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CONSTRUCTING TEMPLE, CONSTRUCTING POWER

Temple reconstruction process in 10th-century Tamil-speaking South with special emphasis on Govindapputtur¹

Valérie Gillet

Certainly, there were spheres of life in which one's membership in a particular family or marriage-circle would have been of foremost importance. But the stone temple inscription was a public domain, an arena for the enhancement of personal reputations. In this specific setting, social identities appear to have drawn more heavily on individual achievements.

Cynthia Talbot, Precolonial India in Practice. Society, Region and Identity in Medieval Andhra, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 62

We know very little about the practice of constructing Hindu temples in the Tamil-speaking South before the 6th century of the Common Era. There are no still-standing Brahmanical archaeological remains pertaining to this remote period, and the scarcity of archaeological excavations on and around existing religious sites in this region has not permitted the unveiling of older structures, as it did, although rather occasionally, in the ancient Andhra country.² The recent discovery and the large-scale excavations conducted on the ancient urban centre at Kee-ladi, near Madurai, where the activity may have begun in the 6th century BCE, did not reveal the presence of specific religious monuments of this period.³ Through lithic inscriptions engraved in caves (2nd century BCE to 4th century CE), we know that these shelters were occupied by merchants and probably Jaina clerical communities, but there is no indication of them being used as religious monuments, and even less Brahmanical ones.⁴ We are left with the survey of literary sources, which necessarily reflect the social and religious practices of their time, but the indigenous and oldest bulk, the Sangam literature (around the first centuries of our era), is not much concerned with religious matters. When cults are mentioned, they are mainly related to the ancient Tamil god Murugan, and they often take place in open spaces or in houses.

The 6th and 7th centuries saw a major turn in practices related to Hindu monuments, which became an intrinsic element in the emerging patterns of the region, with their consequently becoming nodes of economic and political powers.⁵ A few testimonies of this emerging organization may be rapidly sketched here. In the domain of epigraphy, I may quote first the three inscriptions engraved on a boulder at the bottom of the hill at Pulankuricci, in the district of

Sivaganga in the southern part of the Tamil country, discovered only 30 years ago, and assigned to around 500 CE.⁶ They record the setting up, by a chief of a large army, of the organization and administration of three temples – two Hindu temples and one perhaps Jaina, no longer visible in their original form – as well as the use and tenancy of lands apparently belonging to them. This is, to my knowledge, the first appearance of the Hindu temple as landowner in the Tamil-speaking South. We see here the early stages of its impact on the local society of the region, which will strengthen during the following centuries. From the 6th century onwards, devotional literature in Tamil, ‘Tamil Bhakti literature’, emerges. In vibrant tones, poets sing their gods located in a specific site, where temples enshrine them, although the ones we see today were perhaps built later: the poetess Karaikkalammaiyar sings the terrifying dancing Shiva of Tiruvalangadu, the *Tirumurukkarrupatai* extolls six sites where Murugan resides, the *Tevaram* praises Shiva of 260 sites. And finally, this 6th century spawned the first tangible archaeological remains of Hindu temples. They survived throughout the centuries because of a radical change in the use of building material. Indeed, while perishable materials such as brick, mortar, wood and metal were commonly used until the 6th century for building religious monuments, thus explaining the absence of earlier remains, the advent of the Pallava dynasty (6th–9th centuries) altered the architectural religious landscape. Seeking an almost exaggerated expression of their grandeur and of the legitimacy of their rule over the Tamil-speaking South, they chose stone, an everlasting material as the image of their glory, to enshrine their Hindu gods.⁷ Therefore, stone, which until then had probably been used mainly for funerary purposes, became the favourite material for the temples built by those kings. They began to excavate shrines in granite hills in the 6th century, and, by the end of the 7th century, began building their structural monuments entirely with stone. This new practice was reserved to the kings who possessed abundant wealth; in parallel, local communities probably continued enshrining their deities in temples made of perishable material.

The 9th century embodies another significant turn: on the one hand, royal Pallava temples are not exclusively raised in stone, but walls of brick are built over a stone base; on the other hand, a few wealthy local figures began patronizing the construction of temples entirely made of stone, and recording the act of their foundation in inscriptions on the monument itself, as kings before them had done.⁸

From brick to stone: reconstruction of temples in the 10th century

In the Tamil-speaking South, many of the temples of the 9th and the early 10th centuries patronized by local communities, the majority of them being dedicated to Shiva, seem to have been built in brick, sometimes entirely, sometimes with a base of stone.⁹ By the middle of the 10th century, a new trend emerges: a certain number of those village brick temples were reconstructed in the long-lasting and prestigious material that is stone. This is a rather widespread phenomenon in the region. The work of Barrett reflects the extensiveness of this practice: through the identification of different architectural types corresponding to specific periods and the presence of ‘earlier’ inscriptions on the shrine, he concludes the reconstruction of a great number of monuments.¹⁰ Although he insists on the reconstructions of these monuments, he never analyses this practice as a specific process,¹¹ this not having been the goal of his study. Besides this, it is also probably the fact that each reconstruction seems to be fostered by a particular dynamic that renders difficult the apprehension of such a phenomenon in its entirety.

The context, the actors and the proclamation of the rebuilding in stone of a temple widely differ from one place to another. Let us take the example here of one emblematic figure of this reconstruction process, Cempiyan Mahadevi, queen of the Chola dynasty (9th–13th centuries),

wife of king Gandaraditya (c. 949/950–c. 958 CE) and mother of king Uttamachola (c. 971–c. 987 CE). During the reign of her son Uttamachola and probably even subsequently, the epigraphy claims that she sponsored the building in stone of many temples of the Tamil country: Konerirajapuram (SII 3, nos. 146, 147, 151 & 151 A), Tirukkotikkaval (SII 19, no. 292), Tiruvaturai (SII 3, no. 144), Vrddhacalam (SII 19, no. 302), Cempiyanmatevi (SII 19, no. 379), Kuttalam (SII 13, no. 170), Tiruvarur (SII 17, no. 617), Tiruvakkarai (SII 17, no. 222) and Anankur (Cane 2017: 877–878).¹² The terms employed to refer to these reconstructions vary from the simple ‘she who built the holy stone shrine’ (*tirukarṇaḷi eṭupitta*) to the more elaborate ‘she who graciously caused this holy stone shrine to rise’ (*tirukarṇaḷi eḷuntaruḷwitta*)¹³. In two of these sites, Tiruvaturai and Tirukkotikkaval, both in the *taluk* of Tiruvitaimarutur in the district of Thanjavur, and only a few kilometres from each other (Map 4.1), a more detailed account of the reconstruction is given, along with the undertaking of the copying of older inscriptions on the new stone walls of the shrine. These provide valuable insights on reconstruction processes, and it is worth quoting them here. Let us begin with the inscription engraved on the base of the southern face of the *ardha-mandapa* (small portico in front of the sanctuary) of the Apatsahayeshvara temple in Tiruvaturai:

Fortune! Prosperity! The honourable Lady who kept in her holy womb Shri Uttamachola alias Shri Maturantakadevar, Matevatikal alias Shri Cempiyan Madeviyar; in this stone temple (*ittirukkarṇaḷiyilēy*) that she graciously caused to be built (*eṭuppittaruḷina*) for the Alvar of Tirukkurankatuturai in Tiraimurnatu, having seen the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) made for this god earlier [that were to last] as long as the sun and the moon endure, because these marks have entered their old age (*mūttupōka*), in the 16th year of Shri Uttamacholadevar Kopparakesarivarman, they were engraved (*veṭṭina*) on the stone (*kalmēl*).¹⁴

A statement framing an older record that is copied again on the base of the southern face of the *ardha-mandapa* supplies further details in the nearby Tirukotishvara temple in Tirukkotikkaval:

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the 11th year of Kopparakesarivarman. For Mahadeva of Tirukkotikkavil in Nallarrurnatu on the northern bank [of the Kaveri], the daughter of the Malavaraiyar who kept in her holy womb Shri Uttamacholatevar, Parantakan Matevatikalar alias Cempiyan Mahadeviyar; for this god, having removed (*tavirttu*) the holy temple (*śrī kōyil*), the inside of which (*uḷḷa*) [was made] with rows of bricks (*iṭṭikai paṭaiyāl*) before, [she] set up (*amaippittu*) a holy sanctuary (*śrī vimānam*) with stone (*kallālē*); having put for the Dharmā the previous records (*paṭikaḷ*) of this god, those which lay inscribed (*veṭṭikkīṭanta*) among the stones (*karṇaḷil*), all those which lay in many places with different stones, [she] graciously ordered saying: ‘Let it be engraved (*veṭṭikkolka*) completely (*ēra*) . . . before (*muṇ*) . . . on this holy sanctuary (*inta śrī vimāṇattin mēl*)’. This is one copy among the copies that were lying engraved before:

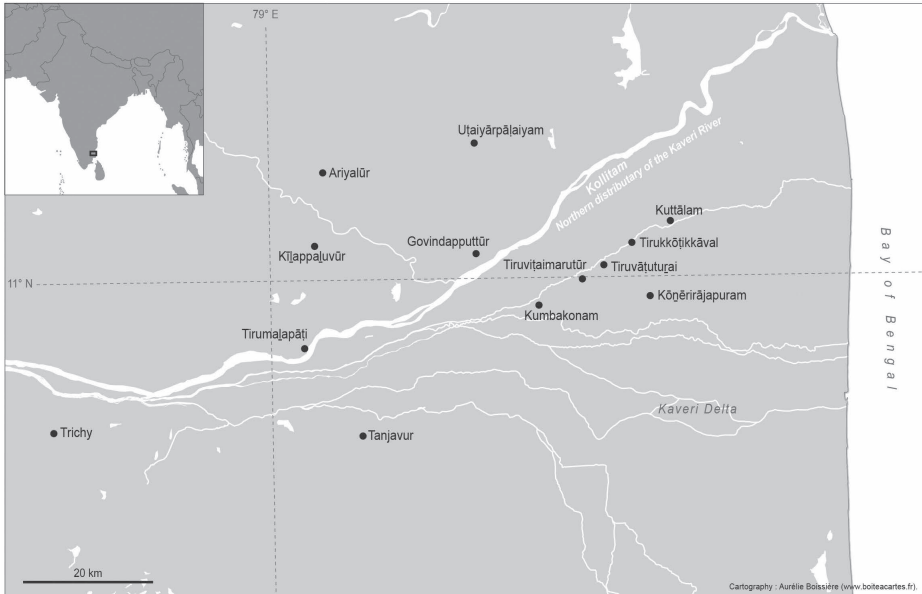
Then follows the copied donation, a donation by the Pandya king Marancataiyan, Varaguna II, and the record is concluded by a repetition of the opening statement.

Since it is engraved completely on this holy sanctuary, since there is no use (*upaiyogam*) for the separate stones (*taṇikkallāl*) that were lying engraved with this previous text (*muṇṇivājakam*), that has been removed (*atu tavirttatu*).¹⁵

These epigraphs tell us that there were inscriptions in the older monuments. In Tirukkotik-kaval, they were engraved on ‘separate stones’, corresponding perhaps to stelae, as is often encountered in the Pandya country. At the time of the reconstruction of the temple, these records were copied on the stone walls. It is impossible for us to know if all of them were considered, or if there was a selection prior to their re-engraving. As Cane suggested, the queen may have been willing to save ‘words of the past’ for ‘preserving the prestige of a sacred site, locally expressed’.¹⁶ She may have wanted to preserve the prestige of a site, as an historian or as a devotee, but the political aspect of her building endeavour would certainly have played a crucial role, as Cane also notices.¹⁷ By patronizing the reconstruction in stone of temples of local communities in the territory controlled by the Cholas and publicly proclaiming it by inscribing her deed on the stone, by recognizing and thus strengthening the religious significance of these sites, most of them sung in the Bhakti poems of the *Tēvaram*,¹⁸ and by preserving the records of earlier donations, sometimes made by other royal figures now subdued, she enhanced the glory attached to her name and that of the dynasty she belonged to, thus contributing to consolidating and widening its power. It is probably not a mere coincidence if her building endeavour begun under the reign of her son, Uttamachola, whose accession to the throne may not have been entirely smooth, as Cane reminds us.¹⁹

Her reconstructions are perceptible not only through words engraved on stone, and her glory is not expressed solely through epigraphy, which was probably not read by all worshippers. Visitors to those temples could also see a new display of finely carved sculptures set in the niches of the newly built stone walls. Indeed, in the monuments reconstructed by the queen, a specific iconographical programme appears in the niches of the *ardha-mandapa*, which may be envisioned as her hallmark: Agastya, dancing Shiva and Ganesha on the southern façade and Bhikshatanamurti, the goddess and Gangadharamurti or Ardhanarishvaramurti on the northern façade. While the iconography of the sanctuary does not seem to have been impacted by the reconstruction, with the usual Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu or Lingodbhavamurti in the west, and Brahma in the north, the *ardha-mandapa* bears the mark of the new patron. We also notice that it is on the base of this *ardha-mandapa* that the queen had her statement of reconstruction and copy of inscriptions engraved in Tiruvattur and Tirukkottikkaval, strengthening the idea of this part of the monument as the visual embodiment of her involvement.

Another example of reconstruction, this time ordered by the Chola king Rajaraja himself, is found in Tirumalapati, in the district of Ariyalur (Map 4.1).²⁰ Probably because the two epigraphs mentioning the process are quite explicit about the rebuilding of the temple and the copying of inscriptions (SII 5, nos. 651–652), and because it apparently belongs to the royal sphere, the case of Tirumalapati is well known and often quoted by scholars.²¹ The Chola king Rajaraja, in an inscription dated to his 28th regnal year (c. 1013 CE), graciously orders the destruction of the sanctuary of Tirumaluvatiyutaiyar and its reconstruction in stone (*tirumaluṭṭaiyār śrī vimāṇam vāṅki tirukkaraiy eṭukkaveṇru ṭṭaiyār śrī rājarājadevar aruḷiceya*, SII 5, no. 652, lines 77–78). The royal order is carried out by two officers (*atikārikaḷ*): the old shrine is demolished, and the new one rebuilt in stone. Moreover, it was ordered that the inscriptions on stone inside this shrine should be copied on registers (*i śrī vimāṇattuḷḷa kalveṭṭuppaṭi pottakattil cōrpikkaveṇru*, lines 78–79). It is only in the 14th regnal year of Rajendrachola I, son of Rajaraja I, that the stone inscriptions then saved on registers probably made of palm-leaves were re-engraved on the stone walls of this shrine (SII 5, no. 651). It is not clearly said to be a royal order, as was the reconstruction in stone of the temple, but this process is supervised by one of the two officers, presented as the officer (*atikāri*) Mumutichola Brahmahirayar in the previous record and now as the commander of the army (*taṅṅāyakaṅ*) Uttamachola Brahmamarayan, who acquired a series



Map 4.1 Locations of places mentioned in the article

of new names (Narakkan Iraman Arumoliyan of Keralantaka-catturvedimangalam, a *devadana* of Vennatu of Uyyakkontavalanatu, lines 44–53).²² This site, engraved with lithic records going back perhaps to the reign of Aditya I at the end of the 9th century, thus confirms the possible involvement of a king in this process of reconstruction of a temple in stone. It is difficult not to discern, besides the primary religious purpose, a political agenda in such a royal intervention on a site, which seems to have had a significant religious role in circles of local Bhakti, considering that six hymns of the *Tēvaram* are dedicated to it (2.9, 3.28, 3.48, 6.39, 6.40 and 7.24). By intervening on such a site, the king gains religious merit on the one hand but, on the other hand, enhances his glory and strengthens control over his territory. However, if the role of the king was often emphasized here, I think that the study of the role of the intermediaries who carry out the order, their place and involvement in the local community may reveal a more nuanced picture of the convergence of royal and local dynamics in this site. But the size of the epigraphical corpus of this shrine is considerable, and this study is yet to be undertaken.

Political agendas, enhancement of prestige, association with local communities and powerful entities, and accumulation of religious merit may all be at work in another example of the reconstruction of a temple inserted into the network of local Bhakti temples (*Tēvaram* 2.34). We are now on the site of Kilappaluvur-Melappaluvur, about 17 km only north of Tirumalapatī (see Map 4.1). A specific organization is discernible on this site: Kilappaluvur and Melappaluvur are two villages next to each other, constituting the old Paluvur; no Chola kings are involved; the site is the capital of a minor dynasty, the Paluvettaraiyars, who reside in Melappaluvur; the Alanturai Mahadeva temple is a local shrine, situated in Kilappaluvur. It was reconstructed in stone in the middle of the 10th century by a certain Nakkan Marapiran, an important character of the locality who may have worked for the Paluvettaraiyar little kings, and an elaborate iconographical programme was created in the niches of the *mandapa* newly built in front of it. There is no mention of a campaign for copying the inscriptions on stone, but such was obviously

undertaken, since inscriptions from the time of Parantaka I at least, who reigned in the first half of the 10th century, are engraved all over the sanctuary. I proposed elsewhere that, through the intervention in this temple of Nakkan Marapiran, who gained merit and prestige for himself, it was the renown of the Paluvettaraiyars that was also enhanced.²³

In the previous instance, the reconstruction in stone of the shrine is stated but not the copying of the inscriptions, though they effectively were copied. Conversely, there are instances emphasizing the recopying of inscriptions instead of insisting on the reconstruction. In the Shiva temple of Tiruvitaimarutur, in the taluk of Kumbakonam (see Map 4.1), an inscription, unfortunately no longer extant, states that:

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the 4th year and the 325th day of Kopperakesarivarman. In the theatre hall (*naṭakacālaiyē*) of the god of Tiruvitaimarutil, those of the Sabha of Tiraimur who have to supervise (*tiruttakkaṭava*) the temple affairs (*śrī kāryam*), those of the Nagaram of Tiruvitaimarutil, the temple officers (*tirukkōyiluṭaiyārkaḷum*), the accountant of the god (*tēvar kaṇakku*) Marutan Piramakkuttan, and Pucavan Kutaiyar who examines the temple affairs (*śrīkāryam āryakiṇra*), having set up [an account?] supervised [i.e. fed?] (*ārāynta*) by the lamps placed with the interests (*poliyūṭṭināl*) placed for the god installed here; having set below (*kiḷē*) the walls (*aṭimaṇai*) all (*ellām*) the stones (*kaṛkaḷ*) [kept] inside (*uḷḷa*) as documents (*piramāṇammāy*) for the previous (*muṇ*) feeding of interests for the building (*eṭupparaku*) in stone (*kaṛraḷi*) of this holy temple (*inta śrī kōyil*), having made a copy (*paṭi*) on the stone (*kallin*), saying (*eṇru*): ‘the copies (*eṭutta paṭi*) of the copies of the previous donations (*iṭṭamaiyil muṇ paṭi*), in an exact manner (*mārrina paricēy*), let us get [them] engraved (*veṭṭikoḷka*) on the stone (*kaṇmēl*) on the holy stone shrine (*tirukkaraḷimēlē*’; thus this copy was engraved on the stone: Katuppattikal Nantippottaraiyar placed 60 [*kaḷaṅcus*] of gold for a lamp called Kumaramarttantan; the Sabha of Tiraimur took all these twenty *kaḷaṅcus* of gold and will have to supply one *uri* of *ghee* for this lamp.²⁴

The inscription abruptly stops here and the donations following the one made by the Palava king Nandippottaraiyar (Nandivarman, the second or the third, in the 8th or in the 9th century) are not engraved. This inscription, probably inscribed seven years before the inscription of Tirukkottikkaval quoted earlier, confirms that records of donations to the temple, or at least some of them, were engraved on separate stones and stored in what may have been underground chambers.²⁵ The practice, which seems to have been followed in some temples, if not all, was thus to copy these donations on the reconstructed stone walls of the shrine to preserve them and make them visible to everyone. It is interesting to note here that, while the reconstruction in stone is mentioned, the one who sponsored it is not: some ‘documents for the previous feeding of interests for the building in stone of this holy temple’ are simply evoked without detail. No other inscription noticed in this temple seems to refer to those who patronized the reconstruction in stone. Was this because the temple was under the control of communities, such as the Sabha, temple officers, merchants, who gather in the theatre hall, according to the inscription? Reconstructing it in stone, and claiming it, was apparently not used here as a way for an individual to enhance his social prestige in the locality. The situation thus appears to be different again from the previous ones.

To comprehend better the way an individual moulds his own social image through the reconstruction in stone of a local shrine, we shall now explore the case of the village temple of Govindapputtur and devote the second part of this chapter to the well-crafted discourse surrounding its reconstruction by a certain Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkan.

A Shiva temple in Govindapputtur

Govindapputtur (Kōvintapputtūr) is a village of the district of Ariyalur, in the taluk of Utaiyarpalaiyam, about 17 km south of the latter (see Maps 4.1 and 4.2). It is located on the northern bank of the Kollidam river, a branch of the Kaveri. In the southern part of the modern village stands an adorable stone temple, today called Gaṅgajātadhara.²⁶ Its roof and the niches sheltering the main idols have recently been renovated and painted, but fortunately the rest of the temple remains devoid of plaster and we can still see the finely carved statues and read the numerous epigraphs engraved on its walls (Figure 4.1).

The temple opens to the east. The deities placed in the main niches of the sanctuary follow a common pattern, with Dakshinamurti, Vishnu and Brahma, respectively, facing south, west and north. While the Dakshinamurti is a later addition, the original one being probably placed today in the surrounding gallery, the style of the sculptures of Vishnu and Brahma fit well into the 10th century. The same may be said of the sculptures that remain in the niches of the *ardha-mandapa*. As is sometimes found in the temples rebuilt in stone in the second half of the 10th century, the walls of the *ardha-mandapa* are adorned with three niches, although here not of equal size; the central one is larger than the two framing it. On the southern façade, a dancing Shiva, of which only the upper part remains today, was placed in the central niche (Figure 4.2a). The niche on the western side is empty but the niche on the eastern side is occupied by Ganesha, unusually depicted standing. The central niche of the northern façade of the *ardha-mandapa* (Figure 4.1b) is adorned by a gorgeous heavily armed goddess standing on the head of the buffalo demon that she has killed (Figure 4.2b). She is surrounded, in the subsidiary niches, by a Kalarimurti on the western side (Figure 4.2c) and a Bhikshatanamurti on the eastern side.

These statues are not the only sculpted treasures of this temple. On the base of the shrine, miniature sculpted panels narrate a wide array of mythological episodes. I will not attempt to

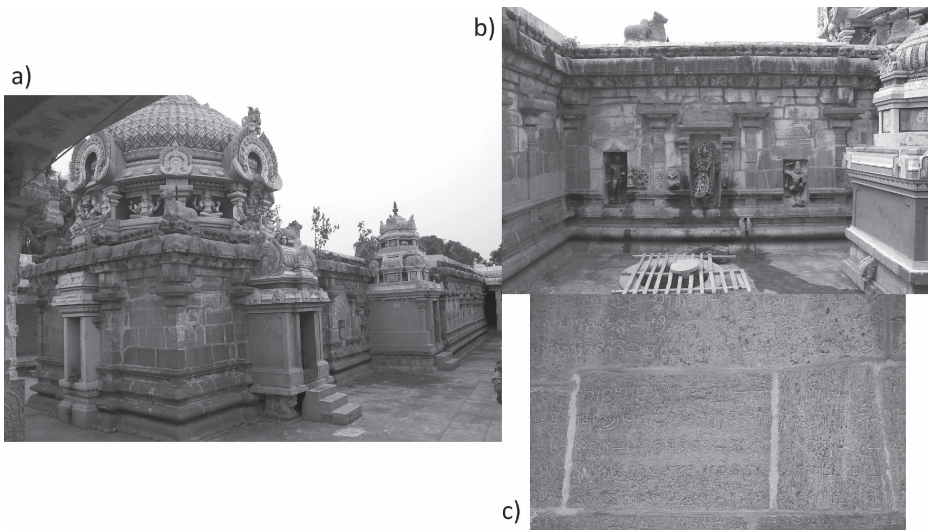


Figure 4.1 (a) Gaṅgajātadhara temple of Govindapputtūr, southwestern corner (photo by V. Gillet). (b) Northern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, Gaṅgajātadhara temple of Govindapputtūr (photo by V. Gillet). (c) Inscription #11, Sanskrit part, northern façade of the sanctuary of the Gaṅgajātadhara temple of Govindapputtūr (photo by V. Gillet)

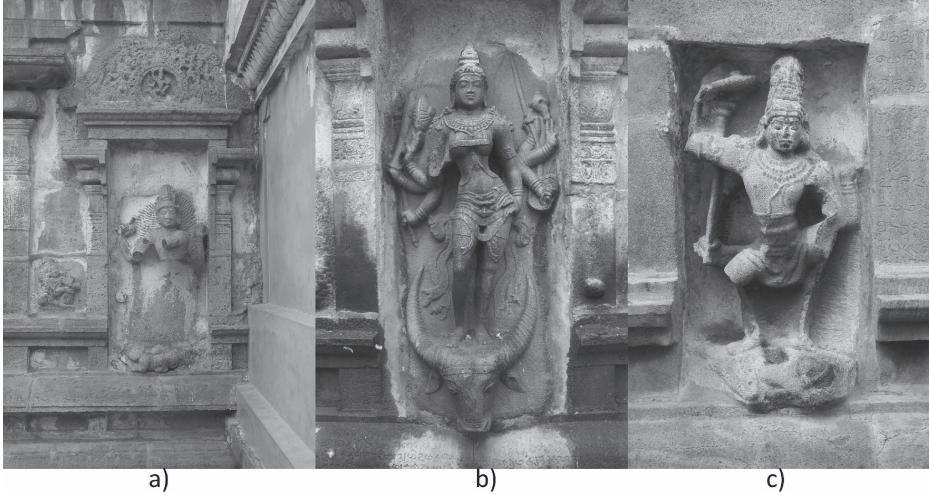


Figure 4.2 (a) Dancing Śiva, central niche of the southern façade of the ardha-maṇḍapa, Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple of Govindapputtūr (photo by V. Gillet). (b) Goddess, central niche of the northern façade of the ardha-maṇḍapa, Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple of Govindapputtūr (photo by V. Gillet). (c) Kālārimūrti, western niche of the northern façade of the ardha-maṇḍapa, Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple of Govindapputtūr (photo by V. Gillet)

consider their disposition here. However, I will note that, among the commonly depicted myths featuring Krishna, Rama and Shiva, there is an episode of a *nayanmar* (a Shaiva saint) that we do not encounter very often. This is a representation of Kannappar, the hunter who, out of devotion, offered his eye to the *linga*. Unlike the figures of gods and heroes of the Epics who have a pan-Indian significance, Kannappar belongs specifically to the Tamil tradition.

The gallery surrounding the shrine also shelters finely carved sculptures. The expected group of Seven Mothers, stylistically assignable to the 10th century, is found among them. It is composed of individual sculptures about 1 m high, comprising fine images of seated Shiva, Brahmani, Maheshwari, Kaumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Indrani and Camunda.

The sculptural corpus of this temple points to the 10th century and the epigraphical corpus engraved on its walls confirms this. I have identified 28 inscriptions on the walls of the sanctuary and the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, covering a period between the 10th and the 11th centuries. These inscriptions provide the ancient names of the god: Shiva is called Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva, that is, literally, Mahadeva of Vijayamangalam, that is, ‘of the auspicious victory’, ‘of the blessed victory’.²⁷ Vijayamangalam probably refers to the name of the area where the shrine is built,²⁸ located in the big Shri Vanavan-mahadevi-caturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank of the Kollidam branch of the Kaveri river.

In the 7th and 8th centuries, two poems of the *Tēvaram*, one by the Shaiva saint Campantar (3.17) and one by Appar (5.71), sing the Lord of Vijayamangai (Vicayamaṅkai), or, as often found in 5.71, ‘he who is inside Vijayamangai’ (*vicayamaṅkaiyuḷāṅ*). Apart from its name, the poem of Campantar does not provide any information certifying that this Vijayamangai is precisely our Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva temple of Govindapputtūr. But the poem of Appar does: if there is no allusion to a Shri Vanavan-mahadevi-caturvedimangalam, a name obviously posterior to the *Tēvaram*, since it was borne by more than one Chola queen, the stanza 5.71.3 declares that this Vijayamangai is in Kovantaputtūr, on the bank of the Kollidam river. Consequently,

although architecture, iconography and epigraphy point to the 10th century, the life of the Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva temple had begun earlier.

Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva is the way the temple is referred to from the earliest inscription of this corpus, dated to the 22nd regnal year of Parantaka I, around 929 CE. This unpublished epigraph (see Appendix #1) was difficult to read and is built over at its end by the *mukha-mandapa*, but we understand that a certain Katan Matevan made a donation of land to Mahadeva of Vijayamangalam of the big Shri Vanavan-mahadevi-caturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank. The land was made tax-free, and the great people of the assembly (*peruñkuṛi perumakkaḷ*) play a role, but its exact nature is no longer legible. The script of the inscription is closer to the one engraved above, assigned to the 11th century (SII 19, no. 214), than to the other epigraphs from the 10th century on this shrine, suggesting that it is a copy of an older record which was made quite some time after the reconstruction.

All these elements point to a temple which was reconstructed in the second half of the 10th century, a fact corroborated by the epigraphy of this period that we shall now more specifically turn to.

Who is Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkan?

Through success in battle, a warrior could move up in the world and even aspire to kingly status.

Cynthia Talbot, Precolonial India in Practice, p. 67

There is a gap of 52 years between the preceding inscription (#1) and the chronologically following one. Inscription #2, engraved on the westernmost wall section of the southern façade of the sanctuary, is dated to the tenth regnal year of Uttamachola, that is, c. 981 CE. This is the first appearance of a certain Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkan alias Vikramachola Maharaja, lord of Kuvalalam, a military officer of the Chola king, who appears in many of the epigraphs engraved on this shrine and who is presented as the one who constructed this temple in stone. Before investigating the elaboration of the discourse of this public figure on this temple, I will first introduce the man himself.

He appears in 12 inscriptions of this shrine (see Appendix, #2, #4–#12, #15 and #16), ranging from the tenth regnal year of Uttamachola to the seventh regnal year of Rajaraja I, that is, between c. 981 and 992 CE. There are very little variations in the way his name is given. Apart from the earliest inscription, #2, where he is simply called Ampalavan Paluvuran, literally ‘Ampalavan, he of Paluvur’, the name he bears is Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkan. Ampalavan comes from *ampalam*, whose first meaning is, according to the Tamil Lexicon, an ‘open space for the use of the public’. By extension, *ampalam* was used for the shrine of Shiva at Chidambaram, and Ampalavan became one of the names of the Shiva enshrined there. While Ampalavan for a man is not very commonly encountered in the Tamil region, Nakkan is, on the contrary, a widespread name in this period, borne by men as well as women.²⁹ It comes from the Sanskrit *nagna* (naked) and is again a name related to Shiva, referring to his form wandering naked in the forest.

The reference to Paluvur in the name of this notable is more problematic. Paluvur is the capital of the little kingdom of the Paluvettaraiyars less than 20 km to the west of Govindapputtur (Maps 4.1 and 4.2). As we shall see later, our Ampalavan is a military man, engaged in the army of the Chola king, as the Paluvettaraiyars were. An officer of the Paluvettaraiyar king came to Govindapputtur to make a donation of goats to the temple (#3) in the tenth regnal



Map 4.2 Places encountered in the study of Govindapputtur temple

year of Uttamachola; in the same year, the figure of Ampalavan appears in the inscriptions of this shrine. I do not think these convergences are due to mere coincidence; they suggest that the Paluvur in the name of Ampalavan may indeed refer to the Paluvur of the Paluvettaraiyars. But what could be the nature of the link between him and those little kings, between him and Paluvur? If he had been a member of the Paluvettaraiyar dynasty, he would certainly have claimed it. The most cogent hypothesis would, in my view, be that he was a man belonging to the

army of the Paluvettaraiyars engaged in the campaigns of the Cholas, thus residing originally in Paluvur, who distinguished himself in military exploits. Consequently, he would have acquired some wealth and settled in a village nearby where he could craft a prominent social status for himself and shine in the locality, supported by the officer of the Paluvettaraiyar who donated in the temple he patronized. But, if this scenario seems to function rather well, we nevertheless have to consider the existence of other ancient Paluvurs. Another one indeed appears in the epigraphical corpus of the present temple: a man from a Paluvur of Tontainatu, that is, around Kanchipuram (see Map 4.2) in the north of the Tamil country, finds his way to the walls of the temple of Mahadeva of Vijayamangalam, claiming too that he built a temple in this village.³⁰ Thus, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that Ampalavan is connected to this distant Paluvur instead of the nearby one, although the link seems less tangible.

Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkān is designated as lord (*uṭaiyaṇ*) of Kūvalalam, from the 13th regnal year of Uttamachola and subsequently throughout his epigraphical life. The word *uṭaiyaṇ*, literally 'he who possesses', was used for landowners and by extension may have referred to a man who had a specific power in the locality, a power that he drew from owning lands. We suppose that Ampalavan, before settling down in Paluvur, thus came from Kūvalalam, or belonged to a family coming from this place. Kūvalalam is the ancient name of Kolar, capital of the Ganga dynasty in Karnataka, close to the border of the Andhra and Tamil countries (see Map 4.2).³¹ We encounter other Kūvalalam *uṭaiyaṇs* in inscriptions of the Tamil-speaking South, but one in particular may shed an interesting light on our Ampalavan. In a ruined Shiva temple in Olakapuram, a village about 15 km southeast of Tindivanam (Map 4.2), two inscriptions retain our attention. The first one, published in SII 13, no. 54 and dated with the third regnal year of Rajaraja I, records a donation of goats for a lamp by a high ranking military officer (*peruntaram*) of the Chola king named Ampalavan Kantaratittan̄ (the second part of his name is lost), who built this temple in stone (*tirukkaraḷi eṭuppitta*). In the second inscription (SII 13, no. 167), engraved five years later, the full name of the donor is legible: Ampalavan the Ganga, lord of Kūvalalam of Gangarasayiram, Gandaratittachola Vilupparaiyan (*kaṅkarasāyirattuk kuvalālamuṭaiya kaṅkaṅ ampalavan kaṅṅarāṭicōla viḷupparaiyaṇ*, lines 2–3). The resemblance of name and function between the Ampalavan of Olakapuram and the one of Govindapputtur is striking and points to our Ampalavan of Govindapputtur as a man related to the Ganga dynasty, although this is not clearly expressed in his name.³² They both operate in the same period, and are both responsible for rebuilding a temple in stone. In the same year, that is, the third regnal year of Rajaraja I, both are making donations to a temple other than the one they constructed: Ampalavan of Olakapuram, with his full name stated, is encountered in another donation engraved in the Shiva temple of Uṭaiyarkuti (SII 13, no. 61), while our Ampalavan of Govindapputtur, called Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkiyan Vikramachola Marayan, gave goats for a lamp to the temple of Tiruvamattur, a few kilometres northwest of Viluppuram (SII 8, no. 721). The movements of these two are the exact opposite: Ampalavan of Olakapuram travels south towards the Kaveri river, while Ampalavan of Govindapputtur leaves the Kaveri region and travels north (see Map 4.2).

The title and the military function of Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkān, lord of Kūvalalam, are clearly given. He is a *peruntaram*, that is, a sort of high-ranking military officer³³ of two consecutive Chola kings: of Uttamachola, called either Uttamacholatevar (see #8) or Uṭaiyar (#11) and then of his successor Rajaraja I, named Shri Mumuticholatevar (#6) or Uṭaiyar (#15, #16). The title that Ampalavan bears changes according to the king he served. While a military officer of Uttamachola, Ampalavan carries the title of Vikramachola Maharaja/Marayar. Vikramachola may have thus been a name of Uttamachola; Maharaja, literally the 'great king', probably indicates the position of chieftain, commander or royal officer. He kept this title even

at the beginning of his service under Rajaraja I (#6), but, by the seventh regnal year of this king, Ampalavan is no longer designated as Vikramachola Maharaja; he is called Rajaraja Pallavaraiyan (#15, #16).

Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkan, lord of Kuvalalam, Vikramachola Maharaja and then Rajaraja Pallavaraiyan, is thus a military officer who served under Uttamachola and Rajaraja, perhaps related to the Ganga dynasty, or, if not, at least related to the Ganga country, and associated with a Paluvur, probably one of the nearby Paluvettaraiyars. It is difficult to consider him as one of the 'little kings', that is, a king of a minor dynasty, because none of his epigraphical appearances suggest his control over a kingdom, even a tiny one; he is never inserted into a genealogy, does not claim a filiation to a minor dynasty, and no son of his continues to hold his role in the locality after his death.³⁴ He appears as an individual character. His epigraphical life is rather short (981–992 CE), centred on himself only, on his function and the way he patronized the temple. I thus propose to see this Ampalavan as one of those military officers, perhaps descending from the royal lineage of the Gangas, who distinguished himself in campaigns of war, and through them gained wealth and prestige. However, the discourse he crafts in inscriptions of the temple of Govindapputtur, which we shall now explore, raises him to the level of a king.

Constructing temples, constructing power

Inscriptions on a shrine are often, but not exclusively, administrative documents recording donations. Through carefully selected words, one may use this medium to enhance his own social prestige. Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkan engraving his glory all over the walls of the Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva temple in Govindapputtur provides a particularly interesting example of this. Out of the 11 epigraphs where he appears, ten refer to the fact that he constructed the stone temple of Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva. But the discourse around the reconstruction of this temple evolves. In the first two inscriptions where he appears, in the 10th and 12th regnal years of Uttamachola, Ampalavan is said, in simple and familiar words, to have constructed the stone temple: *tirukkaraḷi ceyvitta*, literally 'he caused the holy (*tiru*) stone (*kaḷ*) temple (*taḷi*) to be made (*ceyvitta*)' (#2, #4). In the 13th regnal year of Uttamachola, the sentence *tirukkaraḷi eṭupitta*, literally 'he who built (*eṭupitta*) the holy stone temple', is used (#9, #10). In this same year, one inscription (#8) is dedicated to the reconstruction of the shrine by Ampalavan, who speaks in the first person singular, and inaugurates a formula that we will encounter throughout the rest of his epigraphical life: *vaṭa karai brahmadeyam periya śrī vāṇavaṅ-mātevic-caturvetimaṅkalattu śrī vijayamaṅkalattu mahātēvar kōyil śrī vimāṇam kallāl eḷuntaruḷḷuvitta*, literally 'he graciously caused to raise (*eḷuntaruḷḷuvitta*) with stone (*kallāl*) the holy sanctuary (*śrī vimāṇam*) of this temple (*kōyil*) of Mahadeva of Shri Vijayamangalam of big Shri Vanavan-mahadevi-caturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank (of the Kaveri)' (#11, #5, #6, #15, #16). This strikingly resembles the one used by Cempiyan Mahadevi to refer to her own reconstructing endeavour (*supra* p. 58). The verb *aruḷu-tal*, 'to gracious, to favour', often used for gods and kings, can also be found for queens, although only important ones such as Cempiyan Mahadevi, and people with a significantly high social status. The fact that Ampalavan used the verb *eḷuntaruḷḷuvitta*, literally 'graciously caused to raise', is thus a first marker of his social importance.

Ampalavan seems to strive to acquire the discourse of the kings. This intent is perceptible in a long inscription engraved on two large wall sections of the northern and western façades of the shrine. Dated to the 14th regnal year of Uttamachola, #11 is a bilingual inscription: the first part is in Sanskrit, praising him first in verse and then describing his deeds and donation in prose (Figure 4.1c), while the second part, in prose and in Tamil, provides a brief presentation of the man and a longer one of the donation.³⁵ Each part thus begins with a description of the

exceptional career of Ampalavan introducing a donation of a nearby village, Netuvayil, where he himself resides, to the temple for supporting the expenses of the worship.

Because this record is exceptional, I shall present the complete translation here:

[Sanskrit] Prosperity! Fortune! Coming from Kuvalāla, known under the name Nakka of Paḷuvūr of great fame, pure like Muravairin (Krishna), eminent by his birth and his caste, founder of a lineage, he appeared (1). He who is considered by the mendicants as the incarnate liberality, by the enemies as he who has a body whose quality is heroism, by those who have the eyes of a gazelle (i.e. the women) as Kāma (i.e. he who does not have a body) although coming from a lineage which has a body, by the sages as the incarnate Dharma (2). He, whose name Vikramacoḷa Mahārāja was obtained from the king Vikramacoḷa who was pleased with his heroism when he seized multitudes of seas and skies, entirely obtained with his own valour; in the fourteenth year of this king, having established in stone a temple for Śambhu who resides in Śrī Vijayamaṅgala, in the big *aṅrahāra* Śrī Vānavaṅ-Mahādevi, having bought from the great assembly a 'miserable village' (*grāmaṭīkām*) named Netuvāyil belonging to this village, and having made it tax-free with the gift of his own wealth, he donated for the worship and the festival of Śambhu, as long as the moon lasts.

[Tamil] This is the 14th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. I, lord of Kuvalālam, Ampalavaṅ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṅ alias Vikramacōḷa Mahārāja, of the military superior grade of Uṭaiyār (i.e. the king), having graciously caused to raise (*ḷuntaruḷuvittu*) in stone (*kallāl*) the holy sanctuary (*śrī vimāṅgam*) of Mahādeva of Śrī Vijayamaṅgala, of big Śrī Vānavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgala, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank. For this god, I gave [a village] to the Brahmins (*mākaṅṅāṅ*) for holy food offerings, for holy lamps, for holy offerings, for the smearing of the idol, for incense, for lands for the holy garden, for holy festivals, for ceremonial baths, and, besides these, for all those worships of whatever name wanted for this god. This is the village: Netuvāyil, a northern hamlet of this big Śrī Vānavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgala, and, falling in this, surrounding this Netuvāyil, including Ūrtamaraiṅalār, Tiruccenivalam, Mākulakkuṅucci, surrounding this town, including taxes on forges/profession of watchmen, taxes on forest, taxes on marriage, taxes on looms, *ilaikkalamum* (?) of this town, and lands where the turtles crawl and the lizards run (i.e. uncultivated lands) of whatever names, besides mounds, paddy fields, deep tanks, tanks, the wells which look to the east, trees which look to the west, dry lands and wet lands, wet lands of this village. Having bought [the land] from the great people of the assembly (*peruṅkūṟi*) of this big Śrī Vānavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgala, as a lord/landowner (*uṭaiyēṅṅāy*), I gave seven hundred *kācus* to those of this Mahāsabhā to make it tax-free; in this manner, as tax-free [land], I gave to be enjoyed for the holy services of whatever name indicated before, for Mahādeva of this Śrī Vijayamaṅgala, this complete Netuvāyil where I stay having become lord/landowner (*uṭai ēṅṅāy*). These are under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

Do not neglect moral duty (*aṅgam*); there is no support except moral duty; I have written while he spoke; I have written, I Niṅṅān Ārā Amutān, the *madhyastan* of this village, the great poet (*peruṅkāviti*) of Vānavamātēvi; these are my letters.³⁶

Sanskrit was first introduced in the epigraphy of the Tamil-speaking South by the Pallava kings in the 6th century, who used Sanskrit almost exclusively in excavated temples before including Tamil as well from the second half of the 8th century.³⁷ Sanskrit, however, continued being employed in Pallava records and in the records of other South Indian dynasties such as the

Pandyas and the Cholas, but mainly in copper plates, for the genealogies of kings. The occurrence of Sanskrit inscriptions on stone temples built after the 8th century remains, however, rare, and, in such a context, our bilingual inscription #11 appears to be quite remarkable.³⁸

The use of Sanskrit in Govindapputtur may be attributable to a combination of various factors. The first is that Ampalavan may have wished to be extolled in Sanskrit, because he came from Kuvalalam, in Karnataka. Employing Sanskrit may thus have been a way to claim and emphasize his non-Tamil origins. Moreover, Sanskrit being a pan-Indian language carrying a forceful aesthetic and political power, Ampalavan may have aspired to address a larger public, beyond local circles, and to rise to a certain degree of universality and perhaps even kingship. Indeed, the way he is presented in the Sanskrit part clearly draws upon the classic image of the king pertaining to the Sanskritic lore. He is described, in verse, as possessing the main qualities of a sovereign: embodying liberality, heroism, beauty and right conduct. He is compared to the gods and the images used are those commonly encountered in a royal context. The description in prose of his deeds confirms almost every aspect of his royal aura: his heroism led the Chola king to confer the title of Vikramachola Maharaja upon him; he built the temple; he donated a village for the maintenance of the worship and a festival.

Strengthening his appearance of a king, his two wives donated lamps to the god in the 13th regnal year of Uttamachola (#9, #10), as queens would do. Moreover, the presence of a great poet (*perunkāvīti*) in Vanavamatevi, named Ninran Ara Amutan, who composed the text of two of the inscriptions (#11, #16), one being partly in Sanskrit, points to an environment resembling a royal court with poets appointed to compose panegyrics for the ruling king.

The claim of liberality in #11 is corroborated by specific donations that he made, engraved on the shrine. He began by giving, as anyone else would, the conventional 96 goats for the maintenance of a lamp for the god (#2). But the lavishness of his gifts increases as he gains social prestige and power: in the 12th regnal year of Uttamachola, he gave 384 goats for four lamps (#4); in the 14th regnal year of the same king, he gave the village of Netuvayil (#11); in the third year of Rajaraja, he gave lands for supporting the worship of the shrine, and 200 *kalancus* (measure of weight) of gold to cover the taxes (#6); in the seventh year of Rajaraja, he endowed 200 *kalancus* of gold for the jewellery of the divine couple (#15).

The description of the context of the donation in #6 is quite vivid, indicating an active life of the locality and different actors revolving around the temple. The 'great people' of the assembly of big Shri Vanavan-mahadevi-caturvedimangalam supervise or receive the donation of land and money made by Ampalavan; on this occasion, drums are beaten, trumpets are blown; convoked by the assembly, people, probably those concerned with the donation, gather in the hall in front of the holy shrine of Shri Vinaiyabharan Vinnakar Perumanatikal (a temple of Vishnu it seems), said to be in the middle, that is, probably in the middle of the village; the order is given, the palm leaf on which it is engraved is mentioned, perhaps because it is read out, and the land is thus given. A donation mobilizing so many bodies, in a *mise en scène* staging local actors surrounding the temple, suggests the importance of Ampalavan in the social setting of the locality.

The authority and social prominence maintained by Ampalavan over the locality and this bustling temple already transpires in inscription #5, dated to the 14th regnal year of Uttamachola. This record begins with a certain Vahattan of the 3700 (*muṣāyirattēlu nūrru*),³⁹ Kashyavan Shtrashekarān, temple officer (*śrī kōyillu utaiyān*) of big Shri Vanavan-mahadevi-caturvedimangalam, speaking in the first person, who appears to be supervising the application of an order consisting in removing some money from a place which is not given, perhaps from the temple treasury, to supply holy food for eight Brahmins, oil for burning lamps and different types of holy food offerings. Ampalavan, with his full string of titles, appears at the beginning, connected to the name of his officer (*kaṇṇi*) named Vennampī. The role of the latter is not

clearly identifiable, but we may infer that he either transmits the order given by Ampalavan or informs him about the decision taken by the temple officers to remove some money from the treasury. What can we conclude from this inscription? That this temple was a well-organized and well-developed sacred centre, with a specific community of Brahmins, that it was administered by different kinds of officers, such as *kōyiluṭaiyār*, *piṭillikaivāri*, *kaṅkāni*, that Ampalavan had himself an officer (*kaṅmi*) and that he was somehow involved in the order, either by giving it himself or by being informed. Whatever his exact contribution was, this inscription thus suggests that he had by then acquired a deciding role in the affairs of the temple.

This is further confirmed by another inscription dated to the seventh regnal year of Rajaraja (#16). The record is not published and I could not establish a complete edition based on the pictures I have taken. But we can guess another *mise en scène* depicting the prominence of the assembly and of Ampalavan in decisions regarding the temple: the ‘great people’ of the assembly gather in full in the courtyard of the temple of Mahadeva of Shri Vijayamangalam; they show something, perhaps a document; Ampalavan, with all his titles, then gives an order to Cattapocan Vennayakramavittan of Vankippuram, his officer (*kaṅmi*), who was appointed Shri Karyam according to the summary of the inscription in the ARE. After an illegible passage, we read a warning to those who do not respect the donation followed by the name of the great poet of the village, Ninran Ara Amutan, as in inscription #11. If Ampalavan is indeed the one giving orders and naming the Shri Karyam of the temple, he had certainly acquired substantial power over the affairs of the temple and thus over the society crystalized around it.

If a king were solely defined by his discourse, then Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkan would have been a king. He was praised in Sanskrit and in Tamil by a poet; he was compared to gods; he made sumptuous donations to the temple he ‘graciously’ built; he had power of decision over the affairs of the religiously highly active temple; and he took centre stage, present in almost all the inscriptions engraved during his epigraphical life. However, he seems to be no king but an officer of the Chola sovereign who distinguished himself in military campaigns, whose wealth, shown by his engaging in rebuilding the temple and making lavish donations for the maintenance of its worship, conferred upon him a considerable power over the local society. It appears that building the temple, and then crafting a discourse on its walls, was a way for him to enhance his social status in the locality where he settled.

The building of another Shaiva temple in Govindapputtur

Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkan was surprisingly not the only one to employ his wealth in the building of a shrine in this village, and therefore not the only one to gain social empowerment in the locality. In precisely the same period, that is, in the 12th and 13th regnal years of Uttamachola, another character emerges in the epigraphy of the Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva temple: Cholamuttaraiyan alias Cekkilan Araiyan Cankara Narayanan of Kavannur in Paluvur *kōṭṭam* in Tontainatu. In the 12th regnal year of Uttamachola, he gave lands to supply paddy for food offerings, to provide the needful for holy bath, eight festivals, maintenance of the temple, lamps, drummers, all these for the Lord of Shri Kayilayam of big Vanavan-mahadevi-caturvedimangalam (#13). The following year, some of the Shivabrahmanars of big Vanavan-mahadevi-caturvedimangalam claim that they will undertake the donation – its description suggests that it is the same as the one detailed in #13 – made by Araiyan Cankara Narayanan alias Cholamuttaraiyar for the Lord (*āṭvarkku*) of the Shri Kayilayam, built (*eṭupitta*) by him in this village (#14). This epigraph tells us that this Cekkilan employed his wealth in building another Shiva temple in the same village, but it is not said if he founded the temple or if he rebuilt it. The donation refers to a temple whose activity appears to be extremely dynamic, as

for the Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva temple, with a lot of holy food offerings, holy baths on specific days of the year, eight festivals and another one of seven days in the month of Vaikaci Vicakam, much burning of lamps, drummers, gardens, 48,000 Panmaheshvaras as supervisors. I think it is thus unlikely that this shrine was newly founded: Cekkilan would have rebuilt it before the 13th regnal year of Uttamachola, that is, c. 984 CE. The simple verb *etuppitta* is used here, and the material employed for the reconstruction is not stated. The temple is no longer extant, as far as I know, but that does not necessarily exclude the fact that it was rebuilt in stone.

The question of the identification of this Cholamuttaraiyan alias Cekkilan Araiyan Cankara Narayanan of Kavannur in Paluvur *kōṭṭam* in Tontainatu remains. The word *araiyan* is a title borne by many important local characters, sometimes chieftains.⁴⁰ The title Cholamuttaraiyan indicates that he may have been born into the minor dynasty of the Muttaraiyars, which had by that time merged into the Chola dynasty.⁴¹ But it may also simply be the title of a military officer, since they often bear dynastic names without necessarily descending from those lineages. The name of the one who rebuilt the Kailasa temple then points perhaps to another individual pertaining to military circles. The very same person is making another important donation of land in Udaiyarkuti in the sixth regnal year of Rajaraja I (SII 13, no. 146).⁴²

The two lengthy inscriptions mentioning Cekkilan in the temple of Govindapputtur are engraved on the northern wall, occupying a large part of the surface of the sanctuary. They are on the same wall as #11 singing the glory of Ampalavan, visually confirming their social prominence in the same locality, a prominence acquired through similar processes. Cekkilan and Ampalavan apparently pertain to military circles; they both employ their wealth in the reconstruction of temples already active, thus already crystalizing social powers of the locality, and consequently acquiring, in their turn, social and political power over it. Because the Vijayamangalattu Mahadeva temple is the only one to survive, we can retrace a substantial part of the career of Ampalavan through the epigraphy of the shrine, while that of Cekkilan remains highly fragmentary.

Conclusion

The instances of reconstruction of temples in stone in the 10th century that we have seen in this chapter have shown that each case obeys a different dynamic. Analysing the whole corpus of a temple may be the only way for us to understand the entire set of dynamics underlying this process of reconstruction and of preservation of older donations. Each temple seems to be embedded in a specific context, hence producing variations of what is stated and what is not, every statement being socially and perhaps politically motivated. However, when we consider individual cases of reconstruction, we notice the emergence of a common pattern behind such an enterprise. The temples, especially those village temples, are nodes of religious, social and political powers structuring the local society in this period. Engaging one's wealth into the reconstruction of one of those monuments consequently contributed to tie the donor to a powerful deity, accruing merit on the one hand and, on the other hand, conferred upon the new patron a significant prestige in the locality. Through it, he or she enhanced his or her social and political impact on the society. When a queen or a king orders a reconstruction in stone of a shrine, they select one with a notable religious impact on the society, such as sites sung in the *Tēvaram*. Through this pious act, it is the name of the dynasty that resonates in the heart of the localities. When an individual undertakes such an expensive venture in an active temple, he – always a he, since women can intervene in those reconstructions only when they are queens, as far as I am aware – enhances his social prestige and, through it, perhaps gains access to the political affairs of the locality. The example of Govindapputtur is very relevant in that sense,

since we saw two figures building a temple in the same village, and one particularly, Ampalavan Paluvur Nakkam, a military officer of the Chola king, crafting a discourse on the newly built stone walls elevating him to the rank of a king. But, to draw a more accurate picture, we must continue mapping the various processes, and for this, pursue the exploration of the epigraphical corpuses of individual temples.

Abbreviations

- ARE:** *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1885–1996, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- EITA:** Michael W. Meister, (ed.) & M.A. Dhaky (coord.), *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture. Vol. I, Part 1. South India. Lower Drāviḍadēśa. 200 BC–AD 1324*. Delhi: AIIS/Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.
- IEP:** K.G. Krishnan, *Inscriptions of the Early Pāṇḍya, c. 300 BC–984 AD*, New Delhi: Indian Council and Historical Research Northern Book Center, 2002.
- SII:** *South Indian Inscriptions*, 37 volumes (1890–2018), Madras/New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

Appendix: selected inscriptions of the 10th century of the Gangajadharā temple of Govindapputtur (Utaiyarpalaiyam taluk, Ariyalur district)

The inscriptions are organized per façade in a chronological order. For each of them, I have provided the following details: a) name of the shrine bearing the inscription; b) bibliographical references; c) whether I have personally located the inscription; d) location of the inscription; e) internal dating of the inscription; f) possible identification of the Chola king whose regnal year is used and tentative date of the inscription; g) 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.; the square brackets signify that a character or a passage is not clearly legible; the double square brackets are used to mark a letter or a passage which was clear when they established 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 ‘/’ indicate two alternative readings; single curly brackets mark a comment which is not a part of the original text; a succession of three dots 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 approximate; ‘//’ indicate a change of surface, such as a pilaster or another wall section; 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.

Regarding the translations, I have opted for a literal one, as close to the original as possible, even if it appears sometimes clumsy. Apart from the Sanskrit part of #11 which I have prepared with Emmanuel Francis, all translations are mine.

Southern façade

#1. a) Gaṅgājatādhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 177; c) personally located; d) inscription on the lowest part of the base (*jaḡati*) of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṅḡapa*; e) regnal year 22 of *matirai koṅṡa* Kōpparakesarivarman; f) Parāntaka I (c. 929 CE); g) the inscription does not begin with the expected *svasti śrī*; the script resembles the one of inscriptions from the 11th century on this very façade, suggesting that it is a copy; we cannot read the inscription entirely, but the summary of the ARE indicates that it records a gift of three plots of land, one being the gift of Kāṡaṅ Māḡevaṅ of Madana Kāmīśvarapuram for providing offerings to Vijayamaṅgalattu Mahādeva, the other two being endowments by the assembly; I provide here the text I could read in spite of the many uncertainties and lacunae.

- (1) matirai koṅṡa kopparakecari[nva]kku yāṅṡu 22 vatu vaṡakarai *brahmateyam* peri śrī vā[ṅavaṅ] mā[tevi]ccatuvetima[ṅ]kalattu ma X X ka X X put[tu kāṡaṅ māḡevaṅ [śrī] vi[ya]maṅkalattu X X X {built over}
- (2) va X vatu °iṅceri tiruper śrī ka[ṅ]ṡaṅ co[ma]ṅṡaiyu[m] X X X X ṡai[ya] X X X X X X [ḡa] tu [teva] ku[ṡutta pa]ṅku [°oṅru]m [°iv] X X °a X X X X [drāṡit] X X X X X X [°erī] X ṅi °oṅru mā [vi]jayaṅkala[ttu] X {built over}
- (3) °ivijayaṅkalattu *mahādeva*[r] [°arā]tikku [ma] X X X X X X X X X X [°ā]ra X X X [maka] [°iraiXi]li [kuṡu]tta ci[vai] [sa]Xi X *ṅya* va[ṅi]kku kiḡakku X X X X X X kku X X X X [ka]ṅṅa[ru 1 ca] X X X meḡkaṡaiya X X X X X [ṡṡa] {built over}
- (4) X X ṡku peruṅkuṅvivom perumakkaḡ ti[ru] X X [ṅāḡi] X X [ppuṡa] X X [°iraiyili paṅi] X [tu]k kuṡu[ttu] X X X X X X X X X vatikku me[ku melai] [°iraṅṡavati]kkuk kiḡa X X X na[ṅru]kku X X [ṅi]lam X X X X X X {built over}

The text is too fragmentary to propose a translation here.

#2. a) Gaṅgājatādhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 170; SII 19, no. 272; SII 32, part 2, no. 84; c) personally located; d) lowest inscription on the western wall section of the southern façade of the shrine, engraved on a single stone block; e) regnal year 10 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) Uttamacōḡa (c. 981 CE).

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakecaripanmakku yāṅṡu 10 °āvatu vaṡakarai
- (2) *brahmadeyam* periya śrī vāṅavaṅmahadevicate⁴³tima
- (3) ṅkalattu śrī vijaiyamaṅkalatu *mahādeva*ṡku °ittiru
- (4) kkarḡali ceyvitta °ampalavaṅ paḡuvūraṅṅa śrī vikkira
- (5) macoḡamāṡayar *canṡrātittavaṅ* nantāviḡakku °oṅ
- (6) riṅukku vaitta °āṡu tonṅūrḡaru || – °aṅṡa
- (7) ṡṡu maḡavar śrī vijaiyamaṅkalatu *mahādeva*ṡku ca
- (8) *nṡrātittavaṅ* nantāviḡakkukiraṅṡukku kuṡutta paṅkXi[ra]ṅṡu °ivai pa[nma]heśva⁴⁴ra rakṡai ||

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the tenth year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Śrī Vijaiyamaṅgalam, of the big Śrī Vāṅavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvetimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank, Ampalavaṅ Paḡuvūraṅ alias Śrī Vikkiramacōḡa Māṡayar, who has made (*ceyvitta*) this holy stone temple (*tirukkarrāḡi*), for one perpetual lamp, as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave ninety-six goats. Aṅṡāṡṡu Maḡavar, for Mahādeva of Śrī Vijaiyamaṅgalam, for two perpetual lamps, as long as the sun and the moon endure, gave two shares. Those are under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#3. a) Gaṅgājāṭhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 173; SII 19, no. 273; Gillet (forthcoming: #147); c) personally located; d) lowest inscription on the eastern wall section of the southern façade of the shrine; e) regnal year 10 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) probably Uttamacōla (c. 981 CE); g) I have dealt with this inscription in Gillet (forthcoming: #147), and I will thus provide only the translation here.

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the tenth year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To Mahādeva of Śrī Vijaiyamaṅgalam of the big Śrī Vāṇavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank, for a perpetual lamp, as long as the sun and the moon endure, an officer (*kaṇmi*) of Aṭikaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṇavaṅ Kaṅṅaṅār, lord (*uṭaiya*) of Aṇṇinallūr of Kuṇṇakūrṅam, Maṅṅperumaicūvāmi alias Kaṅṅapperuntiṅai (accountant) of Kuṇṇaṅāṭu, gave 90 goats. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#4. a) Gaṅgājāṭhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 169; SII 19, no. 314; SII 32, part 2, no. 103; c) personally located; d) middle inscription on the western wall section of the southern façade of the shrine; e) regnal year 12 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) probably Uttamacōla (c. 983 CE).

- (1) *svasti śrī* koppa[rake]saripanmakku y[ā]ṅṅu 12 °āvatu vaṭakarai *brahmadeyam* periya śrīvāṅavan
- (2) *mahādevicatuvedī*[ma]ṅkalattu *śrī* vijaiyamaṅkalattu *mahādeva*ṅṅku °ittirukkaṅṅali ceyvitta
- (3) °ammalavaṅ paḷuvūr nakkaṅṅaṅa *śrī* vi[k]kiramacoḷamāṅṅaṅ cantrādittavaṅ vaitta noṅṅṅavilakku 4
- (4) nālum °oru viḷakkukku nicatam °uḷakku [ne]yṅṅku °āṅṅu toṅṅṅṅṅaṅka nālu viḷakkukku ney nicata
- (5) m nāḷikku °āṅṅu muṅṅṅṅṅu °eṅṅṅṅṅṅu cantrādittavaṅ vaitta cāvāmūvāpperāṅṅu °ivai
- (6) *panmāheśvara rakṣai* | | –

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. For Mahādeva of Śrī Vijaiyamaṅgalam of big Śrī Vāṅavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank, Ampalavaṅ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṅṅ alias Śrī Vikramacōla Māṅṅaṅ, who made (*ceyvitta*) this holy stone temple (*ittirukkakaṅṅali*), gave [for] 4, four, perpetual lamps, as long as the sun and the moon endure; at the rate of ninety-six goats for one *uḷakku* of *ghee* every day for one lamp, three hundred and eighty-four goats for one *nāli* of *ghee* every day for four lamps; as long as the sun and the moon endure, [he] gave [those 384] non-dying non-ageing great goats. Those are under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#5. a) Gaṅgājāṭhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 172; SII 19, no. 358; c) personally located; d) upper inscription on the eastern wall section of the southern façade; e) regnal year 14 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) probably Uttamacōla (c. 985 CE).

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparakesaripanmakku yā[[ṅṅu]] [14] °āvatu vaṭa ka
- (2) rai [brahmate]yam periya *śrī* vāṅavan mah[ā]devicatuvedīmaṅ
- (3) kalattu *śrī* koyillu °u[[ṅṅai]y[ān]] [[kāśya]]van [[śrā]][śekaran mu]
- (4) vāyiratt[e]lu [ṅṅu]ṅṅu vaha[ṅṅa]ṅṅeṅ °i *śrī* vijayamaṅkaladeva[[r]]
- (5) k[o]yil *śrī* vimāna kallā eḷu[[ṅṅa]]ruḷḷuvitta kuvaḷāḷaiyamm uṭai
- (6) yān °ampalavaṅ paḷuvū[r] [[nak]]kaṅṅaṅa vikramacoḷamahāṅṅaṅ ka[mmi] ve]
- (7) [[ṅṅam]][[pi]kkku °i [śrī]koyil kaṅ[p] [[pe]]rumakkaḷ v[[i]]aravall[[i]]t t[[i]]run[[i]]la [kaṅṅa] [[kramavi]]
- (8) tta °ivan *sabhaiyār* kaṅkaṅṅaiyāka p[[o]]n nikki piṭillikaivāri [krahāṅ] saṅṅerā[[ṅṅi]]
- (9) *ṣum* °uḷḷittu °ucampotu tiruṅṅāṅṅi[[y]]m °athayām nānāḷi °iy[u]paripārkaḷu °eṅṅu[[ku]]
- (10) [°a][ṅṅ]tiyam pot[u] sa[ṅṅ]ti vi[lakku] °ekaṅṅaṅven [[°u]] mu[ṅṅ] san[ti]yiy potu °aicu [viḷa] kk[u] [°eṅṅa] [[ṅṅa]]

- (11) [nākavai]nāvum śrī pall[[I po]]tu °iraṇṭu vi[la]kku [[eṛra kaṭaven tiruva]]mutukku n[[icatham °u]lakku ney]]
 (12) °amutil pataikka [ka]venn[ā][[ka]] [vu nicata]m °irunāli °u]lakku [vi][[lak]]eṇṇai °amu[[tu]] kku °u]lakku neyiyam °ā °irunā
 (13) [ru]ṭi neyi °eṇṇai °ippi[[ṭi]]llikaivāri ko[nṇṭu] māṇi[ra]ṇṭu °iṭṭu paṇiceykaṭaven nākavū nicatamiru
 (14) [ru]ṭi nellalāl kariyamutu °i X kaṭav[e]nnākavu °i[vi]raṇṭu sa[n]ti potu °aiñcu pākku °ākappattu °aṭaikkāy mu
 (15) pattu °ivaic cukku veṇṭu verri[[I]]lai °amutu °iccu[ṭṭa]paṭa °italaiyum °an[rā]ṭ[ṭu] kankāṇiyōṭu °ipaṭi
 (16) c[[e]]yakaṭavennāne

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the 14th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. I, Vahaṭṭan of the three thousand seven hundred (*muṅvāyiratteḷu nūṛṛu*), Kāśyavan Śtrāśekaran, lord of the shrine (*śrīkōyillu uṭaiyān*) of big Śrī Vāṅavan-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank; to Veṅṇampi, the officer (*kami* > *kaṇmi*) of Vikramacōla Mahārāja alias Ampalavam Paḷuvūr Nakkaṇ, lord (*uṭaiyān*) of Kuvalālaiyam, who caused to raise (*eḷuntanuḷuvitta*) in stone (*kallā* > *kallāl*) the holy sanctuary (*śrī vimāna*) of the shrine (*kōyil*) of the god (*devar*) of this Śrī Vijayamaṅgalam; the temple officer (*piṭillikaivāri*) having removed (*nīkki*) the gold (*pon*) as supervisor (*kaṅkāṇiyāka*) of those of the Sabhā (*sabhāiyār*), he (*ivan*) Viravalli Tirunilakaṇṭa Kramavitta, [of] the great people (*kaṇperumakkal*) of this holy shrine, four *nālis* at midnight (*atthayām*) and four holy *nālis* for midday (*ucampōtu*) including on Krahaṇ Saṅkrāntiṣu for these eight Brahmins (*iy[u]paripārkaḷu eṭṭukku*); I have to burn (*eḷaṭavēn* > *erikaṭavēn*) one evening lamp for one time in the evening twilight (*antiyam*); I have to burn (*eṛra* > *eri?*) five lamps for three times at the junctures of the days; I have to burn (*eṛra* > *era?*) two lamps [for] one time of holy offering (*śrī palli* > *pali*); I have to offer (*paṭaikka*) one *u]lakku* of ghee food offering (*ney amutil*) for holy food offerings; having placed [for] two times with this temple officer (*ippiṭillikaivāri*) two *nālis* (*nāruṭi* > *nāli?*) of ghee and oil at the rate of one *u]lakku* of ghee for food offering (*amutukku*) and lamp oil (*viḷakkeṇṇai*) for one *u]lakku* and two *nālis* everyday, I have to place for vegetable food offering (*kariyamutu*) with two *nālis* of paddy everyday, ten arecanuts (*aṭaikkāy*) as five arecanuts (*pākku*) twice at the time of junctures, dry ginger (*cukku*) [for] those (*ivai*) thirty (*mūpattu*), the betel (*verriḷai*) food offering needed (*veṇṭu*); I have to implement this order (*ipaṭiceyakaṭavēnānē*) with the supervisors (*kaṅkāṇiyōṭu*) of that day (*aṇṇāṭṭu*) and the designated (*iccuṭṭapaṭa* > *iccuṭṭapaṭa*) heads (*italaiyum*).

#6. a) Gaṅgājaṭādhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 168; SII 13, no. 76; c) personally located; d) upper inscription on the western wall section of the southern façade; e) regnal year 3 of Kōvirājakesarivarman; f) Rājarāja I (c. 988 CE).

- (1) *sva[[stī śrī kovirājakesaripannakku yāṇṭu mu[n]rāvatu vaṭakarai brahmateyam periya]]*
 (2) *śrīvā[[na]]vaṇmātevicatuvvetimaṅkalattu peruṅkuṛip perumakka[om °i]*
 (3) *yāṭṭai [[tu]]lā nāyarṛut tiṅkaḷiḷamaiyum nanammium peṛra tiruvoṇṇa[ṭti]ṇ nāṇ*
 (4) *ru paka[[I]] brahmatthāṇṭatṭey [[ta]]ṭṭaḷi koṭṭik kālām muti dharmmi ceytu naṭu[vil śrī ko[[yi]]]*
 (5) *llāna [śrī] viṇaiyābharaṇ[ī?] viṇ[na]karp perumāṇaṭikaḷ śrī koyil[in] muṇṇip X kūṭatte*
 (6) *y pe[ru]ṅkuṛi kūṭṭak kuṛaivaṛk kūṭi °iruntu paṇipaniyāl paṇittu °i śrīvijaya[maṅ]kalam muṭai*
 (7) *[ya?] pa[[rama]]syāmikku °oṭṭi °iraik[ā]val loṭṭolai °iṭṭu kuṭutta [pa]ricā[[va]]ṭ[ṭu] °ip[[parama]]⁴⁵*
 (8) *syām[[i]]kku śrī vimāṇam kallāle °eḷunṭaḷuvittāṇ °uṭaiyār śrī[[mumu]]*
 (9) *ṭicco[la]ṭevar peruntarattu kuvalāḷammūṭaiyāṇ °ampalavaṇ paḷuvūr*

- (10) [[nakkāṇāna vikrama]]⁴⁶coḷa mahārāja °ipparamasyāmīkku °eperpaṭṭa tiruvārādhiṇaikaḷuk ku[māka] koṇ
- (11) tu kuṭutta nilamāvatu pala taṭiyāl taṇtarattu maṭakki vanta nilam °oṅṅekā
- (12) [l] °ivvōṅṅekāl nilattukkum cantittaval °iraikāvallāka °ivvikramacoḷam[[ārā]]
- (13) yāriṭai mahāsabhaiy[o]ṇ koṇṭa⁴⁷ poṇ ka[n]ti⁴⁸ pertta tuṇaipōṇ k[ācu] nīrai poṇ
- (14) °irunūrru kaḷaiṇcu °ippon °irunūrru kaḷaiṇcāka cellak koṇṭu °i[[ta]]ṇ cuṭṭappaṭṭa palata
- (15) ṭiyā[!★] taṇtarattu maṭakki vanta °ivvōṅṅekāl nilattālum vācallil poṇ[[ta ku]][[ṭi]maiyum °ūriṭu varippā
- (16) tum °iraīy[u] °eccoru cennir veṭṭiyum °epperpaṭṭa °iraīyu canṭrarāṭitaval [[°iraī]] °iruttuk kuṭṭupomā
- (17) kavum °itarriṇampil peruṅkuṇi kūṭi °iru[ntu] °iraī kāṭṭil devakanmīkaḷey tāṅka! veṇ[[ṭi]] kaḷattu ta[ṇ]ka! veṇṭu po
- (18) ṇ [[meṇṇiṇāl maṇṇiṇa maṇṇupāṭṭup po]]ṇ maṇai °iṇṇiye °iruttum minnilattukku °iraī °iruttu ku
- (19) ṭukka ka[[ta]]vom mā kavum pa[[nit]]ta brāhmaṇa⁴⁹
- (20) ṇaiyum [[pa]]ṇi keṭṭa karaṇattāṇ[[ai]]yum °iraī kāṭṭiṇa karaṇattāṇaiyum tevakarmīkaḷle perpoṇ °ayampa
- (21) yampatu poṇ maṇṇi °iruppittālum minnilam °oṅṅekāl nilattukku cantirāṭittaval °iraī °iruttu
- (22) kkuṭukka kaṭavomā kavum miṇvoṭṭolaippaṭiyey kallil veṭṭavum śāsaṃ ceyvittu koḷlavum pe
- (23) [ru]vār °ā[ka] °oṭṭi °iraikāval loṭṭolai °iṭṭu kuṭuttom śrī vijayamaṅkalattu paramasvāmīkku vaṭakarai brahmate
- (24) peri śrī [vā]ṇamāṭevi catu[r]vetimaṅkalattu peruṅkuṇiṇ perumakkaḷom paṇiyāl °ivviraikāval °oṭṭolai °eḷu
- (25) ti[ṇeṇ] °ivvūr maddhyasthaṇ [kūṭa]llur °iṭaiyāṇ pūṭaṇ kāṭṭaṇne °ivai °eṇ °eḷuttu

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the third year of Kōvirājakesarivarman. We the great people (*perumakkaḷōm*) of the assembly (*peruṅkuṇi*) of big Śrī Vāṇavaṇ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank, from that day of Tiruvōṅṅam that got the Navamī (*nanammi* > *navami*) and the Tiṅkaḷkiḷamai in the month of Tulā in this year, havin beaten (*koṭṭi*) the drum (*taṭṭāḷi*) of this *brahmatthāṇam* (*brahmadeyam*), having blown (*uti* > *ūti*) the trumpet (*kāḷam*), having made this endowment (*dharmmi*), having sat, having assembled (*kūṭi*) those who have defects/ the indigent ones (*kuṇṭavar*) convoked (*kūṭṭa*) by the assembly (*peruṅkuṇi*) of the hall (*kūṭṭēy*) in front of the holy shrine of Śrī Viṇaiyābharāṇ Viṇṇakar (Vaikuntha) Perumāṇaṭikaḷ as the holy shrine (*śrī kōyillāṇa*) in the middle (*naṭuvil*), having ordered (*paṇittu*) with an order (*paṇipaṇiyāl*), having granted the palm-leaf (*ōlai*) in connection with the protection tax (*iraikāval*), undertaken (*oṭṭi*) for Paramasvāmi of this Śrī Vijayamaṅgalam, it was given in this manner; having taken for all the worships of whatever name for this Paramasvāmi [from?] Ampalavaṇ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṇ alias Vikramacōḷa Mahārāja, lord (*uṭaiyāṇ*) of Kuvaḷlālam, of the *peruntaram* of Śrī Mumuṭicōḷatēvar, who caused to raise (*eḷuntaḷuvittāṇ* > *eḷuntaruḷuvittāṇ*) with stone (*kallālē*) the holy sanctuary (*śrī vimāṇam*) for this Paramasvāmi, this is the land given; having enclosed (*maṭakki*) the earth (*taṇtarattu*) with many measuring rods (*taṭiyāl*), one quarter of land has come; for this one quarter of land, as protection tax, as long as the sun and the moon endure, we the Mahāsabhai (*mahāsabhaiyōṇ*) from this Vikramacōḷa Mārāyār, [we] took two hundred *kaḷaṇcus* of gold of standard weight, *kācus* of refined gold which changed to *kaḷaṇcus* (*kanti* > *kaḷaṇcu*?) of gold; having taken two hundred *kaḷaṇcus* of gold, with this one quarter of land that has come, having enclosed the earth with many measuring rods determined (*cuṭṭappaṭṭa*) by this (*itaṇ*), the *kuṭimai* tax that goes to king's court (*vācallil*), the tax for the running of the ūr (*ūriṭu varippāṭum*), the taxes *eccōru* and *ceṇṇir veṭṭi*, and the taxes of whatever names, having paid the taxes for as long as

the sun and the moon endure, we will have to give; if one deviates from this, having assembled in the assembly (*perunkuri*), having sat, if one does not show the taxes, you (*tāṅkaḷ*) the temple officers (*devakaṇṇikaḷēy*) who want (*veṇṭi*), saying the gold needed (*veṇṭu*) [by] you (*taṅkaḷ*) of the locality/assembly (*kaḷattu*), the gold of the tax collection (*maṇrupāṭṭu*) which was fined (*maṇriṇa*), [as a result of] that which is not (*inriyē*) paid as fraud (*maṇai*); we have to give to pay the taxes for this land; the Brahmin who ordered (*paṇitta*), the accountants (*karaṇattāṇaiyumu*) who heard (*kēṭṭa*) the order and the accountants bound (*kāṭṭiṇa*) to the taxes, having fined (*maṇri*) [them for] gold, gold in the name of the Tēvakarmikaḷ with the paying (*iruppittāḷum*) [unclear passage], we will have to give, having paid the taxes for as long as the sun and the moon endure, for one quarter of land of this land; as per the order on palm leaf in connection with this (*ivvoṭṭōlaippaiyēy*), having made the chart (*śāsam > śāsanam*) which is engraved (*veṭṭavumu*) on stone (*kallil*), having undertaken to take as those who get, having granted the palm leaf in connection with the protection tax, we will give; for Paramasvāmi of Śrī Vijayamaṅgalam, by the order of we the great people of the assembly of big Śrī Vāṇava-mahādevi-caturvetimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank, I have written the palm leaf in connection with this protection tax, I Itaiyāṇ Pūtaṅ Kāṭaṅ of Kūṭallūr, the Madhyasthaṅ of this village; those are my letters.

#7. a) Gaṅgājātādharma temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1929, no. 175; SII 13, no. 124; c) personally located; d) above and around the empty niche of the southern façade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*; e) regnal year 5 of Kōvirājakesarivarman; f) Rājaraḷa I (c. 990 CE); g) this long inscription is unfinished; its end may have been engraved on the eastern side of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, now built over.

- (1) *svasti śrī korācake[ca]riṇaṇmaṅkku yāṇṭu °aṅcāvatu vaṭakarai bra[hmateyam]*
- (2) *[X] periya śrī vāṇavaṇmahātevicatu[r]vetimaṅkalattu śrī vijayama[ṇ]*
- (3) *kalatevarkku °ampala[[va]]ṇ paḷuvūr nakkannāṇa °irāca°irācap pallava[[rai]]*
- (4) *yaṇ °ivvāṇavaṇ [[mā]]ṇtevi catuvvetimaṅkalata [°i]tevar perāl vilai[[ko]]*
- (5) *ṇṭu °iraiyil[[cci]]ṇa nilāṅkaḷā vanta nellukkuṁ °ivvūr sabhaiyā*
- (6) *[[rpakkal vilaikoṇṭu °iraiyilicciṇa vaṭapiṭākai neṭuvā]]⁵⁰*
- (7) *[[yilu]]m °i[[nne]]ṭuvāyil curriṇa piṭākaikaḷum °itevaṅkku*
- (8) *[[°i]]ṅkkaṭa[va] nellukkuṁ poṇṅukkuṁ neyyiṇṅaikkku*
- (9) *[[m]] tariṇṇu[ṭa]vaikkum °irum[pu]kkum nibandham ceypaṭi tiruva*
- (10) *[[mu]]tu pot[u] [[nā]]ṇliyāka °atdhayāma[m*] °uḷpaṭa nicatam °arici patakā*
- (11) *ka ja[nti]raṇṭu [[vaṇṇattā]]ḷ vanta nelli nicatam nelli °aiykuṇṇiyāka °orāṭṭai [[nā]]*
- (12) *[[ḷaikkku] vanta nelli nūrū °aiypatiṇ kalamu paruppamutu poturiyāka °atdhayāma*
- (13) *°uḷpaṭa nālu potaikku nicatam °iru nāḷi paruppukku nelli °orāṭṭaiṇṅaḷaikkku [n]e*
- (14) *llu °irupattirukalaṇe tūṇippatakkuṁ porikkaṇṇiyamutu °oṇṇu puḷukku kaṇṇiyamu[tu]*
- (15) *[°oṇṇu]m āka kaṇṇiyamutu °iraṇṭukku miḷakum kaṭuku cirakammu °uḷpaṭa nālu potaik X [°o?]*
- (16) *[[°orāṭṭi]]ṭai [nā]ḷaikkku nelli °irupattirukalaṇe tūṇ[ḷi]ppatak[u]m neyamutu [patu °a X X X]*
- (17) *n[ā]ḷu potukku nicatam °urikku ne[[lu]*]p patakāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikkku [ne]llu °arupatiṇ [[kala]]m*
- (18) *mu [[ta]]yirammutu po[tu*] °uriyāka °addhayāma °uḷpaṭa nālu po[t]aikkku °ir[[u]]ḷaikkku nicatam °ai[ṇ]ḷi*
- (19) *yāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikkku nelli patiṇ °eṅkala[ṇ]ḷi [°i]ru tūṅik kuṇṇiyumu °aṭaikkāyam[u]ḷ*
- (20) *p[out] °aiṅcu veṇṭukāy °iru[pa]tum veṇṭilāip parū °oṇṇu[m] nicatam °addhayāma °u[ṭ]paṭa nālu po[[tai]]ḷkku*
- (21) *[m] °aṭaikkāyam[u]ḷkku nicatam nel °aiṅṅaliyāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikkku nelli patiṇ °eṅ kalan[e]*
- (22) *°i[[ru]]ḷaikkku kuṇṇiyumu tirumeypūcu potu °uḷakku canttukku nicatam °orupala °araiyāḷ[u]ḷi*

- (23) tammu muḷakku tirucca[n*]taṅakkuḷampukku °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku nellu nālppataiṅ kalammu [[ci]]
- (24) tāri °akilum ca[nta]ṅammu neriyārammu kaṅpūrammun [°i]tanum koṅṭu muṅ[ru] potai-kku nellu nicata[m]
- (25) kuṅṇi °irunāḷiyāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku nellu muppattu [mu][[kka]]ḷaṅne °irutuṅṅik kuṅṇiyum [ci]
- (26) kāṭṭi °āvārku °āṭiyaru[[i]]ḷa[p] [[pā]] {window} lu °irunāḷikkku nicatam nelu °aṅu
- (27) nāḷiyāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku ne {window} lu °irupattirukalaṅne tuṅṅip[ta]
- (28) °āvārkkup paricaṭṭam [[°ut]]tāmaya {window} nattu °oraṅaiyum *deksinamaya*[[nat]]
- (29) tukku °oraṅaiyum °āka [[viraṅai]]kkum {window} kācu °iraṅāka kācu °oṅṅinukku [[ne]]
- (30) llup patikaḷammāka °orāṭṭai {window} nāḷaikku kācu °iraṅtukku nel [°i]
- (31) [[ru]][pa]tinkala[[mmu]] [tiru]vo X X [°o]rāt {window} ṭai [[nā]]ḷaikku muṅṅrāṭai °orāṭṭai [[n]]
- (32) [[ā(l)]aikku . . .] {window} [°arai]yāl nel {end of the line not possible to read SII = [[kala(m)mu[m*]]]}
- (33) t[°i]runamani[[kai]] °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku °ira {window} ṅṭāka °iraṭṅinukku kā[[cu]] °oṅṅ[[iṅu]] kku ne
- (34) llu pati[[ṅ]]kalammum tiruma[[i]]ḷai kaṭ {window} ṭi °orāṭṭai nāḷ[[ai]]kkku °iraṅāka °i
- (35) raṅṅinuk[[ku k]]ācu °oṅṅuka kācu °oṅṅri {window} nukku nellup patiṅkalamu[[m]] ṅam
- (36) °orāṭṭai n[[ā]]ḷaikku °iraṅāka °iraṅ {window} ṅinukkuk kācu °oṅ[[ru]]k kācu °oṅṅinu
- (37) kku nel[[lu]]p patiṅ kalammu *jala* {window} *pavintrattukku* °o[[rā]]ṭṭi nāḷai
- (38) puṭavai mu[[ṅ]]ṅu kap puṭavai muṅṅinuk {window} kuk kācu °araiyāka °araikkā[[cukku]] nel
- (39) lu °aiṅka[[lam]]mu tirunottāviḷakku °ai {window} ṅiṅinukku viḷakku[k]ku °oṅṅ[ru] nicata[[m]]
- (40) [[neyi °uḷakkāka viḷakku]] nicatam ney[i] {window} X nāḷi {unlegible}
- (41)⁵¹ m nellu [°ai]ṅkuṅṅiyāka °orāṭṭ[ṭ]ai nāḷaikku nel {window} llu nuṅṅu [°ai]mpatiṅ kalammu
- (42) *sandhiviḷakkuc ciṅṅāḷai yeṭ[ṭu] °ucciyampo* {window} tu °eṭṭu °iravaikku patiṅālum °āka
- (43) viḷakku muppati[[ṅu]]kkku nicatam [[°eṅṅai nā]]ḷi muḷak[k]e {window} {this side of the widow in not engraved}

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the fifth year of Kōrājakesarivarman. For Śrī Vijaiyamaṅgaladevar of big Śrī Vāṅavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank, Ampalavaṅ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṅ alias Rājarāja Pallavaraiyaṅ, having bought in the name of this god (*itēvar*) of this Vāṅavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, having bought from (*pakkal*) the Sabhā of this village for the paddy accrued with the lands of which taxes were remitted (*iraiyilicciṅa*); thus, the donation (*nibandham*) was made for paddy, gold, *ghee* and oil, tax on looms (*tarippuṭavaikkum*) and iron (*irumpukkum*) that have to be paid to the god (*itēvar*) [by] the northern hamlet (*vaṭṭapitākai*) of Neṭuvāyil whose taxes were remitted and the hamlets (*piṭākaikaḷum*) surrounding (*cuṅṅiṅa*) this Neṭuvāyil; as per four *nāḷis* for one time (*pōtu*) of holy food offerings (*tiruvamutu*), as one *pat-akku* of rice (*arici*) everyday including the middle of the night (*atdhayāma* > *ardhayāmam*), as five *kuṅṅis* of paddy daily accrued by the class (*vaṅṅattāl*) of the twice born (*janṅiraṅṅu*), as one *uri* for one time of *dhal* holy food offerings (*paruppamutu*) and hundred and fifty *kalam* of paddy accrued for one day (*nāḷaikku* > *nāḷaikku*) in the year (*orāṭṭai*); for four times including the middle of the night, the paddy for two *nāḷis* of *dhal* everyday, as one boiled (*puḷukku*) vegetable food offering (*kaṅṅiyamutu*) and one fried vegetable food offering (*porikkaṅṅiyamutu*), for one *tūṅi* and one *pat-akku*, twenty-two *kalam*s of paddy for one day in the year; as one *patakku* of paddy for one *uri* everyday for four times . . . *ghee* food offerings for one *tūṅi* and one *patakku*, twenty-two *kalam*s

of paddy for one day in the year; for four times including cumin seeds (*cīrakammum*), mustard seeds (*kaṭukum*) and pepper (*miḷakum*) for two vegetable food offerings, as one *uri* for one time of curd food offerings (*tayiramutu*) and sixty *kalams* of paddy for one day in the year; as five *nālis* everyday for two *nālis* for four times including the middle of the night, as five *nālis* of paddy everyday for one arecanut food offerings (*aṭaikkāyamutukku*) for four times including the middle of the night everyday, one bundle (*parṟu*) of betel leaves (*verṟilai*) and twenty arecanuts (*veruṅkāy*), five times of arecanut food offerings, two *tūṅis* and one *kuṟuṇi*, eighteen *kalams* of paddy for one day in the year; for one *uḷakku* of mixture (*kuḷampū*) of holy sandal paste (*tiruccantaṅam*) everyday and with one *palam* and a half everyday of one *uḷakku* of sandal paste for one time for anointment (*tirumeyppūccu*), two *tūṅis* and one *kuṟuṇi*, eighteen *kalams* of paddy for one day in the year; as two *nālis* and one *kuṟuṇi* everyday of paddy for three times, with this, camphor (*kaṟpūramum*), juice of storax (*neriyācamum*), sandal paste and fragrant woods (*cītāri akilum*, i.e. red cedar and eagle-wood), forty-five *kalams* of paddy for one day in the year; as six *nālis* of paddy everyday for two *nālis* of milk (*pālu*) for the holy bath (*āṭiyaruḷa*) of him (*āvārku*), two *tūṅis* and one *kuṟuṇi*, thirty-three *kalams* of paddy for one day in the year; as ten *kalams* of paddy for one *kācu*, as two *kācus* for pairs, a pair for *dakṣiṇamayanam* and a pair for *uttāmayanam*, of cloths (*paricattam*) for him (*āvārkkū*), one *tūṅi* and one *patakkū* and twenty-two *kalams* of paddy for one day in the year; . . . twenty *kalams* of paddy for two *kācus* for one day in the year; three dresses (*muṇṟāṭai*) for one day in the year; the sacred bath (*tirunamaṅikai*) . . . *kalams* of paddy with half . . . for a day in the year; [for] the maker of garlands (*tirumālaikaṭṭi*), ten *kalams* of paddy for one *kācu* for two as two for one day in the year; . . . ten *kalams* of paddy for one *kācu*, as one *kācu* for two as two for one day in the year; for the garment for the bath of the idol (*jalapavittattukku*), ten *kalams* of paddy for one *kācu*, one *kācu* for two as two for one day in the year; as five *kuṟuṅis* of paddy . . . *nālis* of *ghee* everyday for a lamp (*viḷakku*), as one *uḷakku* of *ghee* everyday for one lamp, for five perpetual lamps, five *kalams* of paddy for half a *kācu*, as half a *kācu* for three cloths (*puṭavai*), as three cloths for one day in the year; . . . one *uḷakku* and one *nāli* of oil (*eṇṇai*) everyday for thirty lamps as fourteen for the night, eight for midday (*uccampōtu*) and eight for early dawn (*cīrukālai*), for evening lamps, hundred and fifty *kalams* of paddy for one day in the year.

Western façade

#8. a) Gaṅgājaṭādhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 165; SII 19, no. 332; SII 32, part 2, no. 122; c) personally located; d) on the upper part of the southernmost wall section of the western façade of the sanctuary; e) regnal year 13 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) Uttamacōḷa (c. 984 CE); g) the inscription is unfinished; we notice some unusual mistakes: *cōlla* > *cōla*, *vimmā* > *vimāṇa*, *paḷuvuṟ* > *paḷuvūr*, *hmādevaṟku* > *mahādevaṟku*.

- (1) *svasti śrī⁵² kopparakecaripanmaṟku yāṅṭu* [1]3 *muṇṟāvatu vaṭakarai brahmadeyam* pe
- (2) *riya śrī vāṇavaṅmāteviccatuvvetimaṅkalattu śrī vijayamaṅkalat[e]*
- (3) *vaṟ koyi śrī vimmā kallā °eḷu[nta]rulluviccen śrī °utammacollaveṟ peru*
- (4) *ntiṟattu kuvallālam °uṭaiyāṅ °ampalavaṅ paḷuvuṟ nakkaṅāna vikramacollā*
- (5) *mārā[ya]nne °i śrī vijayamaṅkalattu hmādevaṟku ṅā*

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the 13th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. I, Ampalavaṅ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṅ alias Vikramacōḷa Mārāyan, lord (*uṭaiyāṅ*) of Kuvallālam, of the *peruntaraṅam* of Śrī Uttamacōḷatēvar, I have graciously caused to raise (*eḷuntaruḷḷuviccēṅ*) in stone the holy sanctuary of the temple of Śrī Vijayamaṅgaladevar of the big Śrī Vāṇavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvetimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank; for Mahādeva of this Śrī Vijayamaṅgalam . . .

#9. a) Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 166; SII 19, no. 333; SII 32, part 2, no. 123; c) personally located; d) upper inscription on the lowest stone of the southernmost wall section of the western façade of the sanctuary; e) regnal year 13 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) Uttamacōla (c. 984 CE); g) there is no *svasti śrī* at the beginning of this inscription.

- (1) kopparakecarivanmaṅku yāṅtu 13 °āvatu °ittirukkaṅga[[i]] °eṭuppit
- (2) ta kuvaḷālam uṭaiyāṅ °ampalavaṅ paḷuvūr nakkaṅāṅa vikkiramacoḷa mārā
- (3) yar °akamuṭaiyāḷ °aparāyitaṅ ceyyavāymani cantrāṅittaval vaitta non
- (4) taviḷakku °onṅukku nicata °uḷakku neyyāka vaitta °āṅtu tonṅūru °āru °ivai cāvā
- (5) vā perāṅtu panmāheśvara rakṣai | |

This is the 13th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. The wife (*akamuṭaiyāḷ*) of Ampalavaṅ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṅ alias Vikkiramacoḷa Mārāyar, lord (*uṭaiyāṅ*) of Kuvaḷālam, who built (*eṭupitta*) this stone shrine (*ittirukkaṅgaḷi*), Aparāyitaṅ Ceyyavāymani gave; as long as the sun and the moon endure, for one perpetual lamp, for one *uḷakku* of *ghee* everyday, she gave ninety-six goats. These undying and non-ageing great goats are under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#10. a) Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 167; SII 19, no. 334; SII 32, part 2, no. 124; c) personally located; d) lowest inscription on the lowest stone of the southernmost wall section of the western façade of the sanctuary, in continuation of #9; it continues on the pilaster on the southern side; e) regnal year 13 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) Uttamacōla (c. 984 CE); g) there is no *svasti śrī* at the beginning of this inscription.

- (1) kopparakecaripannaṅku yāṅtu 13 °āvatu °ittirukkaṅga
- (2) li °eṭupitta kuvaḷālam uṭaiyāṅ °ampalavaṅ paḷuvūr nakkaṅ °āṅa vikkiramacoḷa mārāyar
- (3) °akamuṭaiyāḷ ciṅkapanmaṅ kaṅci °akkaṅ vaitta nontāviḷa[kku] °onṅu °onṅukku nicatam [u]
- (4)⁵³ ḷakku ney
- (5) yerikka vai
- (6) tta cāvāmu
- (7) vāp perā
- (8) tu ton
- (9) ṅūru °ā
- (10) ru °ivai pa
- (11) nmāheśvara
- (12) [rakṣai | |]

This is the 13th regnal year of Kōpparakesarivarman. The wife (*akamuṭaiyāḷ*) of Ampalavaṅ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṅ alias Vikkiramacoḷa Mārāyar, lord (*uṭaiyāṅ*) of Kuvaḷālam, who built (*eṭupitta*) this stone shrine (*ittirukkaṅgaḷi*), Ciṅkapanmaṅ Kaṅci Akkaṅ gave; for one perpetual lamp, to burn one *uḷakku* of *ghee* everyday she gave ninety-six undying and non-ageing great goats. These are under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

Western and northern façades

#11. a) Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 164 (+ part 2, para 28, p. 74); SII 19, no. 357; SII 32, part 2, no. 138; c) personally located; d) begins on the westernmost wall section of the northern façade and continues on the northernmost wall section of the western façade; e) regnal year 14 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) Uttamacōla (c. 985 CE); g) the translation of this inscription is given p. 68.

- (1) | | | svasti śrī | | kuvalāla-samudbhavaḥ su-kī[r]tti-
(2) paḷuvūr-na[k]ka °iti praḷita-nāmā muravairīva [vira]
(3) jah⁵⁴ jāta-vamṇa-[pra]varo va⁵⁵ṃśa-karaḥ sam-āviraśīt [] | |
(4) yam arthinas tyāgā⁵⁶m upātta-v[i]graham dvi⁵⁷ṣat-janāḥ [śau]
(5) [r]yya-guṇaṃ śarīraṇam °anaṃgam aṃgānvayinam mṛgekṣa[nā]
(6) vīda[n]ti dhar[m]maṃ satan[u]m vipāścitaḥ | | | – soyaṃ sva-vikramā[pta]-
(7) khilāṃṇavāmbaraḥkara-grahād vīryya-toṣitād v[i]krama-koḷa-nṛpāl la-
(8) bdha-vikrama-koḷa-mahārājābhīdho ‘sya rājñāś catu[r]daśe varṣe
(9) ti śrī-vānavan-mahādevy-agrahare śrī-vijayamaṅgale vasataḥ śa-
(10) mbhoḥ mandīram śilā-mayam vidhāyāsyaiḥ grāmasya svabh[ū]tām ne-
(11) ṭuvāyil-nāma-grāmaṭikām mahāparśadaḥ kṛtvā sva-vitta-dānād aka-
(12) rāñ-ca kṛtvā tasyaiḥ saṃbhōr ā-śāśāṃka-sthīter arccanotsavādī-
(13) m prādāt | | – kopparakesarīpanmakku yāṇtu 14 °āvatu °uṭaiy
(14) ār peru[n]tirattu kuvalālam uṭaiyāṇ °ampalavan paḷuvūr
(15) nakkaṇāṇa vikramakoḷa mahārājaneṇ vaṭa ka[r]ai brahmadeya
(16) m periya [śrī] vanavaṇ mahādevi[catuvvedī]maṅka]lattu śrī vijayamaṅkala[t]
(17) tu mahādevar śrī vimāṇam kallāl °eḷuṅtaruḷuvittu °idevark[ku]t ti
(18) ruvamitukkum tiruvilakkukkum śrī balikkum tirumeypūcukkum tiruppūkaik
(19) kum tirunaṅtavānappurattukkum tiruvilāvukkum śnapaṇkaḷukkum maṅṅum
(20) °idevarkku veṇṭum °ārāṭiṅkaḷ °epperpaṭṭaṇa °avaicukkum °uttama [°i] X⁵⁸
(21)⁵⁹ mākaṇāṇ kuṭutta °ū[r]jāva[tu] °ipperiya śrī vānavaṇ mahādevicaturvedīma
(22)⁶⁰ ṅkalattu vaṭaiṭṭakāi neṭuvāyilum
(23) °itu X ppaṭṭu⁶¹m °ūrtāmaraiṅal
(24) °ārum tiruccen[i]valamum ma[n]kulakku
(25) ruciyum °uḷppaṭṭa °inetuvāyil vaḷai
(26) yilc currumurum °ivūr ni X[i] la X m paṅ
(27) ceyūm meṅceyūm menokk[[i]]na maramum [[ki]]l
(28) ṅokkina kiṅaṅum kuḷamum koṭṭakamum parrum terriyu X
(29) rrum °uṭumpoṭi °āmaivaḷṅtatu °epperppaṭṭa
(30) tum °ivūr °ilaiikkalam[u]m ta[r]i]ppuṭavaiyūm kaṅ
(31) ṅālak [[kā]]ṅamum [[i]]kār]ppāṭṭamum °ulaiyam °ulaippāṭṭamum
(32) °uḷppa °ivū[r] vaḷaiyilc currumurum °i[p]periya śrī vānavaṇ
(33) mahāde[[vi]]cca]tuvvetimaṅkalattu peruṅkuṅip perumaḷkaḷ [[pa]]kkal vilai
(34) koṅtu °uṭaiyēṅṅā °immaḥsabhaiyārke °eḷu[ṅūru] kācu ku[tu]
(35) tta °irai °iḷicca °ipparicu °irai °iliyāka ṅān °uṭai °en[ṅā]y °iru[n]
(36)⁶² ta °inetuvāyil murum °i śrī v[i]jayamaṅkalattu mahādevarkku mu-
(37) ṅ cuṭṭappāṭṭa °epperppaṭṭa taruvārāṭiṅkaḷukkum bhogamākkak kuṭutte
(38) ṅ kuvalālamuṭaiyāṇ °ampalavan paḷuvūr nakkaṇāṇa vikramaśoḷa mahā
(39) rāj[ā]ṅaṇ °ivai panmahā °e[[śva]]ra rakṣai °aṅamm aṅavekka °aṅamm allatu tuṅaiyilai
(40) °i[va] colla °eḷutinne °ivūr maddhasṭhan niṅṅān °ārā °amutān vānavamātevip peruṅk[ā]
(41) vitiy °ivai °enneḷuttu

Western and southern façades

#12. a) Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 164; SII 19, no. 357 (lines 41–83); c) personally located; d) begins on the northernmost wall section of the western façade and continues below on the base (lines 1–36); continues on the lowest part of the base of the

southern side of the western façade and of the western side of the southern façade (lines 37–42); e) probably regnal year 7 of Rājarājadevar; f) Rājarāja I (c. 992 CE); g) this inscription provides the details of items given to the temple following the donation of Neṭuvāyil recorded in #11. It was considered by SII 19 as the same inscription than #11, but the mention of the seventh year of Rājarāja I in the inscription precludes to consider them as a single record, even if they are related; this is confirmed by the script which is different; the first number of the lines in this edition corresponds to this individual inscription, while the second corresponds to the line numbering of the edition in SII 19; I do not provide a translation here because Orr (2000: 117–118) already did.

- (1/41) °ineṭuvāyilum neṭuvāyil curriṇa paṭākai
 (2/42) kaḷum mittevakku °irukka kaṭava °irai °iśr̄ koyirkāl °ūrkkāl paḷuvūr nakkannāl
 (3/43) tirumurrattu °aḷakkakaṭa[va] nellu vālli ne X kaṭ X X X [r̄]cettal nikki kūṭṭal [vetu] m pāta
 (4/44) [ṇ] °aṭṭakava nellu °āyirakkalammu tuḷai kaḷaiṇ[cu] X [po/ṇa]tta poṇ kācu niṇaikkal[lā] [[l]]
 (5/45) poṇ nurru kaḷaicum taṇiputavai °onru kālp poṇ peṇuvaṇa p[u]ṭavai paṇniraṇṭum
 (6/46) neyi °eṇṇai mukkalam ko[llar] °u[laip]pāṭṭam [°i/o ru pu] °āya[r]ppalam neṭuvāyil vata X °a[ṭu/°i]ttu
 (7/47) kku [ni]bedha ceyitapaṭi civayogi brāhmaṇa[r] [mu]ppatiṇ[marum] [brā][[hma]][[ṇar] °i[ru]patiṇ marum °āka [°ai]ypatiṇma[r]kku °oruvaṇukku nica
 (8/48) tam °arici °irunāliyaḷa °irunālikku nellu °aināliyaḷa °aim[[p]patiṇmar]ku nicatam nellu [°iru]kalaṇe °eḷuku[[ruṇi]] °iru nāli
 (9/49)⁶³ yum neyamunṇāli °āḷakkukku [ney] nālikku [ne]llu tūṇiyā[[ka °im]]munṇāli °āḷakkukku nicatam nellu [[kala]ṇe n[[ā]]
 (10/50) nāliyum ta[ri]kku nellu tūṇiyam [[pul]i]]n̄kaṇiya[ṭa]mo]rukku nellu kuṇṇiyu[m] °aṭṭiyu[ṇṇa]morukku nellu [[pa]takku
 (11/51)⁶⁴ °u[[ppa]] [nā]likku nellu nāli °uḷakkāka °uppu °aiyānālikku nellu °aruṇāli °uḷakkum verrillai parru °onriṇukku [ne]
 (12/52) [[lu]] °irunāli[ya]ka verrillai]p parru [[mun]][ri][[ṇu]]kku nellu °aru[[nā]][li][[yum]] [veṇṇikkāy] nāli [nellu]kku patakāka veṇṇikkāy nārukku nel
 (13/53) lu [patiṇ] nāli[um] [[āka nicatam]] [nellu] [[nārkalaṇe nārkalaṇe °ai]y] kuru[ni] [[nānāli] °uḷakkāka °orāṭṭaināli]]kku nellu °āyirattaru nūrru °ai
 (14/54) [kalaṇe] °iru tūṇi mu[kku][[ru]][[ni] °irunāliya[m] viṇakiṭuvāṇ ṇoruva[[ṇu]]kku nicatam ne[[l]]lukku [[kuṇṇiyum °aṭuvāṇ ṇoruvaṇukku]] nicatam nelluk kuru[[ni]] yum °āka nicatam nellu patakāka °orāṭṭai nāliḷukku nellu °aruṇṇaṭiṇ kala[[mum]] [°ivi][[ruvaṇ]]kku[[m]] [[pu]][[ṭavai] mutal [°oruva]ṇukku °oru kācukku ne[[lu]]
 (16/56) patiṇ kalammāka °iruvaṇṅkku kāciraṇṭiṇ[āl] [[ne]]lu °i[[ru]]patiṇ kalammu civayogi brāhmaṇar mupatiṇmarum brāhmaṇar °irupatiṇmaru
 (17/57) °āka °aippiṇṇaṭiṇṅkku caṇivāram [°eṇṇai] [[nāli u]]riyum [°a]yaṇavāram °eṇṇai nāli °uriyum °eṇṇai nāliḷukku nellu tūṇiyāka
 (18/58) °orāṭṭai nāliḷukku °eṇṇai kalaṇe °iru tūṇi [°iru][[nā]]likku nellu °aiyppattu nārkalamum nicatam payaru kuṇṇi n[ā]liḷiyā
 (19/59) [ka] X X [nā]li]kku nellu ° irunāliyaḷa X X X nā[ne]kku payaru X la X ta X X yak X mamāka kācu °onruku X yaṇu °aiy
 (20/60) kalammāka [payaru] X X X X X X [[kalanelu]] [tonṇū][[ru] kala kācu °onrukku nellu [[patak] X X X [mā]ka [[°iru]][nellukku] [[kācu °onru]] [X X]
 (21/61)⁶⁵ caṇka[rai] nicatam [[°aim]]palam °āka °orāṭṭai nāliḷukku niṇai patiṇṇeṭtu [kācu] °onrukku [[ni]]rai paṇniraṇṭāka niṇai patiṇṇeṭ

- (22/62) [[ciŋ]]nāl kācu °o[ŋra]raiyyu nicatam [puḷi] [[°irunāliyyāka]] °orāṭṭai [nāḷaikku] [°e] lunūrru [[°iru]]patiṅ nāliyiṅāl kācu °oṅru[[m]]
- (23/63)⁶⁶ [nicatam] miḷaku [°u]lakk[[aria]] [katuku] X X X X X X X [kkāka] °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku °irukalane tūṅi [°oru]nāḷikku kācu mu[[ṅrum]] nicatam cirakam °orupitīyāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku patakku °aṅunāli °uriyyu peruṅkāyam nicatam [°arai] [[kka]] [[lai]]ntāka
- (24/64)⁶⁷ ṭṭai nāḷaikku patakku °aṅunāli °uriyyu peruṅkāyam nicatam [°arai] [[kka]] [[lai]]ntāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku [nū]rru [°eṅpa]ti lantiṅnāl kācu °oṅrum °ākā kā[cu]
- (25/65) patiṅ °aintaraikkum kācu °oṅrukku nellu patiṅ kalam °ākā nel[[lu nū]]ru °aiypattu °aiy kalattāl n[ta]vā[ṅa]kaṭa[nai/lai] [kā]cil niṅku kācu patiṅ °ain[tu]
- (26/66) cālaitukuttu meḷuki piṅṭi °aṭṭuvāḷ [oruttikku ni[ca]tam nellu °iru nāliyyāka °orāṭṭai nāḷiku nellu [°e]lukulane tūṅi putakku [°e]ccil °e
- (27/67)⁶⁸ tuttu °eccilama[ṅ]ṭalam ceytu kalam cāmpal [°i] [[tu]]vāḷ °oruttikku nicatam nellu puṭavai mul °erri nāṅāyāl °orāṭṭai nā[[lai]]kku [[mel]]
- (28/68) lu pati[[ṅ]]kalam ti[[ru]]ppatiyam viṅappam ceyvār °oruvaṅku puṭavai mutal °ulpaṭa nicatam nellu patakku nāṅāliyyāka °orāṭṭai n[ā]ḷaikku ne
- (29/69) llu °elupattaiṅkalam kopurattu meykāpp[ā]ṅ no[ru]van °ivaṅṅe cālai °uṅ veṅkalan[nū] rum °eṅṅi pukuvikkavu potavaippikkavu kaṭa
- (30/70) [vā] °āka puṭavai mutal °ulpaṭa nicatam nellu kuṅuṅi °iru liyyāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku nellu mupattu °eḷu kalane tūṅip [pa]takku cāḷaikku kalam °i
- (31/71) ṭu ku[ca]va[ṅ] noruvaṅku nicatam nellu °iru nāliyyāka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku nellu °eḷukalane tūṅip patakku coti[vi] colluvāṅ °irupat[[t]]e
- (32/72) lu nā[[u]k k[ū]ru °ol[ai] karpurattu [[tūkka]] [ni]catam nellu ku[[°ruṅi]]yāka °orāṭṭai nāḷai nellu mupati[[ṅ ka]]lamum °uttamāṅratil °uṅṅu *brahma*[ṅa]rkku
- (33/73) [°*adhya*yam ceyvar] X X [[ko]]lum *brāhmaṅaṅ* °oruvaṅku nicatam nellu kuṅuṅiyāka °orāṭṭai [[tai]] [nā]kku nellu mupatiṅ [ka]lamum °ivaṅṅuke[y] [[pu]]
- (34/74) [ṭavai mul] kā[cu] [[caraiyāl nellu °ai]] [ykalamu]m [[°uttamā]]ṅratu °uṅṅu [[m]] *brāhmaṅa* civayo[[gi]]kaḷum *brāhmaṅa*kkku [[magra]]ttu [ku] [canta]ṅattukku
- (35/75) kācu °a[[rai]yāl]] [nellu] [[°aikalamum °iru *śrī belikku beli* °a]]rici nāḷi[[yāl]] nicatam [[nellu °i]]runāli[[yā]ka °orāṭṭai nāḷaikku nellu °e]]
- (36/76)⁶⁹ lu[ka]ḷane [tū]ṅip patakku]] X
- (37/77)⁷⁰ °*ibrahmateyam* ceta periyat[e]var °*śrī vijayamaṅkalatevarkku* tiruvuṅṅalikaip puṅam °āka °irai °ili kuṭutta paṅ // ku [°e]ṭṭiṅa nāllu *śrī irājarāja*⁷¹tevarku yaṅṭu °elāvatu mutal °*śrī v[i]māṅ kal X [ā] °eluntaruḷuvitta °irājarāja* ppalla °a[rai] [[ya]]
- (38/78) X ṅṅe °ippaṅku °eṭṭiṅālu ceyyum paṭi māṅru kalli veṭṭiṅapaṭi tirutarici po[tu] nāṅāliyyāka mūṅru potaikku nicatam °arici kuṅu nāṅā // li[yā] [[]] [[°a]]ntiraṅṭu vaṅṅattāl nellu mukkuṅuṅi °aṅu nāliyyum neyamutu potoru pi[ti]yāka mūṅru potaikku neyamutu °āḷākke °orupitī
- (39/79) kku nāḷikku nellu tūṅiyāka ney °aḷākke °oru piṭikku nicatam nellu °aṅu nāliyam porikkariyamutu mūṅru [[po]]taikku nicatam nel[lu] // °i[ru] nāḷi [[°uriy °ataik]] kāyamutu potu nāḷāka mūṅru potaikku pāḷku paṅṅiraṅṭum veṅṅilāikku nicatam nellu mūṅṅāliyyum tayir °amutu po
- (40/80) tu °uriyāka mūṅru potukku tayir nāḷi °urikku nicatam nellu mūṅṅāli muḷākkum nontāviḷakku °aintukku viḷakkoṅru[mū] [neyi °uk] [[kāka]] vi // [[lakku °ai]]ntukku nicatam ney nāḷi [°u]kkāka ney nāḷikku nellu tūṅiyāka ney nāḷi °uḷakuku nicatam nellu °aṅkuṅuṅiyum nilamā[li] X ni
- (41/81) r poka °aṭṭuvāṅṅukku ni[ca]ta nellu °irunāliyy uḷakkum kaṅakkeḷutuvāṅṅukku nicatam nellu nāṅāliyyum °irā [śrī]be[li] viḷakku °i[raṅ] // [tu]kku °eṅṅai [°ā]ḷ[ā]ke [°oru] piṭikku °e[ṅṅai] nāḷikku nellu tūṅiyāka [°e]ṅṅai °ā[ḷ]ākke °oru [[piṭi]]kku nicatam nellu °aṅu nāliyy[u]m °āka nicatam

(42/82) {space} nellun kalaṇey °oru nāli °uri[[yāka]] °o[[rā]]ṭṭai nālaikku nellu muṇṇūru
 °arupattu °aiy kalaṇey °eḷu kuṇṇi nāṇāliyu[m] °arāma // ra [[vel]kka [[°arāmmalla]]
 tu tunaiyil[lai] °iv[ai] paṇmāhāheśvara rakṣai

Northern façade

#13. a) Gaṅgājatādharma temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 158; SII 32, part 2, no. 104; c) personally located; d) on the wall section on the eastern side of the niche of Brahmā; e) regnal year 12 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) Uttamacōla (c. 983 CE); g) it is apparently unfinished.

- (1) *svasti śrī* kopparake[ca]ripamṇamārāṇa *śrī* °uttamacōlaku
- (2) yāṇṭu 12 °āvatu vaṭakarai *brahmateyam* p[e]riya vāṇavaṇm[ā]
- (3) [[de]]viccatu[[r]]vetimaṅkattu *śrī* kayilā[ya]ttu paramaśvāmika[[u]]k[ku] [to]
- (4) [[toṇ]]t[ī]l[ai]]ṇā[ṭu] paḷuvūr koṭṭattu [[kāvāṇṇur]] [ce]l[[kkilān] °araiyaṇ caṅkaranā]
- (5) [r]āyanaṇāṇa cōlamuttaraiyaṇṇen °iṇcu periya vāṇavaṇ māteviperuṅkuṇṇi
- (6) yāḷḷum kaṇattāruḷ śrīcōla[cū]lamāṇiceri *sabhaiyārku* °iraiyili m[[ikai]]
- (7) vicattitai °iṭṭa nilam vaṭakuṭi °erikiḷ °inta ceri *sabhaiyār* pakal nān yīrai
- (8) [[y]]ili koṇṭu °uṭaiya nilammāvatu yivvūr vaṭa[ku]ṭi °erikiḷ parakeycari vāka
- (9) llukku vaṭakkum vaṭakūṭi °eri talaikaṇi vākkāllukku kiḷakkum vaṭavāṇṇukku [m]e
- (10) kku[m] *śrī* cōlacūlamāni[[ceri]]yār mu[[ṇ] virra ni]]lam iraṇṭā [ka]ṇ[[ṇāṇru] nikki muṇṇru]]ṇ
 kaṇṇāṇru X X X [m]
- (11) [ni]lāṇ kaṇṇāṇrum °aṅc[[ā]]ṇ [m] °ā[ru]ṇ kaṇṇāṇrum °eḷā[[ṇ]] kaṇṇāṇrum māka nilam [°i]
 raṇṭaraiye mu[[ṇ]]ru mākk
- (12) kāṇiyum °ivūr *śrī* kayillāttu *mahā[de]vaṇku cantrādittavaṇ* nivaṃtam ceytapaṭi °ālvārkkku tiru
 °amutukku potu nā
- (13) nāliyāka muṇṇu *sandhikkum* [[°arici]] kuṇṇi nāṇṇāli kutal ariciyiṇāl nel mukkuṇṇi
 °arunāliyi[[ṇā]]l °orrāṭṭai nālaikku nel
- (14) nūṇṇu °oru pattu °irukalane tūṇipatakukum ceyta nilamāvatu [[mu]]ṇṇru[m] kaṇṇāṇru
 kulai °araimā °arai muṇṭikai °ālvāk
- (15) ku ney °amutu nicaṭam °uḷakkukku nel kuṇṇiyum kaṇṇi °amutukku n[e]ḷ nāṇāliyum tay-
 iramutukku nel [mu]ṇṇāli[[yu]]
- (16) [yu]m °ātaikkāy °amutukku nel [[yi]]runāliyum °āka nel nicaṭam nel kuṇṇi °eḷu nāḷināl
 °orāṭṭai nāḷai nell[[u] °ai]]mmattu
- (17) [°aru]kalaṇey mukkuṇṇiyināl °iṭṭa nilam nālāṇ kaṇṇāṇru me[[k]]kaṭaiya nāṇku mākaṇi
 °a[[rai]]kkāṇi nikki °iṇ ki[[lā]]kku °iṭṭa ni
- (18) lam [mu]ṇṇru mākaṇi muntirikai X [[śamśrāntika] °ayanam miraṇṭum viṣu] °iraṇṭum
 vaiykāci vicākamum °āka [°aiṇcu]⁷² sam
- (19) *grāntiyum* namaṇamāṭi °aruḷa °abhiṣekadaṣṣaiṇaikkku [pate]ruḷi t[[i]]ru {one letter space}
 °amutu ceyavum [nel] °aimpat[[i]]ṇ kala
- (20) tāl °iṭṭa nilam nālā kaṇṇāṇru mekkaṭaiya muṇṇu mā °araikkāṇi tiruppu[[k]]kaikkum
 tirucantaṇṇattu °orāṭṭai nālaikku [n]e
- (21) l °irupatin kalattāl °iṭṭa nilam nālāṇ kaṇṇāṇru °itaṇṇoṭu paṭaiya mākaṇi tirupaḷitāmato
 tuṇṇāṇṇu tirumelukkku °iṭṭu[[vark]]
- (22) kum °iṭṭa nilam nālāṇ kaṇṇāṇru kaṇṇiyamutuku °iṭṭa nilattuku kiḷa[ku] °arai]mā °itāṇṇum
 kiḷakkaṭaiya tiruviḷāvuku °aṭṭa
- (23) vuku kaṇṇikkum viṇakukum °aṭṭuvitukum nel nicaṭam kalamāka n[[ā]] muku °eḷukalatāl
 °iṭṭa nilam kāṇi muṇṭikai

- (24) yum °āka [pa]kaṇṇārru teṅkiḷaku nilam °arai kāṇi vaiykāci vicākatuku tiruviḷāvuku °aṭa °arici patakeḷu kuttal ni
- (25) cata °aiṅ kalamāka nāl °eḷukku °arici mupataiṅ kalatāl nel °eṇpatiṅ kalatāl nilam °aicāṅ kaṇṇārru kiḷal mel
- (26) teṅ[ka]ṭaiya nilam kāl tiruviḷāvukku nīcatam °eṇṇai mukkuṇi nāl °eḷukku kalāṇe °irutūṇi kuṇṇiyāka nāḷi ṅ
- (27) [ṇaiḷ]kku tūnellā vaṇṭa nel °ampattaru kalattāl °iṭṭa nilam °iti [[va]]ṭakkaṭaiya kiḷal mel °iṭṭa nila[m]
- (28) mum māvarai putukku pu[ra]ttu [[nel]]lu [nū]rru kalattāl °iṭṭa nilam °aiṅkaṇṇārru nilam vaṭakka[[ṭai]]
- (29) ya kālum °ārākaṇṇārrum kāṇi tiruviḷakku nīcatam °eṇ[[ṇai nāḷi]]kku nel tuṇiyāl [[nū]]rru °iru[patiṅ] kalat[[tu]]
- (30) °ārāṅ kaṇṇāru mekkaṭai °eḷu māvarai °apiṣekam ceyu nampikku nīcatam nel patakinnāl °iṭṭa nim
- (31) ṅ kiḷakku muṅṇu māṃmukkāṇi °uvaiccu °āḷ °ārūḷḷu °iṭṭa nilam °eḷā kaṇṇārru mekkaṭaiya °eṭṭu mā
- (32) kāṇi muṅṭirikai tirunantavāṇam muṅṇuḷḷu °itaṅ °oṭu kiḷakkaṭaiya nilam °oru māvarai °itaṅ kiḷakku maṅṇu
- (33) lam °oru mā °ita °oṭum °aṭaiya kiḷakku nilam °oṅṇu mā[vu]m yikā pukku paruṣaiyāḷḷu nila kāṇiraiḷkāṇi muṅṭirikai kaṇṇākāṇi niṅṇ
- (34) pu °oruṅ °oraṭu °aṭai nilam °oru mākaṇṇākāṇikku °i

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the 12th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. To the Lord (*paraśvāmikaḷukku*) of Śrī Kayilāyam of big Vāṇavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* on the northern bank, I, Cōḷamuttaraiyaṅ alias Cēkkiḷāṅ Araiyaṅ Caṅkara Nārāyaṅ of Kāvaṇṇūr in Paḷuvūr *kōṭṭam* in Toṅṭaiṅāṭu; the land which was placed for the abundant expenses (*mikai vicattu*) of the tax-free [land] for those of the Sabhā of Śrī Cōḷacūlamāṇicēri including the managers (*kaṇṇattāru*) [of?] the great assembly (*peruṅkuṇṇiyāḷḷum*) of this big Vāṇavaṅ-mahādevi, I (*nāṅ*) have taken, without taxes, from those of the Sabhā of this quarter (*inta cēri*) [which is] under [the irrigation] of the Vaṭakuṭi tank; this is the land (*nilamāvatu*) which [I] possess: to the north of the canal Parakesari under [the irrigation of] the Vaṭakuṭi lake of this village; to the east of the canal Talaikaṇi [of] the Vaṭakuṭi lake; and to the west of the northern river; having removed the irrigation canal by the two lands bought before by those of the quarters (*cēriyār*) of Śrī Cōḷacūlamāṇi; three sixteenth [of land which are] two and a half [measure of] land [from] the seventh irrigation canal, the sixth and the fifth irrigation canal, the . . . irrigation canal . . . , the third irrigation canal. To Mahādeva of Śrī Kayilāyam (*kayillāttu > kayilāyattu*) of this village, as per the donation which was made as long as the sun and the moon endure, as four *nāḷis* for one time for food offerings for the Lord (*āḷvārḷḷu*), the rice for the three *sandhi* (juncture of the day), with four *nāḷis* and one *kuṇṇi* of pounded rice (*kuttal ariciyiṅṅāl*), with six *nāḷis* and three *kuṇṇis* of paddy, for one day in the year, this is the land which made one hundred and twelve *kalam*s, one *tūṇi* and a *pataḷḷu* [of paddy]: half a *muṅṭirikai* of a fortieth [of land] on the rim of the third irrigation canal; as one *kuṇṇi* of paddy for one *uḷakku* every day of *ghee* food offering for the Lord (*āḷvārḷḷu > āḷvārḷḷu*), four *nāḷis* of paddy for vegetable food offering, three *nāḷis* of paddy for curd food offering and two *nāḷis* of paddy for arecanut food offering, [these are] seven *nāḷis* and one *kuṇṇi* of paddy everyday for one day in the year, the land was placed for three *kuṇṇis*, six *kalam*s of (*aimmattu?*) of paddy: a *muṅṭirikai* and three *māvarai* [is] the land (*nilam*) which was placed to the east, having removed four sixteenth of half a *kāṇi* on the western boundary of the fourth irrigation canal; for

the ritual fee of *abhiṣeka* (*abhiṣekadakṣiṇaikkū*) for the gracious holy bath (*napaṇam āṭi aruḷa*) on five Saṅkrāntis, that are the Saṅkrāntis of the two *ayanams*, the two *viṣus*, and of the month of Vaikāci Vicākam, the land placed for fifty *kalams* of paddy to make holy food offering, having graciously . . . , [are] three *mās* and half a *kāṇi* on the western boundary of the fourth irrigation canal; for one day in the year of sandal paste (*tirucantaṇattu*) for the holy smoke (*tiruppukkaikūm*), the land which was placed for twenty *kalams* of paddy [is] a sixteenth of the sluice with this fourth irrigation canal; the land placed for those cleaning the floor with cow-dung (*tirumeḷukku iṭuvarakkūm*) and those making the holy garlands (*tirupallitāmatotuppārkkūm*) [is] on the eastern boundary with this one-fortieth to the east of the land placed for the vegetable food offering of the fourth irrigation canal; for the supply of firewood (*viṛakukūm*) and the vegetables (*kaṛikkūm*) for the eight festivals (*tiruvilāvikū aṭṭavukku*), as the daily *kalams* of paddy, the land which was placed for seven *kalams* and three *kuṟuṇis* per day [is] half a *kāṇi* of land to the south-east of the irrigation canal as a *kāṇi* and a *muntirikai*; as five *kalams* everyday of seven *patakkus* of pounded rice supplied for the festival of Vaikāci Vicākam, for seven days, for seventy *kalams* of paddy and for thirty-five *kalams* of rice, the land [is] a quarter land on the south-western boundary to the east of the fifth irrigation canal; for the festival (*tiruvilāvukku*), three *kuṟuṇis* of oil everyday, as one *kuṟuṇi* and two *tūṇis* and one *kalam* for seven days, the land placed for fifty-six *kalams* of paddy accrued with pure paddy for one *nāḷi* of oil, [is] the land placed for hundred *kalams* of paddy of the land renovated for a sixteenth [of the whole] land placed on the west, to the east of the northern boundary in this, a *kāṇi* by the sixth irrigation canal and a quarter to the northern boundary of the land of the fifth irrigation canal; for one *nāḷi* of oil every day for a lamp, hundred and twenty *kalams* with one *tūṇi* of paddy, seven *māvarai* on the western boundary of the sixth irrigation canal; for Nampī performing the *abhiṣeka*, the land placed for one *patakkū* of paddy everyday [is] three *mās* and three *kāṇis* to the east; for six men (*āḷ*) with drums (*uvai-ccu*), the land placed is one *muntirikai*, one *kāṇi* and eight *mās* on the western boundary of the seventh irrigation canal; one eighth of land on the eastern boundary with this for the existence (*uṟukku?*) of a holy garden (*tirunantavāṇam*); one *mā* of land to the east which joins with this one *mā* of dry land to the east of this, the land for those of the assembly (*paraṣaiyārkkū*) who enter (*pukku*) [?], one *muntirikai* and half a *kāṇi* and a *kāṇi*, one *mā* of land joining with one . . . of the temple manager (*kaṅkāṇi*), for the temple manager (*kaṅkāṇikkū*) . . .

#14. a) Gaṅgājaṭadhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 157; SII 19, no. 331; c) personally located; d) on the northern façade, on the wall section between the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the sanctuary; the last ten lines are engraved on the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, on the western side of the niche containing Kālārimūrti; e) regnal year 13 of Kōpparakesarivarman; f) Uttamacōḷa (c. 984 CE).

- (1) [[*svasti*]] *śrī* kopparakecaripanmakku yāṇṭu [[10]] [3] °āvatu [[*va*]]
- (2) ṭaka[ra]i *brahmateyam* periya vāṇavaṇmahādeviṣcatuṁve[[*dī*]]
- (3) ma[[*ṅka*]]lattu *śivabrāhmaṇar* kāśyavaṇ kuṇ[[*ra*]]ṇ ciṅkapa
- (4) ṭṭa[[*ṅu*]]m *bhāradvāci* korraṇ tiruvaraṅkapattāṇum °uḷatt[*o*]
- (5) m [°a]raiyavaṇ caṅkaranārāyaṇaṅāṇa colamuttaraiyar
- (6) k[[*ku* °o]]ṭṭik kaittiṭṭu °iṭukkuṭutta paricāvatu °ivvūr [[°i]] // var °eṭuppit // ta *śrī* kayil[ā]
- (7) [[*ya*ṭ][*tu*] °āḷvarkku vaṭak[ū]ṭi °erikkil nilattil [[*ni*]]vantam // c[[*e*]]yṭapaṭiyi // l nāṅka
- (8) [[*nilam* koṇṭu *cantrādi*]]tyavaṇ cevvomā[*ka*] [nivantam][[*tam*]] // tiruccenṇa // ṭaiṭṭuṇam
- (9) ṇ[[*e*]]yyamutum kaṇi[*ya*]mutum tayiramutum °aṭaikkāyamutu // m °ayaṇacaṅkirā // nti °iraṇṭu

- (10) [[kkum]] viṣu °iranṭu[[k]]kum vaiykāci vicākamum *stapanam* āti // [[°a]]ruli perun tiru // °amutu cey
- (11) [[vu]]m tiruppukaiyu[m ti]ruccantaṇamum tiruviḷakku °eṇṇai nicata // m nāḷikkum °i // tṇaikkum
- (12) [[vai]]yta nilaṅ koṇṭu *panmāheśvara* nāṛpattenṇāyiravar [[ka]] // ṅkāṇiyākac // ceyvitākavu
- (13) [[m tiru]] °amutu °oru nāl [mu]ṭṭil kalanel taṇṭappaṭuvatākavum // maṛṇum nivan // m muṭṭil pa
- (14) [[ti]] [°iraṭṭi] ceyvitā[[ka]]vum °ittanaiy[u]m tirampil vāriya[[p]] // perumakkaḷukku // °irukaḷaṅcu
- (15)⁷³ [[poṅ maṇṇuvatākavum °ipparicu °oṭṭik kaittiṭṭu]]
- (16)⁷⁴ [kuṭu]ṭtom cōlamuttaraiyarkku kuṇṇaṅ ciṅkapaṇu // [[m]] koṇṇaṅ // tiru °araṅ[[ka]]ṇum
- (17)⁷⁵ [[°ullīṭṭom maṇṇu °ikkoyilli paṇceytu munpu niṅrome °ippa]]
- (18)⁷⁶ ṇi ceyvīṭṭi[ī] °ittanṭappaṭuvatāka °iṭṭu // kuṭuttom // °ivvaṅaivo
- (19) [[m]] °ivakaḷ veṇṭa °elutiṅe kāvirit teṅkarai °alanāṭ // ṭu variṅci // yūr *brahmate*
- (20)⁷⁷ yattu *kāśyavaṅ śrī* kaṇṭan tā
- (21) motirapaṭṭaneṅ °ivai yeṅ
- (22) °eluttu °ippaṭa yoṭṭa °ip
- (23) paṇi ceyvatāka °iṭṭukkuṭutto
- (24) m *bhāradvāci* koṇṇaṅ tiruvaraṅkkaṇu
- (25) *kāśyavaṅ* kuṇṇaṅ ciṅkapaṭṭaṇum
- (26) °ullīṭṭa °ivvaṅaivom °ivakaḷ
- (27) kammāṭṭāṅkiṅāl °elutiṅaṅum
- (28) °iṭṭuk kuṭutteṅ kuṇṇaṅ ciṅ
- (29) kaṭṭaṅneṅ °ivai yeṅ neḷu
- (30) [ttu °ivai *panmāheśvara rakṣai*

Fortune! Prosperity! This is the 13th year of Kōpparakesarivarman. [We] the Śivabrāhmaṇas of big Vaṅavaṅ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank, we, including Kāśyavaṅ Kuṇṇaṅ Ciṅkapaṭṭaṅ and Bhāradvāci Koṇṇaṅ Tiruvaraṅkapaṭṭaṅ, having undertaken for Araiyaṅ Caṅkaranāraṅyaṅ alias Cōlamuttaraiyar, having granted the document, we gave in this manner: in the order which made the endowment (*nivantam*) in the land under [the irrigation of] the Vaṭakūṭi lake for the lord (*āḷvarkku*) of the Śrī Kayilāyam, built (*eṭupitta*) by him (*ivar*) of this village, having taken our land, as long as the sun and the moon endure, we will have to make the endowment; the lands (*puṇam*) for the temple expenses (*tiruccenṇaṭai*), the *ghee* food offerings, the vegetable food offerings, the curd food offerings, the arcanut food offerings, the making of the big holy food offerings for the gracious holy bath on the month of Vaikāci Vicākam for two *viṣu* and for two *aṅaṅa* Sankirāntis, the holy smoke, the holy sandal paste, for a *nāḷi* of oil daily for a holy lamp; for all this [we] gave, having taken the land; the forty-eight thousand Panmāheśvaras, as supervisors (*kaṅkāṇiyāka*), will have to perform. If the holy food offerings, for one day, are hindered, a fine of one *kalam* of paddy will fall; if the endowment is hindered besides [this], it will have to be done, having beaten the drum (*iraṭṭi*) for the order; if the supervision committee (*vāriyam*) deviates from all these, two *kaḷaṅcus* of gold for the Lord (*perumakkaḷukku*) will have to be collected; in this manner, having undertaken [the endowment], we gave the document (*kaittiṭṭu*) for Cōlamuttaraiyar, we, having stood before, having made the service in this temple beside us, Kuṇṇaṅ Ciṅkapaṅ and Kōṇṇaṅ Tiru Araṅkaṅ; if this service is not accomplished, this fine will have to fall; having granted, we gave. I have written for the need of those, I, Kāśyavaṅ Śrī Kaṇṭan Tāmotirapaṭṭaṅ, of the *brahmadeya* Variṅciyūr of Aḷanāṭu of the southern bank of the Kāviri; those are my letters. This service undertaken in this

manner will have to be made; having granted, we gave, including Kāśyavaṅ Kuṅṅraṅ Ciṅkaṭṭaṅ and Bhāradvāci Kōṅṅraṅ Tiruvaraṅkaṅ. I have written with the support (*tāṅkiṅā?*) of Kammā! (?) [among] them, having granted, I gave, I, Kuṅṅraṅ Ciṅkaṭṭaṅ; those are my letters. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

#15. a) Gaṅḡajāṭṭhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 163; c) personally located; d) on the upper part of the base on the western side of the central projection of the northern façade of the sanctuary; e) regnal year 7 of Kōṅṅarājakesarivarman; f) Rājārāja I (c. 992 CE); g) there is no *svastī śrī* at the beginning of this inscription.

- (1) ko °irājarā // jake[ca]rinmakki yāṅṭu 7–vatu va X karai brahmadeyam p[[e]]riya śrī [vā] X vaṅmahādevi X X vvetimaṅkalattu
- (2) śrī vija // yamaṅkalatevarṅku śrī vimāṅam ka X lā °eḷuntaruḷḷuvitta °uṭaiyār peruntirattu ku X X X X muṭaiyaṅ °am
- (3) palava // ṅ pa[lu]vūr [ṅa]kkaṅṅāṅa °irā X rājarapallar[ai]ya[ṅ] X X X °ikkoyil [vimāṅa] °eḷuntaruḷḷuvit[ṭu] [kū]ttaperumāl
- (4) kkum X // °umābhaṭṭā[ṅi]ku[m] tiruvāparaṅṅattuku varakkāṭṭiṅa X X X X niṅṅai poṅ °irunūṅṅuk ka[ḷaintu] X X X tti[l vai]
- (5) ttatu // X

This is the seventh year of Kōṅṅarājakesarivarman. Rājārājapallavaraiyaṅ alias Ampalavaṅ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṅ, lord (*uṭaiyaṅ*) of Ku{{valālam}}, of the superior grade (*peruntirattu*) of the Lord (*uṭaiyār*), who graciously caused to raise (*eḷuntaruḷḷuvitta*) in stone the sanctuary (*śrī vimāṅam*) for Śrī Vijayamaṅgalatēvar of big Śrī Vā{{ṅa}}vaṅ-mahādevi-{{catur}}vedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank; having graciously caused to raise (*eḷuntaruḷḷuvitta*) the sanctuary (*vimāṅa*) of this temple (*ikkōyil*), the weight of two hundred *kaḷāṅcus* of gold . . . sent for the jewels (*tiruvāparaṅṅattuku*) for Kūttaperumāl and Umābhaṭṭāl, were given . . .

#16. a) Gaṅḡajāṭṭhara temple of Govindapputtūr; b) ARE 1928–1929, no. 160 (+ part 2, para 29); c) personally located; d) on the lowest part of the base of the northern façade; begins on the western side of the *gomukha* on the *ardha-maṅḍapa* and continues on the *antarala*; the last part is on the lowest part of the base of the eastern section of the sanctuary; e) regnal year 7 of Kōṅṅarājakesarivarman; f) Rājārāja I (c. 992 CE); g) there is no *svastī śrī* at the beginning of this inscription; many passages of this inscription remain illegible, and the translation is thus fragmentary.

- (1) ko °irājarājakecarinmakki yāṅṭu °eḷāvatu vaṭa karai brahmadeyam periya śrī X ṅavaṅmahātevica turvvetimaṅkalattu peruṅkuṅṅi // [pe]rumma[kka] // [[o]m °i X [t]ṭait tu[lāṅā]yaṅṅuc cani[k]
- (2) X lamai perṅa °iraiṅṅa nāṅṅu peruṅku[ṅi] kāṭṭi p[o]ntu nammuṭaiya śrī vijayamaṅkalamuṭaiya mahātevar koyil tirumuṅṅa X tay kūṭṭa kuṅṅai va // X X ṭi °iruntu X // X [ṅ]tu °i [X] śrī vijayamaṅ[kalat]evar
- (3) koyil śrīvimāṅam kallā °eḷuntaruḷḷuvitta °uṭaiyār peruntirattu kuvaḷḷālamuṭaiyāṅ °ampalavaṅ [paḷu]vūr nakkaṅṅāṅa °irā X rājarapallavaraiyaṅ // {unlegible on my pictures} // [l °e] X X [°amayṭṭa] śrī k[ā]yyammam ceytu
- (4) X [X] naṅ °ivakami vaṅkippuṅṅu cattaṅṅa veṅṅa[ya] X X vittuṅṅu paṅippaniyā[ḷ] paṅṅ nittu śrī koyil X X X X [tu]ṭṭa nāṅkaḷai X X X X ceytu ku[ṭu] // t[ta] X X X X X // X [ko] X lil [śrī] X rājarājam [pa]raiya
- (5) cXyvitṭa nibedham °eperpatta [ṅ/°e] vama [X] lli [X] vaṭṭaṅṅuvikkap peruvāṅṅāṅakavXm °i śrī vijayamaṅkala X [var] X [yi]lil [°i] X X X X X X X X // {unlegible} // X [m] [°ik] X [yil] X X X [ṅi] X X X

- (6) X X [vā] X X X X X X X X [m °i]vaṅ colla/ṇṇa vaṅṇa X y[ka]tavār X X [lam] X X [ya] X X X X [la]ṇṇai X X [ā]rai ve X X X X X X X X X X [ya/dha ru] X X X X vu X X X X X X // {unlegible} // {unlegible}
- (7)⁷⁸ °irupattu °aiy laintu poṅ kollap pe[ru]vāṇā[vem °ippa]ricu taṅṭit[tu] °i śrī koy[iyalaṇmār?] ce[yiyap pe]
- (8) ruvāṇṇār kappā[ta]m kuṭuttu [tāṅpal] kuṭuttu [pa]ṇi[ppa]ṇiyāl paṇittu [vya]va[X tai] ceytom peruṅkuṛi ppe
- (9) rummakkaḷom paṇittār cāttamaṅkalattu [cana]ppetī[X ṭa][kavaṇṇārum] °ālika X [ḷaṇai] °iy sahaśrā [cantuve]
- (10) X X kaṅkaṇ/la tiruveṅakām [cappirumi]paṇiya[lai] *madhyastan* niṅṛāṇṇārāva[mu]tāṅ vāṇavaṇmahātevi peruṅkāvīti
- (11) X X va[ḷla] X X X tu °aram maṛa[ve]kka °am[ma]llatu tuṅaiyillai[ye] °itu X hāheśvara rakṣai

This is the seventh year of Kōrājarājakesarivarman. We the great people (*perummakkaḷōm*) of the assembly (*peruṅkuṛi*) of big Śrī {{Vā}}ṇavaṇ-mahādevi-caturvedimaṅgalam, a *brahmadeya* of the northern bank, on the day of this Rēvati which fell on a Saturday of the month of Tuḷā of this year, having . . . , having assembled in full (lit., without deficiency, *kūṭṭa kurai-v-a*{*ra-k-kū*})*ṭi iruntu*) in the holy courtyard (*tirumuṇṇa*{*ttē*})*y*) of the temple of Mahādeva of Śrī Vijayamaṅgalam of us who go (?), having shown [to?] the assembly, Ampalavaṇ Paḷuvūr Nakkaṅ alias Rā{{ja}}rājapallavaraiyar, lord of Kuvaḷḷālam, of the superior grade of the Lord (*uṭaiyān*), who graciously caused to raise (*eḷuntaruḷḷuvitta*) in stone the sanctuary of the temple of this Śrī Vijayamaṅgaladevar, . . . , having ordered by the given order to Cāttapocaṅ Veṇṇaya{{krama}}*vittan* of Vaṅkippuram, the officer (*kaṇmi*) of him . . . , having made the holy duty (*śrī kāyyammam ceytu*), . . . a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṅcus* of gold . . . the *madhyastan* Niṅṛāṇ Ārā Amutān, great poet (*peruṅkāvīti*) of Vāṇavaṇ-mahādevi. . . . Do not neglect moral duty (*aram*); there is no support (*tuṅai*) except moral duty. This is under the protection of the Panmāheśvaras.

Notes

- 1 In keeping with the interdisciplinary readership of the *Handbook*, the use of diacritics has been kept to a minimum.
- 2 These wide-scale excavations were conducted in the context of the construction of the dam at Nagarjunakonda, prior to the submergence of the valley. See I.K. Sarma, *The Development of early Śaiva Art and Architecture*, New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1982, pp. 87–133.
- 3 In the report of the Archaeological Survey of India, the earliest dates proposed by the authors based on carbon dating are 200–195 BCE (K. Amarnath Ramakrishna, Nanda Kishor Swain, M. Rajesh, and M. Veeraraghavan, ‘Excavations at Keeladi, Sivaganga District, Tamil Nadu (2014–2015 and 2015–2016)’, *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology*, 6, 2018, pp. 32–72, 38). The report of the latest excavation campaign conducted by the Tamil Nadu Archaeology Department pushes the date back to the 6th century BCE, also corresponding to the appearance of Tamil Brahmi according to them, although they do not give details about the finding of the carbon material they tested (R. Sivanamtham, M. Seran and K. Rajan, *Keeladi. An Urban Settlement of Sangam Age on the Banks of River Vaikai*, Chennai: Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, 2019, pp. 8–9). Ramakrishnan et al., ‘Excavations at Keeladi’, p. 36, also mention some temple remains nearby, but assign them to the 8th or 9th century.
- 4 Iravatham Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, revised and enlarged 2nd ed., vol. I, Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, Chennai: Central Institute of Classical Tamil, 2014.
- 5 On the theory of brahmanization and, more generally, the integrative model of state formation proposed by B.D. Chattopadhyaya and Hermann Kulke, see among many others, B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994, 2nd ed., 2012;

- Upinder Singh, 'Introduction', in Upinder Singh (ed.), *Rethinking Early Medieval India. A Reader*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 1–44 and Hermann Kulke, 'The Early and the Imperial Kingdom. A Processual Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India', in Hermann Kulke (ed.), *The State in India 1000–1700*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 233–262. On the brahmanization and the growing economic power of the temple in the South Indian society more specifically, see Kesavan Veluthat, 'Patronage and Reciprocation: The Temple in Medieval South India', *Journal of South Indian History*, 1(1), 2003, pp. 7–30. Reedited under the title 'The Temple in South India', in Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 61–82; Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, 2nd ed., Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2012. First edited at Orient Longman Private Limited, 1993.
- 6 Y. Subbarayalu and M.R. Raghava Varier, 'Pūlāṅkuṛiṅci kalvetṭukkal', *Āvaṇam*, 1, 1991, pp. 57–69; Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Pūlāṅkuṛiṅci Inscriptions', in S. Rajagopal (ed.), *Kaveri, Pr. Y. Subbarayalu Felicitation Volume*, Chennai: Panpattu Veliyittakam, 2001, pp. 1–6.
- 7 See S. Brocquet (*Les Inscriptions Sanskrites des Pallava: Poésie, Rituel, Idéologie*, 2 vols., Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1997, pp. 476–477) for the Sanskrit foundation inscription of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I at the end of the 6th century in the cave temple of Mandagapattu, near Senji, mentioning this shift from perishable material to stone.
- 8 For a 9th-century royal Pallava temple made of a stone base and brick walls, see the Sundaravardaperumal temple in Uttaramerur (EITA, pp. 92–96). An emblematic example of a local temple made entirely of stone is the Shiva temple of Tiruttani, in the north of the Tamil country (Valérie Gillet, 'Gods and Devotees in Medieval Tiruttani', in E. Francis and C. Schmid (eds.), *The Archaeology of Bhakti II, Royal Bhakti, Local Bhakti*, Pondicherry: École française d'Extrême-Orient/Institut Français de Pondichéry (Collection Indologie no. 132), 2016, pp. 443–494). S. Swaminathan, *The Early Chōlas. History, Art and Culture*, New Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 1998, pp. 194–195 and p. 228, mentions a temple built in stone by a certain Tirukkarrali Piccan at Tiruvadaturai, to which Parantaka I himself gives 500 *kalancus* of gold to finish the construction in the 38th regnal year of his reign.
- 9 For a rare example of Pallava-period brick temple, see R. Champakalakshmi and A. Swamy, 'Pallava Antiquities in Periya Venmani', *Journal of the Madras University*, Section A, Humanities, XLI(1–2), 1969, pp. 129–137, who present the temple of Periyavenmani, in the district of Kanchipuram.
- 10 Douglas Barrett, *Early Cola Bronzes*, Bombay: Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, 1965, pp. 4–18; Douglas Barrett, *Early Cōla Architecture and Sculpture. 866–1014 AD*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1974.
- 11 The work of S.R. Balasubrahmanyam (*Four Chola Temples*, Bombay: N.M. Tripathy Private Ltd., 1963; *Early Chola Art, Part I*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1966; *Early Chola Temples, Parantaka I to Rajaraja I (AD 907–985)*, New Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd., 1971) is equally invaluable concerning temple architecture, but is less relevant to our present topic because he does not insist as much as Barrett on the reconstructions of shrines. When someone claims to have constructed the temple, Balasubrahmanyam thinks this is related to additions or parts of the monument only while Barrett prefers to consider it as a claim of reconstruction. In most of the cases, I agree with the latter. See the examples of Tiruverumpur and Kovilati (SII 7, nos. 499, 501), detailed in Barrett, *Early Cōla Architecture and Sculpture. 866–1014 AD*, pp. 83–85, rebuilt in stone by a certain Cempiyan Vetivelan.
- 12 I have established the list of temples reconstructed by the Chola queen based on the work of Nicolas Cane ('Cempiyan-Mahādevī, reine et dévote: un "personnage épigraphique" du X^e siècle', unpublished PhD Dissertation, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2017), to this day the most detailed and complete, which has the enormous advantage of providing a corpus of the inscriptions where the queen appears. Except the temples of Cempiyanmatevi and Anankur, all are sung in the *Tevaram*. See Nicolas Cane, 'Queen Cempiyan Mahādevī's Religious Patronage in Tenth-century South India. The "Missing Link" between Local and Royal Bhakti?', in E. Francis and C. Schmid (eds.), *The Archaeology of Bhakti II. Royal Bhakti, Local Bhakti*, Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient (Collection Indologie no. 132), 2016, pp. 347–384, and particularly pp. 358–365. Apart from the works of Cane, to which I would add Nicolas Cane, 'Temples, Inscriptions and Historical (Re)construction. The "Epigraphical Persona" of the Cōla Queen Cempiyan Mahādevī (Tenth Century)', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 105, 2019, pp. 29–60, focusing on historiographical questions, the main studies evoking the temple reconstructions undertaken by the queen are S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Temples*; Barrett, *Early Cola Bronzes*, pp. 14–17; Barrett, *Early Cōla Architecture and Sculpture*, pp. 90–119), and the very fanciful M. Arunachalam, 'Sembiyan Ma-Devi, the Unsung Royal Saint', *Saiva Siddhanta*, 5(1), 1970, pp. 7–23.

- 13 On the formation of *ḷuntaruḷwitta* and its various meanings, fit for a god, a king, a holy man or a holy place, see Cane, ‘Cempīyaṅ–Mahādevī, reine et dévote’, p. 211.
- 14 (1) *sva[stī] śrī [| *] śrī maturāntakadevarāna śrī °utta[ma*]colarait tiruvayi[ru] vāyṭta °uṭaiyapirāṭṭiyār mātevatika[lārāna śrī] cempīyaṅ māṭ[e]viyār tiraimūrnāṭṭu tirukku[ra*]ṅkāṭu[tu]ṅrai °ālvārku °etuppittaruḷina °ittirukkaṅ[liyi]ley muṅṅpu [°itevarku candr]ātittaval ceyṭaṅa la[kṣa]ṅṅapaṭi kaṅṅtu °i- (2) [v*]vilakṣamaṅka mūttupoka śrī °uttamacōḷadevarāna kopperakecaripa[ṅ]maṅku yāṅṅtu 16 °āvatu kalmel [vetṭiṅa] | |*
 ARE 1907, no. 357; SII 3, no. 144 (with an English translation). The inscription is no longer legible, and I thus have to supply the edition as it is given in SII. The translation is mine though, established after reading it with Pr.G. Vijayavenugopal.
- 15 (1) *svasti śrī [| *] kopperakecaripaṅma[r*]kku yāṅṅtu 11 °āvatu vaṭakarai nallārūrṅnāṭṭu tirukkoṭikāvil mahādevarkku śrī °uttamacōḷadevarai tiruvayiṅṅu vāyṭta maḷavaraiyar maḷiḷār (2) prāntakaṅ mātevatika[lārāna cempīyaṅ māh[ā*]deviyār °iddevarkku muṅṅ iṭṭikai[p pataiyālu]lla śrīkoyilait tavirṭtu kallāle śrī vimāṅgam amaippittu °idevaruṭaiya (3) paṭikaḷ muṅṅpu dharmmattukku [v]ai[ṭ]tu kaṅkaḷil vetṭikkīṭanta °avai vevveru kallāl palav iṭṭaiḷāyḷ kiṭanta °avai °ellām °inta śrī vimāṅgatiṅ mel muṅ {built over} (4) °era vetṭikkoḷka °eṅṅu °aruḷicey vetṭiṅapaṭi muṅ kiṭanta paṭikaḷil °itu °oru paṭi [| *] komāṅcaṭaiyaṅku yāṅṅtu 4 °āvatiṅ etir °oṅṅpātāvatu °ā {built over} (5) rukkōṭikāvil mahādevarkku nontāvilakkiṅṅukku vara {about 10 to 15 letters damaged} jar kuṭutta poṅ nūṅṅirupatiṅ {about three letters damaged} ippon mahendrakōṭṭūr sabhaiyōṅ {built over} (6) licaiyāl nicatam nāḷi ney rāṅṅamāṭṭāṅṅuṅku śrī[ko] {about 5 letters damaged} [ko]ṅṅtu ceṅṅu tirukkoyiluṭaiyār {about 6 letters damaged} kuṭuppomāṅṅom mahendrakōṭṭūr sabhai {built over} (7) {glyph} °inta śrī vimāṅgatiṅle °era vetṭinamaiyil muṅṅnivvājakam vetṭikiṭanta ṅṅik[kallāl] °upai-yogaṅ °illāmaiṅṅil °atu tavirṅṅtatu [| *]*
 ARE 1930–31, no. 36; SII 19, no. 292. I have read this inscription *in situ* but I still give the edition as it is found in SII because some letters are no longer legible. I have added some comments in curly brackets. I established the translation after reading it with Pr. G. Vijayavenugopal. For the donation of the Pandya Varaguna, along with all his other donations around the Kaveri, see Valérie Gillet, ‘Devotion and Dominion: Ninth-Century Donations of a Pāṅḍyan King in Temples along the River Kāvēri’, *Indo Iranian Journal*, 60, 2017, pp. 219–283.
- 16 Cane, ‘Cempīyaṅ–Mahādevī, reine et dévote’, pp. 489–490.
- 17 Cane, ‘Queen Cempīyaṅ Mahādevī’s Religious Patronage in Tenth-century South India’, pp. 369–370.
- 18 For the complete text and translation of the poems of the *Tēvaram*, see *Digital Tēvaram. Kaṅṅiṅṅit Tēvaram. With the Complete English Gloss of the Late VM. Subramanya Ayyar (IFP) and Furnished with a Full Concordance of the Tamil Text*. J.–L. Chevillard and S.A.S. Sarma (eds.), Pondicherry: École française d’Extrême-Orient/Institut Français de Pondichéry (Collection Indologie no. 103), 2007.
- 19 Cane, ‘Queen Cempīyaṅ Mahādevī’s Religious Patronage in Tenth-century South India’, pp. 367–369.
- 20 There are other examples of temples reconstructed by Rajaraja. See Leslie C. Orr, ‘Introduction’, in *Pondicherry Inscriptions*, vol. I, Pondicherry: École française d’Extrême-Orient/Institut Français de Pondichéry (Collection Indologie no. 83.1), 2006, pp. i–xxvii., particularly p. xi, for the temple of Matakattippattu, in the territory of Pondicherry.
- 21 See Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, p. 31; Barrett, *Early Cōla Architecture and Sculpture*, pp. 54ff; Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, pp. 109–110; Y. Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cholas*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 232; Cane, ‘Cempīyaṅ–Mahādevī, reine et dévote’, pp. 491–492.
- 22 On this family, called the Narakkan family, and its prominence in the temple of Tirumalapati, see Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cholas*, pp. 53–56.
- 23 I studied this site in detail and provided the entire epigraphical corpus along with an English translation. See Valérie Gillet, *Minor Majesties. The Paḷuvēṅṅaraiyars and Their South Indian Kingdom of Paḷuvūr (9th–11th centuries AD)*, forthcoming. For an analysis of the Alanturai Mahadeva temple more specifically and its process of reconstruction, see Chapter 4.
- 24 (1) *svasti śrī kopperakesarivanmaṅṅkku yāṅṅtu 4 °āvatu nāl [3]25 nāl tiruviṭai[maru]ṭil devar nāṭakacālaiye °ittevar śrī kāryyam tiruttak[kāṭa]va tiraimur sabhaiyārum tiruviṭaima[rutil] nakarattārum [tirukk] oyiḷuṭaiyārkaḷum teva (2) r kaṅṅaku maruṅṅaṅ piraṅṅakuṭṭaṅṅum śrī kāryyam āra[y*]kiṅṅra pūcavāṅ kuṭaiyārum °iruttu devarṅku v[ai]yṭta poliṅyūṭṭiṅṅal vaitta viḷakku °ārāyṅṅta °iṭattu °inta śrī koyil kaṅṅaḷi [e]ṭṭupparṅku muṅṅ poliṅyūṭṭukkuṅ [pira]māṅṅammāy °uḷla kaṅkaḷ (3) °ellām °aṭiṅṅaṅai kīle °iṭṭi kallīṅ paṭi °eṭṭuttukkoṅṅtu °iṭṭamaiyil muṅ paṭi °etutta paṭi māṅṅiṅa paṅicey tirukkaṅṅaḷimele kaṅṅmel vetṭikkoḷ[ka*][ve]ṅṅru °evak kaṅṅmel vetṭiṅa paṭi kāṭupaṭṭikaḷ na[n*]tippottarai (4) yar kumaramā[r*]ṅṅtāṅṅaṅṅṅum viḷa[kki*]ṅṅukku*

vaicca poṅ 60 m °ipp[o]ṇ °irupaṭiṇ kaḷaiṇcum koṇ[ta] tiraimur cavaiy[ā*]r °aṭṭakkaṭava[tā]ṇa ney °uri
°iṇāl viḷakku 1 2 m

ARE 1907, no. 199; SII 3, no. 124 (with an English translation); SII 12, no. 59.

- 25 This is what the slightly cryptic sentence: “*inta śrī koyil karraḷi [e]ṭṭupparaku muṇ poliyyūttukku [pira] mānammay °ulla karḷaḷ (3) °ellām °aṭimaṇai kiḷe °iṭṭi*” seems to suggest. See Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art*, pp. 27–28; Barrett, *Early Chola Bronzes*, p. 5; Barrett, *Early Cōla Architecture and Sculpture*, p. 92; Cane, ‘Cempiyāṅ–Mahādevī, reine et dévote’, p. 489, footnote 1204.
- 26 On this temple, see Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 39–40, 162–164; Barrett, *Early Cōla Architecture and Sculpture*, pp. 95–96. Based on architectural and epigraphical observations, the first assigns a part of the temple to the time of Parantaka I, while the second assigns it to the time of Uttamachola.
- 27 Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Temples*, p. 39, relates this name to a legend attached to the temple: Vijaya, which means victory, is also a name of Arjuna, who is said to have worshipped Shiva in this place. This association goes back at least to the time of the *Tēvaram* of Appar (5.71.8).
- 28 It is usually the case, in this period, to find engraved on a shrine donations made to a Mahadeva of a place: *tirunēyittāyattu mahādeva* in Tillaisthanam, *tiruppalanattu mahādeva* in Tiruppalanam, *tiruttavatturai mahādeva* in Lakkuti, *tirukōṭikkavil mahādeva* in Tirukkotikkaval, etc.
- 29 See Noboru Karashima, Y. Subbarayalu, and Toru Matsui, *A Concordance of the Names in the Cōla Inscriptions*, 3 vols., Madurai: Sarvodaya Ilakkiya Pannai, 1978, pp. li–lii; Leslie C. Orr, *Donors, Devotees and Daughters of God*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 147–149.
- 30 See *infīa* pp. 70–71.
- 31 On Kolar and the Chola kings, see Whitney Cox, *Politics, Kingship, and Poetry in Medieval South India. Moonset on Sunrise Mountain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, pp. 101–112.
- 32 I wonder here if we cannot establish another link with the Paluvettaraiyars of the nearby Paluvur. Indeed, in one of their earliest inscriptions, one of their titles is *kaṅkamāṭṭāṇṭaṇ*, “He who is the sun of the Kaṅka [country?]” (see Gillet, *Minor Majesties*, Appendix 1, #23). I was not able to make sense of this *biruda*, since there was no obvious connection with the Gangas. Could this Ampalavan of Govindapputtur, being a Ganga and related to Paluvur, be a manifestation of this otherwise enigmatic link?
- 33 On *peruntaram*, see Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cholas*, pp. 227–228, 230.
- 34 On the difficulty of defining a “little king” of a minor dynasty, see Gillet, *Minor Majesties*, introduction.
- 35 Although the Sanskrit and Tamil parts are not exactly similar, this inscription could thus be considered as belonging to the amphiglossic category, defined by Emmanuel Francis (page 146 of ‘Multilingualism in Indian Inscriptions with Special Reference to Inscriptions of the Tamil Area’, in Giovanni Ciotti and Erin MacCann (eds.), *Linguistics and Textual Aspects of Multilingualism in South India*, Pondicherry: École française d’Extrême-Orient/Institut Français de Pondichéry (Collection Indologie no. 144; NETamil series 7), 2021, pp. 57–163) as a record in which “one or more discursive spheres are shared by both languages”. On multilingualism in inscriptions in general, and its many sub-categories, see Francis, ‘Multilingualism in Indian Inscriptions’. On the use of Tamil and Sanskrit in the epigraphical context of the Tamil-speaking South, see Leslie C. Orr, ‘Tamil and Sanskrit in the Medieval Epigraphical Context’, in M. Kannan and Jennifer Clare (eds.), *Passages: Relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit*, Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/University of California, Berkeley (IFP Publications Hors Série 11), 2009, pp. 97–114; Leslie C. Orr, ‘Words for Worship: Tamil and Sanskrit in Medieval Temple Inscriptions’, in W. Cox and V. Vergiani (eds.), *Bilingual Discourse and Cross-Cultural Fertilisation: Sanskrit and Tamil in Medieval India*, Pondicherry: École française d’Extrême-Orient/Institut Français de Pondichéry, (Collection Indologie no. 121), 2013, pp. 325–357.
- 36 For the text of the inscription, see #11 of the Appendix. The translation of the Sanskrit part is mainly that of Emmanuel Francis, while the translation of the Tamil part is mine.
- 37 Their copper plates, however, are bilingual (Sanskrit/Tamil), from the 6th century onwards. There is an important bulk of literature on the use and impact of Sanskrit. I will mention here mainly Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men. Sanskrit, Culture and Power in Premodern India*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006, who speaks about the Sanskrit cosmopolis and insists on the aesthetical power of this language; Emmanuel Francis (*Le discours royal dans l’Inde du Sud ancienne, Inscriptions et monuments pallava (IV^eme–IX^eme siècles)*, Tome II, Mythes dynastiques et panégyriques, Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain/Peeters (Publications de l’Institut orientaliste de Louvain, no. 65), 2017, pp. 434–436 and ‘Multilingualism in Indian Inscriptions’), while embracing the theories of Pollock, enlarges them by recognising also 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. The latter analyses also the process of vernacularisation, that is, the rise of vernacular languages following a Sanskrit model, that Francis ('Multilingualism in Indian Inscriptions', pp. 81–82) revises based on the consideration of the Tamil example. For other critics of Pollock based on the analysis of the Tamil country material, see Orr, 'Tamil and Sanskrit in the Medieval Epigraphical Context' and 'Words for Worship'.
- 38 For the Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on the stone walls of the structural temples of the Tamil-speaking South after the fall of the Pallava dynasty, we may here mention an inscription entirely in Sanskrit engraved on a 9th-century stone temple at Kotumpalur recording its foundation by a little king of the minor dynasty of the Irukkuvels (SII 23, no. 129). Another temple of the Kaveri region, Tiruvicalur, about 15 km south-east of Govindapputtur, was engraved with Sanskrit epigraphs: a bilingual one recording a donation by an individual in the 22nd year of Parantaka I (SII 23, no. 31), and a Sanskrit one recording a donation by a certain Ciriavelan who may have belonged to a branch of the Irukkuvel dynasty, in the fifth regnal year of Sundarachola (SII 3, no. 121). There are a few bilingual inscriptions on the site of Tiruppattur further South, in the Shivaganga district (IEP 12, 29, 44 and one unnoticed so far), and renewed explorations of the temples may help uncover a few more.
- 39 A community of three thousand Brahmins is known from Chidambaram. See Cox, *Politics, Kingship, and Poetry in Medieval South India*, pp. 179, 188–197. But the mention of this community here indicates that similar ones existed in other places. Another one appears in an inscription from the nearby Paluvur, see Gillet, *Minor Majesties*, Chapter four.
- 40 On the word *araiyan*, see Y. Subbarayalu, 'A Study of the Araiyan Names in Inscriptions', in A. Murugaiyan and E. Parlier-Renault (eds.), *Whispering of Inscriptions: South Indian Epigraphy and Art History: Papers from an International Symposium in Memory of Professor Noboru Karashima (Paris, 12–13 October 2017)*, 2 vols., Oxford: Indica et Buddhica, 2021, pp. 3–17.
- 41 On the ancient link between the Muttaraiyars and the Cholas, see Charlotte Schmid, 'Les "rois anciens" du pays tamoul', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 106, 2020, pp. 111–156.
- 42 We also find someone probably from the same family donating gold for a lamp in the temple of Tirucatturai: Cholamuttaraiyan alias Cekkilan Cattimalaiyan of Kavanur of the *kūrram* of Melurkkottam (SII 19, no. 78). The Kavanur which was in Melur *kōṭṭam* in the early years of the reign of Uttamachola was in Paluvur *kōṭṭam* after his tenth regnal year.
- 43 The *v* looks like a *vu* with a *-e* before, which is impossible. Perhaps it is intended for a *vve*.
- 44 The *śva* was forgotten and added above the line.
- 45 These letters may have been engraved above the pilaster, because we cannot see them when standing in front of the façade. Same for the next line.
- 46 There are some letters on the ledge of the pilaster, but I cannot read them. It seems shorter though that what the edition proposes.
- 47 The *ṭa* was probably forgotten and then added under the *po*.
- 48 SII proposes *kaḷantir*.
- 49 The line stops here, where we see a crack between the stones. It seems then that the crack was here originally and that the engravers could not continue engraving on this line.
- 50 Line lost under cement.
- 51 From this line, the inscription is on the upper part of the base, on the ledges.
- 52 The *śrī* was forgotten and added under the line, between the *stī* and the *ko*.
- 53 Continues on the pilaster, on the southern side.
- 54 Swaminathan (SII 32) reads [*kḥya*]h.
- 55 SII reads *sa* but clearly it is not.
- 56 SII reads *ya*.
- 57 SII reads *bi*.
- 58 This *uttama X X* (SII reads *gram* after *uttama* but I am not sure it is right) is written in smaller letters and may be connected to the following few lines engraved on the pilaster:
- yogī kalamupatu
 °iccivayogī
 brāhmaṇāvo X
 vallor[i] °a[puvi]
 {unlegible}

- 59 There are a few words added on the pilaster before the line: °aka X na // X X X
60 First line of the northernmost wall section of the western façade.
61 SII reads *ca* instead of *tu*.
62 There is a space between the lines 35 and 36. And the writing changes slightly. Is it the same inscription?
63 There is a line engraved on the pilaster between the lines 50 and 51: *brāmaṇar °irupati*
64 First line on the ledge. The others continue below.
65 Lines 21 and 22, at the level of the sculpted panels, are misplaced in SII, where they appear as lines 75 and 76.
66 On the ledge under the miniature panels.
67 On the round part of the base.
68 On the lowest part (lotus part) of the base.
69 Last line on the lotus on this side of the base.
70 From this line, the inscription is on the southern side of the western base (on the lotus part) and continues on the western side of the southern base. A sign // marks the change from the western face to the southern face. I wonder if ARE 1928–29, no. 184 or ARE 1928–29, no. 186, that I could not locate, do not refer to this inscription since they are dated to the seventh regnal year of Rajaraja.
71 The *ja* was initially forgotten and added above.
72 SII seems to read some numbers.
73 I cannot locate this line on my pictures.
74 This line is on the vertical ledge below the wall section.
75 I cannot read this line on my pictures. It is on the horizontal part below the first ledge.
76 The following two lines are engraved on the recess, below the first ledge.
77 These last ten lines are on the *ardha-mandapa*, on the western side of the niche of the Kalarimurti.
78 These last five lines are on the lowest part of the base of the sanctuary, on the eastern side.

