

ART. IX.—*The Pallavas*. By the Rev. THOMAS FOULKES,
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THE accumulation of materials for the history of the Pallavas during the last few years has been remarkably rapid and extensive: and those materials are of high quality and great importance. The broad outlines of the history of these old kings during the greater portion of their long political existence are now known fairly well: and we may wait hopefully for a similar discovery of such additional details as are wanted to fill up the open spaces within those outlines. A great gain has thus been obtained for the students of the ancient history of Southern India: the rule of a powerful and enlightened dynasty over a large portion of the Dakhaṇ now fills up a long period of time which until quite recently was supposed to have been occupied by the wanderings of a few half-savage nomads; and a natural position has been thus found in the civilized progress of these kings, for some of the most remarkable works of ancient Indian art, lying as they do within the limits which are now known to have formed the territory of the Pallavas. It is a very remarkable rehabilitation; and all the more so because it was so unexpected: and it is not the less welcome though it has destroyed the old pet theory of the Daṇḍakāraṇya in its numerous shapes and chameleon colourings, which has so persistently claimed to be the key of the ancient history of the Dakhaṇ.

This rehabilitation is in great part due to the incidental statements contained in the inscriptions of the kings of other early Dakhaṇ dynasties, with whom the Pallavas were in pretty constant antagonism for several centuries; and partly also to the direct statements of similar inscriptions of the Pallavas themselves. The clue afforded by these

facts has led to the recognition of other valuable materials, many of them quite unconsciously recorded, which lie scattered amongst the facts collected in other researches. Of this latter class of materials there is probably a large quantity yet to be gathered: and these fresh materials may be expected to provide *clues into fresh fields of investigation*. The sources from which the materials which have been utilized have been obtained may be given here, as a rough outline of the bibliography of the subject, to assist those who may desire to pursue the study more fully. The chronological form in which it is presented will show in a general way when and by whom these facts were first brought to light: it will also be found useful in connection with the historical tables further on.

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 „ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii. : *Foulkes*; *Rice*; *Fleet*.
 1880. *Jour. R. A. Soc.*, vol. xii. (N.S.) : *Sewell*.
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 1883. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii. : *Elliot*; *Bühler*; *Sewell*; *Fleet*.
 „ *Salem District Manual*, chap. i. and Appendix : *Foulkes*.
 „ *Dynasties of Southern India* : *Sewell*.
 1884. *Ind. Ant.* vol. xiii. : *Fleet*.
 „ *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, vol. xvi. : *Bhagvándl Indrají*.
 „ *Jour. R. A. Soc.*, vol. xvi. (N.S.) : *Sewell*.

The dates assigned to the earliest inscriptions of the Pallava kings hitherto discovered place them a little earlier than the time of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian's visit to India. Although his travels did not extend to Southern India, his narrative contains a short pregnant chapter of hearsay information which throws much light in a general way upon the political and religious condition of the Dakṣaṇ at the time of his visit: and by a fair inference, his description is applicable to some considerable time earlier. I have endeavoured to show, in a contribution to the *Indian Antiquary* for 1878, that Fa Hian's extensive and well-civilized kingdom of Ta-thsen—in which name Remusat long ago detected the Dakṣiṇa (Dakṣaṇ)—was the kingdom of the Pallavas: and everything which has been added to our knowledge of the Pallavas since that paper was written has tended to confirm the position which it maintains.

This chapter of Fa Hian's travels may be regarded as marking off the dividing line between that period in the history of the Pallavas which is covered by documentary evidence, and the period preceding it for which at present only scattered fragmentary references exist, which need the help of more direct information before they can be confidently placed in their historical position. From the third century—that which preceded Fa Hian's visit—the inscriptions above referred to are succeeded by a number of others, both of the Pallavas themselves and of their rivals, belonging to each of the succeeding centuries down to the final extinction of the rule of these kings.

In the present early stage of the investigation the most useful form, perhaps, in which this documentary information can be gathered together is in the shape of the following chronological table, in which those passages of the inscriptions which refer to the Pallavas are quoted in full. Some other matter of substantially similar character is also included in it; and occasionally some historical inferences are added, drawn from these materials or tending to illustrate them. The different dates assigned to some of the facts

by different investigators have necessarily involved a few instances of repetition.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS.

A.D.

300-400. Reigns of Chandra-varmá, Vijaya-Nandi-varmá, and Vijaya-Buddha-varmá (Pallava).

Eggeling, Indian Antiquary, iii. 152. *Fleet*, *ibid.*, v. 175.

Bühler, *ib.*, 209. *Foulkes*, *ib.*, viii. 280; Salem Manual, ii. 352.

„ Reign of Skanda-varmá (Pallava).

Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. liii.

„ Vedenúr in Mysore belonged to the Pallavas.

Rice, Mys. Insc., p. liii, liv.

„ Reign of Vijaya-Skanda-varmá (Pallava).

Burnell, South Indian Palæography, 136. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v. 50; ix. 101; Kanarese Dynasties, 15, 16. *Sewell*, Dynasties, 71.

„ Trilochana Pallava reigned in the Dakhan.

Elliot, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, xx. 78.

Rice, Mys. Insc., p. liii, liv; Ind. Ant., ii. 156; viii. 246.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vii. 243, 245; Kan. Dyn., 19. *Sewell*, Dyn., 72.

„ Inscriptions of this date at Amaravati.

Fergusson, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, iii. (new series) 147.

„ Grant of Vijaya-Tunga- or V.-Buddha-varmá (Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 175; ix. 100, 103; xiii. 49; Kan. Dyn.,

15. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

„ Grant of Vijaya-Chanda-varmá (Pallava).

Burnell, S. I. Pal., heading of plates i, xxii.

„ Grant of Trinetra Pallava: probably a forgery.

Sewell, Lists, i. 85.

„ Jaha-Simha Vijayáditya (Chálukya) invaded the Dakhan, and lost his life in his warfare with the Pallavas.

Elliot, Mad. Journ. Lit. & Sc., xx. 78. *Dowson*, Jour. R. A.

S., i. (n.s.) 251. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., vii. 156; viii. 25, 93;

Mys. Inscr., p. lix, lx. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vii. 245. *Sewell*, Dyn., 8, 72; Lists, i. 148.

300-400. His son, Viṣṇu-var dhana "renewed the contest (*continued*) with the Pallavas, in which he was finally successful, cementing his power by a marriage with a princess of that race."

Elliot, *Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc.*, xx. 78; *Dowson*, *Jour. R. A. S.*, i. (N.S.) 251. *Rice*, *Ind. Ant.*, ii. 156; viii. 25, 94. *Fleet*, *Ind. Ant.*, vii. 243, 245, 246.

„ Fa Hian's rock-cut five-storeyed vihāra existed.

Remusat, *Fa Hian*, 314. *Wilson*, *Jour. R. A. S.*, v. 133. *Sykes*, *ib.*, vi. 312. *Laidlay*, *Fa Hian*, 317. *Beal*, *Fa Hian*, 139. *Cunningham*, *Ancient Geography of India*, i. 522. *Fergusson*, *History of Indian Architecture*, 135. *Foulkes*, *Ind. Ant.*, vii. 1; *Salem Man.*, i. 3, 10. *Fergusson & Burgess*, *Cave Temples*, 129. *Sewell*, *Dyn.*, 72.

„ Trinetra Pallava introduced Brahmans into his country.

Wilson, *Catalogue Mackenzie Manuscripts*, i. p. cxx. *Rice*, *Mys. Inscr.*, p. liv. See *Fleet*, *Ind. Ant.*, vii. 246. *Foulkes*, *Salem Man.*, i. 10. *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. 135, 144.

„ Trinetra Pallava made an alliance with an ancestor of Kuḍiya-var mā.

Sewell, *Lists*, i. 24.

300(cir.). Jaya-Simha (Chālukya) "began to subdue the Pallava dynasty that ruled over part of the South."

Kittel, *Nāgavarmā*, p. xxvii.

313(cir.). Buddhist relics removed from Dharaṇīkoṭā to Ceylon.

Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, i. 537, 542.

318(cir.) Pāli inscriptions at Amarāvātī.

Boswell, *Ind. Ant.*, i. 151.

400(cir.) Viṣṇu-Shāpāvamukta king of Kāncīpura mentioned in the Allahabad pillar-inscription.

Bhāu Dājī, *Jour. As. Soc. Bombay*, viii. 247.

„ The Dravida kingdom conquered by Dhruvanīti (Kongu-Karnāta).

Taylor, *Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc.*, xiv. 9.

„ Vengipuram, the capital of the Pallavas.

Elliot, *Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc.*, xi. 304; *Ind. Ant.*, vii. 21. See also *Ind. Ant.*, ii. 156; v. 50.

400 (cir.) The kingdom of the Pallavas was Fa Hian's kingdom
(continued) of Ta-thsen.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., vii. 1 ; viii. 172 ; Salem Man., i. 10, 11 ;
ii. 354.

400-500. Reign of Vijaya-Chaṇḍa-varmá (Pallava).

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xi. 302. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal.,
16, 61, 67, 70, 135. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v. 69, 175, 177.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 170. *Sewell*, Dyn., 100.

„ Reigns of the Pallava kings Skanda-varmá I., Víra-
varmá, Skanda-varmá II., Simha-varmá I., Viṣṇu-
gopa-varmá, Simha-varmá II., Skanda-varmá III.,
Nandi-varmá, Vijaya-Buddha-varmá, and Atti-
varmá. (Sometimes A.D. 400-600.)

Eggeling, Ind. Ant. ii. 272 ; iii. 152. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v. 50,
154 ; ix. 100, 102. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 36. *Foulkes*, Ind.
Ant., viii. 167, 169, 280 ; Salem Man., ii. 352, 362. *Rice*,
Mys. Inscr., p. liii. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 16. *Sewell*, Dyn.,
71, 100.

„ Grant of Vijaya-Nandi-varmá (Pallava).

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xi. 303 ; Ind. Ant., vii. 21.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 15, 16, & pl. xxiv. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v.
175. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 2, 3 ; ii. 352. *Sewell*, Dyn.,
71, 100.

„ Grant of Viṣṇugopa-varmá, “the pious yuva-
mahárāja of the Pallavas, who are the receptacles
of the royal glory of other kings that have
been conquered by their valour, and who have
prepared for celebration horse-sacrifices according
to the proper rites.”

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 50 ; ix. 99. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv.
Foulkes, Salem Man., i. 3. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

„ Grant of Simha-varmá II., “the pious great king
of the Pallavas, who are a most exalted race ;
who are possessed of wondrous fame which has
been acquired by the strength of their arms and
has become celebrated and established ; who have
prepared for celebration many sacrifices according
to the proper rites ; who are almost equal to
Shatakratu (Indra).”

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 154. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 3.

400–500. Grant of Nandi-varmá, “the dharma-mahárāja of (continued) the Pallavas, who are of the ancestral family of Bháradvája; who by his piety towards God, has secured every kind of prosperity for himself and of happiness for his subjects; who is always ready to perform his vows to offer sacrifices, righteously undertaken; who is radiant with victory obtained by the daring punishment of his enemies in many battles; who is always ready to uphold righteousness marred by the corruptions of the Kaliyuga; who constantly meditates on the mercy of God; who is a disciple of Bappa Bhattáraka, and an eminently religious man:—the son of the Mahárāja Shrí Skandavarmá, who revered the gods, the Brahmans, the religious superiors, and aged men; who was willing to be directed by his elders; whose abundant righteousness was increased by his gifts of good kine, gold, land, and other gifts; who was skilled in the protection of his subjects, and was himself very truth:—the grandson of the Mahárāja Shrí Simhavarmá, who obtained success by his celebrated strength; before whose majesty the assembly of kings bowed down; the unrivalled hero of the earth:—the great-grandson of the Rája Shrí Skandavarmá, the great patron of the Brahmans; by whom all the divinely appointed rules of right conduct were collected and confirmed by the might of his own arm.”

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 167; Salem Man., i. 3; ii. 349, 362.

„ Grant of Simhavarmá II. (Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 154, 175. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 15, 16, 61, 67, 70. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

„ Grant of Attivarmá (Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 154; ix. 99, 102, 103 (A.D. 300 to 400; “early date”); Kan. Dyn., 15. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

400-500. "Previous to the arrival of the first Chálukya in (continued) the Dakhaṇ, the Pallavas were the dominant race."

Elliot, Jour. R. A. Soc., i. (N.S.) 251; *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*, xx. 78, 79. *Dowson*, Jour. R. A. S., i. (N.S.), 251. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., ii. 156. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v. 50; *Kan. Dyn.*, 19. *Burgess*, Archæol. Rep. W. India, Bidar, 23. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 2. *Sewell*, Dyn., 1. See Ind. Ant., ix. 99.

- „ "The first Chálukya established his sovereignty in the peninsula about the fifth century A.D., by conquest of territory from the Pallavas, south of the Nerbudda."

Sewell, Jour. R. A. S., xvi. (N.S.) 31.

- „ The Pallavas were at the height of their power in the Dakhaṇ.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., vii. 6.

- „ The basin of the Pálár formed part of the Pallava dominions.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 172.

- „ The Pallava dominions extended from Orissa to the mouth of the Southern Pennár along the eastern coast; and inland, along the eastern boundary of the Kongu-Karnáta kingdom, and across the Tungabhadrá north-westwards far into the Northern Dakhaṇ.

Foulkes, Salem Man., i. 4, 10. *Sewell*, Jour. R. A. S., xvi. (N.S.) 31. See also *Lists*, i. 193.

- „ The Pallavas defeated by the Kadambas.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 22; *Kan. Dyn.*, 9. *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. 148.

- „ The Pallavas defeated by Mṛigesā-varmá (Kadamba), who was "a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas."

Fleet, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., ix. 234; Ind. Ant., v. 50; *Kan. Dyn.*, 9, 15. *Bühler*, Ind. Ant., vi. 25. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xxxix, liv. *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. 176.

- „ Viṣṇu-varmá (Pallava) slain by Ravi-varmá (Kadamba).

Fleet, *Kan. Dyn.*, 15. See *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. 177.

400–500. Chaṇḍa-daṇḍa, lord of Kāñchipura, “uprooted” by
(continued) Ravi-varmā (Kadamba).

Bühler, Ind. Ant., vi. 30. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xxxix, liv.
Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 9, 15. *Sewell*, Dyn., 72.

„ Brahmins received land-grants from the Pallava
kings.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 167, 281; *Salem Man.*, ii. 362.

450 (cir.). Inscription in Java in a development of the
Pallava character.

Burnell, S. I. Pal., 131.

468 Jaya-Simha Vallabha invaded the Dakhaṇ.

Burgess, Arch. Rep. Bidar, 24.

480 (cir.). The king of Drāviḍa paid tribute to Avinīta or
Durvanīti (Ganga).

Dowson, Jour. R. A. S., viii. 4. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and
Sc., vii. 9. *Burgess*, Ind. Ant., i. 362. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr.,
p. xliii. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177.

489 (cir.). A rock-inscription at Badāmi calls “the Pallava
the foremost of kings.”

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vii. 247; ix. 100.

„ Grant of Pulakeshi (Chálukya).

Wathen, Jour. R. A. Soc., v. 345. *Dowson*, ib. i. (n.s.)
250, 256. *Elliot*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xx. 79; Jour.
R.A.S., i. (n.s.) 251. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 17.

„ Badāmi, a Pallava stronghold, captured by the
Chálukyas.

Burgess, Arch. Rep. Bidar, App., 131. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant. ix.
99; Kan. Dyn., 15, 18 (table), 20. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

„ Kāñchipura burnt by Pulikesi I. (Chálukya).

Elliot, Jour. R. A. S., iv. 9; Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vii.
201. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep. Bidar, 25; *Fleet*, Kan.
Dyn., 20.

500–600. Reigns of the Pallava kings Rājendra-varmā and
his son Devendra-varmā.

Eggeling, Ind. Ant., iii. 152. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.
Foulkes, Salem Man., ii. 354.

„ Reign of Viṣṇu-simha-, or Nara-simha-varmā
(Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., ix. 99; Kan. Dyn., 16. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

500–600. Reign of Chaṇḍa-daṇḍa (Pallava) ; ? Ati Rana
(continued) Chaṇḍa.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lv. See *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*,
xiii. 5, 53.

„ Pallava inscriptions at Betmangala, Ávani, Nangali,
Shríniváspúr, Nandi, and Goribidnúr, in the
Mysore country.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

„ Copper coins of the Pallavas found extensively in
the Masulipatam district.

Elliot, *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*, xix. 237.

„ The Pallavas ruled the Vengi country.

Eggeling, *Ind. Ant.*, iii. 152. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

„ Badámí temporarily recovered by the Pallavas.

Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, ix. 100.

„ Mṛigesa (Pallava) built a Jama temple at Palásiká.

Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, vi. 31 ; *Fleet*, *Kán Dyn.*, 15.

500–516. An ambassador from Southern India visited China.

Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vi. 66 ; *Sykes*, *Jour. R. A. S.*, vi. 458.

550 (cir.). Vilanda (Ganga) “subdued the Pallavendra Nara-
pati.”—The Pallava king trodden to death by
elephants in battle.

Rice, *Ind. Ant.* ii. 156, 160 ; *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.* for
1878, p. 141, 147.

570 (cir.). Grant of Devendra-varmá (Pallava).

Eggeling, *Ind. Ant.*, iii. 152 ; *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv.

585 (cir.). Pulikesi II. (Chálukya), “the sun to melt the frost

610–634. which was the army of the Pallavas,” “caused
the leader of the Pallavas who aimed at the
eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess
behind the ramparts of Káñchipura, which was
concealed under the dust of his army.”

Fleet, in *Burgess' Arch. Rep.*, Bidar, 138 ; *Ind. Ant.*, v. 51,
68, 73 ; viii. 245. *Foulkes*, *Ind. Ant.*, viii. 281. *Sewell*,
Lists, i. 177, 189.

589–636. The Dráviḍa country conquered by Kongaṇi-varmá
III. (Ganga-Karnáta).

Dowson, *Jour. R. A. S.*, viii. 5. *Taylor*, *Mad. Jour. Lit. and
Sc.*, xiv. 10. *Burgess*, *Ind. Ant.*, i. 362. *Sewell*, *Lists*,
i. 148, 177.

- 600 (cir.). Vikramáditya I. (Chálukya) "forced the king of Káncíhí, 'who had never bowed down to any man,' to lay his crown at his feet."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 24.

- 600-700. Reign of a Pallava king in Kalinga.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 243. *Sewell*, Dyn., 43.

- „ Pallava inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas and Shálavan-kuppam, near Sadras.

Burnell, S. I. Pal. 53. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. lii.

- „ Coins and copper seals of the Pallava kings found along the sea-shore south of Madras.

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xix. 243, 248.

- „ Pallava victories over the Chálukyas.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 277, 281.

- „ "Gaṇḍa-deva (Ganga-Karnáta) fought with the Dráviḍa-rája in Káncíhí-desá, defeated him, and exacted tribute from the country."

Dowson, Jour. R. A. S., viii. 6. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xiv. 12. *Burgess*, Ind. Ant., i. 362.

- „ The Pallava kings were renowned for their learning, skill in warfare, and personal valour.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 280.

- „ One of the Pallava kings was "an enthusiastic worshipper of Viṣṇu."

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 277, 281; *Salem Man.*, ii. 362.

- 608 (cir.). Vikramáditya (Chálukya) "made the lord of Káncíhí kiss his lotus feet."

Elliot, Jour. R.A.S., iv. 10; *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.* vii. 202.

- 610 (cir.). Conquest of the Vengi-Pallavas by Kubja-Viṣṇu-vardhana (Chálukya).

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xx. 79; *Jour. R. A. S.*, i. (n.s.)

251. *Dowson*, Jour. R. A. S., i. (n.s.) 258. *Foulkes*, Jour.

As. Soc. Beng., xxxix. (i.) 153; *Salem Man.*, i. 4, 9;

Burnell, S. I. Pal., 21. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 26.

Rice, Ind. Ant., vii. 6; *Mys. Inscr.*, p. lii. *Fleet*, Dyn.,

15, 23. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 19, 36, 42, 47; *Dyn.*, 10, 15, 72.

- „ Vikramáditya I. (Chálukya) "with irresistible might subdued the Pallava dynasty."

Bhagvántál Indrají, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., xvi. 4, 5.

610 (cir.) Káma-rája, Raṇa-jaya (Pallava) at the Seven
(continued) Pagodas.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii. ; Ind. Ant. viii. 94.

„ The Pallavas were defeated and ruined by Satyá-
shraya (W. Chálukya), and driven behind the
walls of Kánc̥hi.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 67, 73; Dyn., 24; *Rice*, Mys. Inscr.,
p. lv. *Sewell*, Dyn., 10, 15, 72.

620 (cir.). Narasimha Pota-varmá (Pallava) was defeated by
Vilanda-rája (Ganga), and trodden to death by
elephants.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 78. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xliii, liii, lv.
lxii. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11, 72.

„ The Pallava king paid tribute to the Ganga.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. xliii.

622 (cir.). Inscription of Kubja-Viṣṇu-vardhana (E. Chá-
lukya), the conqueror of the Vengi-Pallavas.

Foulkes, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., xxxix. (1.) 153 (from Pro-
ceedings of the Madras Government). *Burnell*, S. I. Pal.,
137, and pl. xxvii.

634 (cir.). Pulikesi II. (Chálukya) in alliance with Chaṇḍa-
daṇḍa II. (Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., viii. 244; Kan. Dyn., 15.

635 (cir.). The Pallavas were ruling at Kánc̥hi.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., viii. 245. *Fergusson and Burgess*, Cave
Temples, 108. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 189.

640 (cir.). The Pallavas were defeated by the Kadambas.

Sewell, Dyn., 2, 72.

„ The Chinese Hiwen-thsang visited Kánc̥hipuram.
It was at this time six miles long. Its in-
habitants were brave, just, learned, pious, and
tolerant in religion.

Julien, Memoires, ii. 118, 397; La Vie, 190. *Wilson*, Jour.
R. A. S., xvii. 130. *Cowell*, Elphinstone's Hist. Ind., 5th
edit., 294. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 280; Salem Man.,
i. 8; ii. 362. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 172, 177; Dyn., 2, 71, 72.

„ The flourishing condition of the north-eastern
districts of the Pallava dominions at this time
and earlier is shown by the numerous Buddhist
monasteries and Hindu temples found by Hiwen-
thsang throughout this portion of his route.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., vii. 6; Salem Man., i. 9.

640 (cir.) Buddhist buildings of great beauty at Dhanakāṭa.
(continued) kāṭa.

Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, i. 540 (after *Julien*, i. 188).

- „ Hiwen-thsang found large Buddhist establishments at Dhanakacheka.

Fergusson, *Jour. R.A.S.*, iii. (N.S.) 143; xii. (N.S.) 108.

Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, 95.

- „ A richly sculptured Buddhist monastery at Pingkila.

Julien, ii. 106. *Burnell*, *S. I. Pal.* 16. *Foulkes*, *Salem Man.*, i. 9.

- „ Atiraṇa-chaṇḍa Pallava reigned.

Elliot, *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*, xiii. 51. *Carr*, *Seven Pagodas*,

12. *Fergusson and Burgess*, *Cave Temples*, 108, 154.

Foulkes, *Salem Man.*, i. 2.

650–670. Shankarāchārya preached in Kāñchipura.

Taylor, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vii. (1) 513; *Catal. Mad. MSS.*, iii. 523, 700. *Burnell*, *S. I. Pal.*, 37. *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. 177; *Dyn.*, 72.

N.B. Shankarāchārya's date is not settled. The latest authorities give from A.D. 550 to 600 (*Telang*, *Ind Ant.*, April, 1884), and A.D. 800 to 900 (*Max Müller*, *Sacred Books of the East*, xv. p. xii, 1884).

650–700. The Rathas and caves at the Seven Pagodas.

Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, 110, 403, 438, 449, 451. *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. App. p. xxix.

- „ The Undavalli cave at Bejwāḍa.

Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, 403. *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. App. p. xxix.

658–681. The Pallavas were defeated by Vikramāditya I. (Chálukya), and Kāñchipura captured.

Rice, *Ind. Ant.*, ii. 156; *Mys. Inscr.*, p. lv, lxi. *Fleet*, *Ind. Ant.*, vi. 75; *Kan. Dyn.*, 27. *Foulkes*, *Ind. Ant.*, viii. 282. *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. 177; *Dyn.*, 10, 15, 72.

658 (cir.). Vikramāditya I. (Chálukya), while heir-apparent, “at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, whose kingdom consisted of three (component) dominions.”

Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, vi. 87; vii. 301; ix. 129; x. 134; *Foulkes*, *Salem Man.*, ii. 363.

658 (cir.) The Pallavas and others "were brought into a (continued) similar state of servitude"

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 93; vii. 303.

- „ He had "the lotuses which were his feet besprinkled with the waters which were the rays of the watering-pot which was the jewelled diadem of the lord of Kánc̥hi, who bowed down to no other."

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 87; vii. 106; viii. 28; ix. 129; x. 134.

- " His "feet were kissed by the diadem of the lord of Kánc̥hi, who always bowed down before him."

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vii. 111.

- „ His "feet were kissed by the crown of the king of Kánc̥hi, who never bowed to any other man."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 27; Mys. Inscr., 299. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 30.

- „ "After conquering the Pallava king whose insults threatened destruction to the [Chálukya] dynasty, he had become possessor of Kánc̥hipura."

Rice, Mys. Inscr., 236, 241.

- „ He "seized the city of Kánc̥hi after the defeat of the leader of the Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of his family." He captured Kánc̥hipura, "the mighty abode of enmity that was hard to be surmounted and difficult to be borne, . . . whose lord bowed down to no other."

Bühler, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., ii. 372; Ind. Ant., vi. 61; vii. 301. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vi. 87; x. 134; *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 30; *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 282; Salem Man., ii. 363.

- „ He "achieved the ruin of the Pallavas, and though delighting much in Kánc̥hiká, which is, as it were, the wanton girdle of the woman who is the country of the South"

"He conquered that family of mighty wrestlers [namely, the 'Mahá-malla-kula,' the Pallavas] who were possessed of the title of 'Royal Wrestler.' By him, the ruler of the Southern

region, was Kánci captured, the mighty abode of enmity that was hard to be surmounted and difficult to be borne,—which was girt about by a moat that was very deep and difficult to be crossed,—and which was as it were the girdle of the sea-king Jayateshvara.”

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 78.

N.B.—Mr. Fleet remarks: “In the epithets applied to Vikramáditya I., a clear allusion is made . . . to some interruption of the Western Chálukya rule that was effected by the leader of the Pallavas, the lord of Kánci.” See *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vi. 75, 85; vii. 219; ix. 129; x. 132. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 8, 9; ii. 363. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., x. 37.

660 (cir.). Jayateshvara Pota-rája (Pallava) conquered by Vikramáditya I. (Chálukya).

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. l, liii; Ind. Ant., x. 37.

668 (cir.). A land-grant to a learned Brahman of Dráviḍa by Shiva-ráma (Kongu-Karnáta).

Dowson, Jour. R. A. S., viii. 5.

„ Chaṇḍa-daṇḍa, lord of Kánci, “uprooted” by Ravi-varmá (Kadamba).

Fleet, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., ix. 234; Kan. Dyn., 9.

670. The Pallavas subverted the Chálukya throne.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 133, 134, 135; Kan. Dyn., 26; and the references above. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177, 190; Dyn., 10.

675 (cir.). The Pallavas were defeated by Vikramáditya I.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 75. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177, 190.

677 (cir.). The Pallavas re-conquered him.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 75. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., x. 37. *Sewell*, Dyn., 10.

679 (cir.). The Pallavas were crushed by him, and Kánci again taken.

Sewell, Dyn., 10.

„ Vinayáditya (Chálukya) conquered the Pallavas for his father,—that family of mighty wrestlers possessed of the title of ‘Rája-malla.’

Burgess, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 31. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177, 190.

692(cir.). He "captured the proud army of Trairájya, the king of Káncchi."

Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 156; viii. 28; *Mys. Inscr.*, p. liii, 299.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 134.

„ He "destroyed the power of Trairájya Pallava," and "reduced to subjection Pallava"

Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 146; *Mys. Inscr.*, 237, 241. *Fleet*, Ind.

Ant., x. 134.

„ Trairájya Pallava was defeated by Vinayáditya, and his whole army and his capital captured.

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 24; *Mys. Inscr.*, p. lvi, lxi. *Fleet*, Kan.

Dyn., 28. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11.

694(cir.). Vinayáditya "churned the lords of Káncchi."

Elliot, Jour. R. A. S., iv. 10; *Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc.*, vii.

202. *Fergusson & Burgess*, Cave Temples, 154 (after Ind.

Ant., ii. 272; iii. 152; v. 154; vii. 303.)

700(cir.). A Pallava stone inscription at the Seven Pagodas.

Burnell, S. I. Pal., pl. xii.

700–800. Shrí-vallabha (Kongu-Karnáta) "gained a great victory over the Pallava king [Narasimha-Potavarmá], in which the latter lost his life."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 23; x. 27 (after *Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc.* for 1878, p. 141).

„ One of the Pallava kings was "a devotee of Maheshwara."

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278, 281; *Salem Man.*, ii. 362.

„ Brahmans received land-grants from the Pallava kings, and were greatly patronized by one of them.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278, 281; *Salem Man.*, ii. 362.

„ Cave temple of Uṇḍavalle.

Fergusson & Burgess, Cave Temples, 97. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 77; App. p. xxix.

„ "The Pallavas were ruling over the east of the Mysore country from that time onwards."

Rice, Ind. Ant., x. 39.

705. Vinayáditya (Chálukya) "disabled the insolent forces of Dhuerayu [*sic* for Trairájya] king of Káncchi."

Le Grand Jacob, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., iii. 205, 207.

725. Maru-varmá, rája of Nirgunda in North Mysore, married the daughter of the Pallava king.
Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 156, 161.
- 725-755. Kánc̥hi was "subjugated" by Danti-durga (Raṣṭra-kúṭa).
Burgess, Arch. Surv. W. Ind., No. 10, p. 96.
- „ The army of Karnáṭa "was expert in defeating the lords of Kánc̥hi"
Bühler, Ind. Ant., vi. 61.
- 733 (cir.). The king of Kánc̥hi was conquered by Vikramáditya II. (Chálukya).
Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 85. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 31 ;
Sewell, Lists, i. 177, 190.
- „ The great temple of Paṭṭadakal was built by Vikramáditya II.'s queen "expressly to celebrate another victory over the king of Kánc̥hi by her husband."
Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 85. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., viii. 24.
- " in commemoration of her husband having three times conquered Kánc̥hi."
Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 163, 164, 165.
- „ The Pallava king, Nandi Pota-varmá I., was conquered and slain by Vikramáditya II. (Chálukya), and Kánc̥hi again captured (745 cir.).
Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 24, 25, 94 ; Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi ;
Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 29. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11, 73.
- „ Vikramáditya II. "determined to root out the Pallavas, the obscurers of the splendour of the former kings of his line and by nature hostile, going with great speed into the Udáka province, slew in battle the Pallava named Nandi-Pota-varmá who came against him, captured his defiant lotus-mouthed trumpet, his drum called 'Roar-of-the-Sea,' his chariot, his standard, immense and celebrated elephants, clusters of rubies which by their radiance dispelled all darkness, and entering without destruction Kánc̥hi, the zone (*kánc̥hi*) as it were of the lady the region of Agastya's abode (*i.e.* the South), ac-

quired the great merit of covering with gold Rája Simheshvara and other *deva kula* sculptured in stone, which Narasimha Pota-varmá, the protector of indigent Brahmans, . . . had made."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 24, 28; *Mys. Inscr.*, 300.

750 (cir.). Inscription of Nolambádhirája (Pallava).

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 90; *Mys. Inscr.*, p. ix, lvi, 212; *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., x. 125.

755 (cir.). Danti-durga (Ráshṭra-kúṭa) defeated "the whole army of the Karnátaka, which had been renowned for the humiliation of Shrí Harṣha, the king of Káncchi, etc."

Ball Gangadhar Shastree, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., ii. 372.

Bühler, Ind. Ant., v. 149; xii. 187.

„ The king of Káncchi was conquered and "dispersed" by Danti-varmá II. (Ráshṭra-kúṭa).

Ind. Ant., xi. 108, 111; xii. 11. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar 33; *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 33. *Sewell*, Dyn., 94.

„ The Pallavas were conquered by him twice after this date, and Káncchi was again taken.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 162; Kan. Dyn., 29. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11.

„ He "was expert in defeating the lords of Káncchi . . ."

Burgess, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 33.

„ Reign of Víra Mahendra (Pallava).

Rice, *Mys. Inscr.*, p. lxiii. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 30.

758 (cir.). The Pallava king Nandi Pota-varmá II. was slain by Kirti-varmá II. (Chálukya), and Káncchipura captured.

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 23, 25, 28; *Mys. Inscr.*, p. liii, lvi, lxii. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 29. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11.

„ While he was heir-apparent Kírti-varmá II. begged of his father to send him "to subdue the king of Káncchi, the enemy of our race;" and he "marched forth, and going against him broke the power of the Pallavas, who, unable to make war on a large scale, took refuge in a hill-fort; and capturing his lusty elephants, his rubies, and treasury of gold, delivered them to his father."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 28; *Mys. Inscr.*, 301.

768 (cir.). Reign of the Nolamba-rāja (Pallava) Āhava-duggan, or Ahitara-javanam.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi.

„ A Pallava pillar-inscription at Haraḷu-kōṭe, Mysore.

Rice, Ind. Ant., x. 36. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., xi. 125.

770 (cir.). Dhruva (Rāṣṭra-kūṭa) “humbled the pride of the Pallavas.”

“Having obtained from the humbly bowing Pallava,—whom on the one side (Dhara’s) ocean-like cavalry pressed, that exulted over its crushed foes, that roamed about and was formidable on account of its bravery, while on the other side the self-moving ocean restrained him”

Bühler, Ind. Ant., vi. 69. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., xi. 156.

777 (cir.). A Pallava princess was the wife of the king of Nirgunda in North Mysore.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lvi, 288.

„ “Kuṇḍavve, daughter of the Pallava king, erected a Jaina temple, in the north of Shripura.”

Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 155. *Kittel*, Nāgavarmā, p. xxi.

778 (cir.). Dhruva (Rāṣṭra-kūṭa) “caused the Pallava king to bow down before him.”

Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 125.

„ He conquered Dantiga, king of Kānchi.

Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 34.

785–810. Govinda III. (Rāṣṭra-kūṭa) “drew towards himself the entire wealth of the Pallavas.”

Bühler, Ind. Ant., vi. 63, 71. *Rice*, Inscr., p. lvi. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., xi. 162.

788 (cir.). The Buddhists were finally driven from Kānchi by Hemasitala.

Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lxx, lxxvii. *Taylor*, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (ii.) 121; viii. 284. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi. *Sewell*, Dyn., 73.

„ Hemasitala, or Yemasitala, or Himasila, brought a large Jaina colony from the North to Kānchi.

Taylor, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (ii.) 110; *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*, vii. 8.

788 (cir.) He was the last Buddhist king of Kāñchipura.

Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vii. 20.

„ He became a Jaina convert.

Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc. vii. 319; viii. 261.

700–900. The caves at the Seven Pagodas.

Burgess, Ind. Ant., xi. 97.

„ Reigns of the Pallava kings Simha-viṣṇu, Mahendra-varmā I., Narasimha-varmā I., Mahendra-varma II., Parameshvara-varmā, Narasimha-varmā II., Nandi-varma, and Pallava-malla Nandi-varmā.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 273; Salem Man., i. 4; ii. 362.

Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 16, 26. Sewell, Dyn., 72, 73.

„ An inscription at Amarāvati has the following names of Pallava kings:—Simha-varmā I., Simha-viṣṇu, Nandi-varmā, Simha-varmā II., Arkavarma, Ugra-varmā, and Mahendra-varmā.

Burgess, Amarāvati-Stūpa, 50. Sewell, Dyn., 100.

800–900. Grant of Pallava-malla Nandi-varmā (Pallava).

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 273; Salem Man., i. 4; ii. 355.

Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 16, 26. Sewell, Dyn., 72, 73.

„ His war with Udayana, king of the Shabaras.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278, 279, 282; Salem Man., ii. 364.

„ His war with Prithivī-vyāghra, king of Uishāda.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278; Salem Man., ii. 364.

„ His war with the Pāṇḍyan king.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278; Salem Man., ii. 364, 365.

„ A pretender to the Pallava throne was supported by the chieftains of Drāviḍa. The lord of Kāñchi suppressed the rebellion.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278, 282; Salem Man., i. 4; ii. 363.

„ The basin of the Pālār was still ruled by the Pallavas.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 274; Salem Man., ii. 355, 365.

„ The Grantha character was used in a Pallava land-grant.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 274; Salem Man., ii. 355.

„ The shore-temple at the Seven Pagodas.

Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, 158.

803. Dantiga, king of Kánc hí, conquered by Govinda III. (Ráshṭra-kúṭa).
Burgess, Ind. Ant., i. 205. *Bühler*, Ind. Ant., vi. 13, 59.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lvi, lxii. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., xi. 126, 127; Kan. Dyn., 34. *Sewell*, Dyn., 73.
804. Grant of Vattiga, Battiga, Chattiga, or Baddiga (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi, lvii; Jour. R.A.S., xiv. (n.s.) 22.
- 814-849. The Pallava king was conquered by Gaṇḍa-deva (Kongu-Karnáta), who then entered into an alliance with him.
Dowson, Jour. R.A.S., viii. 6. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xiv. 12. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177; Dyn., 51, 73.
- 830 (cir.). Reign of Ereva Nolamba (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvii.
- 850 (cir.). Grant of Ereva Nolamba (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lvii.
- 894 (cir.). Inscription of Vira-Nolamba-, or Vira-Mahendra (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. xlv.
- 898 (cir.). Reign of Vira Nolamba.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.
- 900-1000. The Pallava kings Jaya-varmá-deva, Ananta-varmá-deva his son, and Rájendra-varmá-deva his son, reigned at Kalinga-nagara.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 53.
- „ An inscription in characters of this date at Amaráti (Oomrawati).
Sykes, Jour. R. A. S., vi. 342.
921. The king of Java sent his four sons and a daughter to be educated in S. India.
Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xvi. 133.
- 944 (cir.). Reign of Vira Nolamba, Vira Trinetra (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.
973. Kakka III. (Ráshṭra-kúṭa) was a “very Antaka (Yama) to the family of the Nolambas (Pallavas).”
Fleet, Ind. Ant., xii. 271.
985. Reign of Ananta-varmá-deva (Pallava).
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 53.

988. Two Pallava inscriptions at Molkalmuru, Mysore.
Rice, Mys. Insc., p. liii, lviii.
- 1000–1100. Conjeveram was the capital of the Pallavas.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 36, 37.
- „ The Pallavas were feudatories of the Chólas.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 36.
- „ The Pallava dynasty came to an end.
Rice, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc. for 1878, p. 141.
- „ The Pallava territory was in the hands of the Chólas.
Sewell, Dyn., 2.
- „ Someshvara-deva I., Ahava-malla (Chálukya),
burnt Káncchi.
Elliot, Jour. R. A. S., iv. 13; Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., vii. 205.
- „ A Pallava grant of this period.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 114.
- 1042–1067. Ahava-malla II. (Chálukya) married a Pallava princess, and formed an alliance with the Pallavas against the Chólas.
Bühler, Ind. Ant., v. 318. Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 98; Mys. Inscr., p. lxx, lxxvii, 327.
- 1050 (cir.). Reign of Sthira-gambhíra Nolamba (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii., lviii, 327.
1064. The Pallavas were finally overthrown by Adondai, son of Kulottunga I., Rájendra Chóla.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 40. Fergusson & Burgess, Cave Temples, 148. Sewell, Dyn., 2, 16, 18, 19, 73: all following Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xiii. 40. See also Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xiv. 244. Caldwell, Gram. Drav. Lang., Introd. p. 136. Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 172, 173; ix. 49; Salem Man., i. 3, 11, 40, 41; ii. 354, 380.
- „ Adondai converted the Jaina bastis into Hindu temples, leaving only five for the Jains.
Taylor, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (II.) 110.
- 1070 (cir.). Ahu-malla (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lviii, 328.
- „ The Pallava king paid tribute to Bhuvaneka-malla (Chálukya).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lxiii.

1074. The Pallava king was conquered by Someshvara II. (Chálukya).
Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 48.
- „ Shrí Ballavarasa reigned at Bankápura.
Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 129.
1075. The Pallava king was “ruined” by Udayáditya-deva (Kongu-Karnáta).
Fleet, Ind. Ant., iv. 210. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., 143.
1077. Grant by Rájendra Pallava-raiyam at Kánci.
Sewell, Lists, i. 178.
1079. Jayasimha-deva Nolamba Pallava, “prince of the world-renowned Pallava race,” was governor of Banavási under the Chálukyas. He was “younger brother” of the reigning Chálukya king Vikramáditya VI.
Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 51; Kan. Dyn., 52. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., viii. 90, 98; Mys. Inscr., p. lviii, lxvi, lxxii, 306.
1081. Vikramáditya VI. (Chálukya) “overcame Balavarája . . ., and sat on the throne.”
Elliot, Jour. R. A. Soc., iv. 15; Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., vii. 207; Ind. Ant., i. 85.
- „ Expedition of Vikramáditya VI. against Kánci and the Pallavas.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lxvi.
- 1100–1200. “A Pallama (Pallava) ráya appears at Basava’s time.”
Kittel, Nágavarmá, p. xxvii.
- „ The Nomlambavádi province was constituted by the Western Chálukyas as a barrier against the encroachments of the Chólas, and committed to a Pallava feudatory.
Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 98.
- 1104 (cir.). The Pallava country was in the possession of Permádi I. (Sinda).
Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 53, 96.
1105. Grant of Pallava-ráya in the North Arcot district.
Sewell, Lists, i. 158.

1114. Vikramáditya VI. (Chálukya) "forced the Pallava king to have his hands full of sprouts [pallava]."
Rice, Mys. Inscr., 176.
1115. Grant of a feudatory Pallava-ráya in the Tonḍa-maṇḍalam.
Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xx. 98.
- 1120 (cir.). The Pallava king was defeated by Viṣṇu-varḍhana (Ballála), "a wild fire to the sprouts of the creeper the fame of Pallava."
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lviii, 331.
- „ Reign of Narasimha-varmá (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.
- 1140 (cir.). Jagadeka-malla (Chálukya) drove the Pallavas from their kingdom, which he added to his own dominions.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lii, lviii, lxviii.
1157. He destroyed the Pallava kings, and ruled over their kingdom.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., 58.
1158. He "forced Pallava to hold the sprout."
Rice, Mys. Inscr., 153.
1165. He "forced the group of Pallava kings to hold the sprout."
Rice, Mys. Inscr., 61.
1182. Koṭa Keta Rája acquired the country south of the Kṛiṣṇa by the favour of Trináyana Pallava.
Sewell, Lists, i. 64.
- 1200-1400. The Pallavas disappear.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 36.
1223. A Pallava king was conquered by Singhana-deva (Yádava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lviii (aft. Ind. Ant.).
- „ The Pallavas were still reigning.
Fleet, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., xii. 19.
- „ Last mention of the Pallavas.
Sewell, Lists, i. 177.

1228. Grant of Shríman Mahámandaleshvara Jana Pallava Sittiya-deva Mahárája in the Kistna district.

Sewell, Lists, i. 48.

- 1300-1400. Revival of the influence of the Kurumba chiefs in the Tonḍamaṇḍala after its conquest by the Ráyas of Vijayanagara.

Taylor, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (II.); Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vii. 321.

- 1500-1600. The Kurumba chiefs of the Tonḍamaṇḍala still held large forts there.

Taylor, Cat. Mad. MSS., iii. 433.

The history of the Pallavas from the third or fourth century A.D. down to the twelfth or thirteenth century is continuously recorded, however fragmentary the form, in the inscriptions and the other materials from which the above table has been constructed. We first met with them ruling over a very large portion of the eastern and north-western districts of the Dakhan. We have seen two powerful kingdoms, those of the Western and the Eastern Chálukyas, carved out of their territory. We have followed their half-successful strivings to avenge themselves on these persistent hereditary rivals, possibly in the never-lost hope of recovering their old traditional possessions; and we have also traced the retaliatory efforts of the Chálukyas to restrain, if not to destroy, their very troublesome enemies, down to the rise of the Choḷas, the common scourge of both: and we have seen the exiled heirs of these grand old Pallavas, whose blood had now been mingled with that of the Chálukyas, retiring westwards after the conquest of Káncipura by the Choḷas, towards some of their ancient seats in Kuntala, and finally disappearing there, fretful, rebellious, and humiliated, and their great name mocked at.

The materials for the traditionary period which preceded those nine centuries are of a different kind; scattered notices needing other light for their interpretation; facts indirectly or incidentally supplied in the midst of foreign matter; coins which have been but partially examined; and very especially,

remarkable architectural monuments, whose origin and date are still subject to well-merited controversy. Notwithstanding this, they have all a special value in the present infant stage of the investigation, and deserve to be gathered together. Out of these materials I have constructed the following table; premising that it is not exhaustive, and that its dates are open to re-arrangement, and its facts to critical inquiry.

TABLE OF MATERIALS FOR THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE
PALLAVAS.

- B.C.
600–500. Gautama Buddha converted the people of Kāñchipura.
Sewell, Lists, i. 176, after Hiwen Tshang.
The Bodhi-sattva Dharma-pāla born there.
Julien, Hiwen Tshang, La Vie, 190; *Memoires*, ii. 119.
Sewell, Lists, i. 176.
- 315 (cir.). Chānakya Viṣṇu-gupta, a native of Drāviḍa, was Chandra-gupta's prime minister.
Turnour, Mahāwanso, p. 21. *Stevenson*, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., v. 2. *Max Müller*, Anc. Sansk. Lit. (2nd edit.), 281 ff.
- 300–200. Inscriptions at Amarāvati.
Bühler, Ind. Ant., xi. 268.
,, The Pittapur tope: implying Buddhist influence in the Kṛṣṇa delta.
Elliot, Ind. Ant., xii. 34. See *Sewell*, Lists, i. 23.
- 250 (cir.) Ashoka built many Buddhist topes in the neighbourhood of Kāñchipura.
Sewell, Lists, i. 176, after Hiwen Tshang.
- 200–170. Inscriptions on the Jaggayyapeta tope.
Some time *Bühler*, Ind. Ant., xi. 256. *Burgess*, Amarāvati Stūpa, 55.
after Growth of the Pallavas on the Eastern coast.
Ashoka. *Sewell*, Dyn., 1.
- 200–1. Bactrian coins found on the sea-shore near Madras.
Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xix. 242, 243.
157. Numerous Buddhist monks from the Pallava country visited Ceylon.
Turnour, Mahāwanso, i. 171. *Upham*, Mahāvansi, i. 152; *Ratnākari*, ii. 39; *Ratnāvali*, ii. 222; *Fergusson*, Tree and Serp. Worship, 195. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 4.

157. A magnificent Buddhist chaitya at Manjerika.
Turnour, Mahāwanso, i. 188. *Cunningham*, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, i. 535.
- 150–100. Inscriptions of a monk of Drāviḍa in the Buddhist Cave of Kánhari.
Stevenson, *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, v. 29. See *Fergusson and Burgess*, *Cave Temples*, 185.
- „ “Dharani-Kota, considered to have been at one time the capital of Telingana.”
Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, 32.
- „ Dharanīkoṭa supposed to be the ancient capital of the Āndhra kings.
Elliot, *Ind. Ant.*, vii. 21. *Bhagvānlāl Indrajī*, *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, xiii. 310. *Burgess*, *Arch. Rep.*, Bidar, 54; No. 10, *Arch.*, *Surv. W. Ind.*, 32, 33, 38; *Amarāvati-Stūpa*, 45. *Fergusson and Burgess*, *Cave Temples*, 247.
- 31 to A.D. 436. The Amarāvati tope built by the Āndhras or Āndhrabhṛityas.
Sewell, *Dyn.*, 1.
- 1–100. Leaden coins of the Bactrian type or of the Āndhrabhṛitya kings found at Amarāvati, Dharanīkoṭa, and the Seven Pagodas.
Wilson, *As. Res.* xviii. 566, 579, 582. *Elliot*, *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*, xix. 238 ff. *Boswell*, *Ind. Ant.*, i. 151. *Bhagvānlāl Indrajī*, *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, xiii. 308, 310.
- „ Āndhra and Pallava coins found at Amarāvati.
Elliot, *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*, xix. 220; xx. 75. *Thomas*, *Ind. Ant.*, ix. 64. *Sewell*, *Lists*, i. 63.
- „ Inscriptions at Amarāvati.
Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, i. 541. See *Jour. As. Beng.*, vi. 218. *Foulkes*, *Salem Man.*, i. 4.
- „ Inscription on a cell at Shailarvada.
Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, 247.
- „ The Pallavas were ruling in the Southern Dakhaṇ.
Foulkes, *Ind. Ant.*, viii. 170; *Salem Man.*, i. 3; ii. 352.
- „ The Kurumbars [Pallavas] built forts and palaces in the basin of the Pálár.
Taylor, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vii. (ii.), 111, 112.
- „ The Kurumbars (Pallavas) carried on an extensive foreign commerce both with the West and East.
Sewell, *Lists*, i. 172.

- 1-100. Viṣṇu-bhūpa reigned at Kānchipura.
Burgess, Arch. Rep. W. Ind., 1876, ch. iii. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vi. 57. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xxxii.
- „ Hasti-varmā reigned at Vengi.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. xxxii.
- „ The Amarāvati sculptures;—“nearly two thousand years old.”
Boswell, Ind. Ant., i. 372.
78. Shālivāhana was an ancestor of Mukunti Pallava.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. cxxiv. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.
85. A large colony emigrated from the coast of Telingāna to Java.
Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xvi. 132.
90. The Amarāvati tope was founded by Gotamī-putra Shātakarṇi (Āndhra).
Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 542.
142. The Amaravati tope completed.
Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 542 (after Prinsep's Jour. vi. pl. x., and Bhilsa Topes, 188).
- Early in }
the SS. } Reign of Mukunti Pallava.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. cxxiv.
- 100-200. Rise of the Pallavas.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 13 to 16: see *Weber*, Hist. Ind. Lit., 188n. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. li. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 15. *Sewell*, Dyn., 100.
- „ Reigns of Mādhava-varmā, Kulakelana, and Nila-kaṇṭha the father of Mukunti Pallava.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. cxxiv. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.
- „ Viṣṇu king of Kānchipura, of the Samudra-gupta pillar-inscription.
Prinsep, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (1.) 515.
- „ The Amāravati tope was already in existence.
Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 533. *Burgess*, Amarāvati Stūpa, 27.
- „ Buddhist caves, temples, sculptures, copper figures, etc., in the neighbourhood of Amarāvati.
Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xix. 225. *Boswell*, Ind. Ant., i. 153, 374. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 63; Jour. R. A. Soc., xii. (N.S.) 98.

100-200. Páli inscriptions at Amarávatí.

Sewell, Lists, i. 83.

- „ Sculptures in the temple of Malleshvara-svámi at Bejwáda.

Boswell, Ind. Ant., i. 152.

- „ Buddhist tope at Guḍiváda, Kistna district.

Sewell, Lists, i. 52.

- „ Buddhist tope at Bhaṭṭiprolu, Kistna district.

Sewell, Lists, i. 77, 83.

Early Centuries } Roman coins found by Mackenzie at Amarávatí.

Wilson, As. Res., xvii. 561.

- „ Hindu copper coins found at Dharanikoṭa.

Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., ii. App., p. ccxxxviii.

- „ Andhra coins, beads, etc., found at Guḍiváda.

Sewell, Lists, i. 52.

- „ Roman coins found on the sea-shore near Madras.

Sewell, Lists, i. 190.

- „ Hindu gold, silver, and copper coins found at the Seven Pagodas.

Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., ii. App., p. ccxxvi, ccxxviii, ccxxxi.

- „ Short inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas in the Pallava character.

Goldingham, As. Res., v. 75. Babington, Trans. R. A. Soc., ii. 258. Carr, Seven Pagodas, 37, 62. Burnell, in Carr's Seven Pagodas, 224.

- „ Short Inscriptions at Amarávatí and the Seven Pagodas in the Cave character of B.C. 100 to A.D. 200.

Burnell, S. I. Pal., 12.

N.B.—For some of the various dates assigned to the temples, sculptures, and inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas, see *Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xiii. 53. Taylor, 26. Burnell, S. I. Pal., 37, 38. Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 1; Salem Man., i. 10. Rice, Ind. Ant., i. 25; Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc. for 1878, p. 141. Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, 110, 157. Sewell, Dyn., 15, 73; Jour. R. A. Soc., xvi. (N.S.) 32. See also Fergusson, Hist. Ind. Arch., 326.*

- „ Ancient Pallava temples at Káncchipura.

Sewell, Jour. R. A. S., xvi. (N.S.) 36.

- „ Mallesudu, or Malleshvara (Malicheren) reigned at the Seven Pagodas. It was originally called 'Malla-purí' after his name.
Chambers, As. Res., i. 156. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., viii. 65; xiii. 39. *Carr*, Seven Pagodas, 14.
- „ In his reign 'Mahábalipoor' was destroyed by an inundation of the sea.
Chambers, As. Res., i. 156. *Carr*, Seven Pagodas, 15.
- „ Reign of Atyanta Káma Pallaveshvara.
Foulkes, Salem Man., i. 2.
- 140 (cir.). Ptolemy's emporium for the Golden Chersonese and the farther east was within the Pallava territory on the eastern coast.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., vii. 7; Salem Man., i. 10.
- „ Arcot identified with Ptolemy's Arcati Regio Soræ.
Ellis, Papers on Mirási Right, 230, 242. *Wilson*, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lxxxiv. See *Caldwell*, Gram. Drav. Lang., Intr., p. 96.
- „ Mámallapuram, the Seven Pagodas, identified with Ptolemy's Malearpha.
Gubbins, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., xxii. 667.
- 200–300. Buddhists from Benares settled near Káncchipura.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lxxv, lxxvii. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. lxxxviii. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 6, 10.
- „ Portions of the Amarávati tope were built.
Fergusson, Tree and Serp. Wor., 172, 178; Hist. Ind. Arch., 72.
- „ Reign of Mukunti Pallava, or Mukanti P.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lviii. *Taylor*, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (r.) 496; Cat. Mad. MSS., iii. 511, 529, 533. *Fergusson*, Tree and Serp. Wor., 171. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lxxxviii. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 164.
- „ He was fourth in succession from Sháliváhana.
Taylor, Cat. Mad. MSS., iii. 216.
- „ He was the founder of the Pallavas.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liv.
- „ Dharanikōṭa was his capital.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lviii. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv.

„ He built the Amarávati tope.

Fergusson, Jour. R. A. Soc., iii. (n.s.) 135, 146. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv. See *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.* for 1878, p. 141. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 135.

„ He introduced Brahmans into the Pallava country.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lxxxviii.

300-400. Introduction of the Pallava written character into the Káncchipura kingdom.

Burnell, S. I. Pal., 35, 36. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., ix. 100. See *Prinsep*, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., iii. 113, 119.

„ The principal sculptures of the Amarávati tope were executed.

Fergusson, Free & Serp. Wor., 172, 178; Ind. Ant. iii. 61; Hist. Ind. Archit., 72. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 1. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., viii. 25. *Fergusson & Burgess*, Cave Temples, 64, 90. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 1. See *Congreve*, *Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc.*, xxii. 44. *Thomas*, Ind. Ant., ix. 137.

One of the very early facts contained in this table deserved to be referred to more prominently; namely, the statement, that a large number of Buddhist monks from the Pallava country visited Ceylon in the year 157 B.C.: it claims to afford a firm historical standing-place for the investigator in the middle of the second century before the Christian era, from which he may proceed to sketch a tentative survey of the field of Pallava history during the subsequent centuries until he arrives at the somewhat similar documentary boundary-mark of Fa Hian's narrative. I have elsewhere¹ made use of this fact to show that the dominions of the Pallavas were of very great extent at that early time, and that these kings ruled over the largest of the contemporary Buddhist kingdoms of India. The reigning king of Ceylon, Dutthagámini, a zealous Buddhist, erected a great memorial stúpa at Anuraddhapura: and when it was completed, a very large number of Buddhist monks assembled from the whole of Ceylon and from the continent of India to assist at its consecration. It is evident enough that the numbers of the monks as given in the Maháwanso are greatly exaggerated: but, whether these numbers are

¹ Salem Manual, i. 4, 5.

multiples of the actual numbers, or whatever the form of the exaggeration may be, the relative proportions of the various contingents may be accepted with less questioning. It is also necessary to remark that the large integer in Turnour's number of the Pallava monks has been inserted by mistake. In his text¹ the number is 460,000, as Upham has correctly translated it, and not 14,60,000 as Turnour's translation gives it.

Rejecting Turnour's interpolated million, the total number of his Indian monks is 1,264,000:² the Pallava monks were therefore nearly one-third of the whole of the Indian visitors. The alternative result for my present argument is, either that the Pallava dominions in the second century B.C. were much more extensive than those of any other contemporary Indian king; or, that Buddhism prevailed much more extensively in their dominions at that time than in any other Indian kingdom. Possibly the facts may fairly sustain both of these deductions. From the latter side of the alternative alone the conclusion would still be, that the Pallava kingdom had already arisen, and that it was very extensive.

Considering the estimation in which these historical books of Ceylon have so long been held, it is not likely that this conclusion will be controverted. In the event of its being established, it naturally leads up at once to the question of the origin of the Pallavas: and the solution of that question may lead to the discovery of the few remaining lost links of the chain between the annals of the Buddhists and the records of classical history.

One of the most pressing questions connected with the early history of the Dakṣaṇ has reference to the founders of the city of Dharaṇikoṭa; and the question of the builders of the Amarāvati tope is involved in it.

Professor H. H. Wilson,³ as far back as 1828, stated, on the authority of the Mackenzie manuscripts, that Dharaṇikoṭa was the capital of Mukuntī Pallava, thus making it a

¹ "Chattarisasahasāni sahasānicha satthicha bhikkhu. . . ."

² Upham has curtailed the passage: he does not give either the names or the numbers of the last five of the fourteen contingents.

³ Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lviii.

possession of the Pallavas in Mukunti's time ; and Mr. Lewis Rice¹ accepts that view. In that passage Wilson placed Mukunti in the third century A.D. ; but in another² he raised him to a date early in the era of Sháliváhana. The Rev. W. Taylor³ made him the fourth in succession from Sháliváhana, and his date would so be about the middle of the second century A.D.

On the other hand, Bhagvánlál Indrají,⁴ Sir Walter Elliot,⁵ and Mr. Burgess⁶ suppose it to be the old capital of the Ándhras.

I do not sufficiently know the grounds on which Bhagvánlál Indrají and Mr. Burgess have based their view ; but it seems probable, from the similarity of the words used, that Sir Walter Elliot, in the passage above referred to, was intending to reproduce Professor Wilson's statement,⁷ that Dharaníkōṭa was " considered to have been at one time the capital of Telingána." In that case, Sir Walter Elliot's use of the word 'Ándhra' is in its modern sense⁸ as the equivalent of the word 'Telingána,' or the whole region in which the Telugu language is spoken ; but this is very far from being identical with the historical Ándhra country of the Puráṇas. With this interpretation, the Pallavas are not necessarily excluded from Dharaníkōṭa by Sir Walter Elliot's statement. If, however, the historical Ándhras of the Puráṇas were in his mind, as they were in Bhagvánlál Indrají's and Mr. Burgess's, the case assumes a much more difficult form ; and resolves itself into a question of the ancient geography of the Dakhaṇ. The territorial limits of the puráṇic Ándhras are not sufficiently known ; but, judging from such materials as I know of, they could scarcely have included any portion of the country lying on the

¹ Mys. Inscr. (1879), p. liv.

² Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. cxxiv.

³ Cat. Mad. MSS., iii. 216.

⁴ Jour. As. Soc. Bomb. (1877), xiii. 310.

⁵ Ind. Ant. (1878), vii. 21.

⁶ Arch. Rep., Bidar (1878), 54 ; Cave Temples (1880), 247 ; No. 10, Arch. Surv. W. Ind. (1881), 32, 33, 38 ; Amarávatá Stupa (1882), 45.

⁷ Ariana Antiqua (1841), 32.

⁸ See Burnell, S. I. Pal., 16 note.

Kṛiṣṇa. It seems also worth mentioning that, as late as the seventh century—taking it for what it is worth in its bearing on any earlier date—the southern boundary of the Āndhra kingdom lay far to the north of that river; for Hiwen Tshang travelled a long distance after leaving the country then called Āndhra before he reached the banks of the Kṛiṣṇa.

If Dharaṇikoṭa and a great extent of country north and south of it belonged to the Pallavas in the second century before our era, as I think is implied in the passage of the Mahāwanso referred to above, especially when taken together with what is known of them before the arrival of the Chālukyas in the Dakhaṇ, it follows with a large amount of probability that the erection of the Amarāvatī tope is to be attributed to the Pallavas. Mr. Rice¹ says that it was built by Mukunti Pallava; and in this statement he was apparently following an earlier opinion of Mr. Fergusson.² General Cunningham³ attributes it to the Āndhra king Gotami-putra Shātakarṇi. Considering the nature of the grounds for these individual names, it will not be surprising if both of them should fail to be maintained; while still giving the Pallavas the credit of the work.

Another question—one which has already received some attention—has reference to the name of the Pallavas. As it stands the name is a good Sanskrit word;—‘pallava,’ ‘a leaf-bud,’ ‘a tender leaflet,’ ‘a sprout,’ and some other meanings. The names of their neighbours, the Choḷas and Kadambas, are similarly connected with the vegetable world. This was the sense in which the name presented itself to those who composed the inscriptions of the Pallavas, and those of other kings containing references to them. Instances of this occur in the inscription of Pallava-malla,⁴ where by a play on their name their tender hands and feet are compared to “young leaflets”; and also in some of the Chālukya

¹ Mys. Inscr., p. liv.

² Jour. R. A. Soc., iii. (N.S.), 135, 146.

³ Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 542.

⁴ Salem Man., ii. 359.

inscriptions,¹ which speak of the humiliated Pallavas being forced "to hold the sprout." Similarly an inscription of one of the Ballála kings² describes him as "a wild fire to the sprouts of the creeper the fame of Pallava."

The name "Pallava" occurs in the Purāṇas;³ but only as a variant in some copies of the usual form, "Pahlava," or "Pahnavā."⁴ The Pahlavas are described by Wilson⁵ as "a northern or north-western nation often mentioned in Hindu writings, in Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas, etc. They were not a Hindu people, and may have been some of the tribes between India and Persia." Manu⁶ names them in company with some other seeming foreigners: yet he does not exclude them from the Hindu pale, but classes them with outcasts who were once Kṣatriyas, but had fallen to the level of Shūdras "by their omission of holy rites and seeing no Bráhmaṇs"; meaning, apparently, that they were Buddhists or some other class of sectarians. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa⁷ and the Hari-vamsha⁸ name them among the allies of the Haihāyas,—the Shakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, and Páradas, foreigners still,—in their war with Sagara; thus raising them into very ancient times, and making them the contemporaries of the ṛishi Vasishṭha. In later times, Varáha-mihira,⁹ who belongs to the sixth century A.D., locates them in the south-west of India. In his Sanskrit Dictionary Wilson suggests that they were the Parthians: and perhaps Prinsep¹⁰ did the same in a modified sense. The name 'Párhava,' 'a Parthian,' is said to be capable of being Prákṛitized into 'Pahlava': but Nöldeke¹¹ maintains, on grammatical grounds, that this form could not have existed in India before the second to the fourth century A.D., and

¹ Mys. Inscr., 61, 153.

² Ibid., 331.

³ See Wilson's Viṣh. Pur., 189, 195, 374.

⁴ Ibid., 195 note.

⁵ Ibid., 189 note.

⁶ Manu, x. 44.

⁷ Viṣh. Pur., 374.

⁸ As. Res., xi. 64.

⁹ Jour. R. A. Soc., v. (N.S.), 84.

¹⁰ See Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vi. 386 note.

¹¹ See the note in Weber's Anc. Sansk. Lit., (Trübner's), pp. 187, 188.

doubtfully at all before the first century. It is in Sanskrit compositions, however, and not Prakrit, that the name 'Pahlava' has come down to us: and by the rules of Prākṛit the Sanskrit conjunct 'hl' becomes 'lh.' Both of these conjuncts, it may be noted, become 'll' in Tamiḷ, which was the vernacular language of the Pallavas at Kānchipura.

The inscriptions of the Pallavas claim for them a pure Hindu descent, assigning them to the gotra of Bharadvāja;¹ and tracing them through him up to Brahmá, and the Invisible Deity.² This may be mere flattery of the Court sycophants; or, it may indeed be said that the king followed the gotra of his purohita: still, there is implied in it either an unconsciousness or a forgetfulness of the foreign origin of the ancestors of the Pallavas at that time.

Kittel³ has suggested a different and more homely derivation of their name, identifying them with the Poleyas or Pollavas, or the Paḷḷas of the southern districts: and some other names more or less resembling the name of Pallavas might be added to these; with, however, very little chance of their being discussed while the Pahlava theory remains undisposed of.

Should Wilson's Parthian theory, or Professor Weber's Arsacidan modification of it, be maintainable, it will be worth noting that the Pahlavas existed with some form of political organization in or near the Dakhaṇ at some early date in the Christian era. This is shown by the inscription of Gotami-putra's Queen in the Nasik Caves,⁴ mentioning the conquest of the Pahlavas by her husband; and also by Rudradáman's inscription at Girnar,⁵ which speaks of two victories over the Pahlavas gained by his feudatory Shátakarṇi of the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty, the lord of Dakṣhiṇá-pátha. It may also be interesting to note, that among the Pahlavas of those days there were men of high mental ability and practical technical skill: the inscription of Rudra-

¹ See Nandi-varmá's grant, Salem Man., ii. 351.

² Pallava-malla's grant, Salem Man., ii. 359.

³ Nágavarma's Can. Pros., xxi, xxvii; Ind. Ant., viii. 50.

⁴ Stevenson, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., v. 42. See also vol. vii. 117, and ix. 145.

⁵ Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., xiii. 315; and Ind. Ant., xii. 272.

dáman mentions incidentally that Shátakarpi's minister was a Pahlava; and that it was this Pahlava minister who succeeded in overcoming the seemingly hopeless engineering difficulty at the breach of the Sudarshana lake.¹

One question more deserves to be noticed here in connection with the earliest times and localities of the Pallavas. There are references in the annals of the Buddhists to an ancient building-dynasty ruling on the Kṛṣṇa, who were amongst the early royal converts to Buddhism—the Nágarájas of Manjerika. The Maháwanso describes a very magnificent Buddhist chaitya in the Manjerika country:² and some other very early architectural works of this neighbourhood may be classed with it.

General Cunningham places Manjerika in the maritime districts of the Kṛṣṇa. It seems very probable that this kingdom derived its name from the river Manjera, its still surviving name, which runs in a remarkable doubling course to the north of the cliffs of Bidar towards the bed of the lower Godávarí. The limits of Manjerika must therefore be extended largely to the north and north-west of General Cunningham's location. This part of the Dakhaṇ lay in the route of the Pallavas as they stretched southwards from the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda, where the most northward traces of them and of their earliest seats have been discovered, to the successive basins of the Godávarí, the Kṛṣṇa, and the Pálár: and some part of it must have belonged to the puráṇic Āndhras. Had the Pallavas anything to do with these ancient Nága kings?

COIMBATORE, MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

June 19th, 1884.

¹ See also Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (ii.) 342; Jour. R. A. Soc., vi. 477, and iv. (N.S.) 130; Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., vi. 15; vii. 34, 114; viii. 120, 121, 237, and ix. 5; Burgess' Arch. Rep., Kāthiāwād, 133; Ind. Ant., vii. 257, 263; x. 225, 226; Rice's Mys. Inscr., li; and Fleet's Kan. Dyn., 14.

² Turnour's Maháwanso, i. 188; and Cunningham's Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 535.