old *kāṇi* (*paḷaṅkāṇiyāḷarai*) having set up (*iṭattu*) to enjoy (*anubhogikku*) those in the northern side (*vaṭakkullār*) of the great river (*perārṛukku*) Rājendracōḷa, the lessees (*kāṇiyāḷarē*) who possess the *kāṇi* (*kāṇiyuṭaiya*) before (*munpu*) having taken in hand as *kāṇi* (*kāṇiyāka kaikkoṅṭu*), having enjoyed (*anubhokittu*), they have to pay (*iṛukkavum*) the *kaṭamai*-tax; . . . should not get to enjoy (*anubhogikkap perātā*) . . . since Pallavarājan said (*connamaiyil*) to us (*namakku*), . . . have to do (*ceyyakkata*{*va*}) in this manner (*ippaṭi*) . . . to enjoy (*anupavikka*) . . . {{Neṛi U}}{aicōlamüventave}lān wrote (*eḷutinān*) the palm-leaf royal order (*tirumantira olai*) to enjoy (*anupavikka*). Those who signed (*eḷuttitt̄ār*) [are] Nilakaṅkaraiyay, Vāṇātārayar, Nantipanmar, Malaiyappiyārayar, Kanakaracāttipattaraicar, Villavarācar.

#121. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the southern outer face of the compound wall; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 257; (e) 11th regnal year and 284 days of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Rājādhirājadēvar Tribhuvana Cakkaravatti Kōṇerinmai Koṅṭāṇ; (f) Rājādhirāja I or II; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; this unpublished inscription was difficult to decipher and understand, and I could not have done it without his help and explanations.

- (1) *svasti śrī tribhuvanac cakkaravattikaḷ śrī rājādh[i]rājadevarku yāṅṭu patinoṅṛu nāḷ* °irunūrṛenpattunāli nāl *tribhuvanac cakkaravatti koṇerinmai koṅṭān kuṅṛakkūrṛamāna* °ut



- (2) tuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṭṭut tirappum tevatānamum °iruppakārattukku °aṭaitta °ūrkaḷumullīṭṭa °ūrkaḷilārku °innāṭṭurkūḷap aṭaip parrāyk kāṇiyāḷar payiṛ ceytu vārāmaiṇil pattāva
- (3) tu mutal kāṇiyāḷare payiṛ ceytu kaṭamaiṇi iruttu varukīra naṇcey nilattil veli monṇurukku °eṇṇpatin kalamum °eṇṇpatin kalattukku merpaṭavum koṇṭu varukīra °ūrkaḷ °eṇṇpatin kalam āka [°am] °arupatin kala
- (4) mum arupatiṇ kalattukku merpaṭavuṇ koṇṭu varukīra °ūrkaḷ °arupatin kalam ākavum nārpatin malamum nārpatin kalattukku merpaṭavuṇ koṇṭu varukīra °ūrkaḷ nārpatin kalam ākavum [°a]nneḷ °oṭṭāka mutal
- (5) koḷḷavum °iṇneḷ naṭṭan[i]ḷaṅkaṇ munpu koṇṭu varukīra paṭayē °ivvar caikku °onṇu mukkalāka °irukkavum putitākak kuḷaṇ kallit tiruttip payiṛ ceyta nilaṅkaḷukku °iṇneḷ varicaip paṭiyē mutal koṇṭu tiruttina [°ā]
- (6) [°ā]ṇṭu °iraiyiliyāy °itan °etirāmāṇṭu °onṇu kuralūm °itan °etirāmāṇṭu °onṇurupātiyūm °itan °etirāmāṇṭu °onṇu mukkalūm °itan °etirāmāṇṭu mutal niraṇṇavum °irukkappereṇṇumenṇu pallavarājan namakkuc connā X
- (7) [yi]ḷ °ippaṭi ceyyakkaṭava[t]ākac collik kaṇakkilum °iṭṭuk koḷḷakkaṭavarkaḷukka varikkū[ru] ceyvārkaḷukkum conṇom °innāṭṭurkaḷukka pattāvatu mutal °ippaṭiyāḷ [ve]ṇṭa kaṭamai °irukka °eḷutināṇ tirumantira °olai neṇi °uṭaicolḷamu
- (8) ventaveḷāṇ [°e]ḷuttitṭār nilakaṅkaraiyar vāṇāṭāra[yaṛ] nantipanmar malaiyappiyārayar kanakaracāttipattaraicar villavarācar

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 11th year and 284 days of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Rājādhiraḷadevar, Tribhuvana Cakkaravatti Kōṇeriṇmai Koṇṭāṇ. The lessees (*kāṇiyāḷar*) having cultivated (*payiṛ ceytu*) as land (*parrāy*) joining (*aṭai*) the village tank (*urkūḷap* > *ūrkaḷam*) of this *nāṭu* (*ināṭṭu*), for those in the villages (*ūrkaḷilārku*) including (*uḷḷiṭṭa*) all the villages (*ūrkaḷum*) assigned (*aṭaitta*) to the Brahmin residence (*iruppu-akarāttu*), the *devadāna*, and the assessed lands (*tirappum*) of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṭṭu alias *Kuṇṇakkūrṇam* (*kunṇakkūrṇam* > *kuṇṇakkūrṇam*); if it is not coming (*vārāmaiṇil*) from (*mutal*) the 10th year (*pattāvatu*), the lessees themselves (*kāṇiyāḷarē*) having cultivated (*payiṛ ceytu*), in the wet land (*naṇcey nilattil*) which has come (*varukīra*), having paid (*iruttu*) the *kaṭamai*-tax: for one (*monṇurukku* > *onṇurukku*) *vēli*, as eighty (*eṇṇpatin*) *kalams* for the villages (*ūrkaḷ*) which have come (*varukīra*), with (*koṇṭu*) an excess (*mērpaṭavuṇ*) [above] eighty *kalams* (*eṇṇpatin kalattukku*), [this is] eighty *kalams* (*eṇṇpatin kalamum*); this has to be (*ākavum*) sixty (*arupatin*) for the villages (*ūrkaḷ*) which have come (*varukīra*) with (*koṇṭu*) an excess (*mērpaṭavuṇ*) [above] sixty *kalams* (*arupatiṇ kalattukku*), [this is] sixty *kalams* (*arupatiṇ kalamum*); this has to be (*ākavum*) forty (*nārpatin*) for the villages (*ūrkaḷ*) which have come (*varukīra*) with (*koṇṭu*) an excess (*mērpaṭavuṇ*) [above] forty *kalams* (*nārpatin kalattukku*), [this is] forty *kalams* (*nārpatin malamum* > *kalamum*); that paddy (*anneḷ*) that we will get (*koḷḷavum*) as capital (*mutal*) all together (*oṭṭu-āka*), we will have to pay (*irukkavum*) as (*āka*) one (*onṇu*) three quarter (*mukkal*) for a *cey* (*caikku* > *ceykkku*) of those (*ivvar*); that is the order (*paṭayē* > *paṭiyē*) which has come (*varukīra*) with (*koṇṭu*) the previous (*munpu*) lands (*nīlaṅkaḷ*) established (*naṭṭa*) with this paddy (*iṇneḷ*); having newly (*putitāka*) dug (*kalli*) the tank (*kuḷaṇ*), having revovated [it] (*tirutti*), having improved (*tirutti*) with (*koṇṭu*) the capital (*mutal*) [as per] the order (*paṭiyē*) for the tax (*varicai*) on this paddy

(*iṅnel*), having become tax-free (*īraiṅiyiyāy*) [in that] year (*āṅṅu*); in the year opposite this one (*itaṅ etirāmaṅṅu*), one quarter (*oṅṅu kuralūm > oṅṅu kālum*); in the year opposite this one (*itaṅ etirāmaṅṅu*), one half (*oṅṅu pāṅṅiyum*); in the year opposite this one (*itaṅ etirāmaṅṅu*), one three quarters (*oṅṅu mukkālum*); in the year opposite this one (*itaṅ etirāmaṅṅu*), the full (*nirampavum*) capital (*mutal*), Pallavarājan said (*eṅṅu*): “it has to be (*peṅṅavēnum > peṅṅa-veṅṅum*) paid (*īrukka*)”; since he said (*conna{mai}yil*) to us (*namakku*), having said (*colli*) that which has to be done (*ceyyakkaṅṅavataka*) in this manner (*ippaṅṅi*), we say (*conṅōm > conṅōm*) to those who have to take (*kolṅṅakkaṅṅavarkaṅṅukka > kolṅṅakkaṅṅavarkaṅṅukku*) having entered (*iṅṅu*) in the account book (*kaṅṅakkilum*) and to those who apportion taxes (*varikkūru ceyvārkaṅṅukkum*); from (*mutal*) the 10th year (*pattāvatu*), to the villages of this *nāṅṅu* (*innāṅṅṅūrkaṅṅukku*), to pay (*īrukka*) the *kaṅṅamai*-tax which came (*venta > vanta*) with this order (*ippaṅṅiyāl*), Neṅṅi Uṅṅaiccōlamūventavēṅṅān wrote (*eṅṅutiṅṅān*) the palm-leaf royal order (*tirumantira ōlai*). Those who signed (*eṅṅuttittār*) [are] Nilakaṅṅkaraiyar, Vāṅṅātārayar, Nantipanmar, Malaiyappiyārayar, Kanakaracāṅṅtipattaraicar, Villavarācar.

#122. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the southern outer face of the compound wall; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 102; SII 5, no. 663; (e) 11th regnal year and 302 days of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattikaṅṅ Śrī Rājādhiraṅṅadevar; (f) Rājādhiraṅṅa I or II; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī tribhuvanac cakkaravattikaṅṅ śrīrājādhiraṅṅadevaraṅṅu yāṅṅu patinonṅu nāl muṅṅnūṅṅiriraṅṅiṅṅāl kunṅṅakkūṅṅṅramāna °uttuṅṅkatuṅṅkavaṅṅāṅṅāṅṅu*
- (2) *ciṅṅupaṅṅuvūr °uṅṅaiyār koyil tevakamikkum śrī māheśvarak kaṅṅkāṅṅiceyvārkaṅṅukkum vanta tirumukappaṅṅi tribhuvanac ca*
- (3) *kkaravatti konerinmai koṅṅṅān kunṅṅakkūṅṅṅramāna °uttuṅṅkatuṅṅkavaṅṅāṅṅāṅṅu ciṅṅupaṅṅuvūrt tiruvālanturāiyai uṅṅai*
- (4) *yār koyil tevakamikkum śrīmāheśvarak kaṅṅkāṅṅiceyvārkaṅṅukkum °ittevaṅṅku veṅṅṅum nimantaṅṅkaṅṅukku °īruppatā*
- (5) *ka vāṅṅakappaṅṅiyai uṅṅaiyāṅṅ °arayaṅṅ viracōṅṅānāṅṅ yātavarāyāṅṅai nittorppaṅṅi °īraiṅiyi māṅṅiṅṅa °innāṅṅṅuk kiṅṅacārāṅṅa vāra*
- (6) *ṅṅavāci niccayitta māṅṅai °eṅṅupatum munpu kāṅṅiyuṅṅaiya manṅṅāṅṅikaṅṅukke kāṅṅiyāy patinonṅṅuvatu pacāṅṅa mutal °antarāyam pāṅṅṅam ulpa*
- (7) *ṅṅa tevatānam °īraiṅiyiṅṅa °iṅṅu variṅṅilārum varik[kūru]ceyvārkaṅṅum °eṅṅuttittā °uṅṅvari taracconṅom °ivvūrp patinonṅṅuvatu pacāṅṅa mutal °an*
- (8) *tarāyam pāṅṅṅam uṅṅpaṅṅat tevatānam °īraiṅiyiṅṅa kaikkonṅṅu nimantaṅṅ celuttap paṅṅṅuka °eṅṅutiṅṅān tirumantira °o[lai] °īrāṅṅentraciṅṅkamuvēn*
- (9) *taveṅṅān °eṅṅuttittār nilakaṅṅkarayarum tipat[ta]rayarum kankarāyarum nantipa[n]marum villavarāyarum vāṅṅātārayarum nuṅṅamparāyarum °eṅṅuttittatu °itu panmāheśvara rakṅṅai ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 11th year and 302 days (*muṅṅnūṅṅiriraṅṅiṅṅāl*) of Tribhuvana Cakkaravattikaṅṅ Śrī Rājādhiraṅṅadevar. To the Tēvakaṅṅmis (*tēvakamikkum*) of the temple (*kōyil*) of the Lord (*uṅṅaiyār*) of Ciṅṅupaṅṅuvūr of Uttuṅṅkatuṅṅkavaṅṅāṅṅu alias Kunṅṅakkūṅṅṅram (*kunṅṅakkūṅṅṅram > kunṅṅakkūṅṅṅram*) and to those who do the superintendence (*kaṅṅkāṅṅi ceyvārkaṅṅukkum*) of the Śrī Māheśvaras

(the Śaiva group), the royal order (*tirumukappaṭi*) [of] Tribhuvana Cakaravatti Kōnerinmai Koṇṭān has come (*vanta*); to the Tēvakanmis (*tēvakanmikkum*) of the temple (*kōyil*) of the Lord (*uṭaiyār*) of Ciṟupaḷuvūr of Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷanāṭu alias Kuṇṇakkūṟṟam (*kunṇakkūṟṟam* > *kunṇakkūṟṟam*) and to those who do the superintendence (*kaṅkāṇi ceyvārkaḷukkum*) of the Śrī Māheśvaras, to pay (*iruppatāka*) for the endowments (*nimantaṅkaḷukku*) wanted (*vēṅṭum*) for this god (*ittēvaṟku*), as *kāṇi* (*kāṇiyāy*) for the shepherds (*maṅṟāṭikaḷukkē* > *maṅṟāṭikaḷukkē*) who possessed (*uṭaiya*) the *kāṇi* previously (*munpu*), seventy (*eḷupaṭum*) coins (*māṭai*) ascertained (*niccayitta*) by Kiṭacārāṅ Vāraṇavāci of this country (*innāṭṭu*), which changed (*māriṇa*) to tax-free (*iraīyili*) as per the every day expenses (*nittorppaṭi*) [by?] the lord (*uṭaiyāṅ*) of Vāṇakappaṭi, Arayaṅ Vīracōḷanāṅ Yātavarāyaṅ, having set (*iṭṭu*) as tax-free (*iraīyiliyāka*) *devadāna* (*tēvatānam*) including (*uḷpaṭa*) the *pāṭṭam*-tax (tax on land) and the *antārayam*-tax (tax levied by the local bodies) from (*mutal*) the crop (*pacāṇa*) of the 11th year, we said to give (*tarac-conṇōm* > *conṇōm*) the local tax (*uḷvari*) which was recorded (*eḷuttiṭṭa*) [by] the revenue collectors (*variylār*) and the officials who fix the taxes (*varikkūruceyvārkaḷum* > *varikkukkūruceyvārkaḷum*); having taken in hand (*kaikkoṇṭu*) as a tax-free (*iraīyiliyāka*) *devadāna* including (*uḷpaṭa*) the *pāṭṭam*-tax and the *antārayam*-tax from (*mutal*) the crop (*pacāṇa*) of the 11th year in this town (*ivvūr*), to make (*paṅṇuka*) [them] observe (*celutta*) the endowment (*nimantaṅ*), Rājentraciṅkamuventavēḷāṅ recorded (*eḷutiṅāṅ*) the royal order (*tirumantiram*) on palm-leaf (*ōlai*). The signatories (*eḷuttiṭṭār*) [are]: that has been signed (*eḷuttiṭṭatu*) [by] Nilakaṅkarayar, Tipattarayar, Kankarāyar, Nantipanmar, Villavarāyar, Vāṇaratāyar and Nuḷamparāyar. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

## WESTERN FAÇADE

#123. (a) Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, upper inscription on the northern side; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 110; SII 5, no. 671; (e) 3rd regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 988); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirājakecaripanmarkku yāṅṭu muṅṟāvatu °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar kaṅṭan maṟavanār*
- (2) *aruḷicceya kaucikan nakkan māṟan śrī kāriyam āṟāyāniṟka paḷuveṭṭaraiyar makaḷār vikkiramacoḷa viḷa*
- (3) *ṅkoveḷār teviyār nampirāṭṭikaḷār tiruvālanṭuṟai mahādevaṟṟku vaicca veḷḷiyin kalacacam nakarakkal*
- (4) *lāl nūṟṟut toṅṅṟuru mukkaḷaṅcarai veḷḷi maṅṭai niṟai nakarakkallāl nūṟṟut toṅṅṟuru kala*
- (5) *ṅcu °itu panmāheśvara rakṣai ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 3rd year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. When Aṭikaḷ Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭan Maṟavanār graciously ordered (*aruḷicceyya*), while Kaucikan Nakkan Māṟan was examining (*āṟāyāniṟka*) the sacred service (*śrīkāriyam* > *śrīkāryam*), she who is our queen (*nampirāṭṭikaḷār*), queen (*tēviyār*) of Vikramacōḷa Ilaṅkovēḷār, daughter (*makaḷār*) of Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar,

for Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi, placed (*vaicca > vaiitta*) 193 and a half *kaḷaṅcus* (*nūrru tonṇūrru mukkaḷaṅcarai*) by the standard weighing stone of the Nagaram (*nakarakkallāl*) [for] a silver vessel (*veḷḷiyin kalacam*), [and] 192 *kaḷaṅcus* by the weigh (*niṟai*) of the standard weighing stone of the Nagaram (*nakarakkallāl*) [for] a wide mouth silver bowl (*veḷḷi maṅṅai*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#124. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, lowest inscription on the northern side; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 111; SII 5, no. 672; (e) 3rd regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 988); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirājakecaripannakku yāṅ muṅṅāvatu ciṟupaḷuvūr tiruvālanturāi*  
°uṭaiya mahāte
- (2) varkku kaucikan nakkan māṅṅān śrī kāriyam āṟāyāniṟkka °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar  
kaṅṅaṅ maṅṅavanār tiruvaṭṭi
- (3) toḷutu vaiitta ponnin paṭṭam niṟai patin kaḷaṅce muṅṅu maṅcāṭiyāka paṭṭam  
iraṅṅināl pon iru
- (4) patin kaḷaṅce °āṟu maṅcāṭi °ivaṅ vaicca porpū °aiṅcināl pon °aiṅ kaḷaṅce muṅṅu  
maṅcāṭi °ivaṅ
- (5) °uttara °ayanam paṅṅin saṅkirānti nāṅṅu vaiitta paṭṭam muṅṅināl pon nāṅṅpatin  
kaḷaṅcu paṭṭa
- (6) m °uru °aṅcum porpū °aiṅcināl[u]m °ākap pon niṟai °eḷupattaiṅ kaḷaṅcarai °itu  
panmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 3rd year (*yāṅ > yāṅṅu*) of Kōvirājakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of (*uṭaiya*) Tiruvālanturāi of Ciṟupaḷuvūr, while Kaucikan Nakkan Māṅṅān was examining (*āṟāyāniṟkka*) the sacred service (*śrīkāriyam > śrīkāriyam*), Aṭikaḷ Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṅaṅ Maṅṅavanār, having worshipped the sacred feet (*tiruvaṭṭi toḷutu*), placed (*vaiitta*), at the rate of (*āka*) three *maṅcāṭis* [fraction] and ten *kaḷaṅcus* of weigh (*niṟai*) for a forehead plate (*paṭṭam*) of gold (*ponnin*), six (*āru*) *maṅcāṭis* and twenty (*iru patin*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*pon*) for two forehead plates (*paṭṭam iraṅṅināl*); he (*ivaṅ*) gave (*vaicca > vaiitta*) three (*muṅṅu > muṅṅu*) *maṅcāṭis* and five (*aiṅ*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*pon*) for five (*aiṅcināl*) flowers of gold (*porpū*); he (*ivaṅ*), on the day (*nāṅṅu > nāṅṅu*) of Sankrāṅṅti in connection with (*paṅṅin*) Uttara Ayanam, gave (*vaiitta*) forty (*nāṅṅpatin*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*pon*) for three (*muṅṅināl > muṅṅināl*) forehead plates (*paṭṭam*); at the rate of (*āka*) five (*aiṅcinālum*) flowers of gold (*porpū*) and five (*aṅcum*) [uru? 2 and 5?] plates (*paṭṭam*), seventy-five (*eḷupattaiṅ*) *kaḷaṅcus* of weigh (*niṟai*) of gold (*pon*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#125. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, in the middle of the group of inscriptions, lower inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 109; SII 5, no. 670; (e) 8th regnal year of Kōvirājāṟākesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 993); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) this inscription is engraved in continuation of #129,

registering a donation eleven years later, corroborating the hypothesis that this group of inscriptions was recopied altogether at a later date.

- (1) *svasti śrī kovirājarājakecariva*
- (2) *nmarkku yāṅṭu °eṭṭāvatu °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar kaṅṭan maṛavanār paṭai °i[ḷai]*
- (3) *ya °iraṇamukarāmanil kaikkoḷan [pa]latevan vaiyiriyai kunṛakūrṛattu mallūr*
- (4) *irukku veḷḷāḷan kiḷavan ṇampanum palateva[ṇai] vayiriy[u]m taṅkaḷil °uruvik kutti pa*
- (5) *la[[tevan va]]yiri paṭak kiḷavan nampanai °aṭikaḷ paḷuv[e]ṭṭaraiyar [ka]ṅṭan maṛavanār ci*
- (6) *ṛupaḷuvūr tiruvālanturai °uṭaiya mahādevarkku °ivanai cātti °oru nontāvi*
- (7) *ḷakku vaiy enna vaitta cāvāmūvāp perāṭu tonṇūru °ittoṇṇūrum vaic*
- (8) *cen panmāyeśvara rakṣai ||*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 8th year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman. The Kaikkōḷan Palatēvan Vaiyiri, who is in Iraṇamukarāman,<sup>157</sup> the young (*iḷaiya*) [branch?] of the army (*paṭai*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭan Maṛavanār; Nampan, lord (*kiḷavan*) [and] Veḷḷāḷan (agriculturalist) who resides (*irukkum*) in Mallūr in Kuṇṛakkūrṛam (*kunṛakūrṛam* > *kuṇṛakkūrṛam*) and Palatēvan Vaiyiri; between them (*taṅkaḷil*), Palatēvan Vaiyiri having drawn (*uruvi*) [the sword] pierced (*kutti*) the lord (*kiḷavan*) Nampan who died (*paṭa*); Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭan Maṛavanār said (*enna*): “put (*vai*) one perpetual lamp (*oru nontāvilakku*) on behalf of him (*cātti ivanai*) to Mahādeva of (*uṭaiya*) Tiruvālanturai of Ciṛupaḷuvūr”; ninety (*tonṇūru*) undying and non-ageing great goats (*cāvāmūva perāṭu*) were placed (*vaitta*) [for this lamp]; I have given (*vaiccēn*) these ninety (*ittoṇṇūrum*) [goats]. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#126. (a) Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, on the southern side of the northernmost inscriptions, upper inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 106; SII 5, no. 667; (e) 10th regnal year of *kāntaḷūr cālai kalam arutta* Kōvirājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 995); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī kāntaḷūrc cālai kalam arutta kovirājarājakecaripanmarkku yāṅṭu pattā*
- (2) *vatu brahmateyam ciṛupaḷuvūr tiruvānturai °uṭaiya mahādevarkku °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭa*
- (3) *riayar kaṅṭan maṛavanār peruntirattaraiyan [cu]ntiracoḷanen nicata °irunāḷi tumpaip paḷḷi*
- (4) *ttāmam paṛiccaṭṭa vaicca nilam ivvūr kiḷakku[v]ār nān kuṭutta nilattukku kiḷpārkellai māra*
- (5) *n °iravi nilattukku meṛkkum tenpārkellai °aḷakkanār kuḷikkum vaṭakkum mipārkellai ko*
- (6) *vaṇivaṭi vit[t]aip peṛra peṛṛukkuk kiḷakku nokki pon varamputtuku teṛkkum*

<sup>157</sup> This is a part of the name of the donor of the *balipīṭha* in the southern shrine of the AIM (#26). It may be the name of a specific branch of the army of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar.

- (7) °ivvicaitta perunānkellaiyu! [l a]kappaṭṭa nilam °uṇṇalam °alivīṇṇi viṛ  
 (8) ru vilaiyāvaṇam ceytu kuṭuttan [[°a]]raiyān cuntaracōḷanēn itū panmāyeśvara  
 [rakṣai ]]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman who distributed vessels at the *cālai* of Kāntaḷūr. To Mahādeva of (*uṭaiya*) Tiruvālanturāi (*tiruvānturāi* > *tiruvālanturāi*), a *brahmadeya* of Cīrupaḷuvūr, I, Cuntaracōḷan, chief (*araiyan*) of the big group (*peruntirattu*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭan Maṇavanār, gave (*vaicca* > *vaitta*) a land (*nilam*) in order to supply (*aṭṭa*), having plucked (*pariccu*) [the flowers], garlands of *tumpai* [flowers] of two *nālis* every day (*nicata*) for the idol (*paḷittāmam*); for the land (*nilattukku*) which was given (*kuṭutta*) by me (*nān*) on the east (*kīlakkuvār*) of this village (*ivvūr*): the eastern side boundary (*kīlpārkellai*) [is] to the west (*mērkkuṁ*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of Māraṇ Iravi; the southern side boundary (*tenpārkellai*) [is] to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the pond (*kuḷikku*) Aḷakkanār; the western side boundary (*mīpārkellai*) [is] to the east (*kīlaku*) of the bull (*perukku?*) acquired (*perra*) by Kōvaṇivaṭi Vittai, looking (*nōkki*) [when we go? *pon* > *pōnta*] to the south (*terkkum*) of the boundary (*varampukku*); [this is] the land (*nilam*) which falls inside (*akap paṭṭa*) the four great boundaries (*perunṇānkellaiyu!*) thus divided (*ivvicaitta*); I, the chief (*araiyan*) Cuntaracōḷan, gave (*kuṭuttēn*), having made (*ceytu*) the sale document (*vilaiyāvaṇam*), after selling (*viṛru*) the inner land (*uṇṇalam* > *uṇṇilam*) without damage (*alivīṇṇi*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#127. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, on the southern side of the northernmost inscriptions, lower inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 107; SII 5, no. 668; (e) 10th regnal year of *kāntaḷūr cālai kalam arutta* Kōvirājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 995); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kāntaḷūrc cālai kalam arutta kovirājarājakecaripanmaṛkku yāṇṭu pattāva
- (2) tu kuṇṇarakūṛṛattu *brahmateyam* cīrupaḷuvūr cāvānti tirunilakaṇṭan civan[u]m °ivan ma[kan]
- (3) nakkanum °ivviruvom viṛṛuk kuṭut[ta vi]laiyāvaṇam °ivvūr tiruvālanturāi *mahāte*
- (4) varkku °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar kaṇṭa[n] maṇavanār koṇṭu kuṭutta nilamāvatu icci
- (5) rupaḷuvūr melūr °aiyan kuḷattin kil nā[n]kaḷ viṛru kuṭutta nilattukku kīlpārk
- (6) kella cāvānti nārāyaṇan centan °uḷḷittār k[ū]ṭṭattār °aṇaivomum viṛkiṇṇa nilat
- (7) tukku meṛkkum tenpārkellai [puṛa]kkuḷikkum kaḷanikkum puṛakuḷi °erikku vaṭakku
- (8) m[ī]p[ā]ṛkkellai °erikku kīlakkum vaṭapārkellai peruvaḷikku terkkum °icai
- (9) tta perunānkellaiyu! °akappaṭṭa n[i]lam pattu °innilam mikitik kuṛaiv[u]
- (10) °uḷḷaṭa[ṇ]ka pattu[c] ceyyum °ikkaḷanikkup pāya °uṭaiya kuḷamum viṛṛuk kuṭu
- (11) ttuk koṇṭa vilaiṇṇoruḷ °ulavi pon °irupatin kaḷaṇṇu ponnukkum °inni
- (12) lamum °ikkuḷamum viṛṛuk kuṭuttom °innilattukkum °ikkuḷattukkum °ituve
- (13) vilaiyāvaṇamum poruḷ māvaṇuttip poruḷ celavolai āvatākavum °ituval
- (14) latu poruḷ māvaṇuttip poruḷ celavolai kāṭṭakkaṭavarallātārākavum °ipparicōṭṭi
- (15) °avaṇakkaliye °irupatin kaḷaṇṇu ponnukku °ivvi[l]aikkaṛa viṛru[p] poruḷ arak koṇṭu viṛ

- (16) ru vilaiyāvaṇaṅ ceytu kuṭuttom tiruvālanṭurai mahātevarṅku cāvānti  
tirunila[ka]ṅ
- (17) [ṭa]ṅ civanum °ivan makan civan ṅakkan[u]m °ivviruvom °itu panmāheśvara  
rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman who distributed vessels at the *cālai* of Kāntaḷūr. We the two (*ivviruvōm*) Cāvānti Tirunilakaṅṭan Civan of Ciṟupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṅakkūrāram, and his son (*ivan makan*) Nakkan, having sold (*virru*), gave (*kuṭutta*) with a sale agreement (*vilaiyāvaṇam*); to Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai of this town (*ivvūr*), Aṭikal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṅṭan Maṟavanār having taken (*koṅṭu*) [the land], gave it (*kuṭutta*). This is the land (*nilamāvatu*): for the land (*nilattukku*) given (*kuṭutta*), having been sold (*virru*) by us (*nānkaḷ*), under [the irrigation] (*kīl*) of the Aiyam tank (*kuḷattin*) of the western village/Mēlūr of this Ciṟupaḷuvūr, the eastern side boundary (*kīlpārkkellai*) is to the west (*mērkku*) of the land (*nilattukku*) sold (*virkinṟa* > *virkinṟa*) [by/to] all those of us (*aṅaivōmum*) of the village assembly (*kūṭṭattār*) and of the partners (*uḷḷiṭṭār*) [of] Cāvānti Nārāyaṇan Cēntan; the southern side boundary (*tenpārkkellai*) is to the north (*vaṭakku*) of the lake (*ērikku*) of the external (*puṟa*) pond (*kuḷi*) of the paddy-field (*kaḷaṅikkum*) and the external (*puṟa*) pond (*kuḷikkum*); the western side boundary (*mīpārkkellai*) is to the east (*kīlakkum*) of the lake (*ērikku*); the northern side boundary (*vaṭapārkkellai*) is to the south (*teṟkkum*) of the big road (*peruvaḷikku*); [these are] the ten (*pattu*) *ceys* of land (*nilam*) which fall inside (*akappaṭṭa*) the four great boundaries (*perunānkellai*) thus divided (*ivvicaitta*). Having sold (*virru*) ten (*pattu*) *ceys* (*ceyyum*) including (*uḷḷaṅka*) all excesses (*mikiti* > *mikuti*) and shortages (*kuraivu*) on this land (*innilam*) and the tank (*kuḷamum*) which possesses (*uṭaiya*) [water] for it to flow (*pāya*) to this paddy-field (*ikkaḷaṅikkum*), having given (*kuṭuttu*), the price money (*vilaipporuḷ*) was taken (*koṅṭa*); having sold (*virru*) this tank (*ikkulaḷamum*) and this land (*inilam*) for twenty (*irupatin*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*ponnukkum*) of current gold (*ulavi pon* > *ulavi poṅ*), we gave (*kuṭuttōm*); this (*ituvē*) is the only sale document (*vilaiyāvaṇamum*) for this land (*innilattukkum*) and this tank (*ikkulaṭtukkum*); this has to be (*āvatākavum*) the final settlement document (*poruḷ māvaṟuti*) and the document for expenditures (*poruḷ celav-ōlai*, lit. palm leaf (*ōlai*) for expenditures (*cilavu*) of money (*poruḷ*)); except these (*itu-v-allatu*) final settlement document (*poruḷ māvaṟuti*) and document for expenditures (*poruḷ celav-ōlai* > *poruḷ celav-ōlai*) they do not have to show (*kāṭṭak-kaṭavar allātārākavum*) [any other document]; having decided (*oṭṭi*) in this manner (*ipparicu*), in the registration office (*āvaṅakkaḷiyē*), for twenty (*irupatin*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*ponnukku*), having sold (*virru*) for this entire (*ara*) price (*ivvilaikku*), having taken (*koṅṭu*) the entire (*ara*) amount (*poruḷ*), having sold (*virru*), having made (*ceytu*) a sale document (*vilaiyāvaṇaṅ*), we gave (*kuṭuttōm*) to Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai, Cāvānti Tirunilakaṅṭan Civan and his son (*ivan makan*) Civan Nakkan, we the two (*ivviruvōm*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#128. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, on the southern side of the main group of inscriptions; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 103; SII 5, no. 664; (e) 10th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman (a mistake for Kōrājakesarivarman?); (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 995); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the first seven lines record the *meykkirtti* of

Rājarāja I, but the title of the king is Parakesarivarman, which is not the title of Rājarāja; thus we may consider that the Parakesarivarman is a mistake for Rājakesarivarman.

- (1–6) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}  
 (7) {*meykkīrtti*} kōpparakecarīpanmaṅku yāṅṅu pattāvatu  
 (8) kuṅṅakkūṛṛattu ciṛupaḷuvūrt tiruvālanṭurai °uṭaiyār tevatāṇa  
 (9) māṇa veṭṭakkuṭi panmāheśvarap pere[rikki] nilam °ivverikkut  
 (10) teṛkkum °ūrukkuk kiḷakkum °uḷppa[ṭṭa] nilattil pattuceyyum tiripu  
 (11) vaṇa cuntaratevarkku irupōtaikkut tiruvamutukku vaccatu °irunāḷi  
 (12) °ariciyāl °oru tiruvamutum kāṭṭa vaccatu panmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 10th year of Kōpparakesarivarman (> Rājakesarivarman?). The land (*nilam*) under [the irrigation] (*kīl*) of the big lake (*perēri*) of the Panmāheśvaras of Veṭṭakkuṭi, which has become (*āṇa*) a *devadāna* of the Lord (*uṭaiyār*) of Tiruvālanṭurai of Ciṛuppaḷuvūr of Kuṅṅakkūṛṛam; ten *ceys* (*pattuceyyum*) in the land (*nilattil*) which falls within (*uḷpaṭṭa*) to the east (*kīḷakkum*) of the town (*ūrukkum*) and to the south (*teṛkkum*) of this lake (*ivvērikku*); that [land] which has been given (*vaccatu* > *vaittatu*) for holy food offerings (*tiruvamutukku*) for two times (*irupōtaikku*) for Tirupuvaṇa (*tiripuvaṇa* > *tirupuvaṇa*) Cuntaratēvar; that [land] which has been given (*vaccatu*) to provide (lit. to show, *kāṭṭa*) one (*oru*) holy food offering (*tiruvamutu*) with two *nāḷis* (*irunāḷi*) of rice (*ariciyāl*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

The edition given in SII 5 mentions in a footnote a text which, according to the editor, should take place after *viḷaṅkum* (line 7) at the end of the *meykkīrtti*. Indeed, this text mentions the expected Rājarāja, and not Parakesarivarman, after the *meykkīrtti*. However, after verification *in situ*, these few lines are engraved below the previous inscription as if in continuation. We may preclude the possibility of this text being a fragment belonging to the previous inscription wrongly inserted below, because its first three lines are on the same stone as the last three lines of the previous inscription. I cannot explain these few lines here and what they are connected to.

- (1) yāṅ X ṭu ceḷiyārai  
 (2) kesarīpanmar śrī rājarājade  
 (3) ru °āvatu °uttoṅka  
 (4) tu *brahmadeyam* ciṛupaḷuvūr  
 (5) vaṭakarai rājentrasiṅhava  
 (6) ttacaturppetimaṅkala  
 (7) pa/va maṅṛāṭi °ūrāna ce X vana

#129. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, in the middle of the group of inscriptions; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 108; SII 5, no. 669; (e) 19th regnal year of *kāntaḷūr cālai kalam aṛutta* Kōvirājarājakesarivarman; (f) Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 1004); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kāntaḷūrc cālai kalam aṛutta govarājarājakecarīvanmaṅku  
 (2) yāṅṅu patinonṛāvatu kuṅṅakūṛṛattu *brahmateyam* ciṛupaḷuvūr cāvanti  
 (3) *bhaṭṭan* [ce]ntan °ātittanen viṛruk kuṭṭa nilam vilaiyāva[ṇa]m °ivvūr



- (4) tiruvālanturāi caṅṅecurakku nān viṛṛuk kuṭutta nilam[ā]vatu °ivvūr [ce]  
 (5) [n̄]ku[la]ttut tūm[pi]l kiḷp[u]ṛa vākkāl ka[rāi] nān viṛṛa nilattukkuk kiḷpārkkel  
 (6) lai paṭṭukkaḷukke pona vākkā[lu]kku meṛṅku tenpārkkellai tenceri tāṅ  
 (7) ppe[[ru]]l[ma]kkaḷ nilattu vaṭakkum mīpārkkellai nārāyaṇaṇ pa[cu]vati nilattukkum  
 (8) cāvanti śrīkaṅṅaṇ māraṇ nilattukkuk kiḷakkum vaṭapārkkellai vaṭaceri tan peru  
 (9) makkaḷ nilattukku teṛkkum naṭuvu paṭṭa nilam °araimāvum mikitik kuṛaimai  
 (10) °uḷppaṭak kuṭuttuk koṅṅa vilaipporuḷ ṭippokkuc cempon kaḷa  
 (11) ṅicu °ikkaḷaṅcu ponnum °āvaṅkaḷiye kaiccelavaṛaḷ koṅṅu °innim  
 (12) °āvaṅaṅ ceytu viṛṛuk kuṭuttan tiruvālanturāi caṅṅheśva[ra]ṛkku bhaṭṭaṇ centa  
 (13) °ātittanen °innittukku °ituve vilaiyāvaṅamum °ituve poruḷ māv  
 (14) vaṛutip poruḷ cilavolai[yā]vatakavum °ituvallatu poruḷ māvaṛatip poruḷ  
 (16) ccilavelai kāṭṭakkaṭavaṇ ṅallātānākav[u]m °ipparicu °oṭṭi vilaiikkaṛa viṛṛu  
 (16) vilaiyāvaṅaṅ ceyten tiruvālanu śaṅṅheśvararkku bhaṭṭaṇ centan °ātittya  
 (17) nen paṅmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 19th year of Kōvirājarājakesarivarman (*govarājarājakeçari* > *kōvirājarājakesari*) who distributed vessels at the *cālai* of Kāntaḷūr. I, Cāvanti Bhaṭṭaṇ Cēntan Ātittan of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṅakkūrṛam (*kunṅakkūrṛattu* > *kunṅakkūrṛattu*), having sold (*viṛṛu*), gave (*kuṭutta*) a land (*nilam*) [with] a sale agreement (*vilaiyāvaṅam*); to Caṅṅheśvara of Tiruvālanturāi of this town (*ivvūr*), I (*nān*), having sold (*viṛṛu*), gave (*kuṭutta*) the following land (*nilamāvatu*): for the land (*nilattukku*) which I sold (*nān viṛṛa*) on the bank (*karai*) of the canal (*vākkāl* > *vāykkāl*) of the land (*puṛa*) under [the irrigation of] (*kīl*) of the sluice (*tūmpil*) of the pure tank (*ceṅṅkuḷattu*) of this town (*ivvūr*), the eastern side boundary (*kiḷpārkkellai*) [is] to the west (*mēṛṅku*) of the canal (*vākkālukkku* > *vāykkālukkku*) which goes (*pōna*) to the hamlets (*paṭṭukkaḷukkē*); the southern side boundary (*tenpārkkellai*) [is] to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the land (*nilattu*) of the great people (*tāṅ perumakkaḷ*) of the southern quarters (*tencēri*); the western side boundary (*mīpārkkellai*) [is] to the east (*kiḷakkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of Cāvanti Śrīkaṅṅaṇ Māraṇ and to the land (*nilattukkum*) of Nārāyaṇaṇ Pacuvati; the northern side boundary (*vaṭapārkkellai*) [is] to the south (*teṛkkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of the great people (*tan perumakkaḷ*) of the northern quarters (*vaṭacēri*); having given (*kuṭuttu*), including (*uḷppaṭa*) all excesses (*mikiti* > *mikuti*) and shortages (*kuṛaimai*), half a *mā* (*araimāvum*) which falls (*paṭṭa*) in the middle (*naṭuvu*), the price money (*vilaipporuḷ*) of *kaḷaṅcu* of pure gold which entered fire (*ṭippokkuc cempon*) was taken (*koṅṅa*); having taken (*koṅṅu*) completely (*ara*) the expenditures (*celavu*) at hand (*kai*) (i.e. the expenses encountered) in the registration office (*āvaṅkaḷiyē*) [of] all these *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*ponnum*), having made (*ceytu*) the document (*āvaṅaṅ*) for this land (*innim* > *innilam*), having sold (*viṛṛu*), I have given (*kuṭuttēn*) to Caṅṅheśvara (*caṅṅheśvara* > *caṅṅheśvara*) of Tiruvālanturāi, I Bhaṭṭaṇ Cēntan Ātittan; this only (*ituvē*) [is] the document (*vilaiyāvaṅamum*) for this land (*innittukku* > *innilattukku*); this only (*ituvē*) has to be (*āvatakavum* > *āvatākavum*) the final settlement document (*poruḷ māvaṛuti*) and the document for expenditures (*poruḷ cilav-ōlai*, lit. palm leaf for expenditures (*cilavu*) of money (*poruḷ*)); except these (*itu-v-allatu*) final settlement document (*poruḷ māvaṛuti*) and document for expenditures (*poruḷ cilav-elai* > *poruḷ cilav-ōlai*), I do not have to show (*kāṭṭak kaṭavaṅaṅ allātānākavum*) [any other document]; having decided (*oṭṭi*) in this manner (*ipparicu*), having sold (*viṛṛu*) for the entire (*ara*) price (*vilaiḅku*), I have made (*ceytēn*) the sale document (*vilaiyāvaṅaṅ*) for Caṅṅheśvara (*śaṅṅheśvara* > *caṅṅheśvara*) of Tiruvālanturāi

(*tiruvālantu* > *tiruvālanturāi*), I Bhaṭṭan Cēntan Ātittyan. {{This is}} under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#130. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, fifth inscription from the northern side; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 104; SII 5, no. 665; (e) 8th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman Śrī Rājendracōlatēvar; (f) Rājendra I (c. A.D. 1020); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) lines 1 to 10 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Rājendracōla I.

- (1–9) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}  
 (10) {*meykkīrtti*} kōpparakecaripaṛ[marā]na [[*śrīrā*]]*jentraco*latevaṛku yān  
 (11) tu °eṭṭāvatu °uttoṅkatoṅvaḷaṅāṭākiya kuṅṛakū[[r]]rattu *brahmateyam*  
*ciṛupaḷuvū*  
 (12) r *sabhaiyom* °ināṭtu mannuperumpaḷuvūr °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar peṅṭāṭ  
 (13) ṭiviraṅaṅ °orriyūr °eṅkaḷūrttiruvālanturāi*mahādevaṛku*[[ci]]ṭtiraiviṣuvukkum  
 °appicai viṣuvuk  
 (14) kum °uttiyanattukkum *dekṣaṇayaṅattukkum* tirumaṅcaṅamāṭi °aruḷi  
 peruntiruvamutu nār  
 (15) rūṇi °aricikku nellu mukkalane tūṇiyum nīṅanel nārkalane patakum koṅṭu  
 tiruma  
 (16) ṅcaṅam ceyivikkakkaṭavomāka koṅṭa kācu °aṅmpatu °ikkā[caṅ]patum  
 koṅṭu kaṭa  
 (17) vom koṅṭa paricāvatu °ikkācu 50 kum °āṭṭaivaṭṭan palicai kiran °ilakkuvaṅan  
 marakkā  
 (18) lāl nellum muppatin kalam °innel muppatin kalattālum citti[r]ai  
 (19) viṣuvum °appicai viṣuvum °uttarayāṅa[mu]m *dekṣaṇayanamum* nālu  
 tirumaṅcana  
 (20) mum nālu peruntiruvamutum °ākat tirumaṅcaṅa toṛum nārūrūṇi °ariciy[ā]  
 (21) vanta nel mukkalane tūṇiyum nikki nel n[[ār]]kkalane patakāl  
 tirumaṅcanaṅ ceyi  
 (22) vikkak kaṭavomākavum °ikkācu 50 koṅṭu nel muppatin kalamum  
 °aḷakka[[kaṭavo]]  
 (23) mākavum °ipparicu °ikkācu koṅṭu ciṛupaḷuvūr cavaiyom °ittevarkku yāṅṭu  
 [[XX]]  
 (24) °āvatu tiruvālanturāi *mahādevaṛ* °iṅainilattāl nel muppatin kalamum [[XX]]  
 (25) vopāti tevaraṅaik kāṭṭapeṛāto[mā]nom *sabhaiyom* °itu *panmāheśvara*  
 (26) *rakṣai* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkīrtti* lines 1–10} [This is] the 8th year of Kōpparakesarivarman alias Śrī Rājendracōlatēvar. We the Sabhā (*sabhaiyōm*) of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṅṛakkūrṛam alias Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṅaṅṭu; Virāṅaṅ Orriyūr, wife (*peṅṭāṭṭi*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar of Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr (*mannuperumpaḷuvūr* > *Maṅṅupperumpaḷuvūr*) of this country (*ināṭtu*), to Mahādeva of Tiruvālanturāi of our town (*eṅkaḷūr*), having graciously (*aruḷi*) bathed the deity (*tirumaṅcaṅam-āṭi*) for Cittirai Viṣuvu, for Appicai Viṣuvu, for Uttiyanam, for Dekṣaṇayanam, having taken (*koṅṭu*) one *pataku* and four *kalams* (*nārkalane*) of paddy (*nīra-nel* > *nīla-nel*?) and one *tūṇi* (*tūṇiyum*) and three *kalams* (*mukkalane*) of paddy (*nellu*) for four *tūṇis* (*nārūrūṇi*) of rice (*aricikku*) for large (*perun*) holy food offerings (*tiruvamutukku*); fifty (*aṅmpatu* > *aimpatu*) *kācus* were taken (*koṅṭa*)

for us to perform (*ceyivikkakkaṭavōm-āka*) the sacred bath (*tirumañcaṇam*); this is the manner (*paricāvatu*) in which we have to take (*koṇṭu kaṭavōm koṇṭa*) these fifty (*aṅpatum > aimpatu*) *kācus*: for these fifty *kācus*, the annual (*āṭṭaivaṭṭan*) interests (*palicai*), thirty *kalams* (*muppatin kalam*) of paddy (*nellu*) by the *marakkāl* [measure] (*marakkālāl*) [by? of?] Kiran Ilakkuvanān; with all these thirty (*muppatin*) *kalams* (*kalattālum*) of paddy (*innel*), as (*āka*) four (*nālu*) large holy food offerings (*peruntiruvamutum*) and four (*nālu*) sacred baths (*tirumañcanamum*) on Cīttirai Viṣuvu, Appicai Viṣuvu, Uttarayaṇam, and Dekṣayanam, having removed (*nīkki*) one *tūṇi* (*tūṇiyum*) and three *kalams* (*mukkalanē*) of paddy (*nel*) which has come (*vanta*) with four *tūṇis* (*nārūṇi*) of rice (*ariciyāl*) on every (*tōrum*) sacred bath (*tirumañcaṇa*), we will have to make (*ceyivikkak kaṭavōmākavum*) the sacred bath (*tirumañcanañ*) with one *patakkū* (*patakkāl*) and four *kalams* (*nārkkalanē*) of paddy (*nel*); having taken these fifty *kācus*, we will have to measure (*aḷakkakaṭavōmākavum*) thirty (*muppatin*) *kalams* of paddy (*nel*); having taken (*koṇṭu*) these *kācus* (*ikkācu*) in this manner (*ipparicu*), we the Sabhā (*cavaiyōm*) of Cīrupaḷuvūr, in the . . . year (*yāṇṭu XX āvatu*) of this Tēvar (*ittēvarkku*, i.e. king), with the taxable lands (*īrainillattāl*) of Mahādeva of Tiruvālanṭurai, . . . thirty (*muppatin*) *kalams* of paddy (*nel*) . . . ; we the Sabhā (*sabhaiyōm*) shall not show (*kāṭṭaperātōmānōm*) encumbrance to the god (*tēvaranai > tēvarku kalaṇai*)<sup>158</sup> etc. (*ōpāti*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#131. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the western outer face of the compound wall, in the group of inscriptions; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 105; SII 5, no. 666; SII 3, part II, no. 71 (edition and translation); (e) 20th regnal year of Kōrājakesarivarman Tiripuvaṇa Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷatevar; (f) Kulottuṅga I (c. A.D. 1089); (g) lines 18 and 19 only read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) lines 1 to 17 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Kulottuṅga I.

(1–16) *svasti śrī {meykkīrtti}*

- (17) {*meykkīrtti*} korājakecarivanmarāna tiripuvaṇac cakkaravattikaḷ śrī kolottuṅkacōḷatevarkku yāṇṭu irupatāva
- (18) tu °uttoṅkatoṅkavaḷaṇaṅṭṭuk kunrakkūrṛattu *brahmateyam* cīrupaḷuvūr [sa]bhaiyom vitarāja payaṅkara vāṇakovaraiyar taṅkaḷḷacci cōḷakula cuntaran viccā
- (19) tiriyālvārkkū *sabhai* vilaiyāka viṛṅṅ kuṭutta nilamāvatu rājentracōḷavākkālukkū vaṭakku pavitti[ra]māṅikka vatikkuk kiḷakku mutal kaṅṅārṛu °iraṇ
- (20) fām caturattu nilam nālumāvil vaṭakaṭaiy nilam °orumāvil kiḷkkaṭay nilam °ar[ai]māvum °ivvatikkuk kiḷakku °ivvākkālukkū vaṭakku °iraṅṅāñ ka
- (21) ṅṅārṛu °iraṅṅāñ catiram nilam nālumāvil vaṭakkaṭaiy nilam °orumāvil merkkaṭaiy nilam °araimāvum °āka nilam °oru mā °innilam °orumāvum °ivaru
- (22) kku viṛṅṅ koḷvatāna °emmill icaiñca vilaipporuḷ °aṅṅāṭṭu ṅalkkācu °oṅru °ikkācu °oṅru °avaṅakkāḷiye kaiccellarak koṇṭu viṛṅṅ vilaiyā
- (23) vaṇam ceyitu kuṭuttom bra[hma]teyam cīrupaḷuvūr *sabhaiyom* °innilam °orumāvukkum °ituve vi[ll]aiyolai °āvataḷakavum °ituve porumāvaṛu
- (24) tip poruḷ cilavolai yāvataḷakavum °ituvalatu veṛu porumāvaṛtip poruḷ cilavolai kāṭṭakkaṭavar °allātārākavum °ippaṭi °icaiñ

<sup>158</sup> This interpretation was suggested by G. Vijayavenugopal.

- (25) cu °ikkācu °onṛum koṅ|tu °innilam °orumāvum vilaiḱkaṛa viṛṛu poru| aṛak koṅṭom ciṛupaḷuvūr *sabhaiyom* °ivarka| paṅikka °ippiramāṇam °eḷuti|ne|
- (26) [n] [*mā*] *dhyastan* paḷuvūr uṭaiyān °ā|yi|rattirun[ū]ṛṛuvan muṭikoṅṭānen °ivai °enneḷuṭ|tu| °ippaṭikk[uc]ānta maṅkalattu [pālā]ciriyan [°i]lakkuvāṇaṇ
- (27) nnen<sup>159</sup> °ivai enneḷuttu °ippaṭikku paḷuvū cavānti nārāṇanen °ivai °enneḷuttu °itu cānti palāciriyan viranārāyaṇantu °itu cāvānti nārāyaṇan māraṇ
- (28) [pu] *syaiṇai* yippaṭi °aṛiven °ivvūr viracoḷa viṇṅakārālvār koyil tiruvārātane paṇṇum nārāyaṇan tiruvāyikkulam uṭaiyānen °ippaṭi °aṛiven
- (29) °ivvūr [ka]ruma[ka]n °itu pamā[he]śva[[ra ra]]kṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkirtti*} [This is] the 20th year of Kōrājakesarivarman alias Tiripuvaṇa Cakkaravattika| Śrī Kolottuṅkacōḷatēvar. We the Sabhā of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya* of Kuṇṛakkūṛraṃ [alias] Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṇtu; for Cuntaran Viccātiriyālvār of the Cōḷa line (*kula*), our (*tanka|*) mother (*ācci*) of Vitarāja Payaṅkara Vāṅakōvaraiyar, the Sabhā, having sold (*viṛru*) for a price (*vilaiyāka*), gave (*kuṭutta*) the following land (*nilamāvatu*): to the north (*vaṭakku*) of the Rājendracōḷa canal (*vākkālukku* > *vāykkālukku*), to the east (*kīlakku*) of the Pavittramāṅikka channel (*vatikku*), the northern boundary (*vaṭakaṭai*) [is] in the four *mās* (*nālumāvil*) of land (*nilam*) of the two (*iraṅṭām*) squares (*caturattu*) of the first (*mutal*) canal (*kaṅṅāṛru*); the eastern boundary (*kīlkkāṭai*) [is] in the one *mā* (*orumāvil*) of land (*nilam*); the northern boundary (*vaṭakaṭai*) [is] in four *mās* (*nālumāvil*) of land (*nilam*) of the two squares (*iraṅṭān catiram* > *caturam*) and the two channels (*iraṅṭān kaṅṅāṛru*) to the north (*vaṭakku*) of this canal (*ivvākālukku*) and to the east (*kīlakku*) of this channel (*ivvatikku*) and a fortieth (*araimāvum*) of land (*nilam*); the western boundary (*mēṛkkaṭai*) [is] in one *mā* (*orumāvil*) of land (*nilam*); one *mā* of land (*nilam oru mā*) as a fortieth (*araimāvum*) of land (*nilam*); having sold (*viṛru*) to him (*ivarukku*) one *mā* (*orumāvum*) of this land (*innilam*), we have to get (*koḷvatāna*) the sale price (*vilaiṅporu|*) agreed (*icaiṅca* > *icainta*) among us (*emmil*) of one (*onṛu*) good *kācu* (*ṅalkkācu* > *nalkkācu*) of the time (*anṛāṭu* > *anṛāṭu*); this one *kācu* (*ikkācu onṛum*), having taken (*koṅṭu*) completely (*aṛa*) the expenditures (*cella* > *celavu*) at hand (*kai*) (i.e. the expenses encountered) in the registration office (*āvaṅakkaḷiyē*), having made (*ceyitu* > *ceytu*) the sale document (*vilaiyāvaṇam*), we the Sabhā of Ciṛupaḷuvūr, a *brahmadeya*, gave (*kuṭuttōm*); for the one *mā* (*orumāvum*) of this land (*innilam*), this only (*ituvē*) has to be (*āvatākavum*) the sale document (*vilai-y-ōlai*); the document for expenditures (*poru| cilav-ōlai*, lit. palm leaf for expenditures (*cilavu*) of money (*poru|*)); this only (*ituvē*) has to be (*āvatākavum*) the final settlement document (*poru| māvaṛuti*) and except these (*ituvālatu* > *itu-v-allatu*) final settlement document (*poru| māvaṛuti*) and document for expenditures (*poru| cilav-elai* > *poru| cilav-ōlai*) they do not have to show (*kāṭṭak kaṭavar allātānākavum*) [any] other (*vēru*) [document]; having thus (*ippaṭi*) agreed (*icaiṅcu* > *icaintu*), having taken (*koṅṭu*) this one *kācu* (*ikkācu onṛum*), having sold (*viṛru*) for a full (*aṛa*) price (*vilaiḱku*) one whole *mā* (*orumāvum*) of this land (*innilam*), we have taken (*koṅṭōm*) the complete (*aṛa*) money (*poru|*), we the Sabhā of Ciṛupaḷuvūr; upon their (*ivarka|*) order (*paṅikka*), I have written (*eḷutinēn*) this document (*ippiramāṇam*), I the Madhyastan, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Paḷuvūr, I of the 1,200

<sup>159</sup> SII reads *kūttapp* before the *nnen*, but I cannot locate it on the stone. From this line, the inscription is inscribed on the ledge at the bottom of the wall.

(*āyiratt-iru-nūrruvan*),<sup>160</sup> Muṭikoṇṭān; for this order (*ippaṭṭikku*), this is my signing (*enn-eluttu*) of those (*ivai*), I Pālācīriyan Ilakkuvaṇaṇ of Cāntamaṅkalam; for this order (*ippaṭṭikku*), this is my signing (*enn-eluttu*) of those (*ivai*), I Cavānti Nārāṇan of Paḷuvūr; for this order (*ippaṭṭikku*), this is my signing (*enn-eluttu*) of those (*ivai*), Cānti Pālācīriyan Vīranārāyaṇantu; this [is the signing of] Cāvānti Nārāyaṇan Māraṇ Pusaiaṅai; I know (*aṟivēn*) this order (*ippaṭṭi*), I lord (*uṭaiyānēn*) of Tiruvāyikkulam, Nārāyaṇan, who performs (*paṇṇum*) the sacred service (*tiru-v-ārātanē*) of the temple (*kōyil*) of Vīracōḷa Viṇṇakār Ālvār of this town (*ivvūr*);<sup>161</sup> I know (*aṟivēn*) this order (*ippaṭṭi*), the blacksmith (*karumakan?*) of this town (*ivvūr*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

## NORTHERN WALL

#132. (a) Tiruvālantūrai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) western-most inscription of the northern outer façade of the compound wall; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1895, no. 112; SII 5, no. 673; (e) 6th regnal year of Vikkiramacōḷatēvar; (f) Vikramacōḷa (c. A.D. 1124); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* vikkiramacōḷatevar yātu °aṟāvatu vāṇakovaraiyarkaḷil cuttamalan muṭikoṇṭānnaṇa virudharājabhayaṅkara vāṇakovaraiyane[n] śrīkaṇṭarātittaccaru ppetimaṅkalattu veṟu
- (2) piṟiṅcūrkkāṇiyāṇa vākumai vāṇaviccātiranallūr muṭikoṇṭaḷa °iccuramuṭaiya mahādev[r]kku potu nānāli ariciyāka munṟu sandhikkum °uḷppaṭa [tai] yiramutum neyiyamutu kaṟiyatu °aṭaikkāyiyamutu
- (3) °uḷppaṭa ni[ca]tam nel tūṇiyum māṅ [mu]ṇṟukku nel nicam kuṟuṇiyāka māṅ °iraṇṭukku nelp patakum cantiviḷakkerikka ne °uḷakkukku nicata [n]el ku<sup>162</sup>ṇiy[u]m tirumaṅcaṇam vaikkum tiriccīṟṟampalap piccatukku nel kuṟuṇi
- (4) yum [na]nta vāṇaṅ cevātukku nel °aṟunāḷiyum nittanimantam cantrātittavar celvatāka nān °iraīyili viṭṭa nilamāvatu vetṭameṟkkuṭi [°e]llaikku teṟkkum tev[i]koyilukku meṟkkum viṭṭa nilam mukkālum te<sup>163</sup>ṟṟukku
- (5) teṟkku °ūrukku meṟkku kuḷal uṭaiyān paṟṟu °uḷppaṭa nilam °arai veliyum teṟkkil kuḷattil kiḷkarai nilattil kiḷ tūri vākkālukkuk kiḷakku vārmaṭaikkum meṟkku nālāṅ kaṇāṟṟukku teṟkku rājentracōḷape[rā]ṟṟukku vaṭakku nilam
- (6) °oru veliyum kuḷattil °iṭaikkaṭṭukkuk kiḷakku cutukāṭṭukku teṟkku puṅcai nilam °oru veliyum °āka nilam mūṇrekālum °iraīyiliyāka cantrātittavar cella nirvārttuk kalveṭṭik kuṭutten [cu]ttamalan muṭikoṇṭānāṇ virudha
- (7) rājabhāṅkara vāṇakovaraiyānen vāṇaviccātiranallur taṅṭi ninṟa kanmi pūṅcūṟṟuk kiḷavanāna rājentracōḷamuventaveḷānum °ūrkkamaṅcu veḷḷāḷan nāyakan maṅṭaiyenum milaṭṭuṭaiyān pu
- (8) kaḷan tirumaḷuvāṭiyenum kuḷal uṭaiyān kuṭitāṅki tirumaḷuvāṭiyenum ciṟupaḷuvūr ruṭaiyān veḷān °ampalakūttanenum caṅkaran tiruppākkam uṭaiyānenum °itaḷakkuṭaiyān °aṇaiyan tirumaḷuvāṭiyenu piccuṭaiyān °a

<sup>160</sup> In the PIM, #58 also mentions one man belonging to this group. This may be a group of Brahmins or, as Charlotte Schmid suggested to me, a group of merchants.

<sup>161</sup> Might this temple be the still-standing Viṣṇu temple of Kīḷappaḷuvūr (see Map I.2)?

<sup>162</sup> It is not very clear, but a *ru* may have been added under the *ni*, as if added after being forgotten.

<sup>163</sup> The *-e* resembles an initial *-i*.

- (9) racu piccanenum °ikkoyil ceyvicca tapassi poyikkuṭaiyān tiricciṛrampalap  
piccanum °ikkoyil civappirāmaṇan pālāciriyan kaṇṭan tiruvālanturāiyum  
°ikkoyi civappirāmaṇan kavicikan ponṇan po  
(10) [r]koyilpaṭṭan °uḷḷiṭṭomum °itu panmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 6th year (*yātu* > *yāṇṭu*) of Vikkiramacōlatēvar. In the Vāṇakōvaraiyars [family] (*vāṇakōvaraiyarkaḷil*), I Cuttamalan Muṭikoṇṭān alias Virudharājabhayaṅkara Vāṇakōvaraiyan, for Mahādeva Lord (*iccuram-ūṭaiya*) of Muṭikoṇṭacōla in Vākumai Vāṇaviccātiranallūr, as (*āṇa*) a village-*kāṇi* (*ūr-kāṇi*) which split (*piriṇcu* > *pirintu*) in a separate [one] (*vēru*) [from] Śrikanṭarātitta-caruppetimaṅkalam; as (*āka*) four *nālīs* (*nānālī*) of rice (*arici*) for one time (*pōtu*) including (*ulpaṭa*) the three (*munṛu* > *muṇṛu*) *sandhis*, a whole *tūṇi* of paddy (*nel*) every day (*nicatam*) including (*ulpaṭa*) curd food offerings (*tayiramutum*), *ghee* food offerings (*neyiyamutu* > *neyyamutu*), vegetable food offerings (*kaṛiyatu* > *kaṛiyamutu*), areca nut food offerings (*aṭaikkāiyamutu* > *aṭaikkāyyamutu*), and a *patakku* of paddy (*nel*) for two (*iraṇṭukku*) times (*māṇ*) as (*āka*) a *kuṛuṇi* of paddy (*nel*) every day (*nicam* > *nicatam*) for three (*muṇṛukku*) times (*māṇ*), and a *kuṛuṇi* of paddy (*nel*) every day (*nicata*) for one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ne* > *ney*) to burn (*erikka*) an evening lamp (*cantiviḷakku*), and a *kuṛuṇi* of paddy (*nel*) for the beggar (*piccatukku*) of Tirucciṛrampalam<sup>164</sup> (*tiricciṛrampalam* > *tirucciṛrampalam*) who places (*vaikkum*) the holy bath (*tirumaṅcaṇam*), and six *nālīs* of paddy for the making (*cevātukku*) of the flower garden (*nantavāṇaṇ*); for the enjoyment (*celvatāka*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, of [this] daily offering (*nitta-nimantam*), this is the land (*nilamāvatu*) placed (*iṭṭa*) without tax (*iraīyili*) by me (*nāṇ*): half a *vēli* (*arai vēliyum*) of land (*nilam*) including (*ulppaṭa*) the hamlet (*paṛṛu*) of the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Kuḷal [which is] to the south (*terkkum*) of the boundary (*ellaikku*) of Veṭṭamērkkuṭi, to the west (*mērkkum*) of the goddess temple (*tēvikkōyilukku*), to the south (*terkku terkku*) of the three quarters (*mūkkālum*) of the released (*viṭṭa*) land (*nilam*), to the west (*mērkku*) of the village (*ūrukku*); and one *vēli* (*oru vēliyum*) of land (*nilam*) to the east (*kīlakku*) of the channel (*vākkālukku*) [with] the small outlet for irrigation (*tūri*) east (*kīl*) of the land (*nilattil*) on the eastern bank (*kīlkarai*) of the tank (*kuḷattil*) in the south (*terkkil*), to the west (*mērkku*) of the water-sluice (*vār-maṭai*), to the south (*terkku*) of the water channel (*nālāṇ kaṇārṛukku*), to the north (*vaṭakku*) of the big river (*perārṛu*) Rājendracōla; and one *vēli* (*oru vēliyum*) of dry land (*puṅcai nilam*) to the east (*kīlakku*) of the balancing weigh (*iṭaikkaṭṭukku*?) in the tank (*kuḷattil*); having poured water for the donation (*nīrvārttu*) so that the three quarters (*mūṇṛēkālum* > *muṇṛēkālum*) of land (*nilam*) as [described above] (*āka*) are due (*cella*) as exempted of tax (*iraīyiliyāka*) as long as the sun and the moon endure, having engraved on stone (*kalveṭṭi*), I gave (*kuṭuttēn*), I Cuttamalan Muṭikoṇṭān alias Virudharājabhayaṅkara Vāṇakōvaraiyan; the official (*kanmi*) who stands (*ninṛa*) as tax collector (*taṇṭi*) in Vāṇaviccātiranallūr, Rājendracōlamūvēntavēḷān alias lord (*kīḷavān*) of Pūṅcūṛṛu; and I Maṇṭai (*maṇṭaiyēn*), head (*nāyakan*), Veḷḷāḷan [of] Ūrkkamaṅcu [name of a place?]; and I Pukaḷan Tirumaḷuvāṭi, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Milaṭu; and I Kuṭitāṅki Tirumaḷuvāṭi, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Kuḷal; and

<sup>164</sup> Tirucciṛrampalam is one of the names of Cidambaram.

I Vēlān Ampalakūttan, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Ciṟupaḷuvūr; and I Caṅkaran, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Tiruppākkam; and I Aṇaiyan Tirumaḷuvāṭi, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Itāḷakku; and I Aracu (king) Piccan, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Piccu; and the beggar (*piccan*) of Tiruccirṟampalam (*tiriccirṟampalam* > *tiruccirṟampalam*), lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Poyikku, the tapassi [?] who made (*ceyvicca* > *ceyvitta*) this temple (*ikkōyil*); and Pālācīriyan Kaṇṭan Tiruvālanuṟai, a Śivabrahmaṇa of this temple (*ikkōyil*); and Kavicikan Ponnān Poṟkōyilpaṭṭan, a Śivabrahmaṇa of this temple (*ikkōyi* > *ikkōyil*); we are all those included in the deal (*uḷḷiṭṭōmum*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

## EASTERN WALL

#133. (a) Tiruvālanuṟai Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the eastern outer façade of the compound wall, on the southern side of the main gate, lower inscription; the Gaṇeśa's shrine is built over the inscription, hiding parts of it; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1926, no. 261 + part 2, p. 106; (e) 3rd regnal year of Kulottuṅga; (f) Kulottuṅga II (c. A.D. 1136); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the first two lines contain the *meykkīrtti* of Kulottuṅga II.

- (1) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}
- (2) {*meykkīrtti*} *śrī* kulottuṅ {built over} ṇṭu 3 rāvatu vikkiramacoḷapurattuk koyilinuḷḷal °apiṣekamaṇḍapattu mu
- (3) ttu pantalin kiḷ cempon virasiṅhāsaṇattu °eḷuntaruḷiyiruntu [c]eyyat tiruvāymoḷintaruḷiṇa kunṟakkūrṟamāna °uttuṅkaṭuṅkavaḷaṇā X {plastered + built over} X °ā[ru] X X {Gaṇeśa} X X X ḷḷa tevatāna {built over} ṟru potātenṟum °itevatānattukku mel °erṟamāka tiripuvaṇamuḷutu
- (4) ṭaivaḷānāṭṭup pokaināṭṭut tiriccirṟampalaṇalūrāna °arintaman kiḷmāntūr nilam patin munṟe munṟu mā mukkāṇi °araikkāṇik ki {plastered + built over} [ṇṭum niman] {Gaṇeśa} X va X X [ṇām] X X X {built over} ṭum enṟu °ikkoyilil piṭārar °arānparān paṇaikkāṭṭi vāṇakovarayan ṇama
- (5) kkuc conaṇmaiṇyil tirupuvaṇamuḷutuṭaivaḷānāṭṭup poykaiṇāṭṭut tiruccirṟampalanallūrāna °arintaman kiḷ {plastered + built over} X X mun[ru] m [mu] X {Gaṇeśa} nā X [nel] X X {built over} tirukalattukku niccayitta nellu °eḷunūṟru muppattonpatin kalamum °it
- (6) tevarṅku veṇṭum nimantaṅkaḷukku °iruppatāka yāṇṭu munṟāvatu mutal tevatānam °iraiyiliyāka variyil iṭṭuk kuṭuppa[ten] {plastered + built over} X X X X X X X X {Gaṇeśa} X X X X X X X X {built over} [ḷavanu]m vāṭake °uṭaiyānūn talainār uṭaiyānūn teṅkūr uṭaiyānu
- (7) paravu vari cikāṇānāyakam ponnūḷānum vāṇikanum pantaṇainallūr uṭaiyānum °iḷāṅkārikuṭaiyānum puravuvārikk {plastered + built over} X t X X [y] X X X {Gaṇeśa} X X X X X {built over} kku veṇṭum nimantaṅkaḷukku °iruppatāka yāṇṭu munṟāvatu mutal
- (8) tevatānam °iraiyi °iṭṭa tiripuvanamuḷutuṭaivaḷānāṭṭu °arintaman kiḷmāntūr nilam patin munṟe munṟu mā mukkāṇi °a {plastered + built over} {illegible} {Gaṇeśa} X ccayi X X X {built over} ppattonpatin kalamum °itevarṅku veṇṭum nimantaṅkaḷukku
- (9) °iruppatākat tevatānam °iraiyili °iṭṭamaikku °ivai mukaveṭṭi nāyakam vāṭakai °uṭaiyān °eḷuttu °ivai talainā {plastered + built over} {illegible} {Gaṇeśa} {illegible}

{built over} [ki] *śrī* kāṇaṇāyakum °ivai ponnumaiyān °eḷuttu {the end of the line is not engraved}

- (10) °ivai vāṇikan °eḷuttu °ivai pantaṇainallūr ruṭaiyān °eḷuttu °ivai °iḷaṅkārikuṭaiyān °eḷuttu puravuvārīkkūru °ivai vayalanā {plastered + built over} {illegible} {Gaṇeśa} {illegible} {built over} °eḷuttu °ikkoyilil tapassi °araṇan pāranapan °iṭṭu tirākka[ri]
- (11) kkāl °onṛināl niṛai °eḷupatin palam °itu *panmāheśvara rakṣai* ||

Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 3rd (3 *rāvatu* > 3 *munṛāvatu*) year of Śrī Kulottunga. Having graciously raised (*eḷuntaruḷi*), seated (*iruntu*) on the golden (*cempon* > *cempon*) fierce lion seat (*vīrasinhāsaṇattu*) under (*kīl*) the pearl (*muttu*) canopy (*pantalin*) of the *abhiṣeka-maṇḍapa* inside the temple (*kōyilinuḷḷāl*) of Vikkiramacōḷapuram, while he graciously utters (*ceyya*) the sacred order (*tiruvāym oḷinaruḷiṇa*); . . . Uttuṅkatuṅkavaḷaṇāṭu alias Kuṇṛakkūṛram . . . *devadāna* . . . saying (*eṇṛu*) this is 3rd year (not proper/sufficient (*pōtātu*) . . . for this *devadāna* (*ittēvatānattukku*) as (*āka*) above (*mēl*) and excess (*ēṛram*), the land (*nilam*) in Arintaman Kīḷmāntūr alias Tiriccīṛrampalaṇalūr of Pokaināṭu of Tiripuvaṇamuḷutuṭaiyaṇnāṭu, thirteen (*patin munṛē*) [*vēlis*], three *mās* (*munṛu mā*), three *kāṇis* (*mūkkāṇi*), half a *kāṇi* (*araikkāṇi*) . . . saying . . . (*eṇru*), Arāṇparān the Piṭṭār (musician?) of this temple (*ikkōyilil*), Vāṇakōvaraiyan having shown the palm-leaf (*paṇai-kāṭṭi*), if he says (*conañmaiyl*) to us (*ṇamakku*) . . . east (*kīl*) of Arintaman alias Tiruccīṛrampalanallūr of Poykaiyāṇāṭu of Tiripuvaṇamuḷutuṭaiyaḷaṇāṭu . . . seven hundred (*eḷunūṛru*) and thirty nine (*muppattonpatin*) *kalams* of paddy (*nellu*) fixed (*niccayitta*) for the Tirukalattu [?] (*tirukalattukku*), as that which has to be paid (*iruppatāka*) for the endowments (*nimantaṅkaḷukku*) wanted (*veṇṭum*) for this god (*ittēvarkku*), from (*mutal*) the 3rd year (*yāṇṭu munṛāvatu*), as tax-free (*iraiyiliyāka*) *devadāna*, having entered (*iṭṭu*) in the tax-register (*variyl*), that which will be given (*kuṭuppatu*) . . . the lord (*uṭaiyānun*) of Vāṭakē, the lord (*uṭaiyānun*) of Talainār, the lord (*uṭaiyānu*) of Tenkūr, Ponnūḷān Śrīkaraṇaṇāyakam the land revenue official (*puravu vari*), the traders (*vāṇikanum*), the lord (*uṭaiyānum*) of Pantaṇainallūr, the lord (*uṭaiyānum*) of Iḷaṅkārīku, {{and}} land revenue officials (*puravuvāri*) . . . as that which has to be paid (*iruppatāka*) for the endowments (*nimantaṅkaḷukku*) needed (*veṇṭum*) for this god (*ittēvarkku*), from (*mutal*) the 3rd year (*yāṇṭu munṛāvatu* > *munṛāvatu*), thirteen (*patin munṛē*) [*vēlis*], three *mās* (*munṛu mā*), three *kāṇis* (*mūkkāṇi*) . . . of land (*nilam*) in Arintaman Kīḷmāntūr of Tiripuvaṇamuḷutuṭaiyaḷaṇāṭu have been placed (*iṭṭa*) as tax-free (*iraiyi* > *iraiyili*) *devadāna*, . . . nineteen (*pattonpatin*) *kalams*, for the placing (*iṭṭamaikku*) of tax-free (*iraiyili*) *devadāna*, by paying the tax (*iruppatāka*) for the endowments (*nimantaṅkaḷukku*) needed (*veṇṭum*) for this god (*ittēvarkku*); this (*ivai*) is the signing (*eḷuttu*) of lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Vāṭakai, chief (*nāyakam*) of the officer of the revenue department (*mukaveṭṭi*); this (*ivai*) . . . the leader (*nāyakum*) of the *śrīkāṇas* (*śrī gaṇas*); this (*ivai*) is the signing (*eḷuttu*) of Ponnumaiyān; this (*ivai*) is the signing (*eḷuttu*) of the trader (*vāṇikan*); this (*ivai*) is the signing (*eḷuttu*) of the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Pantaṇainallūr; this (*ivai*) is the signing (*eḷuttu*) of the lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Iḷaṅkārīku; the portion (*kūru*) of the land revenue officer (*puravuvāri*), this (*ivai*) . . . the signing (*eḷuttu*) of . . . ; seventy (*eḷupatin*) *palams* of weigh (*niṛai*) for one (*onṛināl*) *tirākkaṛikkāl* [?] placed (*iṭṭa*) [by] Araṇan Pāranapan, the *tapassi* in this temple (*ikkōyilil*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.



#134. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple, inner compound wall; (b) on the eastern outer façade of the compound wall, on the southern side of the main gate, upper inscription; the Gaṇeśa's shrine is built over the inscription, hiding parts of it; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) 9th regnal year of a king whose name is lost; (f) not identified; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the text is too lacunary for me to be able to establish a proper translation.

- (1) {built over} X yāṅṭu °onpatāvatu vaṭakarai rājentrasiṅhavaḷaṅaṅāṭṭu
- (2) melkāraikkāṭṭucenna[va]lakkūrṛattu °i[ṭaitāṭāla] {built over} XXX māṅaṅaraiyan °ottanaṅāṅa vecālināṭāḷvaranen °innā
- (3) X ttamu X X X X X rukkum X X X tevanāṅa t[i]Xicci[rṛa] {built over} X X tuṅkacōlatevarṅku yāṅṭu muppattēṭṭāvatu °enkaḷ cūni[n]
- (4) XXXXX [lināṅka] XXXX °iṭaiye kaiyyi XXXX [vva] {built over} [pa]ṭṭamaiyil X X [n]āṭṭup paḷḷināṭṭār °enmele pakaiyiṭṭamaiyil
- (5) X nata X X X X tar °innāṭṭu X X X ṭṭārum cūni X {pipe} {built over} {pipe} yāl paṭṭamaiyil °i {pipe}
- (6) kku koḷkavenṅu cūnimā XXXXXX la XXX ḷḷa nāṭṭomu[m] XXXX [ti] X {built over} XXXX kkuṅ vaṭakarai °uttoṅkatoṅkavaḷaṅaṅāṭṭu kuṅṅakkūrṛattu *brahmate*
- (7) X m ciṅṅupaḷuvūrt tiruvālanturāi [°uṭaiya] *ma* X *deva*ṅṅku [vaiṅpa] X X X {built over} XXXXXX maiyil vaicca nuntāviḷakkonṅukkum pacu muppattiraṅṅum cūni
- (8) [X yān °araiyan] °ottannān vecālināṭāḷvān naṭaināpaṅ X X {built over} [ta]var °ira[vu] pakalleriya viṭṭamaikkum °ippacu muppattiraṅṅum °ikko
- (9) yil kāṅiyuṭaiya civappirāmaṅarom kaikkonṅu {built over} k konṅu °itu panmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Lines 1–2: the donor is probably . . . māṅan Araiyan Ottanaṅ alias Vecālināṭāḷvaran (the Ḍvar of Vecālināṭu), hailing from Melkāraikkāṭṭu Cenna[va]lakkūrṛam of Rājentrasiṅhavaḷaṅaṅāṭṭu on the northern bank;

Line 3: mention of the 38th year of {{Kulot}}tuṅkacōlatevar;

Line 3–6: too lacunary;

Line 6–9: . . . to Ma{{hā}}deva of (*uṭaiya*) Tiruvālanturāi of Ciṅṅupaḷuvūr, a *brahmade*{{ya}} of Kuṅṅakkūrṛam of Uttoṅkatoṅkavaḷaṅaṅāṭṭu on the northern bank (*vaṭakarai*), . . . gave (*vaicca*) for one perpetual lamp (*nuntāviḷakkonṅukkum* > *nontāviḷakkonṅukkum*) thirty-two (*muppattiraṅṅum*) cows (*pacu*); Cūni . . . yān Araiyan Ottannān Vecālināṭāḷvān . . . to burn (*eriya*) night (*iravu*) and day (*pakal*) [gave]; all these thirty-two (*muppattiraṅṅum*) cows (*ippacu*) for this donation (*iṭṭamaikkum*) having been taken in hand (*kaikkonṅu*) by we the Śivabrahmaṅars (*civappirāmaṅarōm*), lords of the *kāṅi* (*kāṅiyuṭaiya*) of this temple (*ikkōyil*), . . . This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#### INSIDE THE FIRST MAṅḌAPA

#135. (a) Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple; (b) on a loose stone, on the eastern wall of the *aluvalaka-maṅḍapa* (?); (c) I could not locate this fragment; (d) ARE 1987–88, no. 128; Tyagarajan (2014: no. 16, 152–153); (e) regnal year and name of the king lost; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the text is too lacunary for me to be able to establish a proper translation; since I could not locate the fragment, I follow here the edition of Tyagarajan.

- (1) kkāka . . .
- (2) ṭuppitta paḷlippaṭai śrī kaṇṭa °ī
- (3) vaṭṭaraiyar kaṇṭaṇ maṛavaṇā . . .
- (4) tu taraveṇṭumenṇru koṇ . . .
- (5) yak kiḷavaromum °aṭikaḷ . . .
- (6) ār eṭuppitta paḷlippaṭai śrī kaṇṭa °ī
- (7) ṛponṇum °antarāyamum . . .

. . . Śrī Kaṇṭa Ī{{śvara}}, a funerary temple (*paḷlipaṭai*) built ({{e}}ṭupitta). . . {{Paḷu}} veṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Maṛavaṇā{{r}} . . . saying (eṇru): “. . . is wanted (*veṇṭum*) to give (*tara*) . . .” . . . and we the lords (*kiḷavarōmum*) . . . Śrī Kaṇṭa Ī{{śvara}}, a funerary temple (*paḷlipaṭai*) built (*eṭupitta*) by Aṭikaḷ . . . ār (?) . . . gold (*ponṇum*) and the *antarāyam*-tax . . .

#136. (a) Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple; (b) on the western face of the Naṭarāja-*maṇḍapa*, in the first *maṇḍapa*; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) unnoticed and unpublished; (e) 3rd regnal year of a king whose name is lost; (f) king not identified; (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) the text is too lacunary for me to be able to establish a proper translation.

- (1) *svasti śrī* {the line does not seem to be engraved until the end} ṭu muṇṇrāvatu
- (2) {illegible} ṛramāna °ut[tu] {illegible} ḷanāṭtu *bra[hma]*
- (3) {illegible} [ḷu]vūr tiruvālanṭurairi uṭaiyār kōyi[ḷ] teva[ka]ṇmikkum *śrīmāheśva* X
- (4) kkaṅkāṇi ceyvārkaḷukkum *śrī* kāryam cevānukku [*pra*]sāda[m ceta]ru X na tirumukappa[ṭi] °innāṭtu °i
- (5) X kkuṭaiyāṇ X X X X X tāṇ [°ari]kaṇ[ṭa]tevanāna °i[ṭa]tuṛainā X X muvāṇ muṇṇu[ṭ]aiyā X
- (6) X tta[viṇṭu] kāṇiyākap peṛru °ivaṇ X pāvāt[tu] °ivaṇ makaṇ °arikaṇṭatevaṇ co[kka]nā[na] [°i] X
- (7) tuṛai nā X X X X X X X kkuḷa °arikaṇṭa[ṇaṇāna] X ṛiyāṇ rājarāja °iṭatuṛaināṭḷvānukkum [°arimu] X
- (8) tevaṇ [°a]ṭikai X [ma]nun vānavaṇ pallavaraiya[nu]kkum kāṇiyāy °ivakaḷ °anupavittu [va]rukira paḷuvū
- (9) [r] kulottuṅkacoḷa °akkacālai ku[ṇṇa]mu X X X X X tevatānam °innāṭtu °i[rai] kku[ṭi] °i[v]vūr nilattu
- (10) X X X [ṇ tapu]lokapuraṇ tānal X X X paḷam pota X ṇ [tulo] X lam [va] X X [yāṇ] muṇṇaraikku kulo X X
- (11) ṅkacoḷatevārku X X X X X X ti °iṛaikaṭṭina nilattāl nellu munnūṛukkalamum °i
- (12) X X X ṭṭāta nilattāl X X X X X X X X X X X X [°irai]kku[ṭi]yennuperāl muṇṇrāvatu mutal °i va X
- (13) {illegible until almost the end of the line} niṛakavum °i

Line 1: 3rd year of a king whose name is lost (it should be Kulottuṅka or post Kulottuṅka because the name comes in the inscription);

Lines 2–4: a royal order (*prasādam cetaru*{{li}}*na tirumukappaṭi*) has come to the Tēvakaṇmis of the temple (*kōyil*) of Tiruvālanṭurai Uṭaiyār of {{Pa}}ḷuvūr, a *brahma*{{deya}} of Uttu{{ṅkatuṅkava}}ḷanāṭu alias {{Kuṇṇakkū}}ṛram, to the ones who do the superintendence (*kaṅkāṇi ceyvārkaḷukkum*) of the Śrī

- Māheśva{{ras}} (the Śaiva group) and to the one in charge of the sacred affairs (*śrīkāryam cevānukku*);
- Lines 5–6: mention of two names: Arikaṇṭatēvan and his son (*ivaṇ makan*) Arikaṇṭatēvaṇ Cokkanān, who are probably lords of some places (*uṭaiyān*); not clear if they are donors of a land (*kāṇiyāka perṛu*);
- Lines 7–8: a *kāṇi* is given (*kāṇiyāy?*) to Arikaṇṭaṇaṇ alias . . . ṛiyāṇ Rājarāja Iṭaturainātālvān and . . . Vānavaṇ Pallavaraiyan and is enjoyed (*anupavittu*) by them (*ivakāḷ*);
- Line 9: mention of the minting place (*akkacālai*) of Kulottuṅkacōḷa, but the context is difficult to understand;
- Lines 10–11: . . . for three and a half (*muṇṛaraikku*) . . . for Kulo{{ttu}}ṅkacōḷatēvār . . . three hundred *kalams* of paddy (*nellu*) from the land (*nilattāl*) bound to the tax (*iraikaṭṭina*);
- Line 12: it gets the name Iraikkuṭi (*iraikkuṭi-ennu-perāl*) from (*mutal*) the 3rd year (*murrāvatu > munrāvatu*) . . .



## APPENDIX 2

# THE PAḶUVĒṬṬARAIYARS IN INSCRIPTIONS OUTSIDE PAḶUVŪR

The territory over which the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars ruled is centred around Paḷuvūr, comprising Ciṟupaḷuvūr (the modern Kīlappaḷuvūr) and Perumpaḷuvūr (the modern Mēlappaḷuvūr). However, besides Paḷuvūr, Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar little kings endowed temples scattered over the Cōḷa kingdom (Map A2.1). They may have had different motives depending on the place, and I thus propose to study the context of their donations for each temple.

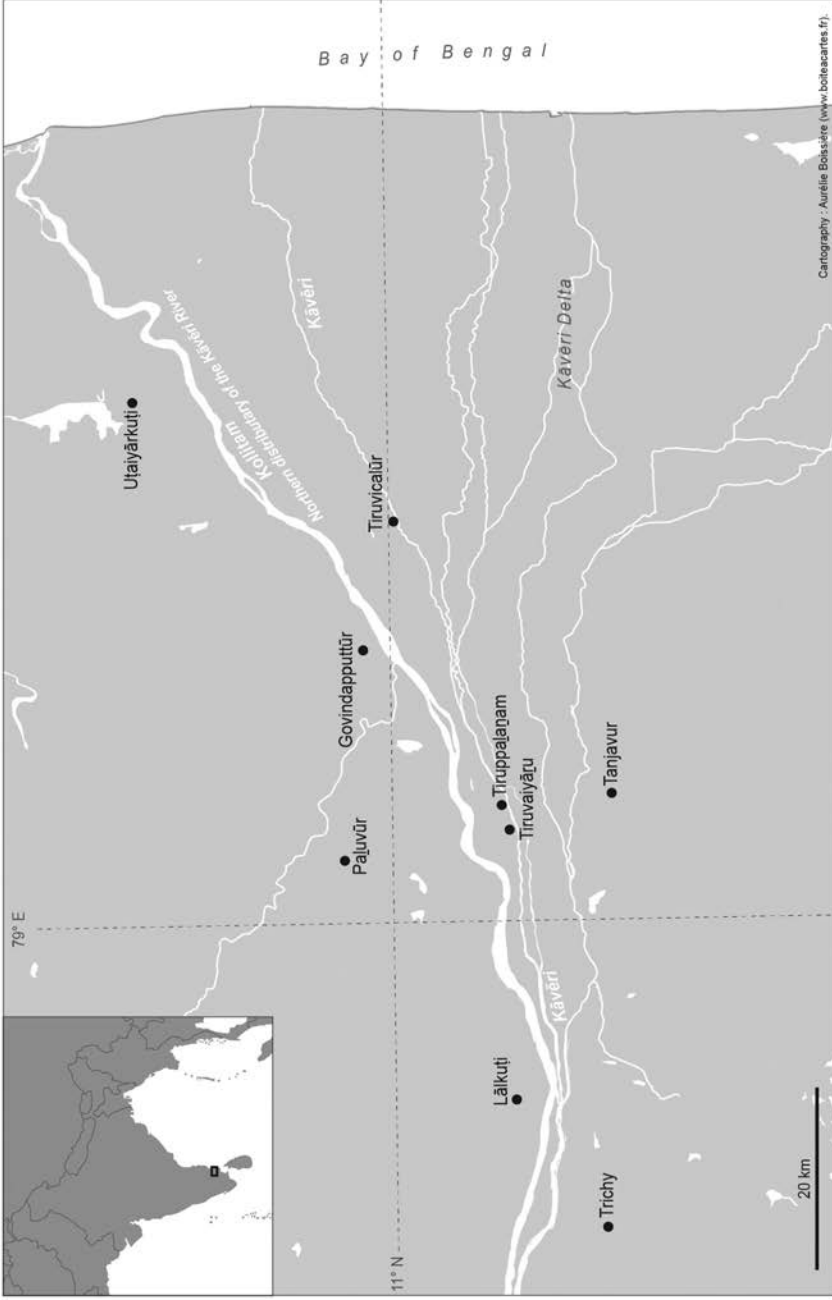
### Lālkuṭi

In Lālkuṭi, located about 30 km south-west of Paḷuvūr as the crow flies, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan Kumaraṅ Maṟavaṅ gave for Bhaṭṭārakar, the Lord of Tiruttavatturai in Iṭaiyārṛunāṭu, thirty *kaḷāñcus* of gold for a perpetual lamp (#137). Kumaraṅ Maṟavaṅ may have ruled between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, and thus, the Kōpparakesarivarman whose regnal year is used to date the inscription may be Parāntaka I. The epigraph is engraved in the middle of the westernmost wall section of the northern façade of the sanctuary. An inscription just beneath (#138), engraved in a very similar script, records that, in the 6th year of a Kōpparakesarivarman, Kaṇṭaṅ Cōḷaṅ, lord (*kīḷaṅ*) of Paricai, of a family (*kuṭi*) of Kavirapolkaṭṭi, gave ninety goats for a lamp for Bhaṭṭārakar, the Lord of Tiruttavatturai, on behalf of Maṟavaraṅ Kaṇṭaṅ. Because the name Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar is not mentioned in this inscription, Maṟavaraṅ Kaṇṭaṅ has not been identified with a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar so far. However, I think this is probably the case: the inscription is placed below the one clearly mentioning a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, and the name is characteristic of a little king of this lineage.

Donations by sovereigns of other dynasties are found on the walls of this temple in the 9th and 10th centuries: a Pallava (EI 20, no. 3 A), a Pāṇḍya (EI 20, no. 3B), the uterine sister of the Cōḷa king married into the family of the Irukkuvēḷs of Koṭumpālūr (EI 20, no. 3C), Kōkkiḷaṇaṭikaḷār, daughter (*makaḷār*) of Cēramāṇār, probably the spouse of Parāntaka I and mother of Rājāditya, a young king who died before he could sit on the throne (SII 19, no. 408). I have presented this temple elsewhere as an important religious place crystallizing donations by sovereigns (Gillet 2017: 243–244). The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars seem thus to be a part of the network of royal donors of the Kāvēri river temples.

There is a connection between Paḷuvūr and Lālkuṭi, although its nature remains unclear. Indeed, in the 3rd regnal year of a Rājakesarivarman, probably Rājarāja I, a certain Tēvaṅ Arumoḷi of Perumpaḷuvūr, likely the Perumpaḷuvūr of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, made a gift of land for a garden for the temple of Lālkuṭi (SII 13, no. 75).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in

<sup>1</sup> Other temples received donations from individuals hailing from Paḷuvūr: at the end of the 9th century, in the 15th regnal year of the Pallava king Kampavarman, an inscription was engraved in the Vaikuṅṭhaperumāl temple of Uttaramērūr which mentions land bought from an Ūrār of Ciṟupaḷuvūr (SII 6, no. 314, line 3); more than two and a half centuries later, IPS 325, in the Kaṭampār temple



Map A2.1 Sites with inscriptions mentioning a member of the Paluvēṭṭaraiyar minor dynasty (map by Aurélie Boissière)

the 35th regnal year of a Rājādhirāja in the middle of the 11th century or in the second half of the 12th, that is, after the decline of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars, a donation of land to the god of Lālkuṭi was made by servants of the temple and engraved on the northern base of the sanctuary (ARE 1928–29, no. 127). One of the signatories of this endowment, among many others, is Vellāṇaṇ Cenān Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan (*ippaṭiy arivēn °ivvūr vellāṇaṇ cenān* [end of line 11] *paḷuvēṭṭaraiya[n] °eluttu* [beginning of line 12]). Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan is not a common name, and its use may indicate that this person was a descendant of the little kings, or of a person connected to them.

#137. (a) Lālkuṭi, Lālkuṭi taluk, Trichy district, Saptarṣīśvara temple; (b) on the western wall section of the northern façade of the sanctuary, inscription in the middle; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1928–1929, no. 117; SII 19, no. 146; (e) 5th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 912); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī kōpparakecarivanmmakku yāṅṭu 5 °āva*
- (2) *tu °iṭaiyārṛunāṭṭu tiruttava[t]turai °īśva*
- (3) *ra bhattāarakarkku °aṭikaḷ paḷuvēṭṭaraiya X kumaṇaṇ maṇa*
- (4) *vaṅ cantrādityavat °iravum paka[lum] °oru noṅ*
- (5) *tātiruviḷakkiṇukku vaitta p[o]ṅ 30 m °urikku<sup>2</sup>*
- (6) *[[mmup]]<sup>3</sup>patiṅ kaḷaṅcu ippon koṅṭu nica*
- (7) *ti muṭṭāmāl °oru nontāviḷakku °eri*
- (8) *ppomāṇom °ittali paṭṭu °uṭaiyā*
- (9) *ṅ śivakocari °eraṅ kalimaṇiyum °era*
- (10) *ṅ kaṇṭaṇum °ivviruvem °itu panmāhe*
- (11) *śvara rakṣai*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 5th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Bhattāarakar, Lord (*īśvara*) of Tiruttavatturai in Iṭaiyārṛunāṭṭu, Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṇ Maṇavaṅ, for one perpetual holy lamp (*oru nontātiruviḷakku*) night and day as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave (*vaitta*) thirty [*kaḷaṅcu*] of gold (*pon*); for one *uri* (*urikku*), thirty *kaḷaṅcu* [of gold]; having taken (*koṅṭu*) this gold (*ippon*), every day (*nicati*) without fail (*muṭṭāmāl*) we will burn (*erippōmāṅōm*) one (*oru*) perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku*), Śivakocari Eraṅ Kalimaṇi and Eraṅ Kaṇṭaṅ, the Paṭṭuṭaiyāṅ of this temple (*ittali*), we the two (*ivviruvem* > *ivviruvōm*). This is under the protection of the Paṅmāheśvaras.

#138. (a) Lālkuṭi, Lālkuṭi taluk, Trichy district, Saptarṣīśvara temple; (b) on the westernmost wall section of the northern façade of the sanctuary, lower inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1892, no. 85; SII 4, no. 532; (e) 6th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) either Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 913) or Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 977); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) the script is similar to the one of #137, and

in Nārttamalai, records that the land of Paḷuvūr Uṭaiyaṅ Periyaṅ Uṭaiyaṅ Periyatēvaṅ, who had constructed the temple for the Kāmakkōṭṭānācciyār, was granted tax-free status by the Nagaram.

<sup>2</sup> *urikku* goes out of the frame set for of this inscription as if it was added later.

<sup>3</sup> These letters are no longer legible. But we still see traces and they were added out of the frame set for the inscription, as the *urikku* of the previous line was.

therefore the Parakesarivarman would be Parāntaka I; however, the donation is made on behalf of a Maṛavarān Kaṇṭaṇ, which is the name of the little king who ruled during the reign of Uttamacōla; but we do not know if he is the same little king here, because the name Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar does not appear.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecarivanmakku yāṇṭu 6 °āva
- (2) tu °iṭaiyārṛunāṭṭu tiruttavatturai °iśvabhāṭṭārakku
- (3) kavirapolkaṭṭi kuṭi kaṇṭaṇ cōlam paricai kiḷaṇ marava
- (4) raṇ kaṇṭaṇai cātti cantirāṭittaval °iravum pakalu
- (5) m nicati °uḷakku neylā °erippatāka vaitta °āṭu 90
- (6) toṇṇurum cāvāmuṅvāpperāṭāka vaicceṇ ka
- (7) ṇṭaṇ cōlanen °itu panmāheśvara rakṣai nonttāviḷakku<sup>4</sup>

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 6th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Bhāṭṭārakar, Lord (*iśva* > *iśvara*) of Tiruttavatturai in Iṭaiyārṛunāṭu, Kaṇṭaṇ Cōlam of a family (*kuṭi*) of Kavirapolkaṭṭi, lord (*kiḷaṇ*) of Paricai, on behalf (*cātti*) of Maṛavarān (*maravarān* > *maṛavarān*) Kaṇṭaṇ, for burning (*erippatāka*) one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*neylā* > *ney*) every day (*nicati*) night and day as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave (*vaitta*) ninety goats (*āṭu*); as ninety (*toṇṇurum* > *toṇṇūrurum*) undying and non-ageing great goats (*cāvāmuṅvāpperāṭāka*), I have given (*vaicceṇ*), I Kaṇṭaṇ Cōlan. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras. Perpetual lamp (*nonttāviḷakku* > *nontāviḷakku*).

## Tiruppaḷaṇam

Tiruppaḷaṇam belongs to this network of temples along the Kāvēri river which attracted donations of many figures linked to royalty—major as well as minor.<sup>5</sup> Most of the donations to the Mahādeva of Tiruppaḷaṇam, in Mīraikkūrṛam, inscribed on the sanctuary, were made between the end of the 9th and the middle of the 10th century. The involvement of women belonging to royal spheres is extensive. The first noticeable group is that of Cōla queens: Teṇṇavaṇ Mahādeviyār, the queen of Cōlaperumāṇaṭikaḷ gave gold for a lamp twice (SII 5, no. 684; SII 5, no. 685);<sup>6</sup> the queen of Cōlapperumāṇaṭikaḷ called Śeyabhuvana Cintamaṇiyār of Kāviriṅpūmpaṭṭiṇam gave goats for a lamp (ARE 1927–28, no. 137). To these, we may add their mothers: Kāṭuppaṭṭikaḷ Tamarmēṭṭiyār, the mother of Vayiri Akkaṇ alias Tribhuvana Mahādeviyār, the queen of Cōlaperumāṇaṭikaḷ (SII 13, no. 304), and Muḷḷūr Naṅkai, the mother of Cōlamāhādevi, the queen of Parakesarivarman (SII 5, no. 689), gave gold for a lamp. We also find a donation by a foster-mother of the Cōla king: Pāṇṭan Kāḷi, the foster-mother (*tāti*) of Parāntakadevar

<sup>4</sup> This last word has been added later, in smaller letters. It was probably added when the copyist realized that the word was forgotten in the donation. Indeed, *nontāviḷakku* does not come in the text where it is expected.

<sup>5</sup> On this network of temples, see Gillet (2017; 2021a).

<sup>6</sup> The second inscription was recorded twice in the *Annual Reports*: ARE 1895, no. 123 A and ARE 1927–28, no. 166, and was thus published twice in *South Indian Inscriptions*: SII 5, no. 685 and SII 19, no. 269. Mahalingam presents them as two different inscriptions: TLI 7, no. Tj 2933 and 2934. In his summary of 2933, he identifies her with the queen of Āditya I, while in 2934, following SII 19, she is identified with a queen of Sundaracōla.



the Cōḷa king, gave for feeding Brahmaṇas and some other employees of the temples (SII 5, no. 693).

Besides these donations by women of the Cōḷa circle, it is also possible that Cōḷa kings themselves appear as donors: a donation for maintaining servants of the god was made upon the request of Ulakperumāl, perhaps the king himself (SII 13, no. 295); Cōḷaperumāṇaṭikaḷ Perunerkiḷliccōḷa, who may be identified with the king himself, made a donation of gold for a lamp (SII 13, no. 21).

Moreover, donations from royal spheres are not limited to Cōḷa circles: Kiḷavaṇ Tēcapukaḷ, the queen of a Pāṇḍya king, gave gold for a lamp (SII 19, no. 239).<sup>7</sup> To these figures related to major dynasties, we may add figures related to minor ones: an individual bearing a name suggesting that he belonged to the Muttaraiyar family, Mārpiṭuku Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Kaḷvaṇ Amarkāḷaṇ (SII 13, no. 299) gave a lamp; a member of the Gaṅga dynasty probably, Kaṅkamarttāṇṭar alias Cempiyaṇ Pṛthivikaṅkaraiyar, son of Mahādevaṇ of Paṅkaḷaṇāṭuṭaiyār, gave jewels for the god (SII 13, no. 319); another individual from the same family, Aḷiviṇ Kaḷḷaracyār alias Pirutikaṅkaraiyar, son of Mahādevaṇ of Paṅkaḷaṇāṭuṭaiyār, gave gold for a lamp perhaps called Kumaramarttāṇṭaṇ, probably a reference to someone in the family since the other donor of the same dynasty in this temple is called Kaṅkamarttāṇṭar (SII 19, no. 286); Cēti . . . , the wife of Malāṭuṭaiyar Cittavattāṭikaḷ, gave goats on the occasion of an eclipse (SII 19, no. 287): she was probably a queen of one of the chieftains of Milāṭu, a minor dynasty active around Tirukkōyilūr.

This prestigious network of donors included a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. On the western wall of the shrine, #139 records a donation of thirty *kaḷaṅcus* of gold for burning one perpetual lamp, by Tippāṅcaḷakiyāṇ Maṇavaṇ along with the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṇ Maṇavaṇ. Because they give together and because Tippāṅcaḷakiyāṇ bears the title Maṇavaṇ, we may consider that he belonged to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar family. Another donor may also be linked to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar circles: in #138, in Lālkuṭi, a certain Kaṇṭaṇ Cōḷaṇ, lord (*kilaṇ*) of Paricai, of a family (*kuṭi*) of Kavirapolkaṭṭi, gave gold on behalf of Maṇavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ; on the southern wall of the shrine of Tiruppaḷaṇam, an epigraph (SII 13, no. 315) records a donation of gold by someone who is also lord (*kilaṇ*) of Puricai, but this time called Cempiyaṇ Ārkaṭṭu Vēḷāṇ alias Maṇavaṇ Nakkaṇ. These lords of Puricai or Paricai therefore seem to be connected in some way to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars. Indeed, the one in Lālkuṭi donated on behalf of a Maṇavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ and has the title Kaṇṭaṇ as part of his name, and the one in Tiruppaḷaṇam, although he does not donate on behalf of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, has the title Maṇavaṇ as an element of his name.

#139. (a) Tiruppaḷaṇam, Tanjavur taluk and district, Āpatsāhayeśvara temple; (b) on the northernmost wall section of the western façade of the sanctuary, upper inscription; (c) site not visited personally, but inscription read on good pictures taken by N. Ramaswamy Babu; (d) ARE 1927–28, no. 148; SII 19, no. 172; (e) 6th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 913); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecaripaṇ
- (2) maṅku yāṇṭu 6 °āvatu miṇrai
- (3) kkūttu °iṣapanāyarṛut teva[tā]
- (4) naṇ tiruppaḷaṇattu mahādevarkku °ira

<sup>7</sup> On this queen and her donations in temples of the Kāvēri region, see Gillet (2021a: 26–41).

- (5) vum pakalum cantirādittavar °oru
- (6) no<sup>8</sup>[n]tāvilakku [°erippa]tar̥ku [paḷuvēṭṭa]
- (7) raiyar kumaran maṛavaṇoṭu tippāñca
- (8) °aḷakiyāṇ maṛavaṇ vatta poṇ 30
- (9) k. °ippon̄ koṇṭu viḷakkerippomā
- (10) ṇom °aṇiyamaṅkalattu *sabhaiyom*
- (11) °enkaḷ °ārumāvum vir̥ruk kuṭutto
- (12) m °aṇiyamaṅkalattu *sabhaiyom* °i
- (13) tu [pa]ṇmāheśvara rakṣai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 6th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of Tiruppaḷanam, a *devadāna* of Mīraikūttu Iṣapanāyaru, for burning (*erippatar̥ku*) one perpetual lamp (*nontāvilakku*) night and day as long as the sun and the moon endure, along with the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṇ Maṛavaṇ (*maṛavaṇōṭu*), Tippāñcaḷakiyāṇ Maṛavaṇ gave (*vatta > vaitta*) thirty *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*poṇ*); having taken (*koṇṭu*) this gold (*ippon̄*), we will burn (*erippōmāñōm*) a lamp (*viḷakku*), we the Sabhā (*sabhaiyōm*) of Aṇiyamaṅkalam; we the Sabhā of Aṇiyamaṅkalam have given (*kuṭuttōm*), having sold (*vir̥ru*) our (*enkaḷ*) complete six *mās* (*āru-māvum*). This is under the protection of the Paṇmāheśvaras.

## Tiruvaiyāru

Just a few kilometres to the east of Tiruppaḷanam stands the Pañcanadiśvara temple in Tiruvaiyāru, another temple crystallizing donations of royal circles, here mainly Cōḷa queens.<sup>9</sup> In this temple, in a short almost completely defaced inscription, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Amutaṇ personally gave ninety goats for a perpetual lamp, in the 14th year of a Kōpparakesarivarman who is quite difficult to identify (#142). But this inscription is not the only one in the temple mentioning a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, although they do not appear as donors but as landowners. On the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the main shrine, #140 records a donation of thirty *kaḷaṅcus* of gold to Mahādeva of Tiruvaiyāru by the daughter of Ammaṅkaṇār of Kutiraicceri in Kaccipeṭṭu, Aḷicikāṭṭaiḷkal,

<sup>8</sup> The first part of the –o is at the end of the previous line.

<sup>9</sup> Many of the inscriptions of this temple remain unpublished, and my visit to this temple in 2018 was not long enough for me to be able to establish the text of those. Tirunāraṇamahādevi of Aḷuṇṭūr, queen of Cōḷaperumāṇaiḷkal (SII 5, 538); Aḷicikāṭṭaiḷkal, the daughter (*makaḷār*) of Ammaṅkaṇār of Kutiraicceri in Kaccipeṭṭu, queen of Cōḷaperumāṇaiḷkal (#140); Nampirāṭṭiyār Tribhūvaṇamahādeviyār, in the reign of Parāntaka I (SII 5, no. 541); Cōḷacikāmaṇiyār, queen (*tēviyār*) of Cōḷapperumāṇaiḷkal (probably Parāntaka I) and daughter (*makaḷ*) of Naṅkuri Naṅkaiyār of Mayilāppil (SII 5, no. 525); queen Ariṅjikai, daughter of Iḷarāyār (ARE 1918, no. 144); Śrī Paṅcavaṇmāṭēvi, queen of Śrī Mummuṭicōḷa, i.e. Rājarāja I (SII 13, no. 53); another queen of Rājarāja I (*śrīrājarājatēvar nampirāṭṭiyār*), Tanticattiviṭaṅkiyār alias Olōkamahādeviyār, was responsible for building a stone shrine in this temple, named after her: the Olōkamahādeviśvaram (SII 5, no. 518, line 2; ARE 1918, no. 156), to which many donations are made afterwards, including by the founder (ARE 1918, no. 152; SII 5, no. 519; SII 5, no. 515; ARE 1918, no. 154); a queen (*tēviyār*) of an unidentified Cōḷa king (*Cōḷaperumāṇpaṭṭakaḷ*, a Rājakesarivarman), Cempiya . . . *tēviyār* alias Kulamāṅikka Nampirāṭṭiyār (SII 5, 549). Besides Cōḷa queens themselves, their mothers (SII 5, no. 514), and a foster-mother of the Cōḷa prince Kaṇṇaradevar, Kāviri Kaṭampa Viṭci of Kuṟukkaikkāṭu (SII 5, no. 550), made donations to the temple.

queen of Cōlaperumāṇaṭikaḷ. A donation of land is connected to this donation of gold and, in the description of the boundaries, it is said that “the southern side boundary is to the north of the *cey* of land . . . of developed land (?) for the holy garlands of flowers for the deity [of?] Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Nampi Maṛavaṇār”. The relation between the land and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar is not clearly expressed, but we may assume that it is a land belonging to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar or a land that he gave for the supply of flowers for the god. But for which god? And where is this land located? This epigraph does not disclose this sort of information. Because the main donation by the queen concerns the Śiva of Tiruvaiyāru, I suppose that the record would have said so if the flowers had been meant for another deity. The absence of geographical details points in my view to a land in the vicinity.

The lands of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars are again used to mark the boundaries of another piece of land, given by Iruṅkaṇṭi Nilāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vaṭavūrvēli in Pāṇṭināṭu for providing sacred food for Viṣṇubhaṭṭārakar of Tiruvaiyāru and feeding a Brahmin (#141). The eastern side boundary is said to be to the west of the land of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, without details, and the northern side boundary is said to be to the south of . . . north of . . . the land [of?] Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṇ Kaṇṭaṇ. Therefore, the description of the boundaries suggests that there was more than one piece of land belonging to the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars in the area. There is also a mention of land given for a lamp on behalf of a Cōla queen in the description of the southern side boundary, and it is therefore possible that this refers to the land donation of #140.<sup>10</sup> The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars thus appear to have been landowners in the vicinity of Tiruvaiyāru, and probably contributed to the maintenance of the ritual activity in this temple that they considered significant.<sup>11</sup> Their presence here, in this village 20 km south of Paḷuvūr, across the Kāvēri river, seems to have been long-lasting, explaining a personal donation by a member of the dynasty (#142).

#140. (a) Tiruvaiyāru, Tiruvaiyāru taluk, Tanjavur district, Pañcanāṭisvara temple; (b) on the southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, on the eastern side of the door; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1894, no. 238; SII 5, no. 53; (e) 19th regnal year of Kōvirājakesarivarman; (f) perhaps Āditya I (c. A.D. 890); (g) inscription not read with anyone.

- (1) {built over} *sti śrī kovirājakesarivammakku yāṇṭu* [19] °āva[tu] [[tiruvaiyā]]r̥ru
- (2) {built over} *ādevarkku kaccippeṭṭuk kutiraicceri °ammakaṇār makaḷār* [[colaperu]]māṇa[ṭi]
- (3) {built over} t[[e]]viyār °a[li]cikāṭṭaṭikaḷ cantirātittaval °oru nontāvi[ḷa]kku [tiru]vaiyā
- (4) {built over} *nicati °uriy ney °erivatar̥ku kuṭutta poṇ 30-m °immuppatiṇ kaḷa[ṇcu]*
- (5) {built over} [nicati °uri °erivatar̥ku *devap* XXXX ttāru veṭṭi maṇal ūrntum]
- (6) {built over} ṇ nilattukku °ellai kilpār[ke][llai ma] X kāṭṭukku mekkum te[[ṇpā]]
- (7) {built over} llai paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar nampi maṛavaṇār tiruppaḷittāmattukku ma[[ya]]

<sup>10</sup> #140 would thus be anterior to #141, and the Rājakesarivarman whose regnal years are used to date the inscription would thus be different, since #140 is dated to the 19th regnal year and #141 to the 10th. The names of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars cannot be used to confirm a dating, since we are still navigating in uncharted waters concerning their chronology.

<sup>11</sup> SII 5, no. 534 records the donation of two men called Māraṇaṇ Nakkaṇ and Māraṇaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ, from Parivaṇatturai, in a place whose name is lost, in the Ārkāṭṭukkūr̥ram. Although the spelling Māraṇaṇ is different from Maṛavaṇaṇ, these two names do recall the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar titles.

- (8) {built over} c[[e]]yku vaṭakum melpārke[[llai te]]vaṇ [mayakkalukku kiḷakum vaṭapā]
- (9) {built over} [lai ° antaṇūr pāynta tiyāmukavāykkā] [[I niṇru ponta vāykkālu]]
- (10) {built over} m ° innāṅkellaiyilumakappaṭṭa nirmilam pattu [mā] ° aḷici[kā]
- (11) {built over} ṇatdharmmam rakṣippār śrīpātamenṇralai melana ° itu [paṇ]māhe
- (12) {built over} kṣe || ° inney ° eriya kuṭutta nilaiṇṇakkut ta[rā] ° oṇru[m] ||

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 19th year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. For {{Ma}} hādeva of Tiruvaivāru, the daughter (*makaḷār*) of Ammakaṇār of Kutiraicceri in Kaccipeṭṭu, queen (*tēviyār*) of Cōlaperumāṇaṭi{{kal}}, Aḷicikāṭṭaṭikal, for one (*oru*) perpetual lamp (*nontāvilakku*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, to burn (*erivataṟku*) one *uri* of *ghee* (*ney*) every day (*nicati*) [in] Tiruvaivā{{ru}}, gave (*kuṭutta*) thirty [*kaḷaṅcus*] of gold (*poṇ*); these thirty (*immuppatiṇ*) *kaḷaṅcus* . . . for burning (*erivataṟku*) one *uri* [of *ghee*] every day (*nicati*) . . . the boundaries (*ellai*) for the land (*nilattukku*) . . . where the sand (*maṇal*) is loosened (*ūrntum*) . . . the eastern side boundary (*kīlpārkkellai*) is to the west (*mēkkum*) of . . . ; the southern side boundary (*tenpā{{rke}}llai*) is to the north (*vaṭakum*) of the *cey* of land (*ceyku*) . . . of developed land (*maya{{kka}}*?) for the holy garlands of flowers for the deity (*tiruppalittāmattukku*) [of?] Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Nampi Maṇavaṇār; the western side boundary (*mēlpārkkellai*) is to the east (*kīlakum*) of the developed land (*mayakkalukku*) of the god (*tēvan*); the northern side boundary (*vaṭapā{{rkkell}}lai*) is to the south (*{{tenku}}m*) of the water channel (*vāykkālu{{kku}}*) which goes (*pōnta*), stopping (*niṇru*) [at] the water channel (*vāykkal*) Tiyāmuka which flows (*pāynta*) in Antaṇūr; the ten (*pattu*) *mās* of wet land (*nīrnīlam*) which fall (*paṭṭa*) inside (*aka*) these four (*innāṅku*) boundaries (*ellaiyilum*). Aḷicikā{{ṭṭaṭikal}} . . . may the sacred feet (*śrīpātam*) of those who protect (*rakṣippār*) the donation (*dharmmam*) be upon (*mēlana*) my head (*eṇṇralai*). This {{is under the protection of the}} Panmāhe{{śvaras}}. To burn (*eriyā*) this *ghee* (*inney*), one (*oṇrum*) standing (*nilai*) metal (*tarā*) lamp (*viḷakku*) was given (*kuṭutta*).

#141. (a) Tiruvaivāru, Tiruvaivāru taluk, Tanjavur district, Paṅcanāṭīśvara temple; (b) on the western façade of the sanctuary; (c) I could not access the inscription because, since a few years, the western and northern façades of the sanctuary have been closed to the public (the hair of Śiva is said to have fallen on this side); (d) ARE 1894, no. 224; SII 5, no. 523; (e) 10th regnal year of Kōrājakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) because I could neither access nor photograph the inscription, I have provided here the edition established in SII, but without the supply of the missing letters.

- (1) *svasri śrī* ko ° irācacecaripanmakku yāṇṭu 10 ° ā
- (2) vatu pāṇṭi[nā]ṭṭu vaṭavūrveli ° iruṅkaṇṭi nila
- (3) [ṇ] nārāya[ṇa]ṇ tiruvaivāṇru mahadevar paṇaṅkāṭṭil
- (4) . . . rum veṭṭi kalli macakki tiruvaivāṇru viṣṇubhaṭṭā
- (5) [rakarkku tiruvamiti]ṇukku candrātitta[va]l nicati [ ° a]ṇṇāḷi
- (6) nellukkum candrātittavaḷ ° oru brāhmaṇaṇ uṇṇa
- (7) nicati kuṇuṇi nellukkum ° amaiyttuk kuṭutta
- (8) . [nir] nilam ° aṇumākāṇi ° inilattukku ° ellai kiḷ
- (9) [pārkkellai] paḷuveṭṭaraiyar macakkalukku mekku te[ṇ]

- (10) pāṛkkellai c[o]lamāteviyār viḷakkiṇukku caṅka  
 (11) ... taṇṇōpātiyark kallik kuṭutta [mā]cceyḱku  
 (12) vaṭakku[m mēpār]kellai [to]vi °a[raiya]rkku taṇṇōpā  
 (13) [ti] ... taram paṭāraṇ kallik kuṭutta viḷakkuc cey mu  
 (14) [ṇru mā kāṇikku] kiḷakkum vaṭapāṛkellai paḷuve  
 (15) ṭṭaraiyar kumaraṇ kaṇṭaṇ macakkal °aḷiciku  
 (16) °apaṭi . . . k[X]llai . . . [vaṭakkum] . kkuṭi kuṭikkum teṛkum °ipperunāṇkellaiyil  
 akappaṭṭa nīrnim °arumākkāṇi °itaṭi nālu  
 (17) [m pan]maheśvara rakṣai

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōrājakesarivarman. Iruṅkaṇṭi Nilāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vaṭavūrvēli in Pāṇṭināṭu, having prepared the land (*macakki*), having dug (*kalli*), having cropped/cut (*veṭṭi*) . . . in the palmyra grove (*panāṅkāṭṭil*) of Mahādeva (*mahadeva* > *mahādeva*) of Tiruvaiyāru, for the holy food offerings (*tiruvamitiṇukku* > *tiruvamutiṇukku*) of Viṣṇubhaṭṭārakar of Tiruvaiyāru, for five (*aṅ*) *nālis* of paddy (*nellukku*) every day (*nicati*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, for a *kuṇuṇi* of paddy (*nellukku*) every day (*nicati*), to feed (*uṇṇa*) one (*oru*) Brāhmaṇaṇ, as long as the sun and the moon endure, having appointed (*amaiyṭtu*), six *mā-kāṇis* of wet land (*nīrnīlam*) were given (*kuṭutta*); the boundaries (*ellai*) of this land (*inilattukku*) [are]: the eastern side boundary (*kīlpāṛkkellai*) is to the west (*mēkku* > *mērkku*) of the developed land (*macakkalukku*) of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar; the southern side boundary (*teṇpāṛkkellai*) is to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the *mā* of land (*mācceyḱku*) which was given (*kuṭutta*), having been dug (*kalli*), [by?] Caṅka . . . taṇṇōpātiyar for a lamp (*viḷakkiṇukku*) [for? on behalf of?] the Cōḷa queen (*cōlamāteviyār*); the western side boundary (*mēpāṛkellai*) is to the east (*kīlakkum*) of the three (*muṇru*) *mā-kāṇis* of land (*cey*) for a lamp (*viḷakku*) which was given (*kuṭutta*), having been dug (*kalli*), by Taṇṇōpāti . . . taram Paṭāraṇ for [on behalf of?] the king (*araiyarkku*) Tovi [?]; the northern side boundary (*vaṭapāṛkellai*) is to the south (*teṛkum*) of . . . north of (*vaṭakkum*) . . . Aḷiciku . . . the developed land (*macakkal*) [of?] Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kumaraṇ Kaṇṭaṇ; the six *mā-kāṇis* of wet land (*nīrnim* > *nīrnīlam*) which fall within (*akappaṭṭa*) these four great boundaries (*ipperunāṇkellaiyil*). This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras and the four (*nālum*) servants (*aṭi*) [?].

#142. (a) Tiruvaiyāru, Tiruvaiyāru taluk, Tanjavur district, Paṅcanāṭīśvara temple; (b) on the easternmost pilaster of the southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*; (c) I have located the inscription *in situ*, but could not read it because it is very damaged; (d) ARE 1894, no. 252; SII 5, no. 551; (e) 14th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Parāntaka I (c. A.D. 921); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) I rely mostly on the edition established in SII, because the inscription is today illegible.

- (1) *svasti śrī ko*  
 (2) [p]parakecaripaṇ  
 (3) maṛku yāṇṭu [14]  
 (4) °āvatu tiruvaiyāṛru  
 (5) *mahādevarkku nantā*  
 (6) viḷakku °iravum paka  
 (7) lum °erivatarṅku paḷu

- (8) veṭṭaraiyaṅ kaṇṭa  
 (9) ṅ amutaṅ °oṅṅinukku  
 (10) candrādityavaḷ kuṭu[tta]  
 (11) °āṭu toṅṅūru  
 (12) itu paṅmāheśva  
 (13) ra rakṣai

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 14th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Tiruvaiyāru, for a perpetual lamp (*nantāviḷakku* > *nontāviḷakku*) to burn (*erivatarṅku*) night and day, Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṅ Kaṇṭaṅ Amutaṅ, for one (*oṅṅinukku*) [lamp], as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave (*kuṭutta*) ninety (*toṅṅūru*) goats (*āṭu*). This is under the protection of the Paṅmāheśvaras.

### Tiruvicalūr

In Tiruvicalūr, in the 9th regnal year of a Parakesarivarman, Aṭikal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṇavaṅ Kaṇṭaṅ made an unusually lavish donation, recorded in a long and complex inscription (#143). The king gave 600 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold [and?] 1,000 *kācus* for the Caturvedibhaṭṭas, who may be the Brahmins well-versed in the four *Veda*, and who were related to the supreme god (*paramasvāmika!*) of the temple in Tiruvicalūr. This donation, called Viṇodaṅ, was entrusted to the members of the Sabhā, who had to supply interest in the form of paddy to the amount of 2,000 *kalams*, perhaps to feed the Caturvedibhaṭṭas. In the middle of the inscription, the name of the donor, Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṇavaṅ Kaṇṭaṅ, appears again. In the last part of the record, it is stated that this Viṇodaṅ donation is made every month—it probably refers to the distribution of paddy in the temple—on the day of Uṭtirāṭṭāti, which corresponds to the birthday of the donor. This donation was that of a very wealthy and powerful man, which would make an impact on the temple on his own birthday.

We note that this donation is engraved on the base of the western façade of the southern shrine, and is made a few years after donations of Uttamacōḷa himself inscribed on the same shrine. In his 3rd regnal year, Kōpparakesarivarman alias Śrī Kaṇṭarātittaṅ Madhurantakaṅ, i.e. Uttamacōḷa, bought land in the name of the deity to give money for 108 pots for the monthly bath of the deity (SII 32, no. 8, part 2). This inscription is engraved on top of the western wall of the same southern shrine, above the donation by the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. In his 7th regnal year, the same Śrī Kaṇḍharādityaṅ Madhurāntakaṅ alias Śrī Kōpparakesarivarman gave money through Tiruvaraṅkanārāyaṅa, the Caturvedibhaṭṭa Somayāciyār, in Tūrpil, in Karampiccaṭṭu . . . of this village, to buy land to feed six Brahmins every day (SII 32, no. 43, part 2); the amount is not very clear, but it would have been more than 585 *kācus*. This inscription was engraved on the base of the same shrine, starting on the northern side and continuing on the western side, just above the donation of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. The latter, thus engraved below those two donations by Uttamacōḷa, displays a content very close to them: a large amount of money—which indeed seems even greater than the donation by the Cōḷa king—is given to be invested in land whose revenues will contribute to the daily or monthly activity of the temple, such as the sacred bath or the feeding of Brahmins. After a survey of the ARE and SII, it appears that these three donations are the largest ones in this shrine, setting them apart by their

liberality. It may have been a way for Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ to present himself as on a par with the Cōla king.

The religious—and political—significance of this place is perceptible through other illustrious donors: the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa in the 9th century (SII 14, no. 24; Gillet 2017: 230); Cempīyaṇ Mahādevi, mother of Uttamacōla (SII 3, no. 148; SII 23, no. 348); Cittavaṭavaṇ Cūṭṭiyār, queen of Uttamacōla and daughter of the Lord of Milāṭu (SII 13, no. 39; SII 13, no. 40); Paṭṭaṇ Tāṇatonkiyār, queen of Rājarāja I (SII 23, no. 19); a queen of Rājendracōla I, whose name remains unclear (SII 23, no. 340); Purvadeviyār, mother of the queen (SII 23, no. 315; SII 13, no. 221; SII 13, no. 271); Ālvār Śrī Pirāntakan Kuntavaipparāṭṭiyār, in the reign of Rājarāja I (SII 23, no. 350; SII 23, no. 351); Uruttiraṇ Arumoḷi alias Pirutumahādeviyār, queen of Rājarājadeva in the reign of Rājendracōla I (SII 23, no. 349); queen Vānavamādeviyār, mother of Rājendracōla (SII 23, no. 347); the queen of Pāṇḍyaṇ Śrī Valluvar, daughter of the Lord of Paṅkaḷaṇāṭu, Atiyirāmaṇ Kuntappāviyār (SII 23, no. 46; Gillet 2021a: 41–46).

Another inscription suggests the crucial religious attraction exerted by this temple on the royal sphere of the Cōla: Nampirāṭṭiyār Tanticattiviṭaṅkiyār alias Ulokamādeviyār, a queen of Rājarāja I who was already involved in the construction of a shrine in the temple of Tiruvaiyāru, distributed large amounts of gold after the performance of the great gift of Tulābhāra by the king himself in this holy temple of Tiruvicalūr and the great gift of Hiraṇyagarbha that she performed (SII 23, no. 42). Therefore, this inscription suggests that the royal couple came in person to the temple.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from members of the major dynasties, a noticeable donor belonging to the sphere of little kings who pledged allegiance to the Cōlas, Ciriyaṅvēḷār alias Pirāntaka Iruṅkoḷāṇ of Koṭumpālūr, is also actively involved in the religious activity of the temple. He is identified with the Ciriyaṅvēḷāṇ Pirāntakaṇ alias Tirukkaṛṛāḷi Piccaṇ, who acts as a general (*senāpati*) for Sundaracōla who drove the Pāṇḍyas away, donating in the nearby temple of Tirukkaḷittattai (EI 12, no. 15). The fact that *vēḷāṇ* is a component of his name and that he is said to hail from Koṭumpālūr indicates his belonging to the Irukkuvēḷ dynasty. Active thus before the time of Uttamacōla and Maṛavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ in this temple, he seems to have paved the way for their donations. Indeed the content of the donations he makes are very similar: a donation of lands to generate revenues to feed a Vedabrahmaṇa in the second year of Sundaracōla (SII 3, no. 119); a donation of 430 *kācus* to the great people of Tiruvicalūr in the 4th regnal year of Sundaracōla (SII 13, no. 84); in the same year, a donation of 130 *kācus* for a land to prepare sacred food offerings at noon (SII 3, no. 120); in the 5th regnal year of Sundaracōla, he makes a donation of gold for food offerings at midday, a donation for repairs in a nearby temple, and a lamp for Hara, the whole donation being recorded in Sanskrit, a claim to social, political, and religious higher spheres (SII 3, no. 121). He appears thus to have a profile very similar to that of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyār, also militarily involved in the Cōla war campaigns and also making liberal donations to this bustling temple of Tiruvicalūr.

#143. (a) Tiruvicalūr, Kumbakonam taluk and district, Śivayoganātha temple; (b) on the middle part of the base (*kumuda*) of the western façade of the shrine which is on the southern side of the main temple; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE

<sup>12</sup> The performance of this Mahādāna by the queen is again evoked in an inscription at Tiruvaṅcuḷi, where she is said to have built one of the shrines (SII 8, no. 237). Some gold from the Hiraṇyagarbha at Tiruvicalūr is said to have been donated for golden flowers for the Lord of Tiruvaṅcuḷi.

1995–96, no. 44; SII 32, part 2, no. 31; (e) 9th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 980); (g) inscription read with G. Vijayavenugopal; (h) there are many passages which remain difficult to understand.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopperakesaripaṇmaṅku yāṇṭu <sup>913</sup> °āvatu vaṭakarai tevatāna *brahmade*[yam] °āvaninārāyaṇacaturvvetimaṅkalattut t[i][ru]]vicalūr
- (2) paramasvāmikaḷ koyilil °aṭikaḷ paḷuveṭṭaraiyar maṇavaṇ kaṇṭaṇ °ivvūr *caturvetibhaṭṭa* tāṇam vaitta paricāvatu °it
- (3) tāṇattukku *bhogamāka* vaitta poṇ 600<sup>14</sup>m nāl [v]ācipaṭā[ta] °ilakkācu °āyiraṅ kācum °ittāna viṇodaṇ catu[r]vvetibhaṭṭa tā[ṇa]p peruma[k]kaḷukku
- (4) tāṇamāka niroṭu °aṭṭi kuṭutta °ikkācukkaḷukkup pūvali kāciṇvā[y] X X [nel]lu virutti °aṭṭuvārkkut tanikkukāka kuṭuttu °ivviruttiyāl vanta °ira
- (5) ṇṭāyirak kalam °iṇnellut tiruvicalūr parama {broken about 10 letters} X paḷuveṭṭaraiyar maṇavaṇ kaṇṭaṇumullīṭṭu °ayma {broken about 5 or 6 letters} *caturvetibhaṭṭa*ka mēṇpaṭu kurramillātā[[r]]
- (6) nicatam pati nālī nellu perāl koḷḷapperuvatakavum °ikkācu taniku koṇ[[ṭu]] {broken about 10 or 11 letters} ṛuti pūvaṛuti °ittāna *sabhaiyārke* kuṭuttu tam perāl {broken about 6 letters} l piṇap peṇvārākavum °ivar piṇanta nāl
- (7) utiraṭṭāti nāṇru māsan torum °isrī koyilile *dānaviṇodaṇaṇ* neṇṇun tiru XXX [tti] {broken about 6 letters} Xkam °ikkācu mutalil a[[likkap] pe[[rutatakavum] {broken about 6 letters} [[m]]āṭa perutarākavum *grāmadrohikaḷāy* °irupat
- (8) tu °aṅ kaḷaintu po[[ṇ ta]]ṇṭap paṭuvarkaḷākavum °ipparicu *cantirātittavaṇ* niṇaka X {broken about 13 letters} t[e] X

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 9th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. In the temple (*kōyilil*) of Paramasvāmi of Tiruvicalūr in Avaṇinārāyaṇac-caturvētimaṅkalam, a *devadāna-brahmadeya* on the northern bank, Aṭikal Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar Maṇavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ placed (*vaitta*) a donation (*tāṇam*) to the Caturvētibhaṭṭa(s?) of this village in this manner (*paricāvatu*): for this donation (*ittāṇattukku*) to be enjoyed (*bhogamāka*), he gave (*vaitta*), with (*n-āl*?) 600 [*kalaṅcus*] of gold (*poṇ*), 1,000 (*āyiraṅ*) *kācus* of not standardized (*vācipaṭāta*) *ilakkācus*; he gave (*kuṭutta*), having poured water (*nīroṭu aṭṭi* > *aṭṭi*) as donation (*tāṇamāka*) for the great people (*perumakkaḷukku*), the donation (*tāṇam*) [for the] Caturvētibhaṭṭa(s?), this Viṇodaṇ-donation (*tāṇa*); for these *kācus* (*ikkācukkaḷukku*), for each *kācu* (*kāciṇvāy*) per crop (*pūvali*), having given (*kuṭuttu*) as debt (*tanikkukāka* > *tanikkukāka*)<sup>15</sup> for those who place (*aṭṭuvārkku*) the interests (*virutti*) of paddy (*nellu*) . . . with this interest (*ivviruttiyāl*), two thousand (*iraṇṭāyira*) *kalam*s accrued (*vanta*) [of] this paddy (*iṇnellu*), . . . Parama{{svāmi}} of Tiruvicalūr . . . including (*ullīṭṭu*) Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar Maṇavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ . . . those without defect (*kurramillātār*) as per the above (*mēṇpaṭu*) Caturvētibhaṭṭa(s), from each (*pērāl*) ten (*pati* > *pattu*?) *nālīs* of paddy (*nellu*) every day (*nicatam*) is that which has to be collected (*koḷḷapperuvatakavum*); having taken the debt/amount (*taniku* > *taṇicu*?)

<sup>13</sup> The number looks like 9. ARE reads 9 but SII 32 reads 5.

<sup>14</sup> This number is written with a six followed by a *ka* usually meant for 1. However, one after six would not make sense. I assume that the *ka* is meant for hundred, usually marked with a double *ka*.

<sup>15</sup> SII 32 reads *tanicu* but it is clearly *taniku*, in each of the occurrences of this word (see also line 6). *Taniku* does not exist and it may be used for *taṇicu*, i.e. debt. But this interpretation is not very satisfying either.



of these *kācus* (*ikkācu*), having given (*kuṭuttu*) to those of the Sabhā themselves (*sabhaiyārkkē*) this donation (*ittāna*) at the end of the crop season (*pūvaruti*) . . . ; in their name (*tam pērāl*) . . . they should get (*peṟuvārākavum*); on the day (*nāṇru*) of Uttirāṭṭāti (the 26th *nakṣatra*) on his (*ivar*) birthday (*piṟanta nāl*), every (*tōrum*) month (*māsan*), in this holy temple (*iṣṟī kōyililē*), a sacred (*tiru*) . . . called (*eṇṇum*) the donation (*dāna*) Viṇodaṇaṇ; that which has to be obtained (*perutatākavum*) to destroy (*aḷikka*) the capital (*mutalil*) of these *kācus* . . . ; . . . those who have to obtain (*peṟutārākavum*); a fine (*taṇṭam*) of twenty-five (*irupattu aṅ*) *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*poṇ*) will fall (*paṭuvarkaḷākavum*) on the traitors (*grāmadrohikaḷāy*); in this manner (*ipparicu*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, . . .

## Uṭaiyārkuṭi

In the 12th regnal year of Uttamacōḷa, three years after the donation of Tiruvicalūr by Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavaṇ Kaṇṭaṇ, his successor Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṇ Cuntaracōḷaṇār followed the same model and donated land to feed five Brahmins, in the Śiva temple of Uṭaiyārkuṭi, for his younger brother Kaṇṭaṇ Catturubhayaṅkaraṇār (#145). Another donation of 12.5 *kaḷaṅcus* of gold to this god is made by a member of the same dynasty, Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kōtaṇṭaṇ Tappiltarman, but recorded in the 2nd year of a Kōpparakesarivarman whom I cannot identify (#144). This temple appears to have been an influential *brahmadeya* of the Cōḷa kingdom, probably created by Parāntaka (Cane 2017: 201–204). Like Tiruvicalūr, it was bustling with Brahmins fed by many donations made by individuals, according to the list given in ARE 1920, nos. 537–627, in which the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar participated. If a few Cōḷa queens made donations in this place,<sup>16</sup> kings are absent as donors. No member of a known minor dynasty, except the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, endowed the temple. Donations by military men, such as Kaikkōḷars (SII 19, nos. 13, 17, 18, 19, 21; ARE 1920, nos. 555, 557, 613), a *peruntaram* (SII 13, no. 61), and an elephant-rider (ARE 1920, no. 598), are frequent though. Was it in his quality as a military man that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars donated to the Śiva of Uṭaiyārkuṭi, located no less than 60 km north-east of Paḷuvūr, perhaps on the way to a military campaign?

#144. (a) Uṭaiyārkuṭi, Kāṭṭumaṇṇārkōyil, Cidambaram taluk, Cuddalore district, Anantīśvara temple; (b) on the northern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, on the eastern side of the niche of the goddess; (c) not personally located; (d) ARE 1920, no. 609; SII

<sup>16</sup> In the 12th regnal year of Sundaracōḷa, two inscriptions record donations of lands by Cōḷa queens for providing pots for the bath of the god: SII 13, no. 224, by the queen (*uṭaiyapirāṭṭiyār*) Vimaṇ Kuntavaiyār, mother (*taṅkaḷ āciyar*) of Śrī Ariñciya Pirāntakatēvar, to be understood as Pirāntaka son of Ariñciya, i.e. Sundaracōḷa; SII 13, no. 225, by another queen of Ariñjaya (*ārūr tuñciṇa ariñciṇapaṇmar tēviyār*), called Ātitaṇ Kotaipirāṭṭiyār, as well as by the previous queen, Vimaṇ Kuntavaiyār. She also gives for an image of Sūrya and a lamp in the same year (ARE 1920, no. 606). She again makes a donation of land for pots two years later (SII 13, 249). Cempiyaṇ Mahādevi is another Cōḷa queen making donations in this temple, in the second regnal year of either Ariñjaya or Uttamacōḷa: she gave goats and a ram for a perpetual lamp (SII 19, no. 11). For an analysis of this inscription, see Cane (2017: 201–210). Tribhūvaṇamahādeviyar Vāṇavaṇmahādeviyar, queen of Rājendracōḷa, made a donation of gold from the sale of land for offering to the bronze images of the Lord and his consort of this shrine (ARE 1920, no. 624); another donation to feed devotees is made in her name (ARE 1920, no. 627).

19, no. 23; (e) 2nd regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) king difficult to identify;<sup>17</sup> (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) I could not locate the inscription during my visit of this site; N. Ramaswamy found it later, and provided me with the details of its location and pictures; it is today built over by the newly constructed niche of the goddess, and the inscription is lost except the first few letters at the beginning of each line. Therefore, after the first letters that I see, I provide the edition as it is given in SII, but without the supplied punctuation.

- (1) *sva*[[*stī śrī* kopparakecarivanmar]]
- (2) kku [[*yāṅṭu* 2 °āvatu vaṭakarai *brahmadeyam*]]
- (3) *śrī* [[*viranārāyaṇaccaturvvedimaṅgalattu tiruvananteśva*]]
- (4) *rattu* [[*paramasvāmīkkup paḷavēṭṭaraiyan kotaṅṭa*]]
- (5) *ṇ* tappi [[*l*]tarmaṅ tiruvuṅṅālikaiyin °uḷḷey]]
- (6) °oru [[*nontāviḷakku cantrādittavat* °eriyvitā]]
- (7) ka [[*vaiytta viḷakku* 1 ka-kkup poṅ paṅṅi]]
- (8) ru kaḷa [[*ṅcarai viḷakku* 1 °avvav °āṅṭu *śrī kāryam*]]
- (9) °ārāy[[*vārey* °eriyppipparavārāka vaiy]]
- (10) ttār °i[[*tu mahāsabhaiyār rakṣai* ||]]

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 2nd year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Paramasvāmi of Tiruvananteśvaram of Śrī Viranārāyaṇa-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank, Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan (*paḷavēṭṭaraiyan* > *paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan*) Kōtaṅṭaṅ Tappiltarmaṅ, to cause to burn (*eriyvitāka*) one (*oru*) perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakku*) inside (*uḷḷey*) the sanctuary (*tiruṅṅālikaiyin*), as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave (*vaiytta*), for one lamp (*viḷakku*), twelve and a half *kaḷaṅcus* (*paṅṅiru kaḷaṅcarai*); he gave (*vaiyttār*) to cause to burn (*eriyppipparavārāka*) one lamp (*viḷakku* 1) [when] he<sup>18</sup> examined (*ārāyvārēy*) the sacred affairs (*śrīkāryam*) in this year (*avvav āṅṭu*). This is under the protection of those of the Mahāsabhā.

#145. (a) Uṭaiyārkuṭi, Kāṭṭumaṅṅārkōyil, Cidambaram taluk, Cuddalore district, Anantīśvara temple; (b) on the northern façade of the *ardha-maṅḍapa*, on the western side of the niche of the goddess; (c) not personally located; (d) ARE 1920 no. 592; SII 19, no. 305; (e) 12th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōḷa (c. A.D. 983); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) I could not locate the inscription during my visit of this site; N. Ramaswamy found it later, and provided me with the details of its location and pictures; it starts on the western side of the empty niche and continues on the eastern side; the eastern part is built over and only the end of each line is visible; for the part which is lost, I have supplied the edition given in SII.

- (1) kopparakecarivanmarṅku yāṅṭu 12
- (2) °āvatu vaṭakarai *brahmateyam* [ṅā]<sup>19</sup> *śrī viranā*

<sup>17</sup> SII, Balambal (1978: 184) and Tyagarajan (2014: 50) propose to identify this king with Ariṅjayacōḷa. However, there is no hint in the inscription to confirm such a hypothesis.

<sup>18</sup> Either the name of the Śrīkāryam is not supplied here or the Śrīkāryam is the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan himself. The second possibility seems unlikely to me. But a more complete study of the epigraphy of the site may help us decide.

<sup>19</sup> It is slightly different from the other *ṅā* in the inscription, and nothing is expected here. I do not know what it stands for.

- (3) rāyāṇaśatuvvetimaṅkalattu tiruvana[n]tiśva[ra]  
(4) ttu tirumurrattile nicati °aiva[r bra]hmaṇar °uṅ  
(5) patarkum tirunontāviḷakku 1-kkum °aṭikaḷ pa  
(6) ḷuvēṭṭaraiyar kaṇṭaṅ cuntaracoḷaṅār ta  
(7) mpiyār ka[ṅ]taṅ catturubhayaṅkaraṅārkkāka ko  
(8) ṅṭa nilamāvacu °ivvūr vaṭapiṭākai °irāma  
(9) te<sup>20</sup>vvatikku mekku māṅavalla vākkālu  
(10) kku vaṭakku °aiñcāṅkaṅṅārru muta[r]  
(11) catirattu viranāraṅyaṅaccericckāka[ka] X  
(12) [yar] mādhavakramavittanūḷḷiṭṭa °aṣṭakat  
(13) to<sup>21</sup>mukkup paṭṭa teṅmelai[*ddha*]vil °i  
(14) cceri °iruṅkaṅṭi tirukkuṅkuṅṭiḷ kirama  
(15) vittan viṅṅru nilam °ivvatikke meṅku °i  
(16) vvāykkālukke vaṭakku °āruṅ kaṅṅā  
(17) rru mutar catiratte<sup>22</sup> teṅkil[*laiva*] rājakecari  
(18) ce<sup>23</sup>ri °otimukkil kṛṣṇa teśapuriyabhaṭṭaruḷḷi  
(19) ṭṭārkkup paṭṭa °aṣṭakatile kiḷakkaṭaiya X  
(20) kiḷakkaṭaiya miruṅkaḷur °attā[*ya kra*]mavi<sup>24</sup>  
(21) [[*taṅ viṅṅra* nilam X *ma* X m °iva]]ṅ[[*e*]] kan  
(22) [[*tamaṅkalattu viṅṅruttanta nat*]]takku  
(23) [[*li* 5-m °ippiṭākaiyile tirunāraṅya]]ṅava  
(24) [[*tikku merkuc cantiracekarakkāḷukku vaṭa*]]kku X  
(25) [[°āṅkaṅṅārru 2- °ām caturattu]] teṅkil  
(26) [[*vavvilviracikāmukacceri nel*]]likku  
(27) [[*tirp periyānampibhaṭṭaruḷḷiṭṭa*]] °aṣṭa  
(28) [[*kattomukkupaṭṭa XX vil nel*]]lik  
(29) [[*kuṭi X narakasvāmibhaṭṭaṅ viṅṅra nilam va*]]ṭakka  
(30) [[*ṭaiya Xkam °āka °innilaṅkaḷil °i*]]rai  
(31) [[°eccoṅu pokki brāhmaṇar [°ai]varai]] [°u]m  
(32) [[*cantrātittaval °ūṭṭu*]]vatar  
(33) [[*kum nicatam °uḷakkeṅṅai*]] °āṭṭi  
(34) [[*tirunontāviḷakku 1 cantrā*]]titta  
(35) [[*val °erippatarkum °iva*]]r[[*e*]] °ibrā  
(36) [[*hmaṇar uṅṅa vaitta taḷi*]]kai  
(37) [[*5-m °ippaṭi °ikkoyilil*]] śrī kā  
(38) [[*ryaṅ ceyvāre mutṭāmal*]] c[[*e*]]yvi  
(39) [[*kkakaṭavārāka °itu māhasa*]]bh[[*ai*]]  
(40) [[*yā rakṣai*]]

[This is] the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To feed (*uṅṅapatarkkum*) five (*aivar*) Brāhmaṇas every day (*nicati*) in the holy courtyard (*tirumurrattilē*) of

<sup>20</sup> The -e is at the end of the previous line.

<sup>21</sup> The left part of the -o is at the end of the previous line. There is a *śva* before the *to*, before the beginning of the line, and perhaps a *śa* added above the *mu*. But I do not understand why these letters were added, since these additions do not make any sense. The edition of SII does not mention them.

<sup>22</sup> The -te was forgotten and added under.

<sup>23</sup> The -e is at the end of the previous line.

<sup>24</sup> This is the last line on this side of the empty niche. The inscription continues on the eastern side, but is almost entirely built over.

Tiruvanantīśvaram of Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa-caturvetimaṅkalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank, and for one (*1-kkum*) holy perpetual lamp (*tirunontāvilakku*), Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭaṅ Cuntaracōḷaṅār, for (*āka*) his younger brother (*tampiyār*) Kaṇṭaṅ Catturubhayaṅkaraṅār, this is the land (*nilamāvacu* > *nilamāvatu*) taken (*koṇṭa*): to the west (*mēkku* > *mērkkku*) of the god (*tēvvatikku*) Rāma of the northern hamlet (*vaṭa-piṭākai*) of this town (*ivvūr*); to the north of the water channel (*vākkālukku*) Māṅavalla; the land which was sold (*virru*) by Kiramavittaṅ etc. {lines 10–15: complex description of the land which I do not translate here}; the land which was sold (*virra*) by Kramavittaṅ etc. {lines 15–21: complex description of the land which I do not translate here}; the land which was sold (*virra*) by Narakasvāmibhaṭṭaṅ etc. {lines 21–29: complex description of the land which I do not translate here}; having paid (*pōkki*) the *ēccōru* (free-food) tax on these lands as . . . to feed (*ūṭṭuvataṅkum*) the five (*aivarai*) Brāhmaṇas, as long as the sun and the moon endure, and, having supplied (*āṭṭi*) one *ulakku* of oil (*eṇṇai*) every day (*nicatam*), to burn (*erippataṅkum*) one sacred perpetual lamp, as long as the sun and the moon endure; he himself (*ivarē*) to feed (*uṇṇa*) these Brāhmaṇas, gave (*vaitta*) 5 plates (*taḷikai*) in this place (*ippaṭi*), he himself has made (*ceyvārē*)<sup>25</sup> the sacred affairs (*śrikāryaṅ*) of this temple (*ikkōyilil*), as he has to do (*ceyvikkaṭavārāka*) without fail (*muṭṭāmal*). This is under the protection of those of the Mahāsabhā.

## Govindaputtūr

Another site may be presented here because of a mention of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, although he was not involved personally in donations. The site of Govindaputtūr is located about 25 km to the east of Paḷuvūr as the crow flies. Most of the inscriptions recorded in the Śiva temple of this village mention a certain Ampalaṅ Paḷuvūraṅ Nakkaṅ alias Śrī Vikramacōḷa Mārāyaṅ, who is also called Rājarāja Pallavaraiyaṅ Kuvaḷḷālam uṭaiyaṅ. He was a *peruntaram*—a military officer of superior rank—first of Uttamacōḷa (SII 19, no. 332) and then of Śrī Mūmuṭicōḷatēvar, i.e. Rājarāja I (SII 13, no. 76; ARE 1928–29, no. 160). As a wealthy man, he rebuilt the shrine of Mahādeva of Śrīvijayamaṅgalam in stone (SII 19, no. 332), and this is stated in all the donations that he made to the temple, even those of his two wives, Aparāyitaṅ Ceyvavāymaṇi (SII 19, no. 333) and Ciṅkapanmaṅ Kañci Akkaṅ (SII 19, no. 334). Besides being named in almost all the inscriptions recorded on this site, his glory is sung in a very peculiar bilingual inscription, Sanskrit and Tamil (SII 19, no. 357). I have studied elsewhere this figure, his role in the temple, and the epigraphical corpus of this place (Gillet: 2022).

A link between Govindaputtūr and Paḷuvūr may be established through the donation of goats for a perpetual lamp to the temple of Śrīvijayamaṅgalam by an officer of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṅavaṅ Kaṇṭaṅār, lord of Aṅṇinaḷḷur of Kuṅṅakkūrṅam, called Maṅṅperumaicūvāmi alias Kaṅṅapperuntinaṅ of Kuṅṅaṅaṭu (#146).<sup>26</sup> Indeed, this same officer again made a donation of goats for a perpetual lamp to the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva in Kīlappaḷuvūr in the 8th regnal year of a Rājakesarivarman, either the previous or succeeding

<sup>25</sup> See above footnote 18.

<sup>26</sup> Balambal (1978: 185) believes that the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar appointed his agent for the donation. However, even if it is possible that the little king commanded the donation, it is not stated.

king (#107). The geographical proximity of Govindaputtūr and Paḷuvūr, the donation of one of the officers of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, with the full name of his Lord mentioned, made approximately at the time of the building in stone of this temple of Śrīvijayamaṅgalam, the military involvement with the Cōlas of both the founder of the Śrīvijayamaṅgalam temple and the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyars point to a connection between these two places.

#146. (a) Govindaputtūr (Kōvintapputtūr), Uṭaiyārpaḷaiyam taluk, Trichy district, Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple; (b) on the eastern wall section of the southern façade, lowest inscription; (c) personally located and read *in situ*; (d) ARE 1928–29, no. 173; SII 19, no. 273; (e) 10th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) probably Uttamacōla (c. A.D. 981); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) in continuation of the line 4, there is a description of another four lines of a land containing *catirattu*, *vāykkal*, *kaṇṇāṟru*, directions, etc. It does not seem to be connected, although it is the same writing.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopperakecar[*i*]pa[*n*]makku yāṅṭu 10 °āvatu vaṭakarai *brahma*[*deyam*] per[*i*]śrī vāṇavaṇmahādev[*i*]ca[*tu*]
- (2) *vvetimaṅkalattu* [[*śrī*]]vijaiyamaṅkalattu *mahadevaṟku śantrātitta*[*va*] nontāviḷakkukku °aṭikaḷ paḷu
- (3) ve<sup>27</sup>ṭṭaraiyar maṟavaṅ ka[ṅ]ṭaṅār kaṇmi kuṅrakkūrṟattu °aṟaṇinallūr uṭaiya maṅpperumai cūvāmiyāṇa kuṅṟanāṭṭu
- (4) kaṅṭapperuntiṇai vaitta °āṭu toṅṅūrūm panmāyeśvara *rakṣai*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 10th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva (*mahadeva* > *mahādeva*) of Śrīvijaiyamaṅkalam of the big Śrīvāṇavaṇmahādevi-caturvetimaṅkalam, a *brahmadeva* of the northern bank, for a perpetual lamp (*nontāviḷakkukku*), as long as the sun and the moon endure (*śantrātittaval* > *cantrātittaval*), an officer (*kaṇmi*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavaṅ Kaṅṭaṅār, lord (*uṭaiya*) of Aṟaṇinallūr of Kuṅrakkūrṟam, Maṅpperumaicūvāmi alias Kaṅṭapperuntiṇai (accountant) of Kuṅṟanāṭu, gave (*vaitta*) ninety (*toṅṅūrūm*) goats (*āṭu*). {{This is}} under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

## Tiruppāmpuram

I add here an inscription from the temple of Tiruppāmpuram because there is a record mentioning a donation by a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. However, since it is rather late, I have not studied the entire epigraphical corpus of the shrine.

#147. (a) Tiruppāmpuram, Naṅṅilam taluk, Tanjavur district, Śehapuriśvara temple; (b) on the base of the temple (?); (c) temple not visited and inscription not personally located; (d) ARE 1911, no. 90; *Naṅṅilam Kaḷveṭṭukaḷ*, no. 144/1977;<sup>28</sup> (e) 22nd regnal year of Tirupuvaṇa Cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Rājarājatēvar; (f) Rājarāja II or III; (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) I have not visited this site nor could I view any pictures of

<sup>27</sup> The *-e* is at the end of the previous line.

<sup>28</sup> I have not visited the site of Tiruppāmpuram, and therefore the information I provide here is based only on the publications which mention it. It should be noted that the text provided in NK 1977, no. 144, cannot read the word which precedes the title Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, while the summary of the ARE 1911, no. 90, proposes without hesitation Vāṇappaṭi, rendering thus the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar of Vāṇappaṭi. The inscription may have been in a better state in 1911 than in 1977, which would explain the clear reading of the ARE.

the inscription; I thus reproduce the edition published in NK, with the length of the *-e* and the *-o* restored as it is in the edition.

- (1) *svasti śrī* tirupuvaṇac cakkaravattika| *śrī rājarājatēvaṅku* yāṅṅu 22  
vatu *deṣa nāyarru pūrva pakṣattu bantudiyam putanḱilamaiyum perṛa*  
*pūcattu nāl* uyyakoṅṅārvaḱanāṅṅu uṅaiyār tiruppāmpuramuṅaiyār . . .  
*āṅa . . . pāṅṅatai . . . paḱuvēṅṅaraiyar nittal paṅṅikku* °aricillāṅṅil tirumaṅcaṅam [tiru]  
kalattukkum °aimpattiruceṅkaḱaṅiṅit tiruppaḱḱittāmatukkum °ivvūrilum  
*paṅṅinta(ta)* °ūrilum °ivar kāṅiyāṅa nilattum kaḱattum °uṅṅpaṅa piṅāri kōyilukku  
teṅṅku na[t]ta[m] teṅṅkaraiyilkoṅṅu °araikkōl °akalattu pōkiṅa cā . . . vākkālukku
- (2) vaṅa kuḱam ciṅṅutu tiruntu °ulpaṅa nilam paṅta X °itil °ūr nīṅkiṅa °iṅaiyili nittalp  
paṅṅikku tiruceṅkaḱaṅi °iṅa °aṅṅatta X 5 . . . m tirumaṅcaṅam °eṅṅpānukku °aṅṅaitta  
X . . . m [X X]<sup>29</sup> m °innilattu °oṅṅā. °ikkōyilil peruḱūr kiḱavaṅ [°eḱun]taruḱivitta  
tirukāmakōṅṅamuṅaiya māmalaiyāṅṅi[yā]rkku °amutu paṅṅikku °uṅalāka

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 22nd year of Tirupuvaṇa Cakkaravattika| Śrī Rājarājatēvar. On the day (*nāl*) of Pūcam (the 8th *nakṣatra*) falling (*perṛa*) on *bantudiyam* [?] Wednesday (*putanḱilamaiyum*) of the bright fortnight (*pūrva pakṣattu*) on the *deṣa* month (*nāyarru*). {{To}} the Lord (*uṅaiyār*) of Tiruppāmpuram, Lord (*uṅaiyār*) of Uyyakoṅṅārvaḱanāṅṅu, . . . Paḱuvēṅṅaraiyar {{gave}}, for a holy vessel (*tirukkalattukku*) for the sacred bath (*tirumaṅcaṅam*) supplying (*āṅṅil*?) for one measure (*paṅṅikku*) of rice (*aricil*) continuously (*nittal*), and for the holy garland (*tiruppaḱḱittāmatukkum*) of fifty-two (*aimpattiru*) red water lily (*ceṅkaḱaṅiṅit > ceṅkaḱaḱunīṅ*): as his (*ivar*) *kāṅi* (*kāṅiyāṅa*) in the displaced (*paṅṅinta*) village (*ūrilum*) and in this village (*ivvūrilum*), all the land (*nilattum*) and the places (*kaḱattum*), having taken (*koṅṅu*) on the southern bank (*teṅṅkaraiyil*) the village (*nattam*) to the south (*teṅṅku*) of the temple of Piṅāri which is included (*uṅṅpaṅa > ulpaṅa*), having renovated (*tiruntu*) the small (*ciṅṅutu*?) northern tank (*vaṅṅakuḱam*) for the water channel (*vākkālukku*) . . . which goes (*pōkiṅa*) in the open spaces (*akalattu*) of half a measure (*araikkōl*), the land (*nilam*) included (*ulpaṅa*) . . . ; . . . placed (*aṅṅatta*) red water lily (*tiruceṅkaḱaṅi > tiruceṅkaḱuṅi*) for one measure (*paṅṅikku*) continuously (*nittal*) without the taxes (*iṅaiyili*) removed (*nīṅkiṅa*) [for?] the village (*ūr*) in this (*itil*), . . . placed (*aṅṅaitta*) for he who raises (*eṅṅpānukku*) the sacred bath (*tirumaṅcaṅam*); . . . of this land (*inilattu*), in this temple (*ikkōyilil*) . . . , the lord (*kiḱavaṅ*) of Peruḱūr, for a measure (*paṅṅikku*) of food offerings (*amutu*) for Māmalaiyāṅṅiyār, Lord (*uṅaiya*) of Tirukāmakōṅṅam, who caused to graciously raise (*eḱuntaruḱivitta*), as the body (*uṅalāka*) . . .

### The Paḱuvēṅṅaraiyar women outside Paḱuvūr

The following inscriptions involve women coming from the Paḱuvēṅṅaraiyar family.

#148. (a) Cempiyaṅmahādevi, Nagapattinam taluk, Tanjavur district, Kailāsanātha temple; (b) on the base of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅṅapa*; (c) site not visited; (d) ARE 1925, no. 494; SII 19, no. 311; SII 32, part 2, no. 100; Cane (2017: 444-446);

<sup>29</sup> There are two symbols which may represent fractions: 1/4 and 1/32. But it is not very clear what it refers to.

(e) 12th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Uttamacōla (c. A.D. 983); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) I provide here the edition of N. Cane (2017: 444–446), because he proposed an edition which is significantly improved compared to the previous ones; I removed the letters and punctuation he supplied, and I converted the text to my conventions; he also provided a French translation in his work.

- (1) *svasti śrī kopparakesarivanmaku yāṅṭu 12 °āvatu gumbha nāyarṛu kaṅṭaṅ maturāntaka devarāṇa śrī °uttamacōla[devarai]t tiruvayīru vāy {built over}*
- (2) *na teṅkarai °aḷanāṭṭu brahmadeyam [śrī cempiya]ṅmahādeviccaturvedimaṅkala ttu °ivvuṭaiya pirāṭṭiyār veytta[rulīṇa śāsanaba]ddhac catu {built over}*
- (3) *pirāṭṭiyār tirunālāṇa cittirait [tirukkeṭṭai nāl mey]kkāṭṭi °unpatāka °isrī °uttamacōladevar deviyār paṭṭaṅ tāṅatonkiyār °ivvūr °ūrkkallāl ku {built over}*
- (4) *ccaturvedibhaṭṭat tāṅapperu[makkaḷukku] śrī °uttamacōladevar deviyār nampirāṭṭi maḷapāṭi teṅṅavaṅ mahādeviyār °ivvūr °ūrkkallāl {built over}*
- (5) *tāṅapperumakka[ḷukku °isrī] °uttamacōladevar °iruṅkōḷār makaḷār deviyār nampirāṭṭiyār vāṅava[ṅ] mahādeviyār °ivvūr °ūrkkallāl ku {built over}*
- (6) *m °iśśāṇabaddhac caturvedibhaṭṭat tāṅapperumakkaḷukke °isrī °uttamacōladevar deviyār viḷupparaiyār makaḷār nampirāṭṭiyār [ki]ḷāṅaṭikaḷār °ivvūr °ūrkkallāl kuṭṭa poṅ 95 k[ḷaḷaṅcu]*
- (7) *toṅṅūrraiṅ kaḷaṅcum °iśśāṇabaddhac caturvedibhaṭṭat tāṅapperumakkaḷukke °isrī °uttamacōladevar deviyār paḷaveṭṭaraiyar ma {built over}*

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman, on the month (*nāyarṛu*) of Gumbha. . . bore in her holy womb (*tiruvayīru*) Kaṅṭaṅ Maturāntakadevar alias Śrī Uttamacōladevar . . . bound by the charts (*śāsanabaddha*) graciously established (*veyttaruḷīṇa*) by this great queen (*ivvuṭaiya pirāṭṭiyār*) of Śrī Cempiyaṅmahādevic-caturvedimaṅkalam, a *brahmadeya* of Aḷanāṭu, on the southern bank (*teṅkarai*) . . . the holy day of Kēṭṭai of Cittirai, as the holy day (*tirunālāṇa*) of [the birth of] the queen (*pirāṭṭiyār*) having appeared (*meykkāṭṭi*) to feed (*unpatāka*), the queen (*deviyār*) of Śrī Uttamacōladeva, Paṭṭaṅ Tāṅatonkiyār, by the village weighing stone (*ūrkkallāl*) of this village (*ivvūr*) . . . to the great people of the donation (*tāṅapperumakkaḷukku*) Caturvedibhaṭṭa, the queen (*deviyār*) of Śrī Uttamacōladeva, our queen (*nampirāṭṭi*), Maḷapāṭi Teṅṅavaṅ Mahādeviyār, by the village weighing stone (*ūrkkallāl*) of this village (*ivvūr*) . . . to the great people of the donation (*tāṅapperumakkaḷukku*) . . . the queen (*deviyār*) of Śrī Uttamacōladeva, daughter (*makaḷār*) of Iruṅkōḷār, our queen (*nampirāṭṭiyār*) Vāṅavaṅ Mahādeviyār, by the village weighing stone (*ūrkkallāl*) of this village (*ivvūr*) . . . to the great people of the donation (*tāṅap-perumakkaḷukkē*) Caturvedibhaṭṭa bound by this chart (*iśśāṇabaddha*), the queen (*deviyār*) of Śrī Uttamacōladeva, daughter (*makaḷār*) of Viḷupparaiyār, our queen Kiḷāṅaṭikaḷār, by the village weighing stone (*ūrkkallāl*) of this village (*ivvūr*), gave (*kuṭṭa*) ninety-five *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*poṅ*), ninety-five (*toṅṅūrraiṅ*) *kaḷaṅcus*; to the great people of the donation (*tāṅap-perumakkaḷukkē*) Caturvedibhaṭṭa bound by this chart (*iśśāṇabaddha*), the queen (*deviyār*) of Śrī Uttamacōladeva, daughter (*ma{kaḷār}*) of Paḷuveṭṭaraiyar (*paḷaveṭṭaraiyar > paḷuveṭṭaraiyar*) . . .

#149. (a) Vṛddhācalam (Viruttācalam), Vṛddhācalam taluk, Cuddalore district, Vṛddhāgiriśvara temple; (b) on the southern façade of the sanctuary; (c) site not visited; edition established from pictures provided by N. Cane; (d) ARE 1918, no. 39;

(e) 5th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman alias Śrī Rājendracōladevar; (f) Rajendra I (c. A.D. 1017); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) lines 1 to 14 contain the *meykkīrtti* of Rājendra I.

- (1–13) *svasti śrī* {*meykkīrtti*}  
 (14) {*meykkīrtti*} kop  
 (15) parakecaripaṇmarāṇa śrīrajentra[co]  
 (16) X devarkku yāṇṭu 5 °āvatu vaṭaka  
 (17) rai rājentrasi[m]havaḷanāṭṭu °iruko[!a]  
 (18) ppāṭip paruvūrkūṛratu neṅkup  
 (19) pait tirumutukunṛam uṭ[ai]ya mahā  
 (20) devarku muñ[ñai] vallavaraiyar de  
 (21) [vi] XXX [luveṭṭa]rai XX [makaḷā] XXX  
 (22) XXXX tevaṭikaḷār vat X tirun X viḷak  
 (23) kkoṇṛukku XXX tuṛai XX |ūr XXX  
 (24) X koṇṭa poṇ patiṇ kaḷaṅcu XXX  
 (25) X [pa]tiṇ kaḷaṅcum poliyattā[ka] XX  
 (26) ṇṭu ni XX m °uḷakku ney XXXXXX  
 (27) [ṇru] XXX [kkaṭavaṇey] °eḷuṇā XXXX  
 (28) ṇi XXXX ṇru X cāma XXXX  
 (29) XXXXXX panmāheśvara XX

Fortune! Prosperity! {*meykkīrtti*} [This is] the 5th year of Kōpparakesarivarman alias Śrī Rājendracō[!a]devar. For Mahādeva of (*uṭaiya*) Tirumutukunṛam in Neṅkuppai in Paruvūrkūṛram of Iruṅkoḷappaṭi of Rājendrasimhavaḷanāṭu on the northern bank (*vaṭakarai*), the wife/queen (*devi*{*yār*}) of Muññai Vallavaraiyar, daughter (*makaḷār*) of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, . . . Tēvaṭikaḷār {{gave}} for one {{perpetual}} lamp (*tirun*{*ontā*})*viḷakkoṇṛukku*) . . . ten *kaḷaṅcus* of gold taken (*koṇṭa*) . . . ten (*patiṇ*) *kaḷaṅcus* . . . one *uḷakku* of *ghee* (*ney*) . . . {{this is under the protection of the}} Paṇmāheśvaras.

#150. (a) Tiruccenṇampūṇṭi, Tanjavur taluk and district, Caṭaiyar temple; (b) begins at the bottom of the westernmost wall section of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, and continues on the upper part of the base of the whole *ardha-maṇḍapa*; (c) site visited, but the edition of this inscription was established from pictures provided by N. Ramaswamy Babu; (d) ARE 1901, no. 299; ARE 1975, no. 137; SII 7, no. 520; Schmid (2014a: no. 17, pp. 322–324); (e) 17th regnal year of *matirai koṇṭa* Kōpparakesarivarman; (f) Parantaka I (c. A.D. 924); (g) inscription not read with anyone; (h) SII 7 provided the edition of only the first ten lines, excluding the part engraved on the base; Schmid proposed an edition of the whole inscription, but I think I have been able to improve it to some extent.

- (1) *svasti śrī* matirai koṇṭa kōpparakecari[[paṇ]]maṅku yā  
 (2) ṇṭu 17 °āvatu °iṭaiyārṛunāt[ti]t ti[[rukka]]t[ai]muṭi [ma]  
 (3) *hādevarku* cantirātitarajavum °oru muḷut tiruviḷakkiṇu[k]ku paḷuveṭṭa  
 (4) raiyar makaḷār nampirāṭṭiyār °arumo[!i]inaṅkaiyār pari[vā]ram kuṇavan  
 (5) cūratoṅki vaitta poṇ [pa]tiṇ °aṛu kaḷaṅcu poṇṇālum  
 (6) °iravum pakalum [[noṇ]]tāviḷakku °eri[[vatā]]kava tirukkoṭiḷku



- (7) nampa[n] XXXXXXXX cum [ceyi]r[[ri] XXXXXX [[tāyaṅ param[e]cura]]vaṅ  
sū
- (8) [[r]]yya[[gra XXX ra XXXXXXXXXX n[eyum] pālum ta[yirum °aṭ]ṭi °aruḷa  
vai[ttā po]]n
- (9) [[mu]]XXXXXXXX rupatiṅ kaḷa[[ñcu po]]XXXXXXXXXvat[ā]
- (10) XXXXXX r cavaiyom XXX °i XXXX [[p]oṅ]]nukku [[v]]iṅruk ku
- (11) tuṅiṅra nilat[tu]kkellai kil[parke]lai [°u]ṭciṅuvākkālu mekku teṅpārkellai  
°āritāṅ nārāyaṅaṅ cāttaṅum tampipārmakātava[n] ceṭṭinākaṅ {sculpted floral  
motif} [ni]lattuku vaṭakkum mēlpākkellai °āritāṅ nākaṅ nilakaṅtaṅum tampiyum  
°etta X kku kil[pa]kkum °aṅkāṭi vākkālukku kiḷakkum teṅku
- (12) vaṭapārkellai X [k]kuṭaivāka X X teṅkum °ivicaitta perunāṅkellaiyil °akappaṭṭa  
nilam °uṅṅilam °o XXXXX kārceyum {sculpted floral motif} tirukkaṭaimuṭip  
perumāṅṅaṭikaḷukku °iraṅiyiyāka cenirveṭṭiyum °āṅṅukkulaiyum ulpa X X  
perpaṭṭatam kāttuk kuṭupomā
- (13) nom tiru[perca]vai[yo]m °itaṅṅimpil cavaiy ākilum taṅittāni °ākilum °aiṅ  
kaḷaṅcu poṅ taṅṭap paṭa °oṭṭi XXXXX vayom {sculpted floral motif} °ikālce  
°iḷakuṅavaṅ cūrantoṅki vaitta ceyanāmānampaṅ k[ā]ṅci vaitta nilam kāṅiyum  
cāyaṅ parameycu X n vaitta nilam mukkāṅiyum
- (14) °āka °icceyāl kuṅavaṅ cūrantoṅki vaitta nilai X lakku °o XX °ittama rakṣ XXXX  
XX [n] talai me XX
- (15) [itu paṅmāye XXX] rakṣai

Fortune! Prosperity! [This is] the 17th year of Kōpparakesarivarman who has taken Madurai. For Mahādeva of Tirukkaṭaimuṭi in Iṭaiyāṅṅunāṭu, for one (*oru*) entire (*muḷu*) sacred lamp (*tiruvilakkiṅukku*), as long as the sun and the moon endure (*cantirāṭitarāḷavum*), Kuṅavaṅ Cūratoṅki, of the entourage (*parivāram*) of our queen (*nampirāṭṭiyār*) Arumolīnaṅkaiyār, daughter (*makaḷār*) of the Paḷuvēṭṭariyar, gave (*vaitta*) sixteen *kaḷaṅcus* of gold (*poṅ*); with all this gold (*poṅṅālum*), night and day (*iravum pakalum*), a perpetual lamp (*nontāvilakku*) will have to be burnt (*erivatākava*); for the holy flag (*tirukkoṭṭikku*) Nampaṅ . . . Paramecuvaraṅ Sūrya . . . having placed/poured (*aṭṭi*) ghee (*neyum*), milk (*pālum*) and curd (*tayirum*), graciously gave (*aruḷa vaitta*) . . . sixteen *kaḷaṅcus* of gold . . . we the Sabhā (*cavaiyōm*), having sold (*viṅṅru*) for the gold (*poṅṅukku*), we gave (*kuṭukiṅra*) [a land]; the boundaries (*ellai*) of the land (*nilattukku*) [are]: the eastern side boundary (*kiḷparkelai* > *kiḷpārkellai*) [is] to the west (*mēkku* > *mērkku*) of the small inner water channel (*uṭciṅuvākkālu* > *uṭciṅuvāyikkālukku*); the southern side boundary (*teṅpārkellai*) [is] to the north (*vaṭakkum*) of the land (*nilattukku*) of Āritāṅ Nārāyaṅaṅ Cāttaṅ and his younger brother (*tampi*) Pārmakātavaṅ Ceṭṭinākaṅ; the western side boundary (*mēlpākkellai* > *mēlpārkellai*) [is] to the east (*kiḷpakkum*) of . . . of Āritāṅ Nākaṅ Nilakaṅtaṅ and his younger brother (*tampiyum*) and to the east (*kiḷakkum*) of the water channel (*vākkālukku*) Aṅkāṭi; the northern side boundary (*vaṭapārkellai*)<sup>30</sup> [is] to the south (*teṅkum*) of . . . (a water channel?); [this is] the land which falls within (*akappaṭṭa*) these four great boundaries (*perunāṅkellaiyil*) thus divided (*ivicaitta*). . . the quarter land (*kārceyum*) . . . inner land (*uṅṅilam*) . . . as tax-free (*iraṅiyiyāka*) for the Lord (*perumāṅṅaṭikaḷukku* > *perumāṅaṭikaḷukku*) of Tirukkaṭaimuṭi, we of the great Sabhā (*tirupercavaiyōm*) we will give (*kuṭupōmāṅōm* > *kuṭuppōmāṅōm*), having

<sup>30</sup> Is the addition of *teṅku* before *vaṭapārkellai* a mistake?

shown (*kāttu*) [the document for taxes] of whatever name (*ep*) *pērpattatum*) including (*ulpa*) the *cennīr-veṭṭi* tax (*cenir* > *cennīr*) and the *āṛṛukkulai* tax; if one deviates from this (*itarṛimpil* > *itar rīrampil* > *itaṇ tirampil*), whether this is (*ākilum*) the Sabhā (*cavaiy*) or whether they are (*ākilum*) individuals (*taṇittani*), a fine (*taṇṭa*) of five (*aiñ*) *kaḷaṅcus* will occur (*paṭa*) . . . this quarter *cey* (*ikālce*) given (*vaiitta*) by Iḷakuṇavaṇ Cūratoṅki, [for] a standing lamp (*nilai*) *lakku* . . . Kuṇavaṇ Cūrantoṅki gave (*vaiitta*) this quarter *cey* (*icceykāl*) as (*āka*) one *kāṇi* of land (*nilam*) given (*vaiitta*) by Ceyanāmāmpaṇ Kāñci (name?) and three *kāṇis* of land given by Cāyaṇ Paramecuvaṇ. Those who protect (*rakṣi*) *pār*) this donation (*ittama* > *ittamam*) . . . on my head (*e*) *talai mē*) *l*). This is under the protection of the Paṇmāhe *śvaras*).

APPENDIX 3

HYMN 2.34 OF THE *TĒVĀRAM*  
BY CAMPANTAR, DEDICATED  
TO PAḶUVŪR

The edition provided here is the one established by  
T.V.G. Gopal Iyyer.

- (1) *muttaṅ, miku mū ilainalvēlaṅ, viri nūlaṅ,  
attaṅ, emai āḷ utaiya aṅṅal, iṭam eṅpar –  
maiṭ talai perum poḷiḷiṅ vācam atu vīca,  
pattaroṭu cittar payilkiṅṅra paḷuvūrē.*

Muttaṅ [Śiva free of bonds], he who has a great good spear with three blades, he [who knows] extensively the sacred texts, the Father, the Lord who possesses us as slaves, this is [his] place, they say; while the fragrance spreads in the big gardens with green foliage, this is Paḷuvūr crowded with mystics and devotees.

- (2) *kōḷaloṭu kōṅku avai kulāvu muṭṭaṅmēl  
āṭu aravam vaiṭta perumāṅṅatu iṭam eṅpar –  
māṭam mali cūḷikaiyil ēri, maṭavārkaḷ  
pāṭal oli ceyya, malikiṅṅra paḷuvūrē.*

The Lord who placed a dancing snake on top of his head, [where] lilies and *kōṅku* trees are intimate, this is [his] place, they say; this is Paḷuvūr crowded with women climbing on the large terraces of the mansions, while they sing.

- (3) *vāliya purattilavar vēva viḷiceyta  
pōliya oruttar, purinūlar, iṭam eṅpar –  
vēliyiṅ viraikkamalam aṅṅa muka mātar,  
pāl eṅa miḷarri naṭam āṭu paḷuvūrē.*

The unequalled one, who opened his eye to burn those in the great cities, he [who has] the sacred thread, this is [his] place, they say; this is Paḷuvūr where women with faces like fragrant lotuses in the fields dance, speak as softly as milk.

- (4) *eṅṅum, or eḷuttum, icaiyiṅ kiḷavi, tērvār  
kaṅṅum mutal āya kaṭavuṭku iṭam atu eṅpar –  
maṅṅiṅmicai āṭi, malaiyāḷar toḷutu ētti,  
paṅṅiṅ oli koṅṭu payilkiṅṅra paḷuvūrē.*

This is the place for the god who is the beginning, who is in the thoughts of those who examine speeches [made] of sounds, [who is] in the writing, [who is] in the counting, they say; this is Paḷuvūr crowded with Malaiyāḷars, with the sound of the singing, praising, worshipping, dancing in the middle of the world.

- (5) *cātalpurivār cuṭalaitaṅṅil naṭam āṭum  
nātaṅ, namai āḷuṭaiya nampaṅ, iṭam eṅpar –  
vētamoli colli maṛaiyāḷar iṛaivaṅtaṅ  
pātam avai ētta nikaḷkiṅṅra paḷuvūrē.*

The Lord who dances in the cremation ground of those who desire death, Nampan who possesses us as slaves, this is [his] place, they say; this is Paḷuvūr which shines while the Maṛaiyāḷars/Malaiyāḷars praise the feet of him, the Supreme God, uttering the words of the *Veda*.

- (6) *mēvu ayarum mummatilum ventaḷal viḷaittu,  
mā ayara aṅṅru uricey maintaṅ iṭam eṅpar –  
pūvaiyai maṭantaiyarkaḷ koṅṅtu pukaḷ colli,  
pāvaiyarkaḷ karpoṭu polinta paḷuvūrē.*

Having raised a glowing fire on all the three fortresses where desire is wearying, the powerful one who stripped off the elephant that day so that [she] faints, this is [his] place, they say; this is Paḷuvūr which prospers with the chastity of the young women, the young ladies having taken the *pūvai* (a plant or a bird), praising [its] fame.

- (7) *mantaṅam iruntu puri mā maṭitaṅ vēḷvi  
cinta viḷaiyāṭu civalōkaṅ iṭam eṅpar –  
antaṅarkaḷ ākutiyil iṭṭa akil, maṭṭu ā  
paintyōṭi nal mātar cuvaṭu orru paḷuvūrē.*

He who is Civaloka, while the sacrifice of the father-in-law in the city where deliberations take place was destroyed playfully, this is [his] place, they say; this is Paḷuvūr where good women with beautiful golden bracelets and fragrant eagle-wood [hair] embrace the footsteps, while the Brahmins place oblations in fire.

- (8) *urak kaṭalviṭattiṅṅai miṭarṅṅil ura vaittu, aṅṅru  
arakaṅṅai aṭarttu aruḷum appaṅ iṭam eṅpar –  
kurakku iṅam viraiṅ polilimṅṅitu kaṅi uṅṅtu,  
parakku uru puṅṅal cey viḷaiyāṭu paḷuvūrē.*

Having placed near, in the throat, the poison [from] the furious sea, that day, the Father who bestows his grace, pressed down the demon, this is [his] place, they say; this is Paḷuvūr, where a group of monkeys play with the abundant water, roaming about, having eaten the high fruits of the fragrant grove.

- (9) *niṅṅra neṭumālum oru nāṅmukaṅṅum nēṭa,  
aṅṅru taḷalāy nimirum āti iṭam eṅpar –  
oṅṅrum iru-mūṅṅrum orunālum uṅarvārkaḷ  
maṅṅriṅṅil iruntu uṅaṅmakiṅṅta paḷuvūrē.*

The supreme being who stretched out, having become fire, that day, while the long Māl stood, and the unique Nāṇmukaṇ looked for [him], this is [his] place, they say; this is Paḷuvūr where those who understand the One, the two by three (i.e. the Six) and the unique Four, rejoice altogether, staying in the hall.

- (10) *moṭṭai amaṇ ātar, tukil mūṭu viri tērar,  
muṭṭaikaḷ molinta muṇivāṇtan̄ iṭam enpar –  
maṭṭai mali tālai iḷanīr atu icai pūkam,  
paṭṭaiyoṭu tāru virikiṇra paḷuvūrē.*

He dislikes the bald ones and the Jains, who do not know widely, who cover [themselves] with fine clothes, who have deficiency when they speak, this is [his] place, they say; this is Paḷuvūr where trees with bark expand, the areca-palm fits in with tender coconut milk of the coconut tree full of leaf-stalk.

- (11) *antaṇarkaḷ āṇa malaiyāḷar avar ēttum  
pantam malikiṇra paḷuvūr arañai, ārac  
cantam miku ṇāṇam uṇar pantaṇ urai pēṇi,  
vanta vaṇam ēttumavar vāṇam uṭaiyārē.*

Araṇ (Hara) of Paḷuvūr is full of friendship where they, the Malaiyāḷars who are Brahmins, praise [him]; having cherished the words of Pantaṇ (Campantaṇ) where great intelligence is perceived, abundant with musical flow, those who praise with pleasant manners will reside in the celestial world.



## APPENDIX 4

# PHOTOGRAPHS OF PALUVŪR

In this Appendix, I have gathered pictures of the monuments and their sculptures I am studying in this book, but which do not have a direct impact on my demonstration. I have a double objective in presenting this Appendix: it gives the reader the ability to visualize the elements I am speaking about, and it stands as a sort of archive for fast disappearing monuments and sculptures. Apart from the well-known AIM, most of the visuals related to the other temples of the site are published here for the first time.



**Fig. A.1** General view of the AIM, from the north-west corner (©EFEO/IFP, no. 08332-02, photo by S. Natarajan, 1979)



Fig. A.2 General view of the AIM, from the north-east corner (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.3 Sandstone pillared hall in front of the southern shrine, AIM (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.4 Śiva accompanying the Mothers, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the compound of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.5 Brahmanī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the compound of the AIM (©EFEO/IFP, no. 06186-02, photo by P.Z. Pattabiramin, 1973).



Fig. A.6 Indrāṇī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the compound of the AIM (©EFEO/IFP, no. 06186-03, photo by P.Z. Pattabiramin, 1973).



Fig. A.7 Kaumārī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the compound of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.8 Vaiṣṇāvī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the compound of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.9 Varāhī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the compound of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.10 Māheśvarī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the compound of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.11 Cămuṅḍā, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the compound of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.12 Sandstone sub-shrine of Subrahmanya, on the western side of the compound of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.13 A form of Subrahmanya in his sub-shrine, on the western side of the compound of the AIM (©EFEO/IFP, no. 06187-08, photo P.Z. Pattabiramin, 1973).



Fig. A.14 Inscription #26 (photo by V. Gillet).

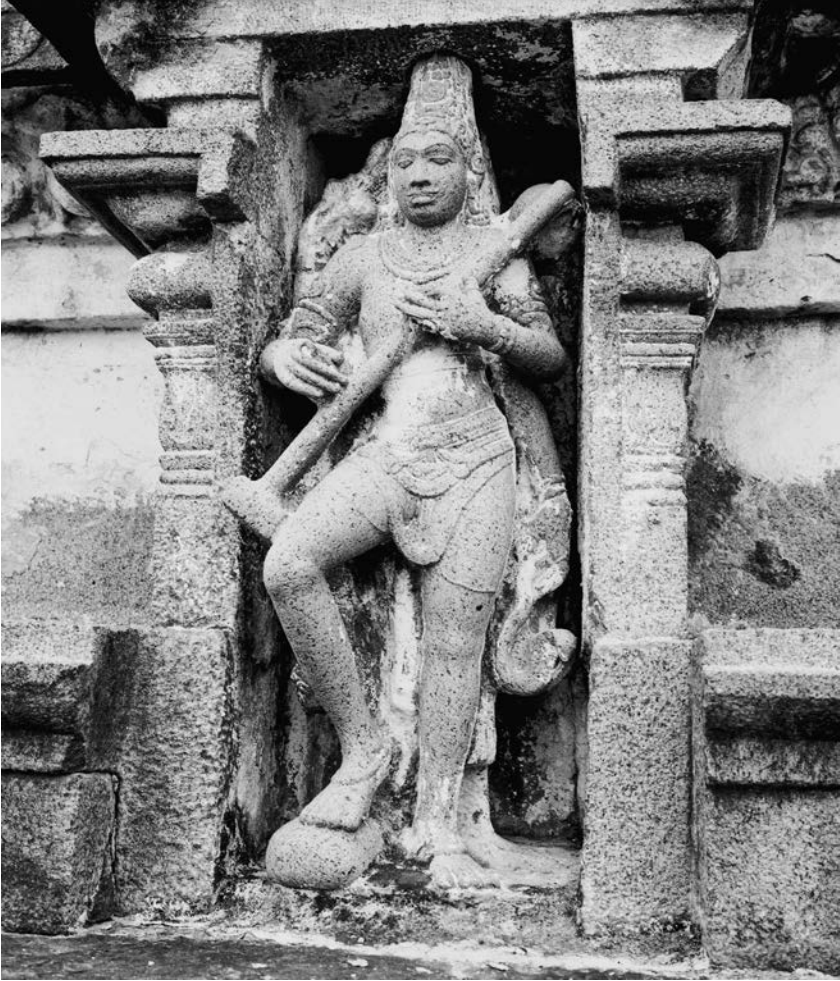


Fig. A.15 Śiva walking and playing the *vīṇā*, on the upper niche of the roof, on the western façade of the southern shrine, AIM (©EFEO/IFP, no. 06178-09, photo P.Z. Pattabiramin, 1973).



**Fig. A.16** Gajasamharamurti, on the western base of the pillared hall in front of the southern shrine of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.17 Dancers, on the western base of the pillared hall in front of the southern shrine of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.18 Stela of Gaṅgādharamūrti, in the pillared hall of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.19 Sūrya, in the pillared hall of the AIM (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.20 Goddess shrine, bearing the inscriptions of the Tiruttōramuṭaiyār, PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.21 South-western corner of the main shrine of the PIM: inscription #41, on the southern façade and #43 on the western façade (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.22 Inscription #43, PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.23 Inscription #48, PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.24 Beginning of inscription #49, PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.25 Inscription #50, PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.26 Beginning of inscription #50, PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.27 Inscription #52, PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.28 Brahmanī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.29 Māheśvarī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.30 Kaumārī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.31 Vaiṣṇāvī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.32 Varāhī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.33 Indrāṇī, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.34 Cămuṅḍā, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.35 Seated Śiva accompanying the Mothers, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.36 Dancing Śiva accompanying the Mothers, in the sub-shrine on the southern side of the PIM (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.37 Subrahmanya accompanied by his two wives, in his shrine on the western side of the compound of the PIM (©EFEO/IFP, no. 06577-04, photo P.Z. Pattabiramin, 1974).



Fig. A.38 Agni, in the eastern-side gallery of the PIM, southern side of the entrance (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.39 Śiva leaning on his bull, in the eastern-side gallery of the PIM, northern side of the entrance (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.40 Jyeshthā, in the eastern-side gallery of the PIM, northern side of the entrance (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.41 Viṣṇu, in the eastern-side gallery of the PIM, northern side of the entrance (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.42 Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, in the PIM or on the road between Mēlappaḷuvūr and Lālkuṭi, not located today (©EFEO/IFP, no. 00088-02, photo P.Z. Pattabiramin, 1956).



Fig. A.43 Southern and western façades of the sanctuary of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.44 Southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.45 Western façade of the sanctuary of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.46 Northern side of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.47 Northern façade of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.48 Northern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvālantūrai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.49 Inscription #104, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.50 Inscription #89, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



**Fig. A.51** Western façade of the compound wall, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.52 Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in the niche of the southern façade of the sanctuary of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.53 Liṅodbhavamūrti, in the niche of the western façade of the sanctuary of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.54 Brahmā, in the niche of the northern façade of the sanctuary of the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.55 Gaṇeśa, in the niche of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.56 Goddess on the buffalo's head, in the niche of the northern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.57 Door-guardian on the northern side of the entrance to the sanctuary of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (©EFEO, G. Ravindran, 2009).

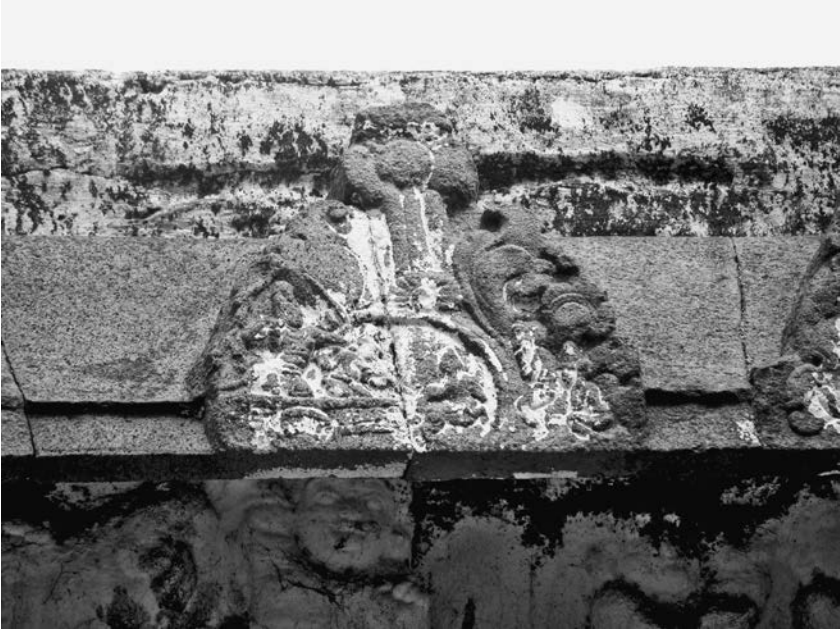


Fig. A.58 Tripurāntakamūrti, decoration on the roof of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, southern façade, of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.59 Śiva the mendicant, Kṛṣṇa dancing with pots and Kālārimūrti, decorations on the roof of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, northern façade, of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.60 Kaṅkalamūrti, niche on the northern side of the entrance, eastern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Tiruvālantūrai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.61 The marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, niche on the southern side of the entrance, eastern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.62 Reclining Viṣṇu, above the entrance, eastern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.63 Gajasamharamūrti, in the niche on the eastern side of the southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.64 Dancing Śiva and inscriptions #90 (western side of the niche) and #94 (eastern side of the niche), on the western side of the southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (©EFEO, G. Ravindran, 2004).



Fig. A.65 Detail of the Dancing Śiva, in the niche on the western side of the southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.66 Kālārimūrṭi, in the niche on the western side of the northern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



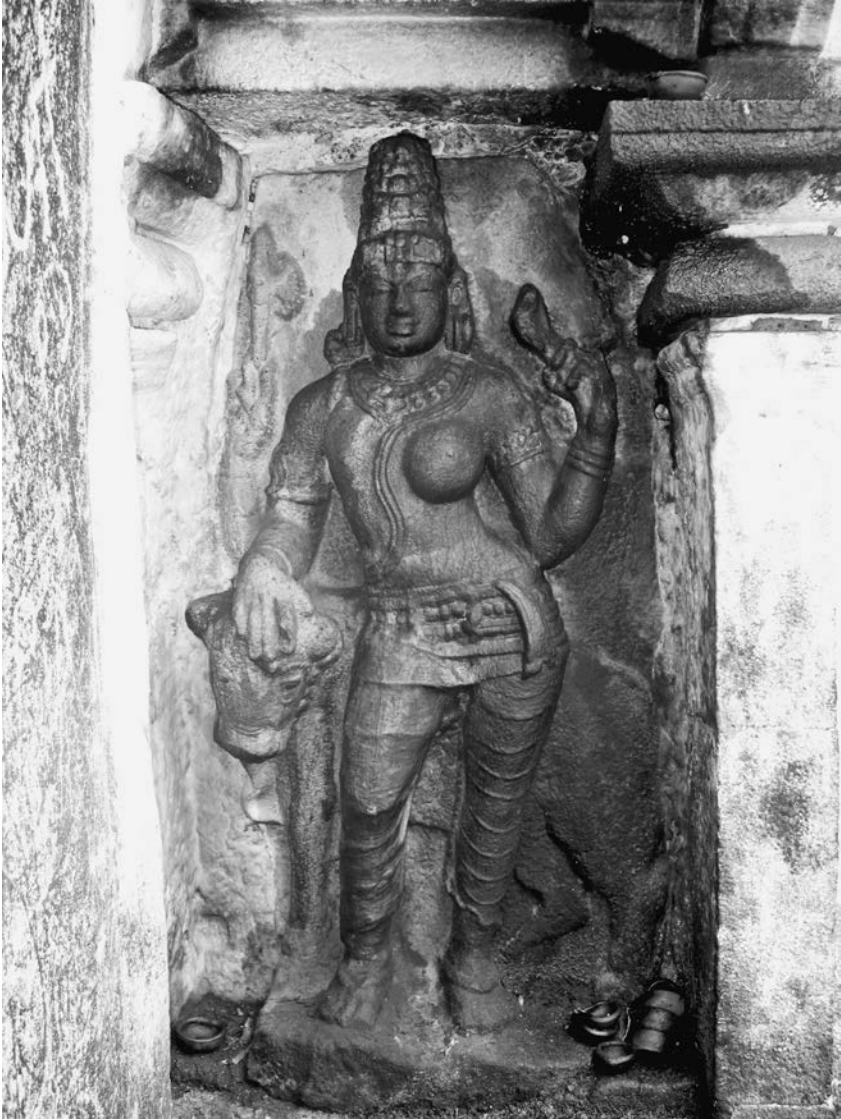


Fig. A.67 Ardhanārīśvaramūrti, in the niche on the eastern side of the northern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.68 Caṇḍeśa, in his shrine, on the northern side of the temple, Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



**Fig. A.69** Caṇḍeśa, in the gallery, on the southern side of the temple, Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.70 Subrahmanya, in his shrine, on the western side of the temple, Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.71 Kaumārī, in the gallery, on the southern side of the temple, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.72 Cāmuṇḍā, in the gallery, on the southern side of the temple, Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.73 Varāhī, in the gallery, on the southern side of the temple, Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.74 Vaiṣṇāvī, in the gallery, on the southern side of the temple, Tiruvālanṭuṟai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.75 Māheśvarī, in the gallery, on the southern side of the temple, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.76 Indrāṇī, in the gallery, on the southern side of the temple, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.77 Śiva accompanying the Mothers (?), in the gallery, on the southern side of the temple, Tīruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.78 Jyēṣṭhā, outside near the *gopura*, Tiruvālanṭuṛai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



**Fig. A.79** Upper part of the broken sculpture of the goddess, outside near the *gopura* in 2015, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.80 Lower part and buffalo's head of the broken sculpture of the goddess, outside near the *gopura* in 2015, Tiruvālantūrai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.81 Brahmā, outside near the *gopura* in 2015, Tiruvālanturāi Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



**Fig. A.82** Kālārimūrti, outside near the *gopura* in 2015, Tiruvālantūrai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.83 Inscription #83 and Gaṇeśa on the southern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.84 Inscription #104, on the northern façade of the sanctuary, on the eastern side of Brahṃā, Tiruvālanṭurai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.85 Inscription #89 and Gajasamharamūrti on the southern façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.86 Inscription #78, Tiruvālanturai Mahādeva temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.87 Eastern façade of the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.88 Inside the Maravanīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.89 Southern side of the Maravanīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.90 Southern and western façades of the Maravanīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.91 Western and northern façades of the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.92 Northern façade of the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).





Fig. A.93 Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in the niche of the southern façade of the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.94 Viṣṇu, placed in front of the niche of the northern façade of the Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.95 Jyeṣṭhā and door-guardian, placed on the northern side of the entrance, eastern façade, Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.96 Door-guardian, placed on the southern side of the entrance, eastern façade, Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



Fig. A.97 Inscription #72, Maṛavaṇīśvara temple (photo by V. Gillet).



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