

THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

PART - II

THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS, THEIR ORGANISATION
AND FUNCTIONING

R. TIRUMALAI

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The Pandyan Townships Part - II
(The Pandyan Townships, their Organisation and Functioning)

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*Dedicated to
the memory of
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru*

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The late Mr. R. Tirumalai, IAS, was not only an able administrator, who held the high rank of Secretary to the Government of India, but also a distinguished scholar in historical and epigraphical studies. He was a student of the revered doyen of South Indian history, the late Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. He retained his interest in ancient history and epigraphy even after joining the IAS and untiringly devoted himself to research in these fields throughout his administrative career and after retirement. This book bears the stamp of his keen intellect, his meticulous scholarship and his first-hand knowledge of the ancient as well as modern systems of administration. His book is a welcome addition to the studies in South Indian history which are few and far between.

The Department of Archaeology of the Government of Tamilnadu has already published three of his historical works: 1.Rajendra Vinnagar (1980) 2.Studies in Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai(1981) 3.Collected papers(1994). The present work titled 'The Pandyan Townships' is the fourth and the last book written by Mr.Tirumalai shortly before his death in 1997. The book is published in two parts - Part I dealing with the ancient geography of the Pandyan townships and Part II dealing with life in these townships in all their multi-faceted aspects. This tremendous work of scholarship, which is the outcome of a lifetime of research on Pandyan inscriptions, will be a boon to scholars interested in the social and economic history of the Pandyan period.

My predecessor, Thiru Natana.Kasinathan, deserves appreciation for taking the initiative to publish this work, and it is my good fortune to see his efforts bear fruit during my time. I am especially grateful to Tmt..R.Vasanthakalyani, Epigraphist and Tmt.B.Valarmathi, P.C. to Commissioner for their unstinted co-operation and assistance in editing this Volume.

K. Ashok Vardhan Shetty, IAS,
Commissioner of Archaeology.

PREFACE

The Pandyan Townships Part I and II are the outcome of my intense research based on the Pandyan Epigraphs, most of which remain unpublished as yet. This was greatly facilitated by the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship granted to me for two years 1983-85 by the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust. I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred on me which has enabled me to intensively research into the vast unpublished material; and bring out this pioneer work on the Pandyan Townships.

I thank the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust for this generous funding of the Project. The collection of materials alone has taken over two years. I had also to tap other sources, the Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology and the secondary sources. The total output as a result was too much to be compressed into one volume. I have, therefore, published the histories of some individual Pandyan Townships in my "Collected Papers". Part-I of this work contains the historical geography of the Pandyan Townships. The substantive content of life in the Pandyan Townships in all their multi-faceted aspects is dealt with in Part-II. The Introduction Chapter sets out the scope and content of Part-II. It is appropriate that the three works are being published by the State Department of Archaeology.

It is my privilege to acknowledge the great interest evinced by the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr.MKarunanidhi and the Minister for Tamil Development, Dr.MTamizhkudimagan in publishing this work. I have had the privilege of working with both of them and it is indeed an act of their personal kindness and attachment to me that they encourage me in publishing these two volumes of original work. It also evidences the interest they have in bringing out new aspects of Tamil Culture and original research in the history of Tamil Nadu.

I am grateful to Thiru. V.Palanichamy, Secretary, Tamil Development and Culture and Thiru. Natana Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology in expediting

the printing and publication. I also thank the Government of Tamil Nadu for the munificent grant for getting this work in two parts printed in the Government Press, Chennai. My thanks are also due to the Government Press for the neat execution of this work.

I had made a series of visits to Mysore to collect copies and transcripts of the Pandyan inscriptions. The then Director of Epigraphy Dr.K.V.Ramesh evinced a great deal of interest in my work and extending help to me with all the transcripts from the Pandyan Kingdom being collections over a century by the department. The Chief Epigraphist Dr.Madhav NKatti and the other officers of the Department also were generous in helping me at all times. My colleagues in Karnataka Government made my stay at Mysore very comfortable and afforded me all assistance through the Administrative Training Institute and its Director. To them all, my thanks are due.

I have made this topographical study comprehensive. But a mere listing of place names and their locations can be meaningful only if it is accompanied by maps. The Survey Department of Tamil Nadu Government helped me in preparing the original maps under my direction and guidance. They have been approved for unrestricted publication by the Ministry of Defence and by the Surveyor General of India, Dehradun. My sincere thanks are due to the Joint Secretary Sri A.K.Jain of the Ministry of Defence and to Major General L.M.Deothra, Additional Surveyor General of India, Dehradun. But for the painstaking efforts of the Survey Department of Tamil Nadu Government and its officers, the maps could not have been accomplished. I am greatly indebted to the Commissioners and Director of Survey - Thiru. Meikanda Devan, I.A.S., Thiru. K.Sampathkumar, I.A.S., and the Additional and the Assistant Directors and Sri. Ramachandran, Senior Draughtsman and his assistants in helping me in not only preparing the original maps but also in printing them in the photo offset press of the Survey Department for being attached to this Part.

I have pleasure in acknowledging the secretarial assistance rendered to me in bringing out this volume by my personal staff Thiru. R.Krishnakumar and

Thiru. R.Balasubramanian, Dr.A.Rangan and Miss. Sruthi Rangan also helped me. My thanks are due to them. My wife took a great deal of interest and took on herself arranging the chapters and getting the manuscript ready for printing.

It is hoped that scholars will find this original work useful and it will stimulate further studies.

I have pleasure in acknowledging the generous funding for the study granted to me by the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust and the honour conferred on me as a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow. I am proud to associate this work with the name of the Great National Leader himself a historian who wrote and made history.

This work is hence dedicated to the memory of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

R. TIRUMALAI
(1997)

The publishing of this work was one of the last wishes of my late husband, who passed away on 8th September 1997 after fulfilling his desire to write Part I and Part II of "PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS". I thank the State Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu for bringing out this volume.

(Mrs. SRIVARAMANGAI TIRUMALAI)

ACRONYMS

ARE	:	Annual Report of Epigraphy
Dt.	:	District
Cm	:	Caturvedimangalam
EI	:	Epigraphia Indica
Jat.	:	Jatavarman
K	:	Kollam
Kon.	:	Konerinmai Kondan
Mar.	:	Maravarman
Par.	:	Parakesari
Raj.	:	Rajakesari
Ram.	:	Ramanathapuram
S	:	Saka
SII	:	South Indian Inscriptions
SkI.	:	Sankarankoil
Tk.	:	Taluk: Svk. : Sivagangai
		Tin. : Tirunelveli

THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

PART - II

**THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS, THEIR ORGANISATION
AND FUNCTIONING**

The Pandyan Townships

Introduction:

This work incorporates the results of the original research on the Pāṇḍyan Townships which I have carried out over a period of 7 years. This work has been greatly facilitated by the grant in the form of Fellowship from the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund for a period of 2 years from 1983-85.

The work mainly depends upon the Pāṇḍyan Inscriptions. The published inscriptions are but few, compared to the total volume available. Hence the 2 years were mainly taken up by the study, copying and analysis of a large volume of unpublished inscriptions available with the Epigraphy wing of the Central Department of Archaeology. My grateful appreciation is due to the then Director of Epigraphy Dr.K.V.Ramesh and the Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India Shri Katti for making available this large corpus of unpublished inscriptions in their custody.

While studying the unpublished inscriptions, it came to light that there were a number of inscriptions originally copied by the Department of Archaeology but the estampages for which have become worn out due to efflux of time. Some new inscriptions also have to be copied and some of the earlier ones denovo. The Director of Epigraphy kindly undertook to fill this lacunae and has since furnished me with the copies of most of these inscriptions required. My work would not have been complete but for this prompt and effective assistance of the Directorate and my personal gratitude to the Director of Epigraphy has become many fold.

The copper plates of the period form another good branch of the evidence and these have also been harnessed.

I have utilised the evidence that can be culled from literary sources, but in its very nature this is but comparative or corroborative in nature and meagre in quantum.

Hence the work is essentially an interpretative analysis of the data found in the inscriptions. This analysis is for a large part original but acknowledgedly utilises the results of investigations by pioneers and savants like Hultzsch, Venkiah, K.V.Subramanya Iyer, T.N.Subramanian and above all, Prof.K.A.Nilakanta Sastri.

The attempt is “to go the fountain and drink,” closely following the texts and piecing up the usages from several epigraphs and in relation to the context in which they occur. It is hoped that this methodology has helped in improving our knowledge of the diction and terminology of the times and brings out the true import of the texts.

Scope of the work:

This work aims at reconstructing the social and economic conditions in the Pāṇḍyan Townships not merely in their contours, but analysing all the implications of the data that can be marshalled from the inscriptions.

While indexing the inscriptions, it struck me that a totally new aspect of work is well worth attempting. The available data lent itself easily for locating the places important and not so important, the Nāḍus in which they were located and where the division was a Vaḷanāḍu, such Vaḷanāḍus could also be identified. The more dense the date, the territorial boundaries of the Nādu could also be delineated. But the published inscriptions had left a lot of gaps. As a rule, identification was easy and definite if the place name occurs in an inscription in its place of occurrence. Hence, at my request the Director of Epigraphy was kind enough to furnish me with fresh inscriptions copied in the later years and these were of great avail. The result of this work is reflected in the reconstructed Historical Geography of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. This work itself has become sufficiently elaborate, fit enough to be published as the first part of the work.

Arrangement of the Chapters

The whole work is published in 2 parts. Part I consists of the Historical Geography of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. The general features of this reconstruction are set out in the introductory chapter of that part. The detailed territorial

divisions and the principal places of interest therein as revealed in the inscriptions are set out in the pages that follow. The territorial divisions are marked out in the 3 maps included. Contiguity of the Nāḍus has been maintained as far as the evidence would permit. The changes in the formation of the nāḍus or Valanāḍus and the changes in the territorial ambit in which particular places were situated have also been noticed. They are only a few.

Place names and territorial divisions have been named and renamed in the context of Cōḷa occupation of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. These have been noticed and the restoration of the names agreeably to the Pāṇḍyas after they re-asserted their authority has also been brought out.

This part of the work provides a secure geographical basis to identify places and to approximately ascertain the spread of the nāḍus. Besides, it provides a basis on which the nativity of several officers of the kingdom could be ascertained. These could blaze the trail for further lines of research indicated by me.

Part II reconstructs the social and economic conditions not in any general way but in the particular context of the data thrown up. The first chapter deals with the conditions upto the tenth century, during the period the "Pāṇḍyas of the First empire", as Prof.Sastri has approximately termed it. The second chapter onwards deal with conditions during the period of the Cōḷas from the end of the 10th century to the beginning of the 13th. The Pāṇḍyan supremacy was reasserted by about the later date. Significant changes in tenures and the modes of levy of land dues had occurred. The economic stress felt in particular tracts and the land colonisation noticed in the kingdom has been described. Particular attention has been paid to the role of the community in the creation and maintenance of public utilities like irrigation tanks or drinking water sources or construction of dwelling places etc

So then, the book aims at presenting the community life and organisation spread over 5 countries as realistically as possible, based on authentic data that can be extracted from the epigraphs. New aspects of life like the food and dietary habits, the condition and yield of milch cattles and animals and several

other aspects not hitherto brought out have been now incorporated in this research work perhaps for the first time.

I wish to express my gratefulness to the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust which made this work possible. It is a humble but fitting tribute perhaps to a great son of India who not only wrote History but also made it.

My particular thanks are due to Dr.K.V.Ramesh, the Director of Epigraphy and Dr.Katti and his other colleagues for unstintingly supplying me with copies of a large number of unpublished inscriptions.

The University of Madras has invited me to deliver a series of lectures explaining the results of my research which I accepted. The lectures were delivered early in 1993 and the Madras University has graciously accepted to print the work in 2 parts of their publication under their Madras University Archaeological series. I am grateful to the University and the Vice-Chancellor for this recognition of my work. I am particularly grateful to Prof.K.V.Raman, Head of the Department of ancient Indian History who evinced a great deal of interest in the methodologies that I have adopted and my findings. I am also grateful to a host of other friends. The Commissioner of Survey and Settlement Shri Meikanda Devan has rendered invaluable assistance to me in help offered for preparing the maps on the basis of my studies. The officers of the Survey Department also helped me with their expertise. I readily acknowledge this technical work of theirs which has made my work more intelligible and easy of understanding.

I have had the assistance of others like Sri.R.Krishnakumar and R.V.Seshapani and Dr.Rangan who spared their leisure in making copies for the print. Others like Dr.Vagula went through the manuscripts and offered suggestions. To my wife I owe a special debt, as she not only stood by me in my long hours of work but also relieved me of all other responsibilities to concentrate on the work. To almost all others who helped in this work I owe my thanks.

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THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

I. INTRODUCTION

In planning the studies of Pudukkōṭṭai Townships I wrote on the scope of and justification for Township studies as below :

The History of Townships, wrote Maitland, appeals to a wide range of sympathies. It traces the beginnings and development of the community activity and its organised behaviour, in its natural location. It depicts the played by the institutions collective or communal, local and royal in the everyday life of the community and individuals. It helps identify the change wrought on these institutions and their activities over the ages, by political and social forces at work. It pictures the agrarian community formations and brings out available facts of economic and social history related to or conditioned by such formations. It also, in a manner concretises the juristic concepts of the times and aids the study of historical and sociological jurisprudence - the former as a continuing stream and latter as a study of jurisprudence in the social setting of the times. Individuals who had played a noteworthy role in the affairs of the Townships present themselves as live characters on the scene and their joys and sorrows are sometimes reflected in it. In short, by fixing the community in its natural setting and environment the study of Townships helps recapture their variety, their cohesion and integrity, and the intensity of life and activity within, in their local habitations with their names.

The term Township needs an explanation. In modern usage it has come to be appropriated by a part of human settlements in an urban concentration. Etymologically, it is derived from the German word *Tun*, meaning a hedge. It not only refers to a well-marked territorial area but also the community - the *Comunitas* - inhabiting it. Its connotation is agrarian and it denotes land, the habitation in its confines and the community residing in it. It aptly denotes the area of the community's interests and activities, their agricultural pursuits and identity. The term Township, then, is an apt rendering of the Tamil term *Ūr*, (or Grama in Sanskrit) which, of course, carries with it, the *Ūrār*. For the *Ūr* without the *Ūrār*, is an eggshell without the egg.

The subject is best studied in as compact a tract-as possible with geographical homogeneity and social cohesiveness. It will be as tempting as it is easy to generalise, stringing together pieces of evidence from diverse contexts and locations and find some verisimilitude in them all. That will not be true history. To steer clear of the error of historical averaging and to recapture the townships functioning in its fullness, and not merely in its contours, the subject is best dealt with tract by tract.

With these observations in mind this book aims at reconstructing the authentic history of the townships in the Pandyan kingdom for the period 9th to the 15th century spanning 6 centuries.

Sources

The sources for this reconstruction are mainly epigraphic-inscriptions, published and unpublished. Only a small number of inscriptions copied by the Epigraphist Department upto 1909 have been published. The volume of those unpublished (i.e. from 1908 onwards) is large. A work of this kind essentially has to draw the data from the texts of inscriptions, as they alone can afford the full detail and import of the transactions recorded.

In addition, the Tamil literary works, including the unpublished palm leaf manuscripts in the Oriental Manuscripts Library and Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyer Library and Prof. S Vaiyapuri Pillai collections have been made use of. The narrations in the traditional accounts having a bearing on historical events have also been utilised.

Inherent constraints

As the interpretation of the epigraphic evidence requires the unravelling of the meaning of the several terms that occur, the work has covered a wide of evidence and reassessed the interpretations already made by the earlier scholars. The task, in this respect, is not easy. It will be a great asset to compile a Tamil Epigraphical Glossary, to bring out the specific import of the language of the inscriptions. This task should engage the attention of scholars interested in Tamil language and history. Beginnings have already been made in the Tamil Lexicon published first in 1924-1936 and reissued in 1982 by the Madras University. But the noble work needs to be carried forward and enlarged. For one thing, the texts of inscriptions available at the time the Lexicon was compiled were limited. For another, many a term that occurred in the inscriptions has still to be interpreted to bring out its contemporary import. It is heartening to note that the ICHR has since launched on compiling an Epigraphical Dictionary and this felt want would be met at least partially.

The paucity of published inscriptions has imposed another constraint on the sociological and economic historian. The political framework and the chronological sequence have been already worked out in outline by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri in his *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*. that pioneer classic still holds the field. There are many gaps still to be supplied and many identifications still to be made or confirmed. Prof. Sastri has himself revised some of his statements later in his History of South India. In view of these

inadequacies, the sequence of events in a socio-economic history of a tract is apt to be somewhat puzzling and indeterminate. From the contextual occurrence and circumstantial evidence this sequence has been sought to be surmised as far as possible.

The inherent constraints above, are to some extent, mitigated by the micro-study of a limited and defined tract. The integrity of the location where the inscriptions occur and to which they relate helps preserve and reflect the particularities involved. Together they limit the scope for generalisation, which would otherwise be wide off the mark, and narrow the margin of error. It is a distinct advantage of the Township study that it enables us to see steadily the social structure and the transaction with which society is bound up. Viewing these steadily we view it whole.

This introductory chapter provides the geo-physical and the historical background to the extent they are relevant for the history of the townships that follows. The historical background is intended to fix the time-spread of particular or distinct period of the history of the tract so that the sequence of events set out can be fastened to each period. It will also enable the growth factors, and the changes in the agrarian conditions and society, some of them of a transitory and others of an enduring nature. These latter have their impact on the history of individual townships and the tract as a whole.

Territorial Extent

The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom had extended from Kanyākumari and the coast upto the Vellāru region in Pudukkōṭṭai. Some of the Pāṇḍyas of the First empire, like Varaguṇa I (730-65) and Varaguṇa II (862-907) led military expeditions to the north and their inscriptions are noticed in the districts of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Thaṅjāvūr. During the 13th century Māraavarman Sundara I (acc. 1216) had similar exploits. Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya (AD 1251, 1253) had extended their sway right upto Kāñcīpuram and Mā. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1268) held the modern districts of Tiruchirapallī, Thaṅjāvūr and South Arcot as part of his possessions and had appointed his brothers or other prince to be in charge of parts of these tracts.

For purposes of this study the region has been confined to the modern undivided districts of Tirunelvēli, Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai. The evidence concentrated in these regions is examined belts, rainfed and tank fed tracts and dry lands. These is a second reason. I have already covered the Pudukkōṭṭai tract in my Studies on the History of ancient Townships of Pudukkōṭṭai. The Townships of the Cōḷa heartland I am working on covers Tiruchirapallī, Thaṅjāvūr and South Arcot districts.

Geo-physical features :

The Tāmbraparaṇi river is perennial and it gathers the flows of its tributaries, the Cittār, the Gaṭaṇa and Rāmanadi, the Maṇimuthār and Paccaiyar and several other minor streams. The main river takes its origin from the Podigai hills in the Western Ghats descends the northern side of the Ghats in Ambāsamudram Taluk and flows through the plains of Tirunelvēli and Śrīvaikuṇṭam Taluks reaching the sea near Paḷaiya Kāyal, the ancient sea port of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The tributaries Gaṭaṇa and Rāmanadi, and Maṇimuthār also take a similar course till they join Tāmbraparaṇi. The first two mingle near Pāppānkulam and join the Tāmbraparaṇi river near Attālanallūr. The Maṇimuthār joins even shed at the foothills near Kaḷḷiḍaikkuricci. The Cittāru joins Tāmbraparaṇi rising from the Kaḷakkādu range joins the Tāmbraparaṇi river east of Cēranmādevi.

The Tāmbraparaṇi basin is entirely located in Turunelvēli¹ district the southern most district (till the addition of Kanyākumari in 1956) of the Madras State, (Tamilnadu) at the tip of the peninsula. The district has a rich variety. Its geographical features contribute to it. The Western Ghats or the west extending southwards is overgrowth with forests growing teak and other commercial varieties of timber and *shola* forests. Latterly, tea plantations have growth in the higher elevations. The district boundary marks watershed between the Kanyākumari district (the Paḷaiyāru, Kōdaiyāru, Kulitturaiāru basin), to the south east of Kerala State and to the west of the Ghats. Rivers taking off from the higher reaches of the ridge flow on either side.

The district takes its name from the principal and popular crop, paddy, the main cereal. Tāmbraparaṇi-fed lands in the upper reaches are the most fertile and highest assessed lands, perhaps even in the composite State of Madras. Two paddy crops are assured and it is the principal crop grown. The average yield² is also the highest as the figures below will show :

	<u>1904-5 to 1953-4</u>	<u>1918-9 to 1953-54</u>
Chingleput	0.594	0.570
Thaṅjāvūr	0.692	0.678
Tirunelvēli	0.817	0.784

The yield is the higher in the upper and western part of the basin (Ambāsamudram and Tirunelvēli Taluks) and lessens the farther east at the tail-end in Srivaikuntam and Tiruccendūr Taluks.

One significant feature of the irrigation modes in the basin is the addition to the channels, taking off from the masonry anicuts³ feeding the direct āyacut (or command) the river waters are taken to the tanks through the channels and stored. The *Calinguls* or surplus weir is so fixed as to allow the surplus over the customary quantities required for the higher up āyacut to pass automatically and freely to the lower down tanks. Hence the surplus of the higher-up tank is the source of supply for the lower down tank. A chain of tanks as far as the gradient could allow and the available total quantum they would sustain had come to be formed. This was a highly developed irrigation system, well balanced, and critically and carefully maintained. Water management was developed to the highest point of efficacy and economy, and no waste was allowed. Tanks located in the depressions low ridges (*Parambu*) could also get supplemented with supplies from the immediate catchment areas ahed surrounding them. The tank system should heve demanded a higher amount of maintenance and care which was a community obligation.

These characteristic modes of irrigation were noticed even in the 8th, to the 11th centuries and should have got enlarged and extended over a time, both beyond, and after. The lay out and irrigation regulation and practices, and even crops grown, had varied as between the purely channel-fed and the tank-fed command areas.

The Tāmbraparaṇi basin in the middle of Tirunelvēli district stretched like a ribbon from west to east. To the south of this ribbon lay red ferruginous lands of Nāṅgunēri Taluk, and the ribbon lay the red ferruginous lands of Nāṅgunēri Taluk, and the sandy littoral of Tiruccendūr and Śrīvaikuṇṭam Taluks. Here the porous cup-like depressions impounding rain water sprout out in springs that sustain the paddy crop in the Tēri region with self-springs as the source. Further east and south are the Palmyrah forests extending to the sea coast and tapering off into similar palmyrah growing tracts of Kanyākumari district.

The eastern coast of the district is also famous for the pearl fisheries which were worked out intensively from the earliest known historical times and had contributed to the wealth of Pāṇḍyās.

To the north of the Tāmbraparaṇi basin are the black cotton soils and red ferruginous soils merging with each other in the taluks of Kōvilpaṭṭi and Śāṅkarankōil and rocky outgrowths. Jungle streams catching the monsoon showers and spats during the season, were arrested at rocky beds or where natural hillocks formed the blocking and diverted into tanks. The chain of tanks also helped in intensive water harvesting and no water was allowed to go unutilised. The Vaippāru river runs across the tract, and there were irrigation works undertaken in the 9th century by Pāṇḍyan officials who were great benefactors like Iluppaikkudī Kilavan.

The Vaigai river and its tributary Śuruliyāru taking off from Śuruli hills winds its way along Sinnamanūr and Madurai and flows eastwards through a number of prosperous townships dating back to the middle ages like Tiruppūvaṇam, Rājagambhīram, Mānāmadurai, Pārtibanūr, Paramakkuḍi and ultimately joins the sea, after feeding the big tanks of Rājasīngamaṅgalam and Rāmanāthapuram big tank, also supplied by it. The showers in the lines during the south-west monsoon and the heavier receipts during the north-east help raise two wet crops, besides plantains, betel in the plains and cardamom on the hill slopes. The vaigai valley head-reach was the highway for the spices grown in the Western Ghats to be taken to the Townships in the east.

The Vaigai valley had rich irrigation potential which was harnessed by diverting flash flows and floods into the tanks. Care was taken also to supplement them with the inflows from immediate catchment areas ahead of every tank. The surplus of the higher up tank supplied the lower down sources in sequence. This was the cradle of civilisation from the historical times.

But one should not imagine that the dry lands raising to the north of the Vaigai and reaching upto the Paḷani hills to the west and the uplands of Pudukkōṭṭai to the north were barren and unoccupied. Several minor streams like Tirumanimuthār, Thēnāru, (Tiruppattūr) Shaṅmugānadi, and Amarāvati in the Paḷani region and several jungle streams from the hills (in Vēdasandūr, Diṇḍugal and Mēlūr taluks) were intercepted and the water utilised. Where there were no such surface flows or such flows were inadequate well irrigation was extensively resorted to. Epigraphic evidence of the earliest historical periods, say from the 8th century onwards, bring out the value of wells and how highly prized were the lands with wells located within. Even in the high level tracts anicuts across jungle streams and tanks were assiduously built and maintained. Paddy and other irrigated crops were grown extensively. Land settlements even in these arid and dry tracts also been formed even in the 9th century as epigraphical evidence establish. undoubtedly they should have been far anterior to that period. This upland stretch reaches out to the hills forming part of the Eastern Ghats to the south of the Cauvery. The whole tract then was an undulating terrain, uplands which sloped on either side, to be alternated with riverine ribbons or belts. This lent itself to cultivating wet and dry crops, and we have several cases of a whole schedule of land dues charged on the crops raised but only on yielding lands. Invariably the levy was both in kind and in cash, on wet crops but only in cash on dry crops, besides various services that the occupants were bound to render to the Township, the *Nādu*, the royal officers, the community and temple-beneficiaries.

Artisans, craftsmen and professions grew alongside to make life richer and fuller in the townships.

The Geo-physical features described above are tailored to provide the background needed to appreciate the history of the Townships, the modes of irrigation they had practised, and the economic impact they had on the community. The arable wet lands were laid in what may be called the open field system and presupposed collective and integrated community-regulation and practices.

The south-west monsoon benefits the rever-flows in the months of June to September and helps raise a broadcast or transplanted paddy, in the first crop called the *kār* which is usually short-term and of the red variety. The north-east monsoon active from October to December, nurtured the long term main crop (*Piśānam*)⁴ which is a second crop ripened by the summer which commences from mid-January. The tanks in the trans-riverine tracts benefited most out of the north eastern monsoons on which they were dependent. The dry lands were also cultivated in the middle ages using impounded rain water with irrigated dry crops and inferior grains, where they were inadequate to raise a wet crop.

The diversity of the tracts noticed in Tirunelvēli district has lent support to the view that it provides a text-book model or an epitome of the five-fold classifications of land, in early Tamil literature - viz. *Kuriñji*, *mullai*, *marudam*, *pālai* and *neidal* - the mountainous tracts, grown pastures, the arable cultivated lands and patches and the arid drybelt and to littoral or coast.

The settlements and the occupational bias noticed has also been influenced the characteristic features of these tracts. Also some of the earliest human settlements have been brought to light in the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi at Ādiccanallūr.

Pre-history and early history

The pre-history and the early history of the tract need only be noticed in brief. For one thing, they have not been worked out detail by archaeological excavations and studies. For another the continuity of the Township establishments in historical times with these remote and far off stages of human habitation and endeavours cannot be established as yet.

The archaeology of the district dates back to the Mesolithic stage, though it is not well-defined. Microliths now called late Stone Age tools, have occurred in Sawyerpuram (Tiruccendūr Taluk).⁵ The material employed on their preparation consists of jasper, agate, cornelian flint, chat, chalcedony, quartz and other semi-precious stones. The main types are the blade, crescent trapeze, triangle point, beaked engraver and side-and-end scraper. These tiny tools must have been attached singly or collectively to a handle made of wood and bone for effective use as arrow heads, sickles etc.

Foote observed that the Tirunelvēli microliths lay embedded in the fossil sand-dunes (*Teris*) and were stained red by their long content with the ferruginous soil. In 1949 Zenner found Microliths near Tuticorin in a geological section which suggested that some of them may be of considerable antiquity - perhaps 8000 to 6000 BC.⁶ It was noticed even a century ago that the Megaliths had existed in Tirunelvēli district at Ādiccanallūr, but no detailed work has followed up.

At Ādiccanallūr⁷ Urn-burials without any megalithic appendage in the form of a bounding circle or otherwise has been found in large numbers. Though they cannot be brought strictly into the orbit of megalithic monuments, they seem to be somehow related to them as non-implements, black and red ware and fragmenting burials are common to both. There are other notable of Ādiccanallūr is more primitive than the megalithic pottery differences also. The pottery of the other sites. A quantity of bronzework and gold diadems or mouth-pieces not found elsewhere in South India which have typological parallels in Palestine (about 1200 BC) and in Syria and Cyprus were found here. Among the tombs of the early Iron age of the time of Solomon in Palestine an outstanding find was a remarkable three pronged iron fork or a trident similar to the Ādiccanallūr iron tridents. The evidence from Ādiccanallūr also appears to suggest that the worship of Murugan or Vēlan, a popular deity adored in the early Sangam literature, was known at the time. For besides iron tridents, iron banner-bases and representations of the fowl in bronze have been found at Ādiccanallūr. Traces of cloth were found sticking to some bronze objects. The mouth-pieces found also suggest that the practice of wearing them still adopted by the devotees taking Kāvadi (a portable palanquin) to the shrines of Subrahmanya or Murugan as at Paḷani could be traced to prehistoric times.⁸

The people of Ādiccanallūr cultivated rice, several earthenware bowls containing the husk of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have been found. The prevailing type of the people in Ādiccanallūr surmised to be the descendants of the Proto-Mediterranean stock.⁹

Thereafter the annual are a blank. At the dawn of history, Jainism had spread to the extreme south. There are quite a few rock-cut caves with beds hewn for the use of the Jain monks. Brāhmi inscriptions have been also noticed at Marugāltalai near Śīvalappēri.¹⁰ It has been read as the rock bed caused to be given by Kāśipan, a Vēl.

Ven Kāśipan Kuḍupitta
Kal Kāñchanam¹¹

Similar epigraphs are also found elsewhere in all the three districts. At Kalugumalai, the number of inscriptions is the largest.¹² These are indicators of the antiquity of the human settlements and agricultural extension in the tract which supported them. But the bits of evidence these present are almost each a parenthesis.

The Sangam age (1st to 4th century AD)

The Tamil Brahmi inscriptions can more less be said to synchronise with the sangam age. Of the community and its cohesive life, Prof. Sastri observes.¹³

The *sabhā* or *manṛam* of the king in the capital was the highest court of justice. The sons of Malaiyamān were tried and sentenced and later released by the intercession of Kōvūr Kilār, in the *manṛam* of Uṛaiyūr, and pottiyār, after the death of his friend Kōpperñjōlan, could not near the sight of the same *manṛam* bereft of him. The elders are said and were doubtless expected to laid aside their personal currels when they attended the *sabhā* to help in the adjudication of disputes. We may infer that the assembly was used by the king for purposes of general consultation as well. The Kuṛal clearly a post-sangam work definitely regards the *sabhā* as a general assembly goaling with all affairs. Even less specialized and more entangled in the social and religious complex of village life was the *manṛam*. Each village had its common place of meeting, generally under the shade of a big tree, wher men, women and children met for all the common activities of the village, including sports and pastimes. There may also have been a political side to these rural gatherings, the germ out of which grew the highly organized system of village government which functioned so admirably in later *cōla* times.

Land and trade were the chief sources of the royal revenue. The *mā* and *vēli* as measures of land were already known but the kings share of the produce of agriculture is nowhere precisely stated. Foreign trade was important and customs revenue occupied a high place on the receipts side of the budget. The Pattinappālai gives a vivid account of the activity of customs officials in Pukār (Kāvēri-pattinam). Internal transit duties on merchandise moving from place to place were another source of revenue and the roads were guarded night and day by soldiers to prevent smuggling. Moderation in taxation, however, was impressed on the rulers by many wise sayings the poets. If their word may be trusted, booty captured in war was no inconsiderable part of royal resources. The Cōlās are said to have had a strongly guarded treasury at Kumbakōṇam in the Sangam age.

The streets of the capital cities were patrolled at nights by watchmen bearings torches, and the prison formed part of the system of administration.

A connected history of the growth of Townships can be attempted only from about the 8th century i.e. of the Pāṇḍyas of the I Empire as termed by Prof. Sastri.¹⁴

A brief sketch of the history of the Pāṇḍyas is given below for the limited purpose of providing a time frame to be kept in view in dating the evidence garnered and reconstructing the history of Townships.

Among the early Pāṇḍyas (AD 560 - 920). Varaguna I (AD 756 - 815), his son and grandson Śrī Māraṇ, Śrī Vallabha (815 - 62) and Varaguna II (862 - 85) respectively were the striking personalities who successfully ensured Pāṇḍyan supremacy and expansion.¹⁵ Varaguna II had made a grant (AD 874) to Subrahmanya Bhaṭṭārār at Tiruccendūr¹⁶ and four years later from Āraśīlār (in South Arcot district) to the temple of Ericcāvudaiyār at Ambāsamudram.¹⁷

During the period the Pāṇḍyas were engaged in enlarging their domination by waging frequent wars against the Āy Chieftains in the South and the Cōḷas and their vassals attached to them in the north like the Irukkuvēḷ chiefs of Koḍumbālūr. In the north they also made common cause with the Pallavas against the Cōḷas. The Muttaraiyar chieftains sided the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷās who ever was strong at the time.

The Cōḷās from the time of Parāntaka I (AD 907 - 955) were intent on subjugating the Pāṇḍyas. Rājarāja I (985 - 1016) finally succeeded in it, and incorporated the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom in the Cōḷā empire. A prince of the Cōḷā family was also appointed by his son Rājendra I (1012 - 44) as the Viceroy with the title of Cōḷā-Pāṇḍya and with Madurai as his capital. The Cōḷā hold over the tract began to weaken from the latter half of the reign of Kulōṭṭunga I (1070 - 1122). Even during his reign, the Pāṇḍyan rulers Jat. Śrī Vallabha (1090 - 1116) Mār. Parākrama Pāṇḍya (1087 - 1110) and Mār. Śrīvallabha (1132 to 1163) are conspicuous dating the grants in their regnal years.

The Pāṇḍyan independence was reasserted by Jāt. Kulaśekhara (acc AD 1190). His successor Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya - I waged a relentless war against the Cōḷa, Kulōṭṭunga III (AD 1178 - 1216) and his successors. The struggle could not be clinching for the Pāṇḍyas due to the intervention by the Hoysalās. The latter were determined to hold the balance between the two, the Cōḷās and the Pāṇḍyas and intervened on the side of either whoever was weak at the time and strengthened their own relationship with them both, by matrimonial alliances. Clear evidence is found from within the Pāṇḍyan

country attesting the allocation of revenues as tribute to the Hoysālas from some townships of Rāmanāthapuram district. Out of the proceeds special services for the merit of the Hoysāla rulers were instituted in the temple as at Madurai and Aḷagarkōil. Indeed Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc 1238), even founded a township at the request of Hoysāla, Vīra Sōmēśvara (1233 - 67) at the eastern extremity of Tāmbaparāṇi and named it after him as Vīra Sōmidēva Caturvēdimāngalam.¹⁸

Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc 1251) and his co-rulers Vira Pāṇḍya and Vikrama were the greatest conquerors of the age and the Pāṇḍyan kingdom extended the farthest upto Kāñchi and even Tirupati in their time. Mār. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1263 - 1371) was, perhaps one of the longest ruling kings of the dynasty. Marco Polo visited the Mabar Coast during this period and has given an account of the Kingdom under Kales Devar, Kulaśēkharas successors fought fratricidal wars and secured alternately the intervention of the Ceylonese ruler and even the Muslims under Malik Kafur the north. The succession line and the chronology in the 14th century is still inconclusively worked out and leave a number of points to be settled.

But the Tirunelvēli tract in the prevailing confusion in the 15th century had annexed by the Tiruvaḍi Chieftains of Jayatuṅga Naḍū, a branch of the Vēṇāḍu rulers with headquarters at Kaḷakkādu. These rulers were frequently on the move, camping at various places like Kallidaikkuricci, Mēlaceval, Tirunelvēli and were making grants to the deities in the Tāmbaparāṇi tract and to Āṇḍāl Shrine at Śrīvilliputtūr.¹⁹

They were overthrown by about AD 1533 by Viśvanātha Nāyaka sent by Acyuta Rāya and the suzerainty of Vijayanagara rulers was acknowledged. But it needed another campaign some ten years later (1543) organised by Rāma Rāya under Chinna Thimma and Viṭṭala, his cousin, to quell the power of the Tiruvaḍi Chieftains and to check the menace of the Portuguese power that was growing. The surviving scions of the Pāṇḍyan ruled petty principalities around Kayattāru, Tenkāśi and Karivalam-vandanallūr. These princess, the Later Pandyas were several and were having only control over local revenues and the temples and their possessions in the immediate vicinity of their capitals. They were reigning from about (AD 1402 to about AD 1753).²⁰ Their power however progressively declined corresponding to the growth of the Nāyaks of Madurai (1529-1736) during the period. Their grants were stereotyped and were mere assignment or resignments of temple services, the accountancy and priesthood and from time with the rights for a small parcel of land (1 or 2 *mā*) a house and garden attached that went with the service tenure.

The Vijayanagar Rāyas and the Nāyaks under them had extended their authority over the whole of Tirunelvēli and Kanyakumari tracts. They appointed the *Sthānikas* or Superintendents of the temples who were directly administering them. This should have reduced the area of functioning for the collective body of townships who were intent in their activity during the medieval period, whether under the Pāṇḍyas or the Cōḷās. The Nāyaks of Madurai had effective control over the tract and many land grants and extensions of temple were made by them. They also seem to have held the community action of the artisans under chains.

The largest volume of evidence for this study pertains to the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya period.

Periodisation :

For purposes of analysing the evidence, a periodisation can be attempted, though on conventional lines as below :

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|---|--|
| AD | 560 - 920 | : | The Pāṇḍyas of the I Empire. |
| AD | 950 - 1120 | : | The Cōḷa supremacy over the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom |
| AD | 1120 - 1395 | : | The Pāṇḍyas of the II Empire who reassert their supremacy (with the Muslim interlude in between (1335 - 1370). |
| AD | 1400 - 1535 | : | The rule of the Tiruvaḍi Chieftains |
| AD | 1535 - 1736 | : | The Vijayanagar rule and the Nāyaks of Madurai. |

The transactions described in the pages that follow are fitted into this time-this frame as far as the date can be ascertained or surmised. But in a socio-economic history what stand out are the trends and so long as the dates are placed within an appropriate time-sequence to which they relate, the precision in date can admit of some allowance. Social and economic trends creep through the ages over a period of time, like clouds in the sky and they are not specific events occurring at any specific point of time. The French historians of the Annales School have ranked next only to the decisive movements of the economy, the weight or the inertia of civilisations, the product of a long process of adaptation between human societies and their natural milieu, a combination of choice and necessity a totality which evolves and changes at an extremely slow pace, thereby sealing the dooms of all attempts to escape from the prisons of *longue duree*². Fernand Braudel has demonstrated the force of this conceptualisation in his *La Mediteranean*.

In this perspective, the history of the townships of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom is set out, with a view to discern the social and economic trends, and the effect they had on the community, and to recapture the functioning of the community in situations which need adjustments and mutations over the centuries.

FOOT NOTES

1. This district has since been bifurcated as Nellai Kattabomman and Cidambaranar district.
2. The mean yield over the years in Tons per acre. Table 30 at p. 510 - 'An Indian Rural' Economy 1880 - 1955 (Baker)
3. The anicut is a masonry obstruction to divert water into the supply channel up to a particular level down for the lower riparian users. It differs from a dam in that the run of the river is allowed and not impounded. The masonry *anaicut* should have even in the middle ages, taken the place of the periodical or annual *Korambo* works. In a *Korambo* the flow is held up and diverted by an earthen bund, strengthened by shrubs and palm leaves and it needs renewal at frequent intervals or when floods wash them away. The masonry dam which was adopted early in the history of the irrigation of this tract did away with such customary communal obligation of periodical renewal of *Korambo* and reduced cost.
4. This term is derived from a strain of paddy, long-term *Paśān* or *Piśān* and has nothing to do with Pāsanam. (Vide : Tamil Lexicon - Vol. IV p. 297)
5. Mesolithic artefacts from Sawerpuram - A. Aiyappan *Spodia Zeylaina* Vol. 24 - Pt. 2. 1945.
6. *A History of South India* - p. 51.
7. Ādiccanallūr is just on the banks of Tambraparni about 6 miles west of Śrīvaikuntam, the Taluk headquarters.
8. A Reg : *Catalogue of the prehistoric antiquities of Adiccanallūr and Perambur* - (Madras 1915).
9. This account follows that of Prof. K.A.N. Sastri in his *History of South India* (Oup) p.p. 57 to 59.
10. ARE 407 / 1906
11. Corpus of Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions. I. Mahadevan.
12. S.II Vol V Nos.307-406
13. *A History of South India* p.90
14. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.
15. For genealogy please see the *History of South India* - By K.A.N. Sastri p. 172.
16. EI XXI 101
17. SII XIV 16A EI IX p. 84
18. Please see the author's paper on this Township Journal of ESI - Vol. XX - pp. 13 to 22. Collected Papers (1124)
19. TAS Vol. IX - Nos. 1, 2, 19, 22, 23, 24. Volume I - p. 60.
20. TAS Volume I - p. 60
21. *French Studies in History* - Vol. I-p. 8 (Maurice Aymond, Harbans Mukhia) Orient Longmans - 1988).

SECTION - 1

THE TOWNSHIPS OF THE EARLY PĀNDYA PERIOD

The earliest stratum of epigraphic evidence is to be found in the Tamil Brahmi labels scurding the donors of the Jaina image noticed at different places in the tract under study¹. A later stratum are inscriptions of the early Pāṇdyas. The number of places and the number of Jain inscriptions therein stretching over a period of ten centuries (1st Century BC to 9th Century AD) is listed in Appendix I. The largest number of places is found in Madurai District. The single largest collection is from Ayyampālayam (14) in Paḷani Taluk. Uttama-Pālayam has the second largest density, followed by Mēttuppaṭṭi. Both the number of places and number of inscriptions taken together reveal Madurai, Mēlūr, and Tirumaṅgalam taluks adjoining it have had the largest concentration of Jaina shrines.

Five places in Rāmanāthapuram district have yielded Jaina inscriptions of which two are later (Hanumantakuḍi and Iḷayāṅguḍi). Aruppukkōṭṭai has two places of which Paḷlimaḍam has extent four inscriptions. But there should have been more as Kuṛaṇḍi (identified near Paḷlimaḍam) was a famous centre of Jaina ascetics and preceptors of whom Guṇasēna was one of the well known². He had the Jaina shrines of Kuṛaṇḍi, Tirukkattāmpalli, Kīlakkuḍi, Pēccippaḷlam under him and his associates figure in the inscriptions from these places. A nunnery appears to have existed at Paḷlimaḍam³. The only inscription from Eṛukkaṅguḍi is however important as noticed below.

Tirunelvēli district yields a far larger quantum of evidence. Seven places of occurrence of Jains shrines are noticed, of which three belong to the medieval period. Among the remaining four, Kaḷugumalai (Neṛkunṛam) (Kōvilpaṭṭi Taluk) has the largest known number (101). Ērvādi (Nāṅgunēri Taluk) Kurṛālam (Tenkāsi) and Maṛukāttalai (Tirunelvēli Taluk) have respectively 3, 1, 1, inscriptions.

These inscriptions have dated on palaeographical grounds, where they do not themselves give any regnal year or any internal clue for their date. But the total corpus of the Jaina inscriptions considered can be ascribed from the 2nd or 1st century BC to about AD 9th or 10th century.

The inscriptions reveal the Jaina Centres in the tract had transtract contacts and connections with Koṭṭāru, Chitarāl (Kanyākumari District) Tirunaṅṅonḍai in South Arcot District. Kaḷugumalai, Kuṛaṇḍi, and Ānaimalai and adjoining places had Jain concentrations.

The contents of the inscriptions reveal that the Jaina monasteries had both men and lady preceptors (Kurattiyar) and disciples⁴. The members of a family often cut beds for Jains recluses or set up Jaina images for merit of the next of kin, a mother, a wife⁵, a brother or some one related. There were of course, several lay devotees among the donors.⁶

Others were of Jaina persuasion on pilgrimage from far and near. Travel in early Pāṇḍyan times, though lacking in convenience was still a vogue fostered by faith, political conflicts or mercantile needs. Mobility of people of ascetics and the laity, of generals and soldiers or those in trade or after scholastic training can be noticed even in these early times.

The inscriptions noticed bring out three distinct periods. First, the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions assigned to 2nd or 1st century BC and early years of the Christian era. Second, inscriptions on copper plates and on stone of the 8th and 9th centuries of the early Pāṇḍyas mostly in *Vatṭeluttu* script but in Tamil language. Third, inscriptions of 8th, 10th century which will be noticed in their context.

Among the Brahmi inscriptions of the earliest period, the Aḷagarmalai inscriptions refer to donors, one of them was a goldsmith⁷ others were a salt merchant, a sugar merchant, iron monger, a monk⁸ and a cloth merchant⁹. The Māṅgūlam Tamil Brahmi epigraphs dated in the reign of the early Pāṇḍyan ruler, Neḍuñjaḍaiyan refer to an officer (*Pānan*) under him¹⁰ and his brother-in-law and nephew among the donors¹¹. A merchant prince (*Kāviti*) belonging to the *Nigama* (Merchant guild) of Vellaṛai (identified as Tiruvellaṛai near Tiruchirāppalli) and the members of the guild were also among the donors¹².

We get a far larger quantum of evidence of the second period. By the end of the 9th century gleanings of the organised life and institutional arrangements become evident. The inscriptions spread over the whole tract from Ayyampālayam¹³ (Aivarmalai in Palani Taluk) to Kaḷugumalai (Tirunelvēli district) indicate *inter se* contacts and contacts with places of Jaina concentrations in areas outside. Several donors of image in Kaḷugumalai and Ayyampālayam were from Nālkūr in Veṅbunāḍu¹⁴ Others were from Kōttāru (Near Nāgercōil)¹⁵ Chitarāl (Tiruccāraṇam)¹⁶ (in Kanyākumari District) and from Kurāṇḍi (Aruppukkōttai Taluk)¹⁷. Donors from other places included one from Kalakkudi which was a conspicuous centre of trade and several administrative officers hailed from that place¹⁸ and from Ālattūr village in Kīlkaḷakkūrāram¹⁹ (Tirunelvēli Taluk).

But the largest number of donors hailed from Kaḷugumalai itself²⁰. A father and son and two brothers²¹ figure among them. A son donated an image for the merit of his mother. A stone mason of the *Nāḍu*, *Nāṭṭuttaccan* a chief of the Pūṅguḍi *nāḍu*

and the chief of the Nērcuranāḍu were among other donors. Perhaps the chiefs had set up images for the benefit of the Nāḍu as a whole from the proceeds of dues of Nāḍu or individually from their personal funds.

An assiduous monk Ajjanandi has caused several images at different places - Ayyampālayam²², at Aḷagarmalai²³ at Ānaimalai²⁴, at Karuṅgālakkuḍi²⁵, at Uttampālayam²⁶ and Ērvādi²⁷, which seems to be the earliest. His name is mentioned in an inscription in Koṅgarpuliyaṅḷam²⁸ and his mother Guṇamatiyār in an epigraph of Pēccippallam (Madurai Taluk)²⁹. Another image set up by Ajjanandi was noticed at Arittappatti (Mēlur Taluk)³⁰.

If all these inscriptions refer to one and the same monk, they should have been very active in and around Madurai and Paḷani besides Ērvadi in Nāṅgunēri Taluk. Perhaps there might have been more than one monk of the same name.

A member of the Vīra Sangha (that is the group of Jaina monks) from Tirunarūṅḡḍai (South Arcot District) set up an image at Ayyampālayam³¹. He must have been a leader among them, as Mallisēnaperiyān, his name conveys. The Jaina monks were hailed as Vīrar (conqueror) on account of the four-fold prowess they acquired by their austere penance³². In AD 870, (Ś 792) 8th regnal year of Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II) Sāntivīrakkuravaḍiḷaḷ a disciple of Guṇavīrakkuravaḍiḷaḷ renovated the Pārśvanātha shrine at Ayyampālayam and donated 505 kāṇam of gold for offerings and feeding an ascetic³³.

Sheep offerings for burning lamps were also made for the Jaina shrines³⁴. In the 42nd year of Māraṅḡaiyan (AD 798) a Brahmin of Tiruccuriyal, Māṇi Saṅkaraṅḡāyaṇan, a Nagarattār caused to instal a shrine of the Dēvar. For burning lamps in 3 *sandis* he deposited with the Pērūrār (the village elders) or the township organisation) 2 Kaḷaṅḡu of gold and 24 sheep (against the yield of which) 20 nāḷi of ghee per year were to be delivered. They were left in the protection of Tirumalāi Vīrar and Parāntaka Vīrar³⁵. In AD 806 one such gift consisted of 50 sheep for supplying 5 nāḷi of ghee every month³⁶. Cash donations of 11 kāsū by a priest himself Anantavīranadigaḷ was entrusted to another priest for burning a lamp with the interest proceeds at Uttampālayam³⁷.

The wife of a shepherd from Parūr in Miḷaikkurraṅam had caused an image to be cut at Pēccippallam³⁸. The number of sheep endowed had varied from case to case depending presumably on the number of lamps or hours of burning. The donors were, mostly, the common people and of varied avocations.

Land endowments were also noticed. In a dry area like Kalugumalai wells to irrigate the lands were indispensable. These were endowed by two donors one from Kaḍaṇaḍaikkūḍi in Tumbūrkūḍam³⁹ and another from Perunāvalūr⁴⁰ in Miḷalaikkūḍam. The donors have deployed their own funds and sunk one well each. The purpose was to feed from out of the produce the 10 *Vyrāgiyār* (ascetics) including one expounding Siddānta and another grant was for feeding 5 *Vyrāgiyārs* (ascetics) including one expounding Siddānta.

These grants are dated in the 3rd year of Mārañjaḍaiyan (Varaḡa II Ad 865). These endowments were caused to be made by the chief of the monks, Guṇasāgara bhaṭṭarar. The *Tinaikkaḷattār* occurring in this inscription in a damaged portion is sought to be interpreted below.

To crown all, several benefactions of a popular chieftain, Eṭṭi Śāṭṭan, who was conferred the title of Iruppaikkūḍi Kilavan are listed in a record at Erukkaṅḡudi (Śāṭṭūr Taluk). It is dated in the 18th year of Saḍaiyan Māraṇ (Śrīmāraṇ Śrīvallaḅha - AD 833). At Iruppaikkūḍi itself he erected a big raised an embankment to the tank Vallarkuḷam cut channels, and provide a trough for the water to pass⁴¹. This chief is perhaps the same as the one who figures in the Tiruccendūr inscription of Varaḡa Mahāraja⁴² (Varaḡa II).

Lamp services were instituted in Kalugumalai for the merit of the inner palace servants (*ulvīṭṭu kōil śēvaḡar*) who died while laying siege in a war and destroyed Ariviyūrkkōṭṭai⁴³. The early 9th century was an active period for the Pāṇḍyas whose armies moved south and north. A herostone at Eṇṇal seems to refer to one such expeditions and the death of a hero⁴⁴. A mother (presumably, Śāṭṭanammai) endowed 12 cows for the merit of her daughter, a dancing girl, Śāṭṭandēyam in the temple of Naraśiḡaperumāl (Brahmapuridēvar)⁴⁵ at Tirunelvēli, (elsewhere called Vikramapāṇḍyavinṇaḡarālvār⁴⁶). A Muttaraiyar chieftain's wife (*Arasiyār*) of Ālaṅḡudi in Iruñjōṇāḍu⁴⁷ endowed at Śrīvilliputtūr a lamp and 25 sheep. A gift of 10 *kāśu* (*dināra* in Sanskrit) was endowed by a Brahmin lady for a lamp for at Tirupattūr⁴⁸. A Ātulagaṇattān of Nālkūr (Vēmbunāḍu) endowed a lamp for the merit of his mother and the next year a gold for the merit of his father in the temple at Peruṅḡuḷam.⁴⁹ These are cited here to show by the time of Varaḡa I, in addition to Jaina centres, the temples for Viṣṇu and his *avatārs* and of Śiva were already coming into vogue and grants for the upkeep and pūjā service were made. Indeed, his reign gave a great impetus to Vaiṣṇava centre growing in popularity and prosperity.

The endowments were varied in form in sheep, in cash, in land, and in capital works including wells sunk. The arrangements for their proper upkeep and maintenance

throw light on the community organisations, besides other institutional arrangements made. As noticed above the obligation to burn a lamp in the *Paḷli* at Uttamapālayam endowed by a priest, Anantavīradigāl with 11 kāṣu was under taken by another priest or ascetic in charge of the shrine (*Aḍigal*)⁵⁰. In Kaḷugumalai the *Ūrār* undertook such an obligation⁵¹. In Ērvāḍī the Jaina image out was to be protected by the Sabhayār of Nāttaruppōkku (that is the Brahmādēya assemblies in the division on the command of the river Nattār (Nambiyār))⁵².

An interesting record is from Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi in 4th year, Mārañjaḍaiyan (Varaḡuṇa I-AD 769). The Mahāsabhā Vaikuṇṭha Vaḷanāḍu in the Nāttaruppōkku sold a land to one Pañcavan Brahmādirāyar (Śēndan Sāttan) of Malaināḍu as *Iṟayili*. While it has several interesting aspects (which are dealt with below) the point made here is that the Sabhā received Vilaiporuḷ the price for the land) and *Iṟaiporuḷ* (capitalised amount) the interest on which was to be utilised for paying the land dues, receiving 120 Kaḷañju of gold endowed for the food offerings to Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi deity (Nambi), the extent sold was *Kālēkāṇi sey* or 5 *ma* (about 1 acre 73 cents)⁵³

In the 43rd year of Mārañjaḍaiyan a Land gift as *Paḷliccandam* to *Aruvāḷattu Bhatāraka* of Tiruviruttalai (Ērvāḍi) was made by *Irambāṭṭuvēḷān sāttan*. The land dues were to be protected by *Pāppāncāṇṟōr* of Kīlccēri in Nāttukkūrumu⁵⁴ (that is identical with the Sabhaiyār attending to the affairs of the Nāḍu). This inscription is important. The *Pāppāncāṇṟōr* should obviously refer to the Brahmādēya Sabhā of Kīlccēri which was one of the constituents supervising the revenue affairs of the *Nāḍu*. (*Nāttukkūrumbu*) There were several Brahmādēyas in the *Nāḍu*, (*Ivūrōrgal*). Perhaps the lands were irrigated by Arumannadai channel, taking off from Siṟṟaiyūr channel and Vilanperuṅkāl and a third channel and hence more than one Brahmādēya was involved. They sold the land at a price inclusive of the *Iṟaivilaipporuḷ* ie. the capitalised amount yielding adequate interest to pay the land dues. They undertook the obligation of paying the land dues and render the services fastended on land, (*Iṟaikāḍanum vaḷi Iṟai veṭṭi*) keeping a vigil. If they failed to do so they undertook to pay a penalty severally (*vēṟṟuvagai*) twice the *Kāḍamai* levy of 5 *paḷāṅkāṣu*.

Fifty sheep for a lamp service by the Irambāṭṭūr-Vēḷān Sāttan, the donor in Ērvāḍi were entrusted to a commander (*Paḍaiṭṭalaivan*) with a surety for him. The donor was himself a composer and his verse in praise of the Jaina is inscribed. At the end the *nāśa(ya) Ranmār* of the *Nāḍu* of Nāttaruppōkku were enjoined to protect the endowments. This is dated in the 43rd year of Mārañjaḍaiyan⁵⁵.

The image set up by Ajjanandi at Ānaimalai and the endowment for the establishment (?) (*Parivāra puravuvariyār Pēramum*) were entrusted to the Sabhā of Naraśiṅgamaṅgalam apparently a Brahmādēya adjoining Ānaimalai named after

Naraṅgaperumāl shrine set up there⁵⁶. The last passage which is unclear may perhaps refer to the land tax executives of the Sabhā or an endowment by them.

The image caused to be cut by Ajjanandi at Arittāpaṭṭi (Mēlūr) was on behalf of the Karaṅattār (accountants and executives) of Nerḱōḍu. The Vāṅiyakkuḍi people were to protect it⁵⁷.

The protection of the image caused to be set up by Pudumai Eriyam Būti of Veṅbaikkuḍi was enjoined on the gana in charge of *Puravuvvari (Puravuvvarigaṅattār)*⁵⁸

An Ānaimalai image was left to the protection of the Karaṅattār of Poṅkōḍu⁵⁹. The *Śrītiṅkaikāḷattār* were made to protect an image at Ānaimalai.⁶⁰ Having regard to this clear statement the rather unclear reference to *Tiṅkaikāḷattār* in the later portion of the Kaḷugumalai inscription referred to above. (SII V No. 406) might refer to the revenue officials of the king.

The evidence above is significant. Already by the 9th century AD, townships of a varied character had come into being. They were also grouped into *Nāḍus* or politico-geographical divisions; they had as units, the Sabhās to oversee the endowments. Collectively, the *Nāttār* looked after, supervised and ensured the performance of charitable endowments left in their charge. They had explicitly taken several and collective responsibility for the proper maintenance of the endowments. Alongside endowments were left to be administered by the kings officials (*Tiṅai Kaḷattār*) *Karaṅattār* (Executives of the *Nāḍus* or townships). Endowments of sheen were also made and left in charge of garrison chiefs (*Paḍaittaivār*) or the performing priest of the shrines (*Aḍigai*), besides others.

As the curtain rises an established structure of the *Nāḍu* and already emerged with an institutional framework though somewhat unspecific with its executives, undertaking public functions and charitable endowments. The fact that the Sabhaiyār had undertaken *Iṅaikāval* obligation against capital receipts implies that they were responsible continuing agencies for collection of land dues and enforcing community obligations.

References occur to an enigmatic body 1700 who were entrusted with burying the lamp and the protection of sheep endowments made in Tiruppattūr in Māraṅjadaiyan's reign⁶¹. The townships had shepherd or parttime military personnel who undertook to tend the sheep and measure the ghee. They were attached to the temple and had to do all odd jobs and services (*Vēṭṭikkudi*).

Grants were also made to compensate for service to be rendered to the shrines set up. A chief potter of Nercuram was granted *śey* for supplying earthen vessels for the bath (for carrying water) and for cooking food offerings⁶² to the *Araimalai Ālvār* of Nercuram.

The chief smith (*Peruñkollan*) of Nercura Nādu who was executing the maintenance and construction of Araimalai Ālvār was likewise granted *śey*⁶³.

Another endowment of *Kalañju*, the interest proceeds of which were to the benefit of *Vañṇār* (washerman) was made in Tiruppattūr⁶⁴.

These instances would suggest that there were designated artisans attend to the services of the community and of the shrines and they were granted lands for services rendered or more appropriately for services to be rendered on a territorial basis, these endowments could have been mere estates upon condition.

The Jain shrines and endowments considered are only a species of evidence. There is a far larger volume of evidence available in the grants of *Brahmadēyas* and *dēvadanams* to temples which were proliferating alongside with the increase in the number of settlements and extension of cultivation and habitations. This activity was gaining momentum during this period.

When these inference are tested with the larger volume of evidence available in copper plate grants and inscriptions of the period, it will be seen the evidence reinforces and sometimes defines the functioning of these arrangements and agencies. These aspects are dealt with below.

It is significant that these endowments for lamp service were mostly made either in sheep, cows, buffaloes or in cash. The cash could be invested straight away or on cattle. The land endowments were far and few between. With the extension of pastoral accent of the economy the direct and more secure yield of ghee required for the services was a surer guarantee for performance. Agriculture is fought with hazards of the monsoon behaviour and the yield. The grain to the ghee yield may also require to be ensured and they may not be easy if the yields of paddy vary from field to field or tract to tract or whether irrigated or rainfed. Hence the preferred form of endowment is sheep or cash. The economy can be said to be static, holding the ground for over three centuries. Monetary fluctuations were there, but the transactions were not such as to be affected by them. For the bulk of the transactions were in kind, paddy also serving as a medium of exchange or as the basis for such exchange. Inflation

and price fluctuations would have been minimal. But it is still difficult to establish the cash to grain or commodities nexus even within a limited area and closely proximate periods as we shall see later.

It is interesting to compare the yield of the sheep / cows / buffaloes endowed and their gold or cash equivalent deposits during the period. The variations are but few. The yield for 50 sheep had varied from 5 *nāli* per month⁶⁵ in the reign of Mārañjadaiyan to $7\frac{1}{2}$ *nāli* at Paḷḷimadam in the times of *Cōlan talaikonḍa Vīrapāṇḍya*⁶⁶ (950 AD) But in this earlier period itself the yield had varied in different locations⁶⁷.

Could it be that the lower yield in Tiruppattūr, Paḷḷimadam (atleast up to the beginning of Vīrapāṇḍya's reign) and Kaḷuḡumalai was due to the tract as compared with the wet area of Peruṅuḷam, Ambāsamudram, Perumalañji, Sīvalappēri, Vijayanārāyaṇam where grazing or biomass from wet cultivation could be better had and for a longer period. The equation of the sheep to buffaloes and cows yielding the standard ghee requirement of 7 *nāli* per month per lamp can be deduced as below :

Ghee $7\frac{1}{2}$ *nāli* = 50 sheep = 25 cows or 6 buffaloes. This ratio of cows⁶⁸ to buffaloes⁶⁹ is also noticed in Cōla times⁷⁰. In AD 904 twenty sheep cost 2 *kaḷaṅju* in Kaḷuḡumalai⁷¹ yielding 20 *nāli* per year. 5 *kaḷaṅju* hence could be the price of 50 sheep, the yield of which could be $7\frac{1}{2}$ *nālis* per month. The ghee yield at Kaḷuḡumalai was phenomenally low.

The interest equivalent of ghee however shows variation. In Ambāsamudram a deposit of 30 *Paḷaṅkāśu* had the interest yield equal to 30 *nāli* per month, that is one *nāli* per month per *Paḷaṅkāśu* in Mārañjadaiyan's times⁷² : In Peruṅaḷam in the 11th year Śadaiyan Māraṅ (AD 916) 13 *kāśu* could secure only 7 *nāli* of ghee per month⁷³. This could be attributed to the lack of parity in the exchange rate *Paḷaṅkāśu* and *kāśu* that obtained in closely proximate periods. The data show that the interest yield of *Paḷaṅkāśu* to *Kalaṅju* equation was equal. For the standard yield of 7 *nāli* per month it required 7 *paḷaṅkāśu* deposit. But it required 13 *kāśu* in Peruṅuḷam in Śadaiyan Māraṅ's time.

For 50 sheep the yield of 7 *nāli* of ghee appears to be low. This is explicable by the fact that of the sheep some may be too old, and barren and some others may be expectant or alternative too young and as yet not capable of yielding. Of the milch cattle actually yielding, some allowance has to be made for the subsistence of the shepherd and his family. Nevertheless the yield of the cattle can only be said to be

low. The Pirānmalai evidence of Mār Kulaśēkhara time is clinching : the average milkyield of 6 cows is only 1 *nāḷi*, and for 30 cows 5 *nāḷi* of milk (Apn : II)⁷²

The yield of the sheep and the cows and the buffaloes had been invariably at the rate of 7 *nāḷi* of ghee, that is at the same equation as given above right through the 9th to the 11th centuries, in Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya times even in the wet tract of Tāmbraṇaraṇi basin. Ādanūr in Kōvilpaṭṭi, Taluk also yielded the same⁷³. The force of *longue duree* has never been better demonstrated. The breeding technology and the varieties of milch cattle and their breeds and the fodder and feeding practices for cattle could hardly have improved through the three centuries. More of this is noticed later while reviewing the transactions of the later periods.

The above observations should not make one jump to the conclusion that the level of price of commodities expressed in terms of coinage or paddy also was totally unfluctuating. For one thing, as noticed already the exchange rates of different types of coinage had varied. For another, with such changes in coinage the quantum of interest yield of paddy could vary. Nay, more the unit prices of commodities expressed in times of paddy, also have varied in the same reign of Varaguṇa II as between Ambāsamudram and Tiruccendūr. The former at the head reaches of Tāmbraṇaraṇi and the latter to the south of its estuary in a sandy tract. This is examined below to show how place and time utilities and transport changes and the differential characters and availabilities of commodities had resulted in varied level of prices. The intriguing aspect of the interest rates converted into paddy from ghee yield given per kaṣū has been already mentioned in the case of the Ambāsamudram endowment.

FOOT NOTES

1. This phrase is used to denote the undivided districts of Madurai, Rāmanāthapuram and Tirunelveli. But the district are only convenient reference points for location. These artificial boundaries have no relevance to the life and transactions of the people through history.
2. ARE 330/1908, 331/1908, 332/1908. Also 61/1910 from Meṭṭuppaṭṭi Madurai Taluk. 661/1910 from Pēccippaḷḷam (Madurai Tk)
3. SII XIV 34 & 35 p. 27.
4. SII XIV 117 Ayyampāḷayam.
5. ARE 70 / 1910, Tamiḷ Brāhmi Aḷagarmalai.
6. ARE 55 / 1910 for example 275/1965-66 (Tiruvādavūr) (2nd 1st century BC).
7. ARE 244 / 1963 - 64
8. ARE 71-77 / 1910
9. ARE 78-79 / 1910
10. ARE 465 / 1906
11. ARE 460 / 1906

12. ARE 463/1906
13. ARE SII XIV iii
14. SII V 351 to 356
15. SII V 351 to 356
16. SII V 321 392
17. SII V 318, 325, 332, 345, 359, 374, 381
18. SII V The identification of this place as Ukkirankōṭṭai is now established.
19. SII V 360
20. SII V 327, 328, 342, 343, 344, 348, 349, 361, 376, 379, 382, 397, 382, 393, 401.
21. Ibid 342, 344, 365, 366.
22. SII XIV 108
23. 396/1954-55
24. SII XIV 102
25. 562/1911
26. SII XIV 126
27. SII XIV 129
28. 54 / 1910
29. 64 / 1910
30. Jaina Inscriptions p. 160)
31. SII XIV 113
32. Vice Versa 2738 in *Jivaka Cintāmaṇi* (p. 1345 UVS ed. 1986.) The 24th *Tīrthāṅkara* was also known as *Vīrar* - V. 409 p. 210 Ibid.
33. E. IL XXXII 335-338, SI XIV 22.
34. SII V 308 - 328, Kaḷugumalai 395/1907 Kṭṭaḷaḷavu, SII XIV 32, Kōvilāṅguḷam, SII XIV 34 & 35, Paḷḷimaḍam, SII 34-Paḷḷimaḍam.
35. SII XIV 42 the two 'Vīrars' are taken by the editor of the Volume to be military guardians of the temple. The term *Vīra* has also been taken to refer to Jaina-Tīrthāṅkaras and in that sense, the endowment could have been left in charge of the priests, name after the Tīrthāṅkaras.
36. SII XIV 39 Paḷḷimaḍam.
37. SII XIV 128 Uttamapālayam.
38. 67/1910
39. SII V 405
40. SII V 406
41. SII XIV 44
42. Ibid p. 33
43. SII XIV 31
44. ARE 371/1960
45. SII XIV 18
46. 83/1927
47. SII XIV 71
48. SII XIV 9
49. SII XIV 59, 62 (Śaḍaiyan Māraṅ 2+9; 2+10)

50. SII XIV 128
 51. SII V 308
 52. SII XIV 130
 53. SII XIV 19
 54. SII XIV 41
 55. Ibid 41.
 56. SII XIV 102 (see also *infra*)
 57. Jaina inscription p 160. The text is not available and the implication of the term Vāṇiyakkuḍi people could not be inferred.
 58. SII XIV 106 The *Ūrār* & the *Gaṇattār* of Kuṇṇḍi supervised 50 sheep. XIV 34 & 35
 59. SII XIV 101
 60. SII XIV 100
 61. SII XIV 9 & 16 could they refer to a body of priests ?
 62. SII X 361
 63. SII V 357
 64. SII XIV 5
 65. SII XIV 39, 32
 66. Ibid 79, 80
 67. SII XIV
- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------|-----|-------|----|-------|
| 16 | Tiruppattūr | 50 | sheep | 5 | nāḷi. |
| 29 | Peruṅgulam | 50 | sheep | 7½ | nāḷi. |
| 32 | Pallimaḍam | 100 | sheep | 10 | nāḷi. |
| 36 | Ambāsamudram | 50 | sheep | 7½ | nāḷi. |
| 40 | Daḷapatisamudram | 50 | sheep | 7½ | nāḷi. |
| 42 | Kaḷugumalai | 24 | sheep | 1⅓ | nāḷi. |
| 72 | Śīvalppēri | 50 | sheep | 7½ | nāḷi. |
| 89 | Vijayanārāyaṇam | 25 | sheep | 3¼ | nāḷi. |
- (in early 10th Century)

But the yields of ghee in Pallimaḍam is more at 7½ nāḷi as seen from the inscriptions of the time of Vīra Pāṇḍya (who took the Cōḷan). (79, 80, 82, SII XIV) Tirukkōṣṭiyūr. 15 nāḷis for 18 cows and 50 sheep which is somewhat higher than normal yield (SII XIV-49)

68. SII XIV 18 Tirunelvēli.
 69. Ibid 58, Kuṇṇālam.
 70. *Rajēndra Vinṇaḡar* p. 17. See also SII XIV - 142 Ādanūr.
 71. SII XIV 42 - It appears the endowed sheep yield more ghee than the straight interest rate of 1 nāḷi per Kaḷaṇḷu.

72. Ibid 27. It will be interesting to note that in Kudimiyāmalai also 1 *Kaḷaṅḷju* of gold gave an interest-equivalent of 1 *nāḷi* ghee per month. (Pudukkōttai Townships pp. 67-78) in the reign of Parakēsarivarman. Perhaps the *Paḷaṅkāśu* of Varaguṇa II was equal to 1 *kaḷaṅḷju* of gold, working backward from the interest-yield of *nāḷi* of ghee per month. But 13 *kāśu* could yield only $7\frac{1}{2}$ *nāḷi* that gives the nexus of 1 *Paḷaṅkasu* = $1\frac{11}{13}$ *kāśu* to get the same interest equivalent of ghee. *Paḷaṅkasu* perhaps contained a higher gold content to yield the same interest equivalent of ghee as one *Kaḷaṅḷju*. But *Kāśu* had more alloy and was devalued, perhaps.
73. SII XIV, 60. There is one puzzle at 1 *nāḷi* of ghee per month per *paḷaṅkāśu* in terms of paddy. the exchange rate would be 30 *nāḷi*. This works out to an interest rate of 4 *kalams* per year, where as the rate of interest for cash deposits has been stated to be 2 *kalams* per *kaḷaṅḷju* in the two grants at Ambāsamudram and Tiruccendūr.

APPENDIX I

MADURAI DISTRICT

S. No.	PLACE	TALUK	No. of INSCRIPTIONS
1	AYYAMPĀLAYAM	PAḶANI TALUK	14
2	DEVATTŪR	PAḶANI TALUK	1
3	MĒTTUPPAṬṬI	NILAKKŌṬṬAI	8
4	AḶAGARMALAI	MĒLŪR	6
5	ARITTĀPAṬṬI	MĒLŪR	2
6	KARUṄĀLAKKUḶI	MĒLŪR	2
7	KIḶAVALAVU	MĒLŪR	5
8	TIRUVĀDAVŪR	MĒLŪR	2
9	ĀNAIMALAI	MADURAI	9
10	KĪḶAKKUḶI	MADURAI	7
11	KĪḶAKKOVILKUḶI	(KĪḶAKKUDI MADURAI)	
12	MAṄGUḶAM	MADURAI	6
13	MUTTUPPAṬṬI	MADURAI	5
14	PĒCCIPPAḶḶM	MADURAI	6
15	TIRUPPARAṅKUNṆAM	MADURAI	4
16	VARICCIYŪR	MADURAI	3
17	KOṄGARPULIYAṄGUḶAM	TIRUMAṄGALAM	4
18	KUPPĀLNATTAM	TIRUMAṄGALAM	1
19	VIKRAMAṄGALAM	TIRUMAṄGALAM	5
20	UTTAMAPĀLAYAM	UTTAMAPĀLAYAM	9
			99

S. No.	TALUK	PLACE
1	PAḶANI	8
2	NILAKŌṬṬAI	1
3	MĒLŪR	5
4	MADURAI	8
5	TIRUMAṄGALAM	3
6	UTTAMAPĀLAYAM	1

RAMNAD DISTRICT

S. No.	PLACE	TALUK	No. of INSCRIPTIONS
1	ERUKKANGUDI	ŠATTŪR	1
2	KŌVILĀNKUḶAM	ARUPPUKKŌTTAI	2
3	PALLIMAḶAM	ARUPPUKKŌTTAI	
4	HANUMANTAKUDI		1
5	ILAYĀNGUDI	PARAMAKKUDI	1
			5

TIRUNEVĒLI DISTRICT

S. No.	PLACE	TALUK	No. of INSCRIPTIONS
1	ĒRVĀDI	NĀNGUNĒRI	1
2	KURRĀLAM	TENKĀŠI	1
3	MARUKKĀLTALAI	TIRUNELVĒLI	1
4	SINGIKUḶAM	NĀNGUNĒRI	1
5	KALUGUMALAI	KŌVILPAṬṬI	1
6	PERUNGUḶAM	MEDIEVAL PANDYAN	
7	VĪRĀŠIKHĀMAṆI		

ANNEXURE 2

TABLE SHOWING STANDARD YIELD OF GHEE FOR COWS, BUFFALOES, SHEEP & THEIR CASH NEXUS

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					(4)	(5)		Uḷakku In Nāḷi	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 18	Tirunelvēli	Mārañjaḍaiyan 2nd year	12½ cows	āḷakku	30	3¾	
SII XIV 17	Vijayanāraṇyam	Mārañjaḍaiyan 2nd year	10 mā (of land)	—	—	—	
SII XIV 5	Tiruppattūr	Mārañjaḍaiyan 4+1	40 Kaḷañju (for 1 lamp)	uri	15 nāḷi (by sūlanāḷi	Low. The measure used could also have varied in its content.	
SII XIV 16	Tiruppattūr	Mārañjaḍaiyan 4-4985th day	150 sheep	one uri	30 uri	15	Low.
SII XIV 9	Tiruppattūr	6+4	10 kāṣu	—	—	—	

* NOTE : 1 Paḷaṅkāṣu = 1 nāḷi ghee interest per month for 12 months = 12 nāḷi ghee.

1 nāḷi ghee = 1 nāḷi of paddy (Tiruccendūr inscription of Varaguṇa)

12 nāḷi = 288 nāḷi, or 3 Kalams of paddy.

This varies from the normal interest rate of 2 kalams of paddy per Paḷaṅkāṣu.

The ghee from sheep's milk was used for lamps.

The cow's ghee was costlier at 1 nāḷi ghee = 30 nāḷi paddy (Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa)

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Uḷakku	In Nāḷi	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 27	Ambāsamudram	—	30 paḷankāṣu	nāḷi per month	—	30	
SII XIV 29	Peruṅgulam	Māraṅjaḍaiyan	50 sheep	1 uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 32	Paḷimadam	Māraṅjaḍaiyan 26th	100 sheep	—	10 nāḷi	10	
SII XIV 36	Ambāsamudram	Māraṅjaḍaiyan 35th	50 sheep	1 uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 42	Kalugumalai	Māraṅjaḍaiyan 35th	Kalaṅju 2=20 sheep	20 nāḷi per year	—	1⅓	Price of 10 sheep 1 Kalaṅju. Low.
SII XIV 38	Ambāsamudram	Māraṅjaḍaiyan 39	150 sheep	3 uḷakku	90	22½	7½ nāḷi per 50 sheep
SII XIV 39	Paḷimadam	Māraṅjaḍaiyan 6+35	50 sheep	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 40	Dalapati Samudram	Māraṅjaḍaiyan 6+35	50 sheep	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 54	Sinnamanūr	Saḍaiyan Māran 2+8th year	10 Kalaṅju	uḷakku	—	—	uri ghee per day (?)
SII XIV 57	Kuttālam	Saḍaiyan Māran 2+9th year	3 buffaloes	āḷakku ½ lamp	—	3½	

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Uḷakku	In Nāḷi	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 58	Kuttālam	Saḍaiyan Māran 2+9	6 buffaloes	āḷakku (uḷakku)	30	7½	
SII XIV 59	Peruṅgulam	Saḍaiyan Māran 2+9	50 sheep	āḷakku (uḷakku)	30	7½	
SII XIV 60	Peruṅgulam	Saḍaiyan Māran 2+9	10 Kāsu*	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 72	Śivalappēri	Saḍaiyan Māran 2+10	50 sheep	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 79	Paḷlīmaḍam	(Cōḷan Talai Kōṇḍa) 3+4 Vīra Pāṇḍya = 7th year	75 sheep	uḷakku āḷakku	45	1¼	
SII XIV 08	Paḷlīmaḍam	4th + 4 = 8th year	25 sheep	āḷakku	30 āḷakku 15 āḷakku	¾	
SII XIV 85	Kīḷimattūr	5 + 4 = 9	12½ sheep	2½, ½ āḷakku	15 āḷakku	1½ + ¼	

(A) The following syllogism may be constructed :

13 Kāsu = uḷakku ghee = 50 sheep
1 Kāsu = 31¹¹/₁₃ sheep
For 10 sheep = 2½ Kāsu = 1 Kaḷāṅju

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Uḷakku	In Nāḷi	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 88	Pallimadam	4 + 7 = 11	20 sheep	—	—	3	
SII XIV 89	Vijayanārāyaṇam	12th	25 sheep	āḷakku	15	¾	
SII XIV 90	Pallimadam	13th	25 sheep	āḷakku	15	¾	
SII XIV 93	Peruṅguḷam	15th	5 buffaloes	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 96	Vijayanārāyaṇam	year lost	25 sheep	āḷakku	15	¾	
KI (1968) No. 48	Kanyakumari	Cōḷa Rājārāja I	15 sheep	āḷakku	15	¾	
SII XIV 131	Peruṅguḷam	Jāt. Sundara Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya 3	25 sheep	āḷakku	15	¾	
SII XIV 141	Tiruvāḷisvaram	Jāt. Sundara Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya 3	25 cows	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 141	Tiruvāḷisvaram	Jāt. Sundara Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya 3	35 buffaloes(?)	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 150	Mannārkōḷ	Jāt. Sundara Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya 14th year	16 cows (½ lamp)	āḷakku	15	¾	Low yield

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Uḷakku	In Nāḷi	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 155	Ambāsamudram	16th	20 sheep Paḷankāṣu 6(?)	āḷakku	15	3 ³ / ₄	
SII XIV 158	Sērmādēvi	17	50 Semmarīadu (sheep of red colour)	uḷakkaḷakku	45	11 ¹ / ₄	
SII XIV 165	Ambāsamudram	20	3 buffaloes	āḷakku	15	(¹ / ₂ , ³ / ₄ lamp)	
SII XIV 166	Sērmādēvi	20	50 sheep	uḷakku	30	7 ¹ / ₂	
SII XIV 170	Tiruvāliśvaram	20	35 cows	uḷakku	30	7 ¹ / ₂	
SII XIV 158	Ānaimalai	21	25 sheep	āḷakku	15	3 ³ / ₄	
SII XIV 177	Mannārkōil	Jāi. Sundara Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya Yr : NA	25 cows 3 buffaloes	uḷakku āḷakku	30 15	7 ¹ / ₂ 3 ³ / ₄	
SII XIV 183	Ādanūr	Mār. Vikrama Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 20	25 sheep	āḷakku	15	3 ³ / ₄	
SII XIV 185	Sērmādēvi	Mār. Vikrama Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 22	½ lamp : 25 sheep	āḷakku	15	3 ³ / ₄	
SII XIV 186	Āttūr	Mār. Vikrama Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 22	78 Kalam paddy	uḷakku	30	7 ¹ / ₂	

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Uḷakku	In Nāḷi	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)

SII XIV 209 Sērmādēvi Srivallabha 5 50 sheep uḷakku 30 7½

SII XIV 210 Sērmādēvi Srivallabha 5 50 sheep uḷakku 30 7½

A clinching evidence of the low yield is afforded by the following evidence from Pirānmalai. In the 38th year of Mār. Kulasēkhara (AD 1306), of the originally endowed fifty cows, while taking actually stock, only 30 had remained. They yield for 30 cows per day was calculated as 5 nāḷi of milk per day, at 1 nāḷi of milk per 6 cows. (SII VIII - 427)

NOTE : 2 In Kaḷugumalai in the 23rd year of Jat. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya (AD 1040) 31 shecp were endowed to yield 5 nāḷi of ghee per month, per day the yield for 31 sheep is 1⅓, āḷakku ghee. Another inotex of the poor yield (SII VI 307)

CHAPTER II

SECTION 2

As already stated, the evidence gathered confirm a fully developed social structure even in the first few centuries of the Christian era. The varieties of townships and the larger territorial divisions, the *Nāḍus*, and the *Valanāḍus* were already formed and found adopted. They should have been the crystallisation of centuries of continuing in the 8th and 9th centuries.

We have explicit evidence of how these settlements came into being from the several copper plates of the period. One of the earliest was the *Vēlvikkudi* grant¹. This was a regrant. The initial grant was made to one *Narkorran* of *Korkai* by *Palyāgasālai mudu Kuḍumi Peruvaludi* alias *Paramēśwaran* and the grantee had personally preferred a grievance to the king himself (*Neḍuñjaḍaiyan*) in his capital at *Madurai* in his 3rd regnal year (AD 759) alleging that the grant-village had been resumed by the *Kalabhras*. The king asked for proof of the original grant which was instantly produced and on seeing it, it was regranted to the complaint *Korkai Kilan² Kāmakkāni* (*Śuvaran*) *Naraśiṅgan* after demarcating the boundaries of the grant village, it had on its east, *Nagarūr* and on its west *Korranputtūr* and to its north and south were two water spreads. It was in *Pāganūr Kūrram*. This village should be located on the *Vaigai* ribbon near *Śolavandān*.

The king designated a general who had won laurels against the *Vallabha* (*Cālukyas*) *Mūvēnda Maṅgalappēraraiyar* alias *Vaidya Śikhāmaṇi Māṅkārī* of *Karavandapuram* (*Kalakkudi-Ukkirankōttai*). The grantee, *Korkai Kilān Kāmakkāni Suvaranśiṅgan* kept to himself 1/3 of the village and granted 2/3 of the village to 50 Brahmins. Among these *Mūrtieyan* held with the approval of the assembly (the *Sabhā*) 4½ *padāgarās*, he gave four parts to his younger brothers and six parts to the children of his paternal uncle, his coparceners with the approval of the *Sabhā*.

The three partners that is the grantee, the 50 Brahmins and *Mūrti Eyan* gave with their collective consent 4 *Padāgarās* of land to the composer of the eulogy (*Prasasti*) *Ēnadi* alias *Śāttan Śāttan*. The Brahmin occupants of the village allotted a house site, 2 *mā* of wet land and one (*mā*?) of dry land to the engraver of the document, *Suttakēsari Perumbānaikkāran*.

This evidence bring out that the original grant was made for the purpose of or at the time of a *yāga* (sacrifice). It might be a gift or an offering at the time. The restored grant had been held by as many as fiftytwo persons in addition to ten

deriving their title to smaller shares from the secondary grantee Mūrti Eyinan. The Brahmin occupants together gave a house site, a parcel of wetland and a parcel of dryland to the engraver.

The grantee had both the Karāṇmai and Mīyātcī rights given by the king. Hence they were not only occupants but had also cultivating rights. The document is not explicit but such grants are usually relieved of the obligation of land taxes due to the king or charged concessional rates.

This is clear indication of how a township comes into being. Even if the grantee be a single individual he acted for a group of recipients who had all shares in the grant-village. The shares need not denote that they were divided by metes and bounds but the rights of the individual grantee to the shares of the produce from the assigned extent of land was vouched for. The eldest members of the family had shared the lands or the produce with the copartners in the direct and collateral time. Also the fifty Brahmins inducted could have been of various *gotras* ; otherwise social needs and obligations could not be fulfilled.

The inference is also plausible that a village granted had consisted of house sites the wet lands depending on an irrigation source and the dry lands for grazing or for cultivation. Every one of the share holders of the occupancy had parcels of the three types of land.

The occupants were learned Brahmins. Even the composer of the *Praśasti* was a *Sarvakṛtuyāji* (a Brahmin competent to do all sacrifices). The occasion for the original grant was also a sacrifice performed either by the Brāhmana or the king or for his merit. The learned Brāhmins (Kēlvi andanar⁴) were those who did not deviate from the path set in the Vedic Scriptures (*Śrutimārgam piḷaiyāda*). The community of occupants should have been homogeneous but they had doubtless men of other castes till the soil and do various other services. The Hindu society in the traditional community way of life and organisation had become well established. The Pāṇḍyan songs fostered it.

The formation of the *Kūṛram* and the *Nāḍu* (territorialisation) had already been established.

The inferences drawn above are confirmed by the Srivaramaṅgalam plates also ascribed to Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjaḍaiyan. It was granted in his 17th year (AD 773). The grantee was one Sujjāta Bhaṭṭar, well versed in the Śāstras who was the son of a Brahmin, Sihumisra, of Bhārgava gotra, Āśvalādēvara Śūtra (a Rig Vēdin) who was very much appreciated by Vidyādēvatā, belonging to Sabdāli village in Magadha. The grant village

was Vēlaṅguḍi in Tenkaḷavali nāḍu (in Sivagaṅga Taluk). It was granted as Brahmaḍēya with both occupancy and cultivating rights (*Kārāṅṁmaiṁyāṭci*) It was Sarva Parihāra, rid of all the kings dues.

The boundaries show that to its east were Nilaiḱāṅṁmaṅgalam and Iḷandiyāṅkuḍi. To its south were Perumārrūr and Kaḷḷikuḍi. To its west were Kadambaṅguḍi and Kuraṅguḍi and to its north was Kārāḷavayal. The order was executed by the general in charge of the elephant force, Saṅgan Śrīdharan of Koḷuvūr in Koḷuvūr Kūrṅam (Tiruppattūr in Rāmanāthapuram District). The *Āgṅāpti* was the *Mahāsāmanta* well versed in instrumental and vocal music a scion of the Vaidyakula in Kaḷandai (Kaḷakkuḍi) Vīramangalaḷpēraṣan Dhīratara Mūrti Eyinan⁵.

The fact that both *Kārāṅṁmai* and *Mīyāṭci* were granted would suggest that there were still lands available in south Śivagaṅga areas abutting the Vaigai river for occupation. There appears to be clear distinction between civil and military functions of officials. Village formation with boundaries clearly demarcated and the *Kūrṅam* formation had been already coming into vogue.

The smaller Śinnamanūr plates also ascribed to Pāṅḍya Neduṅḷeliyan granted a village as *Sarvaparīhāra*. But it is stipulated that 85 kalams were granted as *Puraṅkāval*. The import of this stipulation is not clear. Perhaps even if the grant was exempt of all taxes a very for watch and ward service for the *Puravu* (command) in kind was payable from the harvest yield⁶. The *Āṅṅāṭti* (*āgṅāpti*) executor was Talaiyan Śiṅgan of Kuṅḍūr in Kuṅḍūr kūrṅam in Aṅḍanāḍu which could be located in the central part of Paḷani Taluk.

The Daḷavāipuram plates of Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṅa (AD 905) register a grant made by the king while he was camping at Kaḷakkuḍi (Uḱkirankōṭṭai). This was also a regrant⁷. It had a history similar to the grant registered in Veḷvikkūḍi grant.

Tirumaṅgalam a Brahmaḍēya in Āśinadu which was earlier occupied by cultivating tenants but had to be reclaimed was granted with both the *Kārāṅṁmai* and *Mīyāṭci* rights to 12 Brahmins. Like wise Somāsikkuṛicci was granted to Kāṭakasōmayāji as Ēkabhōga. The grant deeds were lost. A Chieftain Kadattirukkai kiḷavan demarcated an area of cultvable land for himself the remaining part was granted as occupancy lands to Śūdra agriculturists and named Maduradaranallūr.

A Brahmin of Tirumaṅgalam an *agrāhāra* of Āśinadu and an official in charge of Śomāsikkuṛicci Nārāyaṅan Kēśavan requested the king to resume the lands in Maduradaranallūr and Somāsikuricci and regrant them along with the other lands as

the lands of the two villages were not divided by metes and bounds within specified boundaries, but were interdispersed. The supplicant belonged to *Vāna Gotra*, *Baudhāyana* kalpa, the son of *Māyanārāyaṇa* bhattar. He was well versed in *ṣatriya dharma*, and was an official under the Pāṇḍyan ruler.

The *Āgñapti* was Ilaiyanakkan alias Aññūruvan of Pullūr in Vaikuṇṭha Vaḷanāḍu could be located near Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi in the Nambiyār belt. The *Madhyastā* of the village (*naḍuvunilai nāyakar*) was Sēndan Kilavan of Perunduvelli in Veṅbunāḍu. This nāḍu was located in Aruppukkōṭṭai Taluk. The Accountants were Śāttan Bhattārakan, a Tamil poet of Muṣukuriḱci in Aḷarunāḍu (Mudukuḷattūr Taluk) and another from Peruṅgākkūr (near Kaḷattirukkai⁸).

The boundaries of the two clubbed village granted by the deed were shown by the *Nāṭṭār* of Āsināḍu and the *Nāṭṭār* of Neṟcuranāḍu. The grant village could be located in between Kayattār and Kaḷugumalai in Kōilpatti Taluk. The boundary stones were planted and the area so demarcated was granted to the Sabhaiyar of Tirumaṅgalam and the Brahmins of Sōmāśikuṟiḱci.

Thereafter the Brahmin Ācārya of *Cāndilya gōtra*, *Kātyāyana śūtra* of Śrīvallabha maṅgalam Śrīmāḍavan Caraṇaśēkharan son of the daughter of Tiruvaḍi Śōmayāji who was descendant of Ganasvāmi Bhatta as the principal grantee on behalf of the Mahāsabhā granted to the *Praśasti* writers a plot of wet land with 2 wells on the same terms on which the grant was made to the Mahāsabhaiyār (ie, the Brahmin occupants forming the assembly). Two plots of land with 3 wells were granted to those who drafted the grant deed and the engraver of the copper plates (Iṟaiyili) free from taxes together with house sites, garden land and half of the miscellaneous revenue (?) and the Mahāsabhā gave an endorsement to that effect.

This document is important. The location of the grant village was in a dry belt in between Kayattāru and Kaḷugumalai. Hence the importance of wells to harness sub-soil water for undertaking wet cultivation. More importantly the grant dispels the idea that early Brahmin settlements were only located in the riverine belts, though the density of such settlements was distinctly more therein.

The structure of the *Nāḍu* and of the *Brahmadēya* is well brought out. Already a general body of the Brahmin occupants, the accountant and the Madhyasta the registrar of the *Sabhā* were in position. Clubbing villages of the earlier grants,

particularly when they were not in a continuous geographical area or were interspersed, the boundaries of the villages cutting across each other was resorted to to streamline the village holdings and so read. The Brahmin grantees in turn, were free to make over parcels of lands from within to other beneficiaries on the same terms or such other terms explicitly stated but this could be done only with the approval and authentication of the Mahāsabhā. This collective responsibility of the village expressed through this mode of functioning had become established already in the 9th and early 10th century or even earlier.

The changing fortunes of the grant village would indicate the rather strenuous effort involved in cultivating the lands and their lapse from their favourable tenure to the state of agriculturist holdings of cultivators. But the resumption of these rights and vesting the *Kārānmai* and *Mīyāṭchi* with the Brahmin grantees would have implied the right for the latter to vary the land-dues and to claim a stipulated share than those in vogue earlier in lieu of *Mīyāṭchi* rights. The social tension that could have been caused was more than softened by the kings' wrath, and his officers designated to implement the grant and the participation of the inhabitants (the *Nāṭṭār*) in demarcating the boundaries. It also vouched for the public knowledge of the grant and the community obligation to enforce and protect it.

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The grant of Rājasimhā in the 16th year (AD 921-2) (Sinnamanūr larger plates) was made when he was camping at Cuḷal in the command area of Rājaśiṅga Perunḷuḷam. The grant village was Naṛceikaiputtūr renamed as Mantragauravamāṅgalam in Aḷa nāḍu (ie., in Periyakuḷam - Uttamaḷayam Taluk) The eastern boundary of the grant village cited as Śuruḷiyār confirms it. The Aḷanāṭṭār showed the boundaries. The grantee hailed from Vadakaḷavaḷi nāḍu as his ancestors of Komara-Seṅguḍi, Kausika gōtra. Āgnivēśya kalpa (the science of medicine)⁹ were settled in Puttūr (Tiruppattūr) on the upper Kuṇḍār in Koḷuvūr kūṛram. The grantee was Parāntakan son of Śrēṣṭi and grandson of Bhāskara the vedic scholar. This was granted on the request of Saḍaiya pirān Bhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of Pullamaṅgalam in Cōḷanāḍu. The *Āgñāpti* was Kūṛrankōn of Vēmbattūr of Kaḷavaḷināḍu (Sivagaṅga Taluk). The watch and ward (*Kuḍikāval nāyakaṁ*) was Kurakkumān of Kīḷvēmbunāḍu (Tirunelvēli), a minister of the king perhaps he led the elephant for circumambulation. The accountants were Nakkankōḍan of Śevvūr in Tirukkāṇappēr kūṛram, Padaraṅjōlai of in Kūṛram Kōn in of Peruṅgākūr in Kaḷattirukkai (division).

Parāntaka the grantees father Bhaskara Śreṣṭi top foremost of the “Ambālvās” had received a grant, of a village in Maṇiyācci¹⁰ in Vaḍakaḷavali nāḍu renamed as Tiśaiccuḍarmaṅgalam from Parāntakā Vīranārāyaṇan, Rājasimha’s father.

This grant brings out the mobility of the Brahmin families in the early decades of the 10th century. Also the geographical spread of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom is evident. The officials entrusted with the implementation of the grant were drawn from Sivagaṅga Taluk, Tirunelvēli, Sevvūr near Kālaiyārkōil, Thaṅjāvūr in Aṅtāṅgi Taluk. The grant village itself was in Periyakuḷam Uttamaḷayam Taluk in the Suruḷiar belt. Was this migration of a Brahmin apothecary family from Tiruppattūr to the Suruḷiār belt an indication of the desire to seek greener pastures with the more assured irrigation from Śuruḷiyār or the felt need for the professional service in the new area ? The supplicant hailed from the Cōḷa country rather unusually.

The last copper plate the grant of Vīrapāṇḍya in his 3rd year (AD 949) may be noticed next. This was a grant of 3 Vēli double crop wetland in Vāḷaikkōḍu which was situated in Nalapuram-koppam in Mēlavēmbunāḍu. In addition 10 mā. of house sites in Murukūr were granted renamed as Sāsanamaṅgalam as Ēkabhōga Brahmaḍēya sequestering it from the village account and including it in the demand of the Nāḍu. The grant was of both *Kārāṅmai* and *Mīyāṭchi*. The grantee was a Brahmin Vāsudēva Pītāmbara Bhaṭṭar son of Gōvindasvami Bhaṭṭar whom the king had asked to compose some verses in Sanskrit. The grantee composed them in *anuṣṭub* metre and the king was pleased and granted the land. But a land demand of 14 *Īḷakkāsu* was levied on the land. Hence though a Brahmaḍēya, it had still to pay a land demand. The king himself was in Sellūr alias Vīrapāṇḍya-puram in Aṅḍanāḍu (Paḷani Taluk). The grant land was in Tirunelvēli Taluk. The officials were from Raṅasiṅgamaṅgalam from Madurai and from Sennilakkuḍi in Tirupparuttikkūḍi nāḍu (Aruppukkōṭṭai Taluk). The revenue officials (Puravuvāri)¹¹ were from Narriṅrākkūḍi in Purattāya nāḍu (Rādhāpuram Taluk, Tirunelvēli District) and another from Śīrusēvūr in Tirukkāṅappēr kūṅṅam and two others. The grantee himself bailed from Mullināḍu near Śērmādēvi of Ratidara gotra, Āśvalāyana sutra. The location of the land in Mēlvēmbunāḍu, near his native nāḍu is explicable.

Here again the native of officials indicate how they were drawn from diverse parts of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The grant was personal in appreciation of the verses

composed by the grantee and hence perhaps a concessional land demand was stipulated. The house site (10 *mā* of long waste) should have comprised garden lands appurtenances besides the 3 *vēli* of wetland on the northern bank of Tāmbraparaṇi river. To maintain the integrity of the grant village it was constituted into a separate entity.

The evidence from these copper plates can be summed up. Already in an earlier era grants for sacrifices and to Brahmin had been common. Their enjoyment was intercepted by the Kalabhra rule, (the rulers being of Jaina persuasion as is now established). When the Pāndyas re-asserted themselves in the 8th century AD those dispossessed preferred their claims and the two villages (Vēlvikkūḍi and Sōmāśikuṛicci) were regrants. The grantees were capable of performing various sacrifices and were well versed in *śruti* and the *Vēdas*.

The grantees were given both the *Kārāṇmai* and *Mīyāṭchi* rights the impact of which has been interpreted above to convey the grantees right to vary the rates of yield share due and not dispossession of the cultivating tenants. Lands granted had also carried with them a proportionate share of the dry lands and miscellaneous revenue (like fisheries, usufruct of trees etc). The lands were not necessarily divided by metes and bound but the shares in the yield were distinctly stipulated unoccupied lands were still available especially those which had relapsed into arable waste in dry rain fed belts.

Though the grants were termed Sarvaparihāra land dues at concessional rates were levied as for watch and ward services, but with rights to alienate by gift or sale of their property. A grant to an individual had potential for creating a community of holdings with a discretionary homogeneity often cemented by kinship.

The grantees were seen to be mobile. One came from Magadha (?) and another migrated from Tiruppattūr to Sinnamanūr in the Śūruliāru belt across the modern Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai districts. The stable wet cultivation and perhaps higher yield could have been the attractions.

The territorial division of the *Nāḍus* and the *Kūrram* had become established. The *Nāṭṭār* as a collective body of resident occupants had a responsibility to demarcate the boundaries of the grant villages and plant prickly pear and stones and to implement the royal orders and admit the grantees to possession.

The royal officers entrusted with the execution of the grant were apparently designated from case to case. A considerable number of officers hailed from Kalakkudi (Ukkirankōṭṭai), Koluvūr and places as Palani Taluk and Mudukulattūr and Tirunelveli Taluks. There was no distinction apparently between officers designated for civil and military functions and they were interchangeable. The role of the court and its officials and of the *Nāṭṭār* or the *Sabhās* explicitly and how they interacted among themselves and also explicitly brought out.

The copper plates reveal how the township organisation had been structured and had their functioning officials like the Madhyasthan and the accountants. The Township organisation had already become well established and not only its composition but its activities can also be discerned from this evidence. This must have been undoubtedly the result of long usage and set procedures already evolved over time.

FOOT NOTES :

1. E I VOL. XVII p. 295 ff.
2. The term *Kīlān* means a leading personage with influence learning or authority (vide *īḍu* 6, 3, 7)
3. Dr. Krishna Sastri identifies him as the *āgñāpti* of the Madras Museum (Śrīvaramaṅalam) Plates : Dhirataran Mūrti-Eyinan and suggests that he could be the younger brother of Māraṅkāri who figures in the Ānaimalai inscription of Māraṅajāḍaiyan (E.I. XVII, p. 296).
4. *Kēlvi* is the Tamil rendering of śruti and cannot refer to the official (Tiruvāykēlvi) occurring in later inscriptions. The Sanskrit version explicit.
5. Ten copper plates of the Pāṇḍyas pp 60-61.
6. SII Vol. III 206
7. Ten Pāṇḍyan copper plates (pp 83-140)
8. Could it be Kākkūr in Sivagaṅga Taluk ?
9. Sinnamanūr Larger plates SII Vol. III 206.
10. This is not identified with Maniyācci as stated at p 444 Ibid. It was in Vadakaḷavaḷi and hence should be located in Tirupattūr Taluk (Ramnād Dt.) The family itself had settled in Tirupattūr. The grantee Parāntaka took his name from his benefactor, the ruler.
11. The Term "Puravuvari" should be interpreted as the Revenue Official maintaining accounts of occupied holdings (Puravu and land demand accounts. It does not mean officers maintaining accounts of village which were paying other demands on exemption of the king's land demand (p 182 Pāṇḍyan Copper plates Ten) In the instance case, a land demand was stipulated.

CHAPTER II

SECTION 3

EARLY PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

The evidence adduced above throws light on the formation of the *nāḍus* and of the townships and their functioning in early Pāṇḍyan times.

The inscriptional evidence yield further date on some of the promotional activities both collectively of the *Nāṭṭār* and severally by the kings officials and noble personages besides individuals. These activities resulted in the reclamation of land construction of tanks or sources of irrigation and community amenities like the construction of temples or shrines or an *ambalam* (meeting places) or of a water-shed or a flower garden and latterly of a *matha*.

The account that follows also indicates the location and spread of settlements. To maintain the geographical integrity and the significance of the local, especially to suggest its local colouring the evidence is presented tractwise such as the Tāmraparaṇi basin, the Vaigai basin and the trans-Vaigai basin. Also the wealth of details they yield vividly bring out the community activity and the personages, who fostered it.

There is reason to presume that the river-fed and channel-fed lands irrigateable by gravity flow were already getting developed. The very existence of the *Brahmadēyas*, the *Ūrs* and the *Nagarās* noticed above will substantiate this. But the farther development of areas on the high level or dry belts witnessed during the period was the result of the activity of the *Sabhā*, the *Ūr*, and the *Nagarā* and in other cases, the *Nāṭṭār*. They were indeed the main agencies responsible for giving an impetus to this activity.

The *Sabhā* had received deposits of cash for lamp and other services¹. They could invest it or lend it to others in need of capital for investing on land reclamation or construction of tank or other public utilities. The townships also sold lands to the benefactors who desired to institute services². The *Sabhaiyār* and their committee-members supervised the services to be rendered by others who undertook to perform them such as the temple priests, or those incharge of the sanctum sanctorum (*aganāḷigaiyāssr*)³.

Above all, the *Sabhaiyār* were intent on reclaiming the lands and extend irrigation. For this purpose they sold the lands by them. The lands could have been dead assests,

even burdensome, if the *Sabhaiyār* had to pay land demand on the surrendered or escheated lands or cultivable waste vested with them. Hence they assiduously turned such lands into cultivable occupied holdings that could yield revenue. The *Sabhaiyār*s were thus relieved of their obligations they would otherwise have to collectively bear¹.

In the 4th year of *Mārañjadaiyan* the *Mahāsabhaiyār* of *Vaikuṇṭa Vaḷanāḍu* (in *Nāṭṭāruppōkku*) sold land to a Brahmin official (?) from *Malaināḍu*. The land was in the command area of *Vāsudēvanēri*. It was a collective holdings of the *Sabhā* (*Sabhaiḥodu*)⁵. But the parcel was surrounded by occupied holdings of *Tiruvaḍi Sōmāsiyār* and his group (*Aṭṭakam* Co-parceners?) to the east; to the south *Kāttukkuri Śēndasvāmi Kramavittan Sōmayājijyār* had excavated a tank *Araikulam* and its bund was the boundary of the parcel. To the west too *Vāmadēva Bhatta* and his group had their holdings. To the north was a pathway running east-west. The land sold had the right to get water from the tank, *Vāsudēvanēri* along with the other contiguous plots in the block (*Kūru*)

A second parcel $11/160$ *mā* and a third parcel which was also in the common holdings of the *Sabhā* $1/80$ *mā* in extent in all $5\frac{1}{4}$ *mā* were sold to the benefactor who instituted a lamp service. The third plot too had occupied holdings to its east and south and to its west the bund of the *Nakkanēri* tank and to its north was the highway. The cash deposit made by the benefactor 120 *Kalañju* with the temple for food offerings was interest there of being adequate for defraying the land dues. This is assigned on palaeographical considerations to the reign of *Varaṅga I* (AD 769).

The lands sold were in the common holdings of the *Sabhā*, who bore the obligations receiving the capitalised amount and turned the lands into occupied holdings. The dead capital asset which was a burden to them was turned into a revenue-yielding asset. It is significant that the plots were small $3\frac{5}{16}$, $11/160$, $1/80$, *mā* respectively; but they were surrounded by occupied holdings. Hence they could have vested in the *Sabhā* on account of default or desertion of the erstwhile holders or on eschet.

The price worked out to about 23 *Kalañju* per *mā* (of 33 cents) rather high but the capitalised amount for defraying the land-dues should accounts for a larger portion of the amount.

Land was also reclaimed to the west of *Ambāsamudram* in the 11th year *Śadaiyan Māran*. A block of waste land lay there as *puṟru* and *teṟri* (ant hills and high mounds) *Ariyān-anukkan* (the kings guard or personal staff member) *Pūvan Paraiyan* purchased

it from the Sabhaiyār of Ilaṅgōikkudi. He reclaimed the lands and excavated a tank and with the water conserved in the tank he undertook to cultivate paddy, and measure 1 *Kalam Tūṇi* paddy per mā as Kiḍaippuram for tending cattle. The lands were on a higher level and hence he also endowed a person to bale out water and this was entrusted to the committee members of the Sabhā who were supervising the reclamation of Land in that part of the township. The reclaimed plot was named after the benefactor who also gave a cow and a calf⁶. The rate stipulated 1 *Kalam / Tūṇi* per mā was rather low compared to the levies in other river-fed lands perhaps it was. This could speak for the lesser yield in a high level newly reclaimed land. Lift irrigation could also have led to lowering of the margin of the net yield.

The deposit of cash endowed by a donor to the Manōmayēśvara temple at Vijayanārāyaṇa Cm was invested on 6 mā of land. The Mahāsabhā met on a solar eclipse day in the temple itself⁷. (19th year of Śaḍaiyan Māran)

A chief Devan Śōlai of Mudunilam Kuḷattūr in Aḷarunāḍu (Mudukuḷattūr Taluk) purchased a waste land- Mudunilam) from the Sabhaiyār of Śaḍaṅkavikurucci and reclaimed it and endowed it to the temple at Āttūr⁸ (Srivaikuntam Taluk)

A benefaction Pūdaṅguḍiyān Nattamaṅgalam had helped redeem the lands endowed for the deity at Peruṅguḷam and the temple establishment and had rendered other services to the deity. The original endowed lands had been resumed time earlier and assessed to revenue. In grateful recompense the Śattapperumakkaḷ (the Brahmin land holders?) Aganāḷigaiyār, (the temple servants in charge) Patiyār, the other residents, and the pañcācārvar (Śivabrāhmaṇas who performed Pūjās in the temple) of Tiruvaludīśvaram met and gave two shares equal in extent to their own to the benefactor and his progeny⁹. The temple accountant authenticated the gift.

The Mahāsabhā in Brahmādēya villages had not only a committees of the Mahāsabhā. These are set out in an inscription at Mānūr (near Kaḷakkuḍi) dated in the 35th year 469th day of Māraṅjaḍaiyan (Varaṅṅa I)¹⁰ Mānūr tank was fed by Chittār river and was a prosperous township. This is the earliest record of the constitution of the Mahāsabhā and its committees found in an inscription of AD 800-1. It is significant enough to be given in full with some modifications in the light of the interpretation adopted here¹¹.

The Mahasabhaiyār of Mānanilainallūr of Kaḷakkuḍi nāḍu having proclaimed a meeting met in Śrī Govardhana and made the following settlement or resolution for the members of the Mahāsabhā to adjudicate and decide issues. Among the share-

holders of this township when any one sits in adjudication he shall be one who had qualified in the Mantra and Brahman including one Dharmam and of good conduct. Only one representative for one share shall participate in the adjudication (committee). Among those who had got shares in exchange or by dowry also only those shall adjudicate who are qualified in Mantra and Brahmana including one Dharma and are of good conduct. In future those who acquire the franchise¹² (*Śrāvaṇai*) the Brahmin occupants with attainment in full in one Vēda, by purchase or exchange or dowry if they have only $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ or *Śrāvaṇai* and not in full, shall not get inducted or empowered to decide or express the verdict (of the *Mahāsabhā*). Among those who have purchased a share of land only those who are qualified and tested in one Vēda in all aspects together with the *pariśiṣṭa* (a class of works supplementary to the *Sūtras*)¹³ shall be entrusted with the franchise (*Śrāvaṇai*) If, however, any one has acquired franchise not in terms of this decision he shall still be eligible to sit in adjudication only in terms of this decision. In terms of this decision, those without the full franchise shall not be eligible to be elevated to any kind of *vāriyam* (committee of the *Mahāsabhā*) Those who conform to these terms shall not be hindered by others saying no¹⁴. Those who hinder or abet the hinderers shall be liable to pay a fine severally, of *kāśu* and even thereafter, the terms of this shall be strictly implemented. The *Mahāsabhāiyār* arrived at a decision in these terms (By order of the *Mahāsabhā*)

This inscription is the earliest available evidence of a *Sabhā* the organised form of collective responsibility exercised by the constituents of a *Brahmadēya*. The *Mahāsabhā* had all those who had property and educational qualifications and also were of good conduct. But if any one them wished to serve in a committee then the qualifications were made even more stringent and more so for the committee for adjudicating affairs in the Township. If the *Brahmadēya* was a closed society the qualifications prescribed make it even more exclusive and rigorous. Possibly, the regulations were intended to prevent the dilution of the constituents of the *Mahāsabhā* due to sale or exchange or other means of acquisition. It was essentially a landed and learned aristocracy trying to shun those with lesser entitlements from becoming full and equal members in the Committees exercising the authority to function for and on behalf of *Mahāsabhā*. The effect of this decision should have been to narrow the members eligible to conduct the affairs of the *Mahāsabhā* and not to broaden it¹⁵.

It goes without saying that the *Mahāsabhā* was entirely a body of Brahmin land owners. The people of other communities did live in the hamlets and had participation

in the agricultural and economic activity of the community they, however, had no voice in administering the affairs of the Brahmin township much less could they participate in its executive committees. The Mahāsabhā and its committees were institutions of a qualitative character with a high premium on property, learning and good conduct and it could not be thrown open to any with lesser merit.

However, those others had their own for in which they conducted the community affairs and had functions in relation to their townships similar to those of the Mahāsabhā in a Brahmādēya.

In AD 809 Irambāṭṭu vēḷān of Karaikkāna nāḍu raised a watershed in the name of Rāsākkar of Kottāru in the Nāttar-river-fed Perumpalañji. The water suppliers were provided for by endowing lands fed by the Vēḷvi kumuḷi (sluice) of Peruṅḷam of that township. 3 mā of land (in 5 parcels) were purchased from the Ūrār but the Brahmin leaders of Perumpalañji were to ensure the payment land-dues and arrange for rendering) free the services fastended on the lands. Rāsākkar was were to maintain and renew the watershed. The benefactor also dug a well for water to be taken to the watershed.

He also set up another watershed called Munnūruvar with a lamp and sheep to feed the lamp with ghee. Another purchase of land from the Ūrār of Perumpalañji for the maintenance of the keeper of the watershed and supplying water was made in the area cut of Idaikulam fed by the Mulaivoy-sluice consisting of 3 parcels, 2 mā in extent. The Kōilpillaiḡaḡ Munnūruvar (were they attached to the palace as chiefs) were to maintain and renew the shed and maintain it The chiefs of the Nāḍu who were in control of the Nāḍu were to protect he charity.¹⁶

This is an instance of purchase of land from the Ūrār. Here too the lands were in small parcels. The Ūrār also stood surety for the sheep endowed for the lamp to be lit in the watershed. The Nāttār, the Ūrār and Sabhaiyār were all involved in ensuring the maintenance of the watershed which were to be supervised by the kings chiefs or officers (?). The above instance are from Brahmādēya and the Ūr townships.

Ukkirankōṭṭai was an ancient fortified capital, variously called Kaḷakkuḍi,

Karavandapuram from which several ministers and officials of the waly Pāṇḍya rulers hailed. It was an important Nagara a mercantile city. The circumambulatory verandah of the shrine of Durga (VaḍaVāyil amman) at Kaḷakkudi was erected by Inban Devaṇachetti a member of Ayyapolil Aññuṟuvar, the mercantile guild which had far flung colonies in the whole of Dccan and the south and even in the countries across the seas in the far east.¹⁷ These was an Ambalam called Nagarattān erected in the name of Nagarattār by Tennavan Pallavādiaraiyan who was Mahānāyaka of Kaḷakkudi in Rajasingappērangāḍi (a mercantile settlement) The Nagarattār and soldiers of the rampart were to gether to ensure the maintenance of the ambalam. The benefactor also provided for cleaning the flooring with cowdung by a deposit of 10 Īlakkāśu which was to yield 5 *nāḷi* of paddy as interest to be given to the sweeper daily. He added 2 more *kāśu* for a potter to provide lamps and pots (?).¹⁸

In the 15th year of Śaḍaiyan Māraṇ (Rājasimha III) the wife of Tennavan Pallavādiaraiyan (Māraṇ Śūran) gave 500 sheep for a lamp to the Sūrya temple at the eastern entrance of the Nagarattār and the soldiers of the rampart¹⁹.

Here then in the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas a prosperous mercantile community had its settlement and was attending to its civic affairs.

A few Vatteḷuttu inscriptions (undated) in the Maṇḍapa in the third prakāra of the Tirunelvēli temple record the gift of pillars of Adigaḷ Araṅgan and Araṅga Muttan of Kaḷakkudi²⁰.

From the 8th century onwards if not earlier the rock-cut shrines for the Hindu pantheon have been excavated either at the behest of the king or on their own by the high officials of the court.

The rock cut temple of Mahādēva of Kalayaḍikuṟicci (Śaṅkarankōil Taluk) was caused top be carved by Pāṇḍimaṅgalavādirāśan Ēran, the noble man (kiḷān) from Śēvūr under orders of the king Māraṅcēndan in his 17th regnal year. Cēnden had assigned to the 7th century²¹.

In AD 770 in Kārtika (November-December month) a rich agrahāra Naraśingam near Ānaimalai 6 miles east of Madurai was given away by Madhurakavi the wise minister of the Pāṇḍya Parāntaka (Varaḡuṇa I). The minister was an illustrious member

of the Vaidya family and a resident of Karavaṇḍapuram (Kaḷakkuḍi in Tirunelvēli Dt.) His name as given in the Tamil Inscription was Mūvendramaṅgalappēraraiyan Mārankāri. He died even before the temple could be consecrated. Thereafter his younger brother Pāṇḍimangala viśairaiyan Māraṅ Eyinan who also succeeded his brother as Uttaramantri added a Mukhamaṇḍapa in front and consecrated the temple²².

Three years later (AD 773-774) in the month of Thaiṣa (December-January) a Mahāsāmanta under king Māraṅjadaiyan Varaguṇa-I, also a Vaidya from Karavaṇḍapuram Pāṇḍi Amirdamaṅgalavaraiyan, Śāttan Gaṇapati excavated a tank and made some endowments at Tirupparankunram. His wife Nakkankorri scooped shrines for Durga and Jēṣṭa.

It may be appropriate to sum up the history of the fortified city of Karavaṇḍapuram, which was the native place of distinguished royal servants from the time of Varaguṇa I who claims to have built a fort and beautified this city.²³ In AD 918 in the reign of Śadaiyan Māraṅ (Rajasimha III) the Mahānāyaka of Kaḷakkuḍi Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan (whose life had hailed from Kunnūr in Karuṇilakkuḍi nāḍu) had caused a mercantile colony to be set up in front of the main victories gate of the fortified township. The colony was named after the ruler Rāśingappēruṅguḍi. In the of the Nagarattār (the mercantile body) he erected a common hall (ambalam) and named it after them as Nagarattār. He provided for a perpetual lamp and gave 100 sheep (by the three niyāyam, the meaning of which is unclear). This was undertaken by the commander in charge of the forces of the village, Nakkan Munnūrruvan. He had a survey in another Commander, Veṅṟavāypēṣi. This service was to be ensured by the Nagarattār and the madil-śēvagās the soldiers guarding the rampart walls. Provision was made for cleaning, sweeping and mopping and the same donor gave 10 ḷakkāśu. This capital (Kaḷaṅju) was to stand permanent and as interest per day 5 nāli of paddy was to be given to cleaner²⁴. The Nagarattār added 2 kasu to cover an additional service and entrusted it to one potter (Veḷkōvan) and 3 shepherds (Kōn) so that they might attend to this work on hereditary basis. The order of the Nāyakan Tamilapallavadaraiyan was reduced to writing by Arasiyamānikkan.

In AD 922 the wife of Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan, Tudarūri gave 50 sheep for a lamp in the shrine of the Sun God at its eastern gate of the fort.

A third inscription refers to a circumambulatory (Verandah) to the shrine of the goddess Vaḍavāyil amarndāl (Durga) at Kaḷakkuḍi erected by Inban Dēvanacetti, a member of the Ayyapolil Aññuruvar.

In the 15th year have been made from the month of Kārtikai for some special

offerings to this Durga on the northern gate, Karavandapuram is said to be in Pāṇḍi mārtaṇḍa vaḷanāḍu.

It is significant that the shrines for the Sun god and Durga were located as specified in the Āgamās and Kautilyaś Arthasastra as they are the guardian deities at the different directions. Also Durga was the patron deity of the Nagara community of Ayyapolil Aññurruvan.

There were also other temples and townships as in Kurrālam, Ambāsamudram, Tirunelvēli, Peruṅguḷam, Tiruccendūr, Tirukkuṅguḍi, Dalapati Samudram, Vijaya nārāyaṇam (Tirunelvēli District), Tiruppattūr, Pallimadam (Rāmanāthapuram District) and Sinnamanūr, Tēnur, beside Madurai. These temples were rising increasingly in importance and were provided for both by the royal grants and by the Township organisations besides individuals and their families.

Two cash grants both made in the reign of Varaguṇa Maharaja II, one to the deity Tiruppōttuḍaiya nāyanār at Ambāsamudram and another Subrahmaṇya at Tiruccendūr need to be considered in depth. The first is dated in the 16th year (AD 878) the second falls in the latter part of the reign (. + 3)

Varaguṇa II from his camp at Araisūr on the banks of Penṇāru granted to Tiruppōttuḍaiya nāyanār temple at Iḷaṅgōykuḍi (Ambāsamudram) 290 kāśu which were entrusted to the Sabhaiyār of Iḷaṅgōykuḍi²⁵. The interest yield of one kāśu was 2 *kalams* paddy per year. The total interest yield was hence 580 *kalams*. The Vāriyar, the committee membes of the *Sabhā* were to personally superintend the services to be conducted, and food offering to be made to the deity. The latter comprised rice 4 *nāḷi*, boiled or seamed green gram, (*uri*) ghee, curd, plantains⁴, gur, curry, tamarind curry 2, steamed curry 1, and fried curry 1 in all 5. betel and nuts rounded off the offerings. They would indicate a rather high fat content and starchy content of the food offerings.

The paddy outlay on the differrnt items to be produced and the rate per unit are given in the table below :

ITEM	KALAM PADDY PER YEAR	PRICE ITEM NĀLI / PADDY	REMARKS
Red rice (polished)	192 Kalam ²⁶		Paddy to rice recovery rate 3 : 1 being polished (The ratio of ghee to curd 1 : 10)
Green gram	24 Kalam	PER Nāli : PADDY	
ghee	180 Kalam	1 : 3	
curd	48 Kalam	1 : 3	
Plantain	32 Kalam	2 per nāli	
Gur	24 Kalam	Palam 1 : nāli uri	
Vegetable Curry	16 Kalam	Palam 10 : 1 nāli	
Condiments 27	19.3 Kalam	uḷakku = 6 nāli	
Betel	16 Kalam	1 parru + 2 nāli	
Nuts	28 Kalam	20 nuts = 3 nāli uri 1	
	12 Kuruni	nāli - 2 nāli	

The Tiruccendūr inscription records²⁸ the grant of 1400 *kāśu* (here specified as *Paḷankāśu* of undiminished weight) The rate of interest yield in paddy is the same as in Ambāsamudram i.e., 2 *kalam*s per 1 *Paḷankāśu*.

The able editor of the inscription has tabulate²⁹ the township organisations among whom the kings deposit of *kāśu* were distributed. They were spread over Kuḍanāḍu. (7 Townships) Vaḷudi Vaḷanāḍu (4) Srivallabha Vaḷanāḍu (1) Parantaka Vaḷanāḍu (3) and Amitagaṇa Vaḷanāḍu (1) in all 16 of the 4 were *Ūrārs*, *Nagarattār* and the remaining 11 were *Sabhaiyārs*. The items to be supplied are listed together with the quantities equal to the paddy yield by way of interest on the amount of cash vested with them. The rate of fine enforced for default coupled with the condition to supply double the quantity in default was also stipulated the rate of fine varied from a maximum of 50 *kāśu* to 5 *kāśu* at the minimum stepping down to 25, 12½ in between varying according to the quantum of the capital vested with every one them. The items to be supplied by every one of these organisations are also given with the quantities.

A few points of interest emerge from an intensive analysis of the contents of this epigraph. The exchange value for 1 *kāśu* in terms of paddy is 10 *kalams*. Thus the interest rate works out to 20%.* The prices per unit of the commodities are also given some of these items are common with those recorded in the Ambāsamudram inscription and their comparison is very fascinating. The table below sets out the price unit of such comparable items.

It will be seen that several items pulses, ghee, condiments, betel and nuts were cheaper in Tiruccendūr at the time of the grant than the corresponding prices at Ambāsamudram in the 16th year of the reign. Only plantain and vegetable were phenomenally expensive.

The learned editor in *Epigraphia Indica* attributes this to the difference in time between the two records, he presumes the difference in locality (as the two being not far removed from each other) could not be a contributory factor.

Ambāsamudram located in the head reaches of the Tāmbraparaṇi river command could have had greater proximity for sources of supply for plantains and vegetables. But these items had to be brought from the Tāmbraparaṇi-fed lands near Nallūr in Kuḍanāḍu. The stretch from the tail end of the Tāmbraparaṇi basin to Tiruccendūr is sandy and the means of transport drawn by draught bulls should have found it difficult to negotiate the stretch of sandy coast, especially in the summer months from February to June. Two important festivals out of three when twice the supplies had to be made fall in this season. The items were also perishables and wastage and loss could have entailed in transit and storage. Usually in inscriptions the wastage and loss in transit were to the account of the suppliers who had to deliver the commodities at the temple court-yard, if later phraseology could be stretched to this period. These could be more valid reasons to explain the variations. The price differential could be attributed to the place besides time utility for the consumable and perishable items.

The general level of prices at the time of Ambāsamudram grant for pulses, cereals, ghee and curds and betel and nuts was distinctly higher. Possibly, the Pāṇḍya-Cōla war could have been a contributory factor. For the grant itself was made from Araiśūr, on the banks of the Peṇṇāru where the king had his military camp. Another reason could be at least, condiments like pepper, arecanut etc. could reach Tiruccendūr by the roadsteads nearby by sea from the west coast and so too camphor from abroad.

These are only conjectures, that in the span of one reign though long price variations had been noticed between the upper Tāmbraparaṇi belt and Tiruccendūr at the coast is noteworthy. The location of Tiruccendūr in the sandy littoral with the prevailing modes of transport could be a factor that accounted for the price differential of the perishables.

COMPARITIVE STATEMENT OF PRICES

S. No.	AMBĀSAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION	TIRUCCENDŪR INSCRIPTION	REMARKS
1	Paddy per nāḷi : paddy in nāḷis	1 kāṣu = 10 kalamams	
2	Green gram 1 : 3	1 : 2½	Cheaper
3	Ghee 1 : 30	2 : 20	Cheaper
4	Curds 1 : 3	1 : 2	Cheaper
5	Plantains 2 Nos. : 1 nāḷi	No. 2 : 1¼ nāḷi	Costly
6	Gur palam 1 : 1 nāḷi uri	Palam 1 : nāḷi 1 uri 18/₄₃	Cheaper
7	Vegetables palams 10 : 1 nāḷi	10 Palms : 4½ nāḷi	Over 450% Costly
8	Condiments uḷakku : 6 nāḷi	1 nāḷi : 15 nāḷi	. . . .
9	Betel 1 nāḷi = 24 nāḷi	1 uḷakku : 3¾ nāḷi	Cheaper
10	Nuts 1 paṛru : 2 nāḷi	1 paṛru : 45/₆₃ nāḷi	Cheaper
11	Lime 20 : 3 nāḷi	20 : 179/₁₀₃ nāḷi	Cheaper
	1 nāḷi : 2 nāḷi	not stated	. . .

The table below shows several other items for which price per unit can be derived from the Tiruccendūr inscriptions.

Milk	1 <i>nāḷi</i>	= 2 <i>nāḷi</i>	Same as for curds
Tender Coconut	1 No.	= 1 <i>nāḷi</i>	(1 coconut could yield only <i>uḷakku</i> water. This yield appears to be low too)
Flower	1 <i>nāḷi</i>	= 6 <i>nāḷi</i>	
Turmeric	1 <i>Kāṇam</i>	= 11 <i>nāḷi</i>	<i>uḷakku</i> or 9 <i>nāḷi</i>
	1 <i>nāḷi</i>	1 <i>nāḷi</i> + ½ <i>uḷakku</i>	
Incense	Rate not available		
Sandal paste	1 <i>Tulām</i>	= 1 <i>kāśu</i>	
	1 <i>Palam</i>	= 9 <i>nāḷi</i>	paddy
White camphor	1 <i>Kalañju</i>	= 60 <i>nāḷi</i>	

Another interesting feature that is brought out in this inscription is the varieties of cloth for different uses and priced differently. They are tabulated below:

1. White cloth for garment (<i>Oliyal</i> ³⁰) and for spreading rice (<i>Pāvāḍai</i>)	1 <i>kāśu</i> per pair	= 4	per quarter
		16	per year
2. For the roof cover of the kitchen	2½ <i>kāṇam</i> ³⁰ for per one <i>iṇai</i> (pair)	= 2	per 6 months
		4	per annum
3. Cloth for Kalpurai (?) (Platform for spreading food offerings (?))	2 <i>kāṇam</i> per pair	= 2	per 3 months
		8	per year
4. White cloth to cover roof in the <i>sanctum sanctorum</i>	7½ <i>kāṇam</i> per pair	= 4	per 6 months
		8	per year
5. Cloth for deity			
(a) to be bedecked	3 <i>kāśu</i> per <i>iṇai</i> (per year)	= 1	per 3 months
		4	per year
(b) to be bedecked	3 <i>kāśu</i> per <i>iṇai</i> (per year)	= 1	per 3 months
		4	per year
(b) to be bedecked	3 <i>kāśu</i> per <i>iṇai</i> (per year)	= 3	per 3 months
		8	per year
		(In all 16 pairs of 3 <i>kāśu</i> (Variety) for deity's apparel)	

Five distinct varieties of cloth could be identified, their price ranging from 2 *kānam*s per pair to 3 *kāśu*, this last for the apparel of the deity. The inferior cloth was for roof coverings. For a troupe of the drummers at 4 *kalams* - 10 *kuṟuṇi* 1 *nāli uri* per month for the whole year 57 *kalams* of paddy was the payment. Perhaps this was an additional endowment besides the normal service tenure lands and perquisites that were due to them.

From the items food preparation given, a comment may be made on the dietary habits of the Brahmin and the priestly class. Polished rice (1 : 3) bereft of bran was consumed rather heavily. Green gram the only protein used was moderate and two items were of steamed dished of green gram and vegetables. But fried vegetables were also consumed with tamarind or curd base for two others. Above all, ghee was consumed in large quantities at the rate of *uḷakku* per one service and uri curds. To fry condiments too in addition 1 *ālākkū*³¹ of ghee was used. These rates of ghee consumed were also stipulated for the services at Tiruccendūr. It provided for 1½ times the curds, 1 *nāli* for 4 curries and one curd-based *Kūttu*, making in all five. The condiments used also were five, turmeric, cummins, mustard, pepper, and corriander seeds. But no black gram or toordhal is listed nor are any chillies. No oil, gingely or coconut, is mentioned. Even condiments added were fried only in ghee. It may be presumed that the Brahmins fed in temples and in their own homes would have identical preparations. If so their diet was heavily weighted in starch and could have lacked vitamins B, but high cholesterol fatty ingredients were used. The consumers could have been prone to be somewhat stocky, with ponches, and prone to early thickening of arteries. Mortality rates, at least among the vegetarian literate could have been high.

But the same could not be said of the agricultural and other classes like merchants whose non vegetarian diet could have been more balanced with fish and roasted meat added to it. It may be added that even in the Saṅgam age poets wax eloquent on the meat dishes, “Chops of meat cooled after boiling, soft like the carded cotton”, and the flesh of animals cooked whole such as pork the flesh of tortoises and particular kinds of fish³².

The grant to the Tiruccendūr temple was made through Iruppaikkudi kiḷavan, Śāttan Perumān as he is named here. His is Eṭṭiśāttan (as given in the Eṟukkaṅguḍi inscription). He had served with distinction both Varaguṇa II and his father Śrīmāran-Śrīvallabha. In the 8th year of the latter (AD 823) he reconstructed in granite the sluices originally provided in brick by Tirunedumāraṇ (ie., Śrīmāran Śrīvallabha) at Peruṅḷam and two other sluices, Ponnān and Pūṅguri-māḍai and Pūdikkuḷam³³.

Eight years later (16th year of Śadaiyan Māraṇ AD 831) he dismantled the old bund and laid stone revetment at the foundations and extended the bund to the east of Karuṅḡulam and west of a sluice Mannumaḍai and provided another sluice on the extended bund. Apparently he had enlarged the capacity of the tank by providing stone revetments in foundations, so that the bund may not be washed away and has extended the bund so that with the additional capacity supply could be made through the new sluice to additional lands either for stabilising or for extending irrigation³⁴.

Eṭṭi Sāttan hailed from Iruṅjonāḍu (in Sāttūr Taluk) and had a great penchant for undertaking and improving public works, especially irrigation sources in the Vaippār belt in Sāttūr. He was hence honoured and given the title of “Iluppaikkudi Kīḷavan” by the king³⁵.

Among his many benefactions (including temples and the Jaina shrines constructed by him) he cared for extension of irrigation with a view to raise paddy, sugarcane, coconut and areca palms. He built a fine tank called Kīḷavanēni (referred to above). He raised the embankment of Māraṇēri, increased its capacity and enlarged Vallaikūlam at Iruppukkuḍi, his native place. He excavated channels and provided a through for the passage of water. He also improved Tirumālēri, Nērimaḍaiēri, Araśaṅḡulam, Seṅḡulam and Māraṇēri. He repaired the Peruṅḡulam at Nenmali and provided a stone sluice. At Sirupputtūr he improved the tank called Pāḷikkūlam. He rebuilt an earlier sluice Vēppamaḍai with stone and built two more sluices Ponnān-maḍai and Pūṅḡuri-maḍai. He also improved the big tank at Ālaṅḡuḍi and built a new tank at Kurumanamaṅalam. He executed the king's grant of Śrīvallaḅhamāṅalam and here too he opened a tank Tirunāraṇan Ēri with proper outlets³⁶.

Here was a highly noble and public spirited official who served two Pāṇḍyan rulers, who had long reigns. This official had understood that the true means of inscreasing prosperity contentment and wealth of the people was to construct new tanks to harness the water both of the rains and the streams. To increase the capacity of the existing tanks, he provided stone revetments to bunds and additional sluice to expand āyacuts and excavated field channels and replaced the earthen or brick structure with stone.

The tract where these works were undertaken was in a black cotton terrain. It received freshes during the north-eastern monsoon with propensities for cyclonic storm, and thunder showers, breaching the tanks and causing havoc, The Vaippār flowing through the tract also could have been receiving freshes during the season, and not un often the water would have entered the tanks and breashed, Iluppakkuḍi kīḷavan would have been a person of no mean engineering skill who had understood the problem on ground and undertook works of merit and utility. He deserved all the praise that

the verses bestow on him. The crops listed in the verse as capable of being raised are more an index of the range and order of values obtaining at the time, than of the soil capabilities of the tract.

The value of irrigation sources of their maintenance and repairs was widely recognised. Two more instances could suffice. South Srivilliputtūr and the Paramakkuḍi tract were also dry belts in the trans-river regions. They depended most on the local rainfall and the need to store the rain water was imperative. Paruṅguḷam was a tank which needed repairs. It lay to the north of Parāṅkuśaparru. In the 7th year of Śaḍaiyan Māraṅ (AD 912), a noble man Śaṅkaran Mūli Arulākki, a kiḷān of Punavēli³⁷ in Āṅmānāḍu repaired it. In grateful recognition the Mahāsabhā of Srivilliputtūr named a sluice and a channel after him³⁸.

Varguṅisvara temple at Śālaigrāmam (Paramakkuḍi Taluk) was presumably named after Varaguṅa I. His son Śrīmāraṅ Śrīvallbha had remitted the land dues and had ordered that the Dēvadāna lands shall be irrigated by Kuḷuvāṅai Ēri. This decision was conveyed by a letter (Śrīmukham) of that king. In the 3rd year of his grandson Śaḍaiyan Māraṅ (Rājasimha II AD 908). The order was conveyed to the Sabhā of Śālaigrāmam, a Dēvadāna-Brahmadēya village. The lands were irrigated by Varamoḷi tank Vāsudēvanēri. The land dues had been remitted (oliṅju) and the corresponding amount had been reduced from the total land dues due from the Sabhā. The king ordered that the Dēvadāna lands shall be entitled to the irrigation from Kuḷuvāṅai ēri and that the occupants of Neduvūr were ordered not to obstruct the supply³⁹.

The river belt of Vaigai had greater national facilities. Even as early as in the 7th century an inscription dated in 50th year of Śēndan (a Pāṅḍyan ruler) records the founding of Maṅgaḷapuram and the construction of a sluice in Vaigai and a channel that was excavated taking off from the river sluice which was named after the king Arikēsariyān⁴⁰. There is a reference to Paruttikkūḍi nāḍu which was near about Tiruculiyal and Paḷḷimadam. The epigraph is incomplete and how this Nāḍu come to be mentioned in the context of the excavation of this channel is not clear. The slab itself was unearthed from the bed of the Vaigai river while digging for water.

In the dry uplands of Madurai district bordering Veḍaśandūr an irrigation work was undertaken in the late 8th century. Parāntaka Paḷḷi Vēlan *alias* Nakkan-Puḷḷan excavated a tank and named it as Puḷḷanēri and provided stone revetments and a sluice to the tank. But he died while the work was incomplete. His son Puḷḷan Nakkan completed it. The stone mason who constructed it was Vaḍukankūḷḷan. His son completed the work, and Puḷḷan Nakkan gave a grant of land for the work done in the 2 Kūḷus (Parcels) in Paḷḷināḍu, which was to be irrigated by the tank of the village and entitled to receive supplies from the tank. Each was sowable with a Padakku of paddy⁴¹.

These individuals, father and son had served in the military compaigns of Varaguṇa Mahārāja I in Idavai, Viliñam and Tirukkudamūkku in Cēra and the Cōla kingdom⁴². The father had served under Neḍuñjaḍaiyan Varaguṇa I, (AD 765-815) and the son under both Śrīmāraṇ Śrīvallabha and Varaguṇa II (AD 815-862 AD 862-880). They must have been long lived to serve these rulers especially, the son who was conferred a title by Varaguṇa II

While irrigation practices got established the need was felt for regulation and equitable distribution. Apparently in Sinnamanūr in the channel-fed lands some had sown Kuṟuvai (the first crop) earlier and drawn water. The Sabhaiyar of Arikesarinallūr laid down that if anyone abstracted water for such advance cultivation they shall pay a fine of 10 kāsu per mā and shall not still raise the crop. The branch-channel taking off from the Śrīkaṇṭa Vāykkāl shall be opened only in accordance with this decision and any one who transgressed it was liable to punishment⁴³.

This is to safeguard the interest of the channel-fed lands as whole and to prevent disproportionate enjoyment of water by the lands in the head-reach to the detriment of others lower down. It was the collective vigil of the Mahāṣabhā which ensured it.

The kings officials too, had made check of accounts and endowments of temples. The intensive check of the accounts of the (Śrī Kaṇṭeśvara) temple at Kīl Māttūr is borne out by three records⁴⁴. The temple itself (which was probably a brick structure) was renovated in stone by a Chief Tennavan Kaṇḍan Śāttan (who is eulogised in a verse)⁴⁵. He investigated the affairs of the temple and himself reclaimed some parcels of land and a garden and prescribed a scale of offerings and wages for services with the total paddy yield due on the endowments in cash and in land. A fragment states that the *Iṟai* and *Eccōru* and other liabilities shall be divided into 3 shares (*kūru*) and borne as below :

1/3 - that land held by the donor as Ācārya Bhōga and reclaimed and a garden formed . 1/3 - the deity to bear the tax liabilities . 1/3 endowed for Aganāligaiyār, the temple priests - to be borne by them:

1/3 endowed for pipe service to be borne by the piper⁴⁶. Unfortunately the inscriptions are in fragments and damaged. The rice for offerings seems to be polished at 10 : 8 and the allowance for the wastage while hulling (*kuttal*) and polishing was 3 *nāli* 3 *Uḷakku* for 17 *nāli* of rice It would appear the 10 : 8 recovery was of the rice before polishing as the paddy is calculated double the quantity of rice and a separate allowance for further wastage in rice is allowed (*maradam*) which is about 25%. The wages for the (*Kuṟuvāi*) labour was 1 *Kuṟuṇi* per *kalam* or 1/12 or 8 1/3%.

An inscription dated 12th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Cōla from Ambāsamudram⁴⁷ is significant. He endowed 10 vēlis of land (which had river irrigation (*Āṟṟu Pāyccal*) with the rights of the Kārāṇmai of the occupants and *Mī yāṭci* rights for the deity on the day of a Solār eclipse on *Kuḍi nīṅgā dēvadānam*.

Some 8 years later the scales of services and offerings to be done in the temple from out of the proceeds were settled. The executive looking after the temple affairs Dēvan Kiriman gave out the terms:

	nāḷi
(1) For food offerings to the deity 8x4 (<i>Sandhies</i>)	32
(2) Food offerings for <i>bali</i>	6
(3) Curries	1
(4) Tiruvēngāḍa nilai dēvar	4
(5) Tirumūlattānattu dēvar	4
(6) Cēṇapati	2
Total	49 nāḷi

Per year paddy - over 680 kalams

For service holders

(i) Achariyan Mūnnūrruvan Śēndan - 1	-	10 mā
(ii) Kaṇakka bhaṇḍāram (Accountant of the Temple Treasury)	}	
(iii) 8 bachelors of which 3 to assist Mūnnūrruvan Śēndan, 1 to assist Mūnnūrruvan eriyān and 4 to Kasanakkalan (?)		1¼ - 2 mā
(iv) For the pipers		32 mā (i.e., 4 mā for each)
for the bachelors		1/7 of the dity's Share (Dēvar Paḍuvāram) of supply of cloth. 6/7 for the supply of clothes.

(v) Pipers - Ganapati kumarāḍi - (1 persons)	1¼ vēli or 25 mā
(Śrī kāryam superintendent) rice	4 nāli
Potter	7 mā
supplier of fire wood	2 mā
For cleaning the temple	2 mā
Washermen	2 mā
for festivals	1 vēli
for the stone mason Acāryan - Mānābharāṇan	
Śēndan who renovated the temple	¼ vēli
Grand Total	<hr/> 10 vēli <hr/>

The lands of service establishment works out to nearly 6 vēli. From the 7 mā of endowment to yield 4 nāli of rice it can be deducted that the yield per mā was about 5 *kalams*.

A Summing up :

The three centuries from 7th to the 10th was a period of intense activity in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom successive rulers, Rājasimha (AD 730-765) Parāntaka Nedunjeliyan (AD 765-815) Śrīmāraṇ-Śrīvallabha (AD 815-862) Varagūṇa II (AD 862-885) Pārāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa (AD 860-905) and Māravarman Rājasimha (905-920) were all rulers who had waged wars with the neighbouring Cēra rulers on the West and had taken expeditions to the North or to subdue the chieftains and meet the Sinhala onslaughts.

But it was also a period of constructive activity. New Brahmādēyas and other village settlement had increased and extension of cultivation had proceeded apace. Besides rock-cut shrines in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom the brick structures were renovated, the stone structures had been substituted.

Above all the attention paid to irrigation was noteworthy. Channels taking off from rivers and cuts across rivers and the streams helped to irrigate lands away from the course of the river systems. To conserve water during flood and monsoons, complementary tanks had also been built wherever the gradient and levels of lands would permit. This should have called for a higher engineering skill and knowledge of the terrain. To ensure the embankments were not washed off stone revetments were provided. Sluices were rebuilt with stone and distributory channels laid. Regulated flows were ensured customary obligations being enforced.

During this period agricultural settlements had extended even to the comparatively dry upland areas where jungle streams and fall were harnessed. Water harvesting was assiduously practiced. Alongside in river fed areas extension of cultivation was creeping up into the waste lands ahead of the ridge.

This enabled a variety of crops to be grown-paddy, sugarcane, plantains, turmeric. But dry crops for the consumption of the general population should also have been widely undertaken. The day to day needs had already become varied-oil, ghee condiments, betel, nuts, sandal, camphor, and incense. These last articles of luxury should have come from outside the tract.

Trade both within and without had become established. The merchant community had settlements but there were also representatives of the trans-regional mercantile community, the Ayyapolil as at Ukkirankōttai. Kaḷakkudi as it was then known had the noble-men, the chieftains besides the prosperous Brahmin settlements like Mānūr-near about. The trading community were essentially concentrated in such locations as at Kaḷakkudi, the Pāṇḍyan capital Madurai and down south in the Nāttāruppōkku in Nāngunēri Taluk. This lay midway between the Cēra or Vēnāḍu track across the Thōvaḷa pass and the fertile Tāmbraparaṇi and Paccaiyār belts.

The east coast road steads Koṟkai, Kāyal, and a number of Paṭṭinams should also have been commercial centres what with the pearl fishing for which the Pāṇḍya country had attained fame. But the productivity of cattle was static throughout the period and low. The coinage had varied from the Kaḷañju or paḷankāśu of higher value to the *kāśu* (made perhaps of copper alloy). The numismatic evidence still requires to be investigated in depth and correlation established between the epigraphic evidence and the actual coins in circulation.

Prices too have shown variations from one part of the tract to another within the same reign. Tiruccendūr with access from the sea had perhaps shown a decline in commodity prices except in perishables which were to come on land through a sandy tract from the Tāmbraparaṇi delta areas. Ambāsamudram had advantage in the latter, the perishables but the prices of cereals, pulses, and condiments, were higher in the earlier part of the reign of Varaguṇa II.

The community organisation was already evolved and organised. Even at the beginning of the period the Pāṇḍyan kingdom had geographical divisions. Vaḷanāḍus

and *Nāḍus*. Within these division the three types of settlements with occupancy rights vested with the residents therein had taken roots—the *Brahmadēya* and *dēvadāna* and the *Ūr* and the *Nagarā*. They were collective organisations. The *Brahmadēya* had committees constituted specific functions to be attended to by them. But the trend was already seen to be restrictive and exclusivist. For membership of the committees required knowledge of the *Vēda*, with all its ancillary works, occupancy in land and good character. Acquisition of land by exchange, purchase and by dowry was possible. Possibly, the regulations of the *Mahāsabhā* of *Mānūr* were intended to preserve the integrity and identity of the constituents without any dilution which they were apprehending might result from such transfer of land, property to those less than qualified otherwise.

The mode of organisation and way of life did not admit of water-tight compartments in any activity. There were a number of bodies or agencies undertaking similar functions, the *Ūr*, the *Nāṭṭār*, the *Sabhā* and the bodies like 1,700, the *Śivabrāhmanās* and the royal officers and the revenue officials had all undertaken responsibilities of ensuring that the purpose of the endowed cattle, land or other deposits were carried out. The royal officials, too were attending to both civil and military functions and were designated for specific assignments like implementing the charter of *Brahmadēya* grants. Towards the end of this period, already they were taking up audit of the account and assets endowed for temples.

The frame work of the agrarian structure could have left comparatively less for the tillers of the soil. But they had security of tenure, residential habitats and almost hereditary succession in their avocations. They had the customary obligations to perform to the community, to the grantees of the *Brahmadēyas*, and *Dēvadānas* and the king. The maintenance of irrigation sources the channels were all entirely their responsibility.

Besides agriculture, economic activity had ensured diversification of occupation: stone masons, potters, washermen and the weavers. These last could have been employed in manufacturing a variety of cotton fabrics and there were as many as five varieties of cloth to be provided for varied uses, the most expensive for bedecking the deities, and the least for roof undercovers.

By the end of the period the form and the function of the Townships and become well established. But there was still scope for extension of agriculture even in the riverine tracts and perhaps more in the rain fed uplands. The *Cōḷa* conquest of the *Pāṇḍyas* towards the end of the tenth century could and did open up the avenues

for such extension. The density of population and of occupied holdings could have been more in the Cauvery delta. With the conquest and incorporation of Pāṇḍyan kingdom in their domain, their armies moved south, and set up cantonments. Their generals formed new townships, built temples and provided for their services. Along with these military movements, the Brahmins and the Vellālās also had moved south as the nativity of the former clearly suggest. This pressure of the migratory population who had settled down south should have given an impetus for further extension of agriculture and of irrigation and formation of new habitats. Purchases of land had also become more oftener and those could have had effect on the land prices bothways.

In areas where waste could be reclaimed the land price could have been less. Did the lands already occupied and cultivable when they were assigned for temples suffer in value, some reduction ? When Brahmadeya lands were purchased, did the land-value again rise ? When tenures were changed the incidence of obligations could have also become shifted. Whether these economic possibilities had actually occurred, or whether the force of “*longue duree*” had tampered with them has to be analysed with reference to the available evidence.

The following chapters deal with these trends, and to delineate the changes that occurred from the 10th to 13th centuries.

FOOT NOTES:

1. SII XIV 5 Tirupattūr
2. SII XIV 31 Kaḷugumalai
3. SII XIV 36, 27
4. On this aspect please see the authors "Land grants and agrarian reactions" - Madras University
5. SII XIV 19 Tirukuruṅḡḍi
6. SII XIV 56
7. SII XIV 67
8. SII XIV 61
9. SII XIV 74
10. SII XIV 87 EI XXII No.3
11. Dr.R.Nagaswamy has given a refreshingly new interpretation of the inscription which has been corroborated by a recently discovered Cōḷa inscription from Tiruṅṅavūr. His interpretation is followed here. REF: Studies in Ancient Hindu Law by Dr.R.Nagaswamy.
12. The term franchise is used in the sense of full "membership of the Mahāsabhā".
13. Monier Williams - Skt Dictionary p.602
14. I have translated 51-56 differently from Prof.Sastri - EI XXII p II to make this passage more intelligible in the light of the interpretation adopted.
15. The translated text of the Tiruṅṅavūr inscription is appended to this section.

16. SII XIV - 40. In the reign of Jat. Srivallabha, (AD 1090 to 1116) a Brahmadēya village, called Munnuruvamaṅgalam irrigated by, Nāṭṭār was granted, half to the deity at Agasīsvaram (Kanyākumari Dt.) and another half to a māṭha named after the queen, (Kanyākumari inscriptions Vol. I, Publication of the TN Dept. of Epigraphy, 1968 - 5, 10, and 11.
17. E.I. XXIII - D at p. 288.
18. Ibid 'C'
19. Ibid 'A'
20. ARE 68, 70-1927
21. ARE 358 1959-60
22. E.I, VIII pp 317 ff.
23. Madras Museum plates of 17th year of Neduñjaḍaiyan.
24. EI XXIII pp 285 - 287. This will yield 1800 nāḷi or 20 kalam per year. The ruling paddy interest could be 1 kaḷañju=2 kalam An Ilakkāsu appears to be equal to one Kaḷañju or Paḷaṅkāsu at this point of time. From the equivalence of the interest rate the Kāsu could be construed to be Paḷaṅkāsu - See infra The Tiruccendūr inscription.
25. SII XIV E.I. IX p. 84 ff.
26. 1 Kalam = 15 Kuṟuṇi or 90 nāḷis.
27. Kāyam is used in the sense of condiments only and not asofoetida in Tiruccendur inscription. There were five varieties, pepper, turmeric, cumming seed, mustard, and coriander seeds.
28. SII XIV 16A EI XXI 101 ff.
29. EI XXI PP. 114-115.
- * This rate was also prevalent in Cōḷa times in Pudukkōṭṭai tract.
30. The text of the inscription in both E.I. & SII Vols gives the word as Oviyal (124). The correct reading should be 'oliyal' to mean cloth.
- 30-A. E.I. Vol. XXI p. 105-10 Kāṇam = 1 Kāsu.
31. SII XIV-13 Ambāsamudram.
32. A History of South India - KAN Sastri p. 32
33. ARE 255/1977-78 Kalvetṭu II p. 39
34. SII XIV 43.
35. SII XIV 44
36. ARE 1929-30 Para 2 Part II.
37. This village is near Karivalamvandanallūr in Saṅkarankōil Taluk.
38. 285 / 1965-66
39. E. I. Vol. 28 pp 91-92
40. 330 / 1961-62 E. I. Vol. XXVIII pp 27-A.
41. SII XIV 26.
42. E. I. XXXII 269, 290 / 1955, 56.
43. SII XIV 78 dated 46th Year of Saḍaiyan Māraṅ.
44. SII XIV 84 and 85.
45. Ibid 87.
46. ARE 627 / 1926 Also No. 85 Ibid.
47. SII XIV No. 95 E.I. XXV pp 39-40

திருநின்றவூர் பக்தவத்சலப் பெருமாள் கோயில் ஆண்டாள் கோயில்
வடமேற்கு சுவலை மற்றும் கோடியில் கிடக்கும் உடைந்த தூண்

- 1 உறா உலஹெயொ
- 2 மும் யாண்டு இ
- 3 ருபத்து சாண்டா
- 4 வது சுஜநாமது
ஹ
- 5 மதல் மன்றாநீ
- 6 ன்ற உலஹெயொம
- 7 ம் எரிவாரியப் பெ
- 8 ரு மக்களுந் கோட்ட வா
- 9 ரியப் பெருமக்களுந்
- 10 ஹட்டப் பெருமக்களுந்
- 11 விசிஷ்டப் பெருமக்களு
- 12 ம் உள்ளிட்ட உறால
- 13 ஹெயொம் இநாளி
- 14 ல் எம்மர்ப் போம்ப
- 15 லத்தே
- 16 . . . குறைவறக்க
- 17 டியிருந்து நம்மர்க்கு
- 18 றாஜஹிதாது மாக
- 19 ச் செய்த வுலஹெயொ
- 20 யாவது இவ்வாண்டு
- 21 மதல் மன்றாட்டும்
- 22 வாரியங்களும் எ
- 23 மதல் பெருமது உ
- 24 ஹா உலஹெ துறைவற
- 25 ஹெயொபுநத்தே க
- 26 டியிருந் உறா உல

- 27 லெஹுக்கு ஒத்தாரை
 28 யே அற்றைக்குழு
 29 ன் ஐய்யாட்டை
 30 நாள் மன்றாடியு
 31 ம் வாரியஞ்செய்

II

- 32 தந்யாதானாயே ம
 33 ன்றாட்டும் வாரியமு
 34 ம் இடுவதாகவும்
 35 வாரியமெழுது
 36 மாண்டின் முன் இ
 37 ரண்டாண்டு வாரிய
 38 ஞ் செய்தார்க்கும் ம
 39 ன்றாடுநார்க்கும் உ
 40 டப் பிறநாருதமப்
 41 பனும் மக்களும் ஒ
 42 ழியல் எழுதுவ
 43 தாகவும் இப்பரி
 44 சு எழுதப்பட்டாரை உஹா
 45 லலெஹு நடுவே யிருநு கு
 46 டிமை இலவாராகவும்
 47 இப்பரிசன்றிக் குடிமை
 48 என்றார் ஊர்க்குப் பிழை
 49 த்தாராகவும் வாரப்பலங்
 50 குன்றியே கொள்வாராகவு
 51 மன்றாடியும் வாரியஞ் செ
 52 ய்து விட்டார்கள் புக்க ஊலெஹு
 53 யார்க்கு கணக்குக் காட்டி ஒப்பி

- 54 த்து விர்வாட்டகவும் இப்பர்
 55 சு வலுவலெல செப்தேதம் உ
 56 உறாவலெலேமேதம் இ வலுவ
 57 லெலில் ததவை நம்
 58 மூர் ஸ்ராவ . ஈஹதிகள்
 59 வேண்டி நா[ரை] கஹதவநத்
 60 து [நிந்தி]தி இருபத்தைத் சுடி
 61 ன்சு பொன் ஐஹமிடப் பெ
 62 றுவாட்டகவும் இவலுவலெல
 63 செய்து ஈட்டில் வெட்டி . . .

The recently discovered above inscription in Tiruninravūr (Chingleput District) dated 23rd year of Parāntaka I (AD 930) is interesting. It is similar to the Mārañ jaḍaiyan inscription of Mānūr.

The full text is translated below : The Mahāsabhayār and the adjudicating (*Manṛādukinṛa*) Sabhayār inducted from the Kumbha month (ie. Feb-March), the Committee elders looking after the task, the Bhaṭṭa elders, Viṣiṣṭa elders - included - Mahasabhayār on that day met in the Great Ambalam of their township on that days and with full attendance of young and old, made the following settlement for the welfare of the township.

From that year when constituting the Committees for adjudication and recording it, the Mahāsabhā shall without any deficiencies meet at the Brahmasthāna and choose those agreeable to approved by the Mahāsabha, provided that they shall constitute the Committee for adjudication with Members who had an interval of five years from that day when they have been serving in the Committee or with those who had not so far served in the Committee. The brothers and fathers and sons of those who had served as adjudicating members, 2 years prior to the constitution shall be excluded.

Those who had affirmed this regulation shall have the Branchise to participate in the Mahāsabhā. Those who denied this regulation, shall be deemed to have offended the township and shall forfeit their franchise or shall pay a price of Palam Kunṛi per day (varam palam Kunṛi). Those who had served in the adjudicating Committee shall render accounts to the Sabhayār (at the end of their tenure)

In these terms the Mahāsabhā settled. Those who offended this regulation the franchise-holders and the share-holders shall at the court of justice they choose pay a fine of 25 kaḷañju per day. This regulation was engraved in the year 19th of Madurai Koṇḍa Parakēsari Parāntaka Cōḷan. This inscription establishes three points.

- (i) The Māṅgāḍu Vāriyam was distinct from the *Mahāsabhā*.
- (ii) It was inducted annually and
- (iii) The regulation was specially made to exclude incumbents seeking selection continuously or without sufficient interval, specially for the Committee for adjudication.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

(AD 950 to 1350)

An over view:

A significant political change had taken place in the mid tenth century. The Pāṇdyas of the first Empire had been eclipsed. Parāntaka-I (AD 907-955) and Rājarāja-I (985-1016) had both overpowered the Pāṇdyas, and firmly established the Cōḷa hegemony over the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. The former took title of “Madirai Kōṇḍa”. Rājarāja-I renamed the whole Kingdom as “Rājarāja-Pāṇḍya nāḍu”. The rivers were not spared - Tāmbraparaṇi became Mummuḍi Cōḷappērāru, the Gaṭana was named “Rājarājappērāru”.¹ New Brahmādēya and Nagarams had sprung up all along the river courses renamed or named after the Cōḷa rulers. Earlier nuclei were enlarged². Intense activity in the Townships is evidenced by inscriptions. Though the volume of evidence is the larger from *Brahmadēyas*, the *Ūrs* and the *Nagaras* were also active and their day-to-day transactions are recorded. Trade especially between the hilly western part (originally held by the Cēres) and the eastern parts was active. A number of benefactors from the Cōḷa and the Malaimaṇḍala (formerly of the Cēra) Kingdoms were noticed among the individual benefactors of the temples and mathas in the Pāṇḍyan Townships. Movement of merchants, the Vaḷāñjiyar (the mercantile militia) the horse traders (Kudiraicceṭṭi) from Malaimaṇḍalam, the Brahmins and the Veḷḷāla was conspicuous. The Cōḷa Generals were also instrumental in the constructing new temples and forming new townships. The Cōḷa garrisons stood guard over select and strategic temple-locations.

The Cōḷa Emperor, Rājēndra-I appointed his own sons as Viceroys. Partly assuaging the feelings of the subjects of the conquered territory they assumed the title of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas and alternated the title of Māravarman and Jaṭavarman among the successive princes continuing the Pāṇḍyan tradition. The capital of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroys as located at Madurai and the presence of the Viceroy in close proximity and while on tour was availed of by the supplicants to get the grant made, confirmed or enlarged. The Viceroy had virtually exercised the powers of the king, though occasions were not wanting when he implemented the royal command received from the Cōḷa capital. Jāt. Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, for instance, implemented the royal order of Vīra Rājēndra granting additional land bearing the land assessment of *kāśu* 32½, and, paddy 567 *kalamas padakku* and 4 *nāḷi*.³

These grants of the Cōḷa rulers and the Kings are noticeably larger in the Tāmbraparaṇi tract, in the Kuṇḍāru-Manimuktānadi tract (Kēraḷaśiṅgavaḷanāḍu-

Tiruppattūr taluk) to a lesser extent and in the eastern littoral of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom fewer. If an impressionistic inference can be drawn, their occurrence is far less in the Kālaiyārkōil-Maṅgalam uplands. (Sivagaṅgai Taluk) and in Mudukūlathūr Taluk and in parts of the Sivakāsi and Virudhunagar tract. A computerised numerical analysis of the occurrence of the Cōḷa and the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions collected and still to be collected tract by tract may help confirm this impression. It is not perhaps, an accident that it is these excepted tracts that have contributed a large number of Pāṇḍya chieftains and officers and Maṛamudalis after the Pāṇḍyas reasserted their authority in the early decades of the 13th Century. Partly due to the non-availability of full texts of the inscriptions of the period and the few fragments that have survived, the comparative lack of intensity of the Cōḷa and Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions should remain a hypothesis subject to verification and confirmation⁴.

This range of distribution of available evidence will be necessarily reflected in the account that follows.

But the evidence is enough to confirm the migration of families from the Cōḷa country down south, the military enterprise that left behind garrisons and generals who fostered local development, the extension of cultivation and augmented resources available for the royalty and the community and the attention paid to extended irrigation.

These positive trends continued with unabated vigour when the Pāṇḍyas reasserted themselves from the last quarter of the eleventh century and gathered momentum during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Evidence is positive and abundant that new townships and temples were founded and extension of riverine, cannal and tank irrigation was deliberately promoted mere by the community activity, supplemented by specific royal grants. In the earlier nuclei of the temples and older townships, extensions were widely undertaken.

Merchant townships especially in Kānanāḍu (Pudukkōṭṭai) and adjoining tracts in Tiruvādānai, Tiruppattūr (Keraḷasiṅgavaḷanāḍu) Tracts and in Aḷanāḍu (Uttamapālayam and Periyakuḷam taluks) and down south in Tirunelvēli on the eastern and western coast were also active. Towards the close of the period (in the 14th and 15th Centuries). Muslim mosques⁵ and Christian churches slowly make their appearance and they were also treated on a par with the Jaina Paḷlis and the Buddhist shrines and endowments. were made for their upkeep.

The activities of the township can be studied in various aspects - their constitution and organisation and their function, their role in irrigation, and in land reclamation, the land-dues and obligations, and the community development and social amenities

and the general trend of prices and wages. These are dealt with in the following chapters, culling data from the inscriptions. Practically all the unpublished inscriptions of the tract have been studied and made full use of.

The Pāṇḍyan Townships under the Cōḷas - Their expansion :

As stated already, the Cōḷa conquest of the Pāṇḍyan tract was followed by the creation of a number of settlements, of a varied character. Some of those had got established from the nuclei of the townships of the early Pāṇḍyan period. Several examples can be cited. Within the conspectus of this treatise, only conspicuous examples are cited.⁶ Ilaṅgōykkuḍi on the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi, an early Pāṇḍya township became extensive covering the whole of the Gaṭana - Tāmbraparaṇi basin enveloping several settlements within a radius of 4.83 to 6.44 kilometres radius with the existing Brahmaḍēśam village at the Centre. This big township was named Rājarāja Cm after Rājarāja I.

Close to the Brahmaḍēśam village there exists one of the early Cōḷa temples at Tiruvālīśvaram. Its establishment and the settlement that was formed near it are typical of how the tract acquired a higher density of population and occupied holdings after the Cōḷa conquest. This temple was apparently founded by a Cōḷa Chief, Ambalavan Ninrāḍiyān.

In the 11th year of Rājarāja I (AD 996) Ambalavan Ninrāḍiyān of Piḍavūr in Coḷa Nadu on the northern bank of the Cauvery acquired 1 *vēli* of land, excluding the temple site and the rocky gravelly lands. He assigned 2 *mā* of land for the supply of ghee to the lamp and the remaining lands (18 *Mā*) were granted as occupied holdings. The lands so assigned were to yield 309 *kalam*, *Tūṇi*, 2 *nāḷi* for food offerings. The land so assigned was ½ *vēli*, *Kāṇi Mundirikai* the levy of paddy was an immutable levy. The rate as contract or lease levy (*oṭṭu irai*) was 30 *kalams* per *mā* (apparently for 2 crops). The priest was paid 60 *kalams* of paddy per year.

The remaining 7½ *mā*, *araikkani*, *mundirikai* were utilised for the temple servants working within, 8 in number, and 4 bachelors. The piper troupe 5 in number were granted 3 *mā mukkāni*, 2 for blowing conch, 2 for blowing *kāḷam*/horn) 1½ *mā* - each. Provision was made for the cleaning of the temple, and the maintenance of the garden, and for the potter to supply earthen vessels (1 *kāṇi*)⁷

The Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm named the habitat formed around the temple as Ninrāḍinallūr, after the benefactor. They agreed not to claim any fines levied in case adjudicated or for default from the residents. They also granted the remission of the other levies including free labour that could be demanded from the residents of the hamlets attached. These proceeds were credited to the temple, presumably. The

annual committee of the Mahāsabhā was to provide ploughs to the cultivating tenants who were to pay for the hire of the plough 1 *kāsu* which shall be the contribution for the deity. (*adiyarai* - for *adi yurai* - contribution to the deity)⁸. The annual committee were to supervise the collection of these levies. Apparently the cultivating tenants ploughing the land had to be provided with implements by the annual committee and they had to pay the dues therefor to the temple. Among the residents if there were some who did not render any service in the temple or were the cultivating tenants they shall remain for 4 years free of levies but thereafter they shall be liable to pay cash which shall be expended for the *Viṣu* (April) and *ayana* (in January and July-August) rituals in the temple. If any one ordered anything to the contrary, violating these provisions they shall be liable to pay severally 10 *kaḷañju* gold as fine. The Mahāsabhā also granted the right to take water from the main channel taking off from Ghaṭaṇa.⁹

The temple was placed under the Cōla army, Paḍaipidiṭha Pallāyiravar Mūnrukai Mahāsēnaiyār.¹⁰

The same Niṅṛāḍiyār had purchased lands an year earlier (AD 995) in Tiruppudaimarudūr from the Brahmin holders, 3 *mā* in extent, excluding ½ *mā* of Dēvadāna land. The Brahmin vendors four in number, had acquired them by inheritance or by a charitable grant. They were men of small parcels.¹¹ Those were endowed for the temple in Tiruppudaimarudūr.

These are typical instances of how soldiery and the benefactors from the Cōla country had colonised the Pāṇḍyan tract, built temples and set up establishments. The big Brahmin township Rārarāja Cm itself should have sprung up not long before AD 995 - 8. The main Śiva temple at Brahmādēsam should have been the focus of the Brahmin settlement, though only fragments of inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja are now found scattered in the Township.

In about AD 1021 the felt want of a Viṣṇu temple in the big Township was fulfilled by Cēra Rājasimha who built the temple of Rājēndra Viṅṅagar to the west of Brahmādēsam.

Tiruvālīśvaram itself was further provided for in the 17th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya, son of Rājēndra I. (AD 1037) under instructions from his uncle 5 *vēlis* of land were purchased from the Mahāsabhā in the hamlet Kākkalūr and renamed and constituted into a Dēvadāna called Śiva-Caraṇīśvaranallūr to conduct festivals and for feeding 25 Brahmins and for maintaining a person who read Śivadharmā in the temple.¹² The Mahāsabhā solicitously remitted the land levy on the cultivating tenants who were tending a garden ‘‘Rājēndra Cōlan’’ for this temple.¹³

The lands purchased in Kākkalūr were Brahmādēya in tenure; from the 16th year onwards on the purchase, the 5 *velis* were converted to Vellānvagai tenure and the land levies obligation were fixed at 642 *kalamas*, 6 *kuṟuṇi*, 2 *nāli*, *uḷakku* 1, 2¼ *seviḍu* and cash 35¼ and *mukkāṇi*, *kāṟceviḍu* 5 *kāśu*. The land dues per *vēli* works out at about 128½ *kalamas* besides cash at a little over 7 *kāśu* and *Kātcierudu* 1 *kāśu*.¹⁴

There was a considerable expansion of Śērmādēvi also. The Mahāsabhā of Nigarili Cōḷa Cm as it was renamed has sold among others, the 5th 6th field to the north of the channel named Śrī Kurukurunambi, under the first sluice and 4 more plots to the north of a channel under another sluice. The Mahāsabhā received the sale price and the capitalised amount for payment of taxes. The Brahmin signatories have hailed from Anuppūr, Tūppil, Kīranūr and Kōrōvi.¹⁵ If we could generalise from the nativity of these Brahmins the residents in Rājarāja Cm also appear to have hailed from the same nativity.¹⁶

Across the river Tāmbraparaṇi an extent of 2 *vēli* in Kallūr in Mēlavēmbu Nāḍu held by private occupants were converted into Śivapādaśēkharanallūr and the land levies were granted to the temple at Śērmādēvi.¹⁷

The occupants of the land in Kallūr did not consent to the change in the tenure and relinquished the holdings.¹⁸ consequently, the lands had to be arranged to be cultivated by the tenants engaged by the deity's executives. This did not deter a subsequent grant in the same location to the deity.¹⁹ Pilgrims even from distant Kashmir had sojourned in Sermadevi and instituted a lamp service.²⁰

The Brahmādēya named or renamed Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Cm had sprung up in Karunīlakkuḍi Nāḍu.²¹ A Brahmin lady therefrom Kāśyapan Nārāyaṇan's wife Sōlai sēnda pirāṭṭi set up a lamp in Aḷagarkōil.

The new Brahmādēyas that sprung up include Pañcavanmādēvi Cm²² in a comparatively dry upland area.

The process of founding new grant villages had continued even in the reign of Kulōttunga I. In the 30th year(SIC) of the reign²³ (AD 1100 or 1109) the Mahāsabhā of Rājarājan Cm met in the *Tuttiyakki ambalam* of the township and transacted business to allocate the grant made by the King to the deity, Moymāmbūpolil Aḷvar in the eastern hamlet Attāṇinallūr (Attāḷanallūr). The grant was a Dēvadana Iṟaiyili. The grant extent was to be measured and located one *Vēli* in extent in a contiguous area and named as Rājarājasikhamani nallūr (SIC for Rājanārāyaṇanallūr). It was separated and constituted into a new unit and the revenue officials' endorsement and extract of the land register was issued. The grant village was put in possession of the Śrī Vaisṇavas of the temple to be utilised for the services and provisions in the temple.

A boundary stone standing that it marked the limits of Rājanārāyaṇa nallūr, the Dēvadāna of the Moymāmbūpolil aḷvār exists in the village limits even today.²⁴

The Cōla-Pāṇḍya inscriptions also refer to the merchants from the Nagara Township making grants. A merchant of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram instituted a lamp service in Ambāsamudram for the deity Tirumūlanāthasvami (AD 1026).²⁵ In AD 1035 a grant of land growing 2 crops of about 1½ mā yielding 10 *kalams* in Melkuppāykkuḍi alias Nānādēśi Nallūr was granted by the Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm for the merit of the big guild of the maṇḍalam, Nānādēśi - Tiśaiāyirattu aññūruvar residing in Rājendra Cōlapperunderu.²⁶

These afford indices of the growing merchantile settlements in and near Ambasamudram on the highway connecting the erstwhile Cēra Kingdom and the Pāṇḍyan tract.

THE RESURGENT PĀṆDYAS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION

This activity gained further impetus when the Pāṇḍyas were on the ascendant and were regaining their independence. This phase could be dated in the latter half of the reign of Kulottuṅga I, i.e. from about AD 1085 to 1162. Mār. Parākramaḥ Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha, Jaṭ. Parāntaka, Mār. Śrīvallabha and Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara can be ascribed to this period of the resurgent Pāṇḍyas. A number of inscriptions in Kanyākumari, the Tambraparani belt and more in the Vaigai belt are noticed which bear testimony to the founding of new settlements in these tracts.

These townships of the resurgent Pāṇḍyas could be found dispersed in the riverine ribbons of Nambiyār (in present Radhāpuram Taluk in Tirunelvēli district) and in other areas like the Vaigai ribbons to the west of Madurai. We may notice a few specific instance.

Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha's reign attests the founding or expansion of a number of Brahmādēya and Dēvadāna settlements or townships of a dual character. These date from the very early years in this reign. The inscriptions are spread over the districts of Ramnad, Madurai and Tirunelvēli. The Chieftains of the Nāḍu too evinced keen interest in the promotional activity.

In the third year of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha Karunīlakkuḍi Nāḍālvān in Iruñjō nāḍu had excavated a tank and had constructed a bund and marked it by an inscription.²⁷ In the fourth year. Adalāiyūr Nāḍālvān had endowed his share of the land dues and obligation (*Iṟai. Kuḍimai*) in Mēr. Kaṇṇamaṅgalam to the temple at Kunnakkuḍi²⁸ and also in Kīl. Kaṇṇamangalam.²⁹

In the same year, the Prince Sundara Pāṇḍya established a township of a dual tenure, Dēvadāna-Brahmadēyam named Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya Cm and indicated the boundaries of the grant village in Cōḷapuram.³⁰ Some five years later, several weavers took up residence in the lands belonging to the temple and took up 24 house sites. The immutable levy for occupation was per loom per month 10 paṇam in cash. They were free to set up as many looms as they wished. This was on a temple land, permitted by the temple authorities.³¹

Śivapuri (in Tiruppattūr Taluk) brings out the activity of the merchants settled in Nānādēśipperunderu in Aruviyūr. A merchant Tarunēndu Śēkharan (named after the deity) purchased from a Brahmin of Nṛapasēkhara Cm land under Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḷapēreri in Perumaṭṭiyūr a small parcel of *mukkāṇi kīḷ arakkāl* and reclaimed it and named the field after himself. He had endowed it to the deity. In addition he set up a garden and paid the land price and deposit for defraying taxes due on the lands to the Sabhā of the Brahmadēya. This was in the 6th year.³²

Another grant made two years later was by a Vellāla who purchased the land from the Vellālas of Pāṇḍaṅguḍi in Surabhi Nāḍu.³³ A Vēḷān from Pāṇḍaṅguḍi also purchased and endowed a land for kitchen services.³⁴

In the 15th year, a merchant of the Maṇigrāmam in Koḍumbālūr, Madalai Kūttan alias Śivakarunālayan purchased a land from the Madhyastha of the township and endowed it for offering pudding (piṭṭamudu) to the Mahādēva deity in the Brahmin township.³⁵

Aruviyūr, the adjoining Nagara settlement had the name Dēsiuyyavanda paṭṭinam³⁶ another merchant therefrom purchased one-third of the tank and ayacut in the western hamlet paying the price and tax deposit and endowed it to the temple.³⁷

There was also a maṭha in Śivapuri which denoted the temple-site and its adjuncts. The Maṭha was endowed with lands also under the tanks Perumaṭṭiyūr by a merchant from Dēsiuyyavandapaṭṭanam. He also endowed a house-site on the northern row of the street by the side of the temple and also garden land for supplying vegetables and leaves to the maṭha.³⁸

The Chieftain Niṣadarājan gave away from his *Jīvitam* the *antarāyam* and *Kaḍamai* from 2 *mā* of land to the deity.³⁹ The temple itself purchased some lands from the Brahmin residents from out of a deposit made by a Brahmin lady.⁴⁰

In the 18th regnal year a Brahmadēya called Śeyyamaṅgalam alias Ambalattāḍi Cm was instituted and the lands apportioned among 20 Brahmins and the charity was to be protected by the Aṅḍār and the Panmāhēśvaras of the Tarunēndu Śēkhara temple

in Nṛupaśekhara Cm. The Brahmins were to pay to the temple per year 1 dramam per mā. The Charitable grant was made Kaṇḍan Suṇḍan Dvārāpati vēḷān in the name of his father.⁴¹

The King's grants are also noticed in Tirupattūr and Tirukoṣṭiyūr. To the Tirupattūr deity he granted the land dues *Mādai* 17½, 1 mā from Maṇṇanimaṅgalam alias Mēltirumaṅgalam and 25¼, 3 mā Kīlmuḷlivayal as Dēvadāna Iraiyili.⁴²

In the 17th year, a merchant of Aruvīyūr alias Dēśiuyyavandapattinam deposited 11 *Kalañju*, 6 *mañjādi* in the temple treasury against which supply was to be made per day at 2 *kalams* of paddy and supply of cloth 1 *kāśu*, presumably to the garden tenderer who had to supply flowers.⁴³

The queen Ulagamūḷudaiyār herself caused the kitchen (attached to the temple) to be constructed.⁴⁴

The adjoining township of Tirukkoṣṭiyūr was also held in veneration by the Nāṭṭār of Cōlapāṇḍya Valanāḍu who agreed to collect as subscription from the holders of land together with the land dues 100 paṇams per year for two lamps instituted for merit of the Nāḍu.⁴⁵

The King ordered that a 9 days festival for the deity be celebrated in the month of Arpaṣi, the holy bath to synchronise with his natal star of Citrai.

The *Kārāṇmai* rights in two villages, Purkūḷi and Nāṭṭārmaṅgalam were purchased from the Nāṭṭār with the temple funds and the land dues were endowed for conducting the festival by a royal grant. Two Brahmin residents of the Brahmādēya ordered the royal grant to be engraved.⁴⁶

The other grants of the reign of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha and his predecessors are found in a bunch in Kōil Kuruvitturai. It brings out the extension of cultivation by increase in irrigation facilities.⁴⁷

The adjoining Nagara Township of Vikramaṅgalam also received a grant of land-dues from Sekkālai renamed as Śrīvallavanallūr for the provisions needed for the deity of the Nagara.⁴⁸

An important inscription from Tenkarai (Tirumaṅgalam taluk) refers to the Ayyapolil mercantile community and appears to record certain regulations of Iḍaṅgai and Valaṅgai social classes. But the inscription is much damaged.⁴⁹

The inscriptions of the period are also found in the Tāmbraparaṇi estuary, at Āttūr, Śēndamaṅgalam and Kattārimaṅgalam.

In the 6th year of the reign Jāt. Śrīvallabha granted the land-dues from Tiruccirrambaladēvanallūr in Korakai Nāḍu which is said to have been separated from Kuḍanāḍu. The grantee deity Somanāthadēva of Ārrūr was situated in Kuḍa nāḍu.⁵⁰

Mobility of the residents in Pāṇḍināḍu is brought out by another record of this reign dated in the 11th year. A lady, Aṇḍamai Śāni was married to Kurukkai Sāraṅgapāṇi Tiruñlakāṇṭan a resident in the 2nd street named Mummudi Cōla Cēri - Cōla names of the habitat still lingered - in Rājarāja Cm in Mulli Nāḍu which is described as a “Taniyūr” - a revenue unit by itself. She provided for several lamps and for supplying milk and rice for the pious mendicants so that her thirst (after death) might be quenched (*Tanakku Tāgam keḍa*). These were accepted by the Śivabrāhmanās of the Āttūr temple and the sheep were entrusted to the shepherds attached to the temple.⁵¹

Five years later, they ordered the grant of lands as the service holding of one Paraśivan Śāntikūttan Sōman, a dancer for performing Śāntikūttu to be enjoyed by him and his descendants, presumably so long as the services continued to be rendered.⁵²

Śēndamaṅgalam was a village attached to Āttūr. In the 12th year of Jāt. Śrīvallabha valānāḍu rendered tax free 2½ *vēli* of land purchased from various Brahmin residents and endowed to Kailāsamudaiyār in the village. The Mahāsabhā met on this occasion in a maṇḍapa in the western temple of Tirunārāyaṇa viṅṅagar Ālvār in Ārrūr Śēndamaṅgalam. The price was paid by Tiruvayōdhi (Nārāyaṇan Tiruvikraman⁵³

The same donor figures in another transaction of land purchased and endowed to the same deity but the details are lost.⁵⁴

The King was supplicated by the temple executives and Srimahēśvara Kaṅkāṇi of the Vīrapāṇḍīśvaram Uḍaiyār in Kattāṇimaṅgalam in Amitagaṇavalānāḍu for a dēvadāna as that temple had no land endowments. In the 19th year, 500th day the King, Jāt. Śrīvallabha while being seated at his palace Madurai ordered that the *Iraiyili* grant to Mānavīra viṅṅagar ālvār of Vairāgam alias Mānavīranallūr in Mānavīra Valānāḍu in that village (of Kattāṇimaṅgalam) be transferred to the Vīrapāṇḍīśvaramudaiyār. This was granted at the request of the prince (Nampillai) Sundara Pāṇḍyan. The content of the grant was land dues from the village.⁵⁵

It should not be understood that this was a capricious transfer. The lands were located in Kattāṇimaṅgalam and as such could be beneficially enjoyed by the deity located in the village. The Viṣṇu temple was located in the adjoining *Nāḍu* and could have been either already adequately provided for or granted lands in the same nāḍu and location in exchange grants made by Jāt. Srivallabha are also noticed in the command area of *Nāṭṭār* (in Nāṅgunēri Taluk) (identical with Nambiyār). Perumpalañju in that river - command had the temples dedicated to Varagaṇīśvaramudaiyār, Tirunāgēśvaramudaiyār

and Puravarīśvaramuḍaiyār. A request for land grants was preferred by one Mānābharanaṅgalattu Ayyar (who might have been a minister or a person who had influence with the King). The King ordered that the Revenue Officers issue an ulvari (counterpart of the title deed from revenue accounts) for 1 vēli granted in the village.⁵⁶

A person perhaps identical with this Mānābharanaṅgalattu ayyar or his discendant might be Mānābharanaṅambi who occurs in Kōḍānūr inscription.⁵⁷

An undated record from Daḷapatisamudram gives interesting details of several grants made to the deity Mahādēva of Mayilādupārai Parākramapāṇḍya Cm. The grant was made from Madurai.⁵⁸ The grant comprised the following :-

- | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------|
| (i) | 3 vēli = 60 mā - wet | in the village of |
| | 2 vēli and 6 mā = 46 mā | Parākramapāṇḍya |
| | dry | Cm. |
| (ii) | Under the Tirukkuṅguḍi Tank | |
| | Vēli ½ + 4 mā - Tankfed. | |
| (iii) | Under Munnūrruvamaṅgalam Tank : 1¼ = 1 mā and mākkāni | |

Total 146, 7 Mākkāni = vēli 7, 6 mākkāni The boundaries of the grant village were shown by several officers :

Kaṅkāni Ārūr Śadaiyan Nambinārayaṅan

“Nam Tirumun aḍippār” (?) Kaṅḍan Vaḍugan Kuñjaramallan, Akapparivāram Aṅumbūr Āccan

Superintending Servant - Pāppān Bhagavan of Sundara Cōla Cm a Brahmadēya in Nāñjilnāḍu, (Suciṅdrām)

Aḍigaḷ Nārāyaṅan Dēvadēvēśan of Rājakkalmaṅgalam

Nāṭṭukkaṅakku Kaṅṅan Śūrri

The boundaries were shown Cōlan Tirundan,

Eastern boundary - Naralōkanāḍhanallūr Āccan piḍāran

Southern boundary - Alliyūr Kūttan Cōlan

Western hamlet - The Sabhā accounts of Parākramapāṇḍya Cm. Tiruvaraṅgavēlan

Northern hamlet - Tirukkuṅguḍi Śendan Cōlan

This document brings out the involvement of the residents of the villages surrounding the grant-village, who can vouch for the location of the lands. It conforms to the stipulation in Kātyāyana Smṛti Samhita of Sāmantās showing the boundaries as they could be credited with the personal knowledge of the location of the grant-lands.

Vijayanārāyana Cm was a populous and ancient Brahmādēya in the same command of Nāṭṭār. A record of the 10th year of Jāt. Śrīvallabha refers to the lands endowed in the 31st year of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa dēvar “who took Kollam”. This is obviously a reference to the Cōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1070-1122) and more precisely to a grant of the AD 1101 when his hold over the Pāṇḍyan territory was still in tact. Jāt. Śrīvallabha has been assigned the period AD 1090 to AD 1116 and the tenth year should refer to 1100-1101, about the same time. The lands were endowed to Śrī Saṭagōpaviṅṅar āḷvar, Śrī Varaguṇa Viṅṅar āḷvar, and Śrī Rāghava Cakravarti - three deities installed in Vijayanārāyaṇam. The lands were in the I taram and II taram. A reference is made to Saṅkaran Vāsudēvan of Turuttimaṅgalam, the chieftain (Mudalitaram, śeykinra) in the Brahmādēya. He together with the Sabhaiyār, ordered the recording of the grants according to the royal command conveyed through a letter.⁵⁹

Some two years later, the same individual Nambi Śaṅkaran Vāsudēvan, who was the chieftain of the village on behalf of Ravi Kōḍaivarman the ruler of Vēnāḍu provided for the proper repairs of the tank bund and the supply channel which had breached. The Mahāsabhā gratefully named the bund after the benefactor. This occurred in the 12th year (AD 1112).⁶⁰

Five years later, the King himself camped in this ancient township - in the palace, and on the request of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of Śrī Varaguṇa Viṅṅar āḷvār and Śrī Saṭagōpaviṅṅar āḷvār ganted *Antarāyam* and other land revenue to the temple for supply of clothings. Here again what was granted was the land-dues share on lands falling to the share of the deity and those acquired from the deity's own resources. The lands were granted in the top class, 2nd and 3rd. But the occupancy rights in these lands held by the residents of the village were not interefered with.⁶¹

Grants to the Agastīśvaram temple and a maṭha made during the reign of Jāt. Śrīvallabha refer to the grant village Munnūrruva mangalam in the Nāṭṭārūppokku. This could be located in the present Nāngunēri Taluk.⁶²

We may finally notice some of the *Ūrārs* who were active as seen from the contemporaneous records. These records are dated in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. In the 22nd year (AD 1091-1092) the Ūrār of Tirukkunṅakkudi alias Tirupugalūr collectively granted 10 mā of land.⁶³

A second record of the 40th year refers to several *Ūrars* - Iḍaikkuḍi alias Ravikulamāṇikka Nallūr. Śeṅgani Pakanda Kāyankuḍi, Veļuvūr, Kāñjiraṅguḍi, Vēttanguḍi, Ālangāḍu Śirukuḍi, Śiruvayal, Tāyāṅguḍi among others all in Tēnār command in Rājendra Cōla Valanāḍu. The inscription is incomplete.⁶⁴ These should be located in Tiruppattūr taluk.

Besides grants were made also by the Chieftain Adaļaiyūr nāḍāļvān out of his *jīvitam* lands.⁶⁵ The establishment of his *jīvitam* holdings can be traced even to the period of the Cōla supremacy. These villages were Tirukkunrakkuḍi, Veļuvūr, Paḍaikkāni, Vēlaṅguḍi, Kāñjiraṅguḍi Sāli, Pādirikkuḍi, Pārīsvaramaṅalam, Mērkāṇṇamaṅalam. It will be noticed some of the *Ūrs* listed above are comprised in the *Jīvitam* holding of Adaļaiyūr nāḍāļvān who had enjoyed the same assignment of a portion of the land dues from these agricultural townships.

The evidence can be summed up by drawing the inferences below:

The Pāṇḍyan resurgence had been followed by a number of grants to charitable institutions and the temple. Increased services instituted would have given the fillip to the growing needs and demand for agricultural products and services. These would have led to extension of cultivation and where feasible, also by creation or extension of irrigation facilities. These activities of the mercantile townships were noteworthy. The spread of the Pāṇḍyan authority by the beginning of the 12th century over the entire tract under study is fully borne out.

These trends continued with vigour during the reign of the Pāṇḍya rulers. Jāt. Kulaśekhara (AD 1190 to 1217) and his successors. Many of them were able warriors and had several conquests to their credit, like Mār. Sundara I (AD 1216-1239) Jāt. Sundara I and Jat. Vīra Pāṇḍya (AD 1253-1274) The campaigns had also thrown up several chieftain and commanders from various locations who attested the grant-deeds or themselves made grants to institutions or for services old and new.

This great activity noticed took several forms. Additional services were instituted. New shrines were added even in the existing temples and townships. Land grants carved out of the settlements already made by purchase or cancellation of earlier grants (particularly of the service tenure-*jīvitam*) or new settlements in favourable locations were made. These features were noticed throughout the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. Also the complexity of land tenures overlapping claims to ashare of the produce by a multiplicity of beneficiaries were noticeable.

Detailed case studies of the new Brahmadēya townships formed during the period are presented elsewhere.⁶⁶ The feasible method adopted here is to recount some characteristic developments and features and specific aspects.

Jat. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1190 to 1217) was greatly facilitated in reasserting the Pāṇḍyan authority by the matrimonial alliance he had struck with the Cēras. His queen was a Cēra Princess and the Pāṇḍyan ruler had promised a tax-free gift for a service in the name of his brother-in-law (maccunanār) Kōḍai Ravivarman at Sērmadēvi.⁶⁷ This Cera prince may be identical with Kōḍai Ravivarman whose agent figures in a Vijayanārāyaṇam inscription as a benefactor who restored the breached tank bunds.⁶⁸ Jat. Kulaśēkhara seated in Kūpakarāyanallūr in Tenkarai Nādu (on the south bank of Tāmbraparaṇi) in his 10th year made this endowment to Dvārāpati Ālvār (Kṛṣṇa temple) and lands were granted in the eastern hamlet of Śēraṇ mādēvi Cm. It may be noticed that this big Brahmādēya was itself named after a Queen (from) the Cēra family. A rockcut Vaṭṭeluttu inscription in Paccārkuḷam at Kīlāmbūr (close to Ambāsamudram) referred to a “Vēṇāṭṭuvar Kōn Iravi Varman”.⁶⁹

Trade, social and religious contacts should have been fostered between the west coast and the eastern plains. A shrine for Kulaśēkhara ālvār (the double entendre with the ruling Pāṇḍya was intended) was set up in the expanded temple at Rājendra Viṇṇagar.⁷⁰ The shrine was set up by a native of Malaimaṇḍalam, Mullaippalli Vāsudēvan and a disciple of Śeṇḍalaṅgāramahāmuni, a Vaiṣṇavite ascetic. This ascetic had also interested himself in a temple and settlement at kōḍānūr alias Kulaśēkhara Cm in Mēlavēmbunāḍu.⁷¹

These social contacts had led to a number of Malayāla Brāhmaṇas who had acquired occupancy holdings in different locations in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. These migrants were noticed in several places, like Madurai⁷² Aḷagarkōil⁷³ uplands, Tiruppāccētti⁷⁴ distant Muḍikarai⁷⁵ in Kaḷaiyārkōil uplands, Tirumālugaṇḍānkōṭṭai⁷⁶ in Mudukulattūr taluk and Radhapuram, Tirukkurunguḍi and Taruvai in Tirunelvēli district. The migration from Malaimaṇḍalam to the adjoining plants in Nāngunēri taluk and to Taruvai was only to be expected and natural. This migration could be dated in the 12th and 13th centuries.

A number of Agrahāras and Dēvadāna grants were made and these are considered in detail in examining the tenures and land levies and obligations. But a very large grant of a Brahmādēya by Jat. Kulaśēkhara I deserves notice. This transactions is detailed in the Tiruppūvaṇam Copper plates.

The procedure for constituting the big Agrahāra, named after Jat. Kulaśēkhara I (Rājagambhīra Cm) is interesting.⁷⁷ It throws light on the composition of a village, and the contents of the grant. It reveals the inter-tenurial obligations inherent such composition. The grant-township was a cluster of villages or part thereof on the South and North bank of Vaigai in the Southern most part of Sivagaṅgai Taluk and the Western and Southern part of Mānāmadurai Taluk in Rāmanāthapuram district. It had

a spread over five earlier Nādūs. Kīranūr, Panaṅgaḷūr Tiyandaikkūḍi, Mēṅkūḍi and Puṟapparālai Nāḍu. These were constituted into one big village Rājagambhīra Cm and it was big enough to be constituted into a Vaḷanādu as well bearing the same name. The boundaries were determined by a circumambulation by a female elephant. It had comprised 140 old villages.

Eleven persons were appointed to superintend the settlement of the boundaries. The boundaries commenced from the north-eastern corner and ended with the same spot. The actual demarcation was done by the local people.

This was in pursuance of the King's order from Madurai to the effect that from the 24th year, the big Brahmadeya be formed and granted to 1080 Brahmins who were well-versed in the Vēdas and Śāstras, each to be given one share. The remaining 120 shares (in all 1200) were set apart for the temple and the service holders in the temple.

The content of the grant is clear. The grant had excluded the old Dēvadāna, Palliccandam and lands already held in occupancy (*Kārāṅmaiṃyāna nilam*). Hence it protected the subsisting rights of the temple grants and grants to Jaina shrine and also occupancy holders who should have been large in number. The new inductors could only cultivate or cause to be cultivated the unoccupied lands and / or also receive the lands dues hitherto payable to the King. There was one exception. The grant extent had included three villages endowed as Dēvadāna already to the temple at Tiruppūvaṅam - viz. Vāgaikkūḍi, Muttūranarottai, Śirukilāṅgāṭṭūr. How this prior claim and the dues to the temple were secured form the subject matter of the "Tiruppūvaṅam Supplementary plates".⁷⁸ This record was addressed to the Sabhaiyār of Rājagambhīra Cm. The three villages were inspected at the time of standing crops and Kaḍamai (land due) was fixed on that basis and realised by the temple. This was discontinued and from the 11th year, the land dues were fixed in cash as below

Vagaikkūḍi	..	Kāśu	10
Muttūranarottai	..	Kāśu	10
Śirukilāṅgāṭṭūr	..	Kāśu	5
			<hr/>
			25 Kāśu per year

This was fixed as the lease (*oṭṭu*) amount, but it was to be paid half in cash, i.e. 12½ kāśu and in paddy, the other half.

Mār. Sundara Pandya I had ordered it on the request of his brother-in-law (Maccunnaṅār) Aḷagapperumāl (AD 1226). On this order of the King, the deity endorsed this obligation. It was further clarified that the lease amount shall be the immutable levy of obligation (vādākkāḍan). The cash and the paddy were to be delivered at the door of the temple kitchen and receipt obtained. Three Bhaṭṭas (Śivabrāhmaṅās) and one of the bachelor-attendants and the Temple Treasury Accountant signed the deed.

A second instance was the whole village of Miḷaganūr. This was not a Brahmaḍēya but was held by occupants who cultivated and paid the full land demand. Hence in exchange thereof, a new village was constituted. This new unit comprised-Kuvalaivēli, Pudukkuḷam, Mārānkīrti, Kāvidinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅgalam, Sattiyār-ēmbal, in Accankāṭṭirukkai and that part of the Arayakuḷam in Kaṅnai-irukkai, but (carefully) excluding the one half of that village⁷⁹ held by Mandarai-Rāman alias Pallavaraiyar (*Mandarai Rāman āna Pallavaraiyar Kāṅṅiyāna Śempādi nīkki-nīkkiyulla nilamum āga*). The other occupancy tenures were cancelled and this grant extent was constituted into one *Nāḍu*, one *Ūr*, one *Puravu* and renamed Accankāṭṭirukkai-Midaganūr alias Rājendraśiṅganallūr and recorded as such in the revenue records.

This part of the document brings out that when the agricultural holdings of fully assessed lands were included in the Brahmaḍēya care was taken to grant and constitute lands of the same tenure in exchange and it was constituted into a separate *Ūr*.

Similar constitutions of *Brahmaḍēyas*, *Nagarās* and *Ūr* could be easily multiplied. The first category were the largest recorded and the second and the third lesser and lesser in that order as far as epigraphic evidence is available. But the last category should be easily the most numerous.

A few Śinnamanūr records bring out the constituents of the Nagarattār.⁸⁰ They belong to 18 Viṣayattār of 4 Nagarās and 18 Mandalam and the *settis* of Sōnāḍu Danasattis who made a grant of a share of the proceeds of levies on articleless of merchandise (Paṭṭanappagudi). Another category-Kīlavattai Padineṅviṣayattār and their agents (Tarakar) is mentioned. The specific identity of every one of the constituents is not clear.⁸¹

In the 9th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1199) a Brahmaḍēya for 54 Brahmins was formed at the request of Kāliṅgarāyar and lands of Veḷḷānvagai Tenure were converted into Brahmaḍēya Tenure.⁸² A 11th year record of a ruler (unnamed) constituted Ānaiyūr (Tennavan Śirīūr) as one township and revenue village and rendered Dēvadāna Iṅṅayili. In this case the occupants remained unaffected but the land dues were endowed to the temple at Tiruttaṅgal.⁸³

In the same reign the village of Tiruppāccōrri Cm had become depopulated. In the 19th year (1209 AD) forty families of Brahmins were made to settle in the villages and shares assigned.⁸⁵ They were perhaps from Malayāla Brahmins and the Viṣṇu temple had the deity Malaimaṇḍalattu Viṇṇagar ālvār. Later in the 4th year of Jaṭ. Vikrama's reign Kannada Brahmins were also referred to as settlers and one Sandi Bhaṭṭan Viṭṭaṇan was granted 5 *mā* of land tax free.⁸⁵

Kannāḍiga Brahmins might have moved to the Vaigai and Tāmbraparaṇi basins following the Hoysāḷa intervention during the time of Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I and II. A whole Brahmādēya was constituted on the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi and named Pōśāḷa Vīra Sōmidēva Cm after Hoysāḷa Sōmēśvara who was claimed to be the māmiḍi (uncle or father-in-law) of Mār. Sundara II.⁸⁶

In the 8th year of that ruler (AD 1246-7) a new grant village Iravi Varma Cm⁸⁷ named after his grandfather (A Vēṇāḍu Chieftain) was formed and share granted for 48 Bhattas and 12 for the Brahmins doing adyayana service in the Tirunelvēli temple besides 5 shares for temples named below :-

Viṣṇu Temple, Śrīrāmaviṇṇagar	..	2
Pāṇḍimādēvisvaramuḍaiyār	..	2
TONḍaimān Viṇṇagar alvār of the contonment - township,		
Maṇarpaḍaivīḍu	..	$\frac{1}{5}$

Other instances of Brahmadyās or other townships constituted may be listed :

Grant of 222 shares ⁸⁸ to 216 Brahmins in Kulaśekhara Cm from lands purchased in 5 specified villages and separated into a tax free unit.	Tri Kōnērinmaikōṇḍan 35 year (Mār. Kulaśekhara 35th year (AD 1303)
For 109 Brahmins and for services for reading Mahabhāratam, Rāmāyaṇam, Jyōtiṣa and Vaidyā	N A.
“Cōla-Pāṇḍya Cm” ⁸⁹	
Creation of an agrahara from the self-cultivated lands of the King to be formed into 20 shares and 4 more at 2 each for Śiva and Viṣṇu temple. ⁹⁰	Kōnērinmaikōṇḍān
Formation of an agrahara with a canal excavated for a tank. ⁹¹	Mār. Vikrama 13 AD 1296
A number of villages and tanks in Vaḍaparappunāḍu constituted into Cēranārāyaṇapuram - as a Nagara - into one township and revenue unit. ⁹²	Kōnērinmaikōṇḍān 13 + 73
Sāmantanārāyana Cm. ⁹³ (32 shares)	

We have a number of grants or regrants during the reigns of Mār. Sundara I, Jat. Sundara and Vīra and Mār. Kulaśekhara. Typical instances have been noticed above but the evidence is only repetitive. The detailed history of a few Brahmadeya have been given in my collected papers.⁹⁴

The constituted Brahmadeyas had functioned through its primary body of the Sabhā and the annual Committees, Vāriyam, especially for tank supervision and distribution of water.⁹⁵ (Ēri vāriyam)

Its executive officers had comprised the Madhyastha (Registrar) of the decisions and authorised attestor and the accountant (Karaṇattān). The Nagara and the Ūr had

also their own accountants. Besides pluralistic organisations like the temple, the Panmāhēvaras, Sri Vaiṣṇavas and the Āṇḍars had their own executives.

The Township organisation had two important segments of executives - Paṇṇai śeyvār and Vēli śeyvār. These were the executives through whom the Township Organisations had supervised the agricultural operations and the formation of fields and their boundaries. Their services were invariably invoked in making the land transactions together with the Mahasabha. In AD 1191-92 Tirunīlakaṇṭan alias Toṇḍaimān had gifted some lands, gardens and drylands 1 *mā mundirigai* in extent. These were made over to the Mahāsabhā or Arikēsarinalūr (in Aḷanāḍu) and the Paṇṇai sēyvār and Vēliśeyvar.⁹⁶ The terms should refer to those in charge of the supervision of the cultivated lands and collection of dues for and on behalf of the Mahāsabhā and the surveyors and keepers of the boundary and field accounts (Vēliśeyvār). They also joined the Mahāsabhā in AD 1270-71 in selling the lands to the deity or to donors who wished to endow the lands.⁹⁷

In a third transaction in AD 1293-94 these two categories - Paṇṇai śeyvār and Vēliśeyvār join the Mahāsabhā in granting lands in exchange for lands elsewhere. These were Tūṇi land - but as per *oḷugu* account 18 *Mā*. and the *dēvadāna* land of Durgai 2 *Mā* and 1 *Mā* of land of Tirumaḍai vilāgam - in all 21 *Mā*. These were taken to the common holding of the Township and registry changed in the *oḷugu* accounts (*Ūr Paṇṇāka oḷugil Māṭṭerindu*). In exchange the *Mahāsabhā* granted 2 *Mā* under the tank.⁹⁸

From the signatories of the two documents, they are all Brahmins. This gives room for the inference that the constituents of the Mahāsabhā and the Paṇṇai śeyvār and the vēli śeyvār in these cases were the same and they formed part of the landed occupants who supervised the cultivation and maintained the *oḷugu* (land register) and the Survey accounts respectively.

Sometimes, they are clubbed together as Paṇṇai Vēli seyvār.⁹⁹ That they were the executives of and accountable to the Mahāsabhā is clear from the qualifying term "Sabhaikku-Samainda". There is also an executive of the Sabhā separately figuring in that record. (Sabhā śrīkāryam seykinṇa)¹⁰⁰

An inscription from Śāligrāmam (Mār. Sundara I, 9th year, AD 1225) clearly brings out the functions of the functions of the Paṇṇai śeyvār and vēli śeyvār. The Sabhaiyār had undertaken to bear the land dues on certain endowed lands. The executives Paṇṇai śeyvār and vēli śeyvār undertake not to inspection the crop yield for purposes of assessing the levy on the lands. When the King's tax officials supervise the land dues to be collected, they shall bear and deliver the levy due on the exempted lands from the common resources of the Township.¹⁰¹

The Paṇṇai, vēli seyvār of Kulaśēkhara Cm (Tirunelvēli) delimit the grant made to the temple at Tirunelvēli and specify the boundaries of lands by Anavaradādāna Cm. They used a 18 feet pole with 196 *kuḷi* = (16x16) to make one *mā* and lands were located under every sluice and block and the shares allocated (*Karai-iṭṭukkonḍu*).¹⁰²

On the lands so formed into shares, the Brahmin occupants had to pay an immutable levy (*Vādākkadan*). There were 2 paṅgus each for Vālavalla-Pāṇḍīśvaramudaiyanāyanār and to Vālavallapāṇḍya-Viṇṇagar nāyanār and 24 shares for the Bhaṭṭas. These 24 shareholders were to pay the land dues on the lands to the temple. This was in the 8th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara.

The Paṇṇai sēyvār might be having the following functions within the township, arranging for the cultivations of the lands reverting to the township or held in common (*Sabhai podu*), arranging for the cultivation of lands that had got transferred or endowed to institutions located outside the Township, besides supervising the lease-holdings and fixed rentals that should accrue. Also they would have kept the cultivation accounts of the tax-paying lands to discharge the collective obligations of the Township for the payment of *Kaḍamai* to the King's men. They had to inspect the crops in lands cultivated to assess yield on the basis of which the landlevies were collectable.

The vēli sēyvār might be the executives fixing the outer boundaries of the Township and also the boundaries of the lands of tenurial integrity of the Dēvadāna, Dharmādāya. They had also to allocated shares of lands sold or purchase or endowed among lands not divided by metes and bounds and fix individual occupancy of lands with multiple occupancies.

These were the functions of the internal land organisation which was an open field system. The puravu or cultivable occupancy holdings had to be secured by prickly bear and mudwalls to prevent stray cattle. The community had to step in when individuals were remiss in discharging their obligations. These executives were then the community's watchdogs and were accountable to them.

There were other executives in the next higher territorial division - the Nāḍu. We notice two such categories *Nāḍu Kūruśeyginṛār* and "*Nāḍu Vagai Śeyginṛār*."¹⁰³ The functions of these executives can be easily discerned. The *Nāḍu Kūru Śeyginṛār perumakkal* were the officers of the Nāḍu who fixed the territorial boundaries of the townships within the Nāḍu. Their main concern was to ensure the tenurial integrity of the lands, preserving the share of every one of the multiple interests. The *Nāḍu Vagai Śeyginṛār* should refer to the settlement of the various tenures, the *Ūr*, *Nagara*, *Dēvadāna*, and *Brahmadēya*, *jīvitam* and of the respective shares and include the transactions of sale exchange of lands among the different tenures and their conversion. Of course they had the collective obligation of collecting the land dues and enforcing

the distributed obligations (*Nāttuviniyōgam*) which were case on the occupants or the groups of occupants. They sometimes took on the responsibility of overseeing the obligations due to the temples. They also sign on behalf of the *nāḍu*, the endorsements of royal orders.¹⁰⁴

From the transactions noticed above it is apparent that there were frequent changes in tenures of lands and of townships, not all of them, of lands divided by metes and bounds. An *Oḷugu* account had to be kept of the content of lands according to grants or endorsements made. Sale and purchases of lands were also common. These transactions sometimes covered only a portion of the land produce. Hence, multiplicity of interests converged on the same land. These included the institution or the individuals entitled to receive the King's revenue, in whole or in part (if *kadamai* and *antarāyam* alone was granted) the lands, the yield from which was wholly enjoyed by the beneficiaries, the land with fixed immutable levies, and the lands from which annual divisible share according to the ascertained yield inspected on fields in harvest were collectable.

A second segment could be the transfer of the subsidiary lands dues payable to a *jīvitam* holders or transferred by him to a beneficiary.

A third segment were the *Karanmai* - i.e. the proceeds of occupancy. These were also sometimes shared by the community of shareholders and the temple or other institutions.

Finally, the cultivators who held the land under the occupants had to be reckoned with and they were accountable for rendering the *Kuḍimai*, or the services of various kinds - like maintaining bunds and channels and silt-clearance, and public utilities, feeding the King's servants or those of the *Nāḍu* or the *Ūr* who came on functional errands, besides rendering services to the temple and collecting the land in kind, and carting and delivering them at collections - depots or granaries.

The functional organisation of the *Ūr*, and the *Nāḍu* were effective but limited the executive were drawn from among the constituents and accountable to the collective body of the occupancy holders within.

One more category of Townships may distinguished. They are the *jīvitam* (Maintenance grant) for the chieftans who had to muster soldiery in times of war and could manage or administer the cluster of villages granted on this tenure to them. They were usually hereditary. More of this tenure is noticed in the following chapter on "Land Tenures".

A second category of Townships were those with occupancy holdings of the soldier. There are a number of such townships located on the Western border of the Pāṇḍyan

territory abutting the western ghats. Some were also in the interior in the Tāmraparaṇi Belt, or in the Vaigai Belt. As the volume of evidence gathered is considerable they are considered in a separate chapter that follows.

This chapter may be concluded with a notice of the detailed procedure adopted for the grant of lands or land dues of the King. The procedure was identical both in Pāṇḍyan times and during the Cōḷa rule. But there are several interesting details which the inscriptions bring out. Annexure I to this Chapter is an attempt to describe the details and forms of the procedure adopted and also to interpret and distinguish the varied terms that occur in the epigraphy.

FOOT NOTES :

1. ARE 109/1901 - E.I. pp. 292 ff.
2. Please see my "Rājendra Viṅṅagar" - Chapter I.
3. For eg. S.II. XIV/194.
4. Cōḷa inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I occur in Edirkōṭṭai (Rāmnad) and Sinnamanūr SII Vol. XXVI 502, 503, 505 SII Vol. XXIII, 439, 452 (Madurai) Kulōtunga I, who had campaigned for reasserting his authority in the restive Pāṇḍyan tract had also representative inscriptions in scattered locations right upto Kūttar (Nāgercōil) the Cōḷa Pāṇḍya inscriptions published in the SII / XIV, if they can be taken to be representative they cannot be representative due to the nonsampling character of evidence reveal 61 Cōḷa Pāṇḍya inscriptions in Tirunelvēli district, 3 in Ramnad district (159, 171, 176) and 3 in Madurai district. In the last district 2 are in Anaimalai and 1 in Aḷagarkōil. This sampling of published inscriptions will bear out that the extant Cōḷa and Cōḷa Pāṇḍya inscriptions listed from the other parts of the two districts of Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai districts are comparatively sparse.
5. ARE 311/1963-64 - Vīrapāṇḍyapaṭṭinam (AD 1387)
6. For typical studies of individual Pāṇḍyan Townships, especially Brahmadeya, the reader is referred to the author's "Collected Papers" (Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 1994) and "Rajendra Viṅṅagar" (Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 1980).
7. ARE 116/1905.
8. ARE 117/1905 "Taptamāṣamum maḷavum" is a term which is unclear. In the context in which it occurs the sense can be rendered as "cultivation equipment and the plough"
 "Adiyarai" is a corrupt of Adiyurai - eg. "Adiyurai, Tirumunikāraikkudi (43-9 Periyālvār Tirumoli"
 Also "Divya Prabhandā Agarati" (G.M.S. Library Publication)

9. ARE 118/1905.

10. 120/1905.

12. SII Vol. XIV/160, 161

“Sivadharmā” is the upāgama of the main Āgama entitled “Śarvōkta” or Sarvōkta”. Its contents are *inter alia*, “Sivabhaktiprasamsa, Lirāgarcanaphala, Lingōdbhavavarnāna, Prasādanirmāṇa sēvāphala, Śivārcanadravya puṇyaphala, Śivapūjāphala, etc”. I am indebted to Dr. S. S. Janaki, Director, K.S.R.I. for this information.

Kākkalūr is a hamlet to the north of Ghaṭana river, now known as Kākkanallūr.

13. SII XIV/p. 73 fn. Confer 241/1941, Tirupparankunṇam for gift of house-sites to several temple servants

14. SII XIV/161.

15. SII XIV/147.

16. *Ibid*, 144, 148.

17. *Ibid* 157.

18. *Ibid* 164.

19. *Ibid* 194.

20. *Ibid* 197.

21. *Ibid* 173 - Aḷagarkōil.

22. Pāṇḍavarmaṅgalaṃ Plates. A13/1958-59. The genuineness of the copper plates is in doubt. But the existence of the Brahmadēya is attested.

23. The text in 429/1916 refers to the 39th year.

24. ARE 444/1916.

Such boundary stones bearing street names are found elsewhere - Eg. 116/1916; Tirukkalākkudi; 158/1938 - Iḷaiyāthākudi “Kāḷaiyārkālan”. Measurement, rods are also inscribed - Eg. Kōil Kuḍi tāngi at Kōvanūr 48/1926.

25. SII XIV/134.

26. *Ibid* 146.

27. SII XIV/203 - Vēppilaippattī

28. *Ibid* 204.

29. *Ibid* 208.

30. *Ibid* 205.

31. *Ibid* 221.

32. Ibid 213.
33. Ibid 218.
34. Ibid 249.
35. Ibid 235.
36. Ibid 242.
37. Ibid 253.
38. Ibid 259.
39. Ibid 260.
40. Ibid 261.
41. Ibid 243.
42. Ibid 228.
43. Ibid 238.
44. Ibid 248.
45. Ibid 233.
46. Ibid 234.
47. Please see the author's paper on "Kōil Kuruvitturai" "Grants, resumption, and regrant" in the "Collected papers" (1994) for its detailed history.
48. SII XIV/262.
49. Ibid 251.
50. Ibid 214.
51. Ibid 230.
52. Ibid 237.
53. Ibid 232.
54. Ibid 265.
55. Ibid 250.
56. Ibid 206.
57. ARE 203.1933.
58. SII XIV - 264.
59. Ibid 226.

60. Ibid 231. Please see *infra* for details, the chapter on "Irrigation" (Chapter VII)
61. SII XIV/241
62. Please see my research paper on "Kanyākumari" in my "Collected papers" pp. 223-225.
63. SII XXVI/35.
64. Ibid 33.
65. Ibid 36.
66. Please see my "Collected Papers" Also "Land grants and agrarian reactions in the Cōla and the Pāṇḍya times" (Madras University publication 1987.)
67. ARE 664/1916.
68. Please see *infra* the Chapter on "Irrigation"
69. ARE 518/1916. Also TAS IX - p. 19
70. Please see the author's monograph on "Rājendra Viṅṅagar" (Tamil Nadu Dept. of Epigraphy (1980).
71. Please see the author's paper on "Kōḍānūr" in the "Collected papers".
72. ARE 158, 189, 190, 191/1943-44 (Jaṭ. Vikrama)
73. ARE 24/1931-32.
74. ARE 71/1929-Jaṭ. Vikrama 4th year.
75. Muḍikkarai - unnumbered inscription copied in 1983-84 (Jaṭ. Vikrama 44th year)
76. ARE 38, 39/1931-32 (Mār. Sundara II - 6th year AD 1244)
77. EI XXV/p 64 ff.
78. Ibid No. 12 pp. 135 ff.
79. My interpretation differs from that of the learned editor at p. 71. But he has correctly rendered the import at p. 124 in the translations as "deducting"
80. SII XXIII/429, 430
81. Ibid 434.
82. ARE 542/1922.
83. ARE 543, 544/1922.
84. ARE 78/1928-29.
85. ARE 71/1928-29.
86. Please see my "Collected papers" for a detailed history of "Pōśala Vīrasōmidēva Cm".

87. SII V. 446.
88. ARE 318/1929-30 - Aḷagarkōil.
89. ARE 533/1926 - Srivilliputtūr.
90. ARE 68/1916, 73/1916 - Tirukkaḷakkudi.
91. ARE 289/1960-61 - Tirumāṇikkam.
92. ARE 273/1930 - Aḷagarkōil.
93. ARE 322/1930 - Aḷagarkōil.
94. The ‘‘Collected papers’’ - Chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 17.
95. ARE 322/1923 - Tirukōṣṭiyūr.
96. SII XXIII/450 - Sinnamanūr
97. Ibid 428.
98. Ibid 432.
99. SII V/411 - Tirunelvēli.
100. ARE 379/1935 - Kāṭṭāṇimaṅgalam.
101. ARE 311/1949-50
102. SII V/411.
103. Ibid 411.
104. ARE 291/1941 - Tentiruppērai,

CHAPTER III - APPENDIX - I

The forms of procedure for royal grants, their implementation and conveyance

The grants made to temples, and charitable institutions like the Maṭha or of a personal nature made by the Pāṇḍyan ruler have been expressed in several forms which together constitute the procedure adopted for the royal orders of grants and their formal mutation in the revenue accounts and conveying the grant to the Township organisation or the beneficiaries.

The terms that occur can be listed at the threshold. (1) *Tiruvāykkēlvi* or *Kēlvi* for short (2) *Śrīmukham* or *Tirumukham* (3) The *Kaiyīḍu ulvari* (4) The *Ninaippu* (5) The *Kaittaḍi* or (6) *Kaḍaiyīḍu* (7) *Niyōgam* (8) *Śirukkankalāi pōdakkāṭṭal*. These are severally executed and hence they are in different forms every one of which is inscribed separately. Thus, we have a bunch of records relating to the same transaction and often repetitive and sometimes one document supplementing the information in others.

It should not be understood that every one of these forms was adopted in each and every grant. The *Kēlvi* and *Ulvāri* are invariably in evidence. Where the local township endorsed or enlarged the grant-content its *Kaittaḍi* and *niyōga* are also noticeable. The *Śrīmukham*, *Ninaippu* and *Kaḍaiyīḍu* were also found in vogue but noticeable in every case.

For example, a bunch of records from *Idaikāl*¹ refer to the same set of transactions in the 10th year of *Jat. Kulaśēkhara*. Similarly another set of grants refer to the setting up of a temple and grant for its maintenance made in the 21st year of *Jat. Kulaśēkhara-I* (AD 1211) also from *Idaikāl*.²

Some more examples are the following :

*Tirukoṣṭiyūr*³

*Tirukoṣṭiyūr*³

*Sālaigrāmam*⁴

*Śērmādēvi*⁵

Jat. Śrī Vallabha

Mār. Sundara I (14)

{ *Pāṇḍya - (9+1)*
{ *Ruler Not available*

Tirukaḷakkudī ⁶	Name of ruler not available 11th year
Tirukaḷakkudī ⁷	
Tiruppattūr ⁸	
Pirānmalai ⁹	Ruler not available-34th year 22nd day
Gaṅgaikondān ¹⁰	Mar. Sundara II
Āttūr ¹¹	
Sugantalai ¹²	Not available

The last two state that on the grant by the King his subordinate officers (Sirukkaṅkaḷai) were asked to show the orders received. (*Pōdakkāṭṭacconnōm*)

Based on the evidence set out above which is typical, it will be possible to interpret the specific denotation of these terms used as forms of procedure for royal grants, their implementation and conveyance to the Township or the beneficiary. The second significance of the bunch of records lies in dating the inscriptions. The name of the ruler and the regnal year are available in the inscription conveying the grant. The *ulvari* or other communications may only be expressed as a command beginning with ‘*Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān*’ or ‘*Tiruvāykēlvikku mēl*’ and in some later day documents as ‘*Arulicceyal*’. (The command by the grace of the King).

The typical instances cited are examined below from the procedural point of view which is the theme of this annexure.

The Pāṇḍyan King Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara in the 10th year (AD 1200) was in this bedstead called Maḷavarāyan in the bed-chamber in the palace at Tirunelvēli in Kīlavēmbu Nāḍu. On the supplication of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and the princess of Sri Jeyatōṅga Viṅṅagar ālvār temple at Iḍaikāl in Rājarāja Cm he ordered that 4½ *mā* of land and another parcel 2½ *mā* in extent in all 7 *mā* be granted as *Kārāṅmai Dēvadānam*. This constituted the Tiruvāykēlvi or ‘*Kēlvi*’.¹³

A letter was issued conveying the oral command and also an extract of the revenue account (*ulvari*) which listed out the taxes remitted on the Dēvadāna grant. In the present transaction the following taxes were remitted. *Kaḍamai* and *Antarāyam* payable in *Accu. Kāryavārāichi* (Court fee), services like *Veṭṭippāṭṭam* (a contract fee for labour services due). *Pañjupīli* (the fluff of cotton). *Sandivigrahappēru* (levies for war and peace) *Uḷundānkudī* (fee payable by the cultivating tenant. *Pāḍikāval*. (Watch and Ward levy). *Ariśittuṇḍam* (unclear, a levy for dehusking paddy), *tānappēru*, *Ponvuri* (cash levy or levy for minting), the tax payable on the residential site occupied by the

temple, the tax on oil mill, the tax looms and the tax on goldsmith or stonemason (artisans) and the lease thereof. This also was part of the royal Secretariat Order.¹⁴

It was conveyed with a letter (Tirumukham or Śrīmukham) from the royal Secretariat to the Township Organisation. (the Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm) On receipt, they separated the extent so granted, so that it could be treated as a revenue unit and taxes remitted and gave a written agreement (Kaittadi).¹⁵

They also remitted the distributed levies for Tiruvidaiyāṭṭam lands (i.e. lands endowed for Viṣṇu Temple) such as *Kaṛpūravilai*, *Vārāphalam*, *Iṅḡiruppuvari*, *Kūraipuguvān*, *eccōru*, *Variccōru* and additional collections. This written agreement was attested by as many as 12 Brahmin landholders representing the Mahāsabhā. A Tentiruppērai record uses the term ‘*Kaiyiḍu*’ of the royal officials and of the Mahāsabhā (Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I - 39th year)¹⁶.

A second set of records relating to a similar grant is dated in the 21st year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1221) half vēli of land was granted to the Viṣṇu temple at Vadatalaikkalam (Iḍaikāl), the eastern hamlet of Rājarāja Cm with *Kārāṅmai*, *mīyatci* and the tax proceeds of *antarāyam* included. This oral order was conveyed by (an epistle) Ōlai and was implemented through the *Uḷvari* (the extract of the village account where the tenurial mutation was effected.)¹⁷

The royal order was conveyed through a letter from Maḷavarāyan at whose instance the request of the Vaiṣṇava residents and priests and the temple executives was granted. This was the ‘*Ōlai*’. ‘*Śrīmukham*’ or ‘*Tirumukham*’. the royal command conveyed on the epistle.¹⁸

The revenue account extract (*uḷvari*) incorporating the mutation was signed by a number of officials (Puravuvāri Tiṅai Kaḷattār), and superintendents (nāyagam) among others.¹⁹

The grant was to a temple Aḷagapperumāl) Viṅṅagar set up by Tirukkuḍandai Aḷagiya Tirumāliruṅḡolai Nārāyaṇan alias Tinnancōlai Tādan.²⁰

The term ‘*Tadan*’ is the Tadbhava of ‘*Dāsan*’ and may be the Vaiṣṇavite name if he was a Brahmin, given at the time of his Samāsrayaṇa when he was accepted by an Acharya. Alternatively it may be a ‘*Sāttāda Vaiṣṇava*, a Vaiṣṇava non-Brahmin.

The Mūlaparuṣai of Tirukōṣṭiyūr gave a letter to the temple executive Sri Kṛṣṇanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭar (of Ātreya Gōtra). They conveyed the grant of a land as tax-free Dēvadāna which was purchased from the Nagarattār of Aruviyūr, (Śrīvallabhapuram) in terms of the royal epistle (Tirumukham) the oral command (Tiruvāykēḷvi) and the extract of the mutation in the Land Register by the Revenue Officials

(*Puravariyār eḷuttuṭṭa ulvari*) and the final proceedings (*Kaḍai Īḍu*) of the *jīvitam* holder of the tract *Kalavaḷi nāḍālvār*.

This was ordered to be engraved, detailing the taxes remitted, but specifying the land dues at 3 *kalams*, *Tūṇi*, *Padakku* per *mā*, and *Antarāyam* *mēni* 1¼ *Tiramam* to be delivered at the temple. This was engraved in the temple walls according to the royal order. This inscription introduces us to another part of the proceedings *kaḍai īḍu* of the *Jīvitam* holder who held the tract.²¹

Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I in his 14th year (AD 1230) granted lands tax free in which the deity at *Sālaigrāmam* had already enjoyed occupancy rights. He ordered his grant to be conveyed in a command letter (*ōlai*) enclosing an extract from the revenue accounts signed by the revenue officials numbering over 25, most of whom were superintendents of the revenue from occupied holdings.²² besides some Araiya Chieftains. This showed the Pāṇḍyan bureaucracy and hierarchy were no less extensive than that of the *Cōlās*.²³

The same detailed procedure of royal letter and the oral order reduced and attested in writing and an *ulvari* by the revenue officials and *Kaḍaiyīḍu* is also illustrated by a grant of Mār. Sundara II to the temple at *Gāngai Koṇḍān*.²⁴

A Pāṇḍyan inscription from *Śērmādēvi* (ruler's name N.A.) reveals the loss of the original grant deed of the temple in the 13 + 5 year (18th) of *Jāṭ*. *Kulaśēkhara* in the month of *Mārgaḷi* and accordingly a memorandum (*Ninaippu*)²⁵ was issued which itself was serve the purpose of the *Ulvari*. It was attested by a number of Superintendents of the *Puravari Tinaikkaḷam* (Revenue registry). This enabled the temple to realise 133 *Dramam*, 6 *Mākkāṇi* from the 11th year. The Memorandum issued as the authorisation for the tax-yield in place of the earlier title deeds which were lost. They were also ordered to be written again and given and till such time the Memorandum “*Ninaippu*” issued 26 was itself to serve as the document of title. This was again attested by as many as twenty officials. This order was also endorsed to the King's registry (*Nam pattiram pidippārkkuru*)²⁷ who had enjoyed the lands as *Jīvitam* earlier but since transferred as *Dēvadāna iraiyili*. The same form of “*Ninaippu*” or memorandum occurs in an inscription from *Tiruppattūr*.²⁸

A grant made to *Tirukkalakkudi* temple was also ordered²⁹ and conveyed from *Gāngaikoṇḍapatṇam* where the King was camping in the form of a memorandum (*Ninaippu*).³⁰

A similar communication of grant was conveyed in the form of *Ninaippu* at Giryambālpuram.³¹ When the ruler was camping at Kēralavīratāvaḷam he issued a memorandum granting some tax proceeds to the Pīrānmalai temple in his 34th year.³² This was in pursuance of the royal epistle ordered on the same day.³³

The term also occurs in an inscription of Mār. Sundara I from Kaṇṇanūr.³⁴

The deity at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi got on sale lands from the Maṛavar of Vēlaṅguḍi in Pūṅgunra Nāḍu. The King on the recommendation of³⁵ Maḷavarāyan granted the tax-proceeds of *Antarāyam*, *vinīyōgam*, *Vēlikkāsu*, *Ponvari*, *Sirrāyam* and other levies to the deity. This was conveyed in his oral command followed by *uḷvari* from the revenue officials.³⁶

Two more terms deserve notice. In some inscriptions the king ordered that his command shall be carried out by his subordinate executives (Sīrukaṅkānikālai pōdakkāttac connōm) attest and exhibit the grant.³⁷

The term *Niyōga*³⁸ or *Mahāniyōga* also occurs which means an order of decision conveyed. This occurs both in conveying the royal grants and by the *Mahāsabhā* conveying their decision to bear land levies themselves or the distributed levies they collect for the communal obligation. *Mahāniyōga* applies to a royal order or communication *Niyoga* to that of the *Sabhā* or *Mahāsabhā*.³⁹

The evidence would bring out how set forms procedures involving the heirarchy and the attestation of the royal decision by several officials was in vogue which should be a safeguard against spurious or unauthorised or non-authentic grants. The *Niyōgas* of the *Mahāsabhā* also were attested by several Brahmin residents/occupants. They were written documents duly executed or endorsed or attested. The letter of endorsement of tax-remission was also attested by a number of the *Ūrār* and the *Nāṭṭār*. The common knowledge of the constituents coupled with the engraving on copper or stone of the remission orders or decisions conveyed through the heirarchy was a necessary public safeguard. Even the inscribing of the grants in the stone walls of the temple as explicitly ordered by the king.^{39A} The royal authority and the bureaucracy which executed it or the community organisation responsible for implementing the decision or making supplemental grants spoke for the hold of the king and his officers in the kingdom.

When earlier grant deeds were lost in any calamity (*antarappattu*) copies were reconstructed by the memorandum of the king or copies thereof were given from the archives.⁴⁰

There are also reasons to surmise that the officials working under the king as his *Uttara Mantri* or as a minister were drawn from the same lineage (hereditarily) or family and at any rate from the same place. The place of nativity from which these officials hailed frequently mentioned are for example :

- 1 Aṇḍa Nāḍu (near Paḷani) Perumaṇalūr
- (2) Miḷalaikkūrram - Ponparri
- (3) Madurōdaya Vaḷanāḍu - Kāñjai Iṟukkai Uḷakkuḍi
- (4) Madurōdaya Vaḷanāḍu - Koḍumālūr
- (5) Sevvīrukkai Nāḍu
- (6) Pāganūr Kūrram
- (7) Malli Nāḍu - Taḍaṅkaṇṇi Śīrrūr
- (8) Kīlavēmbu Nāḍu - Tacchanūr
- (9) Kīlavēmbu Nāḍu - Rājavillipuram (Mār. Sundara I and Mār. Sundara II)

They were mostly drawn from Arantāṅgi - Tiruvādānai Taluk, Paḷani, Srivilliputtur, Sivagaṅga, Paramakkudi, Mudukuḷattur (Rāmanāthapuram district), Soḷavandān Tk. (Madurai) and from Tirunelvēli Tk. (Tirunelvēli). Of course the individuals vary but the frequent occurrence of the officials from these places is well-attested. It would be an interesting aspect to investigate on a computer analysis the frequency and the occurrence of these members of the same family or nativity adopting a chronological sequence.

FOOT NOTES :

1. (i) 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511 / 1916
(ii) 511 512, & 513 / 1916
2. 502, 503, 504, 505 / 1916
3. 283/1923 and 291 / 1923
4. 313-314-315 / 1949-50
5. 680, 682, 683, 684, 685 / 1916
6. 71, 72 / 1916
7. 92, 102 / 1916
8. 176 / 1936
9. SII VIII / 433, 435
10. SII V / 734
11. 443 / 1930
12. 7 / 1916
13. 507 / 1916
14. 506 / 1916
15. 508 / 1916
16. 291 / 1941
17. 502 / 1916
18. 504 / 1916
19. 505 / 1916
20. 502 / 1916
21. 283 / 1923
22. 313 / 1949-50
23. 313-315 / 1949-50
24. SII V / 734
25. 680, 682, 683 / 1916
26. 684 / 1916, 685, 687 / 1916

27. Ibid
28. 176 / 1936
29. 72 / 1916
30. 71 / 1916
31. 470 / 1916
32. SII VIII / 435
33. Also SII VIII / 433
34. PSI 250 - pl. see my PDK studies p. 208. I have changed my interpretation of the term "Ninai ppu" therein on further investigation.
35. 102 / 1916
36. 92 / 1916
37. 7 / 1916 Sugantalai Also 443 / 1930 in Āttūr for "Sirukkankalāi" please see (Tamil Lexicon Vol. III p. 1457; Divyaprabhandam-Periyālvār Tirumoli 1, 4, 7)
38. 402 / 1916 (Pl. see p. VI of appendix in "Rajendra Viṅṅagar")
39. SII XIV 146 "Niyōga" of Mahāsabhā 39A SII V - 430
40. 679 / 1916 Śērmādēvi 684, 685, 687/1916 - Śērmādēvi

CHAPTER IV

LAND DEVELOPMENT AND TENURES

Land grants, endowments and Sales

The royal grants to temples and the Brahmins could be either the land-dues payable or land itself, if it not already occupied or both. They were both incentives for land development and had positive economic effect. Even when such land-dues were remitted, the king usually reserved some part of the dues like *Antarāyam* or *śilvari* or other requirements of services needed. Hence, we notice that *Dēvadāna* and *Brahmadēya* lands too were sometimes levied land-demands. Also when the grants were made to the institutions the service obligations went with the grant and had to be rendered to the institution. The king's land-dues could be remitted only by him or by the chieftains. Where there was a change of tenure, the grantees could vary the term of the holding. Having regard to the hold of the custom it should have been only marginal and occasional and in harmony with the land-demands in the proximity. The force of "longue duree" of levies throughout the period was well-evidenced.

The duty in the *Dēvadāna* lands and the chieftains or other intermediaries could induct occupants of their choice into unoccupied lands. This was explicitly stated in some cases where reclamation of lands or rehabilitation of deserted villages or habitats were undertaken.

Similar induction of occupants could be done by the community in unoccupied waste or lands reverted to the community and held collectively by them. In these cases the community itself bore the collective responsibility for the payment of the land-dues services. Hence the continuous activity to convert the collective holdings of the community into individual holdings when the sales were concluded the prior encumbrances like usufructory mortgages of the land or subsisting interests were settled and determined.¹ If the purchaser donated the lands to a temple or for a charitable purpose, the *Ūrār* collected the land price and also the capitalised amount the interest on which was adequate to pay the land-dues obligations which the township took over. Strangely, the land price per sey was only $\frac{1}{2}$ *Kāśu* but the capital-deposit for the land-dues was 5 times that, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Kāśu*.² This pattern is borne out elsewhere as in *Pudukkōttai*.³ The cases cited were sales by *Ūrār* or agricultural townships.

This has three implications: First, the land-dues payable to the king could not be remitted except by him or his chieftains in certain cases. Secondly, it was open to the township community to collectively undertake to pay such dues. Thirdly, they

could, collect a cash deposit from the vendee or the beneficiary and from out of the proceeds pay the land dues.

There was an alternative method. The vendee could pay *Karṣpūra vilai* and once and for all determine the payment of land dues. This could be paid to the king against prospective reclamation of land.⁴ It could also be claimed by the chieftain as the Kalvāyil Nāḍāḷvān collected it in a sale of *Iṟaiyili Kārāṇmai*.⁵ In a sale in Cōḷapuram 1000 paṇams were collected from a purchaser, an annual levy of 100 paṇams was payable to the temple as immutable levy.⁶ In this case the *Karṣpūra vilai* was 10 times the annual payment to the temple which could be presumably equal to the land levy payable by adjacent lands.⁷

A peculiar case is recorded in Sivapuri. In A.D. 1271 (Mār. Kulaśēkhara I) the Māhēsvarās received *Karṣpūra vilai* of 70 paṇam and utilised it for redeeming a mortgage on land purchased as *Tirunāmattu Kāṇi* already by paying 50 paṇam and the balance of 20 paṇam were utilised for the renovation of the temple.⁸ Here the *Karṣpūra vilai* was paid to the Māhēsvarās and not to the king or the chieftain. Perhaps, this implied that the purchaser who endowed the lands need not pay the land-dues but the Māhēsvarās had taken the liability in return for the payment of *Karṣpūra vilai*. It is not known if the Māhēsvarās made over that amount to the king or his officers.

In some sales by the *Ūrār* or the *Brahmadēya Sabhaiyār*, the *Kārāṇmai Kuḍigal* also join as vendors. Evidently in such cases the principal occupant had inducted cultivating tenants whose rights too had to be determined by a share of the saleprice due to them. The *Kārāṇmai* tenants were perhaps a distinct entity⁹ and had interests exclusive of the *Brahmadēya* or the *Ūrār* or other principal occupants. This form of sale occurs particularly in *Āṟṟūr* which was a multiple-township, a *Brahmadēya* an *Ūr*,¹⁰ and perhaps soldiery. (*Parivāram*)

Two other peculiar cases are noticed. The queen of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara had a usufructory mortgage on land which figured as a boundary of the half portion of land sold by the Nagarattār (in Tirunelvēli).¹¹ In another case in Madurai the queen Ulaga Muḷududaiyāl purchased and gifted a land for maṭha.¹² Perhaps these were private gifts or charities from the queen's own funds.

The *Nagara*, the *Brahmadēya* and *Nāṭṭār* also could gift sell or induct an occupant in unoccupied lands in their respective townships. They could also remit the land-obligations due to their respective entities like *Sabhāvinīyōgam* or distributed levies among the *Brahmadēya* holders imposed by the Mahāśabhā. Such special levies were

made for a common purpose. The Mūlaparudai Sabhā at Tiruppattūr sold land remitting the taxes for 120 the *Cōḷiya Narpaḷaṅkāśu* for going to Madurai to meet the king.¹³ The Mahāsabhā also undertook to remove any encumbrances and hindrances to enjoyment.¹⁴ If they failed they were individually and collectively to pay a fine of 5 *Kalañju* and 50 *Kalañju* respectively. Thus the character of the *Mahāsabhā* was not corporate but collective. Also the collective fine was 10 times that on the individual.¹⁵

The *Mahāsabhā* also agreed while making the sale that the *Taram* or assessment-classification for the land sold remain constant at the same *Taram* as it was sold.¹⁶ They showed a concession if there was deficit supply in irrigation to any field.¹⁷

The Brahmins themselves had acquired lands either by inheritance or by gift¹⁸ or by Gurupārampariyam¹⁹ (as the fee for the preceptor). An inscription from Perungaruṅai (Mudukuḷattūr taluk) is intriguing. It stated that till the 11th year of a ruler Vīra Pāṇḍya the lands were enjoyed in “*Catuṣkam*” (jointly or collectively without the shares being divided) and as this was not favoured (Gouravamillāda Padiyāle) they decided in the 14th year to divide the common into shares.²⁰ If this interpretation is correct, it brings out how collective enjoyment was not a favoured form of holding and individually divided enjoyment was at a premium.

The Nāṭṭār, being the collective holders of the larger geographical area comprising several and varied types of townships also sold lands. They could remit the distributed levies they themselves imposed or undertake to bear the levies collectively or among the townships comprised in the Nāḍu.

An inscription of Pāṇḍya Kulasekhara (34th year) stated that the temple of Vaḍaperuṅgōiludaiyār and Sūdikkoduṭhanācciyār at Srivilliputtūr and its auspicious gate precincts were under the protection of Ēlaraināṭṭār, Vīravaḷanāṭṭār, Pūṅānāṭṭār, Seykuḍināṭṭār, Iruñjōnāṭṭār Venbaikkudiṇāṭṭār, Karunīlakkudiṇāṭṭār and the three agattār therein.²¹ Perhaps, this was a later Pāṇḍya inscription but is typical. The following are instances of grants by the *Nāṭṭār*.

<i>Ref. and date</i>	<i>Name of place</i>	<i>By whom granted</i>
SII XIV / 233, 234 Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (13)	Tirukōṣṭiyūr	Grant by Cōlapāṇḍya Valanāṭṭu Nāṭṭār
105 / 1916 Jaṭ. Sundara	Tirukkalakkuḍi	Ponnamarāvati Nāṭṭār
106 / 1916 Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (44)	Tirukkalakkuḍi	Kānanāṭṭār
285 / 1923 Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha	Tirukōṣṭiyūr	Nāṭṭu viniyōgam 3 paṇam
162 / 1936 Jaṭ. Sundara I	Mahibālanpaṭṭi	Pūṅgunṛa Nāṭṭūr
146, 147, 150 / 1936 Mār. Kulaśēkhara (18)	Pillaiyārpaṭṭi	Adalaiyūr Kēraḷasiṅgavaḷanāḍu Kalvāyilnāḍu Kīlkunḍarru Nāṭṭār
21, 25, 27, 29, / 1926	Iḷayāthakuḍi	Nāṭṭār remit nāṭṭuvari
146 / 1936 Mār. Kulaśēkhara	Pillaiyārpaṭṭi	Nāṭṭār declare Māṭha lands endowed as Iṛaiyili
257 / 1977-78 Kulaśēkhara	Poygaikkāḍu	Nāṭṭār grant to the temple
35 / 1909 Kulōṭṭunga I	Kunnakuḍi	A number of <i>Ūrār</i> grant remission from the holdings in their respective Townships though the <i>Nāṭṭār</i> as such do not figure

Similar instances are noticed in Tirunelvēli

<i>Ref. and date</i>	<i>Name of place</i>	<i>By whom granted</i>
413 / 1906, 411 Rājarāja I (28) A.D. 1013	Śīvalappēri	Nāṭṭār of Murappa Nāḍu
525 / 1958-59 Jat. Kulaśēkhara (13+12)	Ālvārtirunagari	Nāṭṭār agree to bear taxes on land sold by Brahmins
370 / 1959-60 Mār. Sundara	Śeyduṅga Nallūr	Nāṭṭār undertake similar obligation
466, 462 / 1930 Mār. Kulaśēkhara (5)	Āttūr	The Nāṭṭār of Kudanāḍu sell land for celebrating Śivarātri a festival
458, 459 / 1930	Āttūr	"
451 / 1930	Āttūr	"
Also SII VIII / 178 Jat. Sundara (10)	Kālaiyārkōil	"

The procedure for such exclusion of demand and remission of the distributed levies are brought by the two instances in Āttūr.

Gurukulattaraiyan had instituted a festival in the month of Āvaṇi for which he endowed a purchased land.²² Out of the parcels 2 mā were set apart for a dancing girl for performing a dance-drama (*Tirunāṭaka-Kūttāḍum Kāṇi*).²³ The Nāṭṭār having received a cash deposit resolved that the Ūrār of Ārrūr who collected 29 Kāśu (from their holdings) need not pay the distributed levies on the lands endowed by Gurukulattaraiyan which the Nāṭṭār agreed to pay and remit from the Nāṭṭār Ūr levies. In the demand for distributed levies from the month of Ādi the 29 Kāśu shall be deducted and the balance of the levies shall be distributed and levied.²⁴ The Nāṭṭār also made mutations of registry in the *Oluḡu* where lands were rendered as *Iṟaiyili*, deducted the amount from the total demand and gave a *niyōga* as a title deed for the remitted taxes.²⁵

The above instances are collective sales by the *Ūrār*, the *Nagarattār*, the *Mahāsabhā* of *Brahmadēya* villages and the *Nāṭṭār*. Some noteworthy sales or purchases by individuals may now be noticed which throw light on the content, the procedure and the peculiarities of the transactions. In fact, the volume of such individual transactions, if not far larger is equally large. Hence the contradistinction between collective holdings of the community and individual holdings should be used with caution and the former did not outstrip the latter. The sense of individual holding was also far too strong to be ignored.

We may now note typical cases of individual grants benefactions and endowments.

In Āttūr in A.D. 1007 (Rājarāja I - 22) an occupant converted himself into an occupant tenant and converted his land into *Dēvadāna* himself undertaking to give 4 *naḷi* of paddy per crop. The obligation of paying the land-dues remained with him.²⁶

A minister of Kulōttunga I (Jayadhara) *Mānāvātāra* by name gifted a gold aureole and money for lamps in the *Sōmanatha* temple of Āttūr.²⁷

In the 32nd year (A.D. 1102) of Kulōttunga, Nambi-Viṭaṅkan alias Kulōttunga Cōla Tāyilar Periyān of Śeyamaṅgalam constructed the first and second tiers of the *Maṅḍapa* of the temple at Śivapuri.²⁸

Sometimes the addition of the *Prākāra* walls or other improvements were done, collecting a distributed contribution. A lady paid *Kāśu* 12 for her share (*Vīśam*) for erecting the surrounding wall in the *Kailāsamuḍaiyār* temple at Śērmadēvi.²⁹

The *Tiruvaliśvaram* temple was situated on the banks of *Ghaṭana* river. But provision was made to provide water to be brought from *Tāmraparaṇi* a few kilometres away for bathing the God on sundays.³⁰

A merchant of *Kulaśēkharapaṭṭinam* alias *Arviyūr* set up an image of *Subramaṇya* and his consorts and deposited 200 *paṇam* with the temple treasury for food offerings and services.³¹

In A.D. 1296, *Sundara Pāṇḍya Brahmādirājan* of *Tiruvellārai* set up the image of *Māṅikkavāśagar* at *Śeyaduṅganallūr*.³²

A chieftain from *Rājavillipuram*, *Oruvāṅunarndān* *Tamiḷ Pallavarayan* had made extensive endowments in *Tirukkaḷakkuḍi*³³ in *Tiruvēdagam*³⁴ where he set up a *matam* and endowed some *jīvitam* to *Madurai Mīnakshi Temple*.³⁵ He was a contemporary of *Mār. Sundara I* and had taken part in his campaigns and of *Mār. Sundara II* (A.D. 1230-1250)

In Tiruvādavūr itself, a Dāsi Kuḷaiñjāl Āccan alias Ālālasundari naṅgai, one of the Dāsīs of the temple rendered various services including the setting up of the images of Chandraśēkhara and Gowri done through her husband Bhattan Dēvan alias Tennagaṅgadēvan. She was granted certain honours in recognition by the deity.³⁶

The basement of the temple at Kulaśēkharapaṭṇam was caused to be constructed by Periyān Cokkakūttan and Siṅga velvidaiccanmugapperumāl.³⁷

A spring well was constructed by Tamilādarāyan as charity in Malayāḍi Kuricci in A.D. 1314.³⁸

Even a donor from distant Kashmir purchased land 1 *mā* in extent and the yield of 3 *Kalams* there from was to be utilised for the services in Aḷagar temple.³⁹ A much earlier grant by a Kashmiri couple to the temple at Śērmādēvi may be recalled.⁴⁰

Sometimes the endowment was to secure merit for the dead. Purisandi is stated to have entered fire in self-immolation. Tennavan Muṛappanāḍu Kilavan made a land grant to the temple at Śeyduṅganallūr himself and his desendants a to pay taxes due on the land endowed.⁴¹ Lands for the merit of the deceased or funerary ceremonies (Pukaipōkki) were endowed in Īsvarappaṭṭi (Tirumaṅgalam)⁴² and in Saṅkarankōil.⁴³ A grant of Kāṇi land by a Vēḷar at Akkasālai was for “Sivalōkaprāṭtam” i.e., for funerary rights.⁴⁴

The land gift was sometimes on an auspicious occasion. Vaṇḍuvaraipperumāl made such gift on the birth of his son himself undertaking to pay the taxes on the land to Tiruppulīsvaramuḍaiyār at Śeyduṅganallūr in A.D. 1230 in the reign of Mār. Sundara I.⁴⁵

A peculiar practice was for the chieftains to acquire lands in binami transactions (*anniya-nāmattāl*) and not in their own names. They were ensowed for services to Tirunelvēli deity.⁴⁶ These were purchased by Iḷaiyāḷvar Kāliṅgarāyar from the occupants. Similarly a chieftain of the same name purchased land in the name of one Nārāyaṇa Bhattan and made it his own for maintaining a well constructed by him for a water shed at Ulaguḍaimukkōkilānadigal Cm (Udayanēri).⁴⁷ Perhaps this was to evade the ban on sale of Brahmādēya or special tenure lands. But this explanations does not fit in as numerous such sales are noticed in Pāṇḍyan times. The fear seems to have lurked that if lands were purchased in their own names by chieftains they were liable to be resumed or regranted. Alternatively as they might not be residents, it was considered expedient to buy in a permanent resident's name who could also maintain the purpose of the grant.

In passing, it may be noted that the lands sales by Siva temples were always executed in the name of Candikēśvara as Candikēśvarapperuvilai Candēśvarā represented Śiva as his ādi-dāsa. Prof. Sastri has added. 'The corresponding term if any for describing sales by Viṣṇu temple does not seem to appear anywhere.⁴⁸ The sales by Viṣṇu temples or to Viṣṇu temples were executed in the name of Sēnāpati as 'Sēnāpati-peruvilai'', Sēnāpati being Visvaksēna who is the *majordoma* of the Viṣṇu temple and its properties. The inscription states Sēnāpati Ālvār Tirunāmaṭṭukku and the lands was purchased as *Kāraṇmai Iṭṭiyili* for the Tirunārayaṇaviṅṅar Ālvār at Sugantalai.⁴⁹

Land disputes had occasionally arisen. The land disputed by three townships in Kurumaiṇādu, a *Brahmadeya*, a *Nagara* and the *Ūr* and how it was resolved by all of them agreeing to endow the lands to the newly set up shrine of Kulasekhara at Rajendraviṅṅar has been recounted elsewhere.⁵⁰ This was in A.D. 1209 in the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara.

About the same time (A.D. 1203) there was a private land dispute. Maṅgaiyarkkarasi the wife of the chief of Vaḍakaḷavalinādu (Aḷagamānagari in Sivagaṅga Taluk) had set up the deity Aḷudaiya Piḷḷaiyār in A.D. 1193. She endowed with the approval of the chieftain the lands in Tiruḅṅānasambandanallūr, to the north of Nallūr. Ten years later, when the donor set up the 'Śūlakkaḷ', the emblem of lands endowed to Śiva temple two residents of Nāmanūr Porsēndan Nannan, Kānbān Naṅṅan objected claiming the land to be their holdings. The dispute was resolved by the chieftain's wife paying the price of the land. The grant to the deity of Tiruḅṅānasambandanallūr as Murrūṭṭu Dēvadāna was also endowed and confirmed by the objectors.⁵¹

In Ś 1266 (A.D. 1344) it was found the temple lands at Radhānūr were misappropriated. They were reclaimed, and restored for the renovation of the temple.⁵²

In Tirukkaḷakkuḍi (A.D. 1501) due to the troubled times when the Kannaḍa conquerers had caused hardship Vēlaṅguḍi Maṛavas desired to sell their lands which they had acquired from the *Ūrār*. When the lands were brought in public auction, the temple authorities of Tirukkaḷakkuḍi claimed the lands to be Tirunāmaṭṭukkāri and showed an inscription in support. But the Maṛava vendors claimed that for long they had been in enjoyment and paid taxes and they had documentary evidence to cite. It was decided that such long time occupants could not be dispossessed and the temple agreed to pay the price for the land. The Maṛava vendors agreed to bear the tax-dues and services.⁵³

In another public sale of land brought about by mistake of fact the sale cancelled and the lands restored.⁵⁴ In a case where prior enjoyment had been overlooked lands in exchange had to be given.⁵⁵

When lands were granted involving boundaries of several adjoining villages, the superintendents of Revenue, and accountants of the villages concerned showed and settled the boundaries of the grant-village or lands.⁵⁶

The sense of equity, and respect for established enjoyment and possession and a spirit of compromise to resolve disputes are well-evidenced by the cases cited. These cases were directly resolved or composed by the affected parties without any interference or imposition by others.

Land reclamation activity

The need was felt for repetitive capital outlays for reclamation of land. This was specially the case in rainfed tracts and dry uplands. Instances could be cited from Nanguneri taluk, at the southern extremity in Kōṭṭai Karuṅḷam⁵⁷ where lands to be reclaimed were granted as Dēvadāna in A.D. 1204. It was most conspicuous in the rainfed uplands of Rāmanāthapuram dt. and to a lesser extent in Madurai dt. Specific instances are examined below :

In the reign of Jat. Kulaśēkhara lands in Tiruvunṇāligainallūr were endowed to the deity at Tirupparānkunṇam. But they remained fallow without any yield. Hence the Śrī Rudra Māhēśvaras of the temple sold the land in A.D. 1221 (5th year of Mār. Sundara I, the next ruler) to two goldsmiths.⁵⁸ The deity Sundarēśvarar at Madurai inducted an occupant in two āyacuts Serumanēri which was from the date of the grant lying waste as the sluice and the tank were damaged and another Ālattūr too was similarly lying waste without cultivation. An immutable levy of 4 Accu was determined to be paid by the occupant.⁵⁹ The temple authorities of Tiruvādavūr found a Dēvadāna land was lying waste, as the tank had breached and the temple could not realise the cash levies. Hence, they inducted an occupant into possession and fixed per *mā* 4 *kalam* 1 *tūni* 1 *padakku* as grain-levy and *mukkāṇi mundirigai* of 5 *mēni Dramam* as *antarāyam*. This was in A.D. 1278.⁶⁰ In fact repeatedly the Tiruvādavūr temple authorities complained of such breaches in the tank and lands lying waste.⁶¹

Lands in the dry rained areas of Rāmanāthapuram Dt were even more liable to be laid waste for lack of water or due to the tanks having breached under severe cyclonic storms or heavy rains. Re-clamation activity was even more intense in this tract.

In A.D. 1208 as ordered by the king, the Mahāsabhā of Śrī Parāntaka Cm in Ārinādu granted Grāmaṇinallūr, as a Dāsar serving the Tiruttaṅgal temple had brought a royal epistle. The Dāsar had to excavate a tank named Ninṇanārāyaṇappērēri and had to reclaim the land lay field bunds and excavate canals as per the gradient and cultivate the lands. The mahāsabhā undertook to bear the land-dues thereon.⁶² The king

himself, in the very next year as advised by the royal preceptor remitted the taxes for the apparel expenses of the deity.⁶³

In troubled times when the chieftains took possession of the townships they interfered even with the enjoyment of Dēvadāna lands. The western hamlet of Tiruttaṅgal was purchased from the Brahmins by the *Ūrār* of Tenvettipparrūr in Tirumallināḍu who made over the lands on usufructory mortgage to the chieftain Amariladēvan who took over the Nāḍu. He enjoyed the lands without paying any land-dues to the temple. Later some purchasers including Vīracōḷa dēvan of Kappalūr purchased the lands from the Maṛavar who possessed the lands and the king ordered that land-dues shall from the date of the purchase be paid again to the temple.

It is understandable that under the circumstances, it was necessary to provide incentives even for reclaiming Dēvadāna lands. Śaḍaiyan Kuricci and other lands endowed for the kitchen services were without occupants and laid waste and for inducting occupants it was ordered that those chieftains and other king'smen who took over the Nāḍu shall not cause any hindrance to the enjoyment of the temple lands and cause yield-lessees.⁶⁵

Sūlāmaṇinallūr was granted by the Brahmins of Maṅgalam to the Viṣṇu temple of Muḍikkarai, Udārapriya viṅṅagar emberumān. From the time of the grant it was waste and the tank was overgrown with shrub. As none could reclaim it, the temple authorities decided to grant occupancy to the Brahmins again and get cash for the renovation works of the temple.⁶⁶

Some of the Agrahāras also get depopulated, one such was Vīrapāṇḍya Cm (in Tenvallattirukkaināḍu). The old residents had migrated to other maṅḍalas. They were invited and the grant was renewed with 40 shares of 6 *mā* each (1.98 cents) with housesites.⁶⁷

Private deposits of cash were invested in the renovation of ponds and shall tanks as at Tirukōṣṭiyūr.⁶⁸ Similar cases are noticed at Sākkōttai⁶⁹ and at Uñjanār.⁷⁰ In Vēlaṅguḍi, the temple authorities sold long waste lands for 120 paṅams and at a fixed demand of 55 Kuḷigaippanam.⁷¹

Tirukkalakkuḍi was persistently facing the land reclamation problems. The temple lands needed capital investment and frequent sales were hence noticed. In the 15th year of Mār. Sundara the temple lands were sold for reclamation for 400 *Kuḷigai* paṅam. In this case the vendee was permitted to club two tanks into one⁷² so that the capacity may be augmented. Another āyacut was sold in public auction by the Vēlaṅguḍi *Ūrār*.⁷³ Such reclamation activity had been repeatedly undertaken even as late as Ś 1464 (A.D. 1542).⁷⁴ Lands granted for Adhyana service even were not reclaimable

and yielded no revenue and hence the lands granted had to be exchanged by purchasing lands elsewhere.⁷⁵ These were largely due to the vagaries of nature and natural calamities.

In all such sales for reclamation, the sale-price for the lands should have been at a discount. For one thing they were unyielding. For another they required capital investment on the part of the vendee/donor.

The land-levy by way of *Kaḍamai* obligation was also concessional. Usually it was a fixed or immutable levy - *Vāḍākkāḍamai*. In the land sold for reclamation by the deity of Madurai it was 4 *accu*.⁷⁶ In Vēlanguḍi it was again a fixed assessment of 45 paṇams per year. In Tirukkaḷakkuḍi it was 5 *Rāsi* paṇam for *Piśānam*, and graded levies for summer crop, and dry crop. It was provided that till the reclamation of the tank only ¼ of the levy shall be collected in the first year, ½ in the second, ¾ in the third and full rates shall be leviable only from the 4th year.⁷⁷ Even in the late case of the 1542 only a fixed lease (*Oṭṭu*) demand of 10 paṇam and 120 *Kalams* of paddy was fixed.⁷⁸

Thus, the concession was in the form of a fixed levy. The additional yield could be appropriated over a period of time by the occupant-vendee. Alternatively an increment remission spread over four years was granted which could be sufficient incentive for capital investments involved.

Land tenures, sub-tenures and tenurial changes

The framework : The medieval land tenurial structure was complex. Land was not merely a factor of production. Its produce was also a means of recompensing services and to that extent was a medium of exchange. Also it was a fixed asset and was preferred for investment for endowments.⁷⁹ Multiplicity of interests was fastened on the land and there was, to that extent, a plurality of obligations.

Possession and enjoyment (*Paṟru*) were the actual and essential ingredients of holding. The idea of "ownership" was somewhat alien to the medieval tenurial structure more so because of the multiplicity of interests and the plurality of obligation fastened on land. Even only change the occupancy and convert the tenure of the land.

The forms of holding, then, were the crucial factor in land enjoyment and cultivation. There was broadly a three tier system discernable.

The king had his dues (*Kaḍamai*) which were the first charge on the occupant-holder. To this should be added minor cash levies (*Śillirai*) like *Antarāyam* and services like *Vāśalkāryam*, *Tirueḷucci Kuḍimai*, at the palace gate, or when the king was on tour.

Under the king, were the holdings of the community, being collective holdings (*Ūr podu, Sabhapōdu*) for which the township as a whole had the obligation to pay the land-dues.⁸⁰

There were the alienees, the temple or the Brahmadēya holders who were essentially, intermediaries. They too had to pay a stipulated levy or share as land-dues to the king though they were usually rid of the services. These services that could be demand of the cultivaters were transferred to the occupant intermediary, the temple or the Brahmin holders.

A second species of the intermediary were the “*Jīvitam*” holders, being chieftains who had been assigned the lands but subject to a levy of land-dues and doing service, especially military service in times of need to the king.

The service holders in the township for teaching (*adhyayana*), for reciting Purāṇas, washermen or smithies were also holding lands on condition of doing the service. They were estates upon condition. These service holdings could be either granted by the king or instituted by the chieftains and / or the other intermediaries. They were also subsistence (*jīvitam*) grants, and some of them could be actual cultivators.

The direct occupants under the king should have constituted the larges in spread and number (*Vellānvagai*). But they need not necessarily be cultivators and etc. that extent were only rentiers or intermediaries. They could cultivate the land themselves or cause it to be cultivated by others.

This brings us to the last category of the holders - the cultivating tenancy. The manner in which they held the cultivating rights were varied. It could be in a fixed obligation which was immutable (*Vādūkkadaṇ*) or it could be as a sharing basis (*Vāram*) the exact quantum of share varying from case to case or area or even crop to crop, depending on the nature of the land, whether fully established for cultivation or whether to be reclaimed. The third manner of holding was on *pāttam* (or lease) in which the cultivating tenant had the obligation to pay a fixed share as lease-rentil.

This framework, broadly categories the land occupancy and the cultivating holders as a pattern. There could be a mix, of interests. They are the more complicated by the transfer by sale or gift or usufructory mortgage of the transferrer’s interest in land. Generally, all interests hold are found to be transferable, inheritable or could be donated. Exceptions however, are the service-holders obliged and tied to the render services to the temple or the community. Acquisition of interests and conversion of tenures were common for e.g. a Brahmadēya land can be purchased and converted into *Vellānvagai* and vice-versa.⁸¹

The *jīvitam* holders (including service holders) were changeable and their lands resumable. Even *Dēvadāna* and *Brahmadēya* lands were resumed, sometimes and regranted to the same or other beneficiaries. Changes of *jīvitam* holders or their conversion to *Dēvadāna* or *Brahmadēya* tenure were more frequent.

This framework serves two purposes - first to provide the background for the detailed study that follows; secondly, it helps to fix the transactions in the proper perspective and context.

We may now notice specific instances of transfer of tenure and the obligations they carried with them.

In the 20th year of Jāt. Śrīvallabha (A.D. 1110) an extent of 12 *mā* was declassified as *Brahmadēya* and converted into *Dēvadāna* for the Erichāuḍaiyār (Tiruppōttudaiyanāyanār) temple at Ambāsamudram. The lands lay inside the temple premises and to the west and thereof. To the south the river Tāmbraparaṇi flowed and there was no cultivable land. The document reveals that the *Taram* (the assessment-classification) register) was missing and hence the levy of 20¾ *māḍai* as for the adjoining lands as granted to the temple and the lands rendered taxfree. This was under a royal order.⁸²

About the same time, the king had ordered the lands originally granted as *Dēvadāna* to a Viṣṇu temple, Mānavīraṅṅaṅgar ālvār be transferred as the *dēvadāna* of a Śiva temple. Vīrapāṇḍyēśvaramuḍaiyar temple as recommended by the prince, Sundara pandya. The land-dues including *antarāya* were remitted.⁸³

In Tiruvālīsvaram (in A.D. 1034-35) 5 *vēlis* of *Brahmadēya* lands were converted into *Vellāṅvagai*. The assessment fixed was that prevalent in the *nāḍu* 642 *kalam* 6 *kuruni* etc. This demand was reduced from that fixed for Rājarāja Cm and a separate unit Śivacaranēśvaranallūr was formed for the festivals and feeding 25 Brahmins in Tiruvālīsvaram temple⁸⁴ and for reading Śivadharmā.

This was the case of concessional tenure lands being resumed and charged full assessment. The proceeds were appropriated for various services. The full assessment rates worked out to ever 128.5 *kalams* per *vēli* in paddy. In addition 35¼ and *mukkāṇi kāsu* and *kāṭci* erudu 5 *kāsu* were payable in cash.

In the 7th year of Jat. Śrīvallabha (A.D. 1097) this grant by the Cōla-Pandya ruler was confirmed by the Pāṇḍya king, Srivallabha, on the terms settled by Umayamma and given as a *kāṇi* to Mānābharaṇa Vaikuṅṭa Nāḍālvān.⁸⁵ This was at once a confirmation of an earlier grant and a change in occupancy of the lands. But the purpose and content of the grant remained impaired.

The 2 *vēlis* of land in Kallur granted by Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya in the same year (A.D. 1034)⁸⁶ to the temple at Śērmādēvi was the very reverse being *Vellānvagai* land granted as *Dēvadāna*, so too were the 3 *vēlis* of land added to that grant.⁸⁷ The assessment on 3 *vēlis* was 32½ *kāsu* in cash and 567 *kalams padakku, naḷi* 4, for the *veli*. per *veli* 189 *kalam* and odd. This assessment is perceptibly higher than the *Ghaṭana* fed lands granted to the Tiruvālīśvaram temple.

In these cases the land occupancy remained with the holders inducted into possession. The grant was only of the obligations of the holding (*Kāṇikkadaṇ*) to the temple.

The king Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I in his 3rd year (A.D. 1193-4) while being seated at *Kōṭṭāru* ordered on the request of the temple executive of Tirunelvēli that the holding of one *Avaninārāyaṇa Brahmādirāyaṇ* of *Paḷam Śīvalamaṅgalam* be resumed and granted to *Perumaḷūr Kōlavāmana Āpatsahāyam*. This was to conduct a festival on the native asterisk of the king. This grantee had himself purchased lands from the *Sabhayār*, from out of his grant-land and the purchased one, he instituted another feed service on the *Bharaṇi* asterisk in the month of *Citrai*.⁸⁸ The manner in which the earlier holder was compensated is not known. Perhaps he was granted a land in exchange. The motivation was strong, being one of celebrating the king's natal star.

The setting up of an *Agrahāra* in *Mēlavēmbunāḍu* had necessitated the shifting of the habitat of the *Kāḷigaṇaṭṭār*, and the *Vellālaś*. A benefactor consolidated the *Brahmadēya* holdings.⁸⁹

Even temple lands were resumed (*Tiṟappu*). The land-dues were regranted for a special festival on the native asterisk of *Mār*. Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1295-96) at *Nāngunēri*.⁹⁰

The *Dēvadāna* lands of *Nālāyirviṇṇagar aḷvar* in *Kalliḍaikuricci* had only the *Kārāṇmai* rights conveyed. The land-dues (*Kaḍamai*) and the levy on cultivating tenants (*Uḷudāṅkuḍi*) had been enjoyed by one *Sundarapāṇḍya Maḷavaraiyan*. The grant to the temple was made complete by the transfer of these latter rights as well in the 4th year of king Kulaśēkhara. The *Mahāśabhā* of *Rājarāja Cm* conveyed it to the temple.⁹¹

A *Kōnērinmai* grant made at the instance of *Māhābharaṇamaṅgalattu Nambi* enlarged the content of the grant. The deity at *Vīravinoḍa Cm* (that is *Suttamalli*) had 8 *mā* of land as *Dēvadāna iṟaiyili* in the ayacut of *Kuḍai kuḷam*, the western hamlet of *Cēranmādēvi Cm*. Determining the rights of the previous holders and the old demand (*Paḷamperumudal*) both *kārāṇmai* and *mīyatchi, uḷudāṅkuḍi, Pādikāval* and

all other dues were granted as *Dēvadāna iṛaiyili* from the 10th year. In this case the *Dēvadāna* grantee would be free to stipulate his own terms of land-dues, as it became the full occupant of the lands. This inscription is, perhaps, ascribable to the reign of Jāt. Kulaśēkhara I.⁹²

The grants from the Vaigai belt showed how the land-yield was shared - the *kārāṇmai* rights with the occupants, and the *kaḍamai* and lands-dues to the deity. On the occupants themselves transferring their *Kārāṇmai* rights, the king granted the *antarāyam* and other taxes as *Dēvadāna Iṛaiyili*.

A family of 5 members (*Kūḍasthar*) of *Cōlāntaka Cm* had set up a deity and a goddess and gifted and endowed their own lands $3\frac{1}{2}$ *vēli* and *mā* in extent. Consequently the deity get transferred the *Kārāṇmai*, and the *mīyatci* rights. The king granted the *Antarāyam* and other dues as for the *Dēvadāna* tax-free lands.⁹³

In a grant to the same temple at Tenkarai, *Kaṇḍiyattēvar* had already purchased and retained the *Kārāṇmai* rights. The *Antarāyam* and *Viniyōga* (distributed lines) were granted by the king for the sandal and other paste offerings to the deity.⁹⁴ Similar cases of the occupant retaining the *Kārāṇmai* rights and the deity being granted the land-dues or a fixed levy (*Vāḍākkāḍan*) were common.⁹⁵

The *jīvitam* lands were more or less enjoyment at pleasure of the king. They could be resumed and regranted to the temple or to a maṭha.⁹⁶

Grants made variously were consolidated and the boundaries were defined and the list of grant-villages, *ēmbals* and hamlets were recorded. Opportunity was taken to confirm the grants made by the subordinate chieftains or the king's relations.⁹⁷

The intermediary-grantees also could induct persons in residential habitats and make economic use of the unoccupied house-sites. The treasury officers of the *Uttama Cōlaviṇṇagar* temple of *Cōlapuram* gave 24 house-sites for the weavers to reside and pursue their occupation. The weavers had to pay 10 *paṇam* per loom installed per month, as immutable assessment. They were at liberty to instal as many looms as they desired.⁹⁸

In the 18th year (A.D. 1108) the chieftain *Tuvarāpati Vēlān* created an *Agrahāra* to accommodate 20 Brahmins who were to pay to the temple treasury one *Diramam* per *mā* of cultivated land in *Śivapuri* village.⁹⁹

Sometimes, even a *Dēvadāna* village was resumed. *Tiruttaṅgal* in *Karunīlakkūḍi nadu* was such. Jāt. Śrīvallabha in his 22nd year, 540th day (A.D. 1112-13) regranted

the yield in cash and paddy by way of land-dues from the resumed village to the Viṣṇu temple in the hills at Tiruttaṅgal.¹⁰⁰

Tiruttaṅgal received special attention during the period of the resurgent Pāṇḍyas. Every ruler had made grants to the temple or constituted Brahmaḍēyas. In the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara 9th year (1199-1200) a Brahmaḍēya for 54 Brahmins was constituted comprising the Dēvadāna village Tiruppanaiyūr, the resumed village of Porkuḍi Irungo Paṅkkuḷam, Guṇamaṅgalam and Śēndamaṅgalam in Iruṅjōṇāḍu. They were made one unit and named after the king, as Kulaśēkhara Cm. The grantees were assigned house sites near Panaiyur in Bhagaloka Kaṇḍanallūr. The *Vellāṅvagai* tenure subsisting in these villages was determined orders implied that land-dues hitherto paid to the king were to be delivered to the Brahmin grantees. They could also admit to possession cultivators in the unoccupied but cultivable waste land¹⁰¹.

Many of the tank endowments however were rainfed and lands needed reclamation. The Sabhaiyār of Śrīparāntaka Cm in Ārinādu had granted *Kārāṅmai* rights to the temple in the eastern hamlet, Pulakikuḷam Gramaṇinallūr renamed after the donor as Ninraṅarāyanappēri. The Sabhaiyār assigned the *Kārāṅmai* rights so that the tank could be excavated, the jungle removed and the lands cultivated and the *Kaḍamai antarāyam* and tax proceeds were to be utilised as *Dēvadāna Iṅaiyili*. This wish was expressed by the king's personal preceptor¹⁰² (Śvāmidēvan) and the king in the very next year, ordered accordingly. This grant had earlier been made by the Mahāsabhā in the 18th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara themselves taking the obligation to pay the taxes.¹⁰³

In the reign of Mār. Sundara I, his minister, Gurukulattaraiyan, (Sēran uyyanirāduvān of Taḍangaṅṅi Śīrūr (near Ānaiyūr) renovated the whole temple, added maṇḍapas and instituted a Śandhi for the merit of the king and gave out of his holding the *kaḍamai* dues as grant. In grateful recognition of his benefactions he was honoured by a bugle being blown whenever he visited the temple and verses were composed in his name.¹⁰⁴

Moreover, the Padmaḍaḍēvi Cm Mahāsabhaiyār took on themselves the obligation to pay *Kaḍamai*, *antarāyam*, *Viniyōgam*, *kaṅṅapuravilai* and all other tax dues on the 2 shares (*Bhāgas*) one for a charitable purpose and another for a lamp service. This was in A.D. 1235 in the reign of Mār. Sundara I.¹⁰⁵

Tiruttaṅgal was very populous and prosperous, humming with activity during this period. It was no surprise that several land transaction had taken place and changes in tenure alongside reclamation activity.

The example of the king was followed by the chieftains. The Aḍalaiyūr Nāḍālvān granted levies in his holding to the Agastīsvaramudaiyār in Ārkāḍu (Nēman) in AD 1233.¹⁰⁶

A similar grant as Iṛaiyili, 7½ *mā* in extent was made by Aḷagapperumāl Śokkan Āṇmaiaḷagiyān Dvarāpati Vēḷān. Also lands abutting the temple for residential purposes were assigned the housesite tax and services due were assigned for a lamp service. (A.D. 1234-35)¹⁰⁷

Grant to a Jaina shrine Śōnaka Sāmantappalli in Pavitramāṇikkapaṭṭinam, to its east was granted by Mār. Sundara II in Ambattūr as *Kārāṇmai Kāṇiyāṭchi*, but the order carefully protected the existing grants already made which were to continue. This was in A.D. 1247.¹⁰⁸

In the uplands of Kunnakkudi,¹⁰⁹ Tirukkaḷakkudi,¹¹⁰ Sākkōṭṭai,¹¹¹ Tirumālugaṇḍāṅkōṭṭai,¹¹² Muḍikkaṛai¹¹³ and in Cōḷapuram¹¹⁴ the shared interests in land were granted conforming to the pattern - *karanmai*, with perpetual occupancy with saleable and inheritable and disposable rights to the occupant, (*Kuḍinīṅgā Kārāṇmai*). The *Kaḍamai* and taxes were payable to the diety. In Aruppukkōṭṭai, the taxes were assigned to the diety and a *Guhai* (monastery) was assigned *Kārāṇmai* on condition that the latter paid 3 *kalam*s per *mā*.¹¹⁵

The above are typical instance of the varieties of land tenures and tenurial changes. They bring out the details of the manner of occupancy changes and enjoyment. The basic principle was that any holder of a land or of an interest therein could own enjoy his manner of right subject only to the other obligations the land had borne. This created a plurality of obligations and not of mere rights.

Jivitam

The grantee or the assignee under the royal grant can also likewise make over or transfer the whole or part of the interest he holds to another. This is typically illustrated by the chieftain's grant for services or otherwise of which numerous instances occur in Adalāiyūr and Kaḷavaḷināḍu in Tiruppattūr and Śivagaṅga tracts. It may be recalled that the whole of the Kēraḷaśiṅgavaḷanāḍu was divided into three *nāḍus*, Adalāiyūr *Nāḍu* (North, north-east of Tiruppattūr), Vaḍakaḷavaḷi *Nāḍu* (Tirukōṣṭiyūr and its surrounding tract), Tenkaḷavaḷi *Nāḍu*, being the major part of Sivagaṅga tract. There was besides Kalvāyil *Nāḍu* in the northern most part of Tiruppattūr tract. These *nadus* were head by chieftains. (*Nāḍāḷvan*) who held the respective tracts as their *jīvitam*. Subject only to the payment of the *Kaḍamai* for the tract as a whole they were governing on behalf of the king the respective tracts. It follows during times of war they had to muster and lead the reserve or conscripted *ūrārs* from within their *Nāḍus*.

These *jīvitam* holders practically exercised the same rights of collecting the land-dues from the occupants, and favourable or concessional dues from grantees like Brahmādēyas and Dēvadānas.

They could also assign waste or unoccupied lands, and sell or gift out of their own land-holdings. They collected *Kaṛpūravilai* from the occupants and wastes held by temples or grantees *in lieu* of the land assessment to determine its payment.¹¹⁶ They could also grant remissions for Devadana lands.

In the 40th year of Rāj. Kulōṭṭuṅgā I (Ā.D. 1110) Adalaiyūr Nāḍālvān granted remission of the principal land dues (*iṛai*) on Dēvadāna lands in the villages held by him as his *jīvitam* on the command area of Tēnāru, i.e. Śēngāṇi, Palavānkuḍi, Puravuvarinallūr, Śīruvēṭṭavayal, Maṇiyattirai, Pālaivāyīl and in other *jīvitam* villages held by him.¹¹⁷ What he remitted was the share of his land dues due to him (on *ōpādi*) and not the entire quantum.¹¹⁸ It incidentally clarifies that the Nāḍālvān was assigned a share of *Iṛai*, *Kuḍimai*, *Puravu iṛai* and *antarāyam* and all other dues. He had for instance, the assigned right to collect taxes - *Iṛai*, *Pulukuppīli*, *Antarāyam*, *Vēliariśi* etc and other *Iṛai* *Kuḍimai* from his share $3\frac{1}{2}$ *mā*. in Kunnakkuḍivāsal,¹¹⁹ as the other half had been donated already (A.D. 1187-88).

In A.D. 1219-20 the Nāḍālvān seems to have sold land for an endowment,¹²⁰ another such sale was in the 17th year 1232-1233.¹²¹

The *jīvitam* holder could also within his *Nāḍu* vary the rates of assessment and land-dues.¹²²

There was a second category of *jīvitam* lands - for services to be rendered to the community, or to the temple or sometimes to the chieftains. These were small parcels, and were either taxfree or were on concessional rates of levy. The service holder was a species of the occupant, subject only to the condition of rendering service. If he was incapacitated or died without a heir, or the service was discontinued or rendered unnecessary, the *jīvitam* land could be resumed and regranted or be fully assessed. (Tirappu)

The *jīvitam* or *Vṛtti* could be endowed by the ruler, or by the chieftain or by the community, the *Ūrār* or *Nagaram* or the *Mahāsabhā* or by individuals. Examples are cited below :

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Extent</i>	<i>Donated by</i>
Tiruttaṅgal ¹²³ Mār. Sundara (5)	Mahābhārata vṛtti and for reciting other Purāṇās	½ mā and proportionate share of well water	Donated by 2 Brahmins
Tirukōṣṭiyūr ¹²⁴ Sundara (11+2)	For reciting Tirumoli (of Tirumaṅgai ālvār)	Old Dēvadāna Iraiyili regranted. The encroachers of land were evicted.	By the royal epistle.
Tirukōṣṭiyūr ¹²⁵	For expounding Prābhākaram, the philosophical work	land purchased	Individual

In A.D. 1221 work Mālava Cakravarti granted the *Kārāṇmai* rights in the Dēvadāna lands of Sannavanam to the Śivabrāhmanās who had every one a share of the services to be rendered in 30 days rotation.¹²⁶

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Donated by</i>
Srīvilliputtūr ¹²⁷ Ś 1395 A.D. 1473	For temple watchman	Deity's grant 2 mā (66 cents) in 11 parcels. Besides food offerings and 1 paṇam and 1 kōṭṭai paddy
Tiruvādavūr ¹²⁸ Mār. Sundara I (21) (A.D. 1237)	For honouring those who attended the hunting festival (Tirukkaivaḷakkam) To a dancing girl who rendered various public services for laying street and for installing Kṣētrapālapillayār	Deity's grant Deity's grant
Tiruvēdagam ¹²⁹ Mār. Sundara II (6) (A.D. 1234)	To attend to the temple affairs - excutive (30 kalams per year 1 accu)	Royal grant
Tiruvēdagam ¹³⁰ Mār. Vīra	For 8 bearers for Śrīpādam service Āṇḍars 16 and also to supply fuel another 4-in all 28 bearers.	Deity's grant

In A.D. 1248-49 a new Sandhi was instituted in the name of the king at Aḷagarkōil. The king granted three villages for meeting the expences. In the process some lands granted as *Ūr jīvitam* (for services to the townships) were resumed, and granted as *Dēvadāna*. The *Pādikāval* dues from *Śadakkudi* alias *Ulagudaiyanallūr* was also a part of the grant to the temple for the festival.¹³¹

Pādikaval is not normally assigned as it is for the community watch and ward. It was even sold by the community.¹³² One such sale was concluded by the *Mahāsabhā* of *Tirupputtūr* in favour of *Mālavaccakravarti* of *Suraikudi* for 250 *paṇam* (*Vālālvali Tirandān*) in the 44th year of *Jat. Vīra Pāṇḍya*.

He was entitled to 10 *marakkāl* of paddy per *mā* for the watch and ward duties assigned.¹³³ The *Ūr-kāval* or watch or ward for the townships in *Iranyūr* was assigned to the *Valaiyar* of the place. They were entitled to receive 5 *kalams. Tuṇi* paddy per *mā*, according to a deed executed by the *ūrār*.¹³⁴ The *Nāṭṭār* were sometimes approached to afford protection. Security was particularly the concern of the merchang community. An *ūraṇi* had been excavated by the merchants of *Kālayārkāḷaperunderu* which was left to the protection of *Kalvāyilnāṭṭār*. (*Āśrayapramāṇam*)¹³⁵

The deity of *Srivilliputtur* in S 1395 (A.D. 1473) assigned the watch and ward duties in the temple and 2 *mā* of land were allocated.¹³⁶

Three categories of *jīvitam* holders can be discerned from the evidence from inscriptions from *Tirunelvēli* dt.

The first the officers attending to the king's affairs and chieftaincy of the *maṇḍalam*. This *jīvitam* was hereditary, and was held by *Maḷavarāyar*, and his son. He held the land of the highest class (*Talaivarīśai*) or bearing the highest assesment 1½ *vēli* of land therefrom was separated and granted as *Dēvadāna* *Iraiyili* in A.D. (1236-37) for a new *Linga* installed in the *Tirunelvēli* temple by *Kālaḍi Śaṅkaran*.¹³⁷

In *Akkaśālai* (near *Koṟkai*) a *Kammāla* of *Rājavillipuram* (near *Tirunelvēli*) had instituted a new *Sandhi* in the name of the king. For providing for it the lands cultivated by the officers attending to the king's affairs (Name *kāriyam Seyadupōndavargaḷ*) was resumed in *Solaimaṅgalam* alias *Puravarivīḷāgam* and regranted by the king *Vīra Pāṇḍya* in his 5th year.¹³⁸

In these cases the executive officers of the king had held the lands during the pleasure of the king and hence they were resumable and were regranted to the deity for a service newly instituted.

The second category of *jīvitam* holders were those who were rendering community service or service connected with the festivals.

A grant made for Śāntikūttu performed in the festivals was renewed in Āttūr by Jat. Śrīvallabha.¹³⁹

In Tirukkuruṅgudi in A.D. 1229 the Mahāsabhā executed a royal order exchanging the *Jīvitam* lands for the township accountant.¹⁴⁰ The potters in suttamalli, a Brahmdēya had a *jīvitam* which was resumed and assigned to five gardeners, each 1 *mā* of land.¹⁴¹

Ten *mā* of land had been held as *jīvitam* by a savarna, an Angavaidya (a surgeon) which was resumed to be granted as *Dēvadāna Iraiylī*.¹⁴² A similar *jīvitam* held by Parasirāman, an Angavaidya in Karisūḷndamaṅgalam was resumed and granted for the worship of Aḷudaiyapillaiyār set up by Vēṇāvudaiyār¹⁴³ in A.D. 1246-47. This grant comprised 1 *vēli* of land, seedbed 1/16 an garden 2 *mā* and 2 housesites. In such cases it has to be presumed if the services had to be continued alternate provision was made. In latter village a *jīvitam* was held by the hunter (Vettaikkāran) which was changed into an occupancy land with the levy of 9 *kalam* per *mā* to be paid to the temple.¹⁴⁴

In Mānūr the *jīvitam* lands 13/4 *vēli* and 1 *mā* held by the Vettiṅyār (village servants) were on their dispossession assigned to the Brahmin Sabhaiyār of Mānanilainallūr with Kārānmai rights (i.e. the occupancy rights). The tax proceeds were assigned as *Dēvadāna Iraiylī* to Kulaśekhara viṅṅagar in Karuvānallūr in Kaḷakkudi nādu, a village nearby.¹⁴⁵

The third category of *jīvitam* were for temple services.

Jat. Kulasekhara I had assigned 3 *mā* yielding 30 *kalams* to be paid in every *Kār* crop (first crop) to a drummer (Idangaimārāyan).¹⁴⁶ For instituting an Adhyayana service at a new Sandhi the lands granted already to Kaṇḍiyadēvar were reassigned with the same rights as he had held and rendered taxfree.¹⁴⁷ The rate of yield was also at 10 *kalams* per *mā*, 35 *kalams* for 3½ *mā*, for double crop lands at *kalams* per crop.¹⁴⁸

In Tirunelvēli in A.D. 1235, 25 *accu* were deposited by a donor which yield an interest of 30 *kalams*. The rate of interest was 1 *accu* = 11/5 *kalams*. As the cash was not capable of yielding the amount a part was invested in land - 17 *accus*, yielding 30 *kalams*, and 8 *accus* were to be given in cash to the reciter of Śrīrudram, It will be noticed the resultant yield was higher - as *accu* would yield the same paddy yield as 25 *accu*.¹⁴⁹

In A.D. 1253-54 recite Tirugñānam several Tapasviyar from various manhas were assigned lands in all 1 *vēli* and 8 *mā*. These were from the vetṭiparru (unassigned lands assigned for Vetti service ?) from three places.

Sēraṇmādēvi Cm	- ¼ vēli	1½ mā
Arikēsarinalūr	- ¼ vēli	
Suttavalli	-	6½ mā
Total	- 1 vēli	8 mā

There earlier occupants were dispossessed and the lands were made ever for the service.¹⁵⁰

For tending a garden in Tirunelvēli temple, the donor himself had endowed lands 4 mā mukkāṇi Araikkāṇi which were granted with the land dues by the king as *Iraiylī*.¹⁵¹

In a Kōnerinmaikōṇḍān grant, the details of 5 shares for the existing shareholders and 11 additional shares for new service holders were detailed and they were to render services in the temple of the God and the Goddess and the other deities at Tirunelvēli.¹⁵² The shares included proportionate housesites, and other food offerings. The service holders had also come from other nāḍus like Amudaguṇaḷanāḍu, Tiruḷudi ḷaḷanāḍu and Tenkaraināḍu.

In an inscription of Mār. Sundara II (A.D. 1248-49) reference is made to Ēlūr kaikkōḷar jīvitam in Śrīvaikuṇṭam, then known as Rājendra CM which lay to the west of the Brahmin holdings of the Sabhaiyār.¹⁵⁴

In Tirukkōḷūr a cook's holding was dispossessed and granted for a new festival instituted in the 20th year of Mār. Sundara I.¹⁵³

This evidence is conclusive that grants for services were generally, held at pleasure of the king or deity and were changeable or resumable. In such cases if the original service had to subsist it is reasonable to presume that alternative provision was made.

Kaṇḍuḷavu; or the home farm lands¹⁵⁵

There is a noteworthy peculiarity noticed in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions. Some of them refer to the home farm lands and lands held by the king or the chieftains or the deity under personal cultivation. No occupancy rights could be claimed and the cultivators were tenants at will.

This tenure is not noticed to the best knowledge of the author, in the Cōḷa inscriptions from the studies so far made.

The evidence in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions is set out below. This term occurs in

inscriptions from Tirunelvēli, Suttamalli, Śrīvaikuṇṭam and Āttūr. In Madurai dt. It occurs in Tirupparaṅkunṭam and Madurai. In Rāmanāthapuram dt. It occurs in Cōlapuram Māranēri (Sāttūr), Vēmbattūr, Mēlanettūr (Śivagaṅgai taluk), Tirumālugaṅḍāṅkōttai (Arupukkōttai) and in Tirukkaḷakkudi. It also occurs in the later Pāṇḍya inscriptions at Tenkāśi and surrounding villages and in Śaṅkarankōil.

In the 20th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya for instituting a Vīrapāṇḍyansāndi in the Tirunelvēli temple two Pāṇḍyan princes or chieftains endowed a tank, and its āyacut which were then Kaṇḍuḷavu lands in Āsurnāḍu (near about Kayattār).¹⁵⁶

Another grant of Kaṇḍuḷavu was in Kuṇṭattūr for reciting Śrīrudra adhyayana on the birth star of prince Sundarapāṇḍya,¹⁵⁷ releasing the lands from the personal cultivation. The lands were of the highest Taram (*Talaivariśai*).

A third grant of Kāṇḍuḷavu was in Pāndanēri for the singers of hymns and for reciting Tirugṅānam - 2 *mā* of land.¹⁵⁸

Similar grant was made in Ārināḍu under Mānābharaṅappēri for a Vīrapāṇḍyansāndhi.¹⁵⁹

For reconstructions of the (gōpura) towers and other renovation works for the Prākāra wāll in Śrīvaikuṇṭam undertaken in the king's name by Dēvapirān Tādar, Sundara Pāṇḍya granted the home farm lands irrigated by the Cittār in Kīlkaḷakurram. These lands were in Ulakudai Mukkōkkiḷāṅḍigal Cm.¹⁶⁰

Other grants were :

For a garden service	Home farm land in the western hamlet of Śrīvaikuṇṭam 10 <i>mā</i> of land ¹⁶¹
For services to the goddess set up by a chieftain Tiruvaraṅgaperumāl Pallavarayar. ¹⁶²	10 <i>mā</i> in the western hamlet in the homefarm land in Vaḍakaṅkuḷam
For Kaḷḷapirān for Vaikāśi festival ¹⁶³	The remaining lands in the same hamlet which was under “ <i>pāttom</i> ” as his home farm land which were earlier an old Dēvadāna called Śrīpadmanābhamaṅgalam.

This grant might have been located in the village Udayaneri, a hamlet of Palamadai as the temple then has inscriptions bearing his name.

Note : On the identification the village ulakudai Mukkōkkiḷāṅ aḍigal Cm please see fn. 164, 165.

Āttūr Śēdamangalam	For reciting Tirugñānam	Lands under the cultivation in Ārrūr alias Aḷagaiyapāṇḍyanallūr and in Śēdamangalam ¹⁶⁶ alias Kulaśēkhara CM
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The proceeds of the personal cultivation (uḷavumudai) were made over the service.

Suttamalli (Tirunelvēli tk ¹⁶⁷)	For a garden for the goddess	A Kaṇḍuḷavu land to the east of the fort (Kōṭṭaikīlpāl) converted into an occupancy with kārāṇmai rights to Sembiyataraiyan and land-dues remitted. ½ mā field.
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In Tirupparankunṇam, one Irāvaḷan Prasannadēvar installed on the southern side of the hillock a Śiva temple and the deity was named after Mār. Sundara I. In his 7th year (A.D. 1224) the king was pleased to grant from his Kaṇḍuḷavu lands Sundarapāṇḍya puram alias Puḷinkunṇūr under Vīranārāyaṇa tank 6 mā of double crop, and 6 mā of single crop land for the services to the new deity. The lands assigned were to be contiguously located.¹⁶⁸

A second instance was a grant of Kaṇḍuḷavu lands in Perumnallūr and other villages which were granted as Tiruviḷakkuppuṇam (for a lamp service in the temple at Mādurai. The land dues payable on the conversion of the tenure were to be utilised for the purpose. The occupancy rights were granted to Sundarapāṇḍyamunaiyadaraiyan, and the yield was reduced from the king's demand. In return, the occupant assignee was to pay 2½ accu per year as immutable levy.¹⁶⁹

In A.D. 1303-04, Mār. Kulaśēkhara granted 1 vēli of land under his personal cultivation converting it into *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭa Irāiyili* for a new deity Mannār set up in the Uttama Cōḷaviṇṇagar Ālvār temple at Cōḷapuram.¹⁷⁰

In the 18th year of a ruler whose name is not available, 2 mā of land which lay to the east of the homefarm lands were granted to the Goddess of the Bed Chamber which were entitled to be irrigated from the big tank.¹⁷¹

Similar reference, to homefarm lands occur in later Pāṇḍya inscriptions.¹⁷²

Tēnūr tank and āyacut granted as Dēvadāna *Irāiyili* was also a homefarm land ever since it was excluded or deducted from the revenue accounts of the nāḍu (Munnāl nāṭṭil kaḷittu).¹⁷³ This implies that the homefarm lands during their holding for personal cultivation were not assessed to land-dues demand.

Similar conversions of Kaṇḍuḷavu lands occur from Vēmbattūr (Sivagaṅgai Tk) and Mēlanettūr. This latter refers to the endowed lands under the king's "Kaṇḍuḷavu pāṭṭom" in Vellimaṅgalam āyacut lands. The land bore the cash demand of 1/8 *accu* and 5 *kalam*s if the lands yielded without any scarcity of water supply. If the lands were brought to harvest with irrigation by baling only the cash levy of 1/8 *accu* was levied. The grain demand was remitted.

In Pirānmalai nāḍu in Ponnamarāvati command lands, were the lands of the king's homefarm to the west of Neḍuvayal. These lands were converted into a Brahmadēya for 20 Brahmins learned in vēḍas and śāstra and with one share each and with 2 shares each to the Śiva and viṣṇu deities installed by Kaṇḍiya dēvar.¹⁷⁶

From the evidence it is clear that homefarm lands were location in and around the capital, Madurai or where the king or his brothers had palaces and resided as at Tirunelvēli and Ponnamarāvati and Aṭṭūr.

The followed further inference can be drawn. The lands held under homefarm cultivation were usually granted on a lease, (*pāṭṭom*) terminable at will. When the land was transferred, the uḷavumudal (The paddy yield from cultivation) was transferred and not merely the land-dues therefrom. Also the lands assigned in one case are said to be of the highest assessment classification. If the latter could be an indication of the productivity, the lands should have been of the best sort). But this was not uniformly the case as in another instance scarcity of water was noticed with the need for a baling concession.

Tenancies and subtenures :

So far, the land occupancy and its transfer have been dealt with. It was not necessary that the occupant himself need be the cultivator. Indeed a Brahmin or even a chieftain could not be. This is essentially basis on which a third tier of cultivation could be envisaged.

The Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm distinctly refer to the cultivating tenants (uḷavu kuḍi) in the hamlets of the big Brahmadēya. They also declared that the lands cultivated by gardeners tending "Rājendra Cōḷan" garden need not pay the land-dues.¹⁷⁷

Various forms of cultivating tenancy can be inferred from the epigraphic data.

Kaṇḍan Ayyanār alias Nṛupa Śikhāmaṇi Mūvēndavēḷār of Maṅgalakkal had endowed money and the reclaimed a land purchased from the Sabhaiyār. The Śiva brahmanas (priests) themselves undertook to the temple authorities that they shall themselves cultivate (that is by engaging labour) or cause to be cultivated (by inducting cultivating tenants) the lands reclaimed. From the proceeds thereof they shall conduct

the services.¹⁷⁸ Similarly the temple executives were charged with the duty to collect mēlvāram from specific fields and invest it in maintaining the temple tank.¹⁷⁹ In the 20th year (A.D. 1288) of Mār. Kulaśēkhara a similar assignment of the mēlvāram was assigned for deepening a new ēmbal Punyavāṭṭi ēmbal in Śivapuri and the mēlvāram was from specific fields.¹⁸⁰ In these cases the mēlvāram was earmarked for a specific public purpose, while the cultivating tenants under the temple had the Kuḍivāram rights.

The ubiquitous and, perhaps, favoured form of occupancy holding was Kuḍainīga dēvadānam-when the occupancy was with the holder of the land, and the stipulated land-dues were to be paid to the assignee-dēvadāna.¹⁸¹

The grantor himself sometimes stipulated the occupants who could enjoy the lands, and cultivate the lands.¹⁸² In this case *kārāṇmai* rights vested with the occupant and the land-dues with the deity. Similar cases can be multiplied.¹⁸³ The chieftain of Ēlūr Śembinādu purchased from the Nāṭṭār several parcels of land, and endowed the lands as *Dēvadāna* retaining with him the *kārāṇmai* rights. A purchaser who had endowed the lands as *Kuḍinīngā Tirunāmmattukkāni* for Piḍāriyār, a goddess he had installed and dig wells and consolidate the holdings. In consideration of his capital investment needed he was permitted to cultivate the lands, on a permanent occupancy (Nilaiadaḍai) and pay for wet crops 1/3 mēlvāram and for dry crops ¼ yield and 1/8 for sugarcane and garden crops, brinjal and pumpkin (which were hypothetical having regard to the nature of the land).¹⁸⁴ A Kuḍinīngā dēvadāna lands was allotted to an occupant as condition that he held it on vāram tenure on a stipulated rental. The undertenants (śirukūḍi) had also to pay 1/3 of the yield.¹⁸⁵

But sometimes the *Dēvadāna* land was resumed and the king or his men collected a share (*vāram*) of the produce. The temple suffered, and hence a regrant was made assigning the land-dues to the temple together with *kārāṇmai* rights. The temple had the double benefit of the land-dues, and the yield due to an occupant.¹⁸⁶

In the case of the *vāram* tenure, the occupant stood to have an equitable share as the sharing was based on the actual yield. This was a preferable form in rainfed tracts and where crops were insecure. It should also be distinguished from the '*varisai*' form of levy where cropwise fixed rates were stipulated. It should not be understood that the *vāram* tenure was non-existent in the riverine and more fertile tracts.¹⁸⁷

The pāṭṭom tenure which was a lease was noticed in the tracts with assured irrigation. The Sabhaiyār of Rājarāja Cm had granted a land as *Kārāṇmai Dēvadāna* and this land was cultivated on pāṭṭom tenure. In the pāṭṭam tenure the occupant was assured of his portion of the yield while the cultivator bore the risk of cultivation

and even perhaps the cost.¹⁸⁸ Three *mā* of land therein were converted into maḍappuram for a Vaiṣṇava jeer (*ascetic*) who was looking after the temple.

In Tirumālugaṇḍān Kōṭṭai a purchaser Ōvāda Kūttan had purchased land and the king granted it as a *Kārāṇmai Pāṭṭom*. The term might mean the occupant-purchaser could realise a fixed lease rent or alternatively he had the *Kārāṇmai* rights and had to deliver a fixed quantum to the temple. As the intention of the purchaser was to provide for temple services and feeding the Brahmins he would have undertaken to have the purchased land cultivated and from the yield deliver the stipulated quantum for the services. The lands were tank-fed.¹⁸⁹ When 15 *mā* of land was held on *pāṭṭom* tenure the right to enjoy the trees also were vested with the grantee-Bhāttas.¹⁹⁰

The cultivating rights were seen to be saleable. 5½ *mā* of Dēvadāna land held by a donor had been compensated with 10 *accu* for the change of cultivating tenancy (*uḷavu māṟṟi kuḍutta accu pāṭṭom*).¹⁹¹

The cultivating rights in lands could also be transferred as usufructory (*uḷavorṟṟi*) by the occupants. Four Brahmin occupants had made an usufructory mortgage of their land and this was redeemed by paying 1 *accu* in cash and the lands so released were endowed one *vēli* in extent for the subsistence of the bachelor devotees bending a garden for the Āttālanallūr temple.¹⁹² Redemption of usufructory mortgage of land at a cost of 13 *accu*, for 6 *mā mukkāṇi* and another 2 *mā* at a cost of 4½ *accu* and 150 kalams of paddy was recorded by a benefactor who instituted a service and helped the Dārukāpuram temple to pay the distributed levies payable to the Sabhaiyār.¹⁹³

In Kallidaikkuricci, Nālāyiraviṇṇagar Ālvār had taken the reverse - *Irai oṟṟi* usufructory mortgage of the *Irai* yield from some lands in 4 *mā* of land. The king later remitted the tax-dues from 4 *mā* from the 10th year of Kulaśēkhara.¹⁹⁴

Another peculiar instance is noticed in Tirunelvēli. When the Narasimha svāmi temple was consecrated in the reign of Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the Mahāsabhā of Kulaśēkhara Cm had granted 3 *mā* of land as *Bhāttavṟṟti*. But it was not enjoyed as possession had not been delivered and hence paddy was given out of the *Kaḍamai* dues of Ulagaḍainallūr. In A.D. 1209 the Mahāsabhā granted in lieu thereof. 2½ *mā* on land in Kuṇṟattūr, including *Kārāṇmai* rights.¹⁹⁵

Finally, in A.D. 1333 Mār. Vīra Pāṇḍya ordered the grant of the following to a Brahmin Nārāyaṇaśarman Vīrapāṇḍya dēvan for the “*Bhōga kūli*” due from the king to the grantee. The lands being the holding of cultivating tenants (*uḷavarpaṟṟu*) in Sembinaḍu under Purakulam, together with the lands the bonded labour (being) Harijans) in the outskirts (Purañjēri) (*Tīṇḍā aḍimaiḡal*) were granted as “*Śarvadāna*”

or “*Sarvamānya*”.¹⁹⁶ What is implied was that the grantee was entitled to the proceeds of all taxes and the land - yield and appurtenances together with the bonded labour.

In A.D. 1105, a donor had purchased as “*Uvacca aḍimai*”, bonded labour for pipers service, and endowed the persons so purchased and their heirs to the temple in Karuṅḡulanāṭṭu . . . a Dharmadāna.¹⁹⁷

A later inscription of Ś 1347 (A.D. 1425) records Marudai Jayaṅḡoṇḍār of Neḍuvāśal had purchased from Korḡkai Kiḷavan one Ramādevi and her five daughters; and two grand-daughters, in all 8, to work in the temple of Narasimhīśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār at Aṅgamaṅalam.¹⁹⁸

Bonded labour could be purchased and sold and endowed. The endowed persons and their heirs had in perpetuity to render the stipulated service.

Later Pāṇḍya inscriptions in Tenkāśi and Śrīvilliputtūr and surrounding areas refer to the occupant or the king receiving a levy called Āñjāli and it is also remitted when tax-free lands were endowed. What this term signifies is unclear and there is no circumstantial evidence except to infer that it was also a levy on land.¹⁹⁹ The actual cultivators were also Pallar (“*Uḷugira Pallanukku*”)²⁰⁰

It is significant that as noticed elsewhere, the Kārāṅmai Kuḍigaḷ (tenants holding rights of cultivation) join the Mahāśabhā or the Ūrār, the principal occupants, in making sales or gifts. This would imply that they were delivering possession of the lands freed of their rights.

FOOT NOTES :

1. SII XXIII/125, 126, 127 Pappānkuḷam (Maḡ. Kulaśēkhara I)
2. Āttur - Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I 442/1930.
3. Please ref. PDK Studies pp. 186
4. SII I/370, 371 Madurai
5. 100/1945-46
6. SII XXIII/513, 514
7. On Karpūravilai pl. see my detailed discussion in PDK Studies pp 219-227
8. 28/1929 Śivapuri
9. 423/1930 : Rājarāja I A.D. 1007
471/1930 : Rājēndra I (3)
443/1930 : Kulōttuṅga I, all from Āttur
Also - 431, 435/1929-30, Āttur, Jat Kulaśēkhara I (34th)

10. 415/1930, 419, 420/1930
11. 261/1980-81
12. SII XXIII / 507
13. 101/108, Tiruppattūr
14. 327 / 1923 Tirukoṣṭiyūr, A.D. 1278
15. For e.g., SII VIII / 458, Māramaṅalam
16. SII VIII / 446, Māramaṅalam
17. SII XXIII / 90, Kallidaikkuricci
18. 123 / 1905, Tirupudaimarudūr
19. 525 / 1958-59; Also 422 / 1930 - Āttūr Kulōttuṅga I)
20. SII XXIII / 402 The inscription is damaged
21. 587 / 1926
22. 427 / 1930
23. 444 / 1930
24. 451 / 1930
25. 458 / 1930
26. 409 / 1930
27. 405 / 1929-30
28. 16 / 1928-29
29. SII XIV / 190 (Mār. Vikrama Cōla Pāṇḍya) (25)
30. 334 / 1916
31. SII VIII / 440 Mār. Kulśekhara I A.D. 1284
32. 360 / 1959-60
33. 78 & 79, 84, 87 & 89/1916
34. 681 / 1905
35. 466 & 469 / 62-63
36. 471 / 1962-63
37. 307 / 1963-64 (13th century palaeography)
38. 608 / 1915
39. 315 / 1930
40. SII XIV / 197 Śermādēvi
41. 363, 364 / 1959-60
42. 346 - 61-62 (Mār. Sundara I)
43. 593 - 1965 Mār. Sundara II - (4) (A.D. 1242)
44. SII VIII-460 Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1100)

45. 362, 366 / 1959-60
46. Tiruvāliśvaram 368 / 1916
Tirunelvēli 80, 81 / 1927
Also, 391 / 1916; 393 / 1916 Mannārkōil; Also 44 / 1927 Tirunelvēli
47. 245 / 1976-77
48. The Cōlas Vol. II Pt I p 430
49. 6 / 1916 Sugantalai Jāt. Vīra (11th year) Also 263 / 1941 Singikuḷam
50. Pl. see my "Rājēndravīṇṇagar" pp 21-25
51. ARE 310, 311 / 1923 Tirukostiyūr
52. 54 / 1926
53. 50 / 1916 Tirukkalakkudi
54. 309 / 1928 -
55. SII V 248
56. SII XIV 206
57. 269 / 1928
58. 251 / 1941-42
59. 271 / 1941-42
60. 493 / 1962-63
61. Eg. 495 / 1962-63 (Mār. Kulaśēkhara) (30) (A.D. 1298)
62. 545 / 1922
63. 568 / 1922
64. 552 / 1922 Tiruttaṅgal
65. 566 / 1922 Tiruttaṅgal
66. Mudikkarai B - 1977-78
67. 33 / 1931-32 Pāṇḍya Vīra (acc A.D. 1443)
68. 297 / 1923 Also, 295/1923
69. 107 / 45-46 Mār. Kulaśēkhara (7)
70. 199 / 80-81 Mār. Vīra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1360)
71. 510 / 58-59 Vēlaṅgudi, Mār. Sundara (5)
72. 103 / 1916
73. 75 / 1916
74. 65 / 1916
75. 117 / 1916
76. 271 / 41-42
77. 103 / 1916

78. 65 / 1916
79. This is specifically stated in a Tirunelvēli inscription SII V 422
80. The term land-dues is more appropriately used as there were a number of levies and varieties of services and hence have the term 'land-revenue' associated.
81. The render is referred to a detailed analysis of land tenures and sub-tenures in chap. 9 of my Pudukkōṭṭai Studies.
82. SII XIV - 245 Ambāsamudram
83. SII XIV - 250
84. SII XIV - 160, 161
85. 331 / 1916 The text is not available
86. SII XIV / 157
87. Ibid / 194
88. SII V / 428, 429 Also, 34, 37 & 40 / 1927
89. SII V / 411 Mār. Kulaśēkhara (8) (A.D. 1276)
90. 254 / 1928
91. SII XXIII / 109
92. SII XXVI / 479 Suttamalli
93. SII V / 294 (Jāt. Śrīvallabha)
94. SII V / 302
95. SII IV / 369, SII IV / 373 - Madurai
564 / 1911 - Pulippaṭṭi
476, 477, 478 / 1962-63 - Tiruvādavūr
96. 277 / 1930, 302 / 1930, 19 & 20 / 31-32 Aḷagarkōil
97. SII XIV/205 : Cōḷapuram (Śrīvilliputtūr Tk.)
SII VIII / 348 : Tirupullāṇi (Rāmanāthapuram Tk.)
98. SII XIV / 221 Jāt. Śrīvallabha (9th Year)
99. 39 / 1928-29
100. SII XIV / 257
101. 543, 544 / 1922
102. 568 / 1922
103. 545 / 1922
104. 554 / 1922
105. 572 / 1922
106. 214 / 1980-81
107. SII XXIII / 416 Periyakuḷam
108. SII VIII / 402

109. 397 / 1954-55 Jāt. Vīra (36)
110. 62 / 1916 - Jāt. Sundara
111. 102 / 45-46 Māg. Vīra
112. 45-46 / 1931-32 Jāt. Parākrama
113. unnumbered Jāt. Vikrama (4)
114. 31 XXVI - 515
115. 30 / 1914
116. On this pl see my Pudukkōṭṭai Studies pp 214-224 for a detailed analysis of the term its implications.
117. (18700) SH XXVI-28 Kunnakkudi
118. SH XIV / 204, SH XIV / 208 Kunnakkudi Also, SH XXVI-27
119. SH XXVI-25
120. SH XXVI-37
121. Ibid 44
122. Please see pp72-74 of my "land grants and agrarian reactions" for a clinching case
123. 546 / 1922
124. 298/1923, 304/1923
125. 333 / 1923
126. 8 / 1916
127. 564 / 1926
128. 470, 471 / 1962-63
129. 678 / 1905
130. 483 / 1962-63
131. 289 / 1930
132. For a detailed acc of this tenure pl see my Pudukkōṭṭai Studies P. 269-281
133. 122 / 1908
134. 5 / 1926 Sundara Pāṇḍya (3)
135. 12 / 1926
136. 564 / 1926
137. SH V / 431
138. SH VIII - 462
139. 439 / 1929-30
140. 125 / 1905
141. 58, 60 / 1927
142. SH XXVI 483, 484, 485
143. SH V - 440-441

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

144. 593 / 1916 Jāt. Sundara (Vāṭā)
145. 424 / 1906
146. SII V / 415
147. 62 / 1927 Also, 64 / 1927 Tirunelvēli
148. 64 / 1927
149. SII V / 422
150. SII V / 421
151. SII V / 419
152. 41 / 1927
153. 717 / 52-63
154. SII XXVI 494 The inscription is incomplete
155. On the interpretation of this term and the tenurial characteristics pl see my Chapter in my collected Papers (pp 53-60)
156. SII V / 408
157. SII V / 402 Also, 65 / 1927
158. 63 / 1927 Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān
159. 82 / 1927
160. 373 / 1959-60 Śrīvaikuṇṭam, Also 378 / 1959-60
161. 374 / 1959-60
162. 375 / 1959-60
163. 376 / 1959-60
164. The grant referred to in 373/1959-60 have been located in the village Udayanēri, a hamlet of Pālāmadai as the temple there has inscriptions bearing this name (ARE)
165. At my instance, the inscriptions in the Śrīnivāsapperumāḷ temple at Udayanēri, a hamlet of Pālāmadai revenue village were copied. A number of medieval Pāṇḍyan inscriptions have come to light (ARE 245 to 249 of 1976-77)
166. 463 / 1930
167. SII XXVI / 488, 1909 Most of the above were "Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān" grants and the ruler could not be identified
168. SII XV / 372 Perumnallūr
169. SII XV / 369
170. SII XXVI / 530 The village is located in Śrīvilliputtūr Tk and not in Sivagaṅga. Pl see -Vol I
171. SII XXVI / 50
172. Ibid / 512
173. 42 / 1931-32 Tirumālugaṇḍān kōṭṭai
174. 338 / 1959-60
175. Copied in 1989-90 Mēlanettūr

176. 68 & 73 / 1916 Tirukkalakkudi
177. SII XIV / p 73 footnote
178. SII XIV / 191 Āttūr
179. 58 / 1929 Sivapuri
180. 62 / 1929
181. For e.g. SII XXVI / 515 Cōḷapuram
182. 102 / 45-46 Śūkkōṭṭai (Mār. Vīra) 14
183. 45-46 / 1931-32 Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai
184. 62 / 1915 Tirukkalakkudi
185. 220 / 1980-81 Talakkavūr. The inscription is incomplete and is unclear.
186. 397 / 1954-55 Kunnakkudi Jat. Vira (20)
187. A reference to a *vāram* holding of a merchant occurs in the boundary specification of a land in Kallīḍaikuṟicci SII XXIII / 97
188. 675 / 1916 Sērnādēvi, Sundara - (4+1) 5th year
189. 49 / 1931-32 Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai
190. 387 / 1960 Vēḷūr Kasbā, Mār. Kulaśēkhara (8)
191. SII XXXII / 92 Kallīḍaikuṟicci, Mār. Sundara I (A.D. 1224-25)
192. 437 / 1916, Mār. Kulaśēkhara (8)
193. 582 / 1915, Mār. Sundara I (A.D. 1229)
194. SII XXIII / III
195. 83 / 1927
196. 86 / 1905 Ūttarakōśamaṅgai
197. 280 / 1928
198. 365 / 1949-50
199. E.g. 106 / 74-75 Śrīvilliputtūr
200. This occurs in 103 / 74-75. Añjāli is also mentioned therein.

CHAPTER - V

MERCHANTS TOWNSHIPS IN THE PĀNDYAN KINGDOM

The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, extended from the foot hills of the western Ghats to the sea coast on the Bay of Bengal. It was the trade-route, for the valuable spices and hill products of the Cēra Kingdom towards the east. This usually took three routes - the first (via) Nānjilnāḍu and through the Thōvaḷa pass and the Southern Townships in Nāngunēri Taluk and Rādhapuram sub-taluk. The second was by descending the Ghats, at Āriyaṅgāvu and then spreading into the plains via Tenkāsi, Ambāsamudram on the east, and Dēvadānam, Seithūr on the North. The third was the descent from the Periyār-Periyakuḷam hills and taking the route along Suruḷiyār via Śinnamanūr or another forking off from Periyakuḷam, reaching the Vaigai banks and proceeding to Madurai.

In addition inland locations of the merchant-colonies helped distribute goods carried on asses or headloads or on sling as Kāvadis. Naturally, a number of merchant-colonies had sprung up.

Towards the east coast, a number of roadsteads have been utilised all along the littoral from Tiruvādānai coast down to Kanyākumari. Here sea trade, and pearl fisheries too were active. We have evidence of community levies on the wares brought by different varieties of boat and those on the pearl fisheries.

The following account details of importance for mercantile activity gleaned from the inscriptions.

The evidence points to three or four distinct groups of the mercantile community. The first and earliest reference is to the Maṅgrāmattār occurring in an inscription of the 21st year of Parakēsarivarman (Parāntaka I A.D. 928) In that year, Saḍaiyan Kavayan, a Member of Maṅgrāmam from Tenvāri nadu endowed a lamp service in Kurrālanāthasvāmi temple at Kurrālam, and gave 26 cows. Kurrālam itself was located in the Tenvāri nāḍu.

The merchants of Maṅgrāmam also figure in inscriptions from Tiṭṭaṇḍatānapuram in Tiruvādānai Taluk, and in Śivapuri in Tiruppattūr. They are all ultimately traced to the group of that name in Koḍumbālūr, the capital of Irukkuvēl Chieftains in Pudukkōṭṭai.

In Śivapuri, a merchant, Arasu Madalaikūttan alias Śivakaruṇālayam purchased 2 mā of land and endowed it for offering pudding (pittu) to the god of Nrupasekhara Cm. The donor described himself as Koḍumbālūr Maṅgrāmattu vyāpari a trader belonging to the group, Maṅgrāmam based in Koḍumbālūr. This was in (AD 1105)²

The Tittāṇḍatānapuram inscription is dated in the 11th year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya I (AD 1265)³

It records an agreement by Anjuvaṇṇam Maṇigrāmam Sāmanta Paṇḍaśāli and others residing in the village promising to levy certain taxes on commodities sold or purchased to supplement the expenses of (sic) rebuilding in stone the ruined mandapa in front of God Sarvatīrthamuḍaiya nāyanār, commenced by Vadugālvār, daughter of Śivanēri uḍaiyār Akalaṅka Nāḍālvān, and daughter of Visayālaya muttariyar.

The Maṇigrāmattār of Koḍumbālūr also subscribed to the community levies on various commodities of trade dealt with in detail below. This could be ascribed to the second half of the 12th Century.⁴

A Nagara is noticed in the township of Pampulī, adjoining Kurṛālam. This was called Kāṅgēyakulakālapuram, and the Nagarattār were the principal occupants. Two merchants endowed a land as Dēvadāna in the reign of Jaṭ. Vīra and the Nagarattār rendered it tax-free. The Nagara accountant attested decision of the Nagarattār.⁵

Mārandāyanallūr alias Vikramapāṇḍyapuram was a Nagaram in Mulli Nāḍu. A number of individual merchants had donated cash or sheep for lamp services.⁶ The Nagarattār as a body remitted the land dues on lands endowed for the deity, taking on the obligations themselves.⁷ They also agreed to pay the tax due on an oil-press set up by a merchant of an Erivīrapatṇa. Among the signatories one Vikrama Pāṇḍya Śilaisetti occurs.⁸

They also granted a dry land as *Dharmadāna* for maintaining two lamps instituted by a dancing girl. This was in the 22nd lamps instituted by a dancing girl. This was in the 22nd year of Mār. Kulaśekhara I (AD 1290).⁹ About the name time a merchant Kulaśekhara Cakravarti presented certain silver vessels to the temple at Kurṛālam and a deed was executed by the assembly.¹⁰

The Nagarattār of Vikramapāṇḍyapuram also instituted for the welfare of the King Tirunelvēli Uḍaiyār, a service. They granted what they themselves had received, viz., 1530 arecanuts per month, and 20 betel-bundles (each having 200 leaves) per month which at the same rates at which the Brahmins in the township received it. The nuts and betel bundles were also apportioned among the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. The Chiefs of Vikramapāṇḍyapuram and the Nagarattār attested the grant.¹¹

The Tiśai āyirattu añṇūruvar was a far larger assemblage of merchants who had far flung contacts. A merchant belonging to this group had endowed a sēkandi (drums to the Kṣētrapāla (Dēśivaḷanallūrdēvar) at Ūrmēlaḷagiyān.¹² They had a number of settlements in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom as in the Cōḷa and other dominions. In Rājarāja Cm. The big Brahmadēya township, a whole street called Rājēndra Cōḷapperunderu

was occupied by them. A hamlet of the Brahmādēya, Mēlkuppāyakkūḍi was named Nānādēśinallūr. A number of parcels of lands were allocated by the Niyoga of the Mahāsabhā of the big township for a service to Tirumūlanātha deity for the merit of this merchant-group in AD 1032.¹³

A Tiśai āyirattu aññurruva Kaṅkāṇi (Superintendent of the affairs of the merchant group) also figures among the signatories of a land-grant from within a Dēvadāna village of Tiruvālīśvaram in AD 1107.¹⁴

The Tiruvālīśvaram inscriptions refer more frequently to another merchant settlement within the big Brahmādēya called Rājarāja eṇivīrapattiṇam. It was also known by the street name Niccittakaṇḍapperunderu.

In the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara a donor from that settlement provided for the Kārtigai festival 1 *accu* which yielded interest at 5 *kalams* of paddy per year. If gingelly yielded in the summer crop (*kāṇ*) the Śivabrāhmana who undertook the land-endowment agreed to pay cash at the prevailing rates.¹⁵ Another resident of this settlement¹⁶ also endowed 1 *accu*, yielding 5 *kalams* of paddy per year for the same purpose. In AD 1221 a resident of this street sold Appāṇḍāṅkuḷam for 120 *accu* as he was in need of liquidity.¹⁷ An endowment made for Śivarātri pūjās by a merchant from this street among others, had fallen into disuse on account of the disturbances in the *Nāḍu*. It was restored in the reign of Mār. Sundara.¹⁸ There were several other donors of lamp service from the same street.¹⁹ A merchant from the same street gifted a stone slab for flowers to be kept and for making garlands²⁰ at Tiruvālīśvaram in the 7th year of Mār. Vikrama. (AD 1290). This merchant settlement was thus active for over 100 years.

In the southern hamlet of Kallidaikuricci there was another merchant settlement called Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram. Two merchants therefore instituted lamp services in Tirumūlanātha temple at Ambāsamudram.²¹ (AD 1023)

The Nagarāttar as a body recalled their earlier grant of land, undertaking the obligation to pay Kaḍamai on themselves and made a Dharamadāna in AD 1192 to Nālāyira Viṇṇagar deity in the same place.²² This merchant settlement was also known as Pūnāl²³ in which the King granted tax remission on lands.

In AD 1301 one Sokkan Vittagan installed an image of Tiruvīdi nācciyār Umaiyaṇḍār in the temple of (Nāgēśvaramudaiyār). Nālāyira Isvaramudaiyār. The Kaṇmāḷar residing in Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram agreed to measure 10 *kaḷams tūni*, padakku paddy for a festival in the month of Cittirai.²⁴ Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram had not only merchants but artisans and smiths among its residents, blacksmith, carpenters, and goldsmiths.

To the east of Rājarāja Cm was another big Brahmadēya Nigarilicōla Cm in Mullinādu in Uttama Cōla Vaḷanādu. (Sērmādēvi). In AD 1019, in the 3rd year of Rājēndra Cōla I the Mahāsabhā of the Brahmadēya resolved that they allot land to “their sons” (Nammakkaḷ) Tisaiāyirattu añṅurruvar for their residential purposes; Uttama madapperunderu - to the east of the South gate of the township and Puṛamaṅgala vīdi, street. They gave the two rows (on either side) of Puṛamaṅgala vīdi. To the north of the gate in the same street excluding 5 house-sites of Śivabrāhmanās both sides and to the east of the northern gate on the northern side another street excluding the temple precincts and the gardens. They also declared that they shall not charge the merchant residents any house-site tax and the free feeding for various services or occasions. Any one who transgressed this decision was liable to pay a fine of 10 pon individually and the Sabhā collectively 100 pon.²⁵

This evidence brings out the fillip given to merchant settlement in the reign of Rajēndra Cōla I, and the solicitude of the Mahāsabhā to provide for them.

Perhaps the new street was called Rājēndra Cōlapuram. The Mahāsabhā sold a Dēvadāna tank and āyacut to a merchant, Tirunīlakaṇṭa Ceṭṭi of that Nagara on condition that he paid to the temple 5 *kalams* of paddy per *mā*, of wet and 2 *akkam* per *mā* of dry land and 2 *Kāśu* per *vēli* as the cultivating tenants (plough fee). This was in AD 1018.²⁶

The same Mahāsabhā sold land to Parāntaka Niraiñjān, alias Tisaiāyirattu añṅurruva Daśamaḍi Vīran who provided for a watchman to the Nigarili Cōla Viṅṅagar āḷvār.²⁷

To the north east of this Brahmadēva was the old township of Māṇanilainallūr in Kaḷakkudi nādu. Close to it was the ancient Pāṇḍyan fortified town of Karavaṅḍapuram (Ukkirankōṭṭai). We have noticed the Nagarattār who strengthened the fortifications in the 9th century. Karavaṅḍapuram continued to be a busy merchant-township even in early times. A merchant therefrom Orungai Arangan endowed a lamp 30 palam in weight to the Viṣṇu deity at Sucīndram in AD 947.²⁸ Another, the wife of a merchant therefrom, Rāman Ilakkuvaṇan set up a lamp and endowed 25 sheep for supplying ghee in the temple of Śīvalappēri in Kīḷkaḷakkūram.²⁹

A Vatteluttu inscription at Mānūr refers to a Ilaiyan Kāḍan, a Valaṅṅiyar who protected the township when it was threatened with destruction. Below the inscription is the figure of a man holding a club in each of his hands.³⁰ Another figure is that of a man without stretched arms, of which the left arm holds a sword.³¹ These should be the images of village Hampdens who saved the cattle and the township when some people from without had threatened its security.

A number of the Nagara Townships in which the Ayyavōle Tiśaiāyirattu aññūruvar resided had collectively made an endowment to the temple of Mānūr but the portion recording the contents of the grant is built in. It records a “Vīra sāsana”. The grantors were full of great qualities and blessed by Śrīvāsudēva whose breast is adorned by Laksmi, and that they were issued forth from Mūlabhadra and were the children of Durga Paramēśvari of Ayyavōlē. Then follows a list of these merchant-townships of Tiśai āyirattu aññūruvar.³²

<i>Nadu</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Name of the Nagara</i>
Tiruvaludi Vaḷanāḍu	Tirukkōlūr	Ulōga cintāmaṇipuram
	Kaṇṇanūr	Karikālacōḷapuram
	Paṭṭaṇamarudūr	Keraḷāntakapuram
	Māṇavīrapattinam	Dēśiuttamacōḷapattanam
	Vīra Pāṇḍyapuram	Dēśia(yya)pattinam
	Vellūr	Rājarājapuram
Alagiyaśēkharavaḷanāḍu Kīlavēmbu Nādu	Pūvēndiyacōḷapuram	..
	Śivacaranaśēkharaperundēru (in Tirunelveli)?	
	Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam	
	Perunderu	Nūru-nūrāyira dēsambi Deśiuyyavandapattanam
	Irājavallapuram	Cōṟuḍaiya Tinna
	Cenniṟakkarai	
	Śēliyanūr Māliyakulamāṇikkapuram (Śōṟuḍai Desiyapattanam)	
Kīlkaḷakkūram	Maṅgalattu Puviru The same Nādu had more than one Nagara	Tenayyapattanam

A number of “Nagaras” are noticed occupying several streets or habitats in Tirunelvēli. The time spread is from the 8th year of Rājendra I (AD 1020) to the 26th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara - I (AD 1294) - nearly three hundred years.

In AD 1020, a royal officer, Brahma Śrī Kiḷār enquired into the provision required for the services in the temple at Tirunelvēli. He noticed that the requirements of camphor and sandal and akil (for lamp) and mustard, pepper and turmeric, betelnut, gur and salt required for food offerings were being paid for in cash from the temple treasury. He ordered that in lieu of the payment of 22 *kāśu* as *Kuḍimai* to the King and 18 *kāśu* they received from the temple treasury, Kāṇi land Kaṇṇanūr, a Dēvadāna village measuring $5\frac{1}{4}$ (*vēli*) be granted as *Iṟaiyili*. This was granted to the Tirunelvēli Valaṅṅiyar who had to supply the articles required in lieu of the cash payments made earlier and now dispensed with. The articles to be supplied were.³³

Per day

camphor	-	$\frac{1}{2}$ kaḷaṅju
Akil	-	8 kaḷaṅju for 1 lamp
Sandal	-	4 palam
For food offerings	-	mustard - āḷakku
pepper	-	Uḷakku $2\frac{1}{2}$ šeṣiḍu

This arrangement could have secured stability in supply, insulating the quantities required from the price fluctuations from time to time. Also the commodities were not of local productions in the plains.

In the 21st year of Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1091) the King ordered that a merchant, Kākkūruḍaiyān Silēṭṭi (Śrēṣṭi) Uyyavandān alias Viḷiṅattaraiyan of Rājendra Cōḷa paṭṭiṇam in Rājarāja tennāḍu be assigned a land in Tottuvāymaṅgalam in Naṅṅilnāḍu, assigned to the deity at Tirunelvēli.³⁴ Apparently the merchant was from Kanyākumari district.

The Nagarattār of Tirunelvēli sold land and undertook to remit the taxes on the land sold bearing the obligation themselves. A garden land under mortgage to the Queen lay to the north of the land sold.³⁵

Another Nagara Śivacaraṇasēkharapperunderu alias Śrīvallavapuram in Kīlavēmbu nāḍu agreed to measure 10 *kaḷaṅjus* per *mā*, from out of the *Kaḷamai* in the *Kār* seasonal crop for 3 *mā* endowed by Śīyandēvan alias Kaṇḍiyattēvan for playing Idakkai to one Anavaradāna Idakkaimārāyan an artist. The name of the township of which this Nagara was a part is not legible.³⁶ This was in AD 1216.

There were more than one *Nagara* in Tirunelvēli itself. One such was Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam alias Kulaśēkharapuram a Nagara in Tirunelvēli in Kīlavēmbu

nādu.³⁷ A New deity, Āḷudaiyār Aḷagiyacirrambalamuḍaiyār was installed by one Viḷuppādarāyar of Miḷalaikkūrram in the temple at Tirunelvēli. He provided per year 3 *accu* at 1½ *accu* per crop. This yielded 19 *Dramam* at 13 *mēni dramam* per *accu*. The Nagaram agreed to pay it together with the *Antarāyam* proceeds they delivered to the temple, half and half in *kār* and *pisānam*, after the verification of the yield by the treasury officers.

The signatories to this deed were merchants -

Sundarapāṇḍya samañjitan

Sundarapāṇḍya Vāṇiyaccakravarti

Āḷvān Tambi alias Aḷagiyapāṇḍyamūvēndavēlan

Uḍaiyār Tiruvayyāru Uḍaiyān alias Śrīnidhi (nadhi-Sic) cakravarti

Ambalavāṇa Piccan alias Armandapāṇḍya Śīlaicetti

Samañjitan

Maṇḍalasvāmi

Śivapāḍa Cōḷa Śilai cetti

Vaṇiganārāyaṇacakravarti

Nagara Kaṇakku (accountant) Kaṇammūruḍaiyān

This was in the 15th year of Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya. The date could be AD 1231 or AD 1253, as the case may be, if attributed to the first or the second ruler of that name.

The Vāṇiyanagaram of Suttavallipperunderu in Tirunelvēli even more active as seen from the inscriptions from AD 1235 to AD 1294. The Kāraṇavar (agents) for the oilmongers received 10 paḷamudai āṇai *accu* current at the time.³⁸ They distributed it among 10 shares (Karaī) who agreed to measure per day uḷakku oil by the measure. Anavaradadānan.

The signatories Kāraṇavar were :

- (1) Māsīlāmaṇi Namban alias Danmapōdiyarāyan
- (2) Dēvan Magiḷan alias Nagarasēnāpati
- (3) Śōran Kurundan alias Sundarapāṇḍyavānikayarayan
- (4) Māsīlāmaṇi Piḷḷan alias Kulasēkharadanmapōdiyarāyan

- (5) Karunākara Sembiyadēvan alias Kanakapōdiyarāyan
- (6) Sankan Arumaiālvān alias Ānandakūttan
- (7) (Ki) varan Sundarapandya vallarāyan
- (8) Nakkan Māsīlāmaṇi alias Māpōdiyarāyan
- (9) Ponnambalakkūttan Korran alias Tiruvambalapiriyādan
- (10) Sēvakan Bhaṭṭan alias Pārvatipāgan

Perhaps, the ten signatories had represented every one a Karai (share) of the oilmonger community that constituted the Nagaram.

The same Nagaram agreed to measure ālakku oil for feeding the early morning lamp 1, and evening lamps 3, in all four, before the shrine of Jaṭādhariśvaramuḍaiyār to the north of Tirunelvēli udaiyar. The lamps were instituted by one Veliyārrūr uḍaiyān Bhaṭṭālakanaḍaiya Nāyakan and Māsāttuvaṇikan cikkan of Śīvallavan Muḍigal Bhūtamangalam in Madurai. This was, however, on receipt of the agreed price for oil to be received from the donors. Among the signatories one Samayamantri also figures.³⁹

The oil mongers in the same street agreed to measure uri oil per day, on payment of the agreed price from Varadaṇṇadaṇḍanāyagar, an officer of the Hōysala ruler Vīrasōmēśvaradēvar and the scribes (Ōlai) of Maruṅgūr in Toṇḍaimandalam, Sūriyadēvan Kumarālvār, and his younger brother Kākayya daṇḍanāyakar and Irāmanna. This can be ascribed to the 11th year of Mār. Sundara II (AD 1249).⁴⁰

The signatories have names similar to those noticed above.

In the 4th year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pandya, they received the agreed price, from a Malayāḷa Brahmin. Mēlmanai Nārāyaṇan Rudrapillai and undertook to measure uḷakku oil at the shrine of Tadarīśvaramuḍaiyār in the temple.⁴¹

Two years later, on similar terms they agreed to measure uḷakku oil, receiving the price from Mattikōḍu Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇan alias Vīramalaḡiyapāṇḍyadēvar from Malaimaṇḍalam.⁴² The oil was to be delivered in the Pillaiyār temple in Villavarāyanallūr in Mēlavēmbu Nāḍu.

The very next year a similar undertaking in measure uḷakku oil for shrine of Subrahmaṇya in Tirunelvēli temple was given to a Malayāḷa Brahmin from Malaimaṇḍalam, Dēvi citarapillai of Kunṛam.⁴³

In AD 1294 the same oilmonger Nagaram undertook to measure ulakku oil per day for cash received from one Aḷagan Atkonḍan Danapālan for a lamp to be fed it the shrine of Pollāda piḷlaiyār in the Tirunelvēli temple.⁴⁴

In the same reign of Mār. Kulasekhara, they agreed to receive the cash due for measuring *uri* oil per day. In this deed all the eight signatories were strangely illiterate, and one Amarāpati Kāttān signed for all of them.⁴⁵

In some fragments recently copied references are available to Tirukunṛattūr alias Sundarapāṇḍyapuram in Kīlavēmbu Nāḍu and the Nagarattār therein.⁴⁶

The Nagarams in Tirunelvēli were formed of the residents of particular streets, like Kulasēkharapperunderu and Suttavallipperunderu. Distinct communities have occupied the particular streets; the latter was one of oilmongers. The community were not merely traders, but also producers. Indeed it was a producing and marketing community. But for items not of local production, like camphor, sandal and pepper, mustard etc. they should have been performing the functions of a market, buying them from beyond the western Ghats or elsewhere and selling them in the Pāṇḍyan townships. For this reason, they were best fitted to discharge the obligations of supply of these commodities or products cast on them.

Moving to the south of Tāmbraparaṇi river, Śingikuḷam-Pūlam was a Nagara named Rājarājapuram. Here the community was one of resident occupants. The Nagara maintained ōlugu accounts and granted as Iṛayili lands to the temple.⁴⁷ The Nagara granted as *Kārāṇmai dēvadāna* 10½ *mā* of land. The King followed suit remitting the taxes on the lands so endowed.⁴⁸ This township had faced a stress and strain in paying the tax demand of Śrītoṅgadēvar's chiefs. Viḷuppādarāyar, including Pañjupīli and Sandivigrahappēru in the reign of Mār. Sundara. They have sold lands, excluding an earlier grant of 1 *mā* for the carpenter attending to the temple works. They also undertook to bear the taxes. Among the signatories figure Aḷagiyāpāṇḍyamūvēndavēḷān and Parānādittan alias Danasetti.⁴⁹ In the 13th year of Mār. Sundara the Nagara assigned a site for setting up an oil press (Śekku) for supply of oil to the temple lamps and for the residence of Puviranāyan. It was to the east of a well belonging in Aḷagiyāpāṇḍyapanman, to the north of the second Prākāra well of the temple to the east of the pathway on the bank of the river proceeding north-south and to the south of the wall enclosing the house site of Kōḍai Adiccapallavarayan. The house site was sold to the temple but the Nagara agreed to bear the taxes. The same signatories as in the previous epigraph noticed above occur.⁵⁰

A Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān grant confirmed the remission of the taxes on the land granted by the Nagarattār with Kārāṇmai rights to a dancing girl and the tax dues assigned to the temple. Among the boundaries occur Sēnāpati ālvār Tiruvidaiyāttam

of Rājarājavinnagar emberumān cut of 12 *mā* of land the musicians were granted 6½ *mā* potter *kāṇi* washerman *Kāṇi*, in all 2 *mā* For half *vēli* of land the land levy was 15 *kalam*s of paddy per *mā*. For lands raising summer crops it was one half. There were some lands under the New Tank sluice in Tidiyūr to the north, 2 *mā* of land which bore a higher land levy at 20 *kalam*s per *mā*, and for summer crops ½ of it. Lands fed by the 5th sluice canal under Karuṅḷam bore 15 *kalam*s per *mā*, and for summer crops ½ of it. On lands the *Kārāṇmai* rights in which were held by Narasingadēvan the total assessment for wet and dry lands was 120 *kalam*s. The lands in which *Kārāṇmai* rights vested with Māḷuvaccakravarti and the *Kaḍamai* with the temple had a levy of 60 *kalam*s. If there was a calamity of floods or heavy damage to crops the Tānattār of the temple shall inspect and on lands which had sustained crops the rates of levy shall be proportionately adjusted according to the rates prevailing in the surrounding command areas. The King confirmed the grant of land dues to the temple on the same terms as the Nagarattār had stipulated.⁵¹

It is interesting to note that Śingikuḷam had a Jaina Palli. A general who figured in the campaigns of Mār. Sundara I. Oruvāruṅarndān Enakku Nallaperūmaḷ alias Aṅṅan Tamil Pallavaraiyar of Rājavillipuram had set up a shrine called Nyāyaparipālapperumballi named Enakku Nallanāyakar. For providing for worship one Adibhattārakan had purchased land from the Nagaram as Kārāṇmai Palliccandam.

On the supplication of the General the King remitted all land dues⁵² and taxes and granted it as Palliccanda Irāiyili.

In the south-eastern extremity of the coast lay Purattāya Nāḍu. Pūsaṅguḍi alias Varaguṇapāṇḍya nagaram (identical with Rājarājapuram-corrupted now as Rādhāpuram) was a Nagara with occupants of land. To provide for daily offerings to Varaguṇaīśvaramudaiyār the Nagara granted a wet land 1 *mā*, in extent on which the *Kaḍamai* and the *Kuḍimai* dues were assigned to the deity. The Nagaram also undertook to themselves collectively discharge the obligation. This was in AD 1218.⁵³ A resident of the Nagara, Śēndan Vīman instituted a lamp service even earlier in the year AD 1199 (Jaṭ. Kulaśēkharan 9th year).⁵⁴ This mercantile township continued to the active even late in the 1570s when a new market was formed by an agent of Nāyinār mudaliār and others; it was stipulated that the market fees shall be divided in the ratio of 3:1 as between the Śiva temple and Aḷagapperumāl, the Viṣṇu temple.⁵⁵

Aṅgamangalam, lay to the north in Tiruccendūr taluk. This was also a mercantile centre named Madurōdayapperunderu.⁵⁶ Later its name had been changed to Vīra pāṇḍyan Madigaimānagaram. The merchant community had provided for various services by levying a prescribed cess on the Commodities traded at 1/40 per paṇam.⁵⁷ A second grant by the same nagaram of the same kind on the shops set up was made in 32rd year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I. (AD 1301)⁵⁸

We may also notice some fragments of references available in other places.

Munanjupatti (Nāngunēri taluk); A damaged inscription of Vīra Pandya's (4th year) reign refers to a grant of land for service in the shrine of Ayyāpolil Naṅgai i.e. Durgā.⁵⁸ Fragments from Pudiyaṃputtūr (Ottapidāram taluk) copied recently refer to Nānādēśi⁵⁹ and to Tiśaiāraṭaṅṅūruvar of Aḷagiyapāṇḍyapuram, Uyyavandapattanam.⁶¹ A third fragment at Vallanādu refers to Jayaṅḡapāṇḍyapuram which might have been a Nagara.⁶²

Merchants from the Cōla country had visited the Pāṇḍyan townships and endowed for services. In the 14th year of Rājarāja I (AD 999) a lamp was endowed in Tiruppōttudaiyanāyanār temple at Ambasamudram by a merchant Accan Uraian alias Cōliarāyanāyileṭṭi of Kumaramārtāṇḍapuram in Tiṛaimūr Nāḍu, on the south bank of Kāvēri river.⁶³

Another merchant Vēlan Tēṛān endowed for a service in the temple at Āttur (AD 1007)⁶⁴ A third instance is a lamp endowed in AD 1094 on behalf of a merchant Tāli Duvēdi of Kulōttuṅgacōlapattinam i.e. Manamēlkudi in eastern segment of Miḷalaikūrram in the temple at Mūramaṅgalam (Śrīvaikuṅṭam taluk) a Brahmaḷaya then known as Cōlēndra Śinga Cm in Parāntaka Vaḷanāḍu.⁶⁵ A merchant from Pavitramāṅikkapattinam purchased land from the Mahāsabhā.⁶⁶

The endowments made in the Pandyan Townships were not only for the Śiva and Viṣṇu Temples but also as noticed already to nains and even Buddhist shrines or "Pallies". The term 'Palli' denoted also 'places of worship of other religions like islam and Christianity'.

The coastal roadsteads as Kāyal and Dēvipattinam and Pavitramāṅikkanpattinam that last in Kīlcembinaḍu, had been frequented by the Arab and the Moorish and the Egyptian merchants. Some of their tombstones are also available.^{66A} The earliest tomb of a Sailor, Sayed Ahmed son of Saïdullah is dated AD 1272. ^{66B} An even earlier grant to a 'Śōnakapalli' (a mosque of the Arabs and other foreigners) located at Pavitramāṅikkanpattinam in Kīlcembinaḍu near Tiruppullani by the King Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya II (in about AD 1248—49) has been recorded in the front gopura entrance in Tiruppullāni temple. It is to take effect that from the 10th year of the reign. The King was seated in the couch Maḷavarāyan in the bedchamber in the palace at Madurai.

The Śōnakasāmantapalli alias Piḷārpalli was located the east Pavitramāṅikkampattinam in Kīlcembinaḍu. It is interesting to note that the persons

in charge of the palli are referred as Alvār who had supplicated for the grant ¹³⁵. It was recommended by Anyyan Maḷavarāyan, the Chief under the ruler. The grant was for the construction (Tiruppāṇi) and for other services. The lands were in Śokkam Kārāṇmaikāṇi, who had occupancy right to the South of the Paviramāṇikkanpaṭṭandal. The earliest assignments of taxes and grants were excluded and the residue was granted as “Śōnakkappalli Śandi (iraiyali).” ^{66C} The taxes remitted were on the oil press (Śekku) and the occupancy lands in Amputtūr four boundaries and the grant - content were antarāyam, viniyōgam in cash (accu) Kāriyyavārytchi, Vettippāṭṭam etc.

The oral order was attested by Tirumallinattū Ūyyaninrāḍuvān Vīracōḷa dēvan, Kurukulattarayan, Sevvirukkaināṭṭu Śakrapāṇinallūr arayan Viradamuḍittān Pallavarayan.

The revenue executive order conveys ‘Marudur lands, black soil, dry, housesite, garden, tank, tank water spread and other lands’ together with the above mentioned taxes assigned, excluding the earlier grants for the ‘Śōnakkapalliśandi (worship) and for the maintenance of those in charge (jīvanam). The Pandyan official Viḷupparayan, Vikramapāṇḍya dēvan and Viradamuḍittan (Pallavarayan) referred to above attested the deed. ^{66D}

The term “Śōnakar” has been used to refer to the Yavanas (Greeks) and all those who came from afar from the west, from the Arabic, the Persian and the Gulf coasts as far as from Egypt. It may be noted that there was a vigorous commercial contact and horse trade especially during the period in South India which was solely handled by the Arabs. The roadstead Paviramāṇikkanpaṭṭanam should be located on the Ramnad East Coast near Tirupullāṇi.

We may notice a few later inscriptions on the South East coast.

The first is dated Kollam 563 (A.D. 1387, July 31st) from Vīrapāṇḍyan paṭṭanam (Tiruccendūr Taluk) on the east coast.⁶⁷ It gives the name of the township as Cōnāḍukonḍapaṭṭanam. A mosque the Jamādu Palli was named Udayamārttāṇḍaperumpalli. The Khāḍi (Khazi) was also named likewise. A levy of 1/4 paṇam per 100 paṇam of goods imported and exported from the roadstead was assigned to the mosque. It appears to be in the nature of a royal grant by the Tiruvāḍi Chief.

The other two dated Kollam 668 (A.D. 1439) and Kollam 701 (A.D. 1525) are from the lands and Mutṭam near Kumari.^{67A}

Two inscriptions at Mutṭam, in the fishermen’s settlement about a mile north of Cape Comorin dated Kollam 668 and 701 are significant. They evidence the changing winds wafting over the pearl fishery coast and throw light on the sea-fishing that was an ancient occupation in the littoral.

The order of Kollam 669 (1494 A.D.) sanctioned the assignment of dues (*kaḍamai-vagaiyili*) from various fishing activities for providing oil (presumably coconut oil) for the lamps in the church at Kumari Muṭṭam.

The taxes so assigned were, the tax on maḍi valai (a kind of net or net used by fishermen in double catamarans) on every valai-valai (net used for catching valai on every sālai-valai (net for sardines) on every hump net (saṅal-valai) and on every boat (uru) laden with cargo for import or export 1 paṇam and 1 paṇam for every boat (valai viṛra sambān) sold. In addition the share of paddy collected as brokerage (net eḍuppu) and other customary dues (sutanriyam) and the share of the fish due (to the King) for the catches in that haven viz., at Kumari-muṭṭam, Kōvaikuḷam Kumari muṭṭam is on the Gulf of Manner facing east. While Kōvaikuḷam is facing the Arabian Sea about 2 miles west of Kanyākumari.

Within the four boundaries of the area specified the King also exempted the taxes on left hand and right hand castes the military levies (paḍai-paṇam) and piri sanda kāṇikkai (a tribute on brought in cargoes for distribution on or these boats which missed their destination (?) and other levies.

These dues were ordered to be utilised for the paḷḷi (church) and for the services (?) (Odnikku) therein for all time. Stones were planted for the area so relieved of the obligations symbolising (sankētam) the grant. This order should be assigned in the ruling Vēṇāḍu king Ravi Ravivarma.

The dispensation of Kollam 701 (1525 A.D.) was that of Udayamāttāṇḍa varma. This recalls the notorious quarrel, violence and tyranny and black-mail and illegal confiscation of fish, and other activities in which the kuḍimakkal of Muṭṭam Turai (fishermen) including elder Kankan and younger Kankan (i.e. the headman of the community) were involved. The king interfered and put stop this unruliness and gave asylum to fishermen to live there in peace. The first order was given in the reign of Ravi Varma, and the second in the reign of UdayamārttāṇḍaVarma. They were both solicitous to the fishermen who had been converted to Christianity by the Franciscan and the Jesuit missionaries and the Vēṇāḍu rulers granted several facilities to the Portuguese for trade in pepper. But these missionary activities posed a political threat as the Portuguese encouraged through the missionaries the converts to throw off allegiance to the native rulers and to swear loyalty to the King of Portugal.

MADURAI DISTRICT

Evidence of the Nagarams and trans-regional merchant community is available from Sinnamanūr, on the Śuruliṅg belt and from Periyakuḷam. These being at the foot hills of the Ghats should have been active enterpots for hill produce moving from the west to the east, especially spices arecanut and also imports (like camphor) through the west coast.

A second segment of evidence is from the Nagaras on the Vaigai belt to the west of Madurai but close to the capital city.

In the 6th year of Jāt. Sundara the 18 Viṣayattār of the 4 Nagaras and their agents (Tarakar) met within the Tiruppūlāndurai uḍaiya nāyanār temple and assigned certain levies they made on commodities or products moving eastwards. That is to say the products moving from the western Cēra country eastwards to Madurai. They are selling cotton cloth, arecanut, pepper, turmeric and dried ginger.^{67B} The rates of levy were-

mā or 1/20 paṇam.

Cotton fabrics - 1 *kāśu*

Arecanut pepper turmeric and dried ginger (for more than padakku) consignments 1 *kāśu* (Mārppu)

In the next year (AD 1283) the Kīlāivaṭṭai 18 Viṣayattār the 18 viṣayattār of the 4 Nagaras and their agents or brokers (Taragar) met in Vikramapāṇḍīśvara temple in Śīvallavan paḍaiiviḍu and provided for maintaining a garden for the deity in Tiruppūlāndurai nāyanār. The yield assigned is called "paṭṭaṇappaguthi" - a portion of the yield of the merchandise-levy. The levies were arecanut (load on animals or draught bulls) proceeding north (to Periyakulam) as and east (to Madurai) ½ *mā* paṇam or 1/40 paṇam.

Pepper 1 *mā* or 1/20 paṇam. The relative values as between arecanut and pepper is evident.

It is also clear that there was more than one division among the 18 Viṣayattār.⁶⁸

About 4 or 5 years earlier (AD 1278-79) the 18 viṣayattār of 4 Nagaras met at the same place and assigned levies on merchants for repairs to the temple.

For arecanuts per one cattle-load 1 *mā* or 1/20 paṇam

For pepper 2 *mā* or 1/10 paṇam

For raising a western tower named after themselves levies on the commodities traded at the market in Uttamacōlapuram, were at the following rates :

Rice per cattle-load 1/20 paṇam

Arecanut 1/20 paṇam

Pepper 1/10 paṇam

They assigned the following for the Mārgaḷi festival conducted at their instance.

On all commodities bought and sold in the Warehouses in the nāḍu 9 kani per

paṇam (1/160) of proceeds.

On commodities sold in the market, named Valangaimīkāmar Tirumaṇḍapam on the eastern side.

Or arecanut - per *podī* - 1/40 paṇam

Pepper per *podī* 1/20 paṇam

The accountant of the Viṣayattār signed the grant deed.⁶⁹

The mercantile constituents were active even in AD 1309. An incomplete inscription refers to several constituents 18 viṣayattār of the 4 Nagaras 18 viṣayattār of the 18 Rājyas (Kingdoms), their Nāṭṭu ceṭṭis and Talacēṭṭis.⁷⁰ A second reference to the 18 viṣayattār of the 18 mandalamis Cōnāḍu ceṭṭis Dalacēṭṭis (same as talacēṭṭis?) occurs in another inscription of the same year. The person who transacted business in the warehouses of Arikēsarinalūr and Śrīvallavanpaḍaivīḍu were to pay per 1 paṇam mundirigai (1/320) and those who sell or trade with them at the warehouses mundirigai (1/320) paṇam.⁷¹

Sinnamanūr was well located trading centre receiving the arecanut and spices from the western coast. They must have also traded in commodities needed in that coast from the plains to the east.

Reference to a Dēśīariya Eriṅrapattānam occurs in an inscription at Periyakuḷam ascribed to Mār. Sundara I (AD 1235)⁷² The deity himself was named Eriṅpāḍaināyanār. There is also a reference to a tank constructed presumably by Rājēndra Cōla cilaicēṭṭi.⁷³ Fragments in Periyakuḷam refers to Padineṅ viṣayattār after whom the deity was named.⁷⁴ The mercantile settlement was in Alaganguḷam in Mēlnedunḡuḷa Nāḍu.⁷⁵ That the place and the temple are identical with Periyakuḷam and Rājēndra Cōlīśvaramuḍaiyār temple therein is clear from a Nayak inscription.⁷⁶

Pāṇḍyan inscriptions in Kīlkūḍalūr refers to Aññūruva maṅgalam.⁷⁷ An inscription recently copied from Kannāppaṭṭi (Nilakkōṭṭai taluk) records the resolution of Padineṅviṣayattār of 4 Nagaram to levy 1 *pudukkāśu* on the cattle loads of commodities proceeding east to Madurai and another ½ new *Kāśu* similarly levied. The proceeds of the former were assigned to Udayīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār and the latter to Kaṅṅuḍaiya Viṅṅagar (Viṅṅu temple)⁷⁸

Further east, along the course of the river Vaigai were located Tenkarai and Vikramaṅgalam which were also trading centres. Both have extant evidence of their functioning from the time of Jaṭ. Śrīvallaḅha towards the end of the 11th century. A much damaged inscription in Tenkarai of the 21st year (AD 1111) refers among others to the Ayyapoḷḷi and Citramēḷi and Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai Śiṅṅudanam who have certain functions in the temple. The purport of the inscription is not clear.⁷⁹

The King granted some lands to the temple at Vikramacōlapuram.⁸¹ (Vikramangalam)

Vikramangalam is clearly referred to as Dēśipattinam, Vikramacōlapuram in Kallaga nādu. The Nagaram assigned the *Kaḍamai* in *Dramam*. (15 *mēni*) 40 *Dramam* for the sandal paste offerings and the clothing needed. This amount was the proceeds of the landtax from Śengullam ayacut.

The signatories to the grant deed were :

Tavan periyān alias Maśāttuvāyan

Nambimuḍivillada mudalvan alias Danapālan

Periyān Kuttana Nāyan Cōlan

Āḷvan alias Amarakōn

Nadananan Koṇḍān Acakaiyanāyan

The Nagara accountant Bhuvanirāman cāttamapiriyān.

The composition of the Nagara was predominantly of merchants.⁸¹ This was in AD 1211. The same Nagarattar 4 years later made a taxfree gift of 20 *mā* of land to the deity Madurodaya Īsvaram Uḍaiya Nāyanār.⁸²

In the 9th year of Jaṭ. Sundara the Nagarattār who describe themselves as “Dēśipattanamāna Ayyāppolil Vikrama Cōlapuram” sold an ayacut for *Irasipanam* 10000 to one Aḷagiya Cirrambalamuḍaiyār a disciple of the Gōlakimaṭam (Kīlaimaṭam) in Tirupparānkunram. They also showed a concession in the land levies recoverable which shall remain intact even if the Nagaram was charged a lumpsum lease amount or on crops that came to yield. They also charged ¾ of the house-site tax on the maṭha. The constituents who signed the saledeed were mostly merchants.⁸³ The same Nagaram in the 14th of Jaṭ. Sundara sold a piece of land to another disciple of the same maṭha Srikayilāyadēvan alias Śivadēvan as Iṟayili an ayacut in the western hamlet the Kārānmai was to be enjoyed by the said Śivadēvan but the Kaḍamai dues assigned to a goddess whom he had installed in the temple.⁸⁴

Series of records in the Tirupparānkunram temple are of interest. In a record of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (15th year) the *Ūrār* of Kulaśēkharapuram sold land tax-free to the temple.⁸⁵ In a second record of the 3rd year of Sundarapāṇḍya the *Ūrār* of the same place gifted land to the temple.⁸⁶ But in between the 13th year 365th of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara the King issued orders remitting taxes of Kulasekharapuram for providing offerings to a deity Kṣētrapāla; (Bhairava) set up in the temple. To this order was

appended an ulvari forming Kulaśēkharapuram as a Nagara by clubbing together certain villages ordered in the 9th year.⁸⁷ Apparently a number of merchants had taken residence and the place being close to the capital should have picked up mercantile activity. Hence the change in the character of the township. It incidentally shows the constitution of the Nagara by a royal order. The text unfortunately is not available to verify if any special concession or privileges were extended to the occupants consequent on this change.

A fourteenth century inscription in Paḷani refers to a grant to a deity in Paḷani and the lands granted originally named “*Ayyapōḷil*” was changed to “*Avaivēndarāman*”.⁸⁸

The Nagaras in the Śuṛuḷiyār, Vaigai and Śaṅmuga nadhi belts were located in strategic centres that connected the trade land-routes between the west coast and the Cēra country beyond the Ghats and the plains to the east. The trade routes should have closely been along the roads on the river banks.

It is however incorrect to get the impression that the trading organisations were confined only to the riverine tracts. The evidence is equally available from the dry belts and the uplands of Rāmanāthapuram. It is possible to locate places of mercantile activity tracing to the north of Coutralam-Tenkasi all along the foot of the ghats and then turn eastwards into the Vaippar basin and then cross the black cotton region rights upto the sea east on the east.

We may now turn to trace the history of these Nāyanārs located in the Srivilliputtur Taluk and spread over the present Rāmanāthapuram dt.

The “Maṅigrāmam” connection dating back to Parāntaka’s time at Coutralam has been already noticed as also the Nagaras or mercantile garrisons in the Erivīrapattinam at Ambāsamudram. Moving north on the foot hills region of the Western Ghats there were Nagaras at Seithur known in inscriptions as Semmaṅgam alias Kulaśēkharapuram in Aṅmā nāḍu. Here the brother in law of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (13+12th year - AD 1215) Viradamudittaperumāl had installed a Viṣṇu deity Cēra nārāyaṅapperumāl. Land-dues were assigned and the Nagara accountant had signed the deed.⁸⁹ At the instance of this benefactor a *Kārāṅmai* gift was made in lands which bore assessment in the ayacut Nagarakuḷam in that Nagaram. The land-dues were made over as *Dēvadāna Iraiyil*⁹⁰ on half *vēli* in extent. The Nagarattār endorsed the grant and located the lands in Kulaśēkharapuram but carefully excluded 2 *mā* of land already granted to the deity at Tirumāliruṅjōlai as a garden and 1 *mā* of land endowed to the Vadaperuṅkōil Uḍaiyān in Śrīvilliputtūr.⁹¹ Among the signatories besides Amarakōn a Mūvēndavēḷān a Kulaśēkharapattina svāmi Vēṇḍa vaḷandān Mānikka dēvan Śeyyakkōn also figure. He was perhaps the Chief of the Nagara.

In the 15th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1231) the Nagarattār granted the *Kāraṁmai* rights in some lands as “*Pulamai Vṛitti*” (a service tenure for a poet) to a residence of Semmaram by name Tiruvudaiyān Dēvan alias Pillai Cēra Kōnār.⁹²

Cōḷapuram to the north east of Seithur in the same Āṇmā Nāḍu seems to be a Centre for sale of cloth and had a habitation of weavers. A number of ūrs and their executives (*Kāraṁpar*) listed below resolved to pay per cloth sold 1/80 of a panam (*Kāṁi*) and this levy was also be payable by those who came from outside the places named and sold their cloth in the places mentioned. These urar who met were from

Kannudaiyapērūr

Muḍivalangu Pāṇḍian(aillūr)

Muḷudumāykkudi

Iraṇḍu sōḷḷādān, Cēturāmakkuricci

Kunrattūr

Sāmanta Kandan Viraśinga Nellūr and Pāṇḍiya Devakuricci

The signatories were : Valudikōn, Pāṇḍikōn, Aḷagaikōn, Valavakkōn, Sundarasendilattāman, Tamiḷkōn, Dēvankōn and others whose names are not engraved.⁹³ Even a command area in this Uttama-cōḷapuram was named Nānādēsi.⁹⁴

Further north east in Venbaikkudiṇāḍu there were the Nagarattar of Udayamāritāṇḍapuram. There was a settlement or street of cloth merchants therein (*aṟuvaivāṇiyaccēri*)⁹⁵ in an inscription of the 19th year of Cōḷan Talai Kōṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya. Another Nagara in Kuttāṅguḍi is referred to in the reign of Rājārāja (AD 1037).⁹⁶ The Nagara Udayamāritāṇḍapuram is identical with Kuttāṅguḍi as is clear from a fragment.⁹⁷ A later inscription refers to the Nagarattar's grant of 1/4 *vēli* of land and a garden to its east.⁹⁸

Vānavaṁbādēviparam was in Iraṇḍō Nāḍu. It was a part of the present Kundalakkōtṭai. In the 21st year of a Cōḷa ruler the Nagarattār granted some lands taking on themselves the obligation to pay the land dues.⁹⁹

Proceeding to the north east was Śeṅgāttirukkai iḍattu vēli (Aruppukkōttai). a number of inscriptions of the reign of Mār. Sundara I refer to several streets occupied by various sections of merchants or other professionals. The oil-mongers resided in Pampali vilankāpperunderu. They collectively agreed to sell daily a portion of oil pressed (*Nāiyali Enṁamuttai*) per one gani receiving the price. The oil so sold was adequate for feeding 3 lamps.¹⁰⁰ There were weavers in the temple - appurtenant lands.¹⁰¹ The

“Tenniḷāṅgai Vaḷāñḷiyar” (Vaḷāñḷiyar of South Lanka) resided in Vikrama Pāṇḍyan perunderu in the same place.¹⁰² One among them Sēkal Sēvakattēvan alias Iluppaiyār Kiḷavan installed an image of a goddess. The Vaḷāñḷiyars figured prominently in the Polannāruva inscription guarding the Buddha Temple there.¹⁰³

The same benefactor also installed the image of Iḷiṅga purāṇa dēvar.^{103A}

There was yet another third street in the same township. Sīvalavan perundēru alias Dēśiāciriya (asraya) paṭṭaṇam. A resident therein purchased a tank ayacut from the temple priests and the vendor was to pay 4 *kalam*s per *mā* and 16 *mēni drama* ¼ on fields which yielded.¹⁰⁴

This place was very prosperous. The “Nagaram” denoted not merely the merchants or traders but also professionals. They were residing in different streets or settlements in a homogenous groups. The Vaḷāñḷiyars who had originally colonised Śrīlanka were also spread in the homeland but were distinctly categorised as the Vaḷāñḷiyar of South Lanka.

A fragment of an inscription recently listed¹⁰⁵ from Kamudi palaeographically dated in the 10th century gives the Praśasti of an organisation consisting of the members of the different guilds such as is *Nāḍu*, *Paṭṭiṇams* and *32 Vēḷār puram*. etc. It refers at the end to a number persons designated as Kavaraī Iḷāñḷiṅgam hailing from different places. Tārangāḍi, Mānābharanīśvaram etc. This could be linked with the transmercantile organisations which assigned portions of their levies to the temple at Sinnamanūr. It may be the añṇūrūvar mercantile body which usually sported this form of Praśasti.¹⁰⁶

More information is forthcoming from Tiruppattūr Taluk where there were a number of Nagarams and from the east coast of Tiruvādānai Taluk and a later date from Sivagaṅga. The evidence yielded by these inscription is set out below.

The most important of these inscription is the one from Pirānmalai and it deserves detailed notice.¹⁰⁷

The inscription has three parts. The first, the Praśasti in Sanskrit and Tamil which is found repeated or abridged in many places. It is reproduced in annexure I to this chapter. This is somewhat different in form though in its content it is similar to the detailed Praśasti from Mysore reproduced by Prof. Sastry in his “A Tamil merchants guild in Sumatra.”¹⁰⁸

The second part lists a number of Annurruvar Viz., 18 Viṣayattār.

- (1) Eṭṭai Vaṭṭai Eḍaivattai Kaḷir Tiśaiṇḷanku Tiśai āyirattaiñṇūrūvar.
- (2) Ēruśattu Eraṅguśattu Tiśaiṇḷangu Tiśai āyirattaiñṇūrūvar

(3) Ar̥raivaṅṅai Aruvaṅṅai Nārattarai Nalvāttarai Tiśaiṅṅu Tiśai āyirattu Aññūruvar

(4) Araṅṅal Tarangalir Tiśai ṅṅu (Tiśaiāyirattu aññūruvar)

(5) Nāḍu Nagarāṅṅalir Tiśaiṅṅu Tiśaiāyirattu aññūruvar.

Of these the meaning of 1, 3 and 4 is not clear. Item 2 might refer to the export and import merchants of the Aññūruvar with trade connections abroad. Item 5 might refer to the aññūruvar engaged in inland trade.

Then follows a number of Nagarattār

(1) Kēraḷaśiṅṅa Vaḷanāḍu - Aruvimānagara (Aruviyūr) Kulaśēkharapattinam

(2) Dvārāpati Nāḍu - Eripaḍainallūr - Vaḍamaṅṅai

(3) Pirānmalai - Pudutteru - Cēranārāyaṅṅapuram

(4) Kaḍalaḍaiyāḍiṅṅai Koṅḍa Cōḷa Vaḷanāḍu - Uṅṅatūr Kūṅṅam - Koḍumbālūr Maṅṅirāmam Nagaram

(5) (Kēraḷaśiṅṅa Vaḷanāḍu)

Tirukkōṅṅiyūr - Maṅṅiyambalam Nagarattār

(6) Kēraḷaśiṅṅa Vaḷanāḍu - Aḷagāpuram - Śeliyanārāyaṅṅapuram

(7) Ayyapolil Vaḷanāḍu - Kalvāyil Nāḍu - Sundarapāṅṅyapuram

(8) Kaḷavaḷiṅṅaḍu - Aḷagaimānagar - Jayaṅṅoḍaḍacōḷapperunderu and Maṅṅaligai Gambhīrapperunderu

Of the 12 Nagaras, Jayaṅṅoḍaḍacōḷapuram Karuvūr Kaṅṅapuram, Pattali Talaiyūr Rājarājapuram, Kīranūr are specified as having met together with the above.

They claim that the temple tank the Maṅṅa and temple precincts of Aḷagiya Tirucciṅṅambala Nāyanār and Māṅṅavagai tīrtha mudaliyār at the following at the foothills of Tirukkoḍunkunṅam in Tirumalai Nāḍu (Piramalai) were under the protection of the 18 Viśayattār. They all hence met at the temple precincts and agreed on the Darmakarya to contribute the proceeds of levies on various commodities products they traded in.

The third part follows containing a schedule of levies according to the size or volume of the commodities or number of products. (Annexure II) This part of the inscription has been examined in detail elsewhere by me.¹⁰⁹

The inscription is also significant in that it throws additional light on the signatory constituents (Annexure III) They commanded this grant be reduced to writing.

A similar grant by the trading classes of 18 viṣayam has been made to Tirukkōlakkuḍi.¹¹⁰ The inscription has been ascribed to the 14th century.

Śivapuri was a Brahmadēya named Nṛpaśēkhara Cm in Paṇḍya inscriptions but in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga - I (AD 1087) it was named Cōlamārttāṇḍa Cm. Its western hamlet was Viḷupparayanallūr alias Alappirandanallūr Kūttakkūḍi. The Śiva deity therein was named Ayirattaññūruva Īsvaramuḍaiyār. A merchant from Irattapāḍi alias Danmapōlil Kēttaneravi purchased a land from a Brahmin Mōṣi Viṣṇu Jādavēdan.¹¹¹ The land was purchased by his father as Sabhā vilai (purchased from the Sabhā) and inherited by the vendor. The gift of land purchased by Āraśumadaḷai Kūttan alias Śivakarūṇaiyār a merchant of the Maṇigramam of Koḍumbālūr to the deity at Śivapuri (AD. 1105) has already been referred to¹¹²

Another Nagara in the same Kēraḷaśiṅga Vaḷanāḍu Ariviyūr was close by. It had merchants settled in Nānādēśipperunderu.¹¹³

In the 6th year of Jaṭ. Srivallabha (AD 1096) a merchant residing in that street Ariyalūr uḍaiyān Tillaināyaka Tarunēndu Śēkharan purchased from a Brahmin Mōṣi Sāttapirān Vāmanan land for which he who paid the price. A Capital amount was deposited with the Sabhā of the Nṛpaśēkhara Cm, the adjoining Brahmin township to defray the land dues from its proceeds.

The 17th and 18th year of King Śrī Vallabha inscription, however refers to Aruviyūr as Dēśiuyyavandapattinam. There was a Vināyaka temple for which 1 mā of land was endowed after purchase.¹¹⁴

An year earlier (AD 1107) a merchant from Dēśiuyyavandapattinam Tañjāvūr Kilavan Vaḍukan Uyyakonḍān created a garden and provided for its maintenance 1 kaśu was the district to defray the cost of supply of clothings per year. He deposited 11 kaḷaṅju 6 mañjādi of gold as the capital for the purpose of supplying paddy and clothings.¹¹⁵

In the 24th year of the same king Aḷagiyamaṇavālan Udaiyanambi purchased land and a housesite for setting up a Maṭha at Śivapuri and named the maṭha after himself. The vendor was Setti Jātavēdan.¹¹⁶

A merchant of Aruviyūr deposited cash 26 Naṛpaḷaṅkāśu and another granted lands in the 6th and 9th year of Mār. Vikrama (Circa AD. 1096)¹¹⁷

In the reign of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1224) Aruviyūr changed its name as Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam presumably after the ruler's predecessor Jāt. Kulaśēkhara I.¹¹⁸ A merchant installed the image of the deity Dakṣiṇāmūrti.

In the 10th year of Jāt. Vīra Pāṇḍya the Sabhaiyār of Nṛpaśēkhara Cm received from a merchant of Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam (Aruviyūr) 12 Paḷaṅkāśu as deposit for defraying the land tax and dues to the township and another 7 Paḷaṅkāśu as the price for the land sold by them.¹¹⁹

Aruviyūr must have been a populous mercantile township. A number of grants were made by the residents to the temples at Śivapuri Caturvēdimangalam and elsewhere.

We hear of several other mercantile townships like Marudaṅguḍi Niyamam Vēlaṅguḍi and Aḷagāpuri from Pillaiyarpaṭṭi and Pirānmalai inscriptions.

A royal order is addressed to three merchants, Marudaṅguḍi merchant Kuṇṇan Uḍaiyān and others Niyamam Śōlaiperran and others and Aḷagāpuri merchant Vēdavanamuḍaiyān. This is dated 26th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1232). The three merchants had purchased land in Marudaṅguḍi and were paying land tax. They were asked to pay ½ Paḷaṅkāśu on the same terms as were already paid by one of the Aḷagāpuri merchants Adikāran on the south bank.¹²⁰

Another inscription of Vikrama Pāṇḍya (12th year) refers to a merchant of Jayangoḍacōlapperunderu who installed a goddess of the bed-chamber and provided for the food offerings.¹²¹ The slab mentioned the “Kāḷaiyārkālan” being the name of a street (in the 10th century script) has already been referred to.¹²²

A Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān inscription (10th year) refers to a purchase of land by the Nagarattār of Aññūrruvan perunderu. The 4 mā of land was separated from the lands paying taxes in the Nāḍu but were to pay at the same proportion as those taxes separately.

The land so sequestered was renamed Rājanārāyaṇapuram which the Nagarattār could colonise.¹²³

The inscription becomes more intelligible from the details see out in a record of the 18th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1286). That is a title deed issued by the Adalaiyūr Nāttār Kalvāyilnāttu Kīlvagai nāttu nāttavar, Kīlkunḍārru nāttavar all in Kēraḷaśiṅga Vaḷanāḍu to the Nagarattār of Inām Kārikuḍi Aññūrruvapperunderu. The latter had purchased earlier 4 mā of land from Marudanguḍi Ūrār. The Nāttār agreed to collect land levies in proportion at the rates in vogue in the Nāḍu.¹²⁴

Aḷagāpuri referred to above was also known as Ceḷiyanārāyaṇapuram. A merchant set up the image of Tiruvambalapperumāl (naming the deity after himself) and the

same merchant Maṇar Kuḍaiyan Porpatikkunāyagan Tiruvambalapperumāl̥ alias Peruñcadirakkubērar paid also 70 Śōlīyapaḷankāśu the interest on which was used for providing rice and other condiments to feed the new deity.¹²⁵ The merchant bearing the same name also set up an image of Dakṣiṇāmurti who was to be offered food at 2 *nāli* per day¹²⁶ and also the image of Tiruvādavūr Nāyanār Mānikkavāśagar¹²⁷ in Jat. Vira Pandya's reign.

Vēlaṅguḍi in Pūṅguṅra Nāḍu a Vāṇiyanagaram. The residents therein gave a grant of Pādikāval dues to the deity. The merchants residing and trading in the temple precincts paid 2 *kāśu* per year. They also levied a cess on the commodities sold - like pepper arecanut at 2 *kāśu* per podi paddy 1 *kāśu* per podi, rice 2 *kāśu* per podi (load) cotton 2 *kāśu* per podi 1 *kāśu* per podi of salt. This was at the request of the Chiefs and the Ūrār of Vēlaṅguḍi. The oil mongers of the place agreed to give 1 Katti of piṅṅakku (gingely dry cakes) per piḷavu. (i.e, per 1 unit of oil per extracted in the press). The term "Vāṇiya nagaram" should refer to the professionals of oil mongers and the traders.¹²⁸

The merchants had also the obligation to pay a fraction of the sale proceeds of commodities measured by (liquid or grain measure) and those weighed in balance and those counted in number. These dues were taken on lease (pattom) in auction Kaḷavaliṇāḍāḷvan in a grant transferred these dues payable to him by the merchants to the temple of Sūradēva Īśvara.

For those measured	- 1 nali per kalam (1/96)
For those taken and weighed	- 1 palam for 1 weighment
For those counted	- 1 per 100

These rates shall be collectable in all places where the weighing balance or measure is used - i.e. in all market-places.¹²⁹

Gifts by individuals are also noticed as in Pāganēri (sivagaṅgai Taluk). A merchant from Māthūr alias Vīra Pāṇḍyapuram in Perumbū Nadu. Maṇiyanallūr uḍaiyān Pāṇḍya perumāl̥ alias Vanigapura Nagarattār excavated an ūraṇi and provided for its maintenance. Apparently it was a drinking water source.¹³⁰ The king received a brokerage fee (on trade) in a merchant street that in Pāganēri which he assigned to the Kaṇḍadēva Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple at Pāganēri.¹³¹

Fragments of inscription with the Praśasti of Jat. Kulaśēkhara refer to a Nagaram of Kaḷā nilai.¹³²

Tirukkoḷakkuḍi was a sacred place held in veneration by several surrounding

Nāttārs. A Nagara settlement in their township named Sundarapāṇḍyapperundēru seems to have existed. An undated inscription refers to the benefactions done by the Nagarattār of Sundara Cōḷapuram alias Dēsiugandapattānam in Tenkōnādu in Ollaiyūr Kūrram in Kadalāḍaiyātilāngai koṇḍa cōḷa Valanādu (in Pudukkōttai district) In recognition of their services the temple authorities authorised some honours to them during the 7th day festival.¹³³ The Padineṅ viṣayattār, the merchant community made a levy on mercandise on communities articles like salt, turmeric dried ginger and made a grant of the proceeds in cash. This was also a benefaction of Sundaracōḷapuram.¹³⁴ In S 1377 - (AD 1455) - a merchant from Ilayāttakudi alias Kulaśēkharapuram installed an image of Candraśēkhara.¹³⁵

An individual merchant from the same place reinstated a new idol of the Goddess as the earlier one had become worn out (Irandu pōgayil). The Nagarattār in the Sundarapāṇḍya big street in Tirukkōḷakkudi and the temple authorities honoured the benefactor. It is clear that Tirukkōḷakkudi itself had a street of merchants.¹³⁶ Further benefactions by the merchants of Sundaracōḷapuram are noticed¹³⁷ in Tirukkaḷakkudi which was an important centre.

Benefactors from Ilayāttākudi (Kulaśēkharapuram alias Kāḷaiyārkalapperunderu) also renovated at Kaḷaiyārkoil the kitchen which get damaged and the walls were demolished during the Muslim incursions in S 1433-AD 1511.¹³⁸

The merchants of Ēḷagapperunderu alias Vīrapāṇḍyapuram also had a share in rebuilding the Kaḷaiyārkoil temple.¹³⁹

Kaḷanivāyil itself was a residential location of the merchants and named Srivallavapuram even in an inscription of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha. (AD 1101) A merchant of the place purchased lands in Sīrattūr and endowed them for food offerings for the deity at Uñjanai Mālavacakravartīśvaramudaiyār.¹⁴⁰

An inscription at Tittaṇḍatānapuram dated AD 1264 in the reign of Jat. Vīra Pandya is significant. It records an agreement by the Añjuvaṇṇam Maṇigramam, Sāmatapaṇḍaśāli and others residing in the village promising to levy certain taxes on the commodities sold and purchased to supplement the expenses of rebuilding in the temple of the deity Sarva tīrtham uḍaya Nāyanār. The work had been commenced by Vadugālvār the daughter-in-law of Sivanēri uḍaiyār Akalaṅka Nādālvār and the daughter of Vijayālaya Muttaraiyar.¹⁴¹ The reference to Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam which were ancient trading organisation extending to overseas trade is significant. Its occurrence in a village on the Tiruvādānai coast on the east is quality important.

Dēvipaṭṇam was known as Ulagamādēvipaṭṇam. It had another name

Śīrilāṅgomaṅgalam in Sevvirukkai Nāḍu. A number of inscriptions from the time of Mār. Sundara II (AD 1238-1251) attest the existence of the mercantile residents here who constituted the Nagara. A benefactor had purchased lands from the Nagarattār and endowed it for food offerings to a new deity installed by him. On the supplication of the Sivabrāhmanās the King rendered the lands tax-free besides granting the land proceeds of several other villages in the two Nāḍus in Koḷuvūr Nadu and in Idaikuḷa Nāḍu (AD 1244).¹⁴²

This deity is described as the lord of Bhogīsvaram Sēthumūlam (on the highway to Sethu - i.e. Ramēsvaram) in the sea-shore or beach (Siṟukaḍaṟkarai in Sevvirukkai Nāḍu. In the 4th year of Jat. Vikrama a significant grant was made by order of the King.¹⁴³ It consisted of the tax proceeds from within Pirakkuḍi alias Śīvallavapaṭṭanam shore and the roadstead (Kāriyam, Tiraiyum) i.e. the beach and the landing place. Besides the usual land tax. Kaḍamai and antarāyam payable in cash other tax proceeds were from the following :

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| Ponvari | - Tax in cash; coinage fee. |
| Kaikāṇi | - An offering for the King's officers for transcribing orders. |
| Kaitiṭṭu | - An offering for written or attested orders. |
| Paḍipaccai | - Vegetables, green prescribed per day. |
| Viniyōgam | - Distributed levies |
| Ugavai | - Presents contributed on auspicious occasions |
| Peruvari | - Major taxes |
| Tiruvelucci | - Offerings at the time of the King's visit. |
| Tiruabhiśēka ugavai | - Presents at the time of coronation. |
| Karpūravilai | - commuted land levy. |
| Kāriyavārāycci | - Court fee. |
| Kurraṭṭaṇḍam | - fines levied for crimes investigated or detected. |
| Pañjupīli | - On cotton produce. |
| Sandivigrahappēru | - levies for war and peace; |
| Vetṭimuttavāl | - Corree or free labour |
| Eccōru | - feeding messengers of the King, Nāḍu, etc. |

Kūrrarici	- Fee on hulling paddy.
Idaitturai	- Cash levy, the importance of which is not clear - a professional levy on sheepbreeding ? cattle ?
Sekkirai	- Tax on oil - pressing gunny
Tariyirai	- Tax on looms.
Tattolippāttam	- Tax on Smithies
Turaival ēruvana	- On commodities loaded on to the boat.
iraṅguvana, eḍuppana	- On commodities unloaded or hand-lifted
niruppana, virippana	- on weighments or cloth, spreads
pidippana, aḷappana	- On containers or liquid measures or measured
mugappana	- a measure of capacity (mukattal)
Aḷugaṛ carakku	- Perishables
Aṅgādippāttam(included)	- Tax on shops
pāttom	- (all leases or auction or rentals)
Sirrayam	- minor taxes
Pērayam	- Major taxes
Māyirai	- Tax on trees (Mava irai)
Tala oppu	- head loads levy ?
Madi māda vari	- monthly levies or levies per one lunar cycle - or on fishing nets ? maḍi
Tōnikkaḍamai	- The tax on boats.
Kēdupā dai	- Obligation to maintain roads in repair.
Maramasa sadi vilai (Maramaccādivilai)	- The tax on catamarans and fish catch
Paḍuvāram	- Tax for exchange of lands
Sanattupprapti	-
(Kānāttupprāpti)	- Levy for planting poles (Kalnāttu ?)

(Kānāttupprāpti)

Unlike the community levies this is a royal grant of dues payable to the King. The individual import of such levies is not clear. But from the sense as far it could be made out, they have been rendered above.¹⁴¹

This list though long can be classified under the following heads :

- (1) Land levies
- (2) Levies on professions
- (3) Levies on trade and mercandise
- (4) Levies on fish catch and boats
- (5) Occasional obligations and services
- (6) Presents on auspicious occasions
- (7) Court fee for enquiry; fines leviod for crimes investiaged
- (8) Levies on yield of crops, greens and cotton etc.
- (9) Miscellaneous

As against the royal grant of tax proceeds above, in the 3rd year (?) of Mār. Kulasekhara I (AD 1271) the Nānādēśis met at the entrance gate or in front of the temple of Bhogīśvarar (which was here named as Sundarapā(ṇḍya paṭṭaṇam ?). They resolved to remit to the deity for the entrance named after the Nānādēśis proceeds of the community levies :

At this roadstead and all roadstead they the Nānādēśis frequent for a smaller ship (*sirruṟu*) ½ for a boat ¼ *panam*, They also proceeded to specify levies on those who moved the cargoes loaded on to the vessels-

cloth - 1 bundle - 1/8 *panam*

arecanut, pepper and other condiments (Karuṇcarakku)

For cargoes of other mandalams - also these levies shall apply. For one head load 1 *mā* 1/20 *panam*.¹⁴⁵

Devipattanam was a much frequented roadstead and the Nānādēśis embarked and disembarked therefrom. They have made a voluntary levy for the entrance to the temple they had built and maintained and named after themselves.

Finally, Kīlakkarai was another roadstead where pearl fishers was active. The inscriptions of the 16th century refer to the “Padinen viṣayattār of the 4 ports” making contributions from the levies made on pearl-fishing. Though they belong to a later date, the evidence is valuable and gives an idea of the levies on pearlfisheries.

In S’ 1453 (AD 1531-2) the 18 viṣayattār of the 4 ports decided to forego the levy on pearlfishing payable to them (?) Kuḷi - muttu vēṇḍām enru Karṇpittu) instead they decided that those who sold pearls at Kīlakkarai shall pay $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇam* per 100 pearls for the repairs and services to the Vināyagar temple.¹⁴⁶

Fourteen years later (AD 1545-46) the Nayak chief, Tummusi Nāyakkar granted to the 18 viṣayattār of Ninaittadu Mudittān Paṭṭiṇam (Kīlakkarai)¹⁴⁷ A Sarvamānya except that they pay Maḍiccīlavari on (fishing nets) and Kāval. (watch and way)

This was to be in vogue together with the Mānya (grant) called “cettu”.¹⁴⁸ The purport of this is not clear. Presumably the traders were freed from obligations other than those specified.

A SUMMING UP

The Paṇḍyan Kingdom was studded with Nagaras habitats of merchants. But the Nagarattār did not only denote inland traders but merchants who traded overseas. The term denoted manufacturers like oil mongers (vāniyar) and other productive agencies including pearlfisheries.

Three categories of the Nagarattār can be distinguished. The Nagarattārs who were resident and had land occupancy undertaking collective responsibilities for land settlement, sales and collection of land-dues to the King. In these respects they were functioning in the same manner as the Ūrar. Indeed some Ūrs had deliberately changed their character into a Nagara and indications are that the King had granted such a change. It is hence found that some of the Nagaras had a mix of the agricultural occupants of land together with merchants who also had land-holdings.

The second category noticed were the Valaṅṅijiyar or Erivīrapattinam. They were soldiers and guardsman who escorted caravan or traders moving from place to place. But they were also resident in specified locations but were mobile. The Valaṅṅijiyars were perhaps closely allied to “Vira banaju” in Kannada areas. They had been engaged also as mercenaries to guard temples monasteries and in Srilanka the Buddhist shrines.

The third category were the Aññūruvar or Maṅigrāmam or the Nānādēsis and as one late inscription refers the Añjuvaṇṇam. These were not only inland traders but also sea faring carrying mercandisc. The articles of trade were mostly cloth and

spices and camphor and sandal or akil. To this group can be added the horse traders of the Malai mandalam and the traders in gems and precious stones from the western India.

From the data adduced above, it is noticed that there was more than one Nagara in a Nādu or Vaḷanādu. Kēraḷasiṅga Vaḷanādu had several such Nagaras being the concentration of the Nagarattar community which extended to Kāṇa Nādu or Kaḍaladaiyādu ilangai Koṇḍa cōḷa Vaḷanādu (In Pudukkōṭṭai), Tiruvaḷudi Vaḷanādu, Kīḷa Vēmbu Nadu had each several Nagaras within. The statement of Kenneth R. Hall that "there was one Nagara for each Nadu" would hence require revision.

A striking feature is that the Vāṇiyar and other professionals resided in one street and that was named as Nagara. There was homogeneity in the composition of the residents and it helped serve the identity of interest they shared. It also enabled them undertake collective responsibilities and act as an organised body of producers. They acted through their executive agents the Kāraṇavar or Samuñjitan. The Chief of the Paṭṭanam (mercantile township) was Paṭṭinasvāmi. We notice some of them signing the Samaya-Kāryam, the collective community-decisions. The share of the community levy assigned for charitable purposes was "Paṭṭinapagudi - a proportion of the levies on articles of merchandise.

Trade was brisk between the west coast and the eastern plains. Many of the Nagaras were entrepots situated at the foothills where the commodities arrived and then moved eastwards to Madurai or Tirunelvēli and other places. This is illustrated by the Nagaras situated all along the Western Ghats and especially where there were passes as at Thovaḷa the Āryaṅkāvu in and near Periyakuḷam besides Paḷani.

The Nagarā community had sections within such as Śilai Cettiṣ, Danmasettiṣ but the basis of this distinction is not clear. We notice elsewhere Brahmasettiṣ but they are hard to come by in this tract.

Even among Tiśaiāyirattu aññūruvar as noticed above, there were five categories that the specific impact of anyone of them is not clear. The 18 viṣayas continue to be cited even in the 16th century inscriptions. That they were spread over the entire Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍyan Kingdoms and had continued to carry on their trade unaffected by the political changes is quite evident. Even Maṇigrāmam for instance, which has figured in an inscription of Parāntaka I at Coutralam is a party to an agreement of the 13th century at Tittāṇḍatānapuram.

We have greater evidence available about the functioning of the Nagara in the land administrations and its contributions to the economy of the temples within in particular. They assiduously assigned lands for reclamation. They constructed tanks for

irrigation for bringing the land under wet cultivation and extension of such cultivation. They also constructed *Ūrams* or drinking water ponds in the townships, especially in the dry red lands of the Sivagaṅgai-Tiruppattūr Tract.

The Littoral in the Ramnad coast and in Tirunelvēli had a number of roadsteads, big and small frequently visited these roadsteads. The merchants, importers and exporters, buyers and sellers agreed to contribute a fraction of their saleproceeds for charitable purposes and maintenance of temples or public utilities. This generous contribution of collective levies extended to the maintenance of services in Jaina Pallis, to Islam mosques and to the Christian churches of the later times.

ANNEXURE - I

TEXT OF THE PRASASTI

ŚRĪ BHŪMI DĒVI PUTRĀNĀM KṢĀRAKSĒROTHA PŪRVINĀM JAYANTI
CĒTRALŌKĀNĀM RĀJYA PARIPĀLAKĀNĀM

SARVALŌKA HITĀRTHĀYA CITRAMĒLI ŚĀSANAM

TRIBHUVANĀŚRAYA BHANDU ŚATAVĪRĀŚĀSANAM LAKSANA LAKSMĪ
VILĀSALANKRĪTA VAKṢASTALA BHUVANAPARĀKRAMAM ŚRĪ VĀSUDEVA
SAHĀYAKAM DĒVI MŪLABHADRA LŌKHA ŚRĪ AYM POLIR
PARAMĒSVARIKKUM BHŪMIDĒVIKKUM MAKKĀLĀGI NILAGALĀMINRĀ
MADICŌDA PONGU MĀDAVĪDI PADINETTU PATṬANAMUM, 32
VALARPURAMUM 64 KADIGAI TĀVALĀMUM TĀVALATTIRUNDU TANMAI
VALARKUṆ CĒTTIYUN, CĒTTI CIRAPPUDĀNUM, TAVAMONRĪLLĀDA
TANMAYYOLUKKATTU, KĀVARAI TANNŌDU KĀŚYAPAN VIDUTTA
CĀMUṆDĒŚVARIYUM, URUTTIRAN VIDUTTA ŌLAI VARIYANUM UNNIYADU
MUDIKKUM ONDIRAL VĪRAR PANNĪRUTARATTU PANISEY MAKKĀLUM
MUNNIYĀGA MĀLAVOLIVALARKKUM MUTTAMIL PĀDALŌDĀDA LO
VĀ VĪLAVUM VĒLVĪYUM, VĪLANGIYA VĪDIYADAI TENGUM PALĀVUM,
TĒMĀNJŌLAIYUM CANDANĀVĒLI CAṆBAGA POLILUM, VĀLAIYUM,
KAMUKUM VALARKODIMULLAIYUM, PŪVAIYUM, KILLAIYUM, PŌLIVODU
ŚŪLA VĀTTAMINRI KŪTTAM PERUGA ARĀM VALĀRA, KALIMĒVIYA
PUGAL PERUKAPPAGAI PAṆIYA TISAI ANAITTUM SEVIDUPADAR
CENGŌLĒ MUNNAKARUṆ CĒMBOR PASUMPAIYE DEIVAMĀGIYUM,
KṢAMAIYENŌDUM, KARUṆAIYĒYDA SAMAYATANMAI INIDU NĀDĀTTI
NIKATANINRA NĀNGU TISAI SAMASTALŌKA PADINENVIṢAYATTŌMUM
ETC.

ANNEXURE - I

A table of the commodities traded and the rates of levy fixed by the community regulation for Pirānmalai Temple Endowment :

Commodity	(Vaṇḍi) Load (Cart Load)	Pothi	Pakkam	Head Load
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(all in <i>kasu</i>)		
1 Salt	10	1	½	½
2 Paddy	10	1	½	—
3 Rice	20	2	1	—
4 Greengram	20	1	½	—
5 Pulses	20	1	½	—
6 Castor-oil seeds	10	½	½	—
7 Arecanut	—	4	2	—
8 Pepper	—	5	2½	—
9 Turmeric	—	3	1½	—
10 Dried Ginger	—	3	1½	—
11 Garlic	—	2	1½	—
12 Mustard				
13 Cumin Seeds				
14 Kadu pelli Tanduri (Myrobalam)	—	1	½	—
15 Iruppu (iron)	20	2	1	—
16 Cotton	10	12	1	½
17 Yarn	20	5	2½	2
18 Coarse cotton cloth	—	10	5	—
19 Fine cloth	—	20	5	5
20 Ulaṇḍu pīli (dried medicinal herb) (K.V.S. Iyer takes it to mean a a kind of thread)	—	—	—	5

Commodity	(Vandi) Load (Cart Load)	Pothi	Pakkam	Head Load
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(all in kasu)				
21 Wax	—	10	5	4
22 Honey (per pot)	—	4	—	—
23 Gingelly	—	4	2	1
24 Rough silk or hessian (Koni kai pattu)	—	2	1	1
25 Sandal	—	30	—	—
26 Akil (per load)	—	—	30	—
27 Silk and cotton (per load)	—	—	30	—
28 Rose-water (per pot)	—	—	30	—
29 Wig (per load)	—	—	30	—
30 Camphor oil (per load)	—	—	20	—
31 Sāndhu, civet, Jawadu (per horn) (Perfume applied to forehead)	—	—	15	—
(For the last six items for head loads : $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Pakkam rates)				
32 Draft bull	—	Kāsu 2		
33 Horse	—	Accu $\frac{1}{4}$		
34 Elephant	—	Accu $\frac{1}{2}$		

Note : 1 The high value were charged at rates as per lower limit of weight or volume.

2 A Sriraṅgam record of A.D. 1156 gives the equivalent Kāsu per 1 Accu as $9\frac{1}{4}$ Kāsu; if this can be presumed to the current exchanged rate, the horse were charged $2\frac{5}{16}$ Kasus and elephant at $4\frac{5}{8}$ Kāsus.

(Sriraṅgam record No. : 125 of South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XXIV - AR 68 of 1936-37). Accu was a coin of higher denomination than Kāsu.

ANNEXURE - III

LIST OF SIGNATORIES IN PIRĀNMALAI INSCRIPTION

Kāli Mandala maṇigal of Jeyaṅṅoḍacōlapuram

Samaya cakravarti

Āṭkoṇḍān alias Śivapattan

Kudandai priyan

Sōman Viḷumban alias Uṟaiyūruḍaiyān

Abhimāna cōlapurattu Ambalavan Jeyaṅṅoḍa Cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi and others.

Pēṭṭaiyil Udaiyān Ābattukkāttān

Tottipuram alias Rājakēsariapurattu Tāvaḷakkoṇḍān

Śivapādaśēkharapurattu Kāli Muppēruḍaiyān

Samayapurandaran

Cōlapāṇḍya purattu Koḷundan uḍaiyān Samayamantri

Maṇikkāṇḍan

Pallikoṅḍāṇḍān

Kōṭṭaikaraiyān alias Kōlariśēkharapurattu

Kūṟṟan Śēvan

Karuvūr Vaṇigaimānagarani Muḍivalangu cōlapurattu

Piḷḷai Kānanāṭṭu Ceṭṭi Mānikkan Eriṭattāṇḍan

Tāḷaiyūr nāṭṭu Nannutiavaṅkan

Kīranūr Uḍaiyān Koṅgu maṇḍala Cilai ceṭṭi

Kaṇṇapurattu Dēvan Samayamāda

Mudikoṇḍattu cōla Cokkagāṇāsambandaran

Korranūruḍaiyān Maṇḍalasvāmi Kudirai Ceṭṭigalil

Vaṇigar Nārāyaṇan

FOOT NOTES :

1. SII XIX/417
2. SII XIX/235
3. 598/1926 The text is not available
4. SII VIII/442
5. ARE 665/1917
6. 310/1918, 311/1918, 312/1918
7. 308/1918, 312/1918, 315/1918
8. Ibid - 315/1918, 318/1918
9. 316/1915
10. 425/1917
11. 316/1918 (Maṇḍai - Tenkāsi tk.)
12. 615/1917 Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription
13. SII XIV/146
Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Śastri considers this (13th year of Jat. Sundara cōḷa pāṇḍya) the first reference to be noticed. (A Tamil merchant Guild in Sumatra, South India and South East Asia p. 240; (Gita Book House)
14. SII XIV/239
15. 335/1916
16. 365/1916
17. 348/1916
18. 363/1916
19. 367/1916, 360/1916
20. 371/1916
21. SII XIV/134, Ibid/180
22. SII XXIII/110
23. Ibid/111
24. SII XXIII/98
25. 651/1916
26. 614/1916
27. SII XIV/513
28. EI V/p. 436, "B"-Parāntaka I (40)
29. ARE 418/1900
30. ARE 426/1906

31. ARE 425/1906
32. 427 & 428/1906 Mānūr
33. SII V/449
34. 46/1927 (unfinished)
35. 261/1980-81
36. SII V/415
37. SII V/439
38. SII V/447
39. SII V/434
40. SII V/427
41. SII V/433
42. SII V/425
43. SII V/443
44. SII V/423
45. No. 52/1927
46. 262, 266/1980-81
47. 255/1941
48. 257 & 259/1941
49. 260/1941
50. 261/1941
51. 263/1943
52. 269/1941
53. 350/1930
54. 352/1930
55. 357/1930
56. 356, 357/1950
57. 363, 364/1949-50
58. 369/1950 Also 370/1950 (They are but fragments unfortunately)
59. 50/1944-45
60. 250/1981
61. 255, 256/1981
62. 4/1916
63. SII XIII/241

64. 392/1930
65. SII VIII/448
66. Ibid/445
- 66A Please see my personal names from the Pāṇḍyan Part of Kayal. (Current problems and methodologies South Indian Epigraphical Research - Anṇamalai University - pp. 52-53. 1997.)
- 66B Ibid. p.54.
- 66C Sandi (SIC) for sanda(m)
- 66D SII Vol.VIII / 402.
67. 311/1963-64
- 67-A The "Collected papers" - at pp. 226-227
- 67-B SII XXIII/443 Sinnamanūr
68. SII XXIII/434
69. Ibid No. 430
70. Ibid No. 431
71. Ibid No. 429
72. SII XXIII/413
73. Ibid 416
74. Ibid 411, 412
75. Ibid 409
76. Ibid 410
77. 279/65-66
78. Copied in 1921-92
79. SII XIV/251
80. Ibid 262
81. 613/1926
82. 616/1926
83. SII V/303
84. 617/1926
85. ARE 240/1942
86. ARE 245/1942
87. ARE 243/1942
88. SII XVII/401
89. 235/1941

90. 236/1941
91. 237/1941
92. 248/1941
93. SII XXVI/517
94. Ibid 515
- 94A Ibid 518
95. SII XIV/94
96. SII XXVI.502
97. SII Ibid 505
98. Ibid 504/Palaeo : 12th century unfortunately these are all fragments
99. 332.1930 (Sāttūr)
100. 402/1914 (AD 1221) “Nāḷvaḷimuttai” or Eṇṇai muttai might mean a spoon of oil for oil pressed per day per gaṇi.
101. 403/1914
102. 406/1914 (AD 1224)
- 103-A 407/1914 (AD 1224)
104. 412/1914 (AD 1230)
105. 96/1974-75 (the text is not available)
106. Please see the text of Lobeo Toewra inscription at p. 6-7 and Dr. Karashima’s comments at p. 8 of the “Primary Session Papers of the 8th World Tamil Conference 1995. Karashima reiterates Takuapa is usually believed to have been the ancient Takkōla mentioned by Ptolemy” But Prof. Sastri has already accepted the position finally taken up by Roland Braddell and has admitted readily that it is no longer possible to hold that Takuapa is the same as Ptolemy’s Takōla p. 173 (South India and South East Asia Gatha Book House 1978).
107. SII VIII/442
108. EC Vol. VII. SK 118 - Also pp. 243 of “South India and South East Asia”
109. Trade and patterns of commerce and its annexure at pp. 312, 324 and 325 of my “Collected papers”
110. 55/1916
111. 31/1929
112. 52/1929 SII XIV/235
113. SII XIV/213
114. SII XIV/242 - See also 37/1928-29 (18th year) 38/1928-29 (20th year) the donor was the same
115. Ibid 238
116. SII XIV 258 - See also 41/1929 (Srivallabha 21st year)

117. ~ 300/1928, Circa 45/1929 - Also 292/1928
118. 296/1928 - caturvedimaṅgalam
119. 299/1928
120. 152/1936
121. 155/1936
122. 158/1936
123. 150/1936
124. 147/1936
125. SII VIII/432 - (Pirānmalai)
126. 174/1936
127. 175/1936
128. 507/1958-59
129. 314/1923 Tirukōṣṭiyūr undated
130. 329/1949-50
131. 331/49-50 Vīra Pāndya (13th year)
132. Kōmāḷippaṭṭi (Sivagaṅgai Tk) unnumbered of 83-84
133. 46/1916
134. 55/1916
135. 53/1916 Confer Similar benefactions in 51/1916, 52/1916, 62/1916
136. 98/1916 (S' 1437)
137. 98/1916 (S' 1305) AD 1383
138. SII Vol. VIII 182
139. SII Vol. VIII/p 183 Even later in AD 1524 the Kulaśēkharapuram merchants excavated an ūraṇi for which the land was sold by Ūrār of Taḷakkāvūr (a part of Kaḷanivāśal) 217/1980-81.)
140. 191/1980-81
141. 598/1926 The text is not unfortunately readily available
142. SII VIII/404
143. SII VIII/403
144. I am indebted to Mr. T. N. Subrahmanyam's glossary in SITI Vol. I for many of the renderings
145. SII VIII/405 - The inscription has gaps and is incomplete
146. SII Vol. XXIII/396
147. The name persists in the 17th Century - Ibid 397
148. Ibid 398

CHAPTER - VI

THE SOLDIERY AND THE GARRISON TOWNSHIPS
IN THE PĀNDYAN KINGDOM

Significant evidence is available about the soldiery and the commanders of army contingents as well as a few garrison Townships. (Paḍaiṅṅaṅṅu) This last term is used to denote townships where the predominant occupants were no doubt, peace time cultivators but had the obligation to render military service in the campaigns undertaken by the Pāṅḍyan Kings. Typically the evidence is the largest relating to Tirunelvēli district and less relating to Madurai district. The evidence forthcoming from Rāmanāthapuram district after the Cōla sovereignty is also scanty. This may be due to the act that the bulk of Tiruppattūr and Sivagaṅga Taluks were held as *jīvitam* by the Chieftains, Adalaṅṅyūr Nāḍālvān and Kaḷavaḷi nāḍālvān and Tenkaḷavaḷi nāḍālvān. Also a number of Chieftains hailed from Miḷalaikūṅṅam and from the other Nāḍūs or Kūṅṅams in Sāttūr, Aruppukkōṅṅai, Mudukuḷattūr¹ and Soḷavandān Taluks. They might have been in enjoyment of *jīvitam* on condition of rendering the required soldiery in times of war. These should remain surmises as the basis of evidence available at present is negative. Ponnamarāvati in Pudukkōṅṅai was the second capital of Mār. Sundara Pāṅḍya I and Virayāccilai in Pudukkōṅṅai was one of the garrison townships.²

We have evidence of the soldiery in the other two tracts of the Tāmbraparaṅṅi and the Vaigai river basins. The soldiery were, particularly drawn from two sections of the community one the shepherds or sundry labour (vetṅṅikkudī) attached to the townships and the temples therein and the other the weavers (the Kaikkōḷar).³ It is reasonable to presume the former had their peace time occupation of tending the cattle and measuring out the ghee at the temple for lamp services instituted. The weavers engaged in their profession could be called in for serving in the soldiery or the army in times of need.

There does appear to be some standing army in the Cōla times the Mūnṅru kai - Māhāsēnaiyār or Paḍaiṅṅiḍitha Pallāyiravar noticed below. But these might be only a fractional nuclei with auxiliary or reserve forces drawn from the Township community. Besides there were special Pāṅḍyan contingents like Munaikedir mōhar or Tennavan Ābattudavigaḷ who were personal body-guards or committed soldiery of the King.

The evidence which bring out the facts stated above is examined below :

In the following cases the commandant of the Soldiery undertook to maintain the sheep or other endowment made for lamp services in the places noted against each.

Name of place	Date (Ruler) Regnal Yr.	Endowment	By whom undertaken
Tirunelvēli ⁴	Vīra Pāṇḍya (Cōlan Talai Koṇḍa (4+7) (AD 957)	50 Sheep	Śāttan Tirunelvēli Surety : Sēndapidāran Brahmaṇḍiyan Perumtiṇai
Tirunelvēli ⁵	Vīra Pāṇḍya (Cōlan Talai Koṇḍa (15+1) (AD 962)	25 Sheep	A Commandant Sēndamaṅgalavan
Tirunelvēli ⁶	Vīra Pāṇḍya (Cōlan Talai Koṇḍa (15+1) (AD 962)	50 Sheep	Tirumāl Śāttan-His surety, a commandant Kurunguḍi Kummaṇavīran
Tirukkuṇḍi ⁷	Ruler N.A. 10th yr. (10th century) Vattēluttu	25 cows	Paḍaittalaivan Śāḍaiyāṇḍan
Tirukkuṇḍi ⁸	Fragment	25 sheep 20 kaḷanju	Paḍaittalaivan Name N.A.
Āttūr ⁹	Jaṭ. Sundara Cōla Pāṇḍya 20 (AD 1037)	Lamp	Donor: Pāṇḍan Kaṭṭaṅgan of the swords-men regiment of the ruler “Uḍaiyār paḍai Sundara Pandyatterinda-paḷaiyavāḷil”
Tiruvāḷisvaram ¹⁰	Cōla Pāṇḍya Jaṭ. Sundara 20(AD 1037)	35 Cows	Commandant Nāsakan Kūḷuvāṇai
Peruṅgaruṇai ¹¹ (Mudukuḷattūr taluk)	Rāj. Kulōttuṅga (AD 1114)	Land gift	Land (to Tiruveḷaikkāra Mūṇru kai Īsvaramuḍaiya mahādēvar The deity's name seems to suggest that it was set up or under the protection of the soldiery of the Cōla regiment named above. In a few other places too the deity is named after the Mūṇrukaiyār (the arms of the Armed forces)

The Regiment Mūṇṇukai Mahāsēnaiyār was a powerful regiment which had a praśasti in its honour. It had undertaken the protection of a number of temples as at Tiruvālīsvaram.¹² Pattanmadai¹³ - A Brahmin Commander of a Regiment of the Cōla army which seems to have been stationed at Śērmādēvi figures as a donor of a lamp service.¹⁴

The Mūṇṇukai Mahāsēnaiyār (The Great army of the three arms) have their Praśasti or eulogy recorded in an inscription from Tiruvālīsvaram. It is undated but Prof. Sastri attributes this epigraph to the reign of either Rājarāja I or Rājēndra I. “In this inscription”, states Prof. Sastri¹⁵ “The Mahāsēnai is said to have constantly worshipped Viṣṇu and Śiva to have defeated the Kannara and pursued him to have killed the Gāṅgēya to have captured Kalmadam and destroyed Viliṇam on the sea to have issued the sea on the other (eastern side) and razed Mātōṭṭam to the ground to have taken the Hill country (Malaināḍu) and routed the fleet (Kalamaṇuttu) at Śālai, to have put to flight the Vallan (Calukya) and captured Vanavāsi and to have been praised in song for these achievements by the Tanu! poets of Kālahasti to have destroyed the fortress on the hill of Kucci and captured Uccandi (Uccaṅgidurg) to have inflicted a defeat on the Vaḍugas (Northerners) who opposed them and dismantled the fortification of Vātāpi and done other things which on account of a gap in the record are not easy to follow. In the following passage (lle 40-50) they claim to have captured the Malai Nāḍan (the Cēra and his brother) in the mountains and to have destroyed the dynasty of Kulakēsari and that they hail from Pāṇḍi Nāḍār. They have taken under their protection the Tiruvālīsvaram temple precincts (Tirumukkālvaṭṭam) the Dēvadana endowments of the temple and the many service tenure holders, the treasury, the Śivabrāhmaṇās, the artisans and carpenters, smiths and the watchmen all under the protection of Vēlaikkāran Agampaḍai piḍitha pallāyiravar. They undertake to protect for all time the charities without destruction even if they in the act of protection get killed or fall on evil days (Paṭṭum Ketṭum) and such protections who perish shall be granted blood-grant endowments (Udirappaṭṭi) and honoured with elephants and garlands and get other remissions of land dues (Parihāras)¹⁶

There is evidence to show that the Mūṇṇukai Mahāsēnayar were identical with the Paḍaipiḍitha Pallāyiravar (The ten thousand) who captured the (enemy's troops.) This is borne out by an inscription of the 26th year of Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1096) forms Śērmādēvi.¹⁷ It states as below: The temple of Bhakta priyar (Bhaktavatsala) at Śērmādēvi was under their protection (Abhayasthāna). The temple and its appurtenances and the vimana, the maṭha, the gardens and the vessels and other belongings of the temple, the apparel, the flag, the ornaments, the main treasury and the many service holders and the pipers and drum services holders the Sundry servants, the vetṭikuḍi who had to measure ghee, the smiths, and the carpenters and a stone mason (Peṇṇān Kāmaṇḍuran Munṇukai Peruntaccan) were all under the protection of Paḍai Piḍicca Pallāyiravar.

If any services was handicapped due to any calamity (antaramgaḷ) those who suffered injuries or injuries in the act of protecting the charity shall be taken on elephant and presented garland in recognition. In these terms the Mūṇṇukai Mahāsēnaiyār alias Paḍaipiditha pallāyiravar gave a deed of arrangement for protection of the temple and its belongings.

The Āyirattēṇmavinṇagar temple at Pattanmaḍai which was the eastern hamlet of Cēraṇ mādēvi Cm.¹⁸ Was also taken under the protection of the Mūṇṇukaiyār obviously referring to the Mūṇṇukai Mahāsēnaiyār.¹⁹

A contingent of this army must have been stationed at these places under their protection.

We have evidence of the Cōḷa regiments making endowments in Kērāḷaśiṅga Valaṇāḍu. An inscription of AD 1005 (Rājarāja I) refers to the Vattāḍidaterinda Valaṅgai Velaikkārarkaḷ nāyagam seyyum Śrī Rājarāja dēṇan Kudirai “Sē(vakar)”. Rājarāja cavalymen or horsemen who command the valaṅgai velaikkārar. They had endowed 50 sheep for a lamp service.²⁰

Rājarāja - I had also granted jīvitam lands in the Tēnār-Command area to one of his Perundanam chiefs, Rājarājadēṇar perundanattu Mukundanūr uḍaiyār kāḍan . . . dēṇan. The latter had endowed a lamp service in Kunnakkuḍi in AD 1008. It is known that the Cōḷa army under Rājarāja had two divisions. Perundanam and Śirudanam.²¹

Kulōttuṅga - I had to reassert the Cōḷa authority in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom and quell the risings therein. . . . The most sustained efforts of Kulōttuṅga - I resulted in the reconquest of the Pāṇḍya and the Kērāḷa countries between the 7th and 11th years of his reign.²²

An inscription at Kallal (in Sivagaṅgai Tk) refers to a blood-grant for a servant who severed his head in order to cure the illness of his Chief Vīman udāraṇ alias Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa Mūṇṇaraiyan, who had participated in the campaign.²³

In AD 1114, again, in Kulōttuṅga's reign Kulottuṅga Cōḷa Nāḍālvāṇ granted 11 plots to the deity at Peruṅgaruṇai (Mudukuḷattūr Tk) - Punaivayilurikkai Tadankaḷi Tiruvēḷaikkārar Mūṇṇukai Iśvaramuḍaiya Māhādēṇan. It could be inferred from the name of the deity that this temple was patronised or was under the protection of the Cōḷa force referred to.²⁴

In the 7th year of Vikrama Cōḷa (AD 1125) a curious inscription is recorded at Sivapuri Dvarāpati vēḷāṇ gave a grant to the Vāḷilār the Swordsmen.²⁵ He gave 5 mā of land to every one who died in a skirmish and 3 mā of land in addition as blood grant. He also agreed to receive (by way of land-dues) whatever was given

by the relatives of those who died from among the *vāḷilār* or other servants in skirmishes or on account of any disease. He was not prepared to take the odium of the deceased.

Finally an inscription of Jaṭ. Vikrama Pāṇḍya (10th year) at Tiruppattūr refers to a horseman Accacirikāni a foreigner-Kannāḍiyar (Paradēśa Kannāḍiya) who had made an endowment to Sūryadēva in the Tiruppattūr temple²⁶

Presumably he must have been a part of the cavalry which had accompanied the Hoysālā rulers who intervened in Cōḷa Pāṇḍya conflicts.²⁷

In the reign of Jaṭ. Vikrama (4th year) a Gōśāla and a grant for a maṭha were granted lands which had belonged to some Malayāḷa Brahmins who were granted lands in exchange. As they refer Hoysālā Vīrasōmēśvara these could be dated about 1220-1245, the period of Hoysala hegemony in the south.

As already noticed the evidence during the resurgent Pāṇḍyas of the soldiery in Ramanathapuram district becomes scanty. This can be ascribed to the entire region being held by chieftains as Jīvitam who had revenue and military obligation to render to the Pāṇḍyan rulers.

The resurgent Pāṇḍyas had to conscript a large land army to fight the Cōḷas. The volume of evidence is the larger for the spread of such land army contingents particularly in townships on the leeward side of the western ghats. Also in the Paḷani taluk of Madurai district there are references to army contingents of the Koṅgu rulers. The volume of evidence is the largest pertaining to the reign of Mār. Sundara I, the Warrior-King, who twice worsted the Cōḷa Kings Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III. But evidence even from the reign of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha is available and it increased during the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I.

The village Nāngunēri was a composite Township. The Brahmadēya portion Abhayāsriya Cm was one entity. The Śiva temple Tirunāgēśvaram uḍaiyār was situated in it. On the supplication of a Prince (Nampillai) the King Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha granted in the 17th year (AD 1107) the lands as Iṟaiyili including the Antarāyam which were in two parts. The first was double crop wet land under the Cōḷapāṇḍyappērēri irrigated by the sluice Abimānarāman maḍai, through the channel called Kēśavadi in the 5th outlet 5th Kaṇṇāru including the *Kārāṇmai* in the lands (hitherto) occupied by Jayāṅgaṇḍa Cōḷan. These lands were held by the soldiery (Paḍaiparṟu) and the occupancy was terminated and the lands resumed. The other chunk consisted of the temple precincts and the lands appurtenant to them which were already an old Dēvadāna.²⁸ From this evidence it may be inferred that the Pāṇḍya ruler's soldiery or perhaps even during the Cōḷa occupation which had immediately preceded it the soldiery held occupancy rights in the lands in this part of the township and it had "garrison" holdings.

In the 14th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1230) a grant was made to this temple for special services to the god and goddess on the Mārgaḷi Ārdhra day every year. Two *Ānaiaccu* were endowed by Cōlan Kunṛan alias Avaniṅārāyaṇa Pallavaraiyar an archer belonging to the Iranasiṅgavīran-terinda villigaḷ (archers)²⁹ of the Battalion stationed at Maruvāykkuricci alias Naralōkavīranallūr in the Command area of Paccaiyār.³⁰ This village also should be located in the Kaḷakkāḍu region watered by Paccaiyar, south of Tāmbraparaṇi.

Another Pāṇḍyan regiment stationed at Tirunelvēli but holding occupant lands in Pattamaḍai was the Abimānabhūṣaṇan Terinda Kaikkōḷas.³¹ Two Kaikkōḷas had endowed lamp services in the temple at Tirunelvēli. On the 3rd year, day 2152 of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1193-94) they secured a grant from the King. For the oil to be measured for the lamps by the Saṅkarappāḍiyār in Suttavalli. Big street the two donors gave 2 *vēlis* of land which were in their occupancy in the Dēvadāna lands which yielded 18 *accu* as *Kaḍamai* and *Antarāyam* per year. The lands were watered from Dēvarkuḷam in Mēlavēmbu Nāḍu.

This contingent seems to have in several locations, especially in and around Śērmādēvi. One among them Saḍaiyār Paḍaiyāni alias Pillai Pallavarayan of the Abhimānabhūṣaṇa Iterinda Kaikkōḷas had endowed 8 *accu* for the service in Kailāsa muḍaiyār temple at Śēraṅ Mādēvi Cm.³² This was in the 16th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara. (AD 1206).

The same Kaikkōḷa regiment together with the Personal staff of Sundara Pāṇḍya provided for a matha in Giriyaṅbāḷpuram in the 12th year of Mār. Sundara.³³

In the 4th year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya the Kaikkōḷa Sēnāpati of Tirunelvēli (who might be identified with the above donors) had sold land to a dancing girl. The lands were their *jīvitam* lands in Pattanmaḍai the eastern hamlet of Śēraṅ Mādēvi Cm a Brahmaḍēya in Mulli nāḍu. The sale carried with it the obligation to pay *Kaḍamai* *antarāyam* and other land dues in cash and kind. The 1 *mā* of land was in 2 parcels, ½ *ma* canal fed, south of Virakēraḷpilār (sub channel), 19th Kaṅṅāru the 2nd lay to the south and to the north in the 6th *sey*, another ½ *mā* also canal fed. The signatories were Sri Kulaśēkharasiddarayan Adisayapāṇḍyavattarāyan, Vikramapāṇḍya vatttarāyan, Kanakarāyan, Kacciyarāyan, Vaḷudipanman. These names indicate that the Kaikkōḷas soldiers or generals had taken their names after the Pāṇḍyan rulers and were styling themselves as “Araiyan” or Rāyan.³⁴

It can be inferred that the lands in the first case (Dēvarkuḷam) were the personal occupancy holdings fully assessed. The sale in the case noticed above was of the *Jīvitam* lands also liable to pay land-dues but burdened with the condition of military service. Both were vendible and inheritable. But some of the soldier occupants, resided in

Tirunelvēli and were cultivating the lands through others, and not necessarily themselves. Others were resident in Śēranmādēvi and perhaps, in Pattanmaḍai itself where they had their *jīvitam* lands.

There were similar holdings of the soldiery in Śēranmādēvi and its hamlets, Pattanmaḍai Kīlaccēval, among others.

As noticed above Pattanmaḍai had a regiment stationed therein and the temple was under their protection. There are individual grants for lamp service by the supervisors of the forces of the first regiment (ivvūr mudalāvadu paḍaikkū Araycci Ādiccan).³⁵

The soldiery held lands as *Jīvitam* in seymaḍainallūr and in Dēśamāṇikkam.³⁶ The King determined the tenure of the lands as *jīvitam* and terminated the occupancy of the previous holders and endowed the lands to the temple at the request of Maḷavarāyan. It was dated 13th year and was a Konērinmaikoṇḍan grant.

These occupancy holdings of the garrison (Paḍaiparṟu) had extended in the adjoining Kariśūḷndamaṅgalam another eastern hamlet of Cēranmādēvi Cm. In the 10th year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya the community made a levy of paddy from the lands, which were originally cultivated on lease but since taken up by cultivating tenants, for the repairs to that temple. Among those who bore the communal levy were including the holdings of the huntsman the Brahmins and the garrison soldiery (Paḍaiparṟu)³⁷

Attāṇinallūr is an adjoining hamlet on the western side. It was the eastern hamlet of Rājarāja Cm, the big Brahmadēya in Mulli Nāḍu.³⁸

The deity in the Śīva temple was named as Mūṇṟukai Īśvaramuḍaiya mahādēvar.³⁹ As it was usual to name the deity after the principal benefactors who built the shrine or were protecting the temple it might be inferred that this temple was also associated with the great army which had its regiments from Pattanmaḍai to Tiruvāḷīsvaram and elsewhere.

This inference confirmed by the evidence from some of the 13th century inscriptions found in the temple. In two records the first dated to 11th year of Jaṭ. Vīra.⁴⁰ and the second 20th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya.⁴¹ The Chiefs of the ten contingents (Pattupadaḍai nāyagam) of Attāṇinallūr granted a garden and a piece of housesite for the shrine of the Piḷḷaiyār (Ganēśa) to be built. The donors in the second grant are described as the executive supervisors of the armed forces of Attāṇi(nallūr) (Paḍaikkāraicci sevvar). The garden was named “Āditta dēvan Tirunandavanam” perhaps named after the Chief Commandant of the forces. The site was relinquished by the donors as they held the housesites and lay to the north of a house-site of Sēnappallavadarāyan.

This last inference is supported by some details forthcoming from the inscription of Mār. Kulasekhara in the same place.⁴²

In the 8th year of Mār. Kulasekhara (AD 1276) the Chiefs or Commanders of the Ten contingents at Attālanallūr donated lands for maintaining the garden formed and granted by Vīradarāyan. The land was a *jivitam* land of the soldiery and at the tail end of the sluice-channel and under Sālai Kuḷam-mukkāṇi araikkāṇi in extent. To its north was the *Jīvitam* land which the soldiery had mortgaged to one Tenna Gangadēvan. To its west a parcel enjoyed by Ponparri udaiyār. A reference to receipt of some capital could be the deposit from the interest on which the land-dues obligation on the land endowed had to be met as the land was declared as “Iṛaiyili” (tax free).

The signatories to the deed were : Īlattuppallavarayan, Parākrama pāṇḍya pallavarayan, Vīra Pāṇḍya Pallavarayan. The Chiefs of the contingent had the title of “Pallavarayan”. One among them had the housesite south of the plot donated to the Pillaiyār-temple.

The *Jīvitam* tenure lands had to pay the land dues and the lands were not tax free. When the land was endowed for a charitable purpose it had to be freed from the obligation which the *Jīvitam* holders, the soldiery undertook on receipt of a capital account. It could be sold to Brahmins, who unless otherwise determined, could hold the land under the same terms as their predecessors in title. The land could also be mortgaged, when denoted it required a separate royal grant to terminate the tax levies. Doubtless it was inheritable. The contingent forces had their Chiefs or Commandants who were authorised to transact business on behalf of the forces.

The tank referred to in the grant of Mār. Kulaśēkhara had been existence for over a century. In an inscription of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (4th year)⁴³ from Pāppākuḍi the north western of Rājarāja Cm an endowment had been made from the *Jīvitam* holding of the Attāṇinallūr regiment by Jagadoppar Kaṇḍar for maintaining that irrigation source and the excess paddy to be utilised for the hall (Tirumāḷigaikattu) built by him and named after him in the Kapilēsvaram Uḍaiyār Temple. The Vināyaka deity was named after that chief.

The soldiery were also attached to the temple of Śāsta at Vaḍakku Karukuṛicci as they figured among the grantors of some privileges to an individual, Śaivan Pañcānan alias Vijayadēva.⁴⁴

Reference has been above to the soldiery stationed at Dēsamāṇikkanallūr. Here too they had their *jīvitam* holdings. A series of records from Kīlācceval adjoining Pattanmaḍai refer to the lands of this tenure and their alienation or termination.⁴⁵

A benefactor, Karitturai Rājaśiṅgan Śēkaran alias Śēkacca Nāḍālvān had raised a garden named Vīrasēkharan. He wished to provide for tending the garden. A Brahmin in Sēranmādēvi, Kānaviniyaperumāḷ dāsar had taken a usufructory mortgage of land and enjoying the land about 2 *mā* in extent. On the supplication of Aṅṅan Tamilapallavarayan, the Jīvitam tenure of the land was determined and the land even rendered tax free and made a subsistence grant for tending the garden. This was in the 14th year. (AD 1251-52) of Mār. Sundara II.⁴⁶

The revenue officials also signed this tax-free grant and were drawn from the various Nāḍus of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. Among others the following figure :

Vaḍatalaiccemināḍu - Irānaṅkuḍi alias Abhimānabhuṣhaṅa Nallūr.

Mudukulattūr - Viḷupparaiyan

Siruvambūr - Kāṅgayarāyan

Kīlavēmbu Nāḍu - Rājavillipuram - Manattapperumaḷ alias Munaiyadaraiyan

Milalaikūrram Kīlkūrru Taccanūr Arulaṅ Sēvagadevan⁴⁷

Sevvirukkai Nāḍu - Sembi nāḍu - Cakrapāṇi Nallūr

Araiyan Vīraṭṭan Pallavaraiyan⁴⁸

The location of the soldiery and the lands enjoyed by them as Jīvitam in villages or hamlets in close proximity around the big Brahmādēya township of Cēraṅmādēvi Cm have been detailed above tracing their occurrence from Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I 's time to Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1190-1311)

We now notice the intensity of the occurrence of the epigraphic evidence pertaining to the reigns of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara and Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I in particular. Already the beginnings of the resurgence of the Pāṇḍyas could be noticed from the time of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (AD 1090), and it was firmly laid by Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1190) It was his worthy successor, the warrior King Mār. Sundara I (1216 to 1239) who twice carried fire and brimstone into the Cōḷa Kingdom and its ancient capital Āyirattalī. His great effort would have demanded a large organisation and mustering a large force drawn from wide and varied sources. There were a series of locations from where such contingents were drawn and trained and or stood guard.

Perunguḷam is one of the nine sacred Vaiṣṇavite centres sung by the Nammālvār⁴⁹ The deity in the Śiva shrine was named Tiruvaḷudīsvaramuḍaiyār. Perhaps the Nāḍu took its name after deity or the place where the Siva temple was located. This was important centre where the Pāṇḍyan forces were stationed during the medieval times.

In inscriptions this township is named as Uttama Cōḷa Nallūr and the *Ūrār* sell lands⁵⁰ but in the Pāṇḍyan inscription the name get changed as Uttamapāṇḍya Nallūr.⁵¹

In the 25th year of Jat. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1215) the (*Valangaiippaḍai valangai māśēnai ppaḍaikkū ārāyči nāyakam ūrmēr paḍa valangai nāyakam ulliṭṭa perumpaḍaiyōm*) the valangai big army including the commanders and these who supervised the affairs of the Valangai māśēnai sold a tank and lands to the shrine of Subrahmaṇya (Kunṛamerinda Pillaiyar) set up by a dancing girl (Talaikkōli). They received the price and the capital to defray the land dues, the latter responsibility being taken over the vendors. The tank and its ayacut sold were their jīvitam lands under Vaḍakānam tank. The Vendors claim to be the worshippers of the feet of the bearers of the Nāyanār. (Nāyanār Śrīpādam sēvikkum). This might convey that they were serving the ruling King or the deity.⁵²

Ten years later (AD 1225) the same force sold some additional lands for the same shrine on the same terms. These lands included wet, dry and tank water spread (Kulaḷkuli) The signatories of the document reveal a great deal of the division of the forces. There were not less than eight divisions and the persons responsible for every division signed the sale deed :

- First division : Danañjaya Pallavaraiyan
- Second division : Uttamapāṇḍya Pallavaraiyan
- Third division : Kannaḷi Nāḍālvān
- Fourth division : Uttamapāṇḍya Nāḍālvān
- Fifth division : Avanikkōn
- Sixth division : Aḷagiyapāṇḍyarāyan
- Seventh division : Tirunīru Cōḷakkōn
- Eighth division : Kulōttuṅga Cōḷakkōn

In addition, Maṇḍalamāṇikka Nāḍālvān

Signed the deed and the temple stone mason recorded it.⁵³

The forces stationed at Peruṅḷam to the Valaṅgai castes. The social division of Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai had already been in vogue. The Maha Śēnai or Perumpaḍai had several division under command of a General or Chief. They had also each an authorised signatory.

In AD 1228, land and housesites were sold by the Valaṅgaippaḍai ārāytchi nāyagam Murpēpāḍai Vaḷavam-included⁵⁴ perum paḍaiyōm The Murpēpāḍai was one more

division of the Great Force stationed at Peruṅguḷam. This section of the force had its own superintending executives.

From the boundaries of the housesites it could be inferred that the occupied housesites had mud walls to enclose the owned site (Naraśiṅgakōn manaiyil maṇ māḍiḷukku mēṛku.) The land sold lay to the south of the highway leading to Tirunelvēli from Peruṅguḷam. The sale conveyed *Kārāṇmai*, *Mīyatci*, *Vettiḥpāttām* and other rights. The land-price and capital for defraying the land-dues were received from the four coparceners of the benefactor who set up the deities. Candrasēkharar and the goddess set up by Āludāiyār Āḷpattar, who belonged to the household or loyal men attached (Agampāḍiyil) of Naraśiṅgadēvar presumably a Chieftain.

There were as many as twentyfour signatories some having the title of *Pallavaraiyan* others *Nādālvān* and still others *Kōn*. But twenty out of the twenty-four signatories were illiterates, who could not sign their names. The accountant of the Mahāsabhā, Vellai mārakāṇam Korra bhattān alias Valāṅgai mattanam Bhattān (Vellai vāraṇan Korra bhattān alias Valāṅgai mīkāma bhattān is the correct reading) besides reducing the deed to writing signed for all illiterates.⁵⁵

A further document stipulated that for the land so sold in the transaction above, for the housesite 1 *Dramam* of 6 *mēni* and for the *mā* of land sold for the lands which came to yield on inspection 4 *kalams* per *mā* by the 7 *nāḷi* measure were to be delivered as *Kaḍamai*. The 4 persons who paid the price and their descendants shall have the *Kārāṇmai* and *mēlatci* (occupancy rights). No other land levies were to be stipulated. This was the deed drawn up by the temple authorities for whom the Śivabrāhmanās and the dancing girls (one of whom was illiterate) and the person who recited the sacred hymns signed the deed.⁵⁶

In the 15th year of Mār. Sundara who took “Īlam Kalīṅgam, the two Kongus, Mudikōṇḍa cōḷapuram and the crowned head of the Cōḷas” the same *Perumpāḍai* (the Big or Great force) including Murpēṇpāḍai vāḷam the Valāṅgaipāḍai Āraytci Nāyagam sold land to the Tiruvaḷudīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār. The lands lay to the south of the Dēvadāna of the deity Subramaṇya sold above. The price was paid by the dancing girl who happened to be the same as the person who set up the shrine in AD 1215, or her scion of a later date. If the former the transaction may be dated in AD 1231⁵⁷ in the reign of Mār. Sundara I.

This sale deed too, is signed by 21, of the same as the document of AD 1228. A number of them had the title *Pallavaraiyan*, others *Kōn* and others *Rāyan* or *Pēraiyan* or *Nādālvān*. Here again as many 15 out of 21 signatories were illiterates. Hence the document was written and signed by the accountant of the force, Vellai Vāraṇa Korra

bhaṭṭan alias Valaṅgaimīkāma bhaṭṭan. Perhaps he acted as accountant for both the Mahāsabhā of the Brahmādēya occupants and the forces which held other lands in occupancy or as jīvitam for rendering military service.

In a Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān record of the 16th year of a ruler, (who is not named) a purchase of land in the name of the deity, Māyakkūttan in the Viṣṇu shrine was made from the soldiery (Paḍaiyilār). It could be seen that the Paḍaiyilār had several holdings in Uttama Pāṇḍyanallūr. Of the 1 *vēli* of land purchased to institute a new service on the native asterisk of a Chieftain Gurukulattaraiyan of Milalaikurram 3 *mā* had already been ensowed to a Jaina shrine of Nikarākaraṅṅarapperumballi in the same township which was compensated by purchasing a land in exchange in the name of the Jaina deity Nikarākara Nāyagar. The King remitted the land dues thereon.⁵⁸

This evidence is conclusive that under the Pāṇḍyas of the second empire a large force with several military divisions had existed at Peruṅguḷam. They held occupancy lands which they donated or sell or inherit. They had also the individual and collective obligations for payment of land dues and services. They had an accountant and Chief executives (Nāyagam) who transacted business - such as those noticed above.

We can now turn westwards again to notice a number of places where the soldiery were stationed on the Pāṇḍyan-Cēra border on the leeward side of the western ghats. The places which yield evidence are Pāvūr (east and west) Kaḍaiyam Ūrmēlaḷagiyān (Tenkāsi Taluk) Dārukāpuram and Tenmalai (Sivagiri Taluk).

Pāvūr was in two parts east and west. Its ancient name was Bāhūr or Kṣatriya śikhāmaṇi Nallūr in Kuṟumarai Nāḍu⁵⁹

In the 12th regnal year of Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya (AD 1228) the revenue Superintendents (Taṇḍal nāyagam śēivār) of the Munaikēdir Mōhar of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi nallūr granted the tank and the ayacut of Danañjayarāmankuḷam. The grant included Kārāṇmai rights and was tax-free. This was to defray the expenses for the daily offerings including the clothing and there apparel charges and for the upkeep of a garden being raised in the name of the donors. This was endowed to Kṛṣṇa image (Tiruvāy kulattu pillai) in the Rājēndraviṅṅar temple at Mannārkōil.

On the east of the lands was the Iḷaṅgōvaraiyan or Kulaśēkhara Iḷaṅgōvaraiyar Tank. To its south was a well. The tank was called "Tiruvāykuḷappēri" the waterspread the submersible lands and moisture-left lands wet dry and (proportionate) natham, natham-sites, trees wells and gardens and all other appurtenances were granted as Iṟaiyili. If there were any arrear dues (Iruppu) to be paid the donor agreed to bear internally the dues among themselves (Uḷḷilē) and defray them. The right to take water to the tank was from the point where water was given to the channel of a maṭam. The

grant was made by the *Kāraṇavar* (agents or managers) of the *Tantirattōm* (The garrison) and the *Taṇḍalnāyakam śeivar* (Revenue Superintendents) working for the garrisons.⁶⁰

Here again as many as eight signatories were illiterate, a garrison accountant (Tandirakaṇakku) is also mentioned. The deed itself was written by the Vagaikaṇakku of the Tandiram, Sīrilāngo Aḷagiya maṇavālan.

More evidence is forthcoming from Pāvūr (Bāhūr) itself from reign of Mār. Śrīvallabha to Mār. Vikrama (1283-1296) - for well over a Century.

The earliest, perhaps is dated in the 20th year of Mār. Śrīvallabha.⁶¹ It is a land endowment for the daily services in the Viṣṇu temple named Munaiyedirmōhar Viṇṇagar emberumān. The deed was executed by the revenue superintendents of the force, Munaiyedirmōhar and the authorised agents for the *Tantiram* (garrison). Apparently a grant was from the Jīvitam occupancies held by them. The second transaction was a sale of a tank and its ayacut the Taṇḍal nāyagam śeivār (Revenue Superintendents) for the Munaiyedirmōhar to the Siva temple in the same township. This could be dated AD 1236 in Mār. Sundara I's reign.⁶²

Two years later the same revenue Superintendents through two of their agents Perumāḷ Idar Nīkkipāgar Ilaṅgōvaraiyan. Perumān Dēvan alias Kallaga Nāḍudaiyān and the Tantris sold land to one Uyyavandāḷappan alias Kulaśēkhara . . . 6 *mā* of land under a tank; the lands were surrounded on all sides by tanks. The land dues were fixed at 3 *kalam*, 6 *kāśu* per *mā* and at one half of it if watered by baling. It was sold on *Kuḍi Kārāṇmai* tenure i.e. the purchaser having occupancy rights and for the produce.⁶³

The same revenue Superintendents of the Munayedirmōhar rendered as Iraiylī 6 *mā*, *nukkāṇi mundirikai* lands which were enjoyed as Maḍappuram by a Śaivaperumān maḍam in the North Street in Tirunelvēli.⁶⁴ This was in the 7th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara. (AD 1275).

The signatories to this deed were a number of Araiyaṅs or Nāḍāḷvāns.

Sōḷiyavaraiyan.

Kulaśēkharaviḷupparaiyan

Pāñcālaraiyakulattu Palayavānambi

N (K?)allaga Nāḍāḷvān

Ilaṅgōvaraiyan

Kulaśēkhara Ilaṅgōvaraiyan

Sundarapāṇḍya Kallaganāḍālvān

Kulaśēkhara Kallaganāḍālvān

Kulaśēkhara Cōḷīyavaraiyan

Tamiḷadaraiyan

Kiḷavan

Kallaganāḍu lay to the north of Bāhūr and north-west of Kurumarai Nāḍu.⁶⁵ It may be inferred that many of these constituents of the Tantra of the Munaiyedir Mōhār hailed from or take their title after the neighbouring Nāḍu.

The last inscription in Pāvūr⁶⁶ is dated in the reign of Mār. Vikrama (1283-1296). This is a fragment. But it reveals some significant evidence - the Munaiyedirmōhar had another honorofix (Tennavan āpattudavigalōm). There were leaders of the divisions of the army. The garrison (tantra) had distributed their obligation and some of the shares falling to the individuals in Teliṅgakulakāla Cm (which must have been located near about) are referred to in the boundaries.

It may be recalled that in the inscription referred to earlier in the reign of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha the grant of dēvadāna lands in Kurungānam alias Teliṅgakulakāla Cm and its southern hamlet, Paṭṭamaṅgalam which was a separate revenue unit have been referred to.⁶⁷

This section of the Pāṇḍyan soldiery - Munaiyedir mōhar Tennavan āpattudavigal - deserve notice. This contingent (as the name conveys) were the King's own Royal Regiment and hence called Tennavan Āpattudavigal. They might not have been a centrally recruited whole time standing army but their professed organisation as a force completely dedicated to the service of the ruler cannot be discounted. They were men of gallantry. Marco Polo has given following account of these King's own Regiments.

“And there are about the king a number of Barons in attendance upon him. These ride with him and keep always near him and have great authority in the Kingdom they are called the King's Trusty Lieges. And you must know that when the King dies and they put him on the fire to burn him these Lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him. For they say they have been his comrades in this world and that they ought to keep him company in the other world”.⁶⁸ Abu Zaid, another Arab Compiler of AD 916 has also given a similar account.⁶⁹

It was no wonder that they bore names of the rulers and were less known for their literacy than blind valour. But they were not without the disposition to make charities and public endowments.

More evidence is available from the adjoining western hamlet of Rajaraja caturvedimaṅgalam at the foothills, Kādēru Kaḍaiyam. Two records both of the reign of Mār. Sundara I, the first dated 18th year and the other dated the 21st year (AD 1234) and AD 1237 respectively). The first records⁷⁰ sale of land by the agents of the army (Parigraha) and the Tantirattōm to the Śiva shrine at Kaḍaiyam alias Vikrama pāṇḍya Nallūr. The lands sold were part of the jīvitakkāṇi (Occupancy holdings for subsistence for the soldiery). The lands were located in Paṇṇaṅguḍi a hamlet of Rājarāja Cm. One Sēnapati Uḍaiyān Vaḷavanāna Piraman Kāḍuvetti had reclaimed the lands and excavated a tank named Udayanēri. The vendors stipulated that the said Vaḷavan Piraman was to have the occupancy rights and the *Kaḍamai* dues were to be paid to the temple.

The second deed⁷¹ conveyed the *Kārāṇmai* rights from the crops. (Dānapayir pramānam) gifted by the Parigraham and the Sēnapatyam seyvār and Taṇḍal nāyagam seyvār and Tantirattōm acting for the *Ūr* of Kaḍaiyam alias Vikrama Pāṇḍya Nallūr to the temple of Kailāsamudaiya nāyanār, Dasaratharāmīśvaramudaiyār. The lands granted were from the jīvitam holdings under the tank Ārampūṇḍār Tank to the north of the river (Rāmanadhi) and to the north of the northern boundary of the udayanēri conveyed by the deed described above. The lands were to be reclaimed and deepened and from the harvested yield from lands in which the crops matured the requirements of several deities west met Vināyaka Subrahmaṇya, Vaḍuga Piḷḷaiyār the goddess of the Bedchamber, Natarāja and Tambirān aḍiyār the god and the goddess and Aḷudaiya Piḷḷaiyār and all other subsidiary shrines. The only levy payable on the wet lands growing wet crops on inspection and on yielding lands was 1 *kalam* per *mā*. Any other levy or distributed levies shall be borne by the *Ūr* collectively.

In making this arrangement the donor also determined prior encumbrances on the land. They were 12 *accu* balance of the amount received on usufructry mortgage of the lands from Paṇṇaṅguḍi Parigraham Seyya pāṇḍya dēvar, 32 *accu* received from Nārāyaṇa dēvar by Tennavan Pallavaraiyan Kāḍuvetti for paying the fines levied on the latter and 1 *accu* due to Āṇḍapillai. These amounts of 45 *accu* in all were to be paid from the temple treasury by the temple executives to redeem the mortgages. The donee temple could also induct and evict the tenants cultivating the lands. The donor also agreed to allow water from the Tennavadaraiyan weir (aṇai) on the same basis as already agreed upon to , a Brahmādēya village. There were 23 signatories all having the titles like Pallavaraiyan Tennavaraiyan Vallavaraiyan, Piḷḷayaraiyan, etc., Of the 23, 14 were illiterates and others signed the deed. But illiteracy was no bar

to their participation in the Township affairs and taking responsibility for the collective transactions of the Township.

To the north-west of Kaḍaiyam the Pāṇḍyan forces were stationed and had holdings in Ūrmēlaḷagiyān, (Tenkāsi taluk), Dārukāpuram and Tenmalai in Saṅkarankōil taluks.

The soldiery of Urmēlaḷagiyān had in their possession lands endowed to the Kulaśēkhara shrine at Rājendra Viṅṅagar which they had the good sense to relinquish and restore to the shrine⁷² in the 5th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1221), the Guardians (Kārāṇavar) of the Tantra (Regiment) of Śēnapati Daṇḍanāyakam which was a division of the Parigraham Dēvēndravallān Śēngōl Vēḷaikkārar of Uрмаiyaḷagiyān of Vaḍavāri nāḍu executed an agreement deed to the shrine of Kulaśēkhara in Rājendra Viṅṅagar (erected in the reign of Jat. Kulaśēkhara) as follows: As they were enjoining the ayacut lands (*puravu*) inclusive of Viḷāñjōlai which were endowed to the shrine they gave a release deed (Viṭṭukkuḍuttōm) planting the boundary stones with the emblem thereon. If the Piragikkulam (a source higher up) got filled the surplus water therefrom might be taken through a branch water course (*nīrkavar*) from the already excavated old channel for the tank-ayacut so released. The document was attested by several with titles of Pallavaraiyan, Nādālvān and Mūvēndavēḷān. Six among the signatories were illiterate. The Ūr Tandirakkaṇakku the Accountant of the Regiment (Tantra) and township (*Ūr*) signed for some of the illiterate subscribers and wrote the deed and signed it. An undated Vattēluttu inscription in Urmēlaḷagiyān in the Māḍasvāmi (Dēśavaḷanallūr dēvar) temple stated that the village be under the protection of Paḍaipidiitta Pallāyiravar.⁷³

Evidently there were garrisons of the Pāṇḍya forces kept along the strategic border of Pāṇḍya-Cēra Kingdoms at the foot of the Ghats. Another undated inscription therein records the deity as “Tiśai āyairattu aṅṅūruvar Dēśavaḷanallūr dēvar”.⁷⁴ Evidently there were also merchant colonies participating in the trade between the west coast and the east located here. The garrisons should have afforded the necessary security also for these commercial sections of the community.

In the 17th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1229) the temple treasury at Dārukāpuram (Pārantaka Cm in Āri Nāḍu) had no money to pay the distributed levies demanded by the Sabhaiyār and to have it remitted a benefactor Puliyūr Kiḷavan Praḷayavīṭāṅkar Abhayampukkār residing in Kulaśēkhara perunderu gave 1/3 share in a tank-ayacut he held. In addition he took on usufructory mortgage the cultivating rights from the Twelve regiments (Panniraṇḍu paḍaiyār) some parcels of lands under the command of Mānābharanappēreri 6 mā mukkāni in extent. This usufructory mortgage of cultivating rights (uḷavorri) was obtained by him on paying 13 *accu* to the regiments collectively

(*Paḍaiḥppodu*). He also obtained on similar mortgage terms 2 parcels (2 *mā*) in extent in Pāṭṭākuricci *jīvitam* lands in the middle portion of the ayacut, (Naḍuvil Kūṟṟil) from the Kaikōla Sēnāpati Daṇḍanāyakar included Tantravar and gave the Tandirattār collectively 4½ *accu* and 150 paddy *kalam* - in all 17½ *accu* and 150 *kalam*s.⁷⁵

This is confirmed by a further sale deed dated 12th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I. (AD 1280). In that year the superintending executives (Paḍaikkū āṟāṭci śeivārgaḷom) of Malaiyaḍikkuricci in Āri Nāḍu sold water rights to a Chieftain Vēnāvudaiyān alias Kāliṅgarāyan of Kaḷattūr in Sevvirukkai Nāḍu. The lands held by them were the *Jīvitam* lands and they were irrigated from a tank sluice. The sale was of the water rights alone for a consideration of paṇam 100. The deed also regulated the manner of taking water from the sluice. The signatories again included Pallavaraiyan, Āri Nāḍālvān and two other Nāḍālvāns Munaiyadaraiyan Tamiḷadaraiyan. The accountant of the regiment Arasadāṇan of Maṇalūr wrote the deed.⁷⁶

One more evidence pertains to the year 8 of Mār. Sundara. This was a sale of land from the *Jīvitam* lands under the Nēlmali Tank fed by the sluices to the deity of Ānaiyūr in Āri Nāḍu by the Tantram inclusive of the Sēnāpati Daṇḍanāyagam of the Parigraha of Puttūr for 10¼ *accu*. The Vendor-Tantran agreed to bear the land dues on the parcels sold. The proportionate share of water could be taken in its turn by the Vendee.

The signatories were -

Maṟupaḍaivallavan

Maṟupaḍai Pallavaraiyan - illiterate

Naraśiṅgaraiyan - illiterate

Seyyapāṇḍyapanmar - illiterate

Nāyakkan Śokkan

Tirumaṅgai aḷagiyān - illiterate

Dēvēndrapanman - illiterate

Kumaravēlan signed for him.

The Tandirakaṇakku the accountant of the tantra, Irumpulai Uyyaninṛāḍi nayakkadēvan drew up the deed and signed it.

Finally we may notice a cantonment township (Maṇarpaḍai vīḍu) on the sands of the Tambraparaṇi river east of Tirunelvēli. It was the eastern hamlet of Uttama cōḷa Cm and named in the inscription as Ambalattāḍinallūr of Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I (43rd regnal year - AD 1112 - 13). The deity was named Mūṇru kai mahāsēnaiyar. The Mahāsabhā granted the lands still left unreclaimed to the temple.⁷⁸

A royal order of Mār. Vikrama (12th year AD 1294-95) remitted the land taxes and dues on the lands granted to the temple at Maṇarpaḍai vīḍu. These were from out of the jīvitam lands of the soldiery of the place and the lands were located in the jīvitam lands of Nakkamaṅgalam.⁷⁹

Another fragmentary inscription ascribed to the same reign refers to the sale of lands in the village by the Aṇupaḍai āraḻtci nāyakam of the place.⁸⁰

Mention is also made of the King's or the Chief's entourage of the house (Aḡaparivāram or Aḡampadi) who have set up shrines or installed an image of Śenapati Aḷvar (Bisvaksēna) at Maṇarpaḍai vīḍu.⁸¹

They might be the Bodyguards of the King or forming part of the personal staff or entourage of the King in his palace.

It may be added that an unnumbered inscription from Udayanēri a hamlet of Pālāmaḍai on the opposite bank of the river Tambraparaṇi refers to it as "Mukkōkkiḷān adigal Cm" which lay on the road to Madurai from Maṇarpaḍaivīḍu. A Kāliṅgarāyan Chieftain excavated a well therein which is in use even today.

We may now turn to the notices of the soldiery in the Śuriliyār, Vaigai and Śanmukānadi belts in Mathura dt. A gift of sheep granted for a temple were left to the protection of Paḍaipīḍitta (Pal)lāyiravar in an inscription pertaining to the regin of Cōḷan Talai Koṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya. This evidence could suggest that the Paḍaipīḍatta Pallāyiravar were a force existing even prior to the advent of the Cōḷas in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.⁸²

A number of Cōḷa inscriptions found at Ānaiyūr (Tirumaṅgalam Tk) corroborate that the generals of the regiments (Paḍaittalaivan) took possession of endowed cows or sheep to deliver ghee to the temple lamps.⁸³

Two grants both Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān conveyed the transfer of cash dues of 1 *accu* and 10 *accu* respectively to the Tiruvādavūr deity. The second record is ascribed to the 19th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara. The orders were addressed to the agents (Kāraṇavar) of the forces in Kaḷavaliṇāḍu and the agents (Kāraṇavar) of the forces of Pallikkuricci.

In the first case the agents of the soldiery had sold land under Śīrukulam in Kilādri village (Sivagaṅga taluk, adjoining Tiruvādavūr) with Kārāṇmai rights to the purchaser. The King granted in his 34th year the taxes in cash - *Kaḍamai Antarāyam, Ponvari, Tari Irai, Sekkirai, Tattōli, Tattārappāttam* and all other āyams amounting to 1 *accu*.⁸⁴ This order was addressed to the Paḍaikāraṇavar of Kaḷavaḷināḍu.

In the second order addressed to the Kārāṇavar of the soldiery in Paḷlikuricci the cash-levies amounting to 10 *accu* presumably on the holdings of the soldiery were transferred to the Tiruvādavūr temple.⁸⁵ This was in the 29th year (AD 1297) of Mār. Kulaśekhara I. Paḷlikuricci is referred to as “Dēvadānam. Paḷlikuricci” alias Cōnāḍukōṇḍa perumāḷnallūr evidently named after Mār. Sundara I who had the title. The deed was granted to the *Ūrar*. could be inferred in the grant - village the kārāṇmai rights were held by the soldiery and the land-dues payable by the occupant-soldiery were granted to the temple.

A Tiruvēdagam grant in the 8th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1224-5) refers to a blood-grant (Udirappatti) to the Kaikkōḷa who had to keep watch and ward over the images of the deity. The lands were located among Pāganūrkkurram stations (nilaigalil) and were jīvitam murrūttu lands of Servants stationed in Maṅgaikudi (Maṅgaikudi nirkum sēvaka murrūttāna nilangalil. From the context it might be surmised that the Pāṇḍyan armymen weavers by profession were stationed at various Centres in Pāganūr Kūrram adjoining the capital. Some of them might have met with a valiant death and a land-grant might have been made. They were charged with the function to guard the images.⁸⁶

At Tirumōhūr (close to Madurai) too an army (Tattānppadai) and the representative agents of the army (Paḍaikku Kārāṇavarum) and the *Ūrar* who had the authority to act for the township (*Ūrkku Samainda Ūrar*) sold land collectively undertaking the payment of tax-levies as the *Ūr*.⁸⁷

This record confirms the inference that the armymen were the peacetime occupants and cultivators of land who could be called for army service in Pāṇḍyan expeditions. They too were organised in the same manner as other agricultural townships and discharged collective obligations.

At Tiruccunai (Mēlūr Taluk) a contingent of Swordsmen (Vāḷilār) had occupancy holdings and they were also collectively constituted into an *Ūr*. Dēvar Dvārapativēḷān was perhaps their Chiftain. He had a number of Chiefs (Mudaḷigal) One of them Agara tyāgi Munaiyadaraiyan carried out the orders of the Chiftain through the Vāḷilār providing for a Sandhi in his own name. For this purpose he granted a land reclaimed

by him and had the Kadamai payable by the Vāḷilār in one of their holdings and the Vāḷilārēmbal. The donor and the vāḷilār together executed the deed.⁸⁸

In the 13th year of Kulaśēkhara the Vāḷilār of Suravaḷi Kaṇḍan village constituting collectively as the Ūrar (*Ūrāi Isaiṇḍa Ūrār*) granted a charitable grant to Yagñā nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭar from Śrīparāntaka Cm in Cōḷamaṇḍalam who had migrated thither. They excavated and reclaimed a land everyone of the Vāḷilār excavating reclaiming one kuli (Talaiyāl oru kuli kalli) and named the field in Bhaṭṭanēri ayacut as Vāḷilār. It was to the west of the hills in the village. They also fixed the land dues payable the Bhaṭṭa to this temple at 5 *kalams* per *mā* of wet land as *Kaḍamai* and *Antarāyam* at 1 *Dramam* per *mā*. For summer or first crop ½ of the rate. For dry crops like horsegram, varagu ¼ and for gingely 1 *draman* per *ma*. These levies were to be rendered to the temple of the Townships as granted by the Vāḷilār.⁸⁹

The Chief ratified the above of his subordinates (aḍiyār) the Vāḷilār of Sulivarakaṇḍan recalling that grant. This was later dated in the 4th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya. The Vāḷilār had assigned the revenue to the temple which they could not themselves do and hence it had to be ratified by the Chieftain who held the tract from the King.⁹⁰

The evidence adduced is enough to conclude that all around Madurai the Pāṇḍyan soldiery were stationed and it had several sections, one of which were the swordmen. They were occupant agriculturists as well in peace time and were organised and functioning as any other agricultural township, the Ūr.

We may finally notice two grants from out of the soldiery at Paḷani. In the first case the soldiery of Sundarapāṇḍyanallūr had cultivated lands on Pāṭṭapparru (on a lease rental). This was exchanged for a Brahmaḍēya grant made at the time of the coronation of the ruler.⁹¹ The second was a Iṛayili grant (of the land-dues) to 12 persons and it was addressed to the agents of the armed forces in Sundarapāṇḍyanallūr.⁹²

To sum up the evidence amply brings out the extensive spread and the location of the Pāṇḍyan forces the manner of their holdings and the functioning.

The volume of evidence forthcoming is also the largest during the reign of the warrior King Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I. We may now attempt to interpret and suggest what the various terms denoted the terms that occur are :

Parigraham

Sēnapati daṇḍanāyagam

Tantram

Paḍai

Perumpaḍai

Mahāsēnaiyar

The Mūṅṅu Kai mahāsēnaiyār figure mostly in Cōla-Colapāṇḍya inscriptions. The term in some of the inscriptions seems to be synonymous with Paḍai Piḍitha Pallāyiravar. But it should be noted that this term already occurs in the Pāṇḍyan inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Cōlan.

The Mahāsēnaiyār, the Perumpaḍai and Pallāyiravar signified the large army, the last term cannot denote its strength, except to suggest that it was large.

Parigraha, in Sanskrit Lexicography refers to the totality or the rear or reserve of the army⁹³ Hence this can be rendered as the Reserve Force to be called to military duty in campaigns as the need arose. Otherwise they were agricultural occupants on a par with other agricultural townships with the distinguishing feature only of liability of military service.

The term ‘*Tantra*’ also means an ‘army’ or troops⁹⁴ and may to a garrison; not of a standing army but of a reserve liable to be called for military action.

The “Sēnāpati daṇḍanāyagam” is said to be included in the Tantra. Hence it should be a segment or an armour of the ‘Tantra’ or the garrison. It may signify the Commanders of the military forces as distinct from the foot-soldiery or the cadre.

The term ‘Paḍai’ can be rendered as a Regiment. We have noticed as many as eight Paḍais each represented by a signatory to a documents. The Paḍaitalaivan should be rendered as the head or chief of the regiment.

The ‘Vāḷilār’ could be one segment of the armed forces - the ‘Swordsmen’ The ‘Villiyal’ were the archers. There should have been undoubtedly a Cavalry and etc., Chieftain and Commanders. The Pandyan Kings were again and again purchasing horses from the Gulf countries the Arabs had a busy trade in it during the period. Marco Polo testifies to it, and how this purchase depleted the treasures of the king and if wassof were to be believed even of the temples.⁹⁵ There is hence reason to presume the Cavalry constituted one important segment of the Pāṇḍyan army. The story of Maṅickavāśagar being deputed to purchase horses by Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa is another

traditional evidence. No reference to any navy is however traceable but there could have been one, considering the coastal border, the rich pearl fishery and the number of roadsteads.

The executives of these land - occupant army men holding subsistence grants (*Jīvitam*) may be also noticed. The following terms occur :

Ārāytci śeyvār

Taṇḍalnāyagam

Ūr Kaṇakku

Paḍai Kaṇakku, Tantra kaṇakku

The first term Araytci śeyvar could be rendered as executives who attended to the affairs of the soldiery. The Taṇḍalnāyagam were the Revenue Supervisors of the Township and attend to the collection of land dues and rentals. They invariably figure in grants made by the *jīvitam* holders from their lands or of assignments of the whole or part of the land dues or distributed levies decided by the *Ūr* or the garrison.

The *Ūr kaṇakku* is the Township-accountant. He attended to the land and revenue accounts of the Township as a whole of which *Jīvitam* or the occupant holding of army men was a part. Sometimes the soldiery itself had an accountant of its own (*Paḍai kaṇakku*). It is noticed that the incumbents in the cases cited were different. They could have been one and the same in smaller units of holdings. The '*tantra kaṇakku*' was the accountant of a garrison.

These suggestions can be offered as suitable. Interpretations to be confirmed by further evidence. The data presented help to have an idea of the organisation of the armed forces under the Pāṇdyas their spread, their functioning, the management of the affairs of the land-holdings and the conveyance of the part - interests from the land-dues and yield from *jīvitam* lands for charitable purposes and religious institutions.

It may be noted that the *Jīvitam* tenure was for contingent service or an estate upon condition. As such it is terminable or can be exchanged for other lands. But the force of 'longue duree' acted as a deterrent and in some of the cases cited there is almost continuous evidence punctuating the period from the late 12th Century to the end of the 13th Century.

FOOT NOTES :

1. Please see 43 . 1931-32 - Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai. It refers to one Kañai-irukkai-nāṭṭu Mānayūr Tiruvudaiyān Dēvapurān alias Rājagandagōpālar who had the jīvitam of Ēḷur Sēmbi Nāḍu. Also 44 / 1931-32
2. For the history of Viraiyāccilai please see my "Pudukkōṭṭai Studies" and pp.156-162 of my "Collected Papers".
3. SII V / 417 - Tirunelvēli
4. SII V / 452
5. SII V / 454
6. Ibid / 451
7. 353 / 1959-60
8. 354 / 1959-60
9. SII XIV / 167
10. Ibid / 170
11. 401 / 1907
12. 20 / 1905
13. 542 / 1916
11. SII XIV / 189. His name is Parākrama Nārāyaṇa Brahmaśrīrājan.
15. The Cōḷas - II/Pt. 1 (1933 Edition) p. 226
16. The Mūṇṇukai Tiruvēḷaikkāran also in similar terms undertake the protection of Dalādayap perumballī in Polannaṇuva in Śrī Lanka. They claim the Mātantirattōnkuḍi (i.e. regiments of soldiers) who claim their ancestors as Vaḷaṇṇiyar and those who hand in hand with them (eṅgalōḍu Kūḍivarum) Nagarattār uḷḷiṭṭār and the Buddhist shrine named after them was under their protection.
E I XVIII - pp. 336-337 for text of the Polannaṇuva inscription of Vijayabāhu.
17. SII V / 753 They also occur in an inscription from Ūrmēlaḷagiyān (Tenkāsi taluk) - 616-1917.
The temple or an endowment of sheep in Muttuliṅgapuram (Nallamaṇam) in Tirumaṅgalam Taluk was under the protection of Padaipiditta Pallāyiravar. This fragment is dated in the reign of Cōḷan Talai Koṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya. This indicates that this armed force had existed even prior to the advent of the Cōḷas (ARE 272:63-64) Pl. see **infra**.
18. 540 / 1916
19. 542 / 1916
20. 320 / 1923 - Tirukkōṣṭiyūr
21. 161 / 1935-36 - Kunnakkuḍi
22. The Cōḷas - Vol II / pt. 1 p. 15
23. Please see my paper on this inscription in my "Collectd Papers" pp. 104 pp.

24. 401 / 1907
25. 47 / 1929 Also 27 / 1929 Sivapuri
26. 134 / 1908
27. 467 / 1962-63. Also 326, 327 / 1961-62 all from Madurai referring to the new grants for deities and maṭhas in honour of the Hoysāḷa rulers.
28. 261 / 1928 Nāngunēri
29. 265 / 1928
30. 253 / 1928 (AD 1229)
31. SII V / 417
32. 633 / 1916
33. 467 / 1916
34. SII V / 418
35. 554 / 1916 - Pattamaḍai
36. 559, 560 / 1916 - Pattamaḍai
The reading "Dēsamanikkanallūr Padiyilār" seems to require further check. The rendering made here fits in with the context."
37. 588 / 1916 Pl. see my paper on "Kariśūḷndamaṅgalam" in the "Collected Papers". p. 127
38. 429, 430 / 1916
39. 424 / 1916
40. 439 / 1916
41. 423 / 1916, from Attalanallūr registers the gift of the house to the Vināyaka deity named after Jagatoppagaṅḍar by men who had the supervision over the army."
42. 433 / 1916
43. 482 / 1916 - Pāppākkuḍi
44. 532 / 1916
45. 526, 527 / 1917
46. 523, 524, 525 / 1911
47. 523 / 1911
48. 525 / 1911
49. Tiruvōymoḷi - 8 - 2 - 4
50. Eg. 223 / 1933 (AD 1107)
51. Eg. 229 / 1933
52. 231 / 1923

53. 232 / 1933 - After the signatory for the 8th division there is a gap in the transcript of the inscription and it is not known if the last signatory signed for any additional division.
54. The term seems to be Vāḷam and not "vaḷavam" vide 241, 242/1933.
55. 229 / 1933. The correct name of the scribe should be as in 242/1933 given in brackets.
56. 241 / 1933
57. The dancing girl is named Sivagnānasambanda Talaikōli in 231/1923. Her name appears in 242/1923 as Nakkam Udaiya nācciyār alias Śivasi (Śri)gnānasambanda Talaikōli. Moreover the signatories in the two documents 229/1933, 242/1933 are mostly identical.
58. 43 / 1933
59. SII XIV / 267
60. 407 / 1916 Pl. see p. 35 of my "Rājendra Viṅṅagar".
61. 396 / 1917
62. 390 / 1917
63. 394 / 1917
64. 391 / 1917 - Confer. The signatories to the Mannārkkōil document above 407 / 1916. Please see pp. 35-36 of my "Rājendra Viṅṅagar".
65. Please see my Historical Geography of the "Pāṇḍya Kingdom" (Part - I)
66. 395 / 1917
67. SII XIV / 267
68. "Foreign Notices of South India" - p. 165
69. Ibid p.128
70. 524 / 1916
71. 525 / 1916
72. 398 / 1916 Pl. see pp. 33-34 of my "Rājendra Viṅṅagar".
73. 616 / 1917
74. 615 / 1917
75. 582 / 1915
76. 586 / 1915
77. 610 / 1915
78. SII XXVI - 468
79. SII XXVI - 477
80. Ibid - 478
81. SII XXVI - 476, 478

82. 272 / 1963-64 Muttulingapuram
83. 500 / 62-63 (AD 1014)
503 / 62-63 (AD 1018)
506 / 62-63 (AD 1022)
505 / 62-63 (AD 1026)
507 / 62-63 (AD 1030)
84. 477 / 1962-63
85. 479 / 1962-63
86. 684 / 1905
87. 330 / 1918 Tirumōhūr
88. SII VIII / 410
89. Ibid / 418
90. SII VIII / 416
91. 301 / 1955-56
92. 302 / 1955-56
93. Monier Williams - Sanskrit Dictionary p. 593
94. Ibid p. 436
95. Pl. See pp. 319-321 of my "Collected Papers" Also Foreign notices - pp. 166-167

CHAPTER - VII

IRRIGATION IN THE PĀṆDYAN TOWNSHIPS

This study analyses the data gathered from inscriptions on irrigation in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. In a study of this nature chronology is of significance to note the evolution and development of practices. For one thing, irrigation sources systems and modes, rights and practices were rooted in customary usage and prescription. They were seldom allowed to be changed unless under compelling circumstances or the custom had ceased or had been rendered incapable of performance. As Prof. Maitland observed "there was an indefinite definiteness of rights" in the customary law of the medieval times and it could be contrasted with the "definite indefiniteness" of the enacted statutory law of the modern times. So then chronology serves as an aid for rather than an essential ingredient of presentation in a subject of this nature.

The core of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom comprising the districts of Tirunelvēli, Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai have varied tracts; the characteristics of each tract and even within differ. In every district there is a river ribbon on either bank of which wet cultivation through canals flourished. But the genius of the Pāṇḍyan population secured a triumph over nature. They constructed weirs at a higher elevation of the river course and took long canals with capillaries therefrom to feed tanks. Also the surplus of the higher up source afforded the supply for the lower down tank till the very extremity where a large reservoir or a tank conserved as much as possible of the flood flows allowing only the inevitable surplus to flow to the sea. We have the instances of Kadamba tank at the Tāmbraparaṇi estuary the Rāmanāthapuram and Rajasiṅga Maṅgalam Tanks in the Vaigai and the Vaigai-Nāttārkāl-end in Rāmanāthapuram the Viḷathikuḷam, Vaipar tanks in Sāttūr, Inland tanks in the course of Saṅmugānadi like Tiruvaikāvūr, Āykuḍi and Sinnamanūr on the Śuriliyāru course could also be cited.

The residual flow of the waters to the sea was however adequate for the sea crafts and boats to enter the roadstead. Inscriptional evidence of a number of roadsteads at the east coast from Kumarimuttam (Cape Comorin) all along the Tiruccendūr coast. Vīrapāṇḍyanpattanam, Korikai, Paḷaiyakāyal and Toṇḍi and others similar ports on the Tiruvāḍānai Coast testify to the utility of the roadsteads and the sea faring activity of the residents therein as well as those from abroad, like the Arabs the Moors and the Egyptians touching the coast. This serves to indicate the natural flows of the rivers at their confluence were still enough to foster economic and commercial activity.

In tracing the manner of water use from rivers we mentioned the weirs and the canals taking off from them feeding a chain of tanks. This system had several inherent advantages. First no river, stream or jungle streams was left unharnessed to productive use. We have already noticed the significant but typical contribution of Iluppaikuḍi Kiḷavan in dealing with the early Pāṇḍyan townships. His was a pioneer effort to maximise the utility of flash flows in an otherwise arid and black cotton soil area. It was an index to show how development of irrigation had taken place in the early history of the tract and was coeval with the settlements therein.

Secondly, the weirs constructed in a services at all advantageous locations progressively such as at the joining of tributaries or a gradient from which the flows could be drawn and transmitted to a long chain of tanks. This allowed for all flood and flash flows to be utilised to the maximum. At the same time, the series of weirs was a safeguard for water use in sequence ensuring equitable distribution. The chain of tanks with cascading flows for supply again served the same end of filling every tank before every lower one got its supply.

The whole course of the river Vaigai from Tiruvēdagam to Rāmanāthapuram filling a number of tanks on the south bank of the Vaigai is an excellent example of this system. Kondagai, Tiruppūvaṇam, Mārṇād, Kaṭṭikulam, Tirupaccētti, Kiruṅgākkōṭṭai, Mānāmadurai, Ilaiyāṅguḍi and a number of other Townships eating to this period are fed by the tanks bearing these names. They not only have individual channels of supply taking off the river Vaigai but the surplus of every higher up source feeds the tanks lower down in a chain or feed smaller tanks (ēndals) enroute. The obligation to fill up the higher up tanks and letting only water through the surplus course (as in some Tambraparni channel systems) might act to the detriment of the tail-end locations.

Their difficulty was met by adoption of turns (Muṛai) and even distribution of hours of supply (Nīr-Nāḷigai).¹ This ensured equitable supply and distribution. Another mode of ensuring equity was the allocation of lands in the head-reaches (Talai) middle (naḍu) and tail ends (Kaḍai) of the aycut, so that every occupant could have some parcels of the best, middling and last grades of supply conditioning productivity.

The stern system of turns was almost inflexible. Any transgression was visited with communal arbitration and frown instances are cited below from the epigraphs. Individual transgressions were relieved by invoking community action or alternatively led to feuds and fury even leading to killings. Lex Talionis was an accepted mode of redressal in the medieval times.

Secondly the tanks served an even better purpose. They helped to harvest rain water store and conserve it. Every tank had catchment areas ahead or on its side and

they filled up the tank with local fall. The tanks then were the effective source of water conservation and management optimising together the local realisation of rain water and the flood flows from the rivers or streams. They also ensured conservation of moisture and even foreshore lands were suitably cultivated with short-term crops like vegetables or irrigated dry crops.

The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom in this respected a contrast to the Cōḷa heartland where canal irrigation from the Cauvery was the only mode. If the upland monsoon failed and the freshes of the rivers dwindled or if the local rainfall was scarce, there was crop failure and distress.² In the Pāṇḍyan river basins the conjunctive use of river and rain water and storage system of tanks spread all along the available gradient helped to minimise distress of which one does not hear so often in the river tracts though in dry upland rainfed tracts this was noticeable.

In the Cōḷa river tract dry spells after the monsoon, and in mid-monsoon periods when flows got reduced and even drawing spells of rains in the monsoon if the fall was inadequate difficulty was experienced and yield got affected.

In the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom the tanks were an insurance against such dry spells reducing yield. They served as buffer storages and irrigation could be continuous irrespective of monsoon fall subject only to the storage capacity of tanks and the extent irrigated. This could also be one of the reasons apart from soil fertility for the generally higher yield,³ noticed in the Tāmbraparaṇi tract as compared with the Cauvery delta.

The tanks were a contrast to the modern engineering technique of building reservoirs at the foothills. The spread of tanks their gradient and sequence and number ensured a more evenly distributed and orderly supply. They also had multipurpose use for the community's daily requirements for bathing washing and for cattle. The tanks also helped the subsoil water recharge and in the summer or dry spells of short supply the wells, some sunk in the tankbed itself, afforded essential supply. Invariably such wells helped raise seedings. Tanks had other uses: the silt, the excavated earth was deposited on fields. It was incumbent on every occupant or his cultivator (kuḍi) to excavate the tank (Kulavettu) or deepen it and remove silt. The proceeds of the fisheries accrued to the community which invariable were utilised for tank upkeep and maintenance the surplus if any, being used for community purposes for celebrating the festivals of the village deities, Ayyanār or other Gods.

The impression should not be hastily gathered that the custom the conservation and the inflexibility of modes described acted as an impediment or deterrent against progressive extension of irrigation or wet cultivation. Far from it, the epigraphic evidence of the whole period from the 10th to 13th century is conclusive that attempts were

continuously made for the progressive extension of the ayacuts reclamation of land to wet and economy in the use of water and for accommodating new or additional uses by diverting the surplus water or taking off an extensional branch (Kavar) from the surplus course of the tank higher up or laterally. The community was conscious of such needs and possibilities and acted collectively. Conservative as they were in their instinct they were progressive in their determination.

We have described above by and large, the characteristic mode of irrigation in riverine tracts. The tanks were even more numerous in the rainfed areas, though necessarily and generally smaller in size. Instances could be cited from the uplands of Tenkāsi, Kōvilpaṭṭi and Saṅkaran Kōil Taluks. But there again the progressive tendency to conserve water, extend irrigation and bring lands under wet reclaiming lands was noticed.

These upland tracts had also widely used wells either as a primary source or for supplemental irrigation. The lands with wells more valued and better priced. Also a well by itself, even as water from the tanks was sold as “*nīrvilai*” Consideration was shown for lift irrigation and the labour involved in the rates of levy fixed cropwise for the *Kadamai* payable to the King or any assignee.

A general account of the modes of irrigation has been given above. These are illustrated below. In addition layout of the ayacut under the channels and under the tanks the breaches that occurred and how they were repaired the maintenance of irrigation sources and the community obligations are all described besides well irrigation as gleaned from the epigraphic evidence.

Even prior to the 10th century irrigation channels, tanks and well irrigation this last especially in the upland areas of Kaḷugumalai (Ner̥kunṛam) tract had been assiduously established and utilised. Their earlier development prior to the 10th century has been brought out in Chapter II.

Two inscriptions from Mannārkōil of the 13th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya (AD 1030) bring out the types or modes of irrigation in describing the wet lands purchased and endowed to Rājendra Viṅṅagar, the Viṣṇu temple erected in about AD 1021 by the Cēra ruler Rājasimha in the Pāṇḍya tract: the deity was named after the Cōḷa Suzerain.¹

The lands sold lay in between to the north of the Tāmbraparaṇi (Taṅ Porundam alias Mudigoṇḍa Cōḷappērāru) and south Gaṭana river (Rājarājappērāru). They were double crop, river fed (Aṛuppāccal), reclaimable land (Maḷukkāḍu) capable of being riverfed. Drylands (reclaimable) river fed double crop lands in Kōnāḍu (Kaḍayam), Pulkulam a tank excavated in a hamlet apparently by a merchant-benefactor

(Vārimāyilletti ēri) and its command (puṛankarai) on the other side of the bund, single crop land the land in its foreshore being a part of a water spread (Ikkulattagam Pū nīr kōvai nilam).⁵

The second inscription⁶ refers also to the double crop riverfed lands to the back of the bund of the Pulkuḷam referred to.

Thus, wet lands were directly fed by river channels, taking off from the weirs thrown across the river to allow gradient flow. The tanks could also be fed by such river channels to store water. Alternatively there were purely rainfed tanks. Of course conjunctive storage of the river water and the flow from the immediate catchment ahead or on the sides was widely resorted to. The appreciation of the moisture content of soils and use was intense. Hence the foreshore cultivation in the tankbeds also prevailed. It is reasonable to presume that the community would not permit the cultivation of such crops as could diminish the tank storage for irrigating the seasonal wet crops. This kind of cultivation would be of such crops of short duration like vegetables like pumpkins or irrigated dry crops as the water receded therefrom or such crops as could be harvested even before the fillings commenced.

In water rich areas, fed by rivers or tanks in the rain shadow region below the ghats there was less need for wells. Wells were however, numerous in the arid uplands in Vāsudēvanallūr, Kōilpaṭṭi, Kaluḡumalai and other tracts. These are dealt with in detail below.

We may illustrate the type of irrigation sources in use. In riverine tracts the most facile and frequent mode was to construct a weir across the stream at a higher elevation and draw a canal at the most favourable contour making use of the natural gradient. They were also connected to tanks especially in the periphery of the river-course.⁸

In the area more dependent on rain the ēmbals or small tanks were common. They were also sometimes located at the extremities of the ayacuts under bigger sources to store the surplus flows as and when available. Local streams like Nāṭṭarkāl were also harnessed to fill them up. This mode was quite common in Rāmanāthapuram District.⁹

Well irrigation and lift irrigation where direct flows were not feasible are noticed in areas where surface irrigation was seasonal or undependable. Such locations are : Vijayanārāyaṇam (despite its big tank)¹⁰ Mēlainilītanallūr¹¹ Vāsudēvanallūr¹² Sōḷapuram (Srivilliputur)¹³ Kunnattūr¹⁴ and Kūttappanippaṭṭi¹⁵ hamlet of Nāvinipatti. Tiruttāṅgaḷ¹⁶ seems to be particularly depending on surface tank irrigation and equally on ground-water and a large number of wells for conjunctive use are noticed therein. In

Kōvilāngulām in a recorded transaction if one well was not enough the vendee could take water from another¹⁷ This township was in Aruppukkōttai Taluk.

We get a clear idea of the layout of the ayacut lands. This differed as between a river-channel command and that under a tank. Under the river channels the sluices were numbered and the parcels of a Oḷugu or traverse location account. Thus in a grant for a Maṭha at Kallidaikkuricci lands given in the southern hamlet of Madilkuricci were to the west of the southern river.

1st Kaṇṇāru	3rd (Śey) field ½ mā
	4th (Śey) field 1 mā
	5th (Śey) field 1 mā
	6th (Śey) field 1 mā
1st Kaṇṇāru	3rd (Śey) - ½ mā
	4th (Śey) - 2 mā
	5th (Śey) - 2 mā
2nd Kaṇṇāru	2nd (Śey) - 1 mā
	3rd (Śey) - 1 mā
	4th (Śey) - 1 mā
	5th (Śey) - 1 mā

This brings out that the standard or average size of a parcel was 1 mā, though due to partitions they could become subdivided. The fragmentation of holdings had however helped the equitable distribution of the lands enjoying irrigational advantages which varied from sluice to sluice.¹⁸ In another inscription¹⁹ from the same township the Dēvadāna lands were located under ten different sluices of a main channel. Nallūr Puravuvāyākkāl.

The lands were also classified as the highest the second and the third according to the rates of assessment borne and the grant comprised lands under different Tarams and not all of one and the same taram.²⁰

In the Vaigai fed Tenkarai lands of Brahmādēya tenure were converted into Dēvadāna and the plots specified. They were irrigated by Bhakta Janālayā channel

(Pilār) taking off from the main canal from the Vaigai river irrigating Pattākuṛicci a western hamlet of Śōlāntaka Cm (Śōlavandān). The following are the lands located: 15th sluice - north of Kūvāṇai channel - Pāḍagam or fields Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (9 fields). To the west of the same channel north of the branch Channel (Vadi) in the 16th (Śadiram or Square) 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (9 fields). To the west of the same channel 17th sluice - north of the branch channel 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 Pāḍagam (9 fields). To the west of the channel, 18th sluice - north of the branch Channel (*vadi*) 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (9 fields). To the west of the same channel 19th square to the north of the branch channel - 12 to 20 *Pāḍagams* (9 fields). To the west of the channel, 20th square - north of the branch channel- *Pāḍagams* 12 to 20 *Pāḍagams* and 23rd *Pāḍagam* - northern bit of 24th *Pāḍagams* (11 fields). To the west of the channel - 21st square - to the north of the channel 12 to 20 *Pāḍagam*. 23rd *Pāḍagam* to the north, 24th *Pāḍagam* (11 fields). To the west of the channel 22nd square to the north of the branch channel - 12 to 17 Pāḍagam (6 fields).

This is an important evidence of the layout of ayacut of the ayacut lands. The Pilār (channel) was flowing north-south from the 15th sluice from the main channel. The branch channel (*vadi*) was flowing east-west. All the ayacut irrigated by it lay to the north of the branch channel. The fields or command fed by a branch channel were divided into blocks (*Sadiram*) or square and (*pāḍagams*) parcels of lands within each blocks were numbered. The maximum number of parcels within each block ran as many as 20 to 24. The inscription is dated in the 3rd year Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (AD 1093).²¹ The total extent of the lands so localised was 3½ *vēli* and *mā*. In all 72 *mā* of lands were located in 73 *pāḍagams*. It can be derived that one *padagam* was about 1 *mā*. This strengthens the presumption that the *padagam* and the *śey* denoted a field which was about 1 *mā*. The whole extent was constituted into a separate unit and named Puravuvariviḷāgam.

If the channel head was located to optimise command the contour was not defied. The numbering of the sluices and of the blocks and the fields within helped maintain *oḷugu* accounts and locate and identify parcels of lands and enjoyment. The “*pāḍagam*” could, perhaps be the equivalent of “*śey*” occurring in the inscriptions elsewhere.

In the tank fed areas as in Uñjanai, the tank, the ayacut and the parcels of land (*Tadi*) by their names are given for localisation and identification.²² The field names often indicated the name of the original reclamer of the land or some local identification mark like Vaṇṇārtiḍal Māñjey etc. Examples of the former are Rāmanārṣey Kūrranūrān śey. Also the particular sluice the high level or middle or low level sluice and sometimes the proper name of the sluice, if it had one is indicated.²³

CONSTRUCTION OF IRRIGATION SOURCES

The construction of irrigation sources was an essential ingredient for any settlement and for bringing lands under cultivation. Wet cultivation was preferred for the staple cereal requirements to be produced. Its higher value was too well recognised compared with the millets. The land assessment on the wet lands was also far higher. As has been pointed out elsewhere:²⁴ The medieval land-grants were themselves the instruments for economic development for extension of cultivation and irrigation. The first act of the community to whom the grant was made or who formed the settlement was to explore and exploit the scope for constructing a weir across the river or stream and excavate canals and take water for irrigation directly through the channel or storing in tanks to be drawn through sluices. In rainfed tracts tank construction of varied sizes from a lake (*pērēri*) to a small pond (*Ēmbal*) were undertaken. If the surface water collection was insufficient and needed supplementation or there was no scope for it wells were sunk. We cite below specific instances from inscriptions:

In the 33rd year of Parāntaka I (AD 940) the Sabhaiyār of Naraśingamaṅgalaṃ a Brahmādēya in Kīliraṇiyamuttam gave a deed to the officer of the Cōla emperor Arunidikaliyan of Marudūr in Puraṅkarambai Nāḍu.²⁵ The latter purchased from the Sabhā land which had also scope for excavating a tank. The deity Naraśingapperumāl of Ānaimalai²⁶ had the obligation to pay 18 *Īlakkāśu*. The Sabhaiyār had received 15 *Īlakkāśu* as deposit to defray one-third of the land due i.e. 6 *Īlakkāśu*. The interest rate works out to a high 40%.

In addition they received the balance of 12 *Īlakkāśu* from the Vendee. The land sold was under Ūrudaiyāṅkuḷam alias Kaliyanēri. The Sabhaiyār allowed the vendee to excavate to the tank and to extend and increase the height of the tank bund as much as he wished. This could enable him to increase the capacity of the tank. In addition the Sabhaiyār allowed him to impound as much quantity of water as he wished consistently with the increased capacity of the tank and thereby irrigate two *vēlis* of land. He had to measure 300 *kalamis* of paddy to the deity.

Tank breaches in floods or heavy rains were common. The lands reverting to nonarable condition or fallows were often noticed. Reclamation efforts were undertaken repeatedly. In Kanyākumari in the 29th year of Mār. Vikrama Cōlapāṇḍya the mahāsabhā (Perumakkal) of Rājarājēśvaram (i.e. the western part of Kumari) resolved and recorded their proceedings (Sabhākārya) as below. A merchant of Kumari (Gaṅgai Koṇḍa Cōlapuram) Āccan Marrili donated an amount of 20 *kāśu* partly collected as subscriptions. The 20 *kāśu* were utilised for reconstructing the Kōṇāḍar kuḷam which had breached in a big flood and was not in use. The Mahāsabhā also allowed a straightcut channel from the . . . laikkūḍi canal.²⁷

In the reign of Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I it was noticed that Mullippallam in Tirukunṛattūr (to the south of Tirunelvēli) had no occupants. The lands were lying waste. On the orders of Vēśālīparaiyar as commanded by the Prince on the request of Tirunelvēli udayan the Sabhaiyār of Uttama Cōḷa Cm in Kīlkaḷakkūrram were inducted into possession.²⁸

The lands were in a facile location. It was surrounded on its south and east by the Uttama Cōḷa channel . . . and the Sabhaiyar were permitted to take the water from the sluice on the Uttama Cōḷa Channel itself and bring back the lands under paddy cultivation. Apart from a levy of 4 *kāśu* and 4 *kalams* of paddy per *mā* the Sabha occupants had no other land dues obligations or any services (*Kuḷimai*) to be rendered.

Another case of the 43rd year of Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1112-13) was in Maṇappaḍaivīḍu, which was then named as Ambalattāḍinallūr which was the eastern hamlet of Uttama Cōḷa Cm referred to above. It was a garrison township. The land granted to Tirunelvēli uḍaiyār though surrounded by two tanks on the south and by an old channel also on the west was lying in a state of a shrub-jungle. These lands too lay to the north of Uttama Cōḷa Vāykkāl. The Mahāsabha regranted this land to the Dēvakanmīes (temple executives); they themselves had to reclaim the land and resume cultivation.²⁹

Reference has already been made to the great benefactions of Iluppaikkuḍi Kīḷavan in constructing weirs tanks channels and importing other amenities during the reign of the early Pāṇḍya ruler Varaguṇa. In course of time they had fallen into disuse and needed repairs. In the 32nd year of Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1102-3) the tanks in Ālaṅguḍi land in Iluppaikkuḍi - there were several of them - in Iruñjō Nāḍu became defunct as the inlet channel from the river (Vaippāru) had for long been damaged and could not draw water. One of the Araiyaṅs belonging to the household servants of Ālagiyapāṇḍya Karunīlakkuḍi Nāḍālvār re-excavated the open head channel to enable it to draw water. The *Ūrār* of Ālaṅguḍi gratefully granted him a tax-free land of 1 *mū* under Perrānēri and black soil land 10 *mū*³⁰ in extent.

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga I a land resurvey was undertaken and strenuous efforts to reclaim lands for productive cultivation and thereby augment land revenue were noticed.³¹ This activity conspicuous as it was in the Cōḷa country could also be noticed in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom though the Cōḷa authority was on the verge of slipping away therefrom.

About the same time (3rd year of Mār. Śrīvallabha (Circa AD 1093) a dam was constructed by Ūraṇi Araiyaṅ Madurāntakan alias Karunīlakkuḍi Nāḍālvār of Iruñjō nāḍu³² and to mark the bund of the tank (anaikuri) a stone was set up. From the

use of the term “*Ūraṇi*” it could be inferred it was a drinking water source or a public utility. This slab is found at Veppilaippaṭṭi a village in the same location.

The most conspicuous example of the canalisation of water the established rights and the attempt of constructing a new wein to which the lower riparian objected and had to be abandoned consequently comes from Kōil Kuruvitturai on the southern bank of Vaigai.

Already canal irrigation from Vaigai through Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Kāl had been well developed. In addition canals had been taken to irrigate lands in Cōlāntaka Cm (Cōlavandān) lowerdown. In an attempt to bring under wet cultivation a Sarvakratukkaḷ got a royal grant and constructed a weir near Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi at a higher level above the weir from which the Cōlāntaka Cm occupants took water. The Brahmin occupants went to Madurai, waited on the king and objected to this new construction which would interfere with the flow of water to the lowerdown lands. The king Jaṭ. Śrīvallaḅha upheld their objection and the new weir was demolished and filled with earth. The established ayacuts were assured of their supply.³³

We have already noticed the Vāḷilār of Sulivaraḱaṇḱan collectively excavated a tank and formed an ayacut and endowed it to the temple.³⁴ In another instance it was an individual who reclaimed old waste land and provided irrigation and granted it to a Brahmin migrant from Cōḷa maṇḱalam.³⁵

In Tirumaṅgalakkuṛicci, (Circa 12th Century) a sluice was constructed by Sādujanāśrayan Kōśalai Nāḱāḷvan Nīlakaṅṱan Niraniṅṱān.³⁶ In the same place in 13th year of Māṛ. Sundara one Poneraināyar alias Koḱiyērrunambi Poduvan of Malaimaṇḱalam constructed a sluice in the Sundarapāṇḱya Pērēri (lake) in Venṛumudiśūḱiya Sundarapāṇḱya Cm in Āri nāḱu.³⁷

Reclamation effort was frequently resorted to in the uplands of Kōilpaṭṭi and the dry tracts in Rāmanāthapuram. In Tirukkaḷakkuḱi the Maramudalis sold land being their collective holdings of the township. Rāṅḱendra Cōḷan Kudikkāḱu and Śēḷiyan ēmbal in a public auction to a Bhaṭṭa a priest in the temple. The sale deed stipulated that the vendee could fill up the tanks included in sale property. He could excavate a channel west wards to afford or augment supplies. He could also fill up and store water to the maximum water level of the tank.³⁸ In one case the vendee was permitted to club two tanks into one to augment supplies and to provide better command.³⁹

A Dēvadāna tank Uṅṱanai had several sluices in Tirumēni aḷagiya Nallūr. The priests and the temple executives could not raise crops, nor construct irrigation sources. Year after year the lands were lying waste and consequently there was no yield to

conduct services and make offerings to the deity. They hence sold the land to one Śōlaimalaiperumāḷ alias Maṅ Śumandān of Śirukambūr (Poyyāmolīnallūr) in Vaḍapāmbāru in Milalai Kurram for him to reclaim the lands.⁴⁰

A record of the 6th year Mār, Sundara I (AD 1222) specifically provide that as per the ancient custom in vogue the Polināngudi Tank lying in the midst of dry lands to the south of the temple precincts of Tirumattukkarai nāyanār shall continue to receive inflows from Mattilāru.^{40A}

In the uplands of Rāmanathāpuram, even drinking water and conserving rains was more important than irrigation sources. In AD 1193 an ūraṇi was constructed at Aruppukōttai by Aruḷālagappeumāḷ son of Cōḷa Gaṅga of Tiruvālavāyudaiyān⁴¹ Añjādaperumāḷ excavated a canal to the east of an ūraṇi for water to flow : the ūraṇi perhaps, was excavated by a merchant-chief (Paṭṭaṇasvāmi) at Ilayāthākudi.⁴²

In the 11th year of Vīrapāṇḍya the king granted a tax-free land ½ mā in extent for the maintenance of an ūraṇi (*Ūraṇippuṇam*) excavated by Aruputhakūttan of Iraṇiyūr.⁴³ The *Ūrār* of Iraṇiyūr followed suit, undertook to defray the residual taxdues on the ½ mā from the collective funds of the township.⁴⁴

In Tirunelvēli a tank had breached and ayacut had been laid waste. A devotee purchased the land. He hailed from Tālaikkudi in Malaimaṇḍalam. As the lands had to be reclaimed the earlier levy of 14 *accu* was reduced and an immutable levy of Kalañju per year was fixed to be paid after the tank was restored and the lands were reclaimed.⁴⁵ In Kallidaikkuricci in the 11th year of Mār, Vikrama (Circa pre 1190) 6½ mā were sold by the Mahāsabha to the temple. But the lands had an irrigational disadvantage.

Neither the initial fresh supplies nor the last few wettings could be had; hence the duration of the availability of water was shorter than others. Hence, a concession of 2 *accu* was granted and the Tarappaḍi Accu 13 was fixed as the basis for the sale price.⁴⁶ The King too granted a remission of taxes including *antarāyam* on this land.⁴⁷ Another way of meeting such differential advantages in irrigation was to grant lands under the head sluice or reaches, under the mid-sluice and the tail end in a mix.⁴⁸

From the evidence above it is clear that there was no state outlay on the construction of works. The King's Officers and the Chieftains had taken interest in creating and reconstructing sources, strengthening the bunds and in increasing the capacity of the tanks, ponds and *urams* for drinking water. Almost remission of levies due was granted. But in the medieval times customary labour rendered free public utilities was common and the beneficiaries could be enjoined upon to construct weirs

benefitting their lands, excavate canals, and tanks even in areas far ahead or beyond their own residential townships or in which the lands lay. Labour should have been comparatively cheap too inferring from the known level of wages a pair of clothings per year and food-for the garden tenders or for workers reclaiming lands.

The role of the community, their physical contribution of labour and their responsibilities for the upkeep of the public utilities are even more evidenced in the maintenance of the irrigation sources. Of course damages due to acts of God or Nature, beyond the capacity of the local community were attended to with the benefaction of interested individuals or chiefs or others.

We now examine the evidence from inscription in specific cases and how they were implemented.

In the 12th year of Jat. Śrīvallabha (AD 1102) there was heavy downpour in the month of Māṣī (February-March) rather unusually. The Manōmayan ēri, the big tank of Vijayanārāyaṇa Cm breached to the West of the Western sluice; there were 32 breaches also in the supply channel to the tank. The tank was fed by the Nāttār (Nambiār) and a few streams taking off from the Nāngunēri uplands. The flash flows of summer rains were too heavy that year. These were not repaired until Nambi Śāṅkaran Vāsudēvan of Turuthimaṅgalam who was managing the affairs of Ravi Kōdaivarman the Venādu ruler. In grateful recognition of this public service the Mahāsabha of the Brahmādēya named the supply channel as Śrīvāsudēvapērāru, and the bund as Vāsudēvan big bund. To further maintain the bund and attend to its embankment in future the benefactor Vāsudēvan also purchased a land ($3\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṁi*) and endowed it. It yielded for 2 crops 4 *kalamis* which the occupants of the land were to measure towards the future maintenance. The land so purchased were in 2 parcels, to the south of Tirunīlakaṅṅan canal east of the mid-field channel taking off from the 8th canal, in the first pāḍagam and 2nd pāḍagam.⁴⁹

This was too heavy a breach beyond the capability of the Mahāsabhā collective action. The manager of the affairs of the neighbouring Vēnādu ruler who had apparently interests here closed the breaches and strengthened the bund. He also participated in the proceedings of the Mahāsabhā in implementing the Cōḷa ruler Kulōttuṅga I's order granting tax free lands in AD 1101.⁵⁰

He had purchased lands too from his own funds and endowed them for future maintenance.

In passing, we may notice the increasing benefactions by the migrants from Kerala or those who sought service from Malaimaṅḍalam under the rising Pāṇdyas. This trend

was particularly noticed after the time of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara and during the reign of Mār. Sundara I.

One Senbagappērai Nāyar of Malaimaṇḍalam provided for the sacred bath of the Vānamāmalai emberumāḷ in AD 1236.⁵¹

A certain Palliccai Vikraman Ādiccadēvan alias Aghōra Dēva of Malaimaṇḍalam completed the building of the temple of Tirukkotīsvaram - Udaiyār which had been left unfinished at Ūrkāḍu - also in the same reign.⁵²

In the 5th year of Mār. Vikraman, Seṅgodikkunṇan Sakrāyudan alias Vikramapāṇḍyapanman of Malaimaṇḍalam gifted a land for the services in Malayāḍikuricci temple. The King at the request of his brother-in-law remitted the land dues while being seated at Alliyūr (Valliyūr)⁵³

The great fillip to grant lands for occupancy reclamation of lands and settlements given by Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara was already noticed in an earlier Chapter. In about the 14th year of his reign (AD 1204) while the King was seated in his palace at Madurai the Sabhaiyār of Suttamalli alias Vīravīnōda Cṁ supplicated to him. One among the Brahmin residents presumably, Karāmbicceṭṭu Ālvān-Bhatta Atirātraiyājjiyār represented to the King that the tank in their village needed to be excavated and deepened (*kuḷam Kallavēnumenru*). The tank was itself named after the King, Kulaśēkharappērēri. For deepening the tank the King donated per year 1000 Dramam from out of the Antarāya dues tendered to the King by the Brahmin occupants. The King further ordered that this permanent remission order be shown to the temple authorities and the accountants of Tirunelvēli deity (to whom apparently the *Kaḍamai* dues from the Brahmadēya lands were granted already.⁵⁴

This was a special grant. The deepening of the tank and silt clearance could have been more than what the customary labour of the service holders could render. There was no regular maintenance grant otherwise, but this grant was on a specific request of an influential Brahmin resident for repairs beyond their own capacity and perhaps, resources.

In the 17th year of the same ruler (AD 1207) the Mahāsabha of Nigarilicōḷa Cṁ resolved that from the proceeds of *Kaḍamai* apportioned levies (*vinīyōgam*) Nīrttūṇi (*Tīṇi* paddy for water) *māttūṇi* (*Tīṇi* paddy per *mā*) and all other levies from $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* and *mundirikai* be utilised for supplying and depositing one stone per day in the Tirumañjana Turai (the place of ghat in the river from which water was taken for bathing the deity) in order to raise the level of water (*Alaiyērru*) because the depth of water in the river flow was not adequate to get clear and flowing water. The endowment was made out of the tax proceeds of a land purchased by one Śrīvallabha

Parasurāmar from the Mahāsabhā for being denoted to the temple as “*Kārāṇmai dēvadāna*.”⁵⁵

This was, perhaps an exceptional case where the Nīrttūṇi (the paddy due for water) was remitted. In two other cases, while other items of minor levies and apportioned levies were remitted - the Nīrttūṇi was specifically excepted (Nīrttūṇi nīṅgalaka)⁵⁶. In these two cases the lands were wet and irrigated and yielding and as such the levy of Nīrttūṇi being a water regulatory or maintenance charge was insisted upon.

A grant from Pāppākkudi⁵⁷ stipulated that from the paddy yield, about 1 *kalam*, *Tūṇi* and the fishery rentals from Śālaikkulam Tank, the first charge was to utilise it for the deepening of the tank and for the repairs to the sluices. The balance of the yield was assigned for constructing a hall in the temple.

Attention paid to the tank maintenance is equally attested by inscriptions of the reign of Mār. sundara Pāṇḍya.

A thirteenth century epigraph from Mānūr recorded that two persons had fallen and died in the Turai (ghat) of Madurāntakappērāru (presumably the kal feeding Mānūr tank from Cittāru) and a third Śāttappan had entered into the low level sluice to open the sluice and died.⁵⁸ It should be noted that the sluices were constructed a short distance from the bund inside the tank or channel and to open the sluice, one had to swim and dive inside and lift the stone boulder or shutter. In the process, this sluice-operator had died. 3 *mā* of land in all was granted by the Nāḍāḷvan and the Mahāsabha granted it as Iraiyili to Śāttappan and the other two deceased and their successors in title.

In the 9th year of Mār. Sundara the Mahāsabhā of Mānūr resolved as requested by the executive looking after the affairs of the township - one Kēraḷādiccadēvan alias Kōrai Śēndan of Kuḍamaṅgalam in Malaimaṅḍalam for the merit of the Vēnādu Chief, Tiruppāpūr mūtta Tiruvaḍi. A Sabhā niyōga granted the paddy at stipulated rates on the land-dues bearing-lands fed by the tank for excavating the tank bed and for filling revetment stones (Kuṇḍutōrum Kuḷiyum vetṭi Kallum mērpitṭu).⁵⁹

In the 11th year of Mār. Sundara I, an order was issued “fixing the taxes to be levied on the dēvadāna and other lands belonging to the temples of Arikēsariśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār and Iyalkāṭṭiśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār at Kaḷakkūḍi for the annual deepening and upkeep of the tank called Parāntakappēreri irrigating them”. (AD 1227)⁶⁰

Unfortunately, the text is not available and the specific details of the land levies fixed are not known. But it is clear that the maintenance of the tank and its deepening were purely the obligation of the ayacut-lands and occupants and not that of the State. Also it is surmised the “extra levies” did not abridge the payments due to the King

as the customary land levies like *kaḍamūi*. Even *dēvadāna* lands were not exempted from the levies.

In AD 1232 (16th year of Mār. Sundara I), It was recorded that the *Dēvadāna* lands under the tank Sri Parāntakappērēri and the shares of the service holders together measured *Tūni*, 5 *mā śey* against which 2 *Kuḷi* of the waterspread had to be desilted per year. In addition 30 kalams of lease rental per year and the 70 kalams of fishery rental per year were also to be utilised for desilting and excavation of the tank during the off season i.e. from Citrai (April-May) to Ani (June-July) months, and these excavated portions shall be measured to the satisfaction of the temple authorities, the priests, the Superintendent of Sri Mahēśvara Kaṅkāṇi and the officers of Sundarapandya.⁶¹

Mention has been made already of the weirs, across rivers and streams and *calingulas* on tanks from which the surplus course takes off. These appears to have had guards to watch that no breaches occurred and immediate repair work was undertaken. The Aṇai Kāppār (the watchman of the anicuts) sold one of their lands granted for their needs (*Tēvai*). Six such watchmen who sold the lands were all illiterate. They were said to be engaged in the service of the deity of Tirunelvēli but residing at Maṇavarkurici.⁶²

The dry uplands of Rāmanāthapuram depended more on rains and even drinking water and water for sacred bath of the deities had to be conserved in ponds or tanks specially constructed. Their maintenance also needed proper attention we have a few instances of the care bestowed on such works.

In Śivapuri, in the 5th year of Vikrama Pāṇḍya the *Dēvakanmīes* of the temple were themselves to supervise and collect the *Mēlvāram* from the occupant-tenants holding two specified lands which shall be utilised for the maintenance of a tank Tirumēniaḷagiyaṅ as *Kuḷappaṭṭi*.⁶³ Perhaps this was a tank supplying water to the temple and the township.

So too in the 20th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara-I (AD 1288) the temple executives were enjoyed to collect the *Mēlvāram* from some other parcels and under their supervision deepen a new *Punyavāṭṭi ēmbal* excavated by a benefactor.⁶⁴

An artisan, Vīra Śīrandān Ānandanāḍan had purchased land under the Śāikkaḷūr Tank Vairavadaraiyar. This was for the purpose of maintaining the pool within from which the water for the second bath of the deity was taken the steps and the bathing ghat of the tank. In recognition of the public service the Ūrār of Śāikkaḷūr in Perumbū Nādu rendered it as *īṟaiyili* and entered the land as such in the revenue register.⁶⁵

The Tirumukkuḷam in Śrīvilliputtūr is a famous tank where the festival of Āṇḍal in the month of Mārgaḷi is performed. The Mahāsabhā of the township met and resolved that every year all able-bodied men shall for every person excavated 1 big Kuḷi and dig a small kuḷi in the feeding channel for the tank. This was in the reign of Kulaśēkhara.⁶⁶ This tank even today is the principal bathing place and water source for Srivilliputtūr.

A Kōnērinmai koṇḍān grant separated the lands held by Bhagavati Vinṇagar Aḷvar and accounted for it separately as “*Viṣṇu Citta Viḷāgam*” and assigned miscellaneous revenue as Dēvadāna. It stipulated however that grant will include the tank water spread and the canal which fed the tank “with the waters of Tirumalai (a hillock) nearby from the ancient times” thus carefully ensuring the customary rights of taking water for the tank even when a regrant constituting it into a separate revenue village was made.⁶⁷

Kālaiyārkōil is in the dry uplands of Sivagaṅgai Taluk. The endowed tanks and ayacuts were prone to be breached and rendered uncultivable due to heavy rains and flash flows or alternatively due to drought. In the 40th year of Mār. Kulasekhara-I (AD 1308) a dancing girl of the temple of Tirukkāṇappēr (Kālaiyārkōil) had purchased 3 Dēvadāna tanks from another dancing girl. The purchase included 3 tanks waterspread, waste lands, wet lands, dry nattam and nattam waste and the supply channels to the tanks. These tanks had sometime earlier got breached, the lands were waste and the supply channel had become obliterated. The purchaser had to excavate and reconstruct the tank, reclaim the land render it fit for wet cultivation. In consideration thereof, the lands could not bear the prior assessment. It was rendered *Iṟaiyili* and 2 *kalams* of paddy for the *Kār* crop on lands which had come to yield and for the 3 tanks, cash levy of ½ *accu* (equal to 14 paṇams) for the sandal paste offering to the deity were the only rates of land-dues to be levied on concessional terms. And all other levies were remitted according to the orders of the King (king’s brother) Vīra Pāṇḍya. The *Ūrār* executed the order and directed it to be engraved accordingly.⁶⁸ It may be mentioned in passing, the dancing girls attached to temples were generally noticed to have capital resources sufficient to undertake such public works.

We already noticed several other instances of such reclamation of land and tank restoration. These works had to be undertaken, repeatedly, in the red sandy and loamy soils of the uplands of Rāmanāthapuram, which were prone to severe cyclonic storm and rains breaching the tanks or severe drought. In this respect, the tract shared the characteristics of Pudukkōṭṭai. The inferences drawn from the evidence therein will be equally applicable to this tract.⁶⁹

In the 4th year of Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I (AD 1230) in Kunnattūr (Madurai Taluk) a breach had occurred in between Iluppai maḍai sluice and sappaimalai, presumably because of the flash flows from the immediate catchment. The breach was closed by a benefactor from Malaimaṇḍalam (Kerala) Ventalaiccēri Kaṇḍan Kōthai alias Aḷagiyarāma Pallavaraiyan. He might have been a native of Kerala who might have sought service under the Pāṇḍya ruler.⁷⁰

In Ulagāṇi (Tirumaṅgalam) Tank, there was an earlier perhaps oral order that the cash proceeds in (*accu*) from fishery rentals (Pāśipāṭṭam) from the tanks in the village shall be utilised for the deepening of the irrigation tanks. Kaṇḍiya Devan (a Chieftain under Mār. Sundara I and II) gave a written deed that the proceeds of the fishery rentals shall be defrayed for the deepening and silt-clearance of the tanks every year.⁷¹

A similar order permitting the utilisation of the lease rentals from fisheries in the tank (ērippāṭṭam) in Rājacūdamaṇi Cm for the deepening and silt cleanance of the tank in the 9th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya was recorded at Kullāpuram (Periyakuḷam taluk)⁷²

In Āykuḍi in Vaikarināḍu, the garrison (Paḍaiyār) of Sundara Pāṇḍya Nallūr were cultivating the tanks 64 *mā* in extent. In addition several other Devadana and other lands measuring 612 *mā*, in all, had to be reclaimed as they were rendered uncultivable due to the weir having given way and tank breaches. These were granted clubbing them into a new Agrahāram, named AvaniVēndarāma Cm (120 shares) and adding 8 shares donated during the coronation of the King for 8 persons, they were rendered tax-free subject only to a determined lumpsum levy of 720 *kalams* per year. This was dated the 23rd regnal year of a King who is not named in a Kōnērinmai Koṇḍān grant.⁷³ The purpose of the Brahmādēyan grant itself was to reclaim the lands fallen waste, to reconstruct the tanks and the weir. It was the obligation of the grantees to undertake these works. Perhaps the lumpsum levy was concessional, in lieu of the capital expenditure and labour involved in undertaking these re-clamation works.

The benefactors were sometimes gratefully remembered and their image sculpted on stone. A late instance (Vikranti year) of the Nāyak times of one Peṭṭikāvunḍan si tō be found on a tank called Ponnākuḷam in Villayanpaṭṭi.⁴

Irrigation rights and regulation

The earliest record of the Sabhā of Arikēsarinnallūr a Brahmādēya in Aḷa Nāḍu is significant. It is dated in the 46th year of Śaḍaiyan Mārān. It records the decision (Kaichcham) of the Sabhā those who raised an early Kuṟuvai, taking water beforehand

from Śrīkaṇṭha Vāykkāl shall be liable to pay a fine of 10 *kāśu* per *mā* and even after paying the fine they shall not raise any early crop.

The branch channels shall also be opened for water to be let down for irrigation according to the recorded decision.⁷⁵

Presumably the appropriation of water in the head reaches for the *kuṟuvai* early crop had led to inequitable distribution and hence the resolution of the *Sabhā* to regulate the flows and manner of opening of the branch channels.

Twelve inscriptions from *Kōilkuruvittuṟai*⁷⁶ of Jāt. Śrī Vallabha from the 11th to 22nd year (AD 1101 to AD 1112) gives the whole history of an attempt to open up a channel from *Vaigai* to irrigate higher up lands on the South bank and convert them to wet in exchange for lands in the northern bank. The lower riparians of *Cōlāntaka Cm Sabhaiyār* objected. The reclamer a *sarvakrutugaḷ* had to abandon his attempt to dig a new canal and he relinquished the lands. The newly excavated canal was closed and filled up. As a consequence the lands not benefitted were granted remission.

The whole history of the case has been detailed in my study “Grant, resumption and regrant” an extract of the inferences drawn are reproduced below.⁷⁷

The period late 11th and early 12th centuries had witnessed active efforts to reclaim lands to extent irrigation and wet cultivation. The *Parākrama Pāṇḍyan* stone masonry anicut on *vaigai* from which the main canal (*Pērāṟu*) took off was still in the process of construction. The quarries from which the stones was supplied to build the ancient was a landmark to serve as a natural boundary for the block of lands granted cultivation was thus being extended right up to the forest edge. The shifting location of grant parcels culminating in the total grant of 24 and odd *vēlis* indicate the progressive attempts to optimise cultivation and enjoyment. The Temple acted as an agent for such agricultural extension. The land-based literate particularly the noteworthy among them had won recognition in their traditional scholastic or ritualistic accomplishments. But some among them were also men of the world. They had been active participants in land-improvement and creation of irrigation-facilities. In a discernible spirit of altruistic self-interest, they were not apt to lose sight of prospects for adding to material prosperity, individual and or collective.

There were recognised differences in command facilities as between the northern and southern banks of the *Vaigai* ribbon. The competing claims for irrigation as between the established riparian rights and the needs preferred for extension by the less naturally advantageously located lands has been a recurring occurrence in *Vaigai* basin. This case study affords an early 12th century forerunner of this theme. For similar claims

were advanced after opening up of the ayacut under the Tirumaṅgalam cannal taking off from Peranai, a few kilometres upstream Vaigai and proceeding southwards in Usilampatti and Tirumaṅgalam Taluks. In the sixties of the current century, the competing claims were between the eastern and the western sides of the canal and also between the upper and the lower reaches of the canal. To a student of irrigation history, this case study could affect an early but distinct precursor of the contemporary experience.

The keen attention paid to water management, canalisation of river flows for wet cultivation and consciousness of water rights and relative priority of the earlier users are all very striking. The Vaigai too was one of the earliest rivers to be harnessed fully to beneficial irrigation. The Pāṇḍyan rulers were great promoters of the extension of water use and management and their names are perpetuated in the numerous canals and tanks we owe to the period.

This case-study also attested the detailed knowledge of hydrological principles applied to surface irrigation attained in the 11th and 12th centuries in the Pāṇḍyan country.

A third interesting case is dated in the 11th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1227) from kalligudi. The Sabhaiyār of the Brahmaḍeya, Porpādēvi c.m. in Seṅgudi Nāḍu had lands enjoyed among themselves and the Dēvadāna lands without being divided by metes and bounds. Presumably they pooled the yield and shared it. In that year they resolved on a final division of the lands by metes and bound and bifurcated (Dvikattinapadiyē) lands under four tanks, Periyakuḷam, Gouṇḍanēri, Villikuḷam alias Tirumāliruṅjōlai pērēri and Nerkuppai Kumāranārāyaṇappērēri. They also agreed to let water from the last big tank through a channel through a branch channel according to a specific location. Similarly the supply to the Gouṇḍanēri shall be from the surplus of Rājasingappērēri for which they could excavate a new channel. The Sabhā accountant recorded the rights to be enjoyed according to the final division of the lands and irrigation supply from the four tanks hitherto held in common.²⁸

Two inscriptions from Śāliagrāmam regulate the irrigation of lands rendered tax-free to the deity. In the first, the King Śaḍaiyan Māraṅ in the 3rd year of the reign ordered the lands of the deity tax-free and that they were to be irrigated by two tanks, Varamoḷiēri and Vāsudēva ēri. He also permitted the irrigation of the said lands by the waters of Kuḷavanēri and that the residents of Neḍurūr (Nērūr) shall not obstruct this.

In the 20th year of Cōḷantalai Koṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya, the King from his camp at Tiruppālaiyūr had ordered the Sabhā of Śāliagrāmam to resume Tirukkuḷuṅgalūr and pay 900 *kāśu* as land dues. As the Sabhā was unable to pay it and to get relieved

from the demand, they obtained 100 Īlakkāśu through the taking over of the ornaments and Tiruvaṭṭam⁷⁹ or Tiruppattam and took over the obligation to pay the taxes due from the deity on lands under Varamoḷi ēri. They also endorsed that the deity's lands shall take for 35 Pāḍagam fields water from Kuḷuvāṇai ēri for two crops in a year.⁸⁰

The first was an order of the king and the second the Sabha conforming to that order for the supply of water from an additional source.

Similarly, when a grant of 2 *mā* was made to the Māramaṅalam deity the royal order conceived that the fields were to be irrigated by the Big Tank of the Township.⁸¹

When lands were sold or assigned, the sluice and the tank from which they could take water were also specified to define their irrigation rights⁸². The earlier rights enjoyed to take water from the canal from the anicut constructed across a stream were also continued unimpaired.⁸³

In land sales the proportionate share of water and the fishery rentals for the land sold were also transferred to the vendee.⁸⁴

In some cases the vendee was permitted to construct a new canal and embankment with dimension of 10 rod length (by 16 feet rod) and also to take the channel from the surplus course at the Western end in the higher up tank. This permission was accorded by the Ūrārs of Muttaraśankōṭṭai and Kanmiyār Kōṭṭai.⁸⁵

In another sale of land a similar permission to construct a new supply channel with embankment was also allowed by the same Ūrārs together.⁸⁶

These tanks were all located in Kallumaḍai (Aruppukkōṭṭai taluk) a rainfed tract. The Ūrār had taken a positive step to extend irrigation and had permitted excavating a new canal with embankments to feed the tanks from which the lands sold were irrigated. This additional and supplemental irrigation permitted was also an index of the precarious or its inadequacy.

So, too in Śōlapuram (Srivilliputtur taluk) where in AD 1322 the Mahāsbhā of Taniyāṇai Vīra Pāṇḍya Cm sold lands to the Cōlapuram deity they agreed that the Sakaranēri tank irrigating the lands shall be eligible to take water from the south and north end of the channel taking off from the river flowing nearby. Apparently the land sold lay on either side of the channel.⁸⁷

Finally, we may note an undated but late inscription at Akkalūr (Tiruvādānai Taluk) which prohibited the baling of water from the temple tank. This was a salutary measure to conserve water in the tank for the community and temple use in the water scarce eastern part of Rāmanāthapuram district.⁸⁸

The Tāmbraparaṇi tract was a contrast, in that the river and the canal supply was almost perennial. the river Tāmbraparaṇi and Chittāru which joins it as Śīvalappēri (Kūḍalūr) had permitted a number of channels to be taken and some of them fed tanks as well.

Lands sold in the 28th year Rājārāja I (AD 1013) had channel skirting them on all sides.

To the east, was the Marudamaḍaikāl. To its south was (a channel) taking off from a spring in the river bed to the west was the Peruṅgāl (Big channel) and to its north was the Peruṅgāl which had taken a turn towards the east and also another feeder channel (taking off from the Peruṅgāl) for supplying the tank. The lands were sold by the Nāṭṭār of Muṛappanāḍu.⁸⁹

However another land sold by the same Nāṭṭār had to be irrigated by lifting water from a channel (Taṭṭukkālāl Nīr Iṛaiccu) and a channel was dug by a benefactor.⁹⁰

The lands to the north of the river Tāmbraparaṇi were fed by tanks and there were two such tanks - Pulakuḷam and Kulakkudikuḷam which irrigated lands sold for a lamp service by the Mahāsabhā of Śrīvallabha Cm (Śīvalappēri) about the same time.⁹¹

In selling lands in a Māṭha the Mahāsabhā of Vīra Sōmidēva Cm (Muṛappanāḍu) ensured that the pathway proceeding north-south was secured for easement rights and similarly another pathway was laid at the head of the field bond continuously for beneficial public use;⁹² rights of irrigation were thus consistent with other easement rights continued and preserved.

Vēlūr was a Nagara called Madurōdayapuram. They sold land for 1 *accu* recovered from a Śivabrāhmaṇa in the 3rd year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya and undertook that the garden would be supplied with water without any shortage by lifting from Tiruppurkudai Vēlūr lay on the Western high level bank of Tāmbraparaṇi river. The baling might be from a stand erected on the bund of the river or on a pond.⁹³

In Sēigñālūr (Seiduṅganallūr) in Muṛappanāḍu then known as Tiruvaraṅga Cm, a Brahmaḍēya a donor Vīracōḷadēvar had got on usufructary mortgage land to the south of a stream Kulai āru. This was converted into a sale and the earlier rights of the Brahmin holders were terminated in a Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān grant. The lands so transferred included the water spread land or commandable lands (Nīrnīlam) wet (nañjai) dry the tank and water spread and the canal and the land on which the canal flowed which had been previously feeding the tank.⁹⁴

The Ūrar of Kulaśēkhara Nallūr sold dry lands which had a cash land-levy of 100 paṇam besides wet land commandable by the southern sluice in Kōṭṭūr tank. The

township Śāyamalai was in the uplands of Sankarankoil taluk. Care was taken to stipulate that the proportionate share of the ancillary rights in the Kōṭṭūr tank (viz. fishery rentals etc.) and of the lean periods of supply and scarce supplies when the tank supply was draining off, shall be enjoyed by the fields.⁹⁵

The Mahāsabhā of Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya Cm sold land as Kuḍinīṅgākkārānmai to one Vēnāvūḍaiyār. They deduct the extent sold from their holdings account but added it to the dēvadāna for which the vendee endowed the lands. But they stipulated carefully that the lands shall be irrigable from the canal taking off from the sluice from the big tank of the township - Sundarapāṇḍyappēreri from the 5th and 6th sluice which commanded the land.⁹⁶

In Kuttālam (coutrālam) in the 2nd year of Jaṭ. Vikrama when the Mahāsabhā sold 1/6 *vēli* of land they allowed the vendee-donor to convert a dry land into wet and take water from the tank of the Agaram for irrigating it.⁹⁷

In the cases noticed above water rights were transferred with the lands sold and the customary supplies were ensured. There were instances in which water rights alone without any sale of land were sold for a consideration (Nīrvilai). This could be because either the lands suffered for lack of supply or due to inadequacy of supply. Also in times of scarcity or deficit supply the temple lands could have been afforded a more assured supply than the other occupied lands in public interest or out of a charitable motivation. They could also be attributed to the abandonment of breached tanks and diversion of supply or out of distress. These instances characteristically occur in the predominantly rainfed uplands like Tirukkaḷakkuḍi, Sannavanam, Kunṛakkuḍi (Tiruppattūr taluk) (Rāmnād district) and Dārukāpuram in (Sankarankōil taluk).

In AD 1228, the Araiyaars of Virayāccilai lamented that their occupied lands under the tank called Amarādiccan had breached and fields were laid waste and bunds been obliterated. Hence they sold the water of that tank to be let into Marudaṅgulam for a consideration of 18 Paḷankāsu to the Ūrār of Kumāttākkuḍi. They allowed the vendees to cut open the bund of the tank sold and take water through a channel taking off therefrom which was to run along the northern tail end of another tank Pirāṅkuḷam so that water could be taken therefrom to Marudaṅgulam.⁹⁸

A transaction from Sannavanam in the 26th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1294) had several interesting features. The Ūrār of Kuṟumbāṅṅuḍi sold land and water rights for 20 paṇam. The land sold had some well-irrigated wet lands and a well. The wet land called Māñjaḷ Śey was priced 10 paṇams. The well and the waste land were priced at 10 paṇam in all 20 paṇams.

The *Ūrār* had to enter into this transaction out of distress as they could not otherwise remit the *Kaḍamai* dues to the king's men. As the land was waste, the vendee could reclaim it to the west of the western bund of the well (Kēṇi). He could also take the well water for any other Dēvadanam lands he wished to irrigate Mañjaḷ śey was one such endowed land already wet. He could also take water for the waste lands newly reclaimed, in taking water, he shall only utilise the proportionate share of water due on these lands and not utilise any excess. When taking water from from the big sluice he shall take the water by the side of the eastern bund of Tattān Śey of Āḷvānpidāran. The *Ūrār* agreed to make available land (for easement) to form a channel. The other land levies including service for maintenance of tanks were not to be demanded.⁹⁹

The sale of water rights alone in the 12th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1280) by the executives of the solidiery of Malaiyaḍikuṛicci has already been referred to in the previous chapter.¹⁰⁰

Finally in the year Plavaṅga the *Ūrār* of Tiruccaṇamaḷagiyānallūr sold to the Mudaliyār of Tiruppālaivāśal the surplus, waters. Sāmikuḷam the tank irrigating the vendor's lands, when filling without allowing it to spill or overflow the *Ūrār* agreed that such water might be taken to Pūṅguḍi tank by cutting open on the eastern bund of the former tank upto a point called Kōyaduturai. This was aptly called sale of surplus water (Maṛukālvilaipramāṇam).¹⁰¹

This was perhaps a late instance but it brought out the water conserving spirit of the *Ūrār* and their anxiety not to spill but make full use of scarce water resources for beneficial use of course at a price.

We may notice a few instances of irrigation disputes and how they were settled.

The first is the case of an irrigation dispute which is detailed in a series of inscriptions in Kōil Kuruvitturai on the banks of the river Vaigai to which a reference has already been made.¹⁰²

Lands endowed for the Viśnu temple of Kōil Kuruvitturai were spread on either bank of the river Vaigai. The northern bit lacked irrigation facilities. The southern area was larger and the slope from Vaigai enabled good command. Already a stone masonry work for a weir across the river was constructed and the stones were supplied from the quarries near the hills to the south. The Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Canal (Pērāru) took off from the weir and was irrigating the Dēvadāna lands. The lands under this canal were called Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Kaṭṭalai. The lands to the south were exchanged for the bits in the north bank and the lands so exchanged were granted in the 9th year to Śrī Harṣan Nārāyaṇa Bhatta Vājapēyi Sarvakrattukaḷ of Kīranūr. He was

authorised to excavate a new channel by name Śrī Vallabhakāl from the river and to disafforest and bring the lands under cultivation.

Also lands on the northern bank which were scattered and not commandable were exchanged for a contiguous commandable block to the South of the river. This was in the 11th year of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha.

Five years later the Sabhaiyār of Cōḷāntaka Cm complained to the King that the Sarvakratukkal who got the block of lands to the south on Kārāṇmai had excavated a new canal. That intercepted the drawal by their own channel lower down and interfered with their established riparian rights. They represented this to the King, and with the royal approval the new canal was closed and filled up with earth.

Consequently the lands granted in exchange for the northern block could not be irrigated and cultivated and they were resumed and the *status quo* restored.

This evidence is important. Prier user for irrigation and lower riparian rights were protected. Extension of irrigation was permitted only if it was consistent with the established users' rights.

The second is a case of water dispute between the Urar of Alarvāy alias mānābharaṇanallūr and Adalaiyūr in the 12th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1228).

The manner in which it was resolved is not known as the inscription is incomplete.¹⁰³

Vindanūr was an old grant by Rājendra Cōḷa I to the temple of Rājendra Viṅṅagar. (AD 1036)¹⁰⁴ But in the next two centuries it got involved in a boundary dispute. Śeṇḍalaṅgārādāsar who erected the shrine of Kulaśekhara ālvār in the temple got the lands released from the boundary dispute in about AD 1221 with the Nagarattār of Avanimārtāṇḍapuram (alias Vindanūr) in Kurumaṇai Nāḍu and the Ūrār of Puliyūr in the adjoining Tenvāri Nāḍu and with Śrīvallabha Cm Brahmins. He not only traced the original grant deed but also recovered the detailed boundary record of the reign of the Cōḷa Rājendra-I, of AD 1021. He got the disputed lands regranted to the new shrine and reclaimed the lands made them fit for cultivation and excavated tanks called Tiruvāykkulappēreri to enable wet cultivation.

To this effort the object of which was one charity and merit the Ūrār of Puliyūr the Nagarattār of Vindanūr extended their active co-operation.

In a record of the 5th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (circa A.D. 1221 (?)) the urar of Puliyūr alias Nṛpacūḷāmaninallūr of Tenvārināḍu had granted to the Kulaśekhara shrine, the following right to take water: If their village big tank fed

by the river (Cittaṟu?) was filled the surplus water let through the surplus outlet below passing through the eastward flowing old channel for filling the Dēvadāna tank Mudukudi Nādālvān Kuḷam of this Nāyanār could be intercepted, but only after that tank was filled and taken through an east-flowing channel that could be excavated to the Tiruvāykkulappērēri. They had also agreed that they would not allow water to go waste opening the (surplus) channel-course.

The residents constituting themselves into the Township-body (ūrāyisainda ūrōm) had signed a document for and on behalf of the Township community :

Puliyūr Kiḷavan (Headman ?)

Pittan Aḷavudaiyān alias Śrī Vallabha-mūvēndavēḷān

Śūriyan siṅgan alias Uttama-Pāṇḍya Mūvēndavēḷān

Kōvan siṅgan alias Daṇasetti

Udayan Kōvan alias Sundara Pāṇḍya Mūvēndavēḷān

Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa Pallavadaraiyan

Kōvan Mādēvan alias Madavarāyan

Perumāḷ Śēndan alias Jaya Pāṇḍya mūvēndavēḷān

Siṅgan Gaṇavati alias Vānavan Mūvēndavēḷān

On their dictation the document was drawn up by the *ūrkkanaḱku* (accountant) Nenmaliyudaiyān Udayan Siṅgan alias Kulaśēkhara Mūvēnda Vēḷān. The names could be suggestive of the composition of the Ūr as a Township organisation.

Seven years later, in the month of Āni, a similar grant of irrigation rights was made by the Nagarattār of Vindanūr alias Avanimārtāṇḍapuram. They had permitted the excavation of the tank, with the bund of the supply channel dug within the tank water-spread to serve as the bund of the tank as well for the Tiruvāykkulappērēri for which the (surplus) of Puliyūr Tank would be let. While excavating the tank, the eastern bund was to be cut and formed into a bund on and along the south-western end of the dry field (Nagarattattianvilai) in the village. The western bund of the channel was to run on the village limits of Puliyūrār.

The signatories to this grant were those who were authorised to act for Avanimārtāṇḍapuram nagarattār (Nagarattukuccamainda Nagarattōm).¹⁹⁵

These records show how very much the established irrigation was protected and yet new extensions and utilisation of the surplus flows of water was permitted. Also

no water was to be allowed to go waste. The dispute involving three constituents was resolved in a spirit of amity and concord mainly because it blessed him that gave and him that benefitted out of it.

The evidence adduced above are further amplified by the corroborative testimony of later inscriptions. For one thing there was not much technological change. For another the customary rights and conventions still held the field. The force on that custom was felt fully during the Nāyaka times and had lingered even later.

Even in later Pāṇḍya times in Tenkāsi an anicut across a jungle stream was constructed at Śiṅgiḷuḷam.¹⁰⁶

A verse inscribed at Śiṅgiḷuḷam praises Sundara Pāṇḍya for constructing an anicut and excavating a canal.¹⁰⁷ At the same place in K 772 (AD 1596) one Mālaiyittān excavated a spring channel from the stream to irrigate some lands which had no sufficient surface supply.¹⁰⁸ In AD 1586 (K 662) while describing the boundaries of the land sold reference is made to a boat-stand from which people were ferried from Attālanallūr to Śāttupattū two prosperous villages in the South bank of Tāmbraḷapaṇi.¹⁰⁹

In AD 1664 Neyinan Khān son of Saiku Khān Kutti Khan renovated the sluice of the local tank at Munañjupattī.¹¹⁰

In Tiruppattūr, the rainfed tract, the ponds (Ūraṇis) were valued as the principal and perhaps the only drinking water source. In AD 1522, a watershed was erected on the eastern bank of the Ūraṇi at Tiruppattūr.¹¹¹ And another at Taḷakkāvur two years' later.¹¹² Under the Vaigai-fed Nilaiyūr channel which took off from an anicut at Maṇṇadimaṅgalam, it was arranged that the Dēvadāna Kaṭṭalai lands shall be eligible to take three turns of irrigation.¹¹³ This record of AD 1644 attests the community interest in providing augmented supplies for the Dēvadāna lands. A late grant in AD 1646 by Tirumalai Nāyakkar permitted the right of feeding from the Nilaiyūr channel in tanks around the hills belonging to Subrahmaṇya deity at Tirupparaṅkunṇam.¹¹⁴

The maintenance of irrigation sources continued to be funded from the fishery rentals and the community could commandeer the services of the residents especially in the rainfed tracts like Vāsudēvanallūr.¹¹⁵

In AD 1590, the temple authorities of Nānguneri and the Brahmin assembly of Sivaramaṅgalam granted the fishery rights in Cōḷa Pāṇḍyappērēri to certain residents in return for clearing the tank of silt every year.¹¹⁶ Similar arrangements were made Adaiccāṇi a Gatana-fed tank in A.D. 1584.¹¹⁷ The Nāyaka ruler Vīrappa ordered that the fishery rental receipts (Pāśivilai) be invested in deepening the Big Tank of

Tiruvādavūr and in excavating it further.¹¹⁸

These instances attest that the practices derived from the medieval evidence were in vogue even right up to the 16th and 17th centuries.

After the British administration was established departmental activities were organised. Government's own authority had grown and the assertion of the legally enforceable individual rights, which were justiciable began to strike roots. That could be dated about the mid-19th century. Correspondingly, the ancient authority of the community which could enforce customary practices, consistently with harmonised innovation, had weakened.

We may now sum up the conclusions that can be drawn from the data presented above for the medieval period.

A SUMMING UP

Land grants and assignments were themselves the instruments for land development, particularly for the formation of tanks, canals and ponds for drinking water or for bathing and for temple ritual purposes. These were undertaken also as part of reclamation efforts to bring back lands waste on account of breaches in the tank, supply canal and the canal system. There is no evidence of the King himself undertaking such works at what we might now term, "State expense". Nor, were any funds earmarked from the King's Treasury for such or maintenance .

The construction of tanks and wells and river channels beside ponds (*Ūraṇis*) as public utilities were products of the community effort - either collectively or by individual benefactors. At best the King acted as a "Catalyst", granted temporarily or permanently the remission of a part of the land dues, *Antarayam* for instance on the request of the affected community waiting on him. The most conspicuous examples of construction or maintenance works undertaken were of individual chieftains or benefactors. Several of them were from the Vēṇādu Kingdom across the Ghats who have, perhaps, held positions of command or authority even in Pāṇḍyan Townships. Such benefactions were gratefully acknowledged and works named after the donors.

Labour should be readily be forthcoming from the benefitted townships. Service for public utilities, their creation or maintenance was a charge on land, specially enjoined on the cultivators and casual labourers.

The maintenance of Channels and channel heads was specially cared for by the Watchment at the head sluices. The soil and channel clearance was a regular yearly obligation on the occupants. Extraordinary repairs beyond the collective capability of

the townships were undertaken by the Chieftains and benefactors contributing their resources also in part. Regular annual maintenance was met by the proceeds of the lease of fishery rentals which was ubiquitous. Where again such maintenance, especially after a long lapse or simultaneously with reclamation required special outlay and efforts remission of the land dues or concessional rates thereof were granted both by the King and the community or by either. Increment remission was another mode availed of. In operating sluices and in flash flows casualties had occurred and such persons who acted to protect the public utilities or works and lost their lives were compensated or rewarded by blood-grants for enjoyment by their successors.

The zeal of the community, their vigilance and their contribution were in evidence much more all over the Kingdom. Their sense of participation was at once a recognition of the public utility and consciousness that it is in their interest to maintain them applying labour and rendering prompt service. Local labour instantly applied should also have rendered the system of repairs at once effective and cheap. The knowledge of hydrological techniques, simple though they were quite high and efficacious. These were possessed by the hereditary artisan classes largely and they were of avail to the community which rewarded them with land-grants or other public contribution.

Irrigation rights and regulations were the result of collective deliberation and action of the community. It ensured extension of irrigation consistently with conservation of rights of prior users. The system of canals and tanks filled up in succession ensured an inherent equity and order in the terms of supply. The custom ensured it. The community vigil was a safeguard against its abuse. Consistently with such customary rights, the king as well as the community through their collective accredited organisations the *Mahāśabhā*, the *Ūrār* and the Nagaram could create new rights and authorise extension of irrigation.

The maintenance of irrigation sources was clearly the obligation of the community. Every occupation of cultivator under him had the obligation to contribute labours. In addition the yield from lands specifically endowed for maintenance and the fishery rentals were the mainstay for repairs and clearance of silt and deepening of tanks. Works which were beyond the capability and the resources of the Community were supplemented by royal grants of a portion of the cash dues from the ayacut to the King. By the same token there were no public outlays from the State for such maintenance. It was acknowledged a collective effort and a community obligation.

The operators of the sluices, the watchmen of the anicuts weirs and bunds and tanks and other such services were endowed *jivitam* lands. The sluice-opening some times involved diving into deep storages and some-times lives were lost. Such cases were recompensed by the Community granting subsistence grants or blood money to the next of king.

Irrigation rights were a part of the sale of land where wet lands were sold. The accustomed supply and the proportionate share were transferred with the land. In exceptional cases additional water and special concessions in the share of the water during times of scarcity and the fag end of the irrigation season (when the tank had been practically emptied and not refilled, were permitted by the community especially for the temple lands. Supplemental irrigation and conjunctive use of tank and wells in rainfed areas were in vogue. Wells were valued and had a high price. Lifting or taking of water when direct flow was not feasible was permitted and a concessional levy of land demand was charged - half or often her even one fourth¹⁹ of the rate for surface supply - to compensate the additional labour and the constricted supply, which might diminish yield.

Irrigation disputes between different townships between individuals and the community were noticed. Such disputes were either resolved by the consensus of the Community and their collective composition or by the King's intervention. The principle of protecting lower riparian rights was assiduously applied.

There was system enforceable by custom. It had been enduring. The community and different sections thereof had exercised collective vigil and authority to enforce what was established consistently with progressive and positive improvements, extensions and developments that were feasible. To conclude Community safeguarded the old practices and regulations but were willing to undertake new works and extensions consistently with those practices and custom.

FOOT NOTES :

1. On the "Nīrnāḷigai" please also see my "Pudukkōṭṭai Studies" (pp. 156 to 159). the more scarce the water resources the more rigorous was the system.
2. On the distress in the Cōḷa townships please see my "Land grants and agrarian reactions."
3. Please see below the Chapter on "Land levies and dues" (Chapter VIII) the Vāḍākkadan rates.
4. For the detailed history of this temple, please see my "Rājēndra Viṅṅagar"
5. SII XIV 144; EI XI pp. 295-297 "Āṟrupāccal" rendered as "six wettings" in "Rājēndra Viṅṅagar" should be revised as "river-fed".
6. SII XIV 145.
7. This practice was universal in the Rāmanāthapuram Zamindari and even in some Vaigai-fed tanks in the Sivagaṅga Zamindari within living memory. The author could testify to even temporary water-spread paṭṭas (Nīr Kōrvai or Kuḷamkōrvai nīrppiḍi paṭṭa" issued by the Estate Collectors of Rāmanāthapuram which had detailed conditions set out, sometimes, to safeguard the optimal filling of tanks and their storage. He recollects a specific instance of a paṭṭa granted by the Estate Collector of Sivagaṅga to one Vairavan ambalam of Pāppānkūḷam, the higher up Inām village in Survey No. 1 of Tiruppūvaṇam Tank Waterspread inspected in the settlement of the Sivagaṅga Zamindari estate.

8. 411 / 1906, 413 / 1906 - Śīvalappēri - Rājarāja I (AD 1013) 119/1905 - Tiruvāldśvaram - Jaṭ. Sundara-Cōla-Pāṇḍya (18) (AD 1035) SII XXIII/422 : Vīra Pāṇḍi (Periyakulam taluk) Sundara Pāṇḍya (11+3) 393 / 1917, SII XIV / 267 - Ref. to Śrīvallavan pēraṇaikōil - Kīlappāvūr-
Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha
618 / 1917 - Ūrmēlaḷagiyān - Ś 1421 : Two weirs referred to :
496-A / 1909 Cōḷapuram DATE N.A. A Weir across the
SII XXVI / 524 (Śrivilliputtūr) stream and a number
of anicuts
9. 324 / 1923 - Tirukkōṣṭiyūr / Mār. Kulaśēkhara - I (29)
540 / 1922 - 556/1922 Tiruttāṅgāl - Mār. Sundara II (4+1) -
Mār. Kulaśēkhara - (6)
10. 6 & 7/1927
11. 1984-85 / No. N.A.
12. 342 / 1949-50
13. 502 / 1909 SII XXVI / 530
14. 225 / 64-65
15. 145 / 56-57
16. 559, 560, 561, 563 / 1922
17. 396, 397/1914
18. SII / XXIII / 117 - Kallidaikkuricci
19. 319 / 1916 - Kallidaikkuricci
20. SII XIV / 241 - Vijayanārāyaṇam
21. SII V / 294 - Tenkarai
22. For eg. 191 / 1980-81 - Uñjanai
23. SII VIII / 417 - Tiruccunai
24. Pl. see my "Land grants and agrarian reactions" pp. 33-34
25. SII III / p. 240
26. See Supra p for its history.
27. TAS I/p. 249
28. SII V / 436
29. SII XXVI / 468
30. 340 / 1930 - Kuṇḍalakkūttu (Sāttūr tk.)
31. Please see my "Collected Papers" pp I to II
32. 345 / 1929 - 30 - SII XIV/203
33. For the detailed history of the case please see my "Collected Papers" (pp 110 to 125)
34. SII VII / 416

35. Ibid / 417
36. 350 / 1965-66
37. 351 / 1965-66
38. 107 / 1916
39. 103 / 1916
40. 198 / 1980-81 - Uñjanai - Vira Pāṇḍya (14th century)
- 40-A 84 / 1924 Periccikōil
41. 510 / 1962-63
42. 42 / 1926
43. 1 / 1926
44. 7 / 1926
45. SII V / 416
46. SII XXIII / 90 Pl. see ibid p. 53 for data
47. SII XXIII / 91
48. Confer SII XIV / 241 - Vijayanārāyaṇam
49. SII XIV / 231
50. Ibid - 226. The inscriptions is dated in the regnal years of Kulōttuṅga I but the inscription above of the very next year is dated in the reign of the Pāṇḍya Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha.
51. 252 / 1928
52. 522 / 1911
53. 587 / 1915 - Dārukāpuram
54. SII XIV / 482
55. 634 / 1916 - Śērmādēvi
56. 646 / 1916 - Śērmādēvi - Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara - Yr. II
648 / 1916 - Śērmādēvi - Māṅ. Vikrama - 7+1
57. 482 / 1916 - Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara - 4
58. 430 / 1906
59. 429 / 1906
60. 201 / 1935-36 Once, the text of the inscription becomes available, this statement can bear a recheck.
61. 323 / 1915 - Kāduveṭṭi (Tenkāsi Tk.)
62. 45 / 1927 - Tirunelvēli - Māṅ. Vikrama
63. 58 / 1929 - Śivapuri
64. 62 / 1929 - Śivapuri
65. 38 / 1946-47 - Śākkōṭṭai - Māṅ. Śrīvallabha (4)

66. 543 / 1926 My interpretation of the text differs from the gist in ARE 1926
67. 545 / 1926 - Srivilliputtūr
68. SII VIII / 169
69. Please see my Chapter on "Irrigation" in my "Pudukkōttai Studies"
70. 79 / 1929 In a late assignment of a similar nature the fishery rentals were earmarked for the annual excavation and silt-clearance of the tank at Kunnattūr from year to year - 277/1964-65
71. 283 / 1963-64
72. 149 / 1908
73. 301 / 1955-56 - Palani
74. 315/1928 - Vellaiyāmpatti (Nilakkōttai tk.)
75. SII XIV / 78
76. ARE 318 to 329 / 1908
77. Please see pp. 110-125 of my "Collected papers"
78. 262 / 1963-64
79. E.I. XXVII pp. 92-93 "Tiruappam" appears to be a mis-reading, perhaps Tiruvattām or Tiruppattam fits in with the context.
80. Ibid - inscription "B" at p. 93
81. SII XXVI - 507 - Māranēri.
82. 30 and 31 / 1936 - Sannavanam (Tiruppattūr tk.)
83. 544 / 1926 Srivilliputtūr
84. 288 / 1977-78 - Kallumaḍai - Mār. Kulaśēkhara I - Year 37 (AD 1305)
85. 287 / 1977-78 - Mār. Kulaśēkhara I - Year 17 (AD 1285)
86. 289 / 1977-78
87. SII XXVI-515
88. 595 / 1926
89. 411 / 1906 - Śīvalappēri of also 412/1906 for similar lands surrounded by channels - Rājarāja I 28 (AD 1013).
90. 413 / 1906
91. 422 / 1906
92. 435 / 1906 - Murappanāḍu AD 1266. Please see for its history my "Collected papers" pp. 146 ff.
93. 384 / 1959-60 Vēlūr (Kasba) as it is now known is across the Tāmbraparaṇi on the western bank opposite Srivaikuṇṭam town.
94. 359 / 1959-60. Scyduṅgaṅgallūr - Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān - 14. There seems to be a distinction between "Nīrnīlam" and "Nañjay" but the Tamil Lexicon (Vol. IV p. 2304) equates the two. Perhaps, the former signified commandable land but not yet transformed into wet and latter actually under wet cultivation.

95. 596 / 1915 - For a similar stipulation of the specific share of water for lands sold by the soldiery at Tenmakai please see 610/1915 (Mār. Sundara I).
96. 613 / 1915.
97. 434 / 1917.
98. 90/1916 Tirukkalakkudi.
99. 23 / 1916.
100. Please see supra p 586/1915 Dārukāpuram.
101. 29 / 1909 - SII XXVI - 29.
102. For a detailed history of the case. Please see my "Collected papers" pp. 110 f.
103. 235 / 1923.
104. ARE 112 / 1905.
105. Please see "Rajēndra Viṅṅagar" pp. 24-25.
106. 3 / 1912 Jāt. Parākrama.
107. 266 / 1941.
108. 267 / 1941.
109. 414 / 1916 Tiruppuḍaimarudūr.
110. 511 / 1944-45.
111. 177 / 1936.
112. 217 / 1980-81.
113. 313/ - (The card index is misplaced).
114. 314 / 1928.
115. 352 / 1940-50.
116. 262 / 1928 - Nāngunēri.
117. 556 / 1911.
118. SII VIII - 424.
119. For eg. 500 / 1909 - SII XXVI 528 Cōḷapuram (Śrīvilliputtūr)
130 / 1908 - Tiruppattūr.
385 to 387 / 1961 - Viḷuppanūr.
399 / 2907 - Koḍumalūr.

CHAPTER - VIII

LAND DUES AND LEVIES IN PĀNDYAN TOWNSHIP

Land levies can be classified under two main heads :

- (1) Land dues to the king.
- (2) Land dues payable to an assignee.

Under the category, the transferred assessments payable to the beneficiaries, the Brahmādēyās and the Dēvadānas are a species. The *Jīvitam* holder, in his turn could assign his dues to a beneficiary.

In addition, land-dues to the *Ūrār* and the *Nāṭṭār* either in cash or in the form of services or occasional demunds (*tēvai*) or distributed (*vinīyōgam*) were the obligations cast on the occupants, or the cultivating tenants. The latter bore the services obligations, invariably.

the principal land levy payable to the King was the *Kaḍamai*. It could also be assigned to the beneficiaries like the temple, or the Brahmādēya or to a *jīvitam* holder. In addition there were “*sillirai*” supplemental levies like the Anatarāyam payable in cash.

Several modes of land levies were noticed :

- (i) Variśai - a graded levy based on the crops grown and yielding.
- (ii) Nilai irai or Vādākkāḍan - an immutable or permanent assessment.
- (iii) Oṭṭu irai - a lease-amount or rental. In the last 2 categories some times a moderating factor for failure of crops is stipulated; in others it is not.

In the nature of the available evidence we are not able to get at the King's levies in all the townships. They are available from specific cases of Vellānvagai tenure or lands converted to Vellānvagai tenure and made over to a beneficiary. The bulk of the evidence rulers to the assigned revenues or *Kaḍamai* made over to beneficiaries. The several modes indicated in the preceding paragraph also applied to such cases. It is land to distinguish between the land assessment and a rental in these cases of assigned land-dues. The quantum payable in these cases also vary; it has to be surmised that the variation is relatable to the content of the grant-rights and enjoyment.

The analysis of the land-dues has to reckon with several factors-lands reclaimed bore a concessional rate or in some cases they were granted incremental remission. Secondly the rate of levy depended on the tenure of the land and the quantum of assignment to a beneficiary. Thirdly, when assigned lands were granted on a service tenure a concessional rate was applied in consideration of the performance of service. These are of course individual peculiarities. But from the rates of assessment in a tract a pattern can be discerned. For this purpose the available evidence is compiled and presented in the tables appended.

In the first instance, the few available conversions of Brahmadēya into Vellānvagai in the reign of Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya can be noticed. These are the varied rates applicable to different categories of occupied or occupiable lands payable to the King but assigned to the temple at Rājēndra Viṇṇagar or Tiruvālīśvaramuḍaiyār temple both in Rājarāja Cm and or to the Kailāsamuḍaiyār temple at Śērmādēvi Nigarili Cōḷa Cm. Typical instances are extracted in Table I.

The average assessment per *vēli* in riverine tracts has varied from 102 and odd *kalam*s to 141 and odd *kalam*s. The immutable levy or permanent assessment is far higher than the assessment on other Vellānvagai lands perhaps because these lands are subject to periodical revision which may be upwards. The Kallūr lands assessed at 104 and odd *kalam*s were relinquished. But it did not deter the addition of 5 *vēli*s boarding a higher permanent assessment of 141 odd *kalam*s. Cash levies were in addition; it was the highest in Kallūr and less in other locations like Tiruvālīśvaram (Kākkaḷūr) and Kaḍaiyam forming part of Rājarāja Cm.

The rates per *vēli* in the Gaṭana-Tāmbraparaṇi basis is marginally higher than in the Cauvery delta in the time of Rājarāja I which was 100 *kalam*s per *vēli*.¹ The immutable levies are exceptions.

Lands were classified, then as now, as wet and dry, single crop and double crop.. They were also graded according to the assessment of land dues they bore. Lands granted to beneficiaries are also denoted by the ‘‘variśai’’ or the grading of assessment or even the rate they bore. For instance lands in Pāppānkuḷam’ (Vēḷār-Kuricci, (the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja Cm) granted in AD 1238-39 were described as below:

- (1) I Class lands (Talaivariśai)
- (2) Lands Assessed at half

- (3) Lands assessed at half for *Kār* and $\frac{1}{4}$ for *pasānam*
- (4) Lands assessed at 8 *kalam*, 3 *kuṛuṇi* 2 *mā*
- (5) Lands assessed at 3 *kalam*, 3 *kuṛuṇi*, 3 *nāli*

In the same ayacut, lands of different grades of assessment were located.

An inscription from Māramaṅgalam³ specifies the Taram and the rate of land levy :

1st Taram : 10 *kalam*, 5 *kuṛuṇi*, *kāśu* 8 *mā mukkāṇi*

4th Taram : 4 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 4 *nāli*, *uri - kāśu* 3 163 / 320 If we could put the evidence in the above two cases together, the lands assessed at 8 *kalam*, 3 *kuṛuṇi*, 2 *mā* should fall below the 1 Taram, perhaps as Taram 2, That assessed at 3 *kalam*, 3 *kuṛuṇi*, 3 *vēli* should be below the 4th Taram, perhaps as Taram 5. A Gaṅgaikoṇḍān inscription also classified lands at 10 *kalam*, and 8 *kalam* Variśai respectively⁴.

A later inscription of the 13th year of Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya from Uñjanai gives the following rates of Kaḍamai for the Dēvadāna lands measured according to the measure in vogue in the *Jivitam* of Maravacakravarti⁵.

1st Taram - Per *mā* 8 *kalamis*

2nd Taram - Per *mā* 4 *kalamis*

3rd Taram - Per *mā* 3 *kalamis*

The land assessment varied from tract to tract. In the wilds of Kālaiyārkoil it was at 1 *kalam* 1 *kuṛuṇi* per *mā* and *antarāyam* 3 *paṇam*⁶. In the reign of Jaṭ. Sundara. But there were also some lands assessed at 7 *kalam* 1 *kuṛuṇi* per *mā* and some bore cash assessment of 18 *paṇams* in the 14th year of Mār. Vikrama⁷. Similar wide variations are noticed all over in the tract where individual fields are graded according to assessment with the overburden of tenorial characteristics, such variation are to be expected, especially when it is hard to distinguish between land-revenue component and the rental if any, paid for the *mēlvāram* interest.

A general pattern is, however clearly discernable. The incidence of land levies in the wet was higher than on the dry lands, Barring exceptions, the levy was in kind in the case of wet lands but it had also a cash component as *antarāyam*. Dry lands bore only a cash assessment though sometimes the levy was taken in grain grown. Black soils were charged higher than other dry lands some times (Table II),

The *Piśānam* crop, bore the highest rate of levy in kind. It was the main crop. Kōḍai or Kuṟuvai crop bore $\frac{1}{2}$ the rate for *Piśānam*⁸, and sometimes $\frac{3}{4}$ ⁹. The kuṟuvai crop was distinguished as when grown in the month of citrai āḍi or arṣasi or Māsi. Sometimes *inter se* rates¹⁰ were also varied according to the time of cropping. This indeed would be an index of available moisture and water use. Irrigated dry crops like varagu, tinai (horsegram) and gingely were charged at $\frac{1}{4}$. Lands irrigated by baling and brought to yield were charged $\frac{1}{2}$ or oftener $\frac{1}{4}$ the rate for the main crop. There are several variations which are brought out in the Table IV appended to this Chapter. The collections of land-demand was synchronised with the period of yield, Citrai for *Piśānam*, Āḍi or Arṣasi for the *kuṟuvai*. If the rates of levy are indicated of the relative value of crops prevailing at the time the following gradation can be arrived at :

1. Main Paddy crop, sugarcane, betel, banana
2. Summer paddy $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ (kuṟuvai)
3. Paddy by bating $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$
4. Gingelly
5. Varagu (Tinai - horsegram)
6. Cotton ; castor
7. Irungu grass ($\frac{1}{4}$)
8. Vegetables : Brinjal Pumpkin ($\frac{1}{8}$)

Lands sold or inducted into were frequently for reclamation. They were lying waste, as a shrub jungle or without irrigation as the tanks had breached. In such cases an increment remission was granted. The full rate of levy for the main crop was reached in a period of 3, 4 or 5 years as the case may be. The following are illustrations of the increment remission (Table III)

STATEMENT OF LAND DUES PAYABLE ON VELLĀNVAGAI LANDS (Table 1)

<i>Name of the place of inscription.</i>	<i>Ruler & Date.</i>	<i>Land location.</i>	<i>Rate of levy paddy in cash per vēli.</i>	<i>Rate of levy paddy in cash per mā.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Ref.					
1. Tiruvāliśvaram Ib6 of 1905	Rājarāja I 11-AD 996	.....	.....	30 Kalams per mā.	Vādākkādan (perhaps for 2 crops)
2. Mannārkōil SII XIV 145	Jat. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 13th Yr. AD 1030-31.	In Rājarāja Cm. Double crop riverfed	K T P 102-2-4-7 Kāni. odd. Araikkāni Kṭī 8 mā	5 Kalams & odd.	The taxes on Dēvadāna lands in cash like Aḷakerudu Kāśu Kātccierudu, Ūr Kalañju not to be collected
3. Mannārkōil Ibid - 154	Jat. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 16th (AD 1033)	Maḷukkāḍu	K T P 108-0-1 38 Kāśu	260 Kalams Mānābharāṇa Cm. per Vēli	(ii) The Maḷukkāḍu lands bore a slightly higher rate of levy.
4. Śērmādēvi Ibid - 157	Jat. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 17th Yr. (AD 1034)	10 Vēli Mānābharāṇa Cm. per Vēli	260 Kalams Mānābharāṇa Cm. per Vēli	13 Kalams	Vādākkādan
		2 Vēli in Kallūr in Melavēmbu Nāḍu	KTPKN 104-2-0-1-2 Cash 8 - 3 Mā per Vēli	5 Kalam & odd	Found excessive; relinquished in AD 1036 (Ibid 164).

Name of the place of inscription.	Ruler & Date.	Land location.	Rate of levy paddy in cash per vēli.	Rate of levy paddy in cash per mā.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
5. Tiruvālśvaram SII XIII, 160 - 161	AD 1034	5 Vēli in Kākkalūr	KTPKN Nali Over 6 Kalam Uri Seviḍu 125-1-0-2-0-1 7 & odd kāsu	KTPKN Nali Over 6 Kalam Kāccierudu 5 Kāsu (1 Kāsu per vēli)	
6. Mannārkōil II2 of 1905	Rājendra - I AD 1037	Vindanūr in Kurumaraināḍu		per Mā 2.125 kalam 0.275 kāsu.	Low rainfed uplands
7. Sermadevi SII XIV/194	Jat. Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 3rd year	4 vēli in Kallūr	KTPKN 141-2-0-1-5	5 ¹ / ₁₆ Kāni 7 Kalam per mā	Higher than item 4 Levies like Ūr kalanju also assigned to the deity
8. Amba-samudram SII XIV/245	Jat. Śrīvallabha 20 (AD 1100)	Nīrnīlam in Rājārāja Cm.	20 ³ / ₄ Māḍai	1 ¹ / ₄ Māḍai	As Tarappottagam (Puravu nila ōpādi as per surrounding lands
9. Amba-samudram SII XIV/146	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10. Tiruvālśvaram 348/1916	MārSundara-I 5th year - 1221	Land in Rājārāja erivīraṭṭaiṇam	200 Kalam	per Mā 5 Kalam paśīnam 5 Kalam 10 Kalam Dry 1 Dramam Gingelly in wet land ¹ / ₄ Kaḍamai Garden crop ¹ / ₂	For lands yielding on inspection

Name of the place of inscription.	Ruler & Date.	Land location.	Rate of levy paddy in cash per vēli.	Rate of levy paddy in cash per mā.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
II. Tiruvāliśvaram 369/1916	Jaṭ. Vīra (Kōnerinmai-koṇḍān) 6th year	Pilāvilai in Rājaraḡā Cm. 9½ mā	300 Kalamas 300 Kalamas 600 Kalamas	Piśānam Cash 15 paṇam 30 Kalamas per Mā Per Kār. 15 paṇam for each crop 30 paṇam plus 1½ paṇam	Appears excessive Land reclaimed to the south of Tāmbraparaṇi river
K	P	K	S		
Kōṭṭai	Tūṇi	Kurruṇi	Nāḷi	Seviḍu	

TABLE - II

Rates in vogue for Karuñjey (black soil) Rāmanāthapuram and other dry lands.

Muvaraivenrān 37/46-47	Pandya Kulaśēkhara 3+5	Per mā Karumedu Śey Both ½ Dramam	Dry
Tirumālugandān Kōṭṭai	Mār. Sundara II	Both ½ mā accu	Dry
38 & 39 1931-32	AD 1244		
Viḷuppanūr (SVP Tk) 382-384 1961-62	Mār. Sundara II 1242-43	¼ Dramam	½ Dramam
Viḷuppanūr (SVP Tk) 395-86 1961-62	Kōnerinmai	¼ Dramam	½ Dramam
Viḷuppanūr (SVP Tk) 387/1961-62		Both - 1 Dramam	1 Dramam
Kovilāñjēri 355/1961-62	Mār. Sundara II AD 1250	Drama ¼	Dry ½ near (Nattam) near habitat Dry ⅛ Dramam
Tirumāṇikkam 358/61-62	Kulaśēkhara 13+	3 dramam 1½ kalam	1 dramam (½ kalam) (if yielding) Dry 2 dramam (on crop raised)

Tirunelvēli - Non noticed.

TABLE - III
RATES OF INCREMENT REMISSION

Tirunelvēli district

Kurṛālam¹ AD 1256 : Lands in Sundarapāṇḍyapuram

1st year after reclamation - Per mā	-	cash	-	paddy
		1/20 kāśu		1 kalam
2nd year after reclamation		1/10 kāśu		2 kalam
3rd year after reclamation		3/20 kāśu		3 kalam
4th permanent assessment		1/5 kāśu		4 kalam

(on inspection on yielding landparcels)

Madurai district

Ānaiyūr² - cash levy per mā (14th century)

1st year : 30 paṇam

2nd year 45 paṇam

3rd year 60 paṇam (full)

Mudittalai³

I year 4 kalams per mā

II year 6 kalams per mā

III year 8 kalams

IV year 10 kalams

V year 12 kalams

VI 15 kalams - Permanent assessment

Ānaiyūr⁴ (13th century)

I year ½

II year ¼

III year full rate

(Ramanathapuram dt.)

Abhirāmpuram⁵

Old waste to be reclaimed

1st year $\frac{1}{2}$

2nd year $\frac{1}{8}$

3rd year $\frac{1}{2}$

4th year $\frac{3}{4}$

5th year. Full rate @ 10 kalams per mā.

Tirukkalakkudi⁶ (Mār. Sundara)

Old waste to be reclaimed

1st year $\frac{1}{4}$

2nd year $\frac{1}{2}$

3rd year $\frac{3}{4}$

4th year ($4\frac{3}{16}$ kalams)

Tirukkalakkudi⁷ (Jaṭ. Sundara II)

First year $\frac{1}{10}$

II $\frac{1}{9}$

III $\frac{1}{8}$

IV $\frac{1}{7}$

Full thereafter (Nilavaḍi)

The general scheme of land levies and assessment, as evidenced by the inscriptions has been framed and set above. The appendix to this Chapter describes the modes of measurement and assessment in vogue in the Pāṇḍyan Townships.

Table IV appended sets out rates of assessment in vogue at various locations. The table also shows the individual rates for the different crops and varieties of trees or other grains grown. Table V gives the linear measurement rod adopted, and the grain measure adopted at the different locations and times. They are illustrative.

FOOT NOTES

- 1 .Pl. see SII Vol. II pt. I No. 4.
2. S.II XXIII / 124, 124A
3. S.II VIII / 454
4. S.II V / 734
5. 196 / 1981-82
6. S.II VIII / 173, 174, 177, 178
7. S.II VIII / 170
8. S.II VIII / 170
9. 34, 35 / 1931-32
10. 166 / 1936

APPENDIX - III

FOOT NOTES

1. 432 / 1917
2. 342 / 1961-62
3. SII IV / 370, 371
4. Same as 342 / 1961-62
5. Not numbered / 1990-91
6. 103 / 1916
85 / 1916
7. 66 / 1916

TABLE IV
RATES OF LAND LEVIES IN THE PĀNDYAN TOWNSHIPS
 Arranged according to location and in the same location
 as far as ascertainable, chronologically

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Beding	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks
		Piscuam	Kiuvai			
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)	
Dārukāpuram 569/1915 588/1915	Kōṇērinmai Kōṇḍān	in Paddy Kalam	cash	½	Gingelly 1 Dramam Horsegram(16)mēni other dry ½ dramam lands in Malaiyaḍikkuriḍi	Waste and unielded lands to be excluded
Kuṛṅālam	Jaṭ. Vīra	4 Kalam		4	Dry 1/10 accu	Viniyōgam 1/20 accu newly reclaimed in Sundarapāṇḍyapuram (Kaṛumaṛai Nādu)
426 1917	Mār. Vikrama 5	4	4 Mā 1.5 Kāṣu			
415 1917	Mār. Kulaśēkhara	25 Kalam		¼	¼ accu	Another ¼ mentioned classification for which is not available Lands in Śēṅgulam
412 1917	Mār. Kulaśēkhara	100 Paṇam				Vāḍākkadamai lands in Puliyūr

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Kīlakalingal 324 1916	Mār. Sundara -	Arpasi ½ Kuruvai ¼		
Kīlappāvūr 394 1917	Mār. Sundara I AD 1238	3 Kalam 6 Kāsu ½		
Vellaṅguḷi 449 1916	Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara - 6 (AD 1196)	18 kalam Paḍakku 4 Dramam Antarāyam		Lands in Rājarāja Cm rates fixed by Mahāsbhā
Pappāṅgulam SII XXIII 124. 124-A	Mār. Sundara I 23 (AD 1238-39)	1 Kalm Kunṇi 8 3 3 3		Vēlākkuricci lands Lands granted according to assessment
Śērmādēvi 614/1916	Rājendra-I 6 (AD 1018)	5	2 akkam	Lands in Dēvar Kulam
Tirunelvēli SII V/436	Cōla Kulōttunga I Yr. N.A.	4 Kalam per crop 4 Kāsu	4 Kalam 4 Kāsu	Waste land reclaimed in Kunnattūr, Muḷippallam
Tirunelvēli SII V/415	Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara 26 (AD 1116)	10	10 Kalam	Service Tenure in Srīvallavapuram payable in Kār

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisānam	Kuruvai		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Tirunelvēli SII V/450	Kulasēkhara 13 + 9	3 accu 3 accu 6 accu		1 Dramam (16 meni) for Gingelly Horsegram	Deity's grant in vēṇuvana nāyaka nālūr Earlier levy 3 doubled, charging an induction fee of 3 accu.
Tirunelvēli SII V/446	Mār. Sundara II 1246-47	3 Kalam —	½		Lands in Ravivarma Cm. a Brahmādēya. Antarāya ¼ Kāsu mā
Tirunelvēli SII V/438	Mār. Sundara II 1251-52	30 Kalam 30 Kalam Kalam			Collective levy by the Township payable in cash at market by Suttamalli a Brahmadēya
Tirunelvēli SII V/437	Mār. Sundara II 1251	15 Kalam 15 Kalam	15 Kalam		Collective levy by the Brahmādēya Kōḍānūr Delivery; Citrai for Pisānam and Arpasi for Kār
Tirunelvēli 64.1927	Sundara 8	10 Kalam for 2 crops (5 Kāl) (5 Kāl)			Adhyayana Jīvitam

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Tirunelvēli 61/1927	Sundara	60 Kalams		Deity's grant - a lease(?)
Tirunelvēli 44/1927	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān	4 kalams ½ ¼ Kāsu	Tinai, Varagu 1½ Dramam (16 mēni)	Land in Vīravinoḍa Cm. (Kallaga Nāḍu)
Tirunelvēli 77 & 78 1927	Kulasēkhara	10 Kalams		Brahmadēya-Bhattās to pay 100 Kalams as Vādākkadan (villai-white rice Piśānam)
Māramāngalam SII VIII/454	Kōṇērinmai koṇḍān	Taram 1 : 10 Kalams Kāsu 8 Mā Mukkāni Taram 4 : 4 Kalam 1 Tūṇi, 4 Nāli 1 Uri & 3 163/320 (mā) Kāsu		
Vijayarūpam 14/1927	Jat. Kulasēkhara 3 (AD 1193)	Antarāyam 2 accu per Mā		
Nanguneri 239/1928	Jat. Sundara 8 + 1	1 Tūṇi-Padakku		Voluntary levy by Mahāsabhā

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisanam	Kuruvai			Baling
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)
Singikulam 263/1941	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān	15 kalam Tiḍiyūr	7½ Kalam 20 Kāl-	10 Kalam	For other lands, the Tanatār to inspect and charge rates as per rates in the surrounding lands proportionately for the lands yielded on measurement. (kist bandi) Pisanam: Citrāi Kār-Arpaṣi
		Madaiparru			
		Karuṅḡuḷam	15	7½	
		Naduviṅkuḷam	120		
		Māluva- cakravarti Kārāṇmai	60		
Srīvaikuṅṭam SII V/737	Vīra Pāṇḍya 15	10 Kalam			
Āttūr 429-30/1930	N.A.	1½ Kāl. Accu 81/160		¼	Dry ½ Dramam Land in Varandivayal in Kudanāḍu
Kuṟumbūr 274/1941	Mār. Sundara I AD 1220	3 Kalam			
Gaṅgaikoṇḍān SII V/734	Mār. sundara II 6	10 Kalam (2 crops) 8 Kalam (2 crops)			

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Manarpadaiyidu SII XXVI/473	K. 642 AD 1467	1 ¹ / ₁₆ Kōttai or 2 ¹ / ₈ Kalams		
Suttamalli SII XXVI/487	16th Century	6 Kalams		
Kokkijāncēri 355/1961-62	Mār. Sundara II AD 1220	3 Kāl. 1/2	Horse gram, Pul, iruṅgu 1 Dramam Kuruñjey 1/4 Puñjai (Dry) nattam 1/2 Dramam Dry (others 3/8)	
Palliccandai 741/1919	Mār. Kulasekhara 1289-90		Tinai 2 Kalam Grass Iruṅgu 1 kalam	If not yielding varisai on actual yield.
Tirumāṅikkam 358/1961-62	Kulasekhara N.A.	8 1/2	Dry 2 Dramam Kuruñjey 3 Dramam & 1/2 Kalam gram in Horsegram 1 Dramam Coconut 1/2 Dramam Dry for yielding lands 1/2 kalam & 1 Dramam	

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Piscatum	Kuruvai		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Madurai SII III 2-40	Cōla Parāntaka I	7½	—		Vādākkāḍan
Madurai SII IV/369	N.A.	2½ accu	—		
Madurai SII IV/373	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān				50 pon Vādākkāḍan
Madurai 271 41-42	Sundara Pāṇḍya				4 accu for reclamation
Madurai SII IV 369	Sundara Pāṇḍya				2½ accu Vādākkāḍan per year
Alagarkōil 290/1930	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān				Vādākkāḍan 10 Rāsiṇon 20 per crop year
Alagarkōil 290/1930	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān Vikrama	3	Kalam		Vādākkāḍan 30(5) paṇam Land in Vēmbu Nadu
Alagarkōil 16 1931-32	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān +				4 accu per year 600 paṇam
Alagarkōil 8 1931-32	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān 2				—

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Alagarkōil 326/1930	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān	5 Kalam		Pon 27 in Padaikudī (Tenpida Nādu)
Alagarkōil 290/1930	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān	4 Kalam Tūṇi Antarāyam 25 panam for 3 tanks		Land in Dvārāpati Nādu
Alagarkōil 315/1930	N.A.	3 Kalamis		
Alagarkōil 320, 321/1930	Sundara	3 Kalamis & 1 accu		
Kunnattūr 226/1964-65	Jat. Kulasēkhara AD 1218	8 Kalam Antarāyam 3 accu		Araiselavu 1 Kalam
Karungālakkuḍi 153/1973-74	Jat. Sundara I 12 AD 1262	5 Kalam Puñjay-nañjey 1 Paṇam ½ Kalam		wet crops grown as dry land
Karungālakkuḍi 152/1973-74	Jat. Sundara I 12 AD 1262	2 Kalamis 1 Paṇam 5 Paṇam	Varagu 1 paṇam	
Tiruvāvūr 473/62-63	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān 6	Rājēndracōḷa Cm. 6 Kalam ¼ Kāsu Tivattūr 4 Accu Mēlaipalli 10 Accu kuricci Puliyānguḍi 10 Accu		

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisanam	Kuravai			Baling
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)
Tiruvādvūr 476, 196, 2-63	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān - 6	Kilādrī	Accu 1 Kāśu ½		
Tiruvādvūr 479-480/62-63	Mār. Kulasekhara - 29 AD 1297	2 accu per vēli 1 mā.	1/10 accu		Land in Pallikuricci
Tiruvādvūr 493 62-63	Mār. Kulasekhara - 10 AD 1278-79	4½ Kalam Antarāyam	5 mēni Dramam ¹³ / ₃₂₀		Temple grant
Mēlamaṅgalam Unnumbered	NA	14 Kalam	7	½ i.e. ½ Kalam	N.A.
Tiruccunai SII VIII/411	Jaṭ. Sundara I	Sugarcane Betel	¼ 6 Kalam 1 panam	—	Varagu Tinai ¼ Turmeric Gingely kurūnai Ginger
Tiruccunai SII VIII/409	Sundara	5 Kalamis 2 pon: Antarāyam			Dry 1 panam
Tiruccunai SII VIII/409	Mār. Kulasekhara 13 AD 1281	5 Kalamis 1 Dramam	¼ Antarāyam	—	Tinai Varagu ¼ Gingelly 1 Dramam

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisamam Kuruvai	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Tiruccunai SII VIII/417	Kulasēkhara 13 + 14	5 Kalams Cash 5 (meni) Dramam (?)		
Sinnamanūr SII XXIII/435	Mār. Kulasekhara -I 3 AD 1271-72	30 Kalam		could be double crop lands
Tiruvēdagam 677/1905	S 1448 AD 1526 Vijayanagara Krishnadēvaraya per ma	3 Kalams 1 paṇam $\frac{3}{4}$ Betel 5 paṇams		
Madurai SII IV/373	—	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān		Vādākkadan 50 pon
Paḷani 30I/1955-56	—	9 and odd Kalams		

RAMANATHAPURAM DISTRICT

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)			Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisanam	Kuruvai	Belling		
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
		i	ii	iii		
Srivilliputtūr 546, 547, 549, 1926	Mār. Sundara I 1218-19	7 Kalam 2 Dramam (Antarāyam)				
Vengānallūr 521/1962-63	Mār. Sundara II —	2 Kalam 3 Kuṟuṇi Ādi Kāsu 3 mā Arpasi mukkāni Betel-full rate	¼ ¼ ½		Tinai ¼ Dramam Pul iruṅgu 1 Dramam	
Cōlapuram SII XXVI.528	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān	4 Kalam	¾	¼		Kasu ¼
Cōlapuram Ibid. 524	N.A.	4 Kalam ¼ accu				
Cōlapuram Ibid. 513	- -	Irāṣipānam Kuliga 100 pon				
Puduppālayam SII XXVI, 532, 533, 554	Mār. Sundara II 1248-49	6 Kalam (Aḍi) Kāsu N.A. Arpasi Kuruvai ½	¼	¼	2 Dramam per Mā	
Sūttūr 231 / 1941	Mār. Vikrama 5 + 1	4 Kalam 6 Kāsu				
Mūvaraivenṛān 37-1946-47	Kulasēkhara	8 Kalam ½ Dramam	½	—	Karuṅjey & Puṅjey	Dry 1½ Dramam

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisamam	Kuruvai		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Arupputtākōṭṭai 409/1914	Sundara	I	ii		
Arupputtākōṭṭai 410/1914	Mār. Kulasēkhara	3 Kalam			
Arupputtākōṭṭai 412/1914	Mār. Sundara I 14 (AD 1230)	4 Kalam		¼ Dramam (16 mēni)	
Arupputtākōṭṭai 44/1914	Mār. Kulasēkhara	6 Kalam			
Koḍamalūr SII XXIII/399	Mār. Sundara I (4) (AD 1220)	N.A.	(Adi) ¼ ¾ Kāśu Arpasi ½	¼ 1 ¼ Dramam	
Nayinārkōil 34. 35/1931-32	Jat. Pandya 8	12 Kalam 2 paṇam	¾		Gingelly 3 paṇam Varagu, rāgi, 3 Kalam (grain) cotton, castor 2 paṇam Blacksoil & dry ¼ mā accu
Tirumālugaṇḍān-Mār. kōṭṭai 38, 39 / 1931-32	Sundara II 6 (AD 1244)	3 Kalam			
Tirumālugaṇḍān-Kōṇērinmai- kōṭṭai 42, 43/1931-32	Koṇḍān	2(½) Kalam	½	—	Grass, Iruṅgu Castor ½ Dramam

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)			Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisamam	Kiuvai	Baling		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
Tirumālugandān-Kōnērinmai- kōṭṭai 47/1931-32		3 Kalam		3/4 Dramam		
Tirumālugandān-S 1499 kōṭṭai 56/1931-32	AD 1577	3 Kalam	2 Kalam			1 paṇam cash per mā. Deity's grant
Viluppanūr 382, 384/1961-62	Mār. Sundara II 1242-43	2 1/2 Kalam 1/4 Kāśu	1/2	1/4	Gingelly & Varagu, 16 meni Dramam 1 Black soil 3/4 Dry 1/2	
Viluppanūr 385, 386/1961-62	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān	4 1/4 Kāśu	1/2	1/4	Gingelly & Varagu Land in Marudūr 16 meni Dramam 1 Otherday 1/2 Dramam	
Viluppanūr 387/1961-62	N.A. II + I + I	2 1/2 Kalam(Ādi) 1/4 Kāśu	1/4	1/2	Gingelly & Varagu Jivitam tenure changed 2 Dramam other dry & blacksoil 1 Dramam	
Vēmbattūr 341/1959-60	Mār. Sundara I	3 Kalam Dramam 3/4				Fragment
Kōvānūr 46/1926	.....	(Ādi) 1/2				Tūṇi-Viniyōgam

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisanam	Kurivai Baling		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Kōvānūr 49/1926	N.A.	iii ($\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{18}$ of the main rate)			
Mēlanettūr No. N.A. 1989/90	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān	5 Kalam $\frac{1}{8}$ accu	$\frac{1}{8}$ accu alone		Only if yielded without water scarcity
Mēlanettūr No. N.A. 1989/90	Mār. Sundara I	50 kāśu per year			Kaṇṇanūr & Mēmaṅgala nāḍu
Kīlanettūr 220/1976-77	Mār. Sundara II	4 accu			An Oṭṭu for all taxes
Pāganēri 328/1948-50	Sundara Pāṇḍya	4 kalam 15			Gingelly, Varagu $\frac{1}{4}$ Mēlavelliṅgi ayacut - $\frac{1}{2}$ 3 makkani Kilavelliṅgi - accu 3. 6 Makkani
Pāganēri 333/1949-50	Vīra Pāṇḍya	5 1 kalam $\frac{1}{2}$ Dramam			
Tiruppāccētti 75/1929	Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha	5 kalam $\frac{1}{2}$ kāśu reduced to i.e. $\frac{3}{4}$ kalam $\frac{3}{8}$ kāśu			Reduction in assessment

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisanam	Kuruvai		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Kānūr 75 1929	Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara I 1204	7 Kalam Māsi Antarayam 5 Mēni Dramam Vinīyōgam Tūni	Māsi Kuruvai $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$	Tinai varagu Gingelly i Dramam	
Alagarkōil 275 196	Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara I 1204	Idai Kāttūr alias Alagiya- pāṇḍyaṇam	4 Kalam $\frac{1}{4}$ kāṣu	—	—
Tiruppūvaṇam FI XXV 130	Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara I	Vāgaikkūḍi Muttaraṇa kōttai Sirukilān- gāttūr	10 kāṣu 10 kāṣu 5 kāṣu	—	Oṭṭu half in cash half in paddy
Tiruppūvaṇam SII V 305-306	Parākrama Pāṇḍya				450 paṇam - Tanippaṅgu pāṭtam $\frac{3}{4}$ in one crop, $\frac{1}{4}$ in the next
Kānūr 355-357 1961-62	Mār. Sundara II + I				Cash Accu 3 Mā arai Kāni mundirigai
Ēriyūr (Svḡ) 337 1923	N.A.	3 Kalam 1 Dramam			

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisanam	Kuruvai		
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)
Mudikkarai 1983-84	Mār. Sundara	3 Kalam $\frac{1}{8}$ Dramam Antarāyam	$\frac{1}{2}$	Gingelly horsegram	Palmyra trees $\frac{1}{16}$ Dramam Antarāyam $\frac{1}{2}$ Dramam Wet crops Palan kāśu antarāyam 5 mēni Dramam $\frac{1}{2}$
Kālaiyārkkōil SII VIII/166	Jat. Sundara			—	Separate demand 15 Accu
Kālaiyārkkōil SII VIII/172, 173, 174 also in 177-178	Sundara	1 Kalam 1 Kurūṇi Antarāyam $\frac{1}{2}$ Paṇam $\frac{1}{2}$		Varagu $\frac{1}{2}$ Dry $\frac{1}{4}$	
Kālaiyārkkōil SII VIII/175	N.A.			Tinai, Varagu, Rāgi $\frac{1}{4}$	
Kālaiyārkkōil SII VIII/170	Mār. Vīra	7 Kalam Citrai 1 Kurūṇi Ādi Arpasi		Tinai, Kēlvaragu $\frac{1}{4}$	16 Vāsi ($\frac{1}{16}$) paddy to be charged for and for "Sāvi" paddy double (for wastage and no grain) Oṭtu- paṇam 18

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Panam	Kuruvai			Baling
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)
Kalayārkōil SH VIII 171	Mār. Kulasēkhara I	1 Kalam	$\frac{3}{4}$	Varagu $\frac{1}{2}$ Tinai Kēlvaragu $\frac{1}{4}$	Lands in sērrūr (Seithūr) ?
Kalayārkōil SH VIII 176	Kulasēkhara	1 Kalam Accu 2			Separated levy : 2 accu only 2 accu in years of no yield
Kalayārkōil SH VIII 175	Mār. Kulasēkhara	2 Kalam 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ accu 14 panam			
Tiruppattūr SH XIV 228	Jaj. Śrīvallabha 10 AD 1100				Māḍai -17 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 Mā Māḍai 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ 3 Mā Māḍai 43 9 Mā
Tiruppattūr 165 1936	Mār. Sundara I 22 AD 1238	7 Kalam 1 Tūni	Panam 1	Gingelly Varagu Panam 1	
Tiruppattūr 166 1936	Mār. Sundara II 2 (AD 1240)	1 Kalam 16 Mēni Dramam 2	Arpasi Kuruvai $\frac{1}{2}$ Āḍi kuruvai $\frac{1}{4}$ (Also for Sugarcane Betel. banana)	Gingelly Varagu $\frac{1}{4}$ Other dry: $\frac{1}{2}$ kalam per Mā (of grain)	

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	Pisanam	Kuruvai	(4)	(5)
Tiruppattūr 130/171	Tri Sundara II	3 Kalam 16 mēni Dramam 1	Ar̥pasi ½ ¼ (Baling)	Gingelly, Varagu 1 Dramam per Mā	Lands in Pūṅgunṛa Nāḍu
Kālaiyārkōil 167/1936	Kulaśēkhara 13 - 5	2 Kalam (Accumēni) Dramam 1	Ar̥pasi Kuruvai —		
Kālaiyārkōil 168/1936	Kōṇērinmai- kōṇḍān		Ar̥pasi Kuruvai —		
Kālaiyārkōil 187/1936	Kulaśēkhara 18 + 10	4 Kalam 5 mēni Dramam 1	Kōḍai ¼ Ar̥pasi Kuruvai ½		Lands in Pūṅgunṛa Nāḍu
Tiruppattūr 171/1936	Mār. Kulaśēkhara I AD 1285				Excluding Uḷudāṅkudi, vāram To pay out of mēlvaram jīvitam Kaḍamai and Kāśu Balance temple
Tiruppattūr 179/1936	S 1460 AD 1538	10 Kalam 1 cakram Also for Sugarcane betel,banana Turmeric, Ginger	½ (5 Kalam) ½ cakram	Gingelly, Varagu 1/2 Other dry 1/4	

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisamam	Kuruvai			Baling
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)
Tirukōstiyūr 288, 289/1923	Jat. Vīra	12 Kalam ¾ Dramam (25 mēni per accu)			
Tirukōstiyūr 283-1923	Kulaśekhara	3½ Kalams Antarāyam mēni ¼ Dramam			
Sivapuri 40 of 1028-29	Kulaśekhara	3 Kalams 1 Dramam			Land granted to a Brahmin on an obligation
Sivapuri SII XIV/243	Jat. Śrīvallabha	Antarāyam 1 Dramam			A Brahmadēya constituted
Sivapuri 59-243	Kulaśekhara 13 + 14	1 Dramam			Gingelly ¼ Palañkāśu Other grains : 2 Kalams of grain grown Castor : ½ Palañkāśu
Caturvēdi- mangalam 302/1925	Jat. Vikrama	5 3 Kalam Antarāyam Palañkāśu ⅛			

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Piscanam Kuruvai Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Tiruppattūr 124. 128/1908	1280 Jat. Vīra 22 1240 Jat. Vikrama 8 + 14 S 1344 AD 1422			Uḷavu Tavaṇai sale on varam tenure. No Kīl vārappaccai leviable as it was not levied earlier Sale by temple
Kunnakkudi 408 1954-55	Jat. Śrīvallabha 32	1/3 of earlier levy	1/4 thereof Tinai, varagu & broadcast dry 1/5 sowing sugarcane kurūnai 1/9 Turmeric	Reclamation- concession 1/3 of Mēlvāram to be invested on Tank- maintenance
Kunnakkudi SII XXXVI-44	Mār. Sundara 17	4 Kalam Arppasi 5 mēni Dramam 1	2 Kalam	
Tirukkalakkudi 103/1916	Mār. Sundara 15	4 3/16 Kāl (Ādi) Rasiṇaṇam 5	Proportionate reduction	Increment remission
Tirukkalakkudi 62/1916	Jat. Sundara	1/3 Sugarcane Betel 1/3	Tinai, varagu 1/4 Kollu Vegetables 1/8	

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuttavai	Rates for dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Tirukkalkkudi 115/1916	Kulaśekhara 28th	3 Kalam		
Tirukkalkkudi 66/1916	Jat. Sundara 19	$\frac{1}{3}$ Sugarcane — Betel $\frac{1}{3}$ Banana	Gingelly Horsegram $\frac{1}{5}$ varagu other dry $\frac{1}{7}$	Coconut, arecanut $\frac{1}{7}$ Increment remission till 4th year
Tirukkalkkudi 65/1916	S 1542	Oṭṭu Vādākkāḍan: 10 Paṇam 120 kalam		Kistbandi: — $\frac{9}{10}$ Tai to Ani $\frac{1}{10}$ Āḍi to Mārgali
Pillaiyārpaṭṭi 153/1926	Mār. Sundara I 12 AD 1228			As per Adayajūr Nāḍu rates in vogue
Iraniyūr 7/1926	Mār. Sundara I 15 AD 1231	2 Kalam Arpasi $\frac{1}{3}$ Āḍi $\frac{1}{4}$	Gingelly Horsegram $\frac{1}{4}$	(Sāttanēri ayacut)
Iraniyūr 4/1926	Sundara	$\frac{1}{4}$ Kalam Kōḍai $\frac{1}{4}$		Ur Viniyōgam Irāśipāṇam 3
Iraniyūr 5/1926	Sundara 3rd	5 Kalam Tuṇi		
Iraniyūr 6/1926	N.A. 20 + 1	2 Kalam Āḍi, Arpasi 1 Kalam 1 Dramam $\frac{1}{2}$ Dramam	Tinai, varagu $\frac{1}{2}$ Kalam Dry ($\frac{1}{4}$) Kalam	

Name of village Reference	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisanam	Kuttuvai			Baling
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)
Iraniyūr 10/1926	Mār. Sundara 3rd	2 Kalam ½ Dramam	½	—	Gingelly Horsegram ¼ Tinai Varagu
Pillaiyārpattī 151/1936	Mār. Kulasēkhara 41	Vāram Kōdai ⅓ Kōdai ¼ ½ panam			
Śākkōṭṭai 43-45-47	Mār. Sundara	6 Kalam 20 Kāṣu Antarāyam			
Śākkōṭṭai 56-46-47	Mār. Kulasēkhara 7	1 Kalam ½			Gingelly Horsegram ½ Jīvitam
Śākkōṭṭai 98/45-46	Vīra Pāṇḍya 36	4 Kalam 2 Kalam			Varagu 1 Kalam gingelly 2 Tūṇi Cotton-as per vogue in the Nādu Paddy-hand-sown 2 Kalam
Nēmam 213/1980-81	Mār. Sundara I 1213	1 2 Kalam ½ (as per condition)			

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Tinai	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisamam	Kuruvai				Baling
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)	
Sannavanam 14-1916	Kulaśekhara 13 + 10	3 Kalam	Ādi Arpasi ½	Tinai ½	Jīvitamdars half share	
Sannavanam 27-1916	Mār. Sundara I 1237	2 Kalam 1 Tūni 25 new Kāsu				
Sannavanam 28-1916	Mār. Kulaśekhara I AD 1286	N.A.	¼ (?)	¼	Land cultivated and crop yielding in natham 25 kāsu	
Ilayāthakuḍi 17-1926	Mār. Sundara I 5th AD 1221,	7 Kalam	¼			
Ilayāthakuḍi 18-1926	Mār. Vīra Sundara I AD 1222	2 Kalam	1 Kalam	Gingelly Horsegram ½	Jīvitamdar has Kalam remitted his taxes	
Vēlaṅgudi 510-1958-59	Mār. Sundara 5th	Vādākkadamai 55 paṇam				
Abhirāmapuram 1990-91	N.A.	2 Kalam	¼	Gingelly Varagu Tinai ¼		
Talakkāvūr 219-1980-81	Mār. Sundara 7 + 1				Rāsipaṇam 2	

(1) Name of village Reference.	(2) Ruler's name date.	(3) Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling	(4) Dry crops to be specified.	(5) Remarks.
Talakkāvūr 215/1980-81	Mār. Sundara 15 AD 1231	2 Kalam 13 Kuṟuṇi ¼		Determined amount 1600 (Paṇam)
Talakkāvūr 195/1980-81	Vīra Pāṇḍya 2 + 6	—		Determined amount 1200 paṇam
Talakkāvūr 193/1980-81	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān 13 + 14			50% remission-relief
Talakkāvūr 192/1980-81	Vikrama Pāṇḍya (13th Century)			
Talakkāvūr 196/1980-81	Rājarāja Sundara 13	I Taram 8 Kalam II Taram 4 Kalam ½ III Taram 3 Kalam Sugarcane Betel etc.	Varagu ½ Gingelly ⅓ melvaram Dry 1 paṇam pudu guligai paṇam	Mā - 2 paṇam
Uñjanai 189/1980-81	Rājarāja Sundara 10	2 Kalam Kalam Tūni Arecanut Kalam Sugarcane 2 Kalam as per mēni crop	Tinai 2 Tūni Gingelly Kalam, 3 Kuṟuṇi	
Tiruvāḍanai 434/1916	Kōṇērinmai- koṇḍān	4 Kāl. 3 Nāli Kāśu-3 Mā Mukkāni		Remission ⅓ kalam 1 kalam 7 Kuṟuṇi Nāli from 16th year

Name of village Reference	Ruler's name date	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Radhānūr 57.1926	Pāṇḍya N.A. 20 + 1 + 1	4 Kalam $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ Dramam Arpasi Kuruṅvai $\frac{1}{4}$		
Nayanārkōil 34 & 35 1931-32	Jat 8th year	2 Kalam $\frac{1}{4}$ 1 paṇam	Varagu 1 3 Kalam Oṭṭu Rāgi 1 grain Gingelly 3 paṇam Cotton & Castor 2 paṇam	
Periccikōil 77.1924	Mār. Sundara I	1 Sugarcane	Gingelly Tinai $\frac{3}{4}$ Varagu (on inspection by Dēvakannmis Dry $\frac{1}{4}$	
Periccikōil 87.1924	Mār. Sundara I 21 AD 1237	2 Kalam 5 mēni Dramam 1		Jivitam lands Hence lower rates
Periccikōil 92.1924	Mār. Sundara I 9th AD 1225	3 Kalam Arpasi Kuruṅvai $\frac{1}{2}$ Ādi Kuruṅvai $\frac{1}{4}$	Tinai Varagu $\frac{1}{4}$	
Periccikōil 68.1924	Sundara			Lands granted to Brahmins-to pay to the temples

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Pericikōil 56/1924	Mār. Kulasēkhara I 1286	5 Kalam 1/8 Paḷankāśu		On lands which come to yield
Tirumalai 19/1924	Jaṭ. Kulasēkhara	3 Kalam 1 Dramam		39/1920 Parākrama Pāṇḍya Same rates
Tirumalai 25/1924	Jaṭ. Kulasēkhara	same as above		
Tirumalai 27. 28/1924	Jaṭ. Kulasēkhara 6 AD 1196	5 Kalam Āḍi 1/2	Tiṇai Varagu 1/2 Gingelly 1/4 Garden land (Kollai) 1/2	Same as 23/1924
32/1924	Jaṭ. Kulasēkhara 4	4 Kalam 1 Dramam (5 mēni)	Varagu 1/2 Tiṇai 1/4	Vinīyogam Tūṇi Padakku -do- 23/1924
29/1924	Jaṭ. Kulasēkhara			
Tirumalai 18/1924	Mār. Sundara N.A.	40 Kala Arpaṣi varisai kuṟuvai 1/4 1 mā = 3 kaḷ Antarāyam Āḍi kuṟuvai 1/2 7/8 Dramam	Varagu 1/2 Gingelly Tiṇai 1/4 Dry 1/2 Dramam	For yielded lands Vinīyogam Tūṇi paddy

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma)		Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
		Pisanam	Kunuvai			Baling
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)
Tirumalai 36/1924	Mār. Sundara II 12	...	...	...	36/1924 kaḷānju
Tirumalai 23/1924	Jaṭ. Vīra	40 kala- varisai (on yielded crops) per Mā. 3 Kalam Antarāyam 5 mēni Dramam		Kalam Kurūṇi	

TABLE - V

<i>Inscription & Reference</i>	<i>Ruler & date as far as certainable</i>	<i>Name of the standard measurement of land</i>	<i>Name of the grain measurement adopted</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
TIRUNELVĒLI DT.			
Seidūṅṅanallūr 367/1954-60	Jat. Srivallabha I 19 + 1 AD IIII0	Virapāṇḍyankāl	
Dārukāpuram 568/1915	Kōṇērinmaikōṇḍān	12 Śān pole	
Tirunelvēli SII 438	Māṅ. Sundara (13)	6 Nāḷi kāl	
Tirunelvēli SII V/446	Māṅ. Sundara II 1246-47	24 Śān rod	
Tirunelvēli 44/1927	Kōṇērinmaikōṇḍān	18 Śān rod	
77. 78/1927	Kulasēkhara	. . . . .	6 Nāḷi kāl
Śrīvaikuntam SII V/1927	Vīra Pāṇḍya	7 Nāḷi kāl	
MADURAI DT.			
Tirumōhūr 75/1905	S 1551 AD 1629	8 Paḍi kāl	

<i>Inscription & Reference</i>	<i>Rule & date as far as ascertainable</i>	<i>Name of the standard measurement of land</i>	<i>Name of the grain measurement adopted</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kunrattūr Madurai	AD 1218		Kaḍamaikkāl (Kaṇḍadivan)
Karungālakkuḍi 153/1973-74	AD 1262	Kuditāngi Kōl - 18	Nāttār Kāl
Tiruccunai SII VIII. 411	Jat. sundara I 14	By 18 pole 256 kuḷi 1 mā	
Madurai SII IV/370, 371	Jat. Vīra 21st	By 21 pole	
RAMANATHAPURAM DT.			
Srivilliputtūr 546, 547, 549/1926	Mār. Sundara I AD 1218 - 19	Pattañjankāl 15 Kuruṇi = 1 Kalam (as against 12 Kalams elsewhere)	
Vengānallūr 521/1962-63	Mār. Sundara II	Sundarapāṇḍyankōl	Vīra Pāṇḍyan kalam
Cōḷapuram SII XXVI.528	Kōṇērinmaikondān	18 rod Vīra Pāṇḍyan	Vīra Pāṇḍyan kalam
Cōḷapuram SII XVI.524	. . . . .	Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kōl	Vīra Pāṇḍyan kalam

<i>Inscription & Reference</i>	<i>Ruler & date as far as certainable</i>	<i>Name of the standard measurement of land</i>	<i>Name of the grain measurement adopted</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Puduppālayam SII XXVI-532		Kaḍamai kāl	
Mūvarai Venṛān 37-46-47	Kulaśēkhara 3 + 5	24 Śān rod = 1 Mā	Āyirattenmarai Kāl
Aruppukkōṭṭai 410/1914		16 Śān Kōl	Idattuvali Ūr Kal Pīḍigai measure
Aruppukkōṭṭai 412/1914			Could it be Maḍigai ?
Aruppukkōṭṭai 414/1914			“Tarutaderipālan” measure
Koḍumalūr SII XXIII/399	Mār. Sundara (?) 4		
Nayinārkōil 34, 35/1931-32	N.A. 8th year	18 Śān pole	
Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai 42, 43/1931-32			Ūr Nālikkāl
Tiruppacētti 75/1929	Jai. Śrīvallabha	18 Śān Kōl	Paṭṭāran Kāl (10 : 6)

<i>Inscription & Reference</i>	<i>Ruler & date as far as certainable</i>	<i>Name of the standard measurement of land</i>	<i>Name of the grain measurement adopted</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kānūr 369-61-82	N.A.	Kōl Kuḍitaṅgi	Valaiyir kāl (Kāl prevalent in surrounding village?) Abhimuktamarakkāl
Eriyūr 337 Ibid	N.A.		
Alagarkōil 275, 1930	Jat. Kulasēkhara I AD 1205 (Lands in Iḍaikāṭṭūr)		Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāl
Viḷuppanūr (Srīvilliputtur: 1k) 382, 384 1961-62	Mār. Sundara I 1242-43		Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāl
Viḷuppanūr 355, 386 1961-62	Kōṇērinmai		Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāl
Viḷuppanūr 387/1961-62	N.A.		Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāl
Kālaiyārkōil SII VIII 170	Mār. Vīra 14	18 Kōlkuditaṅgi	
Kālaiyārkōil SII VIII 171	Mār. Kulasēkhara I		The measure adopted in the market shops of sōṭṭūr.

<i>Inscription & Reference</i>	<i>Ruler & date as far as certainable</i>	<i>Name of the standard measurement of land</i>	<i>Name of the grain measurement adopted</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kālaiyārkōil SII VIII/176	Kulaśekhara		Śivakkoḷundu marakkāl
Tiruppattūr 165/1935-36	Mār. Sundara I AD 1238		Oruvarai marakkāl
Tiruppattūr 166/1936	Mār. Sundara II AD 1240	Kōlkuḍitāngi	Kālaiyārkālan measure
Tiruppattūr 130/1908	Tri. Sundara	24 Śān Kuḍitāngi	
Tiruppattūr 167/1936	Kulaśekhara 13 + 5	Kuḍitāngi rod	Nāṭtukkāl
Tiruppattūr 187/1936	Kulaśekhara 13 + 10	Kuḍitāngi rod	Current Kuṭṭaikāl
Tiruppattūr 179/1936	S 1450		Min maḷikkāl
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288, 189/1923	Jaṭ. Vīra		Desavāṭtai Marakkāl
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 287/1923	Kulaśekhara		'Vīrapāṇḍyan' measure

<i>Inscription & Reference</i>	<i>Order & date as far as ascertainable</i>	<i>Name of the standard measurement of land</i>	<i>Name of the grain measurement adopted</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Śivapuri SH XIV/243	Jat. Śrīvallabha 17 AD 1107	'Arulinidhi' (rod)	
Caturvēdimāṅgalam 382/1928			Śrīpaṇḍārakkāl
Tirukkalakkudī 65/1916	S 1542		Tirukkoṭṭārakkāl
Iraṇṇiyūr 7/1926	Mār. Sundara I AD 1231		Nāṭṭuk kaḍamai kāl
Sūkkōṭṭai 55/46-47	Mār. Kulaśēkhara 7		Vīrasēkharan kāl
Nēmam 213/1980-81	Mār. Sundara I AD 1237	Kuḍitāṅgi kōl	
Sunnavanam 14/1916	Kulaśēkhara 13 + 10	16 Śāṅ Kōl	
Sunnavanam 27/1916	Mār. Sundara I 20 + 1 AD 1237	18 Śāṅ Kol	Mālava māṅkkan measure
Abhirāmapuram No. N.A. 1980 91	N.A.	22 'Kāṇaviniya perumāl rod'	

<i>Inscription & Reference</i>	<i>Ruler & date as far as ascertainable</i>	<i>Name of the standard measurement of land</i>	<i>Name of the grain measurement adopted</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Uñjanai 196/1980-81	Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya 13		'Valavay' measure
Uñjanai 189/1980-81			Kōil kāl
Radhānūr 57/1926	N.A.	24 feet Sundarapāṇḍyan Kōil	
Nayinārkōil 34 & 35 1981/82	Jat. N.A.	18 Kōil	Kōil kāl

(ii) MISCELLANEOUS LEVIES

In addition to the local levies, a variety of miscellaneous levies or demands were in vogue. These were either due to the King or to the community in its organised institutional frame, the Ūr, the Sabhā and the Nagara or the larger aggregate of Ūrs, the Nāḍu. They were payable in different forms - in cash, in the form of produce, or by way of services, or in lieu thereof in cash. They were also payable in varied months, in Āḍi, Āvaṇi, Kārthigai synchronising with some festivals or the time of the crop yield. The levies were per capita for class or caste of persons and for residential habitats and a share of the crop produce or lay way of free labour, or feeding and sheltering the royal and community servants.

These levies have been classified and their import as far as can be made out are given in the statements that follow. The particular reign or date is not given as there is reason to presume from the persistent occurrence of these terms in the inscriptions that they were in force throughout the period. Some of the levies might be additions in a later period but had subsisted thereafter. The long customary usage and its force would have allowed but a few additions but less of discontinuance of these levied. There is nothing to suggest that because some terms do not occur in a particular township it was not leviable therein. The general pattern of community obligations could only have been persistent and ubiquitous. Where evidence is available, the qualification of the levy has been given. Also it is noticed that itemised levies were several but payment was made in a consolidated manner for several of them in a few cases.

The classification adopted are the following :-

- (1) Free services and payments to the King and the deity and other dues.
- (2) Community obligation of the Ūr, Sabhā, Nagaram to the king.
- (3) Free labour for community services.
- (4) Taxes on cultivators, cultivation and land produce levies of a miscellaneous nature.
- (5) for watch and ward and other services.
- (6) Taxes on houses, house sites.
- (7) Taxes on professions or processing.
- (8) Others not classified (including those unclear)

The lasting impression that this analysis leaves is how the community bestirred itself in all known avenues to further community facilities and avenues of community life and enjoyment. The emphasis was more on the obligations, of the individual and sections of the community to the whole, resident in a particular location. The King himself had no mean share of these obligations in cash, in kind or through services.

Some of these obligation might be occasional others more enduring. The benefits of the services for the tank and channel maintenance and of the public amenities accrued to the community. The sheer variety and number of their demands were earn if the incidence of every individual item might be small together could have been exacting, more so when the rulers and their men were unimaginative and oppressive. Towards the end of the 13th and early 14th century this condition was well reflected and the hardships were pronounced.

These are dealt with in the chapter that follows.

TABLE VI

Payment and Free Service for King/Temple (deity) or other dues.

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Tirunelvēli SII V/448 Also in Āttūr 410/1933	Pañjupīli Sandivigrahappēru	(fluff of cotton) levy or War peace payment to "madhyastha or document" writer SITI (TNS p 1425)
Seidūnganallūr	Ugavai	Fee on auspicious or joyous occasions
Āttūr 430/1933	Veļļōlai Vilakkeṇṇai Silvari Peruvari Vāśal Pōnda Kuḍimai	Epistle fee Caster oil for lamp minor taxes Major taxes Free services or labour at the Royal gate.
Idaikāl 506, 507, 508/1916	Karpūravilai Vārāphalam Iñjiruppu vari	Land levy Produce - share (?) Services / Payment

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Giriyambālpuram 455/1916	Vāśal pēru Ilāncinaippēru	(at the king's gate) (For affixing Royal sign manual)
Siṅgikulam 258/1941	Pañjupīli Sandhivigrahappēru Tiruvilaccunai Tiruvāsalōḍal	For affixing royal sign Manual For prayer at the King's gate.
V. Kārukūricci 529/1916	Kāśukaḍamai Kaipaccai Ōlaieluthu	Payment in cash Produce for ceremonials Levy for espistle of royal command.
Tiruvāliśvaram 359/1916	Kaṇḍōn vari Nadantavari	? ?
Kollāpuram 146-47	Vannam Alivannakkuli Ugavai	? ?
Madurai SII IV/373-369	Pañjupīli Sandhivigrahappēru Vāśalviniyōgam Vādākkāḍamai Ūrālvari Vāśalvari Kārtigaippon viniyōgam Āltēvai Maḍittēvai Ānai śālai Kudiraippandi Ōlai elettu Ōlai eduppu Vāśalviniyōgam Siraivaccu	Ceremonial procession Tax at the royal gate Distributed cash levy at the time of Kārthigai Labour demand ? (for maintaining elephant corp) for horse stables for written orders of the King for conveying the oral orders Distributed levy for the king's gate ?

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i> (1)	<i>Name of levy.</i> (2)	<i>It import.</i> (3)
Alagarkōil 8/1931-32	Vēṇḍukōi Vāśalurimai	Requisition of labour in kind by king Rights - obligation at palace gate
Alagarkōil 308/1930	Āṇḍeluttuttēvai Ānai sālai Kudiraippandi Sirai accu (?) Āyattevai Magattevai	Requisition for annual accounts closure) For services of the princes of the royal family
Palani 301/1955-56	Nilavaccu Kudimai Ottaccu Vāśal viniyōgam Indeluttu viniyōgam Ōlai viniyōgam Ādikkārappēru Ānaicālai Kudiraippandi āyam	(Land by in cash) Labour by cultivating tenants Lease fee in cash Fee for royal servants
Tirumālugaṇḍāṅkōṭṭai = 42, 43/1916	Kūttaccu (?)	?
Tiruppattūr 165, 166/1936	Accuvari Ponvari Peruvari	Taxes in cash
Tirukoṣṭiyūr 288, 269/1923	Kaṅkāṇippu Kuṟaiaruppu	Fee for accountant supervision Ceremonial homage & customarily paid at the Palace
283/1923	Karrokari	?

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Iranīyūr 7/1926	Accuvari Śilvari Peruvari Sēvakattevari	Requisition for service or Labour
Iranīyūr 10/1926	Ponvari silvari	
Sannavanam 27/1916	Sevakappēru Silvari Ponvari	Requisition for service or Labour
Urujanai 196/1980-81	Tirumadilkōlarai Makkarraj Tirunāltēvaibandam	To the temple obligations for maintaining the temple walls for festoons to be supplied and for obligation at the time of festivals.

(2) For the community obligations of the Ūr, Sabhā Nagaram

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Kurrālam 412/1917	Vāriyappeṟu	2 Mā. (payable from Māsi to Āni) after the main harvest for the expenses of the committees of the Township.
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916	Ponvari	(in cash in mēlvāram)
Tirunelvēli 479/1927	Sabhāviniyōgam	(Distributed levies due to the Sabhā for common purposes)
Tirunelvēli SII/448	Viniyōgam	(Distributed levies due to the Sabhā for common purposes)
Seiduṅganallūr 367/1959-60	Uḷudānkuḍi Ugavai Viniyogam	Together 8 dramam
Ramnad District		
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288-289/1923	Kaṇakkappēru	for accountants
Sannavanam 14/1916 Sannavanam 287/1923 Sannavanam 27/1916	Kaṇakkappēru Viniyōgam Kanmikaḷ kaṇakkappēru (for exercises and accountants)	for accountants
Iraniyūr 4/1926 Iraniyūr 10/1926	Ūr viniyōgam Ūr viniyōgam	Irāsipaṇam 3
Aḷagarkōil 326/1930	Korūlakkai kaḍaikkūṭṭuilakku	Food & shelter for village servants (accounts finalisation shelter fee)

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>Its import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Also in Madurai SII Vol. 360, 308/1930	Āṇḍeluttu Tēvai ōlai eḷuttu Ilāñjinai viniyōgam	Annual accounts of services requisition (For royal sign manual)
Palani 301/1955-56	Ārāitcikkāṇikkai Kālingarāyan viniyōgam Vāsalviniyōgam Āṇḍeluttu viniyōgam . . . eḷuttu	Cash for Court fee
Pillaiyārpatti 153/1946	Ōlaviniyōgam Accuvari $\frac{1}{7}$ of the yield of the puravari	Distributed for royal or from the Nāḍu (Fee for mainting cours from gold) or paid in cash.
Iraniyūr 7/1926	Accuvari	Synonymous with ponvari (?)
Tirumālugaṇḍāṅkōṭṭai 42, 43/1931-32	Kōilviniyōgam	Distributed levy for the purchase or the temple
Tirunelvēli SII V/448	Kāriyavārāyṭci	Court fee
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916	Nāḍiṅṇavarai	Distributed levies for the Nāḍu
Kunnattūr 226/64, 65	Nāṭṭokka Kāśu	$\frac{5}{8}$
Palani 301/1955-56	Nāṭṭuviniyōgam	. . .
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 301/1923	Nāṭṭokka kāśu	. . .
Pillaiyārpatti 153/1946	Nāḍiṅṇavarigaḷ	. . .

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Ilāyāttakūḍi 17/26	Nādīnṛavari	...
Tirukōṣṭiyūr SII XIV/233		100 paṇams gifted by Nāṭṭār for levy seemd to be collected as a distributed by levy to gather with Nāṭṭuvāri
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 285/1923		3 paṇam as Nāṭṭuvāri thro viniyōgam
Ilāyāttakūḍi 16, 17, 18 19/1926		Nādīnṛavari Free labour for community services
Tirunelvēli SII V/448	Vetṭippāttam	Lease amount for the free labour or in lieu there of
Āttūr 43/1933	Śennīrvetṭi	for channel clearence
V. Kāruricci 529/1916	Ērivāri Kāṇikkai	Tank levy Distributed levy
Madurai SII IV/373	Korṛilakkai	food and shelter for royal & community servants
Tirumohūr 75/1905	Kuḍikkāḍamai	cultivater's obligation
Aḷagarkōil 8/1931-32	Vēṇḍukōḷ Vetṭipāttom	Registration
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288, 289/1923	Kūrṛarisi	To supervise the dehusking of paddy / rice

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Iraniyūr 10/1926	Vet̥timuttāvāḷ	due to the Jīvitam holder (free labour due to him)
Sannavanam 27/1916	Vet̥timuttāvāḷ Kīḷvet̥ti	
Ḥayāttakuḍi 21/1916	Vet̥tippāttom Kūr̥rarisi	
Sērmādēvi 673, 674/1916	Śāttāyam	grazing fee
Sērmādēvi 669/1916	Śāttuvari	Grasing fee Note : If Śāttuvari is a corrupt form of Sār̥ruvari may refer to the fee on swat palmyra toddy TN S 1430
Kurrālam 431/1917	Maṇṇaḍikūli	¼ Kāsu for earth work as on tanker, canals ?
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 83/1923	Vet̥timuttāvāḷ	1 Mā Tūni Padakku (½ Kalam)
(4) Tax on cultivators, cultivation and land produce levies of a miscellaneous nature		
Sērmādēvi 614/1916	Uḷavukkāśu	Vēli 2 Kalam (plough fee)
Sērmādēvi 682/1916	Uḷavukkāśu	cultivating tenant's levy
Kurrālam 431/1917	for inspection of fields	1 Nāḷi per 5 Nāḷi milk

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Tirunelvēli 47/1927	Kadirviniyōgam Ērvari Kuḍimakkaḷ vari	(Plough fee) (Same as uḷudānkuḍi)
Peruṅguḷam SII XXIII/124A-124	Uḷudānkuḍi	
Seiduṅganallūr 367/1959-60	Uḷudānkuḍi Ugavai viniyōgam	together 8 dramams
Āttūr 430/1933	Kūr̄r̄arisi Peruvari Silvari	
Idaikāl 506, 507, 508/1916	Ēr̄r̄avari	(enhanced levy) Levy on lifts
V. Kāruricci 529/1916	Nelvari Kuḍi ir̄ai	
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916	Uḷudānkuḍi Ponvari on mēlvāram	
Madurai District		
Kollāpuram 146-147/1908	Ir̄aivari Pullicēcy Pullicoru Ūr̄iniavari Ugavai	fee and feeding of the superintendents who estimate yield Tax due to the township
Madurai 149/1961-62	All miscellaneous	5 accu

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Madurai SII IV/369	All miscellaneous Kārtigai paccai Pillaiyārñōnbu Nandavanapaccai Eduthukkattum paccai	5 accu Green vegetable produce in at Kartigai Requirements for Pillaiyar Poojah in Āvaṇi Garden yield share. The first produce/yield share
Madurai 62/1905	Ērvari Taḍi Kuṟuṇi Taḍi padakku	Plough fee Kuṟuṇi paddy per field Padakku paddy per field
Aḷagarkōil 81/1931-32	Koṟṟilakkai	food and shelter for servants
Aḷagarkōil 308/1930	Kārtigai paccai	
Kunnattūr 226/64-65	Karpūravilai	
Paḷani 301/1955-56	Antarāyam	
RAMANAD		
Tirumālugantānkōṭṭai 42, 43/1931-32	Ēlām puñjey	On Palmyrah - toddy tapping
Tiruppattūr 74/1929	Mākkalam Taḍi padakku Pādikāval	Kalam paddy per mā watch and ward
Tiruppattūr 128/1908	Kīl vārappaccai	From the cultivating tenants

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i> (1)	<i>Name of levy.</i> (2)	<i>It import.</i> (3)
Tirukōṣṭiyur 305/1923	Kīl vārappaccāi	
Sannavanam 27/1916	Taḍi Kuṟuṇi	Pl. see below
Kōvilūr 523/1962-63 SI 797 AD 1875	Mākkalam	Kalam paddy per Mā
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi 66/1916	Taḍi-Kuṟuṇi	When Mēlvāram is taken on inspection for the temple threshed floor shall be laid and the crops threshed and from the grain realised/kuṟuṇi per field for super intendence shall be deducted in common and thereafter mēlvāram shall be taken at Taḍi kuṟuṇi is to the common account of the mēlvāram and the Kuḍivāram shares thus kuḍi/kalam included in Irai, Kudimai

(5) For watch and ward and other services

Sērmādēvi 682/1916	Pādikāval Watch & ward fee	Dramam 133-6 Mākkāṇi
Sērmādēvi 651/1916	Eccoru Vēḷaccōru Tīyeriçōru Tīvakaliçcoru Pulliccoru	All feeding obligations of which there were a variety Feeding the royal and Community servants or messengers For feeding Soldiery For hōma or sacrifice For torch bearing For servants doing estimation of crop

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
431/1917	Maṇṇaḍi kūli	For earth work
Tirunelvēli 47/1977	Sabhā / Iraivilai	
Āttūr 430/1933	Eccōru	
Idaikāl 506, 507, 508/1916	Eccōru Variccoru	Feeding the tax collection
Tirukkōṣṭiyūr 288, 280/1923	Eccōru	
(6) Tax on house-sites and houses		
Kurrālam 406/1901		Manai Irai remitted Talaioppu per Kuḍiyiruppu
Āttūr 429-30/1930		levy on residents Manai Irai - ¼ accu
Idaikāl 506, 507, 508/1916		Kūraipuguvān (house warming entrant to a new house)
Peruṅguḷam 241/1933		House sites - 1 Dramam (16 mēni)
Vīravanallūr 719/1916		Manai Irai (Merchants habitat) accu 2
MADURAI		
Aḷagarkōil 308/1930		Manai vari

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Kōkkiḷāncēri 352/1961-62		House site (Manai) Iṛai 306 Kōl = 18 sq. kōl = Dramam
Paḷani 301/1955-56		Nattavari
RAMNAD		
Māriyūr 96/1905		Talaioppu Kāśu on residents - 40 Kāśu (fragment) per head levy on residents
Kaḷaiyārkōil SII VIII/173-174		Manavari on residents or neighbouring residents (asal kudi)
Aḷagāpuri 107/1924		1 Manai = 1¼ dramam Paḷankāśu = 4 Manaiyāga Dramam
Cōḷapuram SII XXVI/518		1 Manai Iṛai
Tiruppattūr 179/1936		The residents who took a new their residence - ¼ paṇam

(7) Tax on profession or processing

Sērmādēvi 673, 674/1916		Dēvadiyār Iṛai (levy on dāncing girls)
Tirunelvēli 47/1927		Āḷvari (capita levy)
Giriyambālpuram 455/1916		Tariyirai (Tax on looms) Sekkiṛai (Tax on oil gunnies)

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>Its import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
		Tattārpāttom (on carpenters stone masons) Idaiyanvari - On shepherd Inavari (as a class of persons) (All included in Sūttirai-3 Accu) inclusive of Kuḷavari for tank maintenance and Ponvari (in cash / or for minting coins)
Sengikuḷam 258/1941		Mīnvari (for fishing in tanks) Uvaccavari (on pipers) Dēvaḍiyārvari (on dancing girls) Taṟivari (on looms) Tattānpāttom (The lease rental on carpenters or stone merchants)
V. Kārukūricci 529/1916		Toḷil taccu - fee for carpentry in kind)
Tiruvāliśvaram 359/1916		Sembaḍavari (on fishermen)
Madurai SII IV/373-369		Taṟi irai (on looms) Sekkīrai (on oilmongers) Tattolippāttom (Carpenters) Tattārpāttom (Goldsmiths?) Inavari (on a class) Idaivari (shepperd) Vaṇṇār kāśu (on washermen on the stone used)
Tirumōhūr S 155.1905		Kaitta + kaḍamai (on looms)

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i> (1)	<i>Name of levy.</i> (2)	<i>It import.</i> (3)
Āttūr 429-30/930		Inavari - Śūttirai - ½ accu. (for class of people or caste) Inavari (per class of persons or caste) Ālvāri (per capita) Vannārakkāsu.
Tiruppattūr 165/1936		Tax on Idaiyar (shepherds, Paraiyan, Pallavar (on Scheduled castes/ Cultivators)
Sannavanam 27/1916		Paraimai (Tax as Paraiyan) or free services demanded of them.
Cōlapuram SII XIV/221		24 manai allotted to weavers - Tax fixed levy of 10 paṇam for loom per month - No limit on looms
Tiruppullāṇi SII VIII/396		Shepherd made over to Tiruppullāṇi temple with the seal (insignia) Idāivari on shepherds remitted.
Tirumalai 21/1924		King transfers to temple the tax levies he could collect from Pallar Paraiyar per head
Ambāsamudram 310/1916		The Aḍavimār of Vallakuricci a Dēvadāna to pay per loom 2 paṇams worker - ½ paṇam on taking residence on the land allotted
Kurrālam 426/1917		Śekkirai oil gunnies 12 Nāḷi of oil per year (1 nāḷi per month)

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Kīlakkalingal gal 324/1918		Śekkairai - Māttāl Dramam ¼
Giriyambālpuram 455/1916		Mis. levises all inclusive Sūttirai 3 accu includes Śekkirai
Singikuḷam 258/1941		Śekkirai
Kaḍayanallur 643/1917		1 Śekku - Irai 2 paṇam
Kīlakkalingal 324/1918		Śekkirai - Māttāl Dramam ¼
MADURAI DT.		
Paravai 136/1951-52		Śekkirai pāttam
Madurai SII IV/373 SII IV/369		Śekkirai
	(8) Others (not classified)	
Āttūr 430/1993		Śirukarai (?)
Singikuḷam 258/1941		Mīnvari (levy on fishery - rentals)
Tiruvāliśvaram 359/1916		Mūngilvari (levy on bamboos) Kaṇḍōn vari (?) Nadanta vari (?)

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Madurai SII IV/373-369		Māvadi fee (for cattle penning) kuḷavadai (Fee on tank Fisheries Tattirai (?)) Korrilakkai. (Food and shelter per servants) oḷugumīnpāttam (fee for fishing) Pāsippāttam (fee for fishing) Monanpāttam (?) Sirāivaccu (?)
Tirumōhūr Ś5/1905		Māvaḍai Maravaḍai (fee on tree-fields) Pon 36 Kaṛavaikkāṇi (on milk cow uḷvari pāsivilai (fisheries Ērivari (fee for tank maintenance)
Aḷagarkōil 8/1931-32 326/1930		Vāsalurimai (dues at King's gate) Puāavadai (Services outside the Township limits for its benefit) Mōnappāttam Tirikaisūlam (For handmills? or on potters?)
Aḷagarkōil 308/1930		Mōnampāttam (?)
Paḷani 30I/1955-56		Puḷudikkāśu (?) cash levy on dry cultivation Nittappaccai (?) Āyam
Tirumālugaṇḍāṅkōṭṭai 42, 43/1831-32		Kūttaccu Monampattom (?) Kaḷugukolli (?)

<i>Name of Place Ref.</i>	<i>Name of levy.</i>	<i>It import.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Kālaiyārkōil SII VIII/173-174		Peruvari (main tax)
Tiruppattūr 128/1948		Kīlvārappaccāi - The green crop share payable by undertenants)
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288, 289/1923		Kuṟaiaruppu (making good the shortfall in remittance by a distributed levy) ceremonial homage to palace - TNS
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 283/1923		Karrōkari (?)
Sannavanam 27/1916		Tadikkurūṇi (Kurūṇi per Taḍi field)
Ilayāttakūḍi 17/1926 (AD 1221)		Māḍakkāśu (on storyed buildings)
Ilayattakūḍi 18/1926		Piḷḷaivari (Birth-tax ?) Tax payable to princes TNS SITI p. 1466.
Cōḷapuram SII XXVI/523		Vaṇṇakkakūli Taravukkūli (Payment on receipts).

(iii) Community levies

We have had occasion to notice how distinct constituents of the community, like the soldiery, the merchants and the *Nāṭṭār* or the *Ūrār* or the Brahmadēyas had voluntarily contributed a portion of the land-yield from their respective shares or had taken on themselves a levy on the goods traded in by them. The Mahāsabhās of Koḍānūr and Suttamalli contributed on their own a share of the produce for services to a new deity set up in Tirunelvēli.

We now notice some more of such voluntary levies which the community or its different sections resolved to contribute.

In Tirumalai (sivagaṅgāi Tk) an interesting inscription dated 17th Mār. Sundara I (AD 1233) records the prasaṣṭi of Tiṣaiāyirattu aññūrruvar of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalām Peruneravi, Dēśivallava peruneravi. Ēru śāttu Iṅgu śāttu Kōḷikkuricci Kaḍikai Tāvaḷam Vaḍakaḷavalināṭṭu Kaḷāṅkāṅgaḷilum Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Maṅiambalam, Vēmbattūr Ten Vāraṇavāśipperunderu) of paṭṭanam of Malaimaṇḍalam. Aḷagaimānagari, met in the Tirumalai temple on the hillock in the Tirukkāvaṇam called Aññūrruvar. They made levies on the commodities being marketted in Aḷagaimānagari and its surrounding place as below :

.....	Pudukkāśu	20
Sandalwood-1 bundle	Pudukkāśu	20
Thread 1 Podi	5 Pudukkāśu	
.....	3 Kāśu	
Paddy		
Rice		
Pulses (Payaru)		
Salt and all other measurable commodities	3 Kāśu	
Jaggery or gur	-	By Jayaṅgaṇḍa cōḷa marakkāl

If the commodities arrived by a handy, per handy (Kuru)ṇi by the Jayaṅgaṇḍa cōḷa marakkāl

Thread	-	head load	-	2 Pudukkāśu
Betelnut	-	per podi	-	1/2 Kāśu
Paśumpai	-	(?)	-	1 Pudukkāśu
Karpūram, Kastūri and (other commodities)Palasarakku, valsarakku	| as herebefore (munnilai)			

The amount shall be got collected from the owners of the commodities - loads who agreed to collect the dues.

In the 4th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1272) the *Ūrār* of Karaiceri in Amudagunaḷaṅṅāḍu granted $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of wet lands, the Kaḍamai on which was assigned by them for a waking-up ceremony in the temple. They also assigned as Pillayār-āyam the proceeds of the levies on the goods arriving through the three routes converging at the township at the following rates :

For those carried in carriage (Sāṭṭukku)	$\frac{1}{4}$ paṅam
For those carried on the back of draught-bulls (podi)	$\frac{1}{20}$ paṅam
For head-loads	uḷakku of the commodity

These were in addition to the Kaḍamai on the land assigned².

A practice in vogue was to charge a cess or a levy on the Prasādam (the food offerings) which were delivered to devotees or to assigness. A garden to supply flowers to the deity at Attālanallūr was to be tended by some non-brahmin vaiṣṇavas (*tādar*) and they were to be supplied 2 *nāli* rice, without levying any Prasāda vari³. This was in the 9th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara. In fact, Prasādam (food offerings) was made a usufructuary mortgage of in return for a capital amount contributed by an ascetic. (*Jeer*)⁴

The *Ūrār* of Marudana nambi kurucci agreed to contribute Padakku paddy per *mā* on lands coming to yield in the *Kār*, *Piśānam*, in their village for providing for the food offerings to the deity Śivallavanmaṅḡalam (*Kīlappāṭṭam*) in *Kīlkalakūṅṅam*. This was in A.D. 1291⁵.

Ten year later, the Kammāḷar of Kṣatriyaśikhāmanipuram artisans or smiths granted per year 10 kalams 1 *tūni*, 1 *padakku* of paddy by the 6 *nāli* measure for the festival to the Goddess, Umaiyāṅḍar installed in Nagēśvaram Uḍaiyārs temple.

If they defaulted they could be impounded and uncircled and their earthen ware could be destroyed and brass or copper vessels confiscated and the levy could be collected by force⁶. A late example of AD 1477 is the contribution of $\frac{1}{16}$ *kōṭṭai* per *mā* per year for both *Kār* and *piśānam* on all lands with standing crops in all the command of Rājarāja Cm agreed upon by the *Mahāsabhā*, *Ūrār* and the Nagarattār and the residents and Brahmins and 4 *Nāḍus* and 'savanaparikalam' all measuring together in Tirunelvēli⁷.

A fragment of an inscription in Nallamaṅḡam (Tirumaṅḡalam Tk.) dated in the reign of Mār. Sundara I appears to assign the proceeds of a communal levy in all grain measured and weighed from the yield of occupied holdings⁸.

An apartment (aruvarai) named Sundarapāṇḍyan was constructed in the 18th year of Mār. Sundara (1?). The King ordered the tax-proceeds of Miḷalai vayal and Kōṭṭivayal payable by the Maṟavar. Iḍayar, Vaḷayar and other occupants and cultivators for the purpose⁹. Though this was a royal grant, the different sections of the community was involved in the addition to the temple.

In the 36th year (AD 1303-4) the repairs and maintainance (Tiruppaṇi) of the temple of Vikramapāṇḍīśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār at Cōḷapuram in Ānmānādu was undertaken. To meet the expenditure the ūrār and the Kāraṇavans of several adjoining townships or hamlets Kaṇṇuḍaipērūr, Muḍivaḷangupāṇḍyan ūr. Kunṟattūr Eraṇḍu śōllāttān sēturāmakurucci, Sāmanta kaṇḍan Vīraśiṅganallūr, Pāṇḍya Dēvakurucci agreed among themselves as follows :

They agreed to contribute to the temple $\frac{1}{8}$ paṇam Kāṇi per price of saree or cloth (Puḍavai) sold by them. Those who came from without Cōḷapuram and sold cloth within shall also pay $\frac{1}{8}$ paṇam per piece (uru onṟukku)¹⁰

Later examples from the 14th century onwards could be cited in corroboration. In AD 1374 the Nāṭṭār met at Tiruppullāni in the Kāṅgēyan Tirumaṇḍapam and resolved as follows :

The different communities within the nāḍu shall pay a levy at the following rates for a mid-day, śandhi (uccisandi)

Brahmins	per head	1 paṇam
Vellālar	per head	1 paṇam
Ceṭṭis	per head	1 paṇam
Tapasīgal	per head	1 paṇam
Kaikkōlar	per head	1 paṇam
Vellān pillai Iḍaiyar Kānmār	per head	$\frac{1}{2}$ paṇam
Sānrār Sānār & other castes	per head	$\frac{1}{2}$ paṇam

These shall be collected by the Temple servants (*Tiruveḷaikkāran*) in the same manner as the dues to the king were being collected every year and in case of default, the defaulters shall be obstructed (*Maṟittu*) and payment taken.

An even later instance of such levy is from Hanumanthakuḍi dated Ś 1455 (A.D. 1533). This was a grant in favour of the . . . temple of Māḷuvanāyakar in jīvēndramangalam in Mutṭūrukkūram. The cultivators and occupants were to contribute $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* (per head) and others inclusive of paṟaiyars $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam*.

The last two instances cited indicate the relative contributors among the several sections of the community and their respective capacity to bear the community levy.

The instances brought out that despite the wide spread incidence of taxes and levies, public charities and endowment for temple renovation or services invoked sufficient public response. The different sections of community bore such common levies demanded of them by the collective will of the townships.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

A note on the modes of land measurement and assessment
in the Pāṇḍyan Townships.

The cultivated wet lands in the Pāṇḍyan Townships had been surveyed in what we may now term as the '*Khasra*' method or in *olugu* form. It was based on the location of fields. The lay out of the fields, especially wet lands, under the different sources of irrigation, canal or tank, sluice and then blocking and the numbering of fields have all been described in an earlier chapter.

In the appendix, the modalities of survey and assessment and their inter-connection are examined. The survey of fields and parcels of holdings were carried out to the minutest (even below 1 cent) detail. Roughly one parcel (*Taḍi*, *śey*) seems to have been 1 *mā* in extent.¹ This survey had proceeded usually in a contiguous manner according to the location of the fields. The seed beds where seedings had to be raised with well water or first freshes in the canal were surrounded by field-channels, sometimes, on all the four sides.²

The measurement pole (*Kōl*) varied in length from place to place and time to time. This has been already brought out in Table V of the Chapter. For instance, in the time of Jat. Kulaśekhara the *Kōl* Kuḍitāṅgi was the scale of measurement of lands. The exact length of that pole has been marked on the temple wall at Kōvanūr in the Subrahmaṇya temple.³

One peculiar modality of granting relief in assessment of land dues adopted in the tract was to vary the standard scale of measurement to the advantage of the occupant, or the tenants. The standard grain measure for paddy was also varied likewise. Even if the rate of assessment was not revised on account of the changes in the content of the measurements and their value-equation the reluctant reduction in real terms was a relief that benefitted the occupants. The tender of the cash in coinage was also likewise varied in its *accu-dramam* nexus. Examples have been cited in the following chapter dealing with the modes of relief for the hardship experienced in land-dues demand.

This note brings out specifically another characteristic of land surveys and assessment. The linear measurement and the area were converted into a *maḍakku mā*. The term "*maḍakku*" or "*maḍippu*" has to be interpreted in terms of the assessment rates (*Taram*) that the different lands bore.

The following are examples of the usage of this terms and what it conveyed.

Kīlāḍi⁴ (Madurai dt.)

Vēli $\frac{1}{20}$ or a mā (33 cents) - Maḍakku nilam $\frac{3}{80}$

Palliaccandai⁵ (Madurai dt.)

Vēli $\frac{1}{20}$ or 1 mā - Maḍakku nilam $\frac{3}{80}$

Kallīḍaikkuricci⁶ (Tirunelvēli dt.)

1 veli 2 mā mukkāni Kāṇi arai

. (gap in the inscription) Kāṇi = $\frac{3}{160}$

Tolaiவில்மாங்கலம்⁷ (Tirunelvēli dt.)

Pāḍagam	Area extent	(Tulā) equal Maḍakku nilam
1.	2 mā	1 mā
2.	2 mā	1 mā
	2 mā	
3.	4 mā	
4.	3½ mā	
5.	(balance) 2 mā	1 mā

Under 5th channel.

1.	2½ mā	$\frac{1}{16}$
2.	2 mā, mukkāni	$\frac{3}{80} + 1\frac{1}{2}$ mā
	1 mā	$\frac{1}{2}$ mā
	2 mā	$1\frac{1}{2}$ mā $\frac{1}{80}$

Under 6th channel.

1.	2 mā	
	2 mā, 3 Kāṇi, $\frac{1}{2}$ mā	
	$\frac{1}{2}$ Kāṇi, or $\frac{5}{160}$	Kāṇi mundrikai $\frac{5}{320}$

East of cōlakōl vāykkal (L22) (NA)

Under Pāḍagam Extent Maḍakku $\frac{3}{80}$

First channel	1	3 mā		1½ mā
	2	1 mā, $\frac{3}{80}$ mā		
Under 2nd channel	1	1 mā and Kāṇi araikkāṇi $(\frac{3}{160})$ 1 mā mukkāṇi $(\frac{7}{80})$ $\frac{1}{16}$	=	$\frac{5}{160}$
Turivēṅgaḍavayakkal		$\frac{7}{80}$	=	$\frac{7}{160}$
Tattōlvasakkal nilam		$\frac{1}{16}$	=	$\frac{5}{160}$
Kālaiyārkoil ⁸		3 mā	=	1½ mā (Maḍippu)
Seyduṅganallūr ⁹		Virivukāni $\frac{1}{80}$	=	$\frac{1}{2}$ kāsū mundrikai $(\frac{1}{160} + \frac{3}{320})$

It will be seen that, generally, the rates of the extent by linear measurement to the maḍakku works out at 1 : 1½ or 1 : 1¼. But there are several variations. Unless we get at the rate of assessment and its gradation (Taram) of the lands it will be difficult to interpret equation.

A second peculiarity thrown up by the inscription from Tolaivillimaṅgalam has to be noted. In several pāḍayams (blocks) the total extent of the field is given. The equivalent maḍakku (Tulā-maḍakku nilam) therein, however, is given for a part of the parcel of land (or *ippāḍagattu* or *idil*) therein and not for the whole extent of the parcels in the respective *pāḍagam*. Presumably only portions of fields were transferred and not the whole.

The boundaries of the lands endowed are given (1 32 ff). The western boundary has gaps in the transcript. The southern boundary was the river Tāmbraparaṇi (Muḍikoṇḍa Cōlappēraṇi). The eastern boundary - Uttama cōlanallūr. Northern boundary - The canal running on the boundary of Uttama cōlanallūr. The Mahāsabhā proceeds in add that the tiḍal (high level lands or mounds) and *Kuḷi* (the low lying pits) lying within these lands shall be reclaimed by the assignees or the temple authorities. It could be inferred therefrom that the parcels of lands listed were not all reclaimed and readily cultivable. Portions of lands actually cultivated had their *tarams* and the *maḍakku* extent is given therefor. The Mahāsabhā's stipulation that the other mounds and pits shall be levelled and reclaimed could refer to the lands not actually under cultivation in every *pāḍagam*.

To sum up this part of the evidence.

- (1) the liner or area measurement of lands varies from the *maḍakku mā*.
- (2) there is a definite but varying relationship between the two. For eg. 1:½ or 1:¼ in the Tolaivillimangalam inscription.
- (3) The *Maḍakku* extent can be relatable to the area actually cultivated and assessed only. Conversely the lands to be reclaimed are not assigned the *maḍakku* extent as their Taram was not yet determined.
- (4) It will be necessary to identify if the extent given in every case refers to the area measurement (*virivu* or *purappu*) or the *maḍakku* while working out the rate-extent correlation. The system needed and depended on a cadastral survey of lands, adopting the traverse or field location, the area as measured by the rod or pole in use and the classification of lands actually cultivated and assignment of Taram rates of assessment and finally this last was converted into *maḍakku mā*.

The *Taram* assessment fixed was not itself the demand. There are several peculiarities in fixing the land demand which are described below.

The cadastral survey of the occupied holdings gives the area measurement. But the assessment of the actual land-demand was not on the entire extent of the holding. The graded system of levy also had a crop-wise rate fixed on the crop growth (*variśai*). Examples are given in Table IV above.

In applying the graded system of levy, the actual extent of the land cultivated, where the crops had struck roots (*Payir nūṛa*) and had come to yield (*vilainda nilam*) were measured by the standard pole stipulated. The crop was inspected and the yield determined (*Payir pārṭtu, Puḷli pukka nilam*). The extent actually come to yield so measured, was applied the rate of assessment.

Care was taken to exclude the extent on which the crops did not come to yield or had withered due to drought and scarcity of water supply and sometimes even due to man-made causes like destruction of crops¹⁰ (*Pāḷi sāvi nūkki payir niranilam*)¹¹

Even if the levy was a fixed lease amount, if the yield could not sustain the levy fixed, the amount due was revised on inscription and assessment of crops on ground.¹² There are cases to the contrary, where the rates fixed were unalterable, whether the lands yielded or not.¹³ If it was a coconut grove, lands coming to yield into which the ladder and the basket were taken or if a paddy field, where the sickle and the hayrope (to tie up the bundle of the paddy for threshing) were taken were alone assessed!¹⁴

It follows the process of survey of lands that had come to yield, the extent to be assessed so determined the superintendance of the crop grown and determination of the quantum of yield and the nature of the crop, whether baling was resorted to, all needed the services of executives (*Kannies*) Superintending accountants (*Kaṅkāṇi kaṅakku*) and accountants for crop yield estimation (*Puḷli kaṅakku*).

The term “*Puḷli*” “*Puḷli kaṅakku*” denotes the crop were in yield and the accountants could enter the field, take a typical stock of paddy and count the number of grains therein and workout the “*mēni*” or the yield estimate and its quantum. This “*mēni*” came to be transformed into an “*anna-crop*” nexus in *armish* done under the British administration. 16 as crop being equal to “*aḷavan mēni*” (full yield).¹⁵

The accountants were deployed by the Township and perhaps were drawn from the local land-occupants themselves. Their wages and food (*eccoṟu*) were to the account of the occupants collectively, except in cases where the beneficiaries were permitted to employ their own accountants for such services¹⁶

In sharing the yield the payment of the *Kaḍamai* to the *Jivitamdar* was to the exclusive account of the *mēlvāramdār* and the cultivator’s share was to be given to him in tact.¹⁷ The grain to be measured to the Superintendent of the thrashing and measuring the yield will be to the account of both the *melvarain*-holder and the cultivators.¹⁸

Lands for which the *Kaḍamai* obligations were taken over by the *Sabhā* or remitted under orders of the King need not be inspected at the time of the assessment of the yield and crop conditions.¹⁹

The stipulations ensured assessment strictly on yield and an equitable exclusion of lands not yielding or damaged due to acts of God and man and nature. At the same time the quantum of dues should be in grain, excluding the grain loss, and mere husk and other extraneous matter like pebbles, rubbish, sprouted grains, or other wastage. Such rejects will also need to be compensated. The grains due was to be measured at the courtyard of the temple and the transport was to the account of the occupant.

The *Kistbandi* or the months when the delivery of land levies like *Kaḍamai* are due synchronise with the post-harvest period. In some cases the month of Citrai (April-May) for the *pisānam* and *Aṟpasi* (October-November) for the *Kuṟuvai* or *Kār* had been stipulated. In a later case (of A.D. 1542) the delivery and payments could be spread over a period. 60% to be paid from Tai Āni (January to June-July) and the remaining 40% to be paid from Ādi (July-August) to Mārgaḷi (December-January)²⁰

A system so intricate, requiring varied services of executives whose subjective inspection and judgement of crops was the basis for assessment of every individual field or part-field come to yield could have lent itself to occasional irregularities or malpractices. But there were inherent correctives. The executives were themselves resident occupants who had a homogeneity of interest. The localised spread of the lands, and the vigil of the community could have acted as safeguards, against possible miscarriage of equity and justice. The King's men were also on the watch and so too the collective moral authority of the Township to whom the aggrieved can always resort for remedy.

FOOT NOTES TO APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII :

1. For eg. 396/1930 -
Āttūr : Rājarāja I. Some examples have been cited already.
2. Ibid
3. 48 / 1926
4. 448 / 1906
5. A.R.E. 741/1919 : (AD 1290)
6. 319/1916
7. Unnumbered / 1984-85
8. SII VIII / 181
9. 366 / 1959-60
10. A Sērmādēvi inscription (614/1916) of Rājēndra I adds that if there was loss of crops due to men of force (Valiyān kēḍu) or failure of monsoon (Māna kēḍu) the lands not yielding shall be excluded from assessment.
11. Aḷagarkōil 315/1930.
Confer : Mūvaraivenṇān 37 / 46-47
Also Aruppukkōṭṭai : 409, 410 / 1914
12. 35 / 1931-32 Nayinārkōil
358 / 1961-62. Tirumāṅikkam
13. Aḷagarkōil : 308 / 1930
Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai 38 , 39 / 1931-32
14. Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288 / 289/1923
Tirumāṅikkam 358 / 1961-62
15. It may be of interest to quote the experience of an early Collector of Tirunelvēli, R. Peter who felt that the out sturn of paddy was generally under estimated resulting in the loss of revenue to Government. This was due to the Amāni system (direct cultivation under the Government and the land revenue paid in kind or out of the produce.) It led to many corrupt practices.

Peter, therefore, introduced a system of crop estimation which was said to be prevalent in olden days. also Peter described the system in the following words : (1826) :

“It had hither been usual with the public servants to form estimates of the produce when the crops have been reported ripe and fit (or the sickle by which frequent delays occurred detrimental to the ryots both in reaping and dividing the crops. It was represented to me by the Head Tahsildar that if a mode which prevailed many years ago were adopted it might prove equally beneficial to the Circar and to the ryot and as it also appeared that it would lessen the interference of the Circar servants with the ryot I resolved the experiment should be tried.

“The mode adopted was this. The Circar servants were directed in company with the inhabitants and watchers to gather the produce as soon as ripe and in conformity with the previous orders. A number of straw ropes measuring 8 feet in length were prepared and furnished, and the grain (i.e. plants with grain) when cut was bound up with them into bundles which after being examined and counted by the servants two of them were taken for each description of land and thrashed, the produce noted down and the average taken which formed the basis for calculating the estimated produce. Afterwards, should there be time, the whole of the bundles were thrashed; if not they were heaped up on the established thrashing floor and stamps put upon them. They were then on the next day or as soon after as possible thrashed and the produce divided.

“The advantage derivable from this mode of reaping the crops are :

- (i) Rendering the interference of the public servants and the cultivators much less.
- (ii) The crops are cut immediately when ripe without waiting for a monegar to estimate the produce which must cause considerable delay.
- (iii) The crops are divided much more specially and of course with much less to the inhabitation.
- (iv) There is less time or room for theft.
- (v) A more correct estimate of the produce must be formed by actual measurement of a portion of the crops than by merely estimating them when on the ground.

[Agricultural Development in Madras State to 1900 - R. Ratnam; pp. 62-63 source Tirunelveli Collectrate records].

This method adopted by Peter has features similar to the system described above in vogue in the Pāndyan times.

16. Confer : “Puravu variyār payir pārkkum kalan iruppāl urilē eṟattu parisarippōmākavum” in 312/1949-50. Sālaigrāmam. - On the beneficiaries themselves arranging for inscription. Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi 153/1936. Also 263/1941 : Siṅgiḷam - The Thānattār could inspect and levy at the rates prevailing for the surrounding lands.
17. 171/1936 - Tiruppattūr
18. 66/1916 Tirukkaḷakkudi
19. 311/1949-50 Sālaigrāmam
20. 65/1916 - Tirukkaḷakkudi

CHAPTER IX

DISTRESS CONDITIONS AND THE HARDSHIPS OF THE TOWNSHIPS
AND THE RELIEF AFFORDED

The rigours of land levies and the hardships caused by the collective obligation to have them gathered and remitted to the King's coffers are borne out by ample evidence, from all over the tract. But the distress was pronounced in the dry uplands and rainfed areas of Ramanathapuram district. Although the spread of the evidence of such hardship extends over the entire period of the study. If we may generalise from the intensity and repetitiveness of the evidence, it was particularly felt in the reigns of Māṅ. Sundara I (AD 1216-1239) and Māṅ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1268 to 1311). The reign of Māṅ. Sundara I was marked by the constant conflict between the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. There were more than one campaign undertaken. The Hōysālas intervened in this warfare sometimes on the Pāṇḍyan side and at other times on the Cōḷa side, depending on who was strong or weak. They had also exacted tribute from the Pāṇḍyas and inscriptional evidence attests their exactions¹ and disorder that broke out during their intervention. Māṅ. Kulaśēkhara I had a long rule, but he entrusted different parts of the Kingdom which enveloped the Cōḷa country also, to his brothers. There were hence five rulers instead of one. The severe exactions of these princes and the consequent depopulation of villages is attested. The drain on the Treasury due to horse trade and the increase in the levies of taxes and land dues is also attested by foreign notices and by inscriptional evidence.

We may now notice specific instances of hardships that have come to notice from the parts of the Kingdom.

An Inscription in Śēndamaṅgalam² (near Āttūr, Tiruccendūr taluk) relates that the people in the township could not reside and render the land obligations and hence to discharge their collective obligation in the Township, sold lands to the temple in the reign of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (AD 1090 to 1116). The Mahāsabhayār of the same place. Ārrūr Śēndamaṅgalam sold 2½ vēli of land to the Kailāsamudaiyār temple in the 12th year of that reign (AD 1102). These lands had belonged to various Brahmin occupants, inclusive of the following :

Sōlai Nārāyaṇan	- 4 mā
Nārāyaṇan Tirukkuliṅgu	- 10 mā
Subrahmaṇyan Cakrapāṇi	- 10 mā
Tiruvāyikulamudaiyān	

Tiruvikṛaman	- 7 <i>mā</i>
Nārāyaṇan Vāsudēvan	- 6½ <i>mā</i>
Dēvan Cakrapāṇi	- 4 <i>mā</i>

The Circumstances under which the lands of many occupants were sold are not set out in the inscription. If one guesses, surely, the Mahāsabhā would not have resorted to such a sale unless it was for discharging their collective obligation of payment of land dues to the king.³

The Mahāsabhā of Kulaśēkhara Cm. (Tirunelvēli) in the 14th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1204) sold 4½ *mā* of land to a Chieftain Kulaśēkhara Kāḍuvettigal for 9 *accu* for providing for a service instituted in the name of his brother, Kandiyadēvar. This amount was paid off to the four erstwhile occupants. (*Munbu parṛu ninṛa*)⁴

In the third year of Mār. Sundara I (A.D. 1219) a change in the tenure of lands had occurred. Śrīparāntakanallūr was a Dēvadāna of the deity at Kōṭṭaikaruṅḷam. The wet, dry black soil, the house site, the unoccupied house-site waste, and other lands on which there was no occupancy, or on which the *Kaḍamai* and *Kuḍimai* obligations were left in default were all sold with Kārāṇmai rights to 12 Brahmin Bhaṭṭas “learned in *śāstras* and *Vēdās*” and named as Rājasinhēśvara Cm. The newly inducted Brahmins had to pay the *Kaḍamai* obligations to the temple.⁵

Ten years later, (A.D. 1229) even the distributed levies due to the Sabhaiyār of Pārāntakā Cm in Ārināḍu could not be met by the temple treasury for want of each. The temple authorities had sold 1/3 of the lands under their tank to one Praḷayāntakan residing in Kulaśēkharapperunderu and he paid the amount to discharge the *sabhāvinīyōgam*. In addition the soldiery in Dārūkāpuram also were in need. The same vendee took the usufructary mortgage of the cultivating rights from them in two parcels of land from the Paḍaiyār and the Tantirattār paying them collectively 13 *accu* and 4½ *accu* and 150 *kalamis* of paddy. The lands in his enjoyment were added to the temple properties and from the yield food offerings were provided to the deity and the goddess and Kṣētrapālar.⁶

Two years later (A.D. 1231) the Sabhaiyār of Dēvēndravallabha Cm, a new name the Township had acquired after the Pāṇḍyan restoration it was earlier in Kulōttuṅga I time (A.D. 1054) known as Cōlēndraśiṅga Cm⁷ sold land for payment of *Kaḍamai* dues of the Mahāsabhā.⁸

A fragment of an inscription from Vānaramuṭṭi refers to the distress and default of some occupants who fled the village. Their lands were sold and the sale was regularised and recognised with the approval of the chief who had established his authority in

the village.^{8A}

Tirukkōlūr (near Ālvārtirunagari) in Tiruvaḷudīnāḍu had also experienced distress in the reign of Mār. Sundara. The Mahāsabhā had received an epistle to pay the dues and as the Cōlapāṇḍīśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār had no means to pay the kaḍamai this temple authorities sold the land, presumably to pay up their dues (A.D. 1236).^{8B}

Still their difficulties did not end. 13 years later (A.D. 1249) in the reign of Mār. Sundara II the Ūrār of Purangurucci had felt the stress of a high lease amount and the occupants and cultivators deserted the place and the lands were lying waste.^{8C}

Even the Sabhaiyār of Rājarāja Cm, the populous township had felt scarcity of funds (in the 3rd year of a King whose name is not available when they waited on the King, and borrowed from the temple 20 *accu* to pay the Revenue Chief, (Taṇḍal mudaliār) Rāsiṅgapanman for Ariśittēvai and akkattunḍam. They sold a house-site ostensibly to recover cash and repay the amount borrowed from the temple. As many as 65 signatories - the Brahmin residents - signed the sale deed.⁹

In the 4th year of Vīra Pandya the Sabhaiyār of Avaniśikhara Cm sold land to one Ravi Śrīkaṇṭan of Mahōdayarpaṭṇam in Malar maṇḍapam who had visited the place. In that year the *Kār* crop was lost and there was no yield for the *Kārtigai Salābham* dues they borrowed 50 *kalams*. They agreed to take on the obligation to repay the 50 *kalams* on the entire ayacut. But they sold land on condition that the purchaser would deliver 100 *kalams* of paddy, half and half in the two crops. The township had sold their capital asset for meeting the revenue demand and had made the former productive of the latter.¹⁰

Four inscriptions of the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I are of interest. They bring out the straitened circumstances in which the Ūrār of Kāraḱuricci alias Vikramapāṇḍyanallūr had borrowed, or made a usufructary mortgage of their lands repeatedly. They had no capital to repay the borrowed amounts. One of the borrowals was for the purchase of *Kār* seeds and manure unable to pay manure the amounts and redeem the mortgage the Ūrār sold lands to the temple and from the proceeds repaid the borrowed amounts and redeemed the mortgage. Three of the inscriptions are dated in the 8th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1274)¹¹ and the data for one inscription is lost:¹² from the reference to a Tantrikaṇakku¹³ it could be inferred that the lands were held by soldiery.

The first was a sale for 3230 paṇam against which 1000 paṇam borrowed from one Vikramapāṇḍya Cōḷakkōnār and interest @ 6 *mā* i.e. 300 paṇam added, made a total of 1300 paṇam which was set off.

The second sale was of a garden and cultivated land $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāni* for 60 paṇam. Here again a portion was on usufructory mortgage which was redeemed by payment of 20 paṇam to the same individual Vikramarāṇḍya Cōḷakkōnār.¹⁴

The third sale was for Danapālakuḷigai paṇam 928. There was a prior encumbrance of a usufructary mortgage to Vānarayan and Śūlapāṇi Pillai presumably of 200 paṇam. Secundry they had borrowed 728 paṇam for the expenses during the *Kār* crop season in the 8th Year.¹⁵

The fourth inscription makes it clear that the expenses during the *Kār* season in that year were to pay the land dues to the King upto the *Kār* of the 8th year which they had borrowed and paid 768 paṇam to Rāmāṇḍār who was apportioning the lands occupied in that township.¹⁶

These data clearly establish how in the reign of Mār. Kulaśekhara I the *Ūrār*, presumably the soldiery-occupants had no resources of their own even to pay the *Kaḍamai* dues during *Kār* on to meet cultivation expenses and were heavily in debt. They sold lands because the King's dues had to be paid and they could secure the capital only by the sale of these lands collectively held.

As already noticed in an earlier chapter the soldiery occupants seem to be chronically in want and frequent usufructory mortgage of their cultivating rights or the land.

We may finally notice a sale of land with all appurtenances for over 45000 (pon) with all dues payable to the ruler by the Tiruvaḍi Chieftain-Udayamārtāṇḍavarma of Jayatuṅga Nāḍu to Śinna Timma dēva Mahārāja, the Vijayanagar Chieftain deputed by Rāmarāya in AD 1547-48. This might have been a form of surrender of land to the conquering general of Vijayanagar by the Tiruvaḍi Chief.¹⁷

Distress conditions in the upland of the Madurai district are evidenced by some of the inscriptions in Mēlūr and Tirumaṅgalam Taluks. A thirteenth century inscription in Vāñjinagar (Mēlūr Taluk) dated in the 7th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya records that the *Ūrār* of Adhikaram in Surabi nāḍu sold lands to one Valūdi nārāyaṇadēvar one of the Agaparivāra Mudaliyār of Muṛukal Kuṇṇam in Aṅmarai Nāḍu. The *Ūrār* could not pay up that part of the land demand falling due in the month of Āvaṇi to their Chief Amaṇadēvar, who had the village and also the specific requisitioned (*Vēṇḍukōḷ*) levies which he had distributed among the townships. As the rains were insufficient, and as the Chief's men caused hardships to the occupants and they were without any means of redressal the *Ūrār* had sold the lands with *Kārāṇmai* right to the vendee for Rasipanam 400 and *kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* were to be paid by him to the Temple. Having received this amount the *Ūrār* paid the demand of the Chieftain's officers (*Pērālar*).¹⁸

The *Ūrār* of Andanarkuḍi in Pūṅgā Nāḍu sold land to one Viranārāyaṇan as they had no resources with them to pay the demand.¹⁹

In the 22nd year of the Pāṇḍya (unidentified) the Kārāṇavar of Sundarapāṇḍya nallūr relinquished to the temple occupancy lands as they were unable to cultivate and pay the stipulated dues.²⁰

In this tract too, in about AD 1310 (42nd year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara) the temple authorities and revenue officials sold land to several individuals - one (kūru) share to 6 individuals from several nāḍus, Pāganūr Kūrṅam, Tenkallaga nāḍu, Pūṅganāḍu, Śenguḍi and another share to eight other individuals, and half share each to two more individuals. The circumstances under which this sale was made are set out clear terms. The determined land demand upto the 41st year (AD 1309) not be paid for want of resources. There were no occupants who stood forth to pay up the demands in their name, and the (Irai) land demand could not be cleared. But was pressure by the King's officials) to either sell or make a usutructury mortgage of lands. Hence they sold some lands and also they encumbered the prespective yield from some portions of the land from the 43rd year in some others.

The available evidence of distress is perhaps, the largest from the rainfed or dry belts of the Ramanathapuram district and even from some of the townships in the Vaigai belt.

Cōlapuram in Srivilliputtūr taluk is on the border of Kōvilpatti taluk in Tirunelvēli district. It dates back to the times of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (AD 1090 to 1116). But the temple and the township Sundara pāṇḍya Cm must have been set up much earlier. In AD 1094, the Prince Sundara Pāṇḍya on the supplication of Sundara Pandya Cm granted Tiruccālūr, Amaṇputtūr, Koṇḍaiyanēri in Tuḍaiyanūr Muṭṭam in Venbaikkūḍi Nāḍu.²¹ Also Upanayana maṅgalam in the same Nāḍu and another village (Vellai Kuṇṛattūr sic for Vellaiyaṅai nallūr) in Aṅmā Nāḍu were granted.

The villages were constituted in that year into a Dēvadāna Brahmādēya. That is, the Brahmin occupants enjoyed the produce from the lands therein, but subject to payment of Kaḍamai and other dues to the Viṣṇu temple there.

Over the years, because of drought, and the burden of land dues (Durbhikṣam and Karabhā day) the original Brahmin occupants left the place. The tanks become defunct, and were laid waste. Their ayacut was covered by shrub jungle. The Pūja services in the temple were handicapped and discontinued.

The Sabhaiyār of Uttamacōla Cm recalled the AD 1094 grant made in the time of the elder grandfather of the ruling prince and the epistle of the younger grandfather conveying the original grant of Sundarapandya Cm. The Sabhaiyār occupants

at this later date, supplicated Uttamacōlapperiyār for a regrant of the villages, viz, Vellaiyarainallūr alias Danmapārāyanappēreri in Ānmā Nāḍu and the three villages in Tuḍaiyanūrmuttam and Upanayanamaṅgalam to be reconstituted with the name of Uṭṭama Cōla Cm and settle 20 Brahmins so that the tanks may be repaired and reexcavated and the lands may be reclaimed and brought under cultivation. Viradamuḍittaperumāḷ recommended the grant to the ruling prince and it was granted. The settled Brahmins were allowed to have the same rights as in the original grant and to pay the *Kaḍamai* according to the ancient custom. This was dated 13th year, 1109 the day of a ruler whose name is not available.²²

The point of interest in this case in the present context is within three generations the original settlers had abandoned the lands on account of drought and times and also the hardship and the burden of the land dues. The resettlement however, does not disclose any let up in the rates of land dues the Brahmin resettlers had to beat.

Even earlier, in the 20th year of Cōlan Talaikoṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya (about AD 966) the Sabhā of Śālaigrāmam in Tuvvūrkkurram alias Mahimākara Vaḷanāḍu had received a demand from the King camping at Tiruppālaiyūr for 900 *Kāśu* and to realise it, he had ordered the resumption of Tirukkulungalūr but the resumption was not implemented. To clear the cash demand and for a portion of their requirement (*Kārya Viśam*) the Sabhā of Śālaigrāmam took over the ornaments and Tirupaṭṭam or Tiruvaṭṭam of the deity in their village worth 100 *Īlakkāśu*. Against the value of the ornaments so taken over the Sabhā remitted (*Iraḷi*) the taxes due from the deity on 35 *pāḍagam* of land.²³

The inherent hardship caused by the high levels and incident of taxation under various heads, aggravated by natural calamities, failure of monsoon and crop loss was further compound by political episodes in the reign of Mār. Sundara, powerful ruler he was and yet he could not arrest the Hoysāḷa intervention and their heavy exactions. We have clear evidence of how the Townships exposed to such exactions, had to somehow, ferret out cash and grain to stave off the threat of pillage and plunder that the Hoysāḷas held out as the Domicles sword over the tract and the people.

In AD 1236, (20th year of Mār. Sundara I) the *Ūrār* of Iḷayānguḍi alias Indrāvadara nallūr in Vaḍavallattirukkai resolved as follows. They had, earlier reduced the distributed cash levies to half and the other half was being collected from the temple. From the 21st year (1237) they decided to remit the remaining half of the distributed levy on the deity's *Iraiyili* lands, and the crops therefrom both in cash and in paddy, and the lands were excluded as "Kuḍinīṅgal". The total extent of the lands to which this concession applied was 2 *mā* and $\frac{17}{5120}$ *mā*.

In lieu of this concession, they collected at 2 *accu* per *mā* from the temple, cash totalling $4\frac{1}{2}$ *accu* and $\frac{1}{4}$

The particulars of the receipt of this amount from the temple by the *Ūrār* are of great interest. In the month of *Āni* (June-July) the executive of Mahāpradāni Bhogaṅḍnāyakkar and his men came from other parts of the country, and in order not to pillage and plunder the cultivating and occupant population they demanded cash. To stave off this threat of plunder, the *Ūrār* borrowed from the temple $4\frac{1}{8}$ *accu* and paid it to the Kaṅḍigas. Hence they totally remitted the *Ūr viniyōga accu* and paddy on this extent of 2 *mā* and $\frac{17}{5120}$ *mā*. In addition they decided to collect

at of $\frac{1}{3}$ the *Ūr Viniyōga* rates in cash from the remening Dēvadāna lands²¹

In the very next year (AD 1237) in the month of *simha* (August-September) on a full moon day, the Mahāsabhā of *Sālaigrāmam*, and the Paṅṅai *śeyvār* and *vēli seyvār* sold a land to the temple *Srīvaraguṇaisvaramudaiyār*. The details of the transactions reveal that one of the reasons for sale was that they were hard-pressed to collectively bear the proportionate levy imposed on the Township to a *Daṅḡnāyaka* who demanded it during the *Hoyāla* disturbance (*Pōśalanār Kalagam*). A share of that levy was assigned to a few Brahmin occupants but they had not discharged their obligation and had deserted the village. Hence, it fell to the Township to bear this shortfall.²²

The transactions reveals that even otherwise the Mahāsabhā was wanting in liquidity and the *Hoyāla* exaction was an aggravating factor. The Mahāsabhā sold *Pōṇṇiyēmbal* tank, housesites and the ayacut. The price was 77½ *accu*, and 11 *maṅḡlam*; which several earlier mortgages to the deity made by the *Sabhayār* were set off from the time of one *VīraPāndya* (18th year) and also in the 12th year of *Kuṭaiśēknara Dēvar* (AD 1202). In addition during the *Hoyāla* disturbances, to pay off the general, a levy was imposed on the residents and was distributed among the occupants. A few of them, *Maṅḡlūr Vīraṅarāyaṅam*, *Ādanūr Vīrattimūliruṅḡolai Nārāyaṅam* and others and one *Puruṣēthaman* did not stand forth and pay their apportioned dues and deserted the village. The Mahāsabhayār were hence asked to pay up the amount defaulted by them and were taken to *Rājasing maṅḡlam* unable to bear the botheration they were subjected to the Mahāsabhayār sold 2 *mā* of the land held by the successors of the deserted residents to the temple, and secured the ornaments of the deity, and deposited the amount due into the Collection pot (*iyargaḷ pēri* *Kaḍamaikku Kudigevil iṭṭamayil*) or coffers for *Kaḍama* arrears in the name of the defaulters.

But the successors in title appealed to the King, and it was ordered their lands mortgaged be redeemed, and their enjoyment share be restored to them. On receipt

of the epistle through the King's emissaries, to comply with the order and release the lands a fresh account of receipt was drawn up as below :-

- (i) amount due to the temple for the mortgage amount and interest thereon: $2\frac{1}{4}$ Kaḷañju equal to old Ānai accu $10\frac{5}{8}$. This gives the nexus of 1 old anai accu equals 2 Kaḷañju of gold.
- (ii) The mortgaged lands in which the Deity did not take the produce and the Kaḍamai was paid $2\frac{7}{8}$ accu.
- (iii) the mortgage amount on lands mortgaged to Tiruppālanāyanūr 6 accu interest $7\frac{1}{5}$ accu.
- (iv) For meeting the expenses on the royal epistle and its despatch (Thirumukha sampādam) the amount borrowed : 1 accu in all 22 accu and 6 mā.

The account was receipted and the land was sold.

The inferences that follow from the details of the transaction are :-

- (1) The Brahmin township of Śālaigrāmam was hard-pressed to pay the Kaḍamai dues and the levies made to stave off the Hoysāḷa exactions and plunder.
- (2) They sold the lands in their collective enjoyment and possession.
- (3) As a few Brahmin individuals defaulted in their apportioned share of the levy, their lands were mortgaged by the Mahāsabhā. But the successors in title of the defaulters invoked the royal authority and got the mortgage of their lands by the township Mahāsabhā to the deity annulled.
- (4) The Mahāsabhā was obliged to find the money, by selling the deity's ornaments and otherwise receiving the cash in accu.
- (5) Against the amount so received they sold their lands to the deity.
- (6) They took care to see that for the lands the yield of which was not enjoyed by the deity the Township paid the Kaḍamai.

It is also of interest to note that the Mahāsabhā borrowed even 1 accu to meet the incidental expenses for the royal epistle and command received.

In the result, the Township converted its capital assets to pay the revenue dues. This gives a very graphic account of the difficulties experienced even by a favoured class of occupants the Brahmadēyas.

Even later evidence is forthcoming on their distress from Ilayāṅguḍi. In the 11th year of Jaṭ. Sundara the Sthānattār of Rājendra Cōḷḷisvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār gave an undertaking. The previous year was one of total drought and loss of crop. (Kṣēmamāi Vingiccareṃ paḍiyānapaḍiyāle) some ornaments of the deity were taken out and sold. So in the Citrai month of the 11th year the *Ūrār* the King's servants and Māhēsvarās joined together and insisted on the Sthānattār to restore the ornaments. Hence the latter approached Śīrkāḷi Vēndar and requested a grant of cash as a donation and they got 100 paṇam. Against this amount and against the interest proceeds the Sthānattār agreed to burn a lamp before the deity.²⁶

The impact of the Hoysāḷa exaction was felt not only in Śālaigrāmam and Ilayāṅguḍi but also in the uplands of Tiruppattūr. About the same time in the 21st year of Mār. Sundara (I) (AD 1237) the Mahāsabhā of Nṛpaśekhara caturvēdimāṅgalam, a Brahmadēya in Kerāḷaśingavaḷanāḍu met in the Big street in the middle of the township in the month of Mīnam (March-April) and resolved to remit the taxes due from the lands held in the name of Caṇḍisvara in the temple of Rudrakōṭṭisvara nāyanār of the place. The Hoysāḷās had demanded cash from the Pāṇḍya ruler (uḷaguḍaiya perumāḷ). The King had distributed the Hoysāḷā exaction among the nāḍus. The Chieftain Vāṇakōvaraiyar remitted the gold to the King's treasury on that account equal to the apportioned gold demand on this Brahmadēya. Apparently the Chieftain had advanced the cash in gold on behalf of the township and had agreed to take it later at harvest time from the occupants.

Unfortunately, in that year the crops did not yield and there was scarcity. Such drought conditions were common in the red uplands of Rāmanāthapuram when the north east monsoon failed. Hence, the ornaments of the deity were borrowed equal to 75 Kaḷānjus (which should have been treated as a capital deposit, the interest from which was adequate to pay the land dues), the Mahāsabhā themselves took over the obligation of land dues on 7½ mā of Dēvadāna land on which the temple had hitherto paid the land dues.²⁷

In the 9th year of Jaṭ. Sundara the *Ūrār* of Śākkalūr in Perumbūnāḍu sold lands at Uṛriyūr on which the earlier occupant could not pay land dues and also another land ½ mā in extent for which also the occupant defaulted in payment of the dues.²⁸

As already noticed the distress was acute during the long reign of Mār. Kulaśekhara I (AD 1268 to 1311). Several cases of defaults by occupants and deserting of villages have come to notice.

In the 16th year (AD 1284) one occupant Śēnāvaraiyar had deserted the village without paying the land dues. The King's executives insisted on the *Ūrār* of Iraṇiyūr to pay up the demand. As the *Ūrār* had no other means of clearing the arrears they

sold some other holdings of the defaulter to a maṭha. The land was granted as Iṛaiyili to the defaulter by the Ēḷagattār.²⁹

In the 25th year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya in Iraṇiyūr in a feud between two individuals the Chief Mālvarāyan had ordered that until he enquired into the feud they shall not take the law into their own hands. But despite their giving an undertaking the delinquents fled the village. The Chief's men demand a fine for their disobedience to the command. They obstructed the Ūrār in Ponnamarāvati demanding that the surety amount in the deed executed by the delinquents shall be paid. On the suggestion of the Viḷānguḍi Ūrār they paid a major portion of 850 paṇam. They had no other resources for the balance of 170 paṇam. They sold the lands of the delinquents to the deity and made a sale for 170 new Guḷigai paṇam which they remitted to the King's men.³⁰

The Śrīrudra mähēśvarar of Vēlaṅguḍi had also been in dire need and unable to pay up the demands on them they add the Dēvadāna lands. This was in AD 1293.³¹

In the 8th year of King Kulaśēkhara the Ūrār of Śāikkaḷūr sold the land to the deity as they had no resources. The immutable land-dues had been fixed. But for lack of resources ¼ of the land dues not be paid on demand from the King's Chieftain Adigaimān. Hence they sold the land which was in their collective holding but which was waste and the tank had breached and the ayacut was in shrub jungle. This was sold as Iṛaiyili Kārānmai. The ornaments of the deity were sold, and the amount of 200 paṇam was remitted through the temple executives to Adigaimān.³²

In AD 1275, as the crops did not yield, in the month of Tai (January-February) the food offerings the deity could not be made. Hence the paṭṭom among the ornaments of the deity was pledge and the service were continued. But the Ūrār were insisted upon to restore the paṭṭom. Hence they got cash from Tambirān Tōḷan, a merchant from Aruviyūr and restored it. for the cash received the Ūrār sold a land to be reclaimed by the vendee and utilised for maintaining a garden (nandavanam) endowed by him.³³

In AD 1284 in Ilayāttākuḍi a merchant from Madurai had a holding; the Kaḍamai therefrom was payable to the deity. But the occupant failed to pay the Kaḍamai and the Ūrār sold the land to the Viṣṇu temple in the name of Senapati ālvār (Viṣṇvakṣēna) and revived the payment of Kaḍamai to the temple.³⁴

Tirukkalakkuḍi, Pirānmalai, Kuṇṇakkuḍi, Vēlaṅguḍi and Uñjanai bring out the distress during the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I and even thereafter.

In AD 1290, the Viraiyāccilai Ūrār, a cantonment Township in Kāra nāḍu were demanded by the Pāṇḍya Chieftain, Tirunelvēli udaiyār 4000 paṇam for the current and previous year's taxes. Tirunelvēli Uḍaiyār had overrun the tract, and had authority

over it. the township could not bear this levy and “were dying”, sold their cattle, and mortgaged their assets and yet there was a balance for which they could not muster resources. None could give even 3 *kalamis* per *panam* nor land not cash or paddy. Yet there was no let up in the duress by Tirunelvēli Uḍaiyār. They sold in public auction an ayacut purchased from Kumāttāgudi Ūrār to Tirukkaḷakkudi temple. This was a typical instance of the princes and Chieftains who exacted levies totally beyond the capacity of the residents to bear in the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara.³⁵ Similarly the Nattanēri, which the Viraiyāccilai Ūrār had purchased from Kumāttāgudi was sold to the Tirukkaḷakkudi temple, as the Kumāttāgudi Ūrār refused to buy back the ayacut.*

The Ūrār of Śēvūr were distressed and the Chiefs and the Ūrār sold in public auction their occupied holdings in Māngudi in the 3rd year of Virapāṇḍya.³⁷ In the 31st year of Mār. Virapāṇḍya the temple authorities of Tirukkaḷakkudi sold the *Kāṇiyāṭci*. In one of the dēvadāna lands of the deity one Muḍiyan Naraśinga dēvar had occupancy. There was no heir or successor to him. The Muslim invasion under Malik Kafur had ravaged the country and left destruction and distress behind. The dēvadāna lands had to be rehabilitated (AD 1311-12) Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār vanquished the Muslims and restored order and the three servicees in the temples and regulated the temple affairs through the Nāyakan Chiefs who were to supervise and conduct the affairs.³⁸

The distress conditions in Tirukkaḷakkudi persisted even later in the Vijayanagara times. The village was deserted the residents had fled the place. No new occupants took up residence and there was none to induct new occupants. Here two persons from Kūḍalūr were invited and invested with Pādikāval rights and Uttama nāyakan who was Tammaya nāyakar’s executive was to have the authority over the township.³⁹

This is a typical description of the deterioration in the social and economic conditions and distress in Pāṇḍyan Township towards the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century.⁴⁰ We may now notice the conditions in a few more townships in the northern parts of the tract under study after Mār. Kulaśēkhara’s time

During the reign of Rājarāja Sundarapāṇḍya, Mullikkunḍu an endowment to the deity at Kunnakkudi had become depopulated due to certain riots and political disturbance. Hence the temple authorities sold the land to a purchaser as Kuḍinīngākkāni.⁴¹ In the 13th year of the reign, the Ūrār of Iraṇiyūr lamented that the executives of Kāṅgēyan the Chief had demanded cash and caused much hardship. As they had no resources the Ūrār sold lands to one Nallamaṅgaipillaiyār and others.⁴²

In the same year, the sthānattār of Mālavacakravartīśvaramuḍaiyān of Uñjanai sold Dēvadāna lands in the village Cōḷan Kudikkāḍu alias Kavinakaranallūr. The earlier enjoyer Māḍan Śivalingapperumāl alias Kāṅgēyapiccar and Tirumēniaḷagiyān who had

held the land on lease had failed to fulfil the Kaḍamai obligation and they had no resources and even the fine levied for the lapse remained unpaid.⁴³

In the 18th year a levy on Vijayālāyadēvan (presumably of Viraiyāccilai the Sūraikkūḍi Chief had been made of 740 paṇams of which 140 paṇams were paid on hand in cash by the *Ūrār* of Ilayāttākūḍi. The balance of 600 paṇam was not paid on the due dates. Hence according to the undertaking given they added an amount of 300 paṇams i.e. 50% more. They were under duress to pay up the balance and *Ūrār* of Ilayāttākūḍi had no other resources to fall back upon. They hence sold a number of fields consisting of 8 parcels and another 7 parcels. In all 15 to two individuals of Vēlaṅḷuḍi, Vīrapērayar and Iruṅḡōḷpur. The vendees had to pay an immutable levy of 4 *kalams* per year in paddy and Rāsipaṇam 4. (perhaps per *mā*) to the Uttara pādēśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār of Vēlaṅḷuḍi. This was in the 14th year of Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya.⁴⁴

These transactions of the time of Rājarājan Sundarapāṇḍya may be ascribed to the later half of the 14th Century.

We may notice, finally, a transaction dated in the 10th year of Jāt. Parākrama who is not identified. The inscription has been ascribed to the 14th-15th century. Annadēvamaṅgalam alias Kūḍalūr was a Brahmaḍēya in Tenkōnāḍu. The Sabhaiyār lamented that they could not pay the Kaḍamai dues for the 9th regnal year. The *Nāḍu*, *Nagaram* and the *Gramās* in Tenkōnāḍu allowed the Sabhaiyār to sell their lands as they desired. At the same time executives of the *jīvitam* holder, Māḷava cakravarti oppressed them to pay up the portion of the demand for the village. The Brahmin holders had no mean to pay up the demand. They announced for sale one half of the Brahmaḍēya Aññūruvamaṅgalam remitting the taxes and Kāval. In response one Kāraiyyūr Kīḷavan Dēvan who had earlier purchased the other half of the same village agreed to buy the remaining half for 150 Kuḷigai paṇam as Kuḍinīngā dēvadānam. 40 Rāsi paṇam was deposited for a lamp service. No other demands were to be made on the vendee-occupant.⁴⁵

To sum up, there is ample evidence to show that the level and incidence of land-dues were exacting under the "Pāṇḍyas of the Second Empire". The miscellaneous levies and obligations had only aggravated the hardship. Two reign stand out, particularly when the distress was brought to the surface - those of Mār. Sundara I (1216-1239) and Mār. Kulaśēkhara II (1268 to 1311). This factor could be easily accounted for.

Mār. Sundara I waged a relentless war against the Cōḷa Kulōttuṅga III and his hapless successor, Rājarāja III. The first campaign was about the 2nd, 3rd year (1218-9). The second was the latter half of the reign of Mār. Sundara I. This war and the extensive preparations should have demanded mustering resources, and also drained the king's Treasury. The local Chieftains and the lessees too had levied their own

discretionary levies. The billeting of soldiery, the services demanded from the villagers and other needs should have added to the service obligations of the occupants. Above all, the Hoysāla intervention twice in favour of the Cōlas their march towards Rāmēśvaram their demand for ransom to desist from plundering the villages as at Ilayāngudi, Śālaigrāmam and in Tiruppattūr should have compounded the sufferings of the occupants and cultivators.

The long reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara was marked by much lavishness which struck the foreign travellers like Marco Polo. The horse trade was a drain on the treasury. The fondness for Arab horses was matched only by the utter carelessness in maintaining them in a hot tract which took a heavy toll of the horses. Wasaf refers to the tax on the dancing girls (Dēvarāḍiyārvari) and the temple jewellery and funds being utilised for paying in gold, the Arab merchants. Indeed the Pāṇḍyan love of horses was so reckless that they even agreed to pay to the Arab merchants for the horses that died enroute if only they brought the tail of the dead horses. Surely this should have given room for considerable “horse-trading” and fraud. The payment was in gold and it should have caused a constant drain.⁴⁶

Added to this factor, the King as he was getting older was leaving the affairs of the Kingdom in the hands of his brothers, other scions of the royal family and the chieftains. They added discretionary levies and without due regard to the welfare of the people and the Kingdom made ruthless levies and exaction. Indeed in an inscription at Vālikaṇḍapuram⁴⁷ the people heaved a sigh of relief when the King’s brother who had made severe exactions was withdrawn and by way of gratitude they instituted a lamp service for the merit of the King and his health.

In the late 13th and early 14th century there was a shift in the mode of fixing demand from detailed survey of the lands cultivated and coming to yield determine that yield and applying the various rates in vogue, more to a fixed lumpsum amount. Also latterly the demand in cash, in gold (pon) and that in a lumpsum is evidenced the more which was to be paid fixed dates instead of the collection of land demand being synchronised with the crop yields in Appasi and in Citrai earlier. The changed modality would have obliged the occupants to sell paddy early when the ruling prices could be lower and thus to lose at both ends.

After Mār. Kulaśēkhara’s reign this sons quarrelled among themselves and the political confusion and Malik Kafur’s raid and his loot of treasure added to the sufferings. Temples were ruined, especially in Tiruppattūr area and services were discontinued and villages got depopulated. It was given to some of the Pāṇḍya princes like Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Kampana Uḍaiyār to launch a process of rehabilitation of the temples and the countryside. But they were only catalysts. The Nāṭṭār and the

community bestirred themselves to reclaim lands, reconstruct tanks and induct cultivations and patiently recover from the economic ills of over a century.

The evidence we have mustered are from a species of townships the eleemosynary tenure. Admittedly they had been extended concessional treatment. And yet the temples and the Brahmins were not able to pay the demand. If that were so, the fully assessed cultivator townships should have had a greater share of the burden. Indeed this fact is well attested though by the indirect evidence of the agricultural townships bemoaning their distress and their inadequate resources. They had hardly any reserves to fall back upon.⁴⁸ At best they could collect adhoc amounts for specific purposes as the Tiruppattūr Mahāsabhā did when they resolved to wait on the King at Madurai.^{48A & 49} Otherwise, the yearly collections of dues had to be remitted then and there and there was hardly any carry over. Revenue recovery measures were exacting and led to even physical hardships inflicted on the Mahāsabhā constituents or other township organisations.

The only remedy that they could and did resort to was to sell communal lands and convert their capital assets into yielding assets. But this was to pay off revenue obligations. The saving feature was the sale price of the land per se may be disproportionately low but the deposit component (*Irai dravyam*) for payment of land dues from the interest accruals was high. The townships could invest such amounts in productive avenues, like reclamation of land and restoration of irrigation sources.

The progressive induction of occupants could also have had the effect of the revenue bearing lands increasing and to that extent the collective obligation of the townships could have been reduced. Assets which had been dead had become yielding. The increase in production, extension of irrigation and restoration of tanks, reclamation of lands were other lasting benefits to the economy which offset the diminution of Township's collective capital assets.

It should not be understood that while the never fiscal burden was experienced by the community and they were groaning there was no relief forthcoming from the rulers or the Chieftains. Indeed relief was afforded by rulers like Jāt. Kulasēkhara I and Mār. Sundara I himself. In addition the Chiefs who held large territories as *Jivitam* also realising that the unhindered cultivation of lands was vital for their well-being carded for the occupants and gave tangible relief.

If the stress and strain due to the land levies was acute in the Tiruppattūr, Sivaganga region so was the relief afforded in these tract were pronounced. But the other areas in Vaigai and Tāmbraparaṇi basin were not neglected.

In the following pages an attempt is made to recount the relief measures afforded and the modalities of relief in these tracts.

RELIEF AFFORDED TO THE OCCUPANTS AND THE MODES ADOPTED

The relief afforded by Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I is very explicitly brought out in Tirunelvēli. The occupants' holdings had been assessed at 8 Taram rates. The royal officers had varied the mode of assessment from *madakku* to *virivu*.⁴⁹ This has caused hardship apparently. In the 11th year (AD 1227) Mār. Sundara I restored the assessment from the occupants of the Brahmādēya at the old rates, cancelling the orders of his officers.⁵⁰ Two years later, he further ordered that the land dues from the Brahmādēya be followed up in 3 Tarams instead of eight. The effect of this change could be to bring down the average (simple or weighted) rate of compounded assessment and its incidence. This was in AD 1229.⁵¹

Again, in Kōḍānūr in the 7th year of the ruler (not named head) it was specifically ordered that except Kaḍamai and antarāyam all other levies like Vettiṭṭāttam, Pañjupīli, Sāndi vigrahappēru, Ponvari were all remitted. Besides the King wrote to the Mahāsabhā that they shall also remit the Sabhāvinīyōgam (the distributed levies collected by the Sabhā) on these lands. Accordingly the Mahāsabhā implemented the order.⁵²

Even more significant is the communication of Kaṇḍiya Dēvan to the Sabhaiyār of Kōḍānūr (Kulaśēkhara Cm) conveying the King's order in a letter that except the *Kaḍamai* and antarāyam on the lands enjoyed by the Viṣṇu temple of the township with *Kārāṇmai* rights, all other taxes like Ponvari (cash levy in gold) shall be remitted. The latter significantly added that when at the pleasure of the King such a direction (*niyōga*) was issued and is in force there shall be no new levies and innovations. (*Tirumugamum, niyōgamum undāyirukka iṭṭōdu śila pudumaigaḷ seyyakkadavārkaḷalla*) The Mahāsabhā was enjoined to implement the orders and issue their proceedings accordingly.⁵³ In the 2(1)st year of Mār. Sundara I Mārāmaṅgalam had been granted as *jīvitam* to the Śōnagar.⁵⁴ When they were collecting the assigned revenues they interfered with and disturbed the schedule of assessment rates and attend the land levies (*Taram Kulaiṭhu . . . Tanḍinārāgayum*) this has caused hardship. On this being taken to the notice of the King i.e. he ordered the restoration of the old rates at which land dues were collected (*Paṇḍu iṭṭu vanda Taram*). The inscription also gives the different rates for the different tarams, the first and fourth etc.

This order seems to convey the rates of levies for the different tarams at 5 *kalam*, 2 *Tūni*, Padakku, 2 *Nāli* and 7 *kalam*, 2 *Tūni Kurūni*, 4 *nāli* cash 6½ *mā*, mundirigai and for the (third Taram?) including cash 4 *Kalam* paddy. The rates shall be applied to the crop on ground, and on the extent where the crops had struck roots and come to yield.⁵⁵

In Tirukkōlūr the *Ūrār* of Pūrānkuṛicci felt difficulties in the mode of land levy in vogue. The villagers had a lease-demand, which was presumably a fixed amount. Consequently, the occupants and the cultivators, unable to bear the levy, deserted the place and lands were laid waste. A change in the mode of the land levy was called for. In AD 1249 during the reign of Mār. Sundara II this was effected. From that year, all *Dēvadāna* and *palliccandam* lands had to be excluded. Other lands held in occupancy were to be measured by the 18 *Śān*. *Vīrapāṇḍyan* rod, the yield in lands cultivated on inscription, was to be determined. On such lands yielding the following rates of assessment shall be applied for *kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* from the 11th year.

For *kār* : $6 \frac{81}{160}$ *kāsu* per *mā*. and paddy (*mudal*) 4 *kalams* by the *Vīrapāṇḍyan* measure for lands brought to yield by baling - $\frac{1}{2}$ thereof *Ginragu*, *Tinai*, *Sāmai* - 1 *Dramam* (16 *mēni*) per *mā*. For dry lands per *mā* : $\frac{1}{4}$ *dramam*.

An endorsement that year let this schedule of rates be paid was added by the revenue officials.⁵⁶

The Tirukkōlūr instance distinctly bring out the disadvantages of a *oṭṭu* system - of lease on a fixed quantum of dues. For one thing, the lessee might exact more than what was due to the King. for another he might vary the rates at his discretion; Besides even when the groom yielded less, if the demand he had to meet was inelastic he would transfer the rigidity of demand to the cultivators - occupants. Even if there was no external Lessee and the township was itself enjoyed to pay the lease-*Kaḍamai* this last adverse factor would persist. Lastly, the margin left for the occupants and the cultivators would be so low that they would not be enthused to cultivate the lands and bear cultivation expenses and apply labour.

The *Variśai* rates substituted enabled direct payment to the King Treasury. It was on actual assessment of the yield and on the measured extent of lands coming to yield. The rates too were varied according to the crop grown and accorded with the scale more widely prevalent. It was hence definitely a more equitable arrangement.

In *Āttūr* (Tiruccendūr Tk) too a series of inscriptions bring out that despite flood and drought conditions the immutable *Kaḍamai* (*Vāḍākkāḍamai*) was payable and it had worked to the disadvantage of the occupant - cultivators. Prior to the 13th year (perhaps of Mār. Sundara II) except the paddy for *Salābam*, no other levy was enforced. *Kēśava Daṇḍanāyaka* (a *Hoysāḷa*) imposed a levy in gold (*pon*). This innovation was presumably to ward off the pillage and plunder as noticed in *Ilayāṅgudi* and *Śāligrāmam* and *Caturvēdimāṅalam*.

From the 13th year, the king issued an epistle conveying to the *Kuḍanāṭṭār* that the levies payable in gold (*Ponvari* shall be discontinued forthwith, *Cēdiyarāyan*

accordingly issued the communication and implemented the order. The status-quo-ante of the grain levy for salābam was restored.⁵⁷

The Brahmādēya occupants of the Vaigai belt had a distinct advantage. Proximity to the capital and the Palace enabled them to address the King for redressal of any legitimate grievances. The Sabhaiyār of Cōlāntaka Cm who waited on Jāt. Śrīvallabha and not removed the new weir constructed by a Sarvakruttukkaḷ with the King's permission is an instance in point. Proximity enabled them to participate in any sacrifice or at the time of the coronation of the King. These were ceremonial occasions when special concessions and grants were made by the King. Such concessions being repetitive in nature the concessions could also get enlarged from reign to reign.

In the 2nd year of Jāt. Kulaśēkhara the King on the recommendation of Ayyan Māḷavarāyan made a Dharmadāna to the Brahmīns of Cōlākulāntaka Cm (Coḷavandan).⁵⁸

Upto the 22nd year (of the previous reign) the Sabhaiyār had paid Viniyōgam per mā as below :

Main crop	Dramam 4 Paddy 6 Kalam
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Kuṟuvai on yielding lands	Dramam 1 ³ / ₅
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Paddy 4 kalam Tūṇi, Padakku or 4¹/₂ Kalam. From the 2nd year of Jāt. Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1192) he ordered the Viniyōgam rates at :

Main crop	Dramam 2 Paddy 3 Kalam	} 50% of the previous rate
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Kuṟuvai On yielding lands	Dramam (1/4 + 1/20 16/20) or 4/5 Paddy 2 Kalam 3 Kuṟuṇi	} 50% of the previous rate
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These (onasoions) were progressively enlarged in the reigns of Mār. Sundara I and his successor Mār. Sundara II.

In 1218-19 as recommended by his brother-in-law Aḷagapperumaḷ, Mār. Sundara I reduced the rates of Viniyōgam as below:⁵⁹

Upto the 27th year (of previous reign) AD 1217 the sabhaiyār of Cōlāntaka Cm paid Viniyogam at :

(Concession from the 2nd year of Mār. Sundara I net)

Main crop	Paddy	8 kalam per mā	To be less by 2 Kalam 6 Kalam
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	Dramam 5	To be less by 1 Dramam 4 Dramam
For Kuṟuvai	Dramam 2	To be less by 2/5 Dramam 1 3/5 Dramam
	Paddy 6 Kalam	To be less by 1½ Kalam 4½ Kalam

In the 2nd year of Mār. Sundara II (A.D. 1240) two more concessions were extended to the same Sabhaiyār. First, the Sabhaiyār had paid *Mākkalam* (1 *kalam* of paddy per *mā*) both with main crop and in Kuṟuvai. This was totally dispensed with main crop and in Kuṟuvai. This was totally dispensed with as Dharmadāna at time of his coronation by the King at the instance of Ayyan Maḷavarāyan.⁶⁰ At the same time the king Mār. Sundara II granted the following concession in the rates of *Viniyōgam* paid by the Sabhaiyār of the same Brahmadēya upto the 2nd year.

Rates in force:

Main crop	Dramam 2
	Paddy 3 Kalam
Kuṟuvai	(perumdramam) 4/5
	Paddy 2 Kalam 3 Kuṟuṇi

It may be recalled that these were the rates ordered by Jat. Kulaśēkhara I in AD 1192.

Ayyan Maḷavarāyan recommended that these *viniyōgam* levies shall be totally dispensed with. This was ordered accordingly in A.D. 1240.

In the 13th year, 150th day (AD 1203-4) of Jāt. Kulaśēkhara the King made a *yagnādāna*, at the time of a sacrifice reducing the rates of levy for Kuṟuvai.⁶¹

Hither to the rates were :

Per mā	3 Dramam
	8 Kalam paddy

Reduction :

from the 14th year	1½ Dramam
	2 Kalam 3 Kuṟuṇi

Net payable	1½ Dramam
	5 Kal. 2 Tūṇi 1 Kuṟuṇi

Again, in the reign of Mār. Sundara II it was noticed that the *Iṟai* paid by Tiruvēḍagam occupants was inflated (*Iṟuttu Vanda Iṟai ataiṟṟu unḍdenṟum*) and that the rates in vogue shall be revised and the lands in Tiruvēḍagam shall be charged

at same rates at which the Cōlakulāntaka Cm occupants paid the land dues. Further the cultivated lands coming to yield shall be measured by Vikramapāṇḍyan kōl and the yielding lands shall be changed 2 Dramam per *mā* and Paddy at the same rates in vogue in Cōlakulāntaka Cm. Presumbaly this was ordered accordingly.⁶²

For one thing, townships in close proximity could clamour for concessions if the rates in the neighbouring village were lower. Secondly, the Proximity to the seat of power, the ceremonial occasions and the coronation especially was a jubilant occasion were of avail to grant concessions in land assessme:it especially to Brahmādēya occupants.

The uplands in Rāmanāthapuram as brought out above, were the most affected. Drought and loss of crops were frequent and the rates of demand were exacting. The collective obligation of townships to pay up the demand was also invoked oftener. It is natural that relief should also be more incessantly called for. Also the evidence of such relief granted is relatable to the areas of distress. What is, however, the most striking are the modes of relief granted. They are somewhat sophisticated and even curious.

In AD 1232 the Sabhaiyār of Śrīvilliputtūr approached the Chief who was administering Śrīvilliputtūr approached the Chief who was administering Śrīvilliputtūr, Tiruvudaiyan Adaiyan Akkiyan Vijayasangadevar to move the King for a tax concession.⁶³ He submitted the request to his superior Āsiriyan Dēvapillai alias Kaṇḍiyattēvar Alias Vīra Pāṇḍya Dēvar who endoraed the request to the King Mār. Sundara I. On the citrai Viṣu, the Tamil New Year's day in the 15th year, a memorandum was issued by the King directing Dēvar Kaṇḍyadēvar to have the grant made and consummated by pouring water by the Prince Vikaramapāṇḍyadēvar. Accordingly, the Prince Vikrama Pāṇḍya Dēvar was moved to give to the royal order.

He invited the accredited prerepresentatives of the Sabhā Śeruvūr Kiḷārs son, Arēyan Vājapēyāji Sundara Tōḷudaiyān Bhattan Jyōthishūma Vājapēyāji Ālvi mūvāgni Bhogyarajiyār and his younger brother Vājapēyajeyār and others and granted by pouring water a Dharmadāna of 1/80 per *mā* as deduction in the land dues. Kaṇḍya Thevar also moved the King to issue the royal epistle and the copy of the oral order. Thus the chief in authority Vijayaśingadēvar had through the good offices of Kaṇḍya Dēvar caused the reduction in assessment.

The episode brings out how the Sabhaiyār had moved the local chief and made their application through had moved the local chief and made their application through the “proper channel”. The Chief was sympathetic and he moved his superior who had the ears of the King. The King's grant was ceremoniously implemented by the Prince Vikrama Pāṇḍya. But Kaṇḍyadēvar ensured the formal order of the King orally conveyed reduced into writing and the concession was given effect. The representatives

of the Sabhaiyār, from their names, were accomplished in Vedic rites, and rituals and capable of performing several sacrifices. The case also shows the influence of the local officers and the Chieftains to accomplish this tax-reduction.

Accordingly, in the 15th year of Mār. Sundara-I and 273rd day (A.D. 1232) the Sabhaiyār of Śrīvilliputtūr met the King in his bed chamber Maḷavarāyan in the Capital seeking orders of reduction in land levies.⁶⁴ The King ordered that among the wet lands, black soil, and dry lands, all the tax-free Dēvadāna grants be excluded. These included lands granted as Dēvadāna for the Vadaperuṅkōiludaiyān, Dvārāpatialvār (Kṛṣṇa) Tiruvayōdhi Viṅṅagar ālvār (Rāma) Śrī vallabha viṅṅagarālvār, Śrirāma Viṅṅagarālvār and those endowed for Tirukarṅāḷīśvaramuḍaiyān, Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷapperumāl and for the paramasvāmi of Tirumāḷiruṅjōlai (Aḷagarkōil) which last was a garden as also all Dharmadana lands. The remaining lands were bearing land dues. In the prevailing rates, measuring lands with the standard rod in use in the township the King granted *Māvīrakāni* as Dharmadhana from the 15th year. That is to say, out of the dues payable per *mā*, 1/80 was remitted and the land dues shall be collected at 3/80 of the existing rate. This works to a reduction of 1¼%. This shall be levied only on yielding lands. This formal communication was made at the instance of Maḷavarāyan.⁶⁵

The same representatives of the the Sabhā made another request nine years later (in AD 1241) to the King Mār. Sundara I to grant as Dēvadāna, the land dues in 2 *vēlies* of land which was in their occupancy and in some other lands in which they had *Kārāṇmai* rights. This was also granted from 20th year (AD 1236) though the order was dated in the 25th year⁶⁶.

A Mūvaraivenrān inscription of the 12-13th century dated 8th year of a Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara directed the Sabhā of a Brahmadēya (not named) and the occupants who have taken residence and settled there and raised crops to pay 1/8 *accu* per unit of land measured by the *periakōl* (big pole). The details are lost but from the context it could be inferred that the village was deserted and had to be resettled and a concessional rate of levy was warranted in the rainfed tract. The reference to 'Periakōl' might simply that the measuring rod was long on and consequently the rate of levy could have been for a larger extent than the standard rod used elsewhere carrying a concessional element with it.⁶⁷

The extant epigraphs from Sivagaṅgai, Tiruppattūr and Tiruvādānai Taluks give graphic accounts of the concessions extended by the *jīvitam* holders like Kalavāḷi nāḍālvān or at their instance by the King. It also gives an insight into the modes of relief afforded. In Jat. Śrīvallabha's reign a concession of 25% was extended in Tiruppāccētti to some lands occupied. The rate of levy of 5 *Kalam* ½ *Kāśu* was reduced to 3¼ *Kalam* and ¾ *Kāśu*.⁶⁸

In the 19th year of Jāt. Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1209) the King sent a communication to the Sabhaiyār of Vēmbattūr of Vēmbattūr (Kulaśēkhara Cm) The dues of the Township were calculated hitherto on the extent of land measured by the measuring pole *Kuditāṅgi*. The King's grant father (Āpattar) Kaḷavaḷi Nādāḷvar gave them a document of title that the measuring pole shall be increased by $\frac{1}{4}$ of the length (i.e., 25%) and on that measurement *Kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* shall be calculated. The *jīvitam* holder also requested the King to issue a written communication in terms of his earlier undertaking. The King ordered accordingly, and his written orders were conveyed by his officers. In effect by this change of the length of the measuring pole, a concession of 25% could have resulted. The rates of levy remained unaltered. But the same rate was applied to a larger extent measured.⁶⁹

Confirming the grant of shares to the Brahmaḍēya occupants in Vēmbattūr, the King further conceded that earlier the lands to assessed to *Kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* were measured by the 2(4) Śān pole. Now by using the 30 śān kōl, for measuring the lands he allowed a 25% reduction in assessment. The rates of assessment remained the same. But instead of 24x24 or 576 Sq. Śān the same rate was applied to 30x30 or 800 Sq. Śān.⁷⁰ Incidentally, it may be added that the measuring pole *Kuditāṅgi* was in vogue even in the time of Jāt. Kulaśēkhara it was not introduced in the time of Mār. Sundara I as held by some.

Similar concessions were extended in Adaḷaiyūr Nāḍu. The Adaḷaiyūr Nādāḷvār in the year of Mār. Sundara I (A.D. 1224) intimated the *Nāṭṭār* of the Adaḷaiyūr nāḍu as follows. Several villages in Adaḷaiyūr nāḍu, in the Kilkuṇḍāru basin, viz., Tiruārāraṅgudi, Kōnēri, Tiruīṅgarkuḍi, Panaikkudi Kuratti, included, in the nāḍu the pole used for measuring lands was 18 Śān. This was discontinued and the 24 Śān *Kuditāṅgi* was to be used and per *mā* so measured, as hereto for the crops shall be insputed and assessed (*pulli pārttu*) and deducting the areas not coming to yield, those yielding shall be assessed at $\frac{1}{4}$ of the original rate i.e., at 3 *kalam* 2 *Tūṇi*; the *Kaḍamai* measure reckoning with the difference in measure.⁷¹

The Kalvāyil Nādāḷvān issued a letter in the same year to the same residents and also Pūvālaikkudi, substituting 24 Śān measuring pole for 18 feet in vogue hitherto. The *Kuditāṅgi* land 1 *mā* thus measured, was reduced. The rate per 1 *mā* by the *Kaḍamai* measure was 7 *kāl* 2 *tūṇi* and adding wastage, it was revised as 9 *Kāl* 2 *Kuruṇi* 4 *Nāḷi* Uri by the *Nāḷi* measure used by the *Nāṭṭār*.⁷²

The inscriptions of the reign of Mār. Sundara I from Pericci Kōil are of greater interest. The first is dated the 9th year (AD 1225) of Mār. Sundara I.⁷³

The *Ūrār* of Siṟupericciyūr and Kaṇḍrāppūr (Kaṇḍramānikkam) felt and complained that the residents had become impoverished and that to desert the village

and live in the forest was better. The Nādālvān Kaṇḍan Āḷudaiyān Kāngēyan gave a deed in the following terms :

The lands in the Townships shall be measured by the Kuḍitāngi pole. For the main crops paddy (lost) and $1\frac{1}{4}$ Dramam of 5 *mēni* shall be paid. For Arṇasi kuṇuvai, and citrai kuṇuvai $\frac{1}{2}$ for lands yielded by baling Tinai, Varagu and gingelly $\frac{1}{4}$. For sugarcane at the same rate as the principal crop. The lands shall be inspected and only yielding lands shall be assessed and measured and waste lands shall be excluded. For *viniyōgam* and miscellaneous levies the lands measured by Kuḍitāngi shall be reckoned in terms of maḍakku and the levies spread or distributed and collected at rates in vogue in the Nāḍu.

For lands sold from his own holdings, the measuring red and grain measure shall be as given in the saled deed.

In the 19th year of Sundara Pandya Kaṇḍan Āḷagu Kaṇḍan Perumāl alias Kāngēyan gave another deed to the urar which is even more interesting.⁷⁴ This may also be, perhaps ascribed to Mār. Sundara I and II so, dated in AD 1235. The Nādālvān recognised that the lands separated from their command area were unable to pay the land dues at the rates stipulated earlier. The residents had become distressed and more in an improvised state.

Hence from the 6th year of Sundara Pandya 1 *mā* of land measured by 18 Sān pole was re-measured using 24 Sān pole and the extent recomputed at 4 *mā* mundrikai ($9/320$). Now on the same basis measuring by kuḍitāngi pole (24 Sān) per *mā*, the rates charged were.

Antarayam - $\frac{1}{4}$ Palānkāśu, and appreciating the proportion in Dramam nexus to the *Kāśu* and reckned it as 7 *mā*, or $7/20$. To other words the *Kāśu* was devalued.

Paddy measured by Valayilkāl at 6 kalam levied previously was substituted, by the *Ūrkkāl* and 7 *Kāl*. 3 *Kuṇuni* by the latter measure was levied for paddy in the main crop, as also for sugarcane, Arṇasi Kuṇuvai.

If the Arṇasi kuṇuvai crop came to yield by baling.

The unyielding crops or ring waste shall be excluded, and lands not coming up to yield shall be excluded on inscription.

For the miscellaneous levies due to the Nāḍu as Inavari from the 6th year the quantum shall be determined on the *Maḍakku* extent, and at opting the *Kuḍitāngi* measure. It will be seen that the relief afforded was rather curiously worked out. The extent of the land was recomputed substituting a 24 Sān pole for 18 Sān pole. The

nexus of Dramam to Kāśu was appreciated. The capacity and the grain measure was varied, retaining the demand in tract as ready revised in the 6th year of Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

The *Nāṭṭār* of Karraipattu Pāganēri were intimated in the 7th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya that in the determined levy in gold, ½ was deducted as Irāiyili and the remaining shall be collected.⁷⁵ In another inscription dated 20th year of a ruler (whose name is not available) from Kallānguḍi the Chieftain addressed the Kallānguḍi, Dēśinārāyaṇapuram Nagarattār and several urārs, including Paḷlattūr, Vaḍakuḍi, that thenceforth as per the rates for collection in the ayacuts of Sāykalūr (Śākkōṭṭai) ½ of the gold (cash) levy was remitted.⁷⁶

In the 17th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1285) when there was a rehabilitation of residents in Sannavanam they were granted remission in taxes.⁷⁷

A number of inscriptions of the 11th and 14th centuries grant remissions at a high rate 50% to several *Nāṭṭār*s.

In about the 20th year of Mār. Vikrama Pāṇḍya out of the assessments fixed in the 10th year for the occupants of Uñjanai, Niyamam, Kaḷanivāśal and Ilayātānguḍi *Ūrār* and others (some names are lost) from the 16th year one half of the dues were deducted and the remaining half was ordered to be paid by them. This was a lumpsum deduction and a sumptuous relief. It also served as a measure of the unbearable levels of land levies at a determined amount (niccayippu) payable in gold.⁷⁸

In the 8th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya the *Nāṭṭār* of Uñjanai ayacut were advised that the determined amount of levies per year for the Uñjanai nāḍu was 2400 newpon. of this amount 800 pon was deducted and the remaining 1600 pon were payable - ¼ from January to June, and ¼ from July to December. This was a concertainer of 331¹/₃₈ ⁷⁹

Another Kōnērinmaikondān order addressed to the Uñjanai *Nāṭṭār* recalls the earlier determined amount of 2600 new pon. From the 11th year of the reign 400 pon were remitted. The balance of 1200 pon shall be payable in the same proportion in ¼:¼ the period January to June and July to December respectively.⁸⁰

From the transaction reviewed above, it will be noticed that the Pāṇḍyan rulers from the time of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha and Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (c. 1190) were sensible of the burden of land levies cast on the occupants and afforded relief. This is equally true of Mār. Sundara I who, despite the costly wars he was waging with the Cōḷan had himself intervened to restore the Status-quo-ante. The King's officers were overzealous and pitched demands high which could be remedied on being taken to the

notice of the King himself, or through officers and Chieftains who were sympathetic enough to safeguard the interests of the occupants.

But this trend was not equally noticeable in the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara.⁸¹ His authority shared by his brothers and chiefs was made the instrument of making exactions from the occupants. True, later rulers like Mār. Vikrama and Vīra Pāṇḍya granted relief. But there were several changes in the mode of land levy that had occurred. These had the effect of wiping away the inherent safeguards for ensuring equity and affording legitimate relief when the season was unfavourable or where the crop yield has affected or was lost. The changed modality of levy was to fix a determined amount for the Nāḍu as a whole (*niccayippu*). Being predetermined there was no scope for automatic concession for lands which did not yield or which on measurement, could be adjudged as partially yielding, and not capable of bearing the assessment. The earlier mode long in vogue for assessment was per *mā* as the unit. But latterly the *Ūr* as a whole and worse the Nāḍu, as a whole had to bear the levy. This could have led to an uneven distribution of the burden among the *Ūrs* or constituent units of the Nāḍu. Thirdly, the demand was in gold, which needed the conversion of paddy into cash. Currently and gold value fluctuation could have been minimal. But still it demanded liquidity. If the demand was fixed as a lumpsum, it followed the concessioned relief had also to be expressed in the same terms for the nāḍu as a whole consequently, there could have been some vagaries in the distribution of relief among the different constituent, and those with greater clout with the Chieftains as in Uñjanai could have secured a larger share of relief. Correspondingly the townships which were not so active or lacked clout tended to lose in relief.

The agrarian and levy conditions and the hardships caused described above bring out the state of affairs in the mid-14th century in the Pāṇḍyan Townships. The question whether they were remedied thereafter can be answered only with reference the conditions in the Vijayanagar and Nāyak times that followed. But the evidence of the period is slender to infuse confidence that relief commensurate with the distress was forthcoming.

FOOT NOTES TO APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX :

1. 295 / 1949-50 - Ilayānkudi - Mār.Sundara. Also 312/1949-50 - Sālaigrāmam
2. SII XIV - 265.
3. SII XIV - 232.
4. SII V - 412
5. 281 / 1928. Also 279 / 1928 which gives the share of every one of the new Brahmin occupants. The name occurs in another line of 281/1928 as Kāntanallūr.
6. 582 / 1915 - Dārukāpuram.
7. SII VIII - 448.
8. SII VIII - 446-477.
- 8-A. 316 / 1940-41.
- 8-B. 727-728 / 1962-63.
- 8-C. 715 / 1962-63.
9. 337 / 1916 - Tiruvālīsvaram.
10. 481 / 1930.
11. SII XXIII - 125, 126, 128.
12. Ibid 127
13. Ibid 125 line 9.
14. Ibid 126.
15. Ibid 127.
16. Ibid 128.
17. SII XXVI - 497. On the Vijayanagara expedition of Timma and Viṭṭala please see my "Early History of Christians in South India" - National Museum Bulletin 5 & 6.
18. 291 / 72-73.
19. 351 / 1961-62.
20. SII V / 287.
21. SII XIV / 205.
22. SII XXVI / 525.
23. E.I XXVIII / pp. 92-93.
24. 295 / 1949-50. Ilayānkudi. This inscription brings out that even Dēvadāna lands had to bear or viniyōgam in cash and paddy. The term "Kuḍinīngalāna" may be interpreted to mean that the tenants cultivating the dēvadāna lands were exempted or excluded from the levy so collected.
25. 312 / 1949-50. Sālaigrāmam.
26. 291 / 1949-50.

27. 308 / 1928. Caturvēdimāṅgalam.
28. 52 / 1946-47. Śākkōṭṭai.
29. 2 / 1926. Iraṇiyūr.
30. 505 / 1958-59. Vēlaṅguḍi.
31. 509 / 1958-59. Vēlaṅguḍi.
32. 42 / 1946-47 Śākkottai.
33. 56 / 1946-47 Śākkōṭṭai.
34. 23 / 1926.
35. 81 / 1961. Tirukkaḷakkuḍi.
36. 86 / 1916.
37. 74 / 1916.
38. 64 / 1916.
39. 48 / 1916.
40. On the unsettled conditions, please see my paper "on the viclasitudes of Viraiyāccilai" The collected papers pp. 156 - f.
41. SII XXVI / 43.
42. 11 / 1926.
43. 196 / 1984.
44. 504 / 58-59.
45. SII VIII / 438 - Pirānmalai.
46. Please see "Foreign Notices" pp. 166-167.
47. Please see my "Land grants and agrarian relations" pp. 135-136.
48. Please see my paper on the "Tenuous fisc of the medieval Townships" - "The collected papers" pp. 82-89.
- 48A. ARE 101 / 1908.
49. On these modlities, please see my annexure to Chapter III - Supra - pages
50. SII V / 413.
51. Ibid. 414
52. 206, 207 / 1923.
53. 208 / 1933.
54. SII VIII / 454, 455.
55. Ibid. 455. There are gaps in the text.
56. 715, 716 / 1962-63.

57. 432, 433, 434 / 1030.
58. 81 / 1905.
59. 82 / 1905. The order part of the inscription shows the concession in Dramam for Kuruvai at 7/20 and not 8/20 as stated in the recommendation part.
60. 80 / 1905.
61. 688A / 1905 - Tiruvēdagam.
62. 679 / 1905 - Tiruvēdagam. The inscription is incomplete.
63. 554 / 1926.
64. 541 / 1926.
65. 556 / 1926.
66. 557 / 1926.
67. 206 / 1980-81. The text is not available. The inferences are based on the abstract of the ARE.
68. 75 / 1929.
69. 329 / 1959-60. Vēmbattūr.
70. 323 / 1960, Vēmbattūr. Kōlkuditāngi was 24 śān.
71. 406 / 1954-55. Kunnakkuḍi.
72. 174 / 1937. Kunnakkuḍi.
73. 91 / 1924.
74. 73 / 1924.
75. 67 / 1924.
76. 190 / 1924.
77. 26 / 1916.
78. 192 / 1980-81.
79. 195 / 1980-81. Also 201/1580-81.
80. 193 / 1980.
81. The Sannavanam case (26-1916) seems to be an exception.

CHAPTER X

SOCIETY AND TRENDS OF CHANGES IN PĀNDYAN TOWNSHIPS

THE MATHAS IN PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

An Institution which had greatly influenced the society, and had kept watch over the temple rituals and endowments, and laid down the procedure for the rituals and practices in medieval times was the Maṭha. It was invariably headed by a principal Sanyāsin, 'Mudaliyār' as he was termed in Saivite institutions. There were, besides a number of other ascetics, or yogis, or Āṇḍārs and also bachelors (māṇi) attending to various services in the maṭha and in the temple. Some times the maṭha functioned as an adjunct of the temple. In other cases it was independent, had received grants as maḍappuram, tax free and bought and sold land or house-sites and was running on its own. It fed a number of itinerant Tapasvis who came from without the township and gave them shelter. It organised the recital of Tirugñānam and Śivadharmā and other sacred hymns. It trained disciples in the particular persuasions they expounded and ensured continuity of traditions. It instituted gardens and provided for maintaining them and for supply of flowers to the temples. It also provided special services.

The maṭhas had represented a variety of persuasions. The oldest and most widespread was Gōlakhi Santānam (lineage of Gōlakhi Sanyāsins. They were Saivite. There were Non-Brahmin ascetics having their own hermitage called Guhai. Again, they can be classified as Ēkaḍaṇḍa being Śaivite Sanyāsins, of "Tīrtha pādas" as at Kariśūḷndamaṅgalam.¹ The Vaiṣṇavite Sanyāsins assumed the title of Mahāmuniḡaḷ. They were styled Brahmaividvāns - Brahmin ascetics. In the reign of Jat. Kulaśēkhara I, towards the end of the 11th and early 12th century, Seṇḍalaṅgāra Mahāmuniḡaḷ had a maṭha in the first ceri of Rājarāja Cm and was instrumental in building a shrine for Kulaśēkhara Ālvār in Rājendra Viṅṅagar Temple.² He had also had a part in providing for the services and maintenance in Kōḍānūr temple.³ Though they were Sanyāsins, they had a lively interest in the secular affairs of the temple and these maṭhas could influence the local Chieftains and King's officers and secure grants to the temples and their maṭhas. The Sanyāsins had also been in charge of the special shrines that had sprung up from the 11th century onwards and the Vaiṣṇavās had undertaken to obey the chiefs of the maṭhas. Parāṅkuśa Mahāmuni took charge of the Kulaśēkhara Ālvār shrine in AD 1230, and he had the necessary authority willingly vested with him by the Śrīvaiṣṇavās of Rājarāja Cm by a written deed.⁴

The evidence relating to Śaiva maṭhas is naturally larger. There were also maṭhas of different lineage, but the Gōlakhi maṭha tracing its lineage to the Tiruvārūr santāna was wide spread. We may notice the maṭhas at different locations and their functioning and the role they played in administering the temple affairs, and in the social life.

Śaiva maṭhas

A number of maṭhas attached to the Śiva temple in the tract have been functioning all over the tract. There was a Mahāvratī Maṭha in the Sundarapandisvaram temple at Tirucculiyal Pallipadai in Paruthikkudi nāḍu. Twenty sheep for burning a lamp was gifted in the 11th year of Vīra Pandya (AD 957)⁵

In about AD 1091, a Tavasi Uyyaninrāḍuvān Kaṇḍan alias Īśāna dēvan, built Tirugñāna Sambarāda Guhai where Paradesi Āṇḍārs were worshipping Śiva. It was located in the temple appurtenant lands of Rudrakōṭīśvarar in Nṛpaśēkhara Cm, lands were purchased by the benefactor, himself an ascetic and were endowed for the Bikṣā food offerings to the Āṇḍārs. The Guhai was a institution of the non-Brahmin ascetics.⁶

In the same township in front of the temple another maṭha Cōlan vāśal Tirandān maṭha existed. For the benefit of the Āṇḍārs a resident of Rājarājapuram in Koṅgamaṇḍalam sold lands in Nṛpaśēkhara Cm and similarly other lands were purchased from private individuals for the maṭha in about AD 1241.⁷

There was a maṭha Brahmaniṅgar maṭha named after Cēramān Perumāḷ adjoining Tirukārōnamudaiyār temple in Cōlavallipattinam in Paṭṭinakkūrram in Gēyamāṅikka vaḷanāḍu in Cōla maṇḍalam. It had perhaps an affiliated inscription at Iraṇiyūr in Kalvāyil nāḍu. A land with Kārāṅmai rights in Iraṇiyūr was granted to it in the third year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara.⁸

A series of inscriptions⁹ record the setting up of a Gōḷakhi maṭha at Śāthavāsakanallūr in AD 1248-49. This maṭha was named as Enakku Nallaperumāl maṭha, named after the benefactor who built it. Oruvāṇṇarndān Enakku Nallaperumāl alias Tamilappallavaraiyar. He figured in several plates as a benefactor and had served Mār. Sundara I and his successor Mār. Sundara II. He hailed from Rājavillipuram (near Tirunelvēli) in Kīlavēmbu nāḍu, the maṭha was presided over by a siṣya, a disciple of Tiruvārūr Kṛṣṇa Gōḷaki maṭha Ācāryar, Īśānadēvar and he is termed to be "our Dēvar." The chieftain had perhaps been a siṣya of this ascetic. This object was to provide for the food offerings of the other ascetics who were the disciples of this Ācārya and had belonged to the maṭha. The tax dues were remitted in favour of the maṭha as Maḍappura - Iraiyili. But the lands were occupied by one Parasurāman alias Pāṇḍyadēvan of Karuṅḷam alias Śāthavāsakanallūr in Venṭaikkuḍi nāḍu.

The Gōḷaki maṭha was a widespread institution, the existence of which is attested from the inscriptions in Tiruvorriyūr (near Madras) to Tiruvālīśvaram on the banks of Ghatana river.

A grant to maintain services to an Āśrayaliṅga set up by the benefactor in the Nṛpaśēkhara Cm. Siva temple was provided for as below. The benefactor was one

Irāvalar Paśupati who was a disciple of Tirupparaṅkunṅam Mēlaiipponnambalam Kāṭṭinān Tirumaḍam which belonged to the lineage of Rakṣādyāya santānam of Gōḷaki vamsam. Evidently the Gōḷakivamsam heritage was shared by several lineages spread over the tract. He had endowed $\frac{1}{2}$ mā. as a garden he had owned and got the *Kaḍamai* and antarāyam in the other hall owned by Vīrabhadradēvar who would continue to cultivate the lands. The endowment was to be supervised by the Tirugñānasambandan Tirumaḍam attached to the Nṛupaśēkhara Cm temple.¹⁰

Even later in AD 1504. Tirumaṇi nāyakkār who held the authority in and around Tiruppattūr had granted as Sarvamānya to an ascetic who had an establishment to the east of the Sannadhi of the Tiruppattūr temple, to its south. The head of the maṭha was Īsānaśīvan who was described as Pāṇḍya maṇḍalādīpati - Pāṇḍināṭṭu Mudaliyār. He belonged to the Kayidra Gōtra, Yajurveda, Gōḷakīya Bōdināyaṇasūtra paripālita. He subscribed to the Gōḷaki dharma, Lakṣādyāyi santāna, belonging to the Bikṣā Santhāna. From these particulars it appears that the Gōḷaki maṭha was headed by Brahmin ascetics. It also attests that the Gōḷaki traditions had been continuing from the 10th to the 16th century in the Pāṇḍyan townships.¹¹

In Śīvapuri another Maṭha named after the donor, a merchant Aḷagiyanāyakan Uyyavandān of Aruviyūr as granted land in Perumaṭṭiyūr for feeding pilgrims who attended festivals.¹²

There was another maṭha in Tiruppattūr itself in the southern row of the street, to the south of the temple, in its precincts named Tiruttonḍattugaiyān Tirumaḍam and it was rebuilt with stone. The Mahāsbhā of Tiruppattūr sold trees and tiles for 20 paḷam *kāśu*. They utilised the sale value for renevatng the Ūr ambalam, Dayāpañjaran. This was dated 17th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya. The purchaser of the trees was apparently a merchant of Neduvāyil residing in Aḷagāpuri alias cēliyanārāyanapuram. The Mahāsbhā rendered an earlier endowment of land for the maṭha tax-free.¹³

In Tirukaḷakkudi there was a Mudaliyār Tirumaḍam.¹⁴ Another maṭha by name Kāraiyyūr Kīlamaḍam had endowed the maḍappuṅam lands in its enjoyment to the deity at Tirukkōḷakkudi.¹⁵

Sometimes the grant was to a maṭha located elsewhere. A royal order¹⁶ and the Nāṭṭār¹⁷ follow up of that order an Uñjanai in the 13th year of Rājarājan Sundara Pāṇḍya, declared the occupied holdings of Tirunārāyaṇamangalam alias Tiruttōṇipuranallūr in Perumbūr nādu in Uñjanar paṅṅu tax free maḍapuram. The beneficiary was the Mudaliyār in the Mēlaimaḍam in the Bikṣā maḍam in Perumbarrappuliyūr a Taniyūr.

In Madurai, the capital there was a Tirugñānasambandan Matham. It belonged to the Śelva Tiruvadūr Dakshina Gōḷaki maṭam. A śiṣya of the Acarya there,

Tatpuruṣasivar was conducting the Maṭha at Madurai.¹⁸ The King remitted the taxes and the Mahāsabhā of Cōlāntaka Cm remitted Sabhā viniyōgam and Tadiḱḱuṟuṇi on two vēlies of land in AD 1193. In the same year the land endowed in srivallavan Kaṭṭalai and Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Kaṭṭalai in Cōlāntaka Cm¹⁹ were rid of all the taxes and the Kārāṇmai rights also were vested with the Maṭha. They were part of the holdings of Maḷvarāyar, the Chief who had purchased the lands.

There was a second Maṭha named²⁰ after the King Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I and the Tapasyar were provided for by grant of land in AD 1226.

A maṭha named Nāga sūryan Tirumaḍam was provided by the benefactor from Katiāvūr in sevīrṟukkai nāḍu. The maṭha was lending a garden with seven workers. In addition there were 2 Māhēsvarās fed every day, and there were two Bairāgis serving them. The king endowed lands under his personal cultivation in Pāganūr serving them. The king endowed lands under his personal cultivation in Pāganūr Kūṟram.²¹

The merchants were in the forefront in making endowments. A merchant of Tenkarai, Parākramapāṇḍyapuram provided for a maṭha there and for the Tapasyar house-sites purchased at his cost.²²

A second maṭha by name Vananāyakan Maṭam was located in the South street adjoining the temple at Tenrkarai. Gñānadēvar was a Tapasvi heading it, and to provide for him and his disciples and successors lands were purchased from 2 Brahmins in Parākrama pāṇḍyan Kaṭṭalai western portion.²³ The king remitted the taxes. This was in AD 1221 on the application of Gñānadēvar.²⁴

A third maṭha was at the eastern entrance of the temple, to its north named Ālālasundaran Tirumaḍam²⁵ at the time of Mār. Kulaśēkhara. In the same reign (AD 1282) there was a fourth maṭha at the western entrance to its west, Tirugñānasambandam Tirumaḍam, the chief of which belonged to the lineage of Pāndaraṅgavāṇar.²⁶

In the adjoining Nagara of Vikramaṅalam the Ayyāpoḷil merchants sold house sites and lands to a Śiṣya of Tirupparaṅkunṟam Gōḷaki maṭha descendant Kīlaimaṭha mudaliyar in the 6th year of Jat. Sundara.²⁷

There were two maṭhas at Tirupparankunṟam - one constructed in the name of Bhagavati Ālvār, perhaps a prince to the north east of the temple.²⁸ The second was a maṭha headed by Irāvalar Paśupatiḍēva residing at Ponnambalam kāṭṭinān maṭha at Tiruvādavūr adjacent to the temple precincts and some wet lands were endowed by Aḍigaimān of Ambalatāḍinalḷūr to Parākrama Dēvar, the Mudaliyar chief of Ponnambalam Kāṭṭinaperumāḷ in Tirupparaṅkunṟa nāḍu.³⁰ Perhaps this was identical with the maṭha last mentioned.

Finally, there is a reference to a maṭha set up at Muḍivalaṅgu Pāṇḍya Cm.³¹ where a Sanyāsin lived by name Sri Garbha Mahā Sanyāsi (?) Mahēndragiri Sri Vataṅgaḷ Srimat Puruṣōttama Sakha Śrīvar and his śiṣyas. A Tondaimān of Tirupudavūr in Aḷanāḍu Prānājīvīśvaramuḍaiyān provided ten *mā* of land as Maḍappura Iraiyili for this maṭha.

Moving to the Tāmbraparaṇi basin a number of maṭhas had sprung up during the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Tiruvālīśvaram which sprung up in the reign of Rajaraja I and liberally provided for by the Cōla-Pandya rulers continued to be an active centre of Śaiva ācāryas. The earliest reference is to a Cōla-pāṇḍya Maṭham in an inscription at Ambāsamudram (AD 1035)^{31A}

An inscription of AD 1193 refers to the Grāma-rājan Tirumaḍam in the 10th cēri of Rājarāja Cm provision was made for feeding the Mahēśvaras on the Amāvāsyā (new-moon) days, two *accu* granted by a resident of Niccilākandaperunderu were received by the śiṣyas of the maṭha (Śīyar pillai) Udayapillai and Aghoradēvar. Tiruvālavāyūḍaiyār - Nētradēvar Kuniccapillai Sadāśiva dēvar Pillai Tiruccirrambala-muḍaiyan and Adiravīsiyāḍuvār received the amount and agreed to deliver (as interest) 10 *kalams* of paddy per year. The rate of interest was 5 *kalams* per *accu*.³²

In AD 1198 a donor from Malaimaṇḍalam gave 10 *accu* for feeding the Tiruttonḍar (the devotees) at the same maṭha. This maṭha was the place of residence of the Āṇḍārs worshipping Tiruvālīśvaram nāyanār. The feeding was to be done for 50 people every month and on the Tiruvōṇam asterisk of the Nāyanār Udaya Pillaiāṇḍār, perhaps the chief of the Āṇḍārs.³³

In AD 1219, 4 *accu* were added by another donor from Malaimaṇḍalam, Aghōradēvar for feeding the Mahēśvaras in the same maṭha which Tatpuruṣadēvar (an inmate of the maṭha) undertook to implement.³⁴

A third maṭha Vīrapaṇḍita Maḍam located therein was donated another 6 *accu* by the same native of Malaimaṇḍalam Aghōradēvar for feeding on the Rohini asterisk of Tiruccirrambala-muḍaiyār the Tapasyar who came from without. This was undertaken by a Tapasyar inmate, Vāgīśan Adiravīsiyāḍuvān who agreed to deliver 30 *kalams* as interest. (AD 1221)³⁵

In the same year a dancing girl from Mukkūḍal (Śīvalappēri) attached to Mukkōkiḷānadigaḷ Īśvaramuḍaiyār by name Ātkoṇḍanāyagar Mānikkam gave 3 *accu* to yield 15 *kalams*. The same Āṇḍār, Adiravīsiyāḍuvār undertook to feed 15 Brahmins per month.³⁶ Apparently this was also a Brahmin Maṭha.

An inscription of the 6th year (AD 1222) from Tiruvālīśvaram in its idiom is interesting. A lady (muḷaiyeḷuṇḍār) had made an endowment. But it fell into disuse.

There was no male member (mōvāyeḷundār) to revive the charity. Hence a Śiṣya of Īṅkṣā matham, Tirumagiḷkāttapillai as directed by the Head of the Maṭha restored the charity.³⁷

In AD 1226 one of the devotees residing in Vīrapāṇḍyan (should be Vīrapāṇḍita) matham which has already been referred to Adiravīsiāḍuvān Vāgīsāṇḍār provided for the delivery of the betel and nuts from a garden called Alālasundaran to the north of the temple.

Betel per day 80 leaves 2 parru.

Kaḍamai - Against 8 dramam = 40 arecanuts per day

Per year 7 plantain bunch for both sacred bath and for feeding. There were undertaken by the eight shareholders of Śivabrāhmaṇas.³⁸

The Gōḷaki maṭha which had farflung establishments had also an establishment here.

In AD 1222 a Tapsya of the lineage of Gōḷaki maṭha santāna provided for the deity of Tiruvālśivaram to be taken around the temple precincts on every Amāvasya day and 2 *Tūṇi* of rice offerings were to be made. He deposited 10 *accus* with interest yield at 5 *Kalamis*.³⁹

In the third year of Jaṭ.Vīra the 8 shareholders of Śivabrāhmaṇas gave an undertaking to Kāliapperumāḷ a Tapasvi of the lineage of Gñānāmrdācāriyār of Gōḷaki maṭha. Kāliapperumāḷ was assigned the duty to recite Tirugñānam at the shrine of Caṇḍikēśvara (Tirukkaiyōtti). He was to be paid padakku paddy day for him and his maintenance (Korru) for which ½ *mā.* was assigned in the Dēvadāna. Śivacaranaśekhara nallūr. He was to enjoy it as other tenants (Taramuḷudum Kuḍikkaḍuttu), paying the land dues and also the cash levy (Ponvari) from the Mēlvāram and Uḷudānkandōn vari (by the cultivating tenants). Even after his demise his lineage shall recite Tirugñānam and enjoy the lands.⁴⁰

In the same year the Śivabrāhmaṇas gave Kāṇi, Araikkāṇi ($\frac{1}{80}$, $\frac{1}{100}$, $\frac{3}{100}$) *vēli* of land as *Iṅaiyil* also from the same Dēvadāna lands to Aghōradēvan, of the discipleship of Gñānanritācāriyār of Gōḷaki maṭha for rearing Pāṇḍyataraiyan garden. The Śivabrāhmaṇas gave up all rights to mēlvāram⁴¹ Aghōradeva was to pluck flowers plain garlands at the wooden-plank and deliver them to the temple.

Tirunelvēli too had a number of matha. There was considerable activity setting up these mathas in the reign of Mār. Sundara II (acc 1238) in AD 1249 the King granted lands in a number of villages in Kīḷkalakkūrram in the hamlets of Sīvalamaṅgalam (Sīvalappēri) including Cōḷakulamāṇikkanallūr, Paṇiniṅkaṇḍān as

Maḍappura Iṛaiyili. The maṭha was established by Mammāṭṭi (aunt or mother-in-law) of the King in the southern street on the southern row towards the east in her name as Śeyyanambirāṭṭi maṭham. The land grant was for the sustenance of 30 Tapasyas, including those from without residing therein and for providing for the following

To recite Tirugñānam	1
To look after the temple bed chamber	1
To serve as attendants (Designate for providing for successon) ⁴²	4
Santāna sāpan	1
To attend to maṭha affairs	1
	8

The maṭhas served also as a choultry for pilgrims to stay in Tirunelvēli (Ūrkkū viḍutiyaḡayāle)⁴³

Five years later, at the request of his brother-in-law Vikrama Cōla dēvar. The King granted to eleven persons of various santānas (lineages) to several Bikṣā maṭhams one in the north, and a second in the south and a third Tirunelvēli māḷigai maṭham for reciting Tirugñānam, eleven housesities were allotted to these ascetics, some of whom were from Tiruvārūr and from Tirunāḡēsṡaram in the Cōla heartland.⁴⁴ The lands granted were in Cēranmādēvi Cm (Vettiṡparru) $\frac{3}{4}$ vēli and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mā, Arikēsarinallūr $\frac{1}{4}$ vēli, and Suttavalli (vīravinaḡa Cm 6 mā and $\frac{1}{2}$, in all 1 vēli and 8 mā as Tirugñānappuṡam. This grant of land was at the instance of his elder brother Tamilappallavaraiyan.⁴⁵

In a maṭham named Tiruviḡai Kaṭṭil maṭham there resided two Tapasvis, Nambiārūran alias Rākkatapperumāḷ and Nambiārūrār. There were also other service-assistants. The Kaikkōḷa Sēnapatis of Tirunelvēli sold land in Pattanmaḡai to a dancing girl Kūttan Nambirāṭṭi 1 mā of land for 2 paṡam⁴⁶ to provide for the sustenance of these inmates. This was in the 4th year of Jaṡ. Vīra Pāṡḡya. There was one more maṭha in the North Street of Tirunelvēli named Śaivapperumāḷ maḡam headed by Purappavaḷa sivar of Kīlaimāḡasantāna. In the 6th year of Kulaśēkhara $2\frac{1}{2}$ mā of land was granted as Iṛaiyili for the maṭha which the Mahāsbhā of Śēramādēvi Cm registered.⁴⁷ An undated inscription from Kalliḡaikuriṡci conveys that the Śrīrudras and Śrīmāhēsṡaras living in the surrounding streets of Nālāyira īṡvaramuḡaiyār at Kalliḡaikuriṡci agreed to the request of the Śrīrudran Śrī Māhēsṡaras of 18 Visayar assembled at the courtyard of Tirugñānasambandan maṭha at Tirumādavanūr in Aṡḡa nāḡu a division of Pāṡḡimaṡḡalam that the former gave the privilege to the Tirugñānasambandan maṭha to have an institution of their own as Tirugñānasambandan

Talam in the Kulaśēkhara Tirumaḍai vilāgam at Kallidaikuricci. This shows how maṭhas having their headquarters elsewhere were enabled to establish their branch or adjunct organisations in other places of their choice.⁴⁸

In Seranmadevi Cm attached to the Dēvitammal īsvaramuḍaiyār temple there was the Mēlai Tirunāvukkaraśār maṭham in which 8 *accu* were deposited. From the interest proceeds the pilgrims from without who came on festival days when the deity was taken in procession, were fed.⁴⁹

In the first part of the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (about the 13th year) the *Ūrār* of Kārisēri (Ulaguyya vanda pāṇḍya nallūr) recognised a successor-designate to one Āṇḍār Sundarapperumāl who was doing the Mādāpatyam in Kulaśēkhara īsvaramuḍaiyanāyanār.⁵⁰

In Manaṇpaḍaivīdu, the cantonment township in the north-eastern part of Śrīvallavamāngalam there was a maṭha presided over by Āgamaśīladēvar alias Umaiyorupāga Mudaliār of the lineage of the Bikṣā maṭha Mār. Vira Pāṇḍya granted in AD 1448 5 *mā* of land to this maṭha as maḍappuṇam.⁵¹

Late inscriptions as in Ś 1476 (AD 1554) bear out the continued role of the maṭhas. The Chief of a maṭha at Tirunelvēli, Śrī Pañcākṣaradēvar sold land and provided for the mantradānam in the Tirunelvēli Temple.⁵² He is described as belonging to the Bōdhāyana Sūtra gōtra (Lost) Lakṣādyāpaka santati Mēlaimaḍathu Mudaliyār Tirupparaṅkunṛattu Mudaliyār.

We now notice some Vaiṣṇavite maṭhas functioning in the period from the 10th to the 14th century in the Pāṇḍyan Townships. The Saiva mathas were far larger in number naturally than the Vaiṣṇava mathas. We have evidence of the Vaiṣṇava maṭhas from the beginning of the 12th century. The evidence gathers volume in the 13th and 14th centuries, during the long reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara.

Initially there appears to have been no sectarian segregation of the Śaivite (Ēkadaṇḍi) and Srivaiṣṇava (Tridaṇḍi Sanyāsins)

Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍya in his 18th year 82nd day granted 10 *mā*. of land in the southern hamlet of Rājarāja Cm. Madilkuṛicci for maintaining a feeding house for Brahmin Ekadaṇḍi and Tridaṇḍi Sanyāsins and for the training they imparted. The feeding house was established on the banks of the river Tāmbraparaṇi by one Tirunīlakantaṅ Rājakkanāyanār alias Toṇḍaimānār of Pudevūr in Aḷanāḍu (i.e. Suruliyāru belt)⁵³

In about A.D. 1277 at Attālanallūr on the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi a jīyar, (ascetic) Rāmānuja jīyar attached to Ānaikkarulseyda Pirān temple of Moymāmbūm polil had lent ¼ Nallānai *accu* to the Vaiṣṇavas. The latter agreed to deliver per day nālī cooked

rice offerings to the jīyar. On days they did not do so, they agreed to deliver nāli uri paddy. They were to themselves take over this interest-equivalent and on 2 festivals and Tiruvadhyayana they shall arrange for 2 parasols when the deity is taken in procession in a palanquin (Śīvikai). Apparently, the cooked rice or paddy was meant to pay the wages for the parasol bearers.⁵⁴

Ālvartirunagari is a most renowned Vaiṣṇavite centre, being Nammalvar's place of residence. In AD 1224, 6 accus were gifted to the treasury of Ālvar Tirukkurugūr Mahāmuniḡal who founded the Aruḷālatādan maṭha for the Brahmavidvāns of the village and for offerings and worship to god Tirunāḍudaiyapirān when he proceeded in a procession to Tirumudi Śūṭṭinān - Tirunandavanam in the months of Avaṇi and Vaigāsi (August-September and May-June)⁵⁵

In AD 1316-17 nearly a century later, Mār. Kulaśēkhara I granted to the same maṭha as Maḍappura Iṛaiyili two hamlets. One Oḍa nāṭṭadiḡal (perhaps a Vēnāḍu Chieftain) provided for the food and other needs of the Brahmavidavāns from the 18 Viṣayas residing in the Aruḷāladāsar maṭha. He purchased from a few Brahmins of Śrīvaikunṭam (Rajendra Cm) two hamlets Seṅgankuḷam and Neḍuṅḡuḷam excluding earlier grants. The King granted the land dues payable by these two hamlets as recommended by Kāliṅgarāyar. The Maṭha was presided over by Tiruvōymoli Mahāmuniḡal the disciple of Tirukkurukūr Mahāmuniḡal.⁵⁶

A 14th century epigraph from Tirumaṅgai ālvār shrine at Tirukkurūṅḡuḍi records the grant of land as Maḍappura Iṛaiyili for feeding the Śrīvaiṣṇavas at the Tirumaṅgai maṭha which was run by Tridaṅḍi Sanyāsins. It is apparent that the Brahma vidvāns were specially incharge of such shrines set up for ālvārs.⁵⁷

Āḷagarkōil is the famous centre for Vaiṣṇavas. Festivals were conducted in the months of Āḍi, Arpaṣi, Mārgaḷi and Cittirai. For feeding the Brahmins who undertook their pilgrimage at these festival times, Munayadaraiyan of Kappalūr in Muttūrukkūṛram had built a maṭha named (apparently after the ruler) Jat. Kulaśēkhara. He had also endowed his occupancy holdings in Rājarājanallūr in Tirukkānappērkkurram 2¼ vēli in land. The King remitted the taxes and granted the lands as Maḍappura Iṛaiyili in AD 1216. The Mārgaḷi festival was obviously the Adyayana Utsava when all the 4000 verses of Divya Prabandam were recited.⁵⁸

Tiruttaṅgāḷ was also a Vaiṣṇavite centre celebrated in the Divya Prabhandam. Its earlier history and the contributions of Gurukulattaraiyan, a Chieftain under Mār. Sundara I have been recounted earlier. Here is an instance of a private benefaction to provide for the feeding of people who rendered service in the processions of and the maintenance works for the deity. A Moudgalya Brahmin. Sōmayaji Caturvēda Bhaṭṭa Sōma Brhaspati Sarva catuṣṭhoma Samastagnicit Sarvakratuyaji donated Mākāni 1/16 vēli

of land under the Dēvēndravallabhappērēri tank of the village in AD 1233.⁵⁹ There was another maṭha privately endowed by two Brahmins of Tiruttaṅga!⁶⁰ at that time.

The Viṣṇu temple in Cōḷapuram had been provided with lands by a Periya Jīyar and Iḷaiya Jīyar and ayyar (perhaps the father of the king). A Kōnērinmaikonḍān grant the 16th year granted remission of taxes in the Dēvadāna-Brahmadēya.⁶¹

A later inscription of AD 1449 refers to a Tiruvēṅgadanāthan maṭha in Puḷiyaṅḷam which was provided for by the Bāna Chief Māvāli vāṇādaraiyan Uraṅgavillidāsan whose endowment in Aḷagarkōil were numerous.⁶²

We may finally notice the Tīrthapāda maṭha at Romīsa Tīrtha of the Tāmbraparaṇi banks in Kaṛiṣūḷdamāṅalam.⁶³

Records of the early 14th century AD revealed the tract and the temples had gone over to the regime of the Tiruvaḍi Chieftains, of Jayasimhanāḍu (Kaḷakkāḍu and Thōvāla tract) in Tirunelvēli and Kānyākumari districts. They also brought to notice a well-established maṭha belonging to Paramahansa Parivrājaka Śrīpada Svāmī. Besides having an establishment of their own they yielded considerable influence over Venkatācalapati temple and its administration. The principal head of this maṭha was Amara-Rājapuri Śrīpada⁶⁴ who also lent his name to the vicinity of the Viṣṇu temple, named Amaraṛājapūri Caturvēdimāṅalam. Four of his successors named in the records were Dēvēndrapuri. Mukundānandapūri^{64A} (there appeared to be two sanyasins of the same name) and Śāṅkarānanda.⁶⁵

In AD 1312, Mukundānanda Śrīpada of this maṭha had to order a change in the incumbency of the manager of the endowments of the maṭha and the temple.⁶⁶ Hitherto these properties were managed by one Iruvīṭṭukkōil Maṇiyan son of Maṇiyan, who was capable and devoted to the maṭha and he ensured that the food and clothing expenses of the inmates were met, and the festivals and daily offerings in the temple were properly conducted from out of the income from the properties of the institution. After Maṇiyan's death, his eldest son Nārāyaṇan proved unequal to the task, allowed the dues to fall arrears, and surrendered the title deeds and his credentials to the maṭha. This affected the conduct of the maṭha and of the temple rituals. When he was admonished by the head of the maṭha he did not improve. Thereupon Mukundānanda invoked the assistance of the Sabhā assembling in the temple of Kōḍanūr⁶⁷ (identifiable as Kōḍaganallūr in Tirunelvēli taluk on the north bank of Tāmbraparaṇi river.) In spite of their intervention, Nārāyaṇan declined the responsibility for the management of the properties, stating that “in these days they (the cultivators and tenants) would not pay the (dues in) paddy and money” (*ikkālattu nellum paṇumum tārār enṛu*) both before the sabhā and directly to the head of the maṭha. Thereupon Mukundānanda appointed another capable and ardent devotee of the maṭha to manage the properties.

This document would show that normally the management functions of such charities devolved by hereditary succession that enough opportunities were given, fully complying with principles of natural justice, to the hereditary successor, before he was changed, and the head of the maṭha did not hesitate to appoint a new manager if, even after all such steps, it was inevitable. It would also indicate that unless the management was capable the collection of dues was not all that easy and could fall into arrears even at that time.

A Sanyāsin of the same name, perhaps, another in succession, repaired and reconsecrated the Tentiruvēṅgadamudaiya Emperumān Shrine in AD 1398-99 at the Pāvanāśini Tirtha on the Taṅporundam river.⁶⁸ The deity was worshipped by Romēśa Maharsi a Rīṣi referred to in Bhāgavata Purāṇa.⁶⁹ The temple lands were to be administered by Mukundānanda Śrīpāda and also the Chief, Mārttānda Aḍigaḷ Jayasimhanāḍu. Endowments were made for various purpose - for maintaining lamps, for the maṭha, for the dress or clothing, garlands and sandal and food offerings for the deity. The arrangements were to be supervised by the disciples of the Maṭha. The record also referred to three maid servants who were also the servants of the maṭha, Aruvi, her daughter Nakkāvudiyāl, and grant daughters, Mali and Piṛavi who were to serve both the temple and the Maṭha. A record of AD 1344⁷⁰ referred to two washermen gifted for the temple service. a record of 1401⁷¹ similarly endowed men and women as servants in the temple who were also to obey the orders of the Śrī kārya śiṣyas (disciples of the maṭha). In AD 1417, seven more persons were similarly endowed for hereditary service to the temple and the maṭha⁷² Additions to the temple servants were made in A.D. 1433.⁷³ A native of Malaimaṅḍalam made money-gift for offerings to the deity.⁷⁴

The administration of the temple and of the maṭha had become so completely fused that an inscription of AD 1453⁷² recorded that Mukundānandapūri, a disciple of Amaraṛāja Śrīpāda was pleased to declare that all property of the maṭha be amalgamated with those of the temple, and that these together with the jewels of gold and silver vessels, coins, utensils and valuable cloths of the maṭha be in the enjoyment of the temple. Arrangements were also made for the auditing of the accounts and for the maintenance of the disciples of the maṭha. The Mukundānanda should have been a successor-sanyāsin or the yati of the same name occurring in the record of AD 1312. He might, perhaps have been identical with the sanyāsins of the same name referred to in the inscription of AD 1398 and it that be so the veneration and dedication of the sanyasin seen in his earlier years to this deity must have ripened in his old age so much that he was prompted to merge the properties and belongings of both the temple and the maṭha.

Provision was made in AD 1509 for offerings on special festival days in the month of Kārtigai in the Viṣṇu temple in the presence of Śrī Śaṅkarānanda Śrīpada of the maṭha and the temple servants.⁷⁶ The maṭha had thus continued to maintain its influence and control over the management of the Viṣṇu temple for well over two centuries.

To sum up, the mathas were a necessary and useful adjunct to the temple. They were of different persuasions the Śaivite the Vaiṣṇava the non-Brahmin Guhais and the 'Tīrtha' lineage the Māhēśvaras of Tirukoḍṅkūrāṁ laid down the procedure for Śaiva āgama rituals.⁷⁷ The Gōlaki maṭhas is an ancient institution dating back to the time of Rājēndra I, if not earlier it had a wide spread. The Tiruvārūr lineage appears to predominate in the Golaki establishments down south. The maṭhas ensured proper observance of the rituals they kept watch over the temple treasury and the different apartments in the temple. They also ensured the recital of Tirugñanam or themselves did it. They fed the mendicants and pilgrims coming from other places. They participated in the festivals of temples and when the deity was taken in procession. They particularly formed flower gardens, tended them gathered flowers and supplied to the deity for daily worship.

The Vaiṣṇavite maṭhas also had similar functions in the Viṣṇu temples. In addition they looked after the shrines for ālvārs when they were erected separately as Rājēndravinṅgar and Tirukkuruṅguḍi. They laid down the code of conduct for the Vaiṣṇavas and doubtless performed the Śamāsrayana (or initiation) as disciples and gave the mantrōpadēśa and Daśavanāma to the Vaiṣṇavite followers. They ensured the recital of the Divyaprabanda. They were held in high esteem.

Grants for the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava maṭhas were made for their sustenance and for feeding the mendicants both stationary and mobile. The maṭhas kept a vigilant watch over the administration of endowments and performance of services and worship in the temples of their own persuasion.

Jaina Pallis

We have already noticed the Jaina Palli named after himself set up by a minister of Mā. Sundara I from Rājavillipuram on the hill at Tiḍiyūr called Jinagirimāmalai. The deity was named after the minister Enakkunalla nāyakar and the shrine as Nyāyaparipālapperumballi.⁷⁸ A second Jaina shrine was noticed in Peruṅguḷam.⁷⁹

Similar Jaina temples had existed at Kuppālnattam in Tirumaṅgalam Taluk where five images were set up including one of a lady disciple.⁸⁰ A 12th century Kannada inscription at Kīlakkuḍi refers to jaina teachers Añja dēva Balacandradēva of Balaguḷa belonging to the Mūla Śaṅgha, Nēmidēva, Ajiṭasēnadēva and Govardhanadēva. The

contact with the famous jaina centre at Śravanabelgoḷa in Karnāṭaka was evident.⁸¹ There was also an ancient Jaina temple at Ilayāṅgudi called Nārpaṭṭeṅṅāyirapperumballi.⁸²

Mention has already been made of the mosque and the Churches that came up towards the end of the study period on the east coast.

Public amenities

The temple itself was the main focus of the life in the township. Consistently with the social and religious practices there were public amenities, set up or endowed by individuals and the community. In every populous township there was an ambalam a common place where water and fire were kept and agniṣṭōma sacrifices were performed.⁸³ The Mahāśabhā also met therein for transacting public purposes as noticed already. A 13th century inscription records the lands bought from the Ūrār and made tax-free. A road was laid and street lamps were provided by a benefactor for the deity to be taken in procession,⁸⁴ indeed, it was the obligation of the Community to clear streets, and pour water for receiving the deity in procession. There were also ferries to take people across the rivers when in spate as from Tiruppuḍaimarudūr to Śāttapattu.⁸⁵

FESTIVAL

Special services as on Amāvāsyā⁸⁶ (new moon) days and festivals in several months of the year were provided by private benefactors as well as by royal grants or by assignment of land dues by the Chieftains. In the 5th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1195) a Tirukkōḍi festival to be conducted in the months of Citrai and for taking the deity. Dvārāvattipperumāḷ and his consorts was provided for by a benefactor from Malaimaṅḍalam, depositing 3 *accu*.⁸⁷

In the 8th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1224) the Chieftain from Rajavillipuram Oruvārunarndān Tamil pallavaraiyan had instituted a festival to celebrate the birthday asterisk of the king - viz., Avittam in the month of Purattāśi (August-September) in Tiruvāliśvaram temple. The King assigned the *Kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* on lands in Rājarāja Cm which were capable of growing 2 crops.⁸⁸

In Pattanmaḍai there was no provision for any festival in the Śiva temple. A priest took the initiative approached Vīrarājendra Cōḷa Vaḷḷuvanāḍālvān and through him secured a land grant for a festival to culminate on Paṅguni Uttram in recognition of his service the temple authorities gave him 1 *mā.* land yielding 5 *Kalam*s per crop as (*santāna cāmam*) hereditary grant.⁸⁹

In the regin of Mār. Sundara II, 11th year (AD 1248-49) Vēṅāvudayār had instituted a festival in the month of Citrai on the final day Tīrtha was to be distributed to

coincide with his asterisk Uttirattādi and lands were granted by the King providing for it.⁹⁰

In Sinnamanūr in the 10th year of Mār. sundara I (AD 1226) a Kalyāṇōtsava (Marrige festival) for the goddess of the bed chamber was instituted by a *Vēlār*.⁹¹

In Tirukōṣṭiyūr in the 13th year of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (AD 1103) the King remitted taxes on lands in Nāttāramaṅalam and Purkuḷi, to provide for a nine day festival in the month of Aṟṟasi the final day to coincide with the King's asterisk, Cittirai.⁹²

The Chieftain of Niyamam, Kāṅgēyan instituted a festival on every Punarvasu asterisk falling in every month in the temple at Tiruppaṭṭūr. It also provided for Viṅṅappam séivār, devaradiyār, sāmbān(?) mattalakkāran and Tamil pāḍuvār.⁹³

In AD 1224. a Brahmin, Ātrēyan Kunreḍuttān Srivallabhan purchased lands from the Sabhaiyār of Tiruttaṅgal and provided 6 *mā* for celebrating Śrījayanti in the month of Āvaṇi on Rohini asterisk birthstar of Kṛṣṇa and for the Tiruneyāḍal taking the deity in procession in the township (Ūrilē Tiruneyāḍal.)⁹⁴

These instances should suffice to indicate the wide spread of festivals through several months in the year and the manner in which they were informed and how they were provided for.

There was hardly any township which had no festivals and if there were not any, donars were not slow to come by to institute them. While these were celebrations in the main temples, village festivals for the village deities for Durga or Piḍāri or Jyeṣṭa and the particular monthly festivals as Piḷḷaiyār nōnbu in Āvaṇi, Kārtigai lighting festivals, the Viṣu and ayana were other occasions of social festivals.

The festive occasions gave a fillip for the display of songs, dance and dance-drawn and other forms of art. There were several kinds of dance, Śānti kūttu⁹⁵ Śakkaikūttu (enacted by three women twice in a year, in Citrai and in Purattāsi in the temple at Perumbalāñji)⁹⁶ A dancing girl at Pattanmaḍai was granted 1 *mā* for performing a dance drama. The soldiery at Pattanmaḍai though many of them were illiterate, could still enjoy a dance or a drama⁹⁷ 2 *mā*. of land was purchased from Kuḍanāṭṭār and endowed in Āttūr as Tirunāḍaka - Kūttādum Kāṇi⁹⁸ during the festival in the month of Āvaṇi.⁹⁸

In Tirunelvēli there was a regular Nṛta ceremony and six musicians were doing service during the ceremony. Significantly, the inscription is engraved near the Natarāja Shrine.⁹⁹ The troupe of drummers and percussion instrumentalists were engaged. The wages paid were 10 *accu* and 120 *kalam*s of paddy, payable half and half per crop in the sixth year of Vikrama Pāṇḍya.¹⁰⁰

The drummers troupe at Madurai consisted of eleven persons - drummers 4, Timilai 2, Śēmakkāl 2, Kasai (karai) 2, Tiruccinam 1, - in all 11 for whom a maintenance grant of land was made.¹⁰¹

The nattuvar (the conductor of the dance) and the dancers and the women supervisors (Memmati) were each granted 1 ma. of land.¹⁰² The functions of dancing girls are also described arai kattu, Tiruvaḍi nilai, Teruvālatti Tiruccinam and 10 persons took part in such functions. They had also to look after the provision store, perform the auspicious ceremony of ālattu (to take a plate of cunnam and turmeric) to ward off evil eye.¹⁰³

The dancing girls also had set up shrines, built temples and added structures and installed deities. A śāndi kūtti, Ulagaṃuḍayal set up a shrine for Dēvi (Durga) on the north gate of Valliyūr and built the Shrine and also set up a metal image of her grant-daughter Suryapillai and Astradēva.¹⁰⁴

A Tiruvālīśvaram inscription registers an order of the King (Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara) that the temple authorities should get rice required for the services husked by the dancing girls of the temple. The Śrīrudra Śrīmāhēśvaras of suttamalli maṅgalam had requested for the orders which were passed.¹⁰⁵ Some idea of the wages for the dances and drummers has already been given above.

In Tirunelvēli percussion instrumentalists, 10 in number some of them related¹⁰⁶ among themselves, were granted for their food, shelter and maintenance at 4½ accu per person per year in all 45 accu. In lieu of it the viniyōga accu from two villages one in Tenkarai nāḍu and another in Kīlavēmbu nāḍu were assigned. They were also assigned two house-sites in the west main street.¹⁰⁷

The artists and those who rendered songs before the deity were honoured (Tirukkaivaḷakkam.)¹⁰⁸ In Tiruppuḍaimarudūr a poet composed Marudūr Mālai in praise of the deity. In K-732 (AD 1556) the composer Rāmanāthan was honoured with the title 'Marudavana Kavirāyar' and was granted 2 *nāḷi* of cooked rice per day besides a grant of land and housesite. It was ordered that the poem shall be sung in, 2 festivals of Kēttai asterisk.¹⁰⁹ Though late (AD 1555-56) this is undoubtedly an example of how patronage was extended to Tamil composers and literature was fostered. A poet sang verses in praise of a Chieftain and granted a piece of land which he endowed for a lamp service in a temple.¹¹⁰

Both Sanskrit and Tamil classics and Puranas and itihasas and Prabhandas were recited in temple and provision was made for hereditary services. A Rājakēsarivarman inscription of the 11th year at Tirukōṣṭiyūr provides for the recital of Prābhākara.¹¹¹ There was a library (Sarasvati Bhaṇḍāram) attached to the temple at Sērmādēvi.¹¹² A

service tenure for Adhyayana (recital of Vēdas) was instituted in Tirunelvēli.¹¹³ There appears to have been some remissness in the monthly recital of the Vēdas (Māda anusandānam) and the Sabhā regulated it and provided for the prompt recital.¹¹⁴ In Tiruvāliśvaram Śivadharmā was recited as already noticed.¹¹⁵ A later inscription of Mār. Kulaśēkhara at Kaḍayanallūr also provides for similar recital.¹¹⁶ Two Brahmins of Tiruttangāl provided for the recital of Mahābhārata. Rāmāyaṇa and purāṇas in the maṭha they built at the place.¹¹⁷ In the reign of Mār. Kulasekhara (AD 1284-85) Vakulā bharana Bhaṭṭa was granted special prasādams - 3 per day, besides sweets and garlands and sandal and betel for reciting Dharma Itihāsa, purāṇas and ślōkas before the deity at Ālvārtirunagari.¹¹⁸

Tamil Prabhandams also were equally in vogue as part of the daily or special rituals. In śiva Temples the Tamil Tirumaṛai songs and Tirugṇānam were rendered to the beat of the rhythm by hand. In Vaiṣṇava temples, the different parts of the Divya prabhandam were recited. The hymns of Śaḍagopan (Nammālvār) were recited daily and land was gifted for the purpose in the regin of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (6th year AD 1196)¹¹⁹ One of the Srivaiṣṇavas of Nācciyār Śrīvilliputtūr rendered them. In Tirukōṣṭiyūr Tirumōli (of Tirumaṅgai ālvār) was recited before the deity. This was recited in 10 days for 3 days a donor Kālamēgadāsar provided. 150 *Paḷam kāśu*. For the remaining 7 days they got the lands encroached upon illegally by others in Neriyaṅuḍi ayacut, using the good offices of Vēṇavuḍaiyūr and provided for the recital besides granting temple honours. This was conveyed in the letter of Mūlaparuḍayār of Tirukōṣṭiyūr.¹²⁰ In Alagarkoil both Āṇḍal's verses (Nacciyār Tirumoli, Tiruppāvai) (Kōdai Pāṭṭu)¹²¹ and Caḍagōpan Pāṭṭu were recited. In Alḡarkōil the deity heard the hymns from the Car (Tēr) called Amaittanārāyaṇan in the Tyāganciriyān street on the 9th day festival in the month of Āḍi.¹²²

During the royal visits to temples as when Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I visited Rājēndra viṅṅagar, Tiruppāvai was recited.¹²³

SOCIAL TENSION

Life was not always smooth and peaceful. There were social tensions. These were caused by the political upheavals, the Hoysāḷa intervention, the Muslim invasion and even when the Kannadigas were reestablishing their authority thereafter. There were also social tensions caused by the misconduct from the accepted customary moral code which led to crimes committed by individuals by Brahmins which made the collective authority of the community assert itself.

Certain endowments for lamp services made in the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I had fallen into disuse in the next reign of Mār. Sundara due to a confusion in the nāḍu (Nāṭṭu Kalakam) and they were subsequently restored.¹²⁴ Again an undated

inscription in Tirunelvēli refers to a congregation in the Kulaśēkharan Tirumaṇḍapam in the temple.¹²⁵ The Śrī Rudrar the five Guhai Tiruttōṇḍar and Tiruvīdiāṇḍar and Pariśīlāṇḍar of Suttamalli maṅgalam and the Śrī Rudrar of the 18 visayōṭrar and Śrīmāhēsvaras met. One of the devotees announced at the Congregation that there were no food offerings for the deity and the goddess in the Tiruvāliśvaram temple. Presumably this was remedied by the collective action. The inscription is incomplete and details of the remedy arranged are not available.

In the 27th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya the paddy and the cash due from Pilavilai in Rājarāja cm. endowed by Ilaiyālvān¹²⁶ got obstructed due to local disturbance. The Kār dues were not realised from Purattāsi to Mārgaḷi. Hence a revised schedule for payment to commence from Tai, stipulating 600 *kalam*s and Paṇam 30 per year was drawn up in a deity's order and it was to be entrusted to one of the Parisilāṇḍars attached to Tirunelvēli temple.¹²⁷

We have already referred to the dislocation in service and hardship caused by the Hoysāḷa intervention in the reign of Mār. Sundara and the Muslim invasions in the 14th century and even during the Kannada intervention to restore order thereafter.¹²⁸ A later inscription at mēlaceval (AD 1506) referred to the destruction of the temple therein during Muslim invasion and how a Malayāḷa chief from Quilon restered the temple and made his family members responsible for the administration of the temple.¹²⁹ We hear of records or title deeds being lost in local disturbances and copies being granted.¹³⁰

The community also gratefully granted Pāḍikāval rights to the Suraikkūḍi Chieftain and the *Urār* for protecting the Tiruppattūr temple when the Muslims encamped with in.¹³¹

In about AD 1452-53 there was a conflict which broke out between the Vellaināḍar i.e. the residents of Vellaināḍu (the tract to the west of Viḷavancodu near Neyyāttaṅkara South of Vēnāḍu)¹³² and the Vellāḷas of the Tamil speaking tract to the east. There was a social ostracism and inhibitions recorded in two identical inscriptions one dated Kollam 628 Cittarai 9th at Tiruvidāṅgōḍu¹³³ and another in Kallidai Kuricci¹³⁴ of the same date. This social conflict and tensions had existed even in Kollam 555 (AD 1379-80). The inscription recalls two earlier records of Kollam 555 and 591 (AD 1415-6).

The first record of 555 recalls that one Pāsittalai Vikraman Ādittan had committed some offences against the Vellāḷar. In K. 591 Kōlari Ayyappan and Ayyappan Kumaran and Āndur Sēllvangan had committed similar offences against the Vellāḷars. The people their representatives and their executives and the accountants and all the Vellāḷas met together and decided to kill the three offenders. They also prohibited the residents of Vellaināḍu from working together with the Vellāḷas as labourers, nor could they

represent the Veḷḷāḷas or be their executives or accountants or be occupants of lands. There were reiterated. The record K. 628 added that the Veḷḷai nāḍar shall not marry women or take them as consorts from the Tamil part of the country. The Kallidaikuṛicci record listed 23 persons who were holding the accountancy in Brahmadeśam or other executive functions (Kadaikūṭṭu) etc and authorised that they be killed at sight. It also prohibited the engagement of other Veḷḷai nāḍar in the Tamil tract to the north of the ghats.

This total prohibition of the Veḷḷai nāḍar being engaged as workers or / and their transacting business with the Tamils was apparently due to the Veḷḷai nāḍar acting against the interests of Tamil Veḷḷāḷas in discharging administrative and accounting functions. From the names Paṇikkar, Nāyar, Mudaliyār, Māḷavarāyan etc., occurring among the offenders, it could be inferred that there was prior to k. 555 free social and even marital connections between the communities in Veḷḷaināḍu and the Tamil residents in Kalkulam and Viḷavancōdu taluks and even across the ghats in Kallidaikuṛicci. This got disrupted due to the former acting against the interest of the latter. The cause of action is unstated.

The 14th and 15th centuries marked in a sense, a water shed. More of social conflicts between communities artisans the landed gentry. The cultivators (Paḷḷar and Paṛaiyar) and Valāṅgai and Idaṅgai are noticed during the Vijayanagar times. The Veḷḷaināḍar-Veḷḷāḷa conflict adds one more dimension to the social upheavels in the pre Vijayanagar Nāyak period.¹³⁵

Feuds and their composition

The Tiruppattūr tract was held among several Chieftains. Feuds were common among them and their families. They resolved their feuds among themselves and covenanted that the foes of one shall be the foes of another. In the 42nd year of Kulōttuṅga I, Dvārāpati vēḷān and Maṅgaladēvan¹³⁶ and Niṣadarājan and Dvārāpati Vēḷān in the same year covenanted that each shall treat the offender of one as the offender of the other.¹³⁷ Māḷavacakravarti and Niṣadarāyan entered into a covenant to end the enmity between the two in the same year.¹³⁸ Another feud had resulted in one family avenging the death of one of its members by killing another in the assassins's family. Le Talions was the recognised law. It was resolved and they agreed to end the enmity between the two.¹³⁹ The death of a man was compensated by a blood-grant of 1 *nū* of land at Kunnakkudi.¹⁴⁰ A late instance of a covenant in favour of Rāyakkal Tambirān is noticed in kaṇḍadevi.¹⁴¹

Crimes and punishment by the community

In the 26th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1116) Terkāḷvān nambi and his brother

had offended the King's men and the Ūr (the township - community). Their lands were resumed and endowed as Dēvadāna by order of the Adaḷaiyūr nādālvān.¹⁴²

In the 22nd year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1238) the Mūlaparisai Sabhaiyār brought to sale the confiscated lands of certain Bhaṭṭas who had taken advantage of the Hoysāla invasion and confusion caused and had stolen from the temple Treasury.¹⁴³

In the AD 1233 the lands of some Brahmins were brought to sale and the chieftain Vāṇakōvaraiyan had taken umbrage that he was offended. Later it was found on enquiry that the Brahmins proceeded against were not at fault, and the Chieftain ordered the restoration of their lands. The Maṅāsabhā implemented the orders.¹⁴⁴

In the 11th year of Jat. Sundara I (AD 1272) one Vāmana Bhaṭṭan was murdered by Satyanāvan enjoining some armed men. He fled the township with his men. His belongings were confiscated to the temple. Vāmana Bhaṭṭan's death was avenged and Satyanāvan was murdered. Later the son of the first culprit submitted to the community that this murder was without his knowledge, and culpability and that he would pay the 800 paṇam being the sale price of his predecessor's belongings and that he might be inducted into possession and he would pay *Kaḍamai* to the temple and the Ūr the levy due. The congregation of the temple priests, Srivaishnavas and Śrī Kāryam śeyvār the residents the community as a whole resolved accordingly. This is a conspicuous case of *Lex Talionis* in application.¹⁴⁵

In Tiruppattūr a Brahmin lady, wife of Sundara Pāṇḍya Bhaṭṭan took poison slaming a Kaikkōla Nayinār. This was atoned for but still the blame was foisted on the Kaikkōlās. A blood grant to compensate for it was made by the Bhaṭṭas granting a piece of land.¹⁴⁶

A number of instances could be ascribed to the reign of Mār. Kulasekhara I. In the 5th year certain Brahmin occupants in Nṛupaśekhara cm. had defaulted in payment of land dues. The temple priests had stood surity for the occupancy obligation. (Kuḍipuṇai) The Āṇḍars had stood surety for cash (porutpuṇai) In the month of citrai there was a Brahmin assassinated and the Sabhaiyār were called to account. The lands of the defaulting Brahmin occupants were resumed and assigned to the temple on recovering cash for clearing the land dues (*Śikhai*) and for compensation the due on the treachery (*Drōham*) (presumably leading to the assassination of the Brahmin). Eater the defaulters paid back the cash and the Sabhā agreed to restore occupancy-possession of the land. The same treatment was extended to another Brahmin defaulter who paid the amount to another deity Rudrakōtiśvaramudaiya nāyanār.¹⁴⁷

A casual reference to the treatment meted out to one Ponnakaran who was guilty of having killed a Brahmin is recorded in a decision of the Mulaparudai Mahā sabhā

of Tiruppattūr in the 13th year of Kulaśēkhara (unidentified). The assassin was tied to the leg of a buffalo (kiḍai) and dragged along the streets. This was the community dispensing justice and the expenses for punishment to be implemented were distributed among the occupants. A merchant who had purchased a land for being endowed for a maṭha was relieved of his share of the distributed levy, as he paid a capitalised amount to cover all his obligations.¹⁴⁸

In the 23rd year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1291) an even more serious crime was dealt with by the same Mahāsabhā of Tiruppattūr.¹⁴⁹ A resident, Valliyāṇḍān Alḡapperumāl and his brothers had wronged the Brahmin code of conduct (Brahmaṇyaham) He had taken as a wife a Brāhmin widow from a place outside the township, and led family life with her in Tiruppattūr They took and distributed among themselves sandal and food offerings in the temple. They took away the big vessel in which the gur (Karuppukkaṭṭi had been brought for the offerings to the deity, they reduced the land dues arbitrarily from the Dēvadāna holdings, receiving bribes from the villiagers (*Ūrvaḷi Kaikkūḷi*). They cut and took to their own residence for their own use trees standing in Dēvadāna lands. They fore of the yield and dues determined by the Superintendents of the temple in lands that come to yield and they arbitrarily reduced the dues and gave the rights to those whom they favoured. The punishment meted out appears to be that the holdings of the offenders were brought to sale and sold to the temples as Candēśvara vilai. The inscription is incomplete and it is not known if any further punishment was awarded.

In the 36th year Mār. Kulasekhara I a dispute arose between Valluvanāḍāḷvān and Perumbarrappuliyūr Nambi. The Sabhaiyār of Tiruppattūr gave a grāmamānya land grant. But Nambi stood apart and did not consent. the available sabhaiyār and the temple servants were kept captive inside the temple. For this illegal detention, the holdings of Nambi were given over to Valluvanāḍāḷvān and the jewellery of the temple were redeemed. The lands involved were in dispute for ever 2 years. The Chief Munayadaraiyan led the Sabhaiyār and temple servants before the king. It was decided that as Nambi had not committed any offence the holdings were to be restered to him and instead the Brahmin members of the Sabhā were asked to allot lands in exchange to the temple. Here the King had faulted the Sabhaiyār and had upheld the demur of Perumbarrappuliyūr Nambi.¹⁵⁰

A few more instances of assassination of the Brahmins have been recorded in Tiruppattur. In the 5th year of Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara (unidentified) a number of members of the same family Cēndasvāmi. son Karaiyūr Kiḷān. Tiruttalīkūttan and his brothers and his elder brothers son also named Cēndasvāmi had taken swords and killed Brahmins and done other unworthy acts. For this offence their lands were brought to sale and also their house sites and the purchaser was the temple.¹⁵¹ A fragment of another

inscription in Tiruppattūr appears to record an identical resumption of lands by the Sabhaiyār of certain offenders.¹⁵²

An occupant was alleged to have defaulted in payment of cash taxes and that he had a joint responsibility. The Sabhaiyār insisted that he should prove his claim of not being liable for the dues by holding a red-hot axe (Paraśu dhāraṇam) which he declined. Hence he was fined 20 *accu* against which he sold some of his holdings. This is dated in the early part of reign of one Vīra Pāṇḍya.¹⁵³

In AD 1387 an accountant in Tiruppattūr Ambalattāḍuvān who had no rights caused a smith and a stonecutter to make a spurious inscription and grant deed that he had a house-site and accountancy and right to other temple honours. This fraud which was a sin against Śiva and the Grāma was detected. The delinquent fled the village. The smith and the stone cutter were banded over to the Kanmālar who punished them, and had the necessary amends made agreeable to the temple authorities. The accountancy was sold to three others who were inducted into the office.¹⁵⁴

Social tensions caused also enmity and killings. The twenty four *Ūrār* in Mēlai Tiruthiyūr muttam had some enmity with Paṛaiyar apparently over some social obligations the latter had. The enmity was resolved by Kāṅgēyan the Chieftain. He decided that the Paṛaiyar shall beat the drums on good and bad occasions. Against this function per head 1 *kalam Tūṇi* paddy shall be measured to the service-holders for every crop whether yield or not. In addition on an auspicious occasion *Padakku* rice and 1 pumpkin shall be given to the paṛaiyar¹⁵⁵ for the drum-beat. This was in Ad 1376.

An adjoining inscription refers to some grants to the Paḷlar as well which is not intelligible.

It is rather curious that this bunch of records of crimes and delinquencies all come from Tiruppattūr. No section of the community is spared and frauds occurred but were detected. The community took steps to punish the offenders according to the penal and moral code prevalent at the time. In most cases cited above, where the crime was committed by the Brahmins the resumption or confiscation of the property by the community and their transfer to the temple often at a price was the mode of punishment. In one case of the murder of the Brahmin the culprit was given corporal punishment being tied to the buffalo and dragged along the street. The stress and strain faced by the community on these occasions of deflection is well brought out.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The social tensions in Tirupattūr were aggravated by the Muslim invasions under Malik Kafur and later by other incursions in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the wake

of Kafur's invasion, a Muslim Sultanate was established in Madurai and it ruled from AD 1335 to 1378.

The insecurity was felt even in the 44th year of Jat. Vira Pāṇḍya, (who could be in successor of Mār. Kulasēkhara I. (AD 1335).

The Mūlaparudai Mahāsabhā of Tiruppattūr spld the pāḍi kāval rights to the Sūraikkūḍi chief, Avayan avayan alias Maḷava Chakravarti of Tēnāruppokku in Adalaiyūr Nādu for 250 VāḷāḷValitirandān paṇam, and he was eligible to get 10 marakkāl of paddy per mā on yielding lands.^A

In the 46th year in June-July (Mithuna 20th day) the Śrī Rudra Māhēsvara executives, and the temple executives gave an agreement to the same Avayan Avayan Periyānāyan alias Vijayālayattēvar of Sūraikkūḍi, in the circumstances set out below.^B (AD 1341).

The times were bad due to the Muslim invasion. The Tiruppattūr temple was occupied by the Muslims as a cantonment (Pāḷayam). The deities were desecrated. The Sūraikkūḍi Chief renovated the temple and reconsecrated the deities. He was made the Chief for Watch and Ward of the temple and privileges were given the special offerings before the deity, the head dress (*parivaṭṭam*) and he be called the Dharmakartā, "Periyānāyan Vijayālayattēvar". He requested that the temple honours be granted in the name of the township in which he was born, and this was granted in the name of 'Sūraikkūḍi Ūrār'. He was also granted paddy per mā of yielding lands in all Dēvadāna holdings and townships and lands held in the name of the deity.

Next month,^C the *Mahāsabhā* of Tiruppattūr also gave an agreement to the same Chieftain, who had saved the temple and the township at the time when the Muslims occupied the temple and the temple and the Ūr got destroyed. Out of their gratitude they decided within a circle of 3 kādams in their township on yielded lands, they shall give per mā measured by the rod Kuḍitāṅgi, one headload of unthreshed paddy bundle (Tala iyadu sumaiyāga oru Kattu sūḍum)–

for varagu	. . .	1 head load of bundle;
for gingelly	. . .	Padakku gingelly; and
Tinai	. . .	3 kuṟuṇi per sey of field.

The Sūraikkūḍi Chieftains had been dislodged from their home-townships and they ultimately settled in Kōvilūr (near Kāraikkūḍi) and were prominently associated with that temple.^D They had gained the gratitude of the Tiruppattūr temple and township by the benevolent acts.

In the 22nd year of Jat. Vīra, the temple authorities had given a sale deed as an 'Uḷavuttavaṇai' (as an inducted cultivating tenant) for Rāsi paṇam 1000/- a holding

called Muḷai kaṭṭu vayal to one Aḷagiya Nambiyār alias Pallavarāyar of Muttūr alias Uyyakkonḍacōlanallūr in Muttūrūkkurram.^E

But Aḷagiya Nambiyār did not give the vāram (1/2 share of the produce) and the lands were lying waste. Hence, the Śrī Rudra Māhēsvarās, the temple executives and the Maṭha authorities and the priests sold the same land on the same tenure as Uḷavuttavaṇai, to a scion of the Śūraikkūḍi Chief Senbagarāyar Parākrama Pāṇḍya Vijayālayattēvar alias Ariyarāyar and others in AD 1422 in the reign of Jaṭ Vikrama including the house dsites for Aḍurapaṇam 200. The vendees shall cultivate the lands and render the vāram (1/2 share of the produce) to the deity.^F

In both the transactions the Kīl Vārappaccal was not levied on the lands and as such it was not demanded.

The episode brings out the external intrusion of Muslim and how the Śūraikkūḍi Chief saved the township, and renovated the temple. The township and the temple authorilties showed their gratitude by conferring temple honojurs and privileges, Pāḍi kāval rights, and finally the 'cultivating rilghts' on certain Dēvadāna lands on the scion of the family of Śūraikkūḍi Chieftains.

Social privilege were also often a matter that caused agitation. But composition of differences and extension of concessions to accommodate the less privileged were also noticed. In addition to the Tiruppattūr experience cited, two records from Paḷani Taluk bear testimony. In the 13th year of Kongu Cōḷa Vikrama the Idaiyar (shepherds) of Kīranūr alias Koḷumaṅḍa Cōlanallūr were granted the following privileges. In building their houses they could have among others a threshold, step and a door and plaster their walls. On auspicious occasion they can use a palanquin (Tandu) For inauspicious occasion they could use a pallet. They could wear green apparel (Paccai paṭṭu, Puliyūr paṭṭu Pattāva paṭṭu) they could cover the corpse in the pallet. They could engage pipers and drummers for good and bad occasions. These are in addition to all customary privileges (*Variśai*)¹⁵⁶

The second instance is from Periyakōṭṭai, also in Paḷani Taluk. The residents of Kariyadēvanallūr were granted the privilege of constructing double storied house, sounding of drums on auspicious occasions or otherwise and some others which are unclear.¹⁵⁷ There are gaps in the epigraph.

Artisans and their privileges.

Individual artisans for temple servants were granted some privileges or honours. The Nagara of Pūlam alias Rājarājapuram in the 14th year of Mār. Sundara sold lands to the temple. Out of the lands sold it set apart I mā. of land to the Ācāryan (the carpenter or stone mason) as Āchāryabhōgam for his enjoyment.¹⁵⁸

In Tirunelvēli in the 12th year of Mār. Sundara the artisans stone mason their superintendents who distribute their work among them and the smiths (Kollan) all granted their respective shares of emoluments for the benefit of a head of the Maṭha so that he could engage his own workmen.¹⁵⁹ The artisans were the hereditary service holders in the temple at Tirunelvēli. The superintendents in-charge of the allocation of work gave their (Dasaippēru-corrupt for Dasappēru) in cash and paddy of $\frac{1}{10}$ as Dharmadāna. This was in lieu of 1 *accu* which was remitted to the temple treasury. The chief Viravinōda ācāryar had ordered that the head of the maṭha shall be free to engage his own workmen. A number of stone masons including the chief have attested the grant.

The stone masons gave their 1/8 share and two sections of smiths gave their share of 1/6 in the same manner. A number of the smiths were illiterates, including the Nagara Kollan. Others signed for them. Illiteracy was often noticed among the soldiery, the Maravar and the artisans. But that was no bar to their participating in the community and township affairs and public transactions creating or renouncing rights.¹⁶⁰

Four years later (16th year) in Tirunelvēli the Śīrpācāriyan (the sculptors) had made over their 1/8 share of cash and paddy in favour of the head of the maṭha, receiving 2 *accu*. The grant was inclusive of the share received by the stone-masons who were responsible for the supply of stone for the works. The head of the maṭha could himself arrange for the works from the 6th basement (*Āṟāṅg kalpaḍai*) and the flat level stone work and the load-bearing works (*Mattakkāl* and *Bāram* including works.¹⁶¹ In this document all the subscribers were literates.

There was a guild (to use the form loosely) or group of artisans - stonemasons, smiths and others who had their Chief to assign or allocate works among them. They had their distinct share of the compensation in cash and grain which varied among the different types of artisans. They were bound to do all the work in the temple and had a preferential claim for works in the township. Others who commissioned their works like the Maṭha had to offer the right of first acceptance, to the service-holders of the temple and the township. These other works could be executed by others only on relinquishment of the hereditary artisans, which could be had on a commuted (perhaps concessional) amount paid to them or the temple under whom they had their service tenure.

Benefactors and those who rendered services to the community were recognised and granted privileges. One such grant was by the Rathakāra of Maṅgalavāsaccēri in Pāṇḍi Maṅḍalam to a Dāsar (Nambi) in an inscription at Poykkaraippaṭṭi (near Aḷagarkōil)¹⁶² An undated inscription at Tirukkalakkudi of the reign of Mār. Sundara I gives an interesting episode - Tamila pallavaraiyar (perhaps who hailed from

Rājavillipuram in Kīlavēmbunādu) had installed a new Aḷudaiyanācciyār deity at Tirukkalakkudi temple. A Śivabrahmaṇa Poṅkōil Bhaṭṭan enthusiastically collected donations, took steps to get lands tax-free and for the construction of the shrine. Hence Kāṅgēyarāyan ordered that he may be given 4 *nāḷi* of food offerings made to the deity.¹⁶³ But in the 13th year of the reign Tamilapallavaraiyan reported to the King that the temple authorities had discontinued the supply of rice. It was restored to the Śivabrāhmaṇa and his successors for all time by a royal order¹⁶⁴ which was sent as a written communication to the Sthānattān.

Civil rights and community decisions

We may conclude this chapter, noticing the evidence on civil rights and customary regulations of the community.

The temple services were hold in shares. The priests had each his share in rotation in a month.¹⁶⁵ Their Arcanābhōgam shares could be mortgaged or sold and even granted as Dharmadāna subject to such successors in title also discharging the obligations that had fallen to or undertaken by the principal.¹⁶⁶

One Śēḷiyakōṅār, had purchased land and endowed it for a lamp service himself undertaking to pay taxes and render obligations. But he failed to pay *Kaḍamai*. Two agnates of the original occupant were asked to make good the default as on seeing Śēḷiyakōṅār's grand-deed many cautioned that let there be no transgression of the moral standards (Dharmavirōdam). The agnates replied that let the donor be brought to account. But he did not stand forth to discharge the obligations. The agnates of the original occupants agreed to finally make good the default. This was in the early part of the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I.¹⁶⁷

The Śrīrudras of the temple at Tirumālūgandānkōṭṭai had given an interesting decision. If any grown up ladies in their community had no male issue and if their daughters get married and went to other places, the head of the family had to deliver 2 *nāḷi* of paddy per day per individual who had so left if this was defaulted 1½ *mā*. of land on the middle taram (neither the top nor the bottom Taram) out of his holding shall be borne (but the text is lost). If the girls were given in marriage from that day the girl shall not be entitled to paddy. If the grownup girls died and their absequies performed the lands given to them shall revert in the male persons who gave the land who had their turn of duty in the temple. These regulations have been agreed upon apparently to ensure that if there went no male heirs, still the services were performed without any let up.¹⁶⁸

A family partition deed was executed by Rājanārāyanadēvan in the same place among 2 (sons) and 1 daughter, 3 *mā*. each for 2 sons, 7 *mā* of wet land to his daughter,

besides black soil lands. 2 housesites were also to be shared by all the three. The share of the daughter is more.¹⁶⁹

Women's right to property was clearly recognised. They could also inherit Sridhana which they could dispose of.¹⁷⁰ Bigamy even among Brahmins as at Cōlāntaka Cm¹⁷¹ and polygamy among Chieftains were common.

We may finally note a very important decision of Ś. 1303 (AD 1381) recorded at Kōvilūr. In the month of Tai Gāngēyarāja gathered several Brahmin residents from various places far and near and settled the scale of gifts which the Brahmins shall adopt at the time of giving their daughter in marriage apart from giving them away with pouring water. The gathering decided the following agreeable to the Dharma and times. (*Dharmatuukkum Kālatakkum Porunda*) For marriage presents and ornaments 8 *Kaḷañju* of gold and silver (vessels) 8 *Kaḷañju* were fixed. If any one exceeded these limits and accepted any larger value of gold and silver, eager to grate money he shall not (be deemed to be) a Brahmin. The was subscribed to 6, the Brahmins from afar, the resident Brahmins Cēdiyarāyan the Chieftain and few others.¹⁷²

This should be considered one of the early dowry regulations setting certain permissible limits

The chapter traverses a wide spectrum of social institutions, customs and manners and mode of dispensing criminal and civil justice and equity. To breathe the contemporary flavour, and reflect the spirit of equity and composition by the community, the wording closely follows the text. The impress of the collective decisions, with hardly any demur is noteworthy in the decisions. The manner in which they were arrived at brought out the self regulating procedure of the Community. Yet the influence and initiative of the King and his Chieftains were felt. They did not hesitate to interfere and restore balance and equity, if the community could not or did not ensure it.

FOOT NOTES TO APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X :

1. Please see *infra* op
2. "Rājendra Viṅṅagar" - pp. 27-28
3. "The Collected Papers" - p. 140
4. 397 / 1916, Please see "Rājendra Viṅṅagar".
5. SII XIV - 88.
6. 311 / 1928.
7. 312 / 1928.
8. 8 / 1926.
9. SII XXVI - 532, 533, 534. This Chief had installed a goddess in the temple at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi in the reign of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1231) - please see 78, 79, 84 and 88/1916).
10. 48 / 1929. Śivapuri.
11. 178 / 1936. Tiruppattūr.
12. 50 / 1929. Śivapuri.
13. 116 / 1948. Tiruppattūr.
14. 35 / 1916.
15. 38 / 1916.
16. 202 / 1980-81.
17. 197 / 1980-81.
18. SII V / 301. Also 62/1905.
19. The ayacuts referred to occur in Kōil Kuruvitturai. Please see my "Collected Papers - pp. 110 ff.
20. 60 / 1905.
21. 4 / 1915.
22. SII V / 295.
23. 121 / 1910. Tenkarai.
24. 122 / 1910.
25. 124 / 1910.
26. 126 / 1910.
27. SII V - 303.
28. 239 / 41-42. This prince (Pillai) figures in 248/1941-42.
29. 265 / 1941-42.
30. SII VIII / 423.

31. NA / 1990-91 - Mēlamaṅgalam.
- 31A. SII CIV - 162.
32. 356 / 1916, cofer 355 / 1916.
33. 355 / 1916.
34. 358 / 1916.
35. 357 / 1916.
36. 353 / 1916.
37. 347 / 1916.
38. 351 / 1916.
39. 353 / 1916.
40. 359 / 1916. The ARE abstract gives the name as Pagalilipperumal.
(ii) At padakku per day, the annual compensation works out to $60\frac{5}{6}$ kalams. It is doubtful if $\frac{1}{2}$ mā could yield that much of paddy, unless otherwise supplemented.
41. 361 / 1916.
42. Amalanādirān - 5. Īḍu vyakhyāna (Ed - S. Krishnaswami Iyengar) pp. 60-61
43. 292, 293, 294 / 1941 - Tirunelvēli.
44. SII V / 420.
45. SII V / 421.
46. SII V / 418.
47. 652 / 1916. Śērmādēvi.
48. SII XXIII - 95
49. 658 / 1916.
50. 22 / 1912.
51. SII XXVI - 471.
52. SII V - 424.
53. SII XXIII - 117.
54. 431 / 1916. Attālanallūr.
55. 523 / 1958. Ālvārtirunagari.
56. SII XXVI - 489, 490.
57. 355 / 1959-60.
58. 279, 280, 281 / 1930.
59. 547 / 1922.
60. 546 / 1922.

61. SII XXVI - 523.
62. 298 / 1955-56.
63. For the history of this township, please see my "Collected Papers" - p. 126 ff.
64. 583, 564 / 1916.
- 65A. 576, 566, 509 / 1916.
66. 576 / 1916.
67. 203, 204, 205 / 1932-33.
68. 566 / 1916, Also TAS IX, pp. 15, 16.
69. Ibid.
70. 578 / 1916.
71. 564 / 1916.
72. 509 / 1916.
73. 585 / 1916.
74. 582 / 1916.
75. 583 / 1916.
76. 579 / 1916.
77. Please see my 'Pudukkōṭṭai Studies' - p. 303.
78. 269, 270 / 1940-41.
79. 243 / 1923.
80. SII XXVI - 108 (Vatteluttu - 10th century)
81. 244 / 1950-51.
82. 33 / 46-47.
83. 475 / 1930. Āttūr.
84. 304 / 62-63. Ōṭṭappiḍāram.
85. 414 / 1916 (Kollam 662)
86. 706 / 1916 - Śērmādēvi.
87. 707 / 1916 - Śērmādēvi.
88. 338, 340 / 1916 - Tiruvāiśvaram.
89. 556 / 1916.
90. SII XXVI - 493, 494, 495.
91. SII XXIII - 436.
92. SII XIV - 234.
93. 99 / 1908.

94. 565/1922.
95. SII XIV - 237.
96. 8/1928-29. - Dalapatisamudram.
97. 597/1916 - Pattamaḍai.
98. 444, 445, 446, 451, 427/1930.
99. 66, 67/1917.
100. 50/1927 - Tirunelvēli.
101. 276/1941-42.
102. 25/1929 - Śivapuri.
103. 24/1929.
104. 364/1920-30 - Valliyūr.
105. 370/1916.
106. A late inscription refers to the metrilinear inheritance among dancing girls by referring to the mother as ‘‘Pitā-stre’’. 410/1916 (Tiruppuḍaimarudur)
107. 42/1927 - Tirunelvēli.
108. 600/1915.
109. 412, 421/1916.
110. The card index is not traceable. It is recollected that this inscription was in Tiruppattūr Taluk.
111. 333/1923.
112. 695/1916.
113. 62/1927.
114. 335/1959-60.
115. 327/1916.
116. 636/1917.
117. 546/1922.
118. SII XXVI - 491.
119. 644/1917.
120. 298/1923, 304/1923.
121. 3/1931-32.
122. 14/1931-32.
123. Please see ‘‘Rājēndra Viṇṇagar’’ - p. 22.
124. 363/1916.
125. 336 / 1916.

126. 368 / 1916.
127. 80, 81 / 1927, Tirunelvēli.
128. Please see supra (Chapter IX)
Also Caturvēdimaṅgalam - 308, 309 / 1928.
Tiruppattūr - 119, 120 / 1908.
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi - 50 / 1916.
129. 602 / 1906.
130. 42 / 1909 - SII XXIII / 460.
131. 119, 120 / 1908.
132. I am indebted to the State Director of Archaeology, Kerala State for the identification of Veḷḷai nāḍu. The Veḷḷai nāḍar should not be confused with the Nāḍars, as rightly stated in the confused with the Nāḍārs, as rightly stated in the Travancore Annual Report of ME 1096 - (p. 90) Also TAS V pp. 90-22.
133. TAS V pp. 90-92.
134. 325 / 1916.
135. For eg. A1 / 1936-37. (AD 1433)
Also 596 / 1926 - Śrīvilliputtūr (Vīrappanāyaka)
718 / 1916 - Śērmādevi - AD 1544.
2 / 1923 - Kondagai - AD 1545.
163A / 1936 - Tiruppattūr - AD 1575.
303 / 1916 - Ambāsamudram - AD 1623.
378 / 1916 - Brahmaḍēśam - AD 1625.
379 / 1916 - Brahmaḍēśam - AD 1622.
A2-1936-37 - Śrīvilliputtūr - AD 1745.
432 / 1914 - Śāṅkarankōil - Viśvāvasu.
588 / 1926 - Śrīvilliputtūr - Viśvāvasu.
136. 65 / 1929.
137. 55 / 1929.
138. 534 / 1962-63 - Tiruppattūr.
139. 140 / 1936 - Pillaiyārpatti.
140. 411 / 1954-55.
141. 340 / 1949-50.
142. 322 / 1923 - Tirukkōṭṭiyūr.
143. 170 / 1936 - Tiruppattūr.
144. 309 / 1928 - Caturvēdimaṅgalam.
145. 301, 302, 303 / 1923.
146. 172 / 1936.

147. 21 / 1929.
148. 104 / 1908 - Tiruppattūr.
149. 125 / 1908.
150. 133 / 1908 - Tiruppattūr.
151. 185 / 1936.
152. 534A / 1962-63.
153. 164 / 1936.
154. 126, 127 / 1908.
155. 69 / 1924 - Periccikōil.
- A – 155-A 122 / 1908
- B – 155-B 120 / 1908
- C – 155-C 119 / 1908
- D -- 155-D. On this please see "The vicissitudes of visayaccilai-pp.156-161. The "Collected papers", especially pp. 160-161
- E – 155-E. 128 / 1908
- F – 155-F. 124 / 1908
156. SII V / 283.
157. SII XXIII / 463.
158. 260 / 1941.
159. 295 / 1941, Tirunelvēli.
160. Eg. 102 / 1916 - Tirukkaḷakkuḍi.
Sannavanam - 29 / 1916.
161. 296 / 1961.
162. 222 / 1938-39.
163. 87 / 1916 - Tirukkaḷakkuḍi.
164. 88 / 1916.
165. Eg. SII XIII / 167-168.
166. SII V - 756.
167. 275 / 1941 - Kuṟumbūr.
168. 52 / 1931-32 - Tirumālugandankōṭṭai.
169. 53 / 1931-32.
170. SII V - 300. Tenkarai.
171. SII V - 297.
172. 526 / 1962-63 - Kōvilūr.

Chapter XI

Gleanings of the economic conditions in the Paṇḍyan Townships in the 10th to the 13th Centuries.

This chapter attempts to glean the available evidence on the economic conditions in the Paṇḍyan Townships. Already in the chapters above, an attempt to portray the agrarian economy, The land yield, the community's economic effort and outlay on charitable endowments, the agrarian distress due to natural calamities, the heavy burden on land dues, their variety, in kind and in services, the exactions by chieftains and modes of relief afforded have been brought out in vivid detail.

This chapter attempts to marshal evidence on the exchange ratios, the interest rates in vogue, the wage workers wage levels for specific categories of workers and the land sale prices besides the price levels especially the relative gradation of prices for the different commodities. The level of wages for the professionals and the yield of cows is also assessed.

This is a pioneer effort in some respects. The task is beset with inherent difficulties. For one thing the evidence is in parenthesis. For another, to establish the correlation between the coinage occurring in the inscription and the value of each or their nexus, numismatic studies required have not progressed alongside and adequately. The evidence mentioned here can, to some extent, be suggestive of the intensive work still to be done. Hence the attempt is to chronologically arrange the data as culled from the epigraphs, but they need to be worked out in further detail with further and sustained advance in numismatic studies.

I. Exchange ratios.

In Ānaimalai, one Īḷakkāsu equalled $7\frac{1}{2}$ new akkam in AD 939¹

In AD 1011, in the reign of Rājarāja I, a kāśu has been held equal to 8 akkam. It could fetch 7 kalams of paddy in Gaṅgaikoṇḍān.²

In AD 1092 in Āttur, 1 kāśu was equal to $7\frac{2}{3}$ Dramam.³

In a 10th century inscription⁴, and in the reign of Cōḷa Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1110)⁵ 1 kāśu was equal to 7 Dramam⁵.

In the 41st year of Kulōttuṅga I also (AD 1111), 1 kāśu equalled 7 Dramams at Tirukoṣṭiyur also.⁶ In the 13th year of Māṅ Sundara I accu was equal (meni) to 13 Dramam. The term "mēni dramam" refers to the exchange ratio between Kāśu and Dramam.

3 Accu were equal to 39 Dramam.⁷ But the ratio varies from time to time and at different places. perhaps this might be attributed to the velocity of circulation and age of the dramam. The older it was the lesser its value in relation to the kāśu.

In AD 1237 (Mār. Sundara I - 21st year) in Śālaigrāmam 21 1/2 kaḷañju have been equated with 10 5/8 ānai accu.

This gives a ratio of 2 kaḷañju is equal to 1 anai accu.⁸

In Circa AD 1286 in the reign of Mār Vikrama in Alagarkōil 1 ānai accu equalled 3 paḷaiya kāśu.⁹

In the 14th year of Mār Kulaśēkhara (AD 1282), 5 1/2 varāhans equalled 55 paṇam at Giryambālpuram.¹⁰

In AD 1300, (32nd year of Mār Kulaśēkhara I), 1 accu was equal to 100 paṇam.¹¹

In Tiruvādavūr a Kōnērinmaikoṇḍan grant gives the equation of 1 3/4 accu to 102 3/16 (mūnṛu māmukkāṇi paṇam). 1 accu thus equals roughly 59-60 paṇam.¹²

In the same place in the 9th year of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, 1 paḷampon equalled 10 Rāśipaṇam.¹³

These illustrate the variety of the currencies and how they had changed from time to time. But more than one form of currency was current at one and the same time.

The Dramam was a lower denomination like the akkam and was long in use, though its exchange value, as noticed above, fluctuated and depreciated. The exchange ratio also varied. As noticed in an earlier chapter, it was varied deliberately to confer concessional terms to tenants or occupants for paying cash levies due.

II. Interest rates

The interest rates could be gleaned from the deposits against which the supply of paddy or ghee had to be made for the interest - equivalent. Here again, the intrinsic value or exchange value of the various coinage in use during the study period pose problems. Hence we have to work backwards from the rate of supply of ghee or paddy and assume, the rates being the same, that the different coinages have more or less equal or comparable purchase value. But, the measures used in different townships and even within the same township varied and the assumption that the liquid measure are uniform may also be vitiated. Sometimes the measure used is specified but more often.

There are, of course some exceptional cases which are not explicable in the present state of our knowledge. Also, the rate of paddy equivalent of interest has varied from one place to another and from time to time.

The data are tabulated in Table I for clarity. The inferences that can be drawn are set out below:

11 kāsu of Rājendra Cōla I's reign are equal to 15, 36, 10, 12 kāsu in different reigns of Cōla Pāṇḍyas in the same location at Ambāsamudram and Śērmādēvi. The deposit for a wick for the lamp was one kāsu in Ambāsamudram but by AD 1101 it was ½ kāsu at Āttūr.

In the reign of Jat Kulasekhara (1190-1217) 1 accu had an interest yield of 4-3 kalams in 1203 - 1204. The paddy equivalent of interest has declined by 1205 and it was as high as 25% against paddy deposit.

In Mār Sundarā I's reign, at Tiruvālīśvaram interest equivalent to paddy was 5 kalams per accu. But in Kallīḍaikuricci for 7 accus deposited, the paddy equivalent was less about 2 4/7 kalams. Again for 7 1/2 accus deposited 9 1/4 nāli of ghee was supplied at Vaḷudiyūr in AD 1235 which is exceptionally low. So too in AD 1267 in Śērmādēvi 1 accu yielded only kalams of paddy by way of interest by 6 nāli-measure.

In the reign of Mār Kulaśēkhara deposits of 3 Nallānai accu, and 100 paṇams respectively yielded the same quantum of ghee. The rate of interest by way of paddy for paddy deposits was about 19-19%.

In the 16th century, 160 Kaliyugarāman paṇam were needed as deposit the interest of which was adequate for the standard quantum of ghee of 9 1/4 nāli. A kōṭṭai (2 kalams) of paddy needed 35 5/7 paṇam in AD 1578.

If the 160 paṇams deposit can be considered equal to 25 cows or 50 cost 5 2/5 paṇam, and a sheep 3 2/10 in AD 1531.

The Cōliyaḷaṅkāsu deposited needed was more at about 50 for 1 lamp. In AD 1286, 1 accu was equal to 3 paḷaṅkāsu and 33 paḷaṅkāsu deposited in Aḷagarkōil yielded 9 1/4 nāli of ghee. In Tenkarai (Vaigai belt) 1 accu had paddy-equivalent of interest of 2 tūni and 1 kurūni in Jat Vikrama's reign.

In the Paḷani area 1 toḷai kalañju was deposited to fee 1 lamp.

It can be inferred that the ruling interest rate for deposit for religious and charitable endowments ranged from about 19 to 25% and exceptionally as in Ānaimalai, during Parantaka's time at 40%. By and large the scale of ghee or paddy yield supply had been constant and the variations in coinage and their value should account for the variations, but on the assumption that the measure used is the same.

Table I
Table of Interest rates (chronologically arranged)

Reference	Place of occurrence	Reign & date	Exchange/ interest rate	Ghee interest equivalent per day/ per year (5A)	Paddy rate (5B)	Rate derived
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
708/1916	Śermādēvi	Cōla Rājendra Cōla - year 4 AD 1016	15 kāsu : 6 Īlakkāsu kāsu 6 : half lamp	At ālākku per day 45 5/8		per kāsu 7½ + 548 nāli
SII V/729	Gaṅgaikoṇḍān Tirunelvēli Dt.	Rājendra I 7 AD 1019	Kāsu II	91½ nāli		per kāsu = 8 3/11 + 1/44 nāli Roughly 1 lamp =
SII V/757	Śermādēvi	Cōlapāṇḍya Jat. Sundara 12 AD 1029	36 kāsu	91½ nāli		per kāsu 2½ nāli or 2 77/144 nāli
SII XIV/140	Ambūsamudram	Cōlapāṇḍya Sundara 10(?)	15 kāsu 1 kāsu for wick	91½ nāli		6 1/12 nāli per kāsu
SII XIV/162B	"	Cōlapāṇḍya Jat. Sundara Date NA	10 kāsu		10 kalam	1 kāsu = 1 kalam interest yield.
SII XIV/190	Śermādēvi	Mār. Vikrama (25)	12 kāsu	91½ ghee		Per kāsu = 7 7/12 + 1/48
SII XIV/230	Āttūr	Tirumadāndai Jat. Srīvallabha II AD 1101	8½ kāsu + ½ kāsu wick			For feeding occasional pilgrims

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
714/1916	Sērmādēvi	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 9 + 3 (12) AD 1202	1 accu	.	4 kalam per year	4 kalam
549/1911	Kōvilkulam	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 13 AD 1203	10 accu		4 kalam per year	40 kalam per 10 accu 1 accu = 4 kalam
547/1916	Pattamaḍai	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 13 + 1 : 1204	3 accu		9 kalam	1 accu = 3 kalam
548/1916	"	Jat.(?) Kulaśēkhara 13 + 1 + 1 1205(?)	8 accu		18 kalam	2 nāli rice = 5 nāli paddy per day. Per year : 5 x 365 = 18 kalam 1 accu : 2½ kalam
465/1916	Giriyambālpuram	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 15 AD 1205	60 kalam		180 kurūni	Per kalam = 3 kurūni 25%
SII XVIII/99	Kallidaikkuricci	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 13 + 12 AD 1214-15	16 Accu		4 nāli rice per day	4 nāli = 10 nāli paddy. For 1 year = 33 kalam per accu 2 3/8 kalam.
689/1916	Sērmādēvi	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 14 + 4 = 28 1217 - 8	3 accu		12 kalam per year	1 accu = 4 kalam
333/1916	Tiruvālisvaram	Jat. Kulaśēkhara year lost	2 accu		9½ kalam	1 accu = 4¾ kalam

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
358/1916	Tiruvālisvaram	Mār. Sundara I 3 AD 1219	4 accu	10 kalamas per crop (x2) = 20 kalamas)	10 kalamas per crop (x2) = 20 kalamas)	1 accu = 5 kalamas
344/1916	"	4th AD 1220	1 accu	5 kalamas	5 kalamas	-do-
353/1916	"	5th AD 1221	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
Also 354/1916	"	AD 1221	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
SII XXIII 100	Kallidaikkuricci	Mār. Sundara I 5th AS 1220-21	7 accu 1 accu for lamp	17 and odd kalamas	17 and odd kalamas	2 4/7 kalamas per accu (Low)
489/1916	Valudiyūr	Mār. Sundara I 19 AD 1220-21	7½ accu	91½ nāli	-	Per accu 12¼ nāli of ghee
489/1916	Tiruvālisvaram	Sundara Pandya 7	1 accu	5 kalamas	5 kalamas	5 kalamas
343/1916	Tiruvālisvaram	Mār. Sundara yr. lost	1 accu	5 kalamas	5 kalamas	5 kalamas
342/1911	"	Tri Dēvar 13	"	"	"	Mār. Sundara I (?)
SII V/422	Tirunelvēli	Mār. Sundara I yr. lost	25 accu	120 kalamas for 2 crops	120 kalamas for 2 crops	4 4/5 kalamas per accu per year
447/1930	Āttūr	Mār. Sundara I 17 + 7 = 24 AD 1239-40	3 accu	22½ kalamas	22½ kalamas	Per accu 7.6 kalamas

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
SII V/749	Sērmādēvi	Jat. Vīra I 14 AD 1267	20 accu		40 kalams	1 accu n 2 kalams by 6 nāji kāl.
377/1972-73	Taruvai	Mār. Kulasekhara 25 AD 1293	15 paṅams		38 kalams	6 2/5 nāji for paṅam
692/1916	Sērmādēvi	Mār. Kulasekhara	Nallānai 3 accu	9 1/4 nāji ghee		Per accu 30 1/2 nāli
416/1916	Tiruppudai marudūr AD 1300	Mār. Kulasekhara I 32	100 paṅams	-		73 nāli per paṅam — 80
417/1916	"	"	"	"		"
314/1916	Kallidaikkuricci	K 653	105 kōṭṭai AD 1477 (Tiruvaḍi chiefs)	paddy	19 1/2 kōṭṭai	18 4/7%
315/1916	"	"	101 kōṭṭai paddy		19 1/2 kōṭṭai	19 1/2%
464/1917	Kuṭṭālam	S 1457	Kaliyugārāman paṅams 160	19 1/2 nāji	160 paṅams 25 cows; 50 sheep if the price can be derived. 6 2/5 paṅam for cow 3 2/10 paṅam for sheep	
715/1916	Sērmādēvi	K 676 = S 1500 AD 1578	250 paṅam		1 kōṭṭai = 250 = 35 5 paṅam — 7	7

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
RAMNAD DT.						
118/1908	Tirupattūr	Kulasēkhara	3(3) Paḷaṅkāśu	5/8 lamp		1 lamp = 53 Paḷaṅkāśu
102/1908	Tirupattūr	15th year	Coḷiya paḷaṅ kasu 50	1 lamp		Also is 95/1908 (Kulasēkhara)
MADURAI DT.						
297/1930	Aḷagarkōil	Mār. Vikrama 2 + 1 = 3 AD 1286	3 accu 8 accu 11 accu	9 1/4 nāḷi		1 Accu = 3 paḷaṅ kāśu
S II V/299	Tenkarai	Jat. Vikrama 4	6 accu			Per yr. 4 kalams Tūṇi Padakku 1 accu = 2 Tūṇi kuṇṇi
275/63-64	Nallamaṅgam (Tirumaṅgalam Tk.)	Mār. Sundara 10	3 accu 1 " 4			For 2 lamp services per Sūndhyadipa
S II V/279	Kīraṅūr (Paḷani Tk.)	Vīra Rājendra (Koṅgu Cōḷa)	Tulai = 1 lamp (9 1/4 nāḷi)			1 lamp = 9 1/4 nāḷi ghee
II / 280	"	"	"			"
S II XXIII	Periakōṭṭai (Paḷani)	Jat. Sundara 4	12 paṅams		1 kalam 1 Tūni	9 5/6 nāḷi per paṅam

III. Wages

Some idea of the prevailing wages can be culled out of the epigraphic evidence. These data necessarily pertain to the temple servants and garden tenders or those employed for other such services in the temple. There were usually service tenure lands attached. In certain cases wages by way of paddy and clothing or cooked rice were also provided. The cooked rice supplied might be in addition to the service tenure lands. For the data collected and presented below, the relative gradation of the services can be ascertained. As far as is ascertainable, the data are presented in chronological sequence. But the provision made cannot be considered absolute as it has to be taken with other service tenure lands and privileges which are not stated in totality.

Table 2

A

SII III

106

Madurai

Anamalai -Parakēsari Parāntaka I 33rd year.

Deposit 15 Īlakkasu - interest 6 Īlakkasu - 40% rate of interest

Scale of feeding :

10 : 8 : paddy to rice recovery - 2 nāḷi

3 curries : curds nāḷi

Ghee - 2 sévidu

Betel, nuts - 2

To cook = daily 5 nāḷi and 1 cloth for 6 months

(Per year 18 kalams less 3 nāḷi of paddy and a pair of cloth).

B

SII XIV/95

Ambāsamudram	Cōlan Talaikoṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya AD 966
Acāriyar	½ (vēli)
Kaṇakkabhandāram (Treasury & Accounts)	(vēli)
Man 8	1½ vēli = 2 mā
Bachelor servants	(4 mā each) and 6/7 kūru of Paḍuvāram capital for clothing.
Piper troupe	1/7 of Paḍuvāram as capital for clothing.
Piper troupe 10	1¼ (vēli) (2½ mā per individual)
Śrī Kāryam Superintendent	7 mā (to yield per day 4 nāḷi rice)
Potter	2 mā
Fuel-supplier	2 mā
Cleaner	2 mā
Washerman	2 mā
Stone mason	¼ vēli or 5 mā

C

SII V/724

Gaṅgaikoṇḍān	Cōla Rājarāja I - 26th year AD 1011
	Per day Per year
Gardener - Plaiter of flowers	4 nāḷi 15 5/24 kalams
Tiruvārādanai priest (Brahmit)	Capital for clothing 2 kāṣu
Garden tender, planter (women)	4 ākkam (½ kāṣū)
Clothing	per 2 - 3 ākkam per 1 - ½ ākkam

Kuruvāl Kūli 3 nāḷi (being interest on tūṇi, 1 tūṇi, 1 nāḷi, uḷakku or 3¾ nāḷi, i.e., 9 1/11%.

(confer 8 1/3% at Tiruvālīśvaram below)

D

SII XIV

191, 192

Āttūr

Cōḷapāṇḍya-Mār, Vikrama

Per day

Per year

Flower supplier

4 nāḷi

15 5/24 kalams

Firewood supplier

1 nāḷi

3 77/96 kalams

Tiruvārādanai (Brahmin)

Kuṟuṇi

3½ kalams

Sivabrāhmanan

2 nāḷi
per head

7 29/40 kalams

E

ARE 214/1953

Peruṅgulam

Kulōttuṅga I 3l. AD 1101.

Per day

Per year

Garden tender

Kuṟuṇi Paddy

30 Kalam,
5 Kuṟuṇi.Capital for cloth to be
supplied10 Dramams per year
(presently 1 kāśu - 10 Dramam)

F

SII XIV/238

Tirupattūr

Jat. Śrīvallabha - 17th year (AD 1107)

Gardener

2 kuṟuṇi per day 60 kalams,
10* kuṟuṇi, 1 kuṟuṇi 2 Tūṇi

Capital for clothing

1 kāśu per year

*(Note : In such close proximity, the wages of a gardener could not havē doubled. Perhaps the measure was varied).

G

ARE 370 1926	Tiruvālīsvaram	Jat. Kulaśēkhara I 3 + 1 = AD 1194
	Kuṟuvai (dehusking work women)	Per kalam of paddy kuṟuṇi paddy 8 1/3%

H

633 1916	Śērmādēvi	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 16 (AD 1206)
	Priests	Kalam 3 kuṟuṇi
	Pipers (Uvaccer)	2 Tūṇi
	Potters (Kusavan)	Kalam

I

697 1916	Śērmādēvi	Date & ruler not available.
	Land endowed to be reclaimed for the maintenance of a gardener 1 mā muḱkāṇi	
	Alternatively, a share of the food-offerings were made over to them (691/1916).	

J

308 1949-50	Ḵayāṅguḁi	Mār. Śundara - 11th year (unidentified)
	Taccan Kūli (Stone mason or carpenter)	1 accu (yielding 4 kalams of paddy as interest)
1/1983	Muḁikkarai	Jat. Sundara 10 years
	3 bonded labour - (Sanmar) sold for 10 paṇam in the name of śēnāpati - nāyanār (Visvakṣena) for the Viṣṇu temple.	

L

676/1916	Śērmādēvi	Kulaśēkhara 7th year
	Stone mason	a) Svatantram 4 nāḁi of cooked rice per day b) Kuṟuṇi paddy per mā from lands in certain ayacuts belonging to the Viṣṇu Temple.

M

339/1916	Tiruvāliśvaram Vedapārāyanam	Jat. Vīra 6 nāḷi per day 22 kalam kuṟuṇi and 9 nāḷi per year. Land was assigned in substitution with both Mēlvāram and Kuḍivāram and the Brahmin was free to induct any tenant of his choice therein.
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N

SII XXVI/521	Cōḷapuram (Śrivilliputtūr Tk)	Vīra Pāṇḍya (1258-1259) Stone mason for pavement 1 accu to be done with stone
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O

79/1927	Tirunelvēli Carpenter Washerman Pranopakari (apōthecary)	Mār. Kulaśekhara (AD 1291) Kāni land " assigned when forming a Brahmadēya "
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P

66/1727	Tirunelvēli Provision made for instrumentalist Ariyam paduvan Vacciyan Mattalam Idakkai vāśippān Mattam Kaṅgu (Tāḷam)	Pāṇḍya Vikrama 6th year 2 mā to yield 10 kalams plus a seed bed land - mukkāṇi
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Q

67/1927	Tirunelvēli	
	Nrttavādyam (Dance troupe)	
	Āriyampāttu	2 kāśu
	Mattaḷam	2 kāśu
	Idakkai	1½ kāśu
	”	2 kāśu
	”	2 kāśu
	Kaṅja (Tāḷam)	1½ kāśu
	Rhythm keeper	
		11 kāśu
	plus 8 mā of land	

R

39/1927	Tirunelvēli	Konerinmaikoṇḍān
	8 gardeners	½ vēli or 10 mā
	2 Kaivitharigal (supervision)	1 mā per head
	10	

Note : Already mention has been made of the accredited stone mason's wages and their foregoing their rights of first engagement in favour of a matha. Please see page.

S

—/1984-85	Tolavillimaṅgalam	Date not available
	Cleaner	3 nāḷi paddy 11 13/32 kalams per year
	Firewood supplier	4 ” 15 5/24 ”
	Cook	5 ” 18 kalams ”
	Potter	Kuṟuṇi 30 5/12 kalams ”

Mopper of floor in the matha	4 nāḷi	15 5/24 kalams "
Executive in the matha	Tūṇi	121 2/3 kalams "
Kuṟuval (dehusking or sundry work)	3 nāḷi	11 13/32 "

T

374/1972-73	Taruvai	Kōnērinmai Kondān			
	Sivabrāhmana	3 Kuṟuṇi of cooked rice per day	Kal. 228	Tūṇi 1	nāḷi 4
		(At the standard rate or 5 : 2 : Paddy : rice recovery.			
	Pipers	1 kuṟuṇi =	30 5/12 kalams		per year
	Dancing girl for Tiruvandikkāppu	5 nāḷi uri rice		Per year - 52 kal. 3 nāḷi, 1 ulakku	paddy.
	Dancing girl Cleaner of floor Dancer		4 nāḷi uri		39 kalam
	Flower garland planter preparing sandal, turmeric for Thiruvandikkāppu		rice	2 Tūṇi 2 kuṟuṇi 6 nāḷi 1 uri	

U

SII VIII/444	Tiruccendūr	Kollam 650 AD 1474
	- for 10 days' festival service	
	Server (Paricāraḱar) Rice	4 nāḷi - ¼ kōṭṭai 2 paṇam
	Potter	6 kōṭṭai + 1/16 per 10 days
	Mattāval (sundry labour)	4 persons - 4 nāḷi per day
	= For 10 days	1 kalam, 2 tūṇi
	Garland plaiter	1 kōṭṭai paṇam 12 ū 3 paṇam
	Supervisor for 10 days	· kōṭṭai, paṇam 5. Price of 1 kōṭṭai paddy
	- 4 paṇams.	

Scale of provisions and prices and the relatives gradations among the various commodities of every day use for food offerings.

Inscriptions of the early Pandyan rulers and of the Imperial Cōlas threw a flood of light on the commodities in use, and their prices in terms of paddy or cash, as the case may be. They also give the scales of food served for the Brahmins, a pot-full of rice (Śatti sōru) and also offerings to the deity. Similar data are comparatively lacking in the medieval Pāṇḍyan inscriptions. They mostly make a grant in lump of the land dues or land or land yield for the various services.

The typical data on the scale of offerings, commodities required and their prices in terms of paddy and cash, and the annual value computed are tabulated in the statements appended, covering the period 1011 to 1472 (11th to 15th century) (Table 3). There are a few more inscriptions of the 16th century (for eg. TAS IX p.7 from Pallakkal (AD 1502) SII V 750 Sermadevi (AD 1542)) but these fall outside the study period and the value of coinage also indeterminate. The tenable inferences that can be drawn are set out below.

The force of “longue duree” is evident. The ratio of recovery of rice to paddy was 2:5 throughout from the tenth to the fourteenth century, though earlier it was 8:6 (vide Anamalai inscription of Parantaka I - for 15. This would suggest earlier there was more of bran content and later dehusking of paddy was more. Ghee, and fried curries, and starchy rice were food-items very commonly used. This could not be considered to be a balanced diet, and the comment applies to the Brahmin literati, and priestly class. Even among other sections, the quantum of rice used was disproportionate.

The level of prices in terms of paddy was steady. Changes noticed during the period (11th to 14th century) were within a narrow band. Commodities locally produced and available, and pulses were priced in terms of paddy. But pepper, camphor, akil (aloe-wood), sandal and gur and clothing were priced invariably in cash. By and large, bartar should have been prevalent. The interest yield of paddy deposits was at a higher rate; perhaps because paddy over a period, will perish or deteriorate due to weevil action or rats eating away the grain.

A variety of cloth were produced. This has been noticed even in the Tiruccendūr inscription of Varaguṇa Mahārāja. The cloth used for curtain were priced lower than the cloth worn by the temple servants. The former needed only 1½ akkam and the latter 2 kāśu per year. The proportion of betel nuts to betel is rather larger than in present day practice of chewing.

A few terms like “Pōl kari” and “ennāpūri” baked in fire are not clear. “Old rice” was preferred to the newly harvested and dehusked rice.

Table 3
Scale of provision, prices of commodities in terms of paddy, or in terms of cash, and annual requirements computed from AD 1011 to 1474.

S II V/74	A	Gangai kondān	Rajaraja I 1011 AD
		Paddy :	Rice recovery : 5 : 2
			1 Tūni : 1 nāli Uḷakku 23 + 1 = 33 nāli ¼ nāli 3¾ nāli = 3 nāli
			$\frac{3}{33} \times \frac{1}{11} \times 100 = 9\frac{1}{11}\%$ (interest rate)
		Paddy price	
			1 Kāsu : 8 Akkam : 7 kalam
		Prices	
		Curry	5 x 3 services 3 nāli
		Curds	1 uri curd = 1 nāli paddy (nāli paddy)
		Ghee	Āḷakku x 3 = 3 āḷakku Ghee
		appam :	$\frac{1}{4}$ āḷakku 1 uri = 8 nāli paddy (kuṟuṇi) 1 nāli = 15 nāli paddy (2 kuṟuṇi)
		Arecanuts	= 16 = 2 nāli
		Betel	= 64 = 4 nāli
		Sandal	= ½ kāsu per year
		Ghee for lamps	= 1 kāsu = 40 nāli of paddy or 5 kuṟuṇi
		Oil	5 nāli = 2 akkam or ¼ kāsu
		Clothing	- 2 kāsu deposit/per year
		Oil	6 nāli
		Gur	2 akkam (¼ kāsu)

720 palam = $4\frac{1}{2}$ kāśu
 (i.e. per kāśu = 160 palam) 1 kalam paddy will get 22 $\frac{6}{7}$ or
 or 7 kalams or paddy 23 palams of gur.
 Viṣu, ayanam - bath = $4\frac{1}{4}$ akkam
 For bath per year = 2 akkam
 Yāmanikai (curtain)
 cloth - 2 = 2 akkam
 1 = $\frac{1}{2}$ akkam)

S II IV 191-192 B. Attūr Mār. Vikrama Cōlapāṇḍya 25 (Acc. AD 1040) n AD 1065.

	Rate	Paddy	
Old Rice 10 nāḷi	= Paddy 6 nāḷi	1 nāḷi	= 3 nāḷi
Milk kuṟuṇi (8 nāḷi)	= Padakku 2 nāḷi	1 nāḷi	= $2\frac{1}{4}$ nāḷi
Gur 2 palam	= Paddy kuṟuṇi	24 palams	= 1 kalam
Fried curry	= 2 nāḷi		
Ghee Uḷakku	= Paddy Kuṟuṇi	1 nāḷi	= 32 nāḷi or 4 kuṟuṇi
Arecanuts	= 4 nāḷi		
Pots, firewood	= 7 nāḷi		
Lotus flowers	= 4 nāḷi		

100

Compares favourably
 with the price in
 AD 1011 in Gaṅgai-
 koṇḍan

(2) For feeding 15 Sivabramanas @ per individual 2 nāli rice = Rice 3 Kuṟuṇi 6 nāli

Ghee - uri			
Gur palam	Curry 3	Areanut 30	Per Amāvāsyā
Pot		Betel - 30	Kalam - 2 tūṇi - Padakku - 2 nāli
Dhall - 2 nāli	Leaf-curry 1		Per year (assuming 12 Amāvāsyas)
Curd kuṟuṇi	Tamarine	Firewood supplier	22 kalam, 1 padakku, 1 kuṟuṇi
Salt, Server	Pepper	The cleaner of the floor	
		Paddy-husker	

(3) For Sivayōgis

Pot of cooked Rice (Saṭṭi-sōru) -			
Rice	2 nāli		
Pōlkari	5		
Ghee	1 piḍi		
curds			
Salt			
Tamarind			
Pepper			
Areanut	2		
Betel	5		
Cook-server			
Firewood supplier			

per day kuṟuṇi - 2 nāli - per year 37 kalam
- Tūṇi padakku

Interest for 2 kāsu = Mango, plantain 5 per day whenever available.

If fruits are not available, enṇā pūri (baked) and supplied.

C. Ibid 192			
For Pañcagavyam Āttūr	AD 1065	Paddy	
Milk nāḷi	= Paddy 2 nāḷi	1 nāḷi	= 2 nāḷi
Curd : uri	= Paddy 1 nāḷi	1 nāḷi	= 2 nāḷi
Ghee : ulakku	= Paddy 5 nāḷi	1 nāḷi	= 20 nāḷi
			or 2½ kuṟuṇi
Cow's urine	= Paddy uri		
dung			
9 Kalasams of Pūrnakumbham		6 nāḷi paddy	
Cloth for wearing for bath		Paddy, Tūni	
Curds :	2 nāḷi	= 4 nāḷi paddy	
Arecanut	8	= 2 nāḷi paddy	
Betel	32		
For supplying flowers		= 4 nāḷi	
Midā (vessels)	2		
Saffi	4	= 6 nāḷi paddy	
Olomi (laddles)	2		
Firewood		= 1 nāḷi	
Priest		= Kuṟuṇi	
Deposit - 65 kalams of paddy			
interest @ 50%		= 32 kalam - Tūni Padakku	
			Per year 30½ kalams

¼ nāḷi less than in 191
 same rate as in AD 1011
 Lesser rate than in the epigraph
 SI I V/191 above.
 should be inferior quality.

D. ARE 401/1930	Attūr	Vīra Rājendra - 4 AD 1067	Commodity	Paddy	Rate
			Curd 2	= paddy nāḷi uri	
			Ghee for frying curry		
			Ghee for serving		
			Ghee 1 Sevidu		
			Ghee 2 Sevidu		
			Curds - uri	= Nāḷi uḷakku	Per nāḷi = 2 nāḷi, 1 uri
			Ghee Aḷakku	= 1 nāḷi paddy	1 nāḷi ghee = 8 nāḷi paddy or kuḷuni
			Arecanut 2, Betal 8		
			Firewood supplier	= Uḷakku, aḷakku (per day)	Per year 1 kalam - 1 tūni, nāḷi
			Mantra pushpam supplier and water supplier	= Per day Paddy, Padakku 4 nāḷi.	Per year 76 5/24 kalam
E. 439/1984-85			Tolaiyillimangalam		Raj. Kulottunga 1
			Old rice - Padakku	= Paddy (Tūni, Kuruni)	—
			Kuruval (sundry worker) curry	= 3 nāḷi	
			curds 1 nāḷi	= 3 nāḷi	
			Salt & pepper	= 2 nāḷi uri	Rate same as in AD 1067
			Nuts 8, Betel 8	= 3 nāḷi	Uri paddy more than in AD 1011.
			Food served	= 3 nāḷi	
			curry, tamarind curry - 5 varieties	= 1 nāḷi	
			Kummāyam (boiled pulses, greengram, fried curry, leaf curry, peppered baked)		
F. ARE 351/1916			Tiruvāḷisvaram		Mār. Sundara 8 = 1 = 1 = (10)
			Betel 80	= 2 Parṭu - leaves (betel 7)	To be supplied from the Āḷasundaram tope endowed.
			Against Kadamai 8 dramman 7 Plantain clusters per year.	= 40 arecanuts	

G. ARE 301/1910	Alāgarakōṭi	Jat. Kulaśekhara (I) (4 + 4) = 8
Sandal	= Kaḷāṅju	
Camphor	= 4 mā	
Kumkumam	= 2 maṅjādi	
Preparing akil :		
Dhall	= Kuṟuṇi	
Rice	= Kuṟuṇi	
Ghee	= Nāji	
Fried curry	= Ālāṅku ghee	
Curries	= 64 palam	
Gur	= 1 palam	
Pepper	= Uḷakku	
Cummings seeds	= ½ sevidu	
Salt	= Uri	
Betelnut	= 32	
Betel	= 1 bundle	
Food & sandal offerings : for preparing bath - half, other services - 15 kalam		
	Tirunelvēli	Kulaśekhara 13 + 9 = 22
HL (i) SII V/430		
Scale of offerings for Subramanya and his consorts.		
Rice	= Kuṟuṇi	
Curry	= 5 palam	
Pepper	= 2½ sevidu	
Ghee	= Ālāṅku	
Betelnut	= 12	
Betel	= 24	
Lamps - 12	= Ghee uḷakkaḷāṅku	
Every Kārtigai day festival - double the scale		

To defray the expenses :
Land ¾ veli yielding land dues of 60 kalam,
kāsu 3½ in Cōḷa Kēraḷāntaka Cm.

(ii) Ibid/442 For the same deity, for the mid-night, *sēva* To be met from anantarayan dues granted and Karaṇmai rights on 2 makkami land.
 Rice = 2 nāḷi
 For morning service = 2 nāḷi
 4 nāḷi
 Jat. Kulasekhara - 13 + 13

1. SII VIII/444 Tiruccendūr Kollam 650 AD 1474
 Tiruvaḍi charge?

Even in the 15th Century recovery of rice to paddy ratio was 2 : 5
 For bath & festival per day - Paddy (Padukku) 2 nāḷi
 For ten days = 1 1/16 kōṭṭai
 For pots - 1 paṇam per day
 For 10 days - 10 paṇams
 For cook service : per 1 - Rice - 1 measure = 4 nāḷi paddy
 For 10 days : Kōṭṭai ; paṇam 2

(Kaivittari) - 4 nāḷi.
 For 10 days - ¼ kōṭṭai ; paṇam 5.
 Potter (for 10 days) Kōṭṭai 6 mākkāṇi
 Muttāval 4 - per individual 4 nāḷi kōṭṭai 1, paṇam 12
 Garlands - ¼ kōṭṭai
 Three food offerings - 1½ kōṭṭai
 Lamp & Uḷakku oil per day = 7 nāḷi uri paddy
 Evening lamp Ālākku - 3 nāḷi, 3 uḷakku paddy
 Total 11 nāḷi 3 uḷakku = per month 3½ paṇam for 12 months 42 paṇams.
 Curry - Ghee - betel - arecanut and the Sabhaiyār who implement the festival - ½ kōṭṭai
 Total paddy 69 5/8 paṇam 71.

To be defrayed from the Koluvaram yield (after paying off mēlvāram) from lands purchased in Ilamakkulam.

Per kottai of paddy = 4 panam. Paddy for panam 71 = $17\frac{3}{4}$ kottai - Total : Paddy : $87\frac{3}{8}$ kottai

The yield of the endowed ayacut per year

On lease rental basis 180 kottai

Land dues to King 40 " = $22\frac{21}{9}$ of the rental

Balance 140 kottai

For withering &
unyielding

52 $\frac{5}{8}$ The rate of loss should be high

Balance 87 $\frac{3}{8}$ kottai

For the beaon oil, sandal, betel & nuts - the yield of dry & tope lands granted

Note: (i) This detailed account characteristic of Tiruvadi Chief's allocation is given to give a comparative idea of the prices and cost in the period just outside the study period.

(ii) The standard measure is changed from kalam to kottai which is equal to 2 kottai.

V. Land Sale prices

Though numerous inscriptions refer to the sale of land and many give the price paid still there are difficulties in deriving meaningful inferences. The condition of the land sold was often waste and it had to be reclaimed. Tanks has to be repaired. Scrub jungle should have needed clearing. These should have entered into the consideration paid. The extent of the land sold is also not available in many cases. The proportion of land price per se was only a fraction of the total price. The capitalisation for land due payments was in one case 5 times the price of the land per se. In the 22nd year of Kulōttunga I, the *Ūrārs* of Āttūr sold 1 *kāṇi* of land ($\frac{1}{4}$ *mā*) for $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāśu*. But the land tax deposit was 2 *kāśu*, five times the land price per se ; on realising the amount the *Ūrār* agreed to bear the land levies.¹⁶ The soil fertility could have also varied from the river fed to the rainfed tracts. Even in channel-fed ayacuts, the lands near the head-sluice, middle of the command and at the tail-end were distinguished. The coinage too varied from time to time and no derivation of their nexus can be made.

The following are a few typical cases of land of sales.

Table 4

Reference (1)	Place (2)	Character of land (3)	Ruler & date (4)	Price rate (5)
S I. IV/412	Tirunelvēli	River fed	Jat Kulaśēkhara I A.D. 1202	1 <i>mā</i> = 2 <i>kāśu</i>
466/1930	Āttūr	River fed	Mār Kulaśēkhara 5th year	1 <i>mā</i> = 3 <i>accu</i>
465/1930	Āttūr	A sale of habitat and garden in the 7th year of the same reīgn does not reveal the price.		
104/1916	Tirukkaḷakkuḍi	Rain fed	Jat. Sundara 8th year	1 <i>mā</i> = 10 <i>Rāsi paṇam</i>
478/1930	Śēndamaṅalam	–	Tr. Kulaśēkhara	2 <i>mā</i> = 1 <i>Accu</i>
95/1908	Tiruppattūr	Well-irrigated	Kulaśēkhara	50 <i>kāśu</i>

The last purchase was by the Mūlaparudaiyār from a Brahmin. The land had a well to irrigate and presumably the high price paid could attributed to this facility. The extent is not known.

VI. Yield of cows and trees

In an earlier chapter we have noticed how the yield of milch cattle and sheep was poor. It was almost stagnant in the entire period of study from the 9th to 14th

century. The price of sheep and cows also appeared to be low. The reason is not far to seek. The livestock condition was not improved and there was no knowledge of the process for improving it. Further data collected from the epigraphs confirm the observations made earlier.

In Ānaiyūr (Tirumaṅgalam Tk.) in about AD 1022, 16 cows yielded 4 nāḷi ; i.e. 1 cow yielded \cdot nāḷi.¹⁷ In Tiruvālīśvaram in the reign of Mār Vikrama Cōlapāṇḍya, 13 cows were needed to feed 1 lamp,¹⁸ and 25 sheep for \cdot lamp.¹⁹ This last is confirmed by the provision of 100 sheep for 2 lamps in Jet Śrīvellaḅha's time in Tentirupūvanam.²⁰ (AD 1107) In Sēranmādēvi, in the same reign 50 sheep cost 90 dramam i.e. $1 \frac{4}{5}$ Dramam) per sheep (the mēni of the dramam is not given).²¹ In the 2nd year of Jat. Kulaśēkhara, a cow and a calf cost $1\frac{1}{2}$ accu at Mārandai.²²

In Tirumalai (Rāmnād dt.) in the 6th year of Śrī Vallabha in an endowment by the Queen herself, 96 sheep were equated to 30 cows. Adding 70 cows, 100 cows yielded per day 10 nāḷi. Thus 1 cow could give $\frac{1}{10}$ nāḷi or 4 seviḍu of milk.²³ In Tirunelveli for 30 cows endowed the shepyard agreed to deliver ghee at 1 nāḷi and 1 uri.²⁴ in all for anointing on every Aṣṭhāmi day and uri ghee for the Piḷḷaiyār

In Tiruvadavur²⁵ in the reign of Mar. Kulaśēkhara, 132 sheeps could deliver per day uri ghee or 30 sheep yielded 1 ālakku ghee.

The clinching evidence of Pirānmalai of AD 1306.²⁶ (Mar. Kulaśēkhara I) that 6 cows yielded 1 nāḷi, i.e., per cow $\frac{1}{6}$ nāḷi of $6 \frac{2}{3}$ seviḍu is only a marginal improvement over the yield of 4 seviḍu in Tiumalai cited above.²⁶

The yield of mangoes from a tree is recorded in a late inscription of S 1635 in Karuṅgālakkuḍi²⁷. It had taken 9 years for 8 mango trees planted in Vijaya year to yield which it did in Subhakrit.

These data could indicate that both in animal husbandry or horticulture. The level of technology was stagnant for centuries. The stock and their breed being the same was static not was there any possibility of their yield improving over the period 9th to the 14th century. The inference already drawn for an earlier period gets fully confirmed by the conclusive evidence pertaining to these centuries.²⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. I III 106
2. SII V 724
3. 442 / 1930
4. 239 / 1933
5. 218 / 1933
6. 284 / 1923
7. SII V / 439
8. 312 / 1949-50
9. 297 / 1930
10. 455, 456, 460 / 1916
11. 416 / 1916
12. 492 / 1962-3
13. 485 / 1958-59
17. 506 / 62-63
18. S II XIV / 187
19. SII XIV / 196
20. 474 / 1916
21. SII XIV / 209
22. 311 / 1918
23. 51 / 1927
24. SII V / 426
25. 472 / 62-63
26. SII VII / 427
27. ARE 158 / 1973
28. The author could testify from his personal boyhood experience that the yield of gift cows to Prohits in villages, usually for the merit of the deceased, generally was only Ālākku or ulakku milk per day even in the thirtees of this century.

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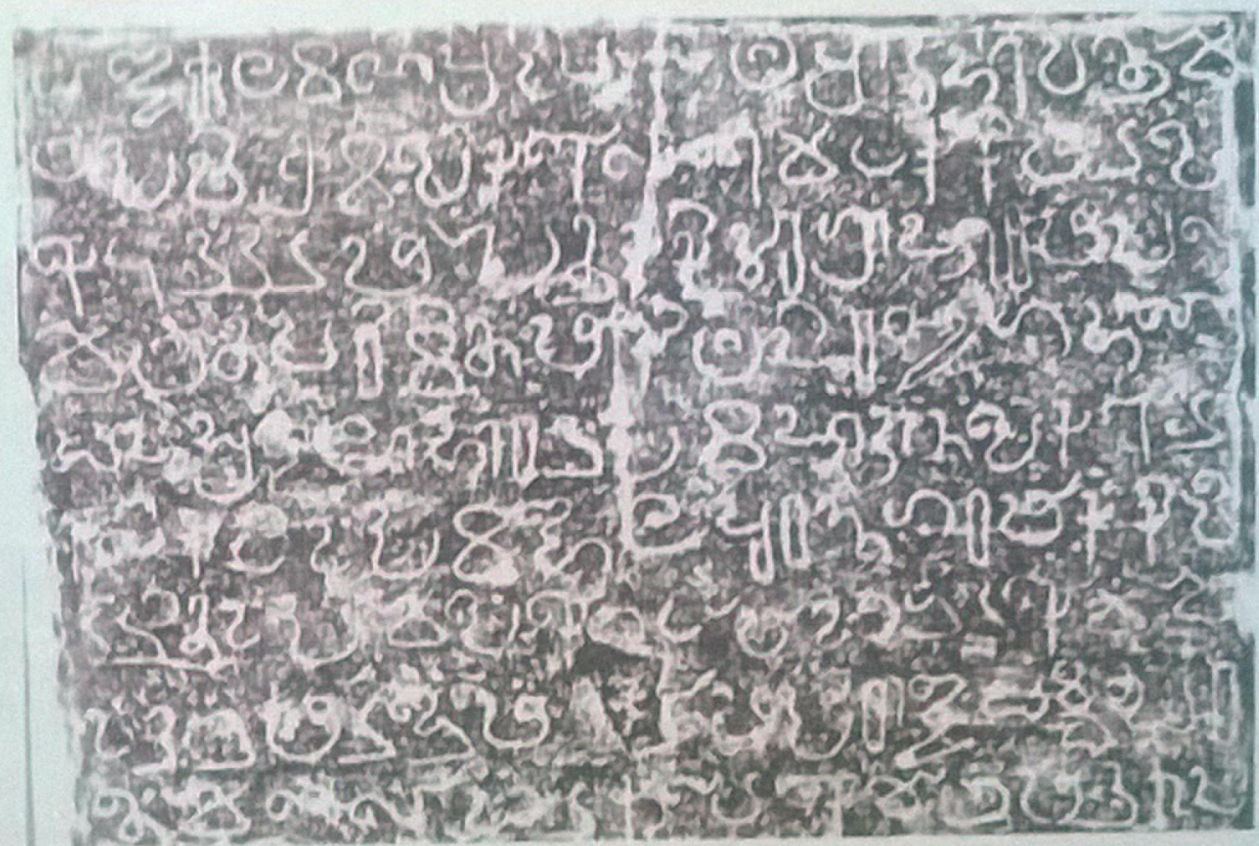


Pandyan Emblem

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THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

PART - II



R. TIRUMALAI
