COLLECTED PAPERS

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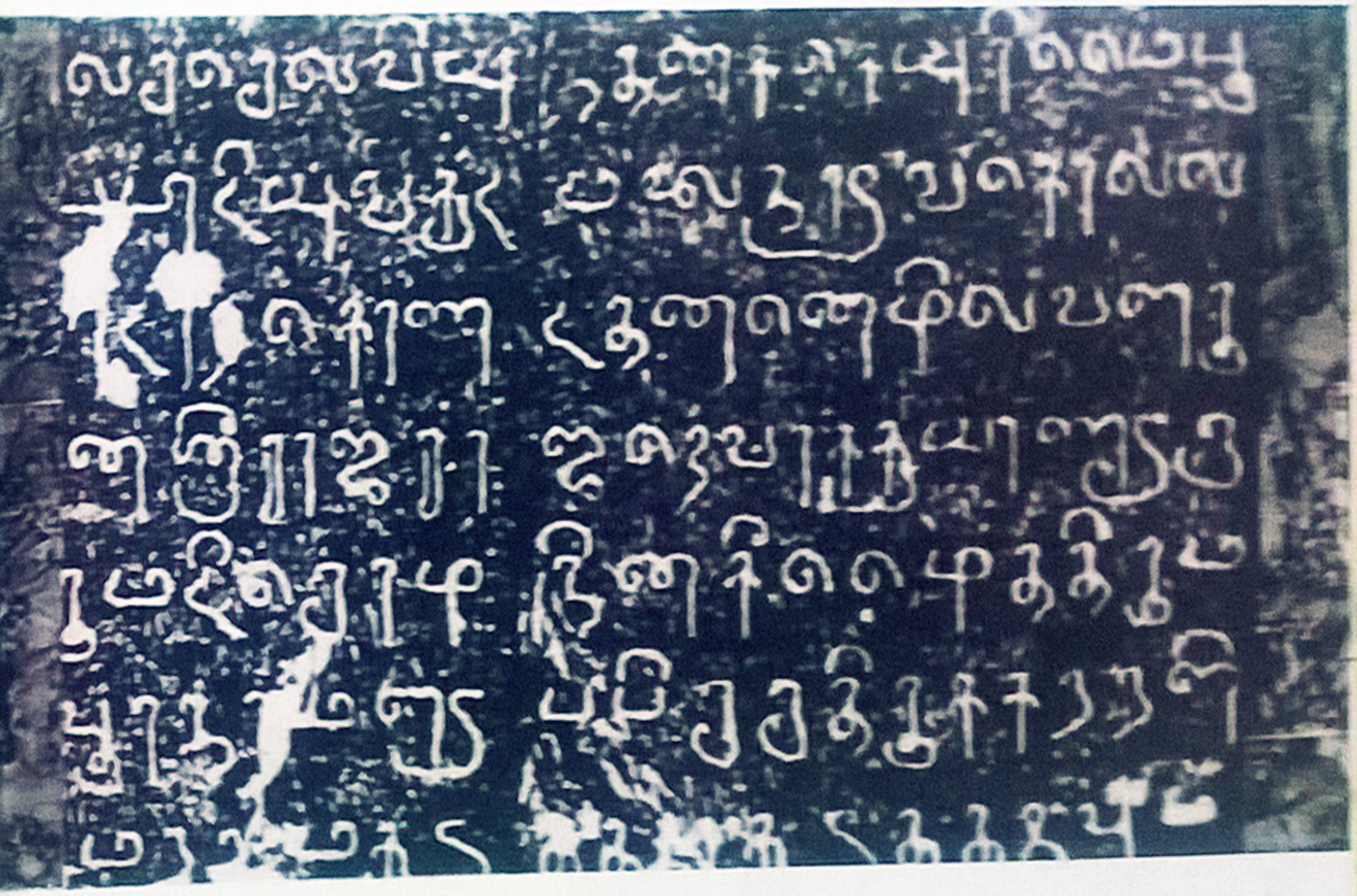
OF LAND ORGANISATION DEVELOPMENT AND ACCOUNTS
AND SELECT CHOLA AND PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS



R. TIRUMALAI

Collected Papers

Studies in South Indian Epigraphy and History

Dedicated

to the Great Epigraphists

past and present

COLLECTED PAPERS

Studies in South Indian Epigraphy

and history of land organisation, development

and accounts and select

CHOLA AND PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

BY

R. TIRUMALAI

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

It is a privilege for this department to have the work of a reputed and well known administrator cum historian, Thiru. R. Tirumalai I.A.S. (Rtd), printed in the departmental press of this department. This department already had the opportunities of publishing his two earlier works namely

(1) Rajendra Vinnagar and

(2) Township Studies in Ancient Pudukkottai

This present work is a collection of his papers contributed on various occasions. The articles relate generally to the Pandya and the Chola periods, particularly to the land transactions and economic conditions of the period. He had analysed all the aspects in detail with erudition and experience, entirely depending on original sources and attempting well-reasoned new interpretations.

He is particularly familiar with the revenue systems of the Chola period as he has thoroughly analysed the epigraphic sources and has made use of his personal experience in the present day revenue administration. As far as Tamilnadu is concerned, as he points out, it still retains some of the old traditions in revenue and land administration. As a doyen of the revenue administration, his career has helped him a lot in making a comparative analysis of the ancient and archaic terms of the Chola period with the present day lingering usages. Each and every article in this book throws fresh light on the fields of reclamation of flood damaged lands and land sub transactions, varieties of land tenures and the interpretation of land grants.

I hope that the world of scholarship would welcome this work which is a scholarly interpretative contribution to historical research. Those who do intensive research on economic conditions and revenue systems under the Chola and the Pandya periods will find it an inspiring work, suggestive of further lines of research.

I thank the author for having kindly placed his work with us for bringing it out as one of the publications of our department. I am sure that

this publication will enhance the achievements and scholarly tradition of this department.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the services rendered by the staff of the Printing Section of this department for bringing out this work well in time.

NATANA. KASINATHAN
Director of Archaeology

PREFACE

My studies in South Indian Epigraphy and history commenced as a Research Fellow under the late Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in 1945-47. I have kept up my studies ever since. This volume as well as my other works fulfil the great Professor's parting wish in 1975 that I should turn my equipment and research into finished products.

This is a collection of a lifetime work on the Chola and the Pandyan Townships, in particular, and on the land organisation, tenures and revenue administration during the period. It gives a cross section of community and land organisation and development in South India. The micro studies should help reformulate the social and economic history of the tract and the times. A number of original interpretations of the terms occuring in the inscriptions have been offered.

All the studies are based on the published and still unpublished inscriptions in the original, This has been facilitated by the munificent assistance I have received from the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust as Nehru Fellow (1983-85). The volume of material gathered by me is too large to be accomodated in the two volumes of "The Pandyan Townships" (done under the Nehru Fellowship) and being published by the Madras University in its "South Indian Historical Research Series". Hence I have adopted the device of individual studies which can be woven into the texture of the work on "The Pandyan Townships". The same methodology has been adopted in respect of my studies on the Townships of the Chola heartland under the ICHR Fellowship (1987-89). The vast *corpus* of unpublished inscriptions were made available to me by the successive Directors of Epigraphy Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Dr. Katti and Sri Sampath, the Chief Epigraphist, Government of India. My grateful acknowledgement of their help and assistance is too deep for words.

Scholars have felt the need for a compilation of these papers severally published as in Feitschifts, and some are unpublished. Hence this volume.

Items 1 to 6 deal with specific aspects of land occupancy and reclamation, sales and revenue accounts of the times. Items 7 to 19 give the history of several Pandyan and Chola Townships. Items 20 to 26 are case studies in political, social and economic conditions of the period. An unpublished copper plate of the last of the Nayaks is edited last.

I am grateful to the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust and the ICHR, for the generous assistance in prosecuting these studies. I am grateful to the

Government of Tamil Nadu and to the State Director of Archaeology for neatly printing and publishing this work. My thanks are due to the various institutions listed which have kindly concurred in the publication of those papers initially contributed but since revised and added in this volume.

My personal thanks are due to Thiru S. P. Elangovan, Secretary, Tamil Development & Culture, Thiru Natana. Kasinathan, the State Director of Archaeology, to Thiru S. Chengalvarayan and his officers for printing this volume with care and diligence, and for assisting me in preparing the Bibliography and the Index.

I must also thank Thiru R. Krishnakumar and Thiru R. V. Seshapani who volunteered secretarial assistance for getting up this volume.

I cannot recompense my wife for all the encouragement and help she gave me in preparing this highly intricate work.

I trust scholars will find use for my effort and the original contribution made.

R. TIRUMALAI

ABBREVIATIONS

1.	ARE	—	Annual Report of Epigraphy
2.	ARIE	—	Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy
3.	ARSIE	—	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy
4.	ASC	—	Archaeological Survey of Ceylon
5.	ASSI	—	Archaeological Survey of Southern India
6.	EC	—	Epigraphia Carnatica
7.	EI	—	Epigraphia Indica
8.	IA	—	Indian Antiquary
9.	ICHR	—	Indian Council of Historical Research
10.	IE	—	Indian Ephemeris - L. D. Swamikkannu
11.	IESHR	—	Indian Economic & Social Historical Review
12.	IJAS	—	International Journal of Asian Studies - 1982
13.	IPS	—	Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State
14.	JESI	—	Journal of Epigraphical Society of India
15.	JIH	—	Journal of Indian History - 1947
16.	KI	—	Kanyakumari Inscriptions - TNAD - Pub.
17.	KSRI	—	Kuppusamy Sastri Research Institute
18.	MCCM	—	Madras Christian College Magazine
19.	PI & IPS	—	Pudukkottai Inscriptions/Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State
20.	PSM	—	Pudukkottai State Manual
21.	SAHER	—	Society for Archaeological Historical & Epigraphical Research 1970
22.	SII	—	South Indian Inscriptions
23.	SITI	—	South Indian Temple Inscriptions - GOML - Pub. (Ed.) T. N. Subrahmanyam
24.	TAS	—	Travancore Archaeological Series
25.	TSR Manual	—	Travancore State Revenue Manual
26.	TTDI	—	Tirumala - Tirupati Devastanam Inscriptions

LAND RECLAMATION OF FLOOD-DAMAGED AND SAND-CAST LANDS-A STUDY IN PRICES, RENTALS AND WAGES IN LATER CHOLA TIMES (FROM A.D. 1070 to A.D. 1210)-BASED ON SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTIONS.

A large number of inscriptions from about the 10th year 1080 A.D., if not earlier[1] to the 48th year 1118 A.D. of Kulottunga-I from Srirangam temple record transactions of reclamation of flood-damaged and sand-cast lands granted as *devadana* to the Srirangam temple. The lands were mainly located in Karaikkudi and Tandurai villages in Vilattur-nadu (sometimes called Vila-nadu for short) and also in Karkudi[2] and Mungilkudi,[3] located on the south bank of the river Cauvery. The grants should have been made even as early as the first half of the 10th century, if not earlier.

The process of reclamation had continued in the reign of Vikrama Chola. But the intensity of effort and the extent involved appear to have diminished in his reign, if the quantum of evidence available is to be of any guide. Some parcels of land still left for reclamation in the south bank of Cauvery as in Chintamani area-which even today is liable to inundation when Cauvery is in floods-were taken up as late as in 1290-91A.D.[4] But the bulk of the reclamation work had been undertaken during the period 1070 to 1135 A.D., in a span of about 65 years.

The reign of Kulottunga-I had witnessed some scrutiny of administration of temple endowments[5] and noteworthy activity in land reclamation, with a view to augment garden and wet lands.[6] Two land surveys were conducted, one in A.D. 1086 and the other in A.D. 1170[7] Presumably, these should have brought to account additional extents of land fit for cultivation, or that were already under cultivation, but not brought to account. They could have also brought to light lands to be reclaimed and utilised for horticulture even if agriculture was not practicable.

In line with this process of land utilisation the reclamation of the *devadana* lands on the south bank of the river Cauvery on an extensive scale is evidenced by a spate of records from Srirangam. Some inscriptions state that the lands were damaged due to the breach in the bund or embankment of the Cauvery river that had occurred some *(Uddesam)* 100 years earlier. Others date the occurrence some 50 years earlier.[8] The lands were sand-cast,

and over-burdened with earth; here and there were depressions *(kuttam)* and all were left uncultivated for ages. Where they were all cultivable, dry-crops like horse-gram and cotton were raised.[9]

From the reference to the Cauvery floods as having occurred some 100 years earlier we might infer that they should have occurred in the middle of the 10th century. Actually there was a big breach of the embankment of the Cauvery river in 937-938 A.D. As a result, the lands in the north-eastern part of Allur village, also on the south bank of the river Cauvery, were sand-cast and damaged. A long and painstaking reclamation activity bit by bit had been undertaken from the time of Parantaka-I tapering off (to infer from the extant evidence) towards the end of the reign of Rajendra-I.[10]

The lands reclaimed in the reign of Kulottunga-I and after lie south - east of Allur. The river flows in embankment and the channels taking off deflect sharply southwards, even today, which could indicate that the gradient or the contour slopes southwards. A narrow strip in between the river and the canal being on a high level-perhaps as much resulting from sand accretion due to floods as causing further damages to the lands lying south could have had the full impact of the velocity of the flood or flash-flows with movement of sand, even in the floods of 937-938 A.D., and could have got worsened by further deposits in subsequent floods.

LOCATION :

The land damaged by floods and taken up for reclamation were in two *devadana* villages-Karaikudi and Tandurai, endowed for kitchen provisions, and food offerings to the deity at Srirangam *(tirumadappalli-puram)*. Bulk of the lands fit for garden were recovered, including some suitable parcels for wet cultivation. The latter were allocated for providing sustenance and support to the gardeners. The gardens so laid were named after the donors or their principals.

From the boundary descriptions the two villages appear to be adjoining each other, almost lying cheek by jowl. To their east and south lay Gudalur village[11] and to their west was the eastern boundary of Paluvur.[12] Paluvur boundary also extended to the north of the damaged lands.[13] The headmen of Paluvur had reclaimed the lands to the west and to the southwest of a parcel reclaimed in Karaikudi.[14] These were located in Vilattur-nadu or Vila-nadu in which the townships of Srirangam and Paluvur lay. Srirangam was on the north bank, and

Paluvur on the south bank of the river. The 'nadu' had extended on either bank of the river, Cauvery flowing in between. Paluvur is identical with Palur in Tiruchirapalli Taluk (village No. 11).[15] Two natives of Karaikudi have made land gifts for offerings in the temple at Paluvur *alias* Rajendra-Chola-nallur, and for singing *Tiruppadiyam* in that temple.[16] In the 39th year of Rajakesari Kulottunga-I (A.D. 1109) at the instance of Chediyarayan lands were gifted as *brahmadeya* to 108 brahmanas in Paluvur.[17]

Gudalur can be identified as the hamlet of the same name lying south, south-east of Kayakudi in Muttarasanpettai village limits (village No. 10) of Tiruchirapalli taluk.

From these locational details, Karaikudi could be identified as Kayakudi, a hamlet lying west-south of Muttarasanallur. The flood-damaged lands were then lying west of the present Elandavattalai channel, taking its bend sharply to the south and in between the Cauvery river bank and the Tiruchirapalli-Karur highway on the north, and Gudalur hamlet to the south. The Karur highway had its Chola precursor in the Konguperuvali mentioned in some inscriptions as the northern boundary of the sand-cast lands.

The total extent of land as far as can be computed from the available data, taken up for reclamation in the reign of Kulottunga-I alone was 55 *veli* (about 350 acres). In the subsequent reigns of Vikrama Chola and his successors, another $8\frac{1}{4}$ *veli* or about 55 acres were sold for reclamation. The recorded evidence accounts in all for about 400 acres of flood damaged lands sold for reclamation (Appendix-I). The total period during which this reclamation activity was in progress had extended from about 1080 to 1209 A.D., in the reign of Kulottunga-III, a time spread of about 130 years.

The lands taken up for reclamation in the reign of Vikrama Chola lay closer to the Konguperuvali, lying to the north of the lands to be reclaimed.[18] It could be inferred that the reclamation work had proceeded from the southern end to the north upto the river-bund. The plots sold for reclamation were often contiguos to the plots already under reclamation or just taken up for it.[19] The plots taken up earlier for reclamation for laying a garden called 'Gunavalli' in the 25th year of Kulottunga-I (1095 A.D.) figured as the boundary for another allocated for reclamation some 15 years later in 1110 A.D. The vendee in the latter case appears to be connected with the vendee in the former.[20] Invariably, plots given as southern boundaries were already reclaimed lands held as gardens or as

wet-lands. The density of sand deposit could have been less at the southern end with the velocity of flow lessening and hence they were comparatively easier to reclaim, and were taken up earlier. The more difficult areas were to the north. Reclamation had proceeded from the south-east to the north-west.

In the later years of Kulottunga-I, the plots sold were surrounded more often by the already reclaimed plots (*vilagam*) endowed as gardens or as wet-lands for maintaining the gardens. In Vikrama Chola's reign the Konguperuvali and Jayangonda-vaykkal occur as the southern boundary of two parcels.[21] As already stated, the Konguperuvali was the precursor of the Tiruchirapalli-Karur trunk road running along the Cauvery river bank. The Jayangonda-vaykkal and the cultivated lands (*vilai nilam*) of Tandurai occur as the southern boundary in a few cases[22] and in others as northern boundary,[23] or both.[24] The Cauvery bund and Konguperuvali occur as the northern boundary of the plots to be reclaimed.[25] These are clear indications that reclamation was being taken up in Vikrama Chola's reign, i.e., in the first half of 12th century, in the lands nearer the channel-heads and the river-bund and the highway on the northern extremities.

The lands had belonged to the deity of Srirangam and were *devadana* in tenure for meeting the kitchen expenses and the food services. They were so damaged by floods and sand-cast that they could not be utilised for any wet cultivation, generally, but only gardens could be raised for the supply of flowers and occasionally also of fruits to the temple. The reclamation work consisted of levelling the lands, digging and depressing the level and raising garden crop. The smaller plots for wet cultivation were far and few between and were far less in extent.

The lands for reclamation were assigned or sold under the orders (*eval*) of the *Srikaryam Adhikarigal*, (the executive officers of the temple).[26] The actual deed was drawn up and attested by six members of *Sri Vaishnava variyam* (a committee of Sri Vaishnavas attending to the temple affairs) together with six other members of *Sri Bhandara variyam* (the committee supervising the temple treasury), the *Sri Vaishnava kanakku* (the accountant for the body of Sri Vaishnavas), and the *Sabha kanakku* of Srirangam (the accountant for the *sabha* or the township organisation of the resident landholding brahmanas of Srirangam)-in all about 16 persons including the temple accountant. This bespeaks for the care taken to ensure the collective responsibility for administering the temple lands and public knowledge that was enjoined, of the conclusions of such transactions, when they were reduced to writing. It is noteworthy that the organisation of the Brahmin township of Srirangam as such (*the sabhayars)* whose existence is referred

to as in No. 29, or of the townships in which the *devadana* lands were located did not figure in the documents, though the sabha accountant of Srirangam was a signatory therein.

The transactions are described as *adaiolai*, or assignment or entrustment for reclamation. The full land value does not appear to have been realised, but only a fee *(tiruttadai* or *adaippukkuli)*[27] or *(tiruttuvilai)*-or price for reclamation of land or (*nila-vilai*)[28] the land price for reclamation. The standard rate for such price was 1 *kasu* per *veli* (or 6.60 cents) of land. Consideration seems to have been paid to the reclamation cost, and expenses and hence the concessional price of 1 *kasu*.[29] If the land was already reclaimed *(palan-tiruttu)*, the rate was doubled, at 2 *kasu* per 1 *veli*.[30]

Some idea of the exchange value of *diramam* to a *kasu* could also be had as it had obtained in the 40-42nd year of the reign of Kulottunga-I. 220 *diramam* were paid for 4 *veli* of land in Karaikkudi which were sand-cast. (11.20-21 of No. 93). One *veli* then was priced at 55 *diramam*. If the lands were identical with other sand-cast lands sold for reclamation-as they appear to be from the rate of rental fixed at 8 *kalams* per *veli* as for dry lands - 55 *diramam* could be taken to be the exchange-equivalent for 1 *kasu*, the normal price taken for such lands sold for reclamation.[31]

The persons to whom the lands were entrusted were not themselves the cultivators, but were the benefactors or the donors. There is a distinct reference to the actual tenders of the garden, or those in-charge of it. Some of whom might have, themselves, been the gardeners providing their own labour. These were the *dasars* or the non-brahmin Vaishnavite devotees of the temple. Some others were temple service holders. The temple authorities themselves cited the persons who were to be incharge of the garden in the sale deed often.[32]

The responsibility of those undertaking the reclamation was to apply their capital, engage labour, remove the sand and earth, depress the level and make the lands fit for raising flower-gardens or orchards. They could also cultivate, where feasible, the lands with wet-crops and appropriate the paddy for maintenance and wages of the labour engaged in attending to the garden. Where this was not feasible, alternative parcels already under wet cultivation or suited therefor were purchased or assigned.

A rental *(kadamai)* (in lieu of assigned revenue) of 8 *kalams* per *veli*, a rate prevailing as for dry-lands, was stipulated to be paid by the reclaimer to

the temple, the *devadana* land-holder. Exceptionally, it was specified at 7 *kalams*[33] or at $7\frac{3}{4}$ *kalams* per *veli*.[34] Half of this quantum was to be delivered at the temple after the first crop was harvested, and the other half after the second.[35] The rate was again concessional. It is sometimes termed as dues for *svami-bhogam*, or the share due to the land-holder.[36]

The residual part of *irai (irai-migudi,)*[37] that is of the assigned land dues from the lands, was to be utilised for maintaining the gardeners or the tenders of the orchards.

Where composite sales had occurred, comprising cultivable wet-lands and reclaimed dry or sand-cast lands, the total grain dues as *irai* have been fixed at a higher level. The excess over 8 *kalams* per *veli* was perhaps attributable to the yield-share from the wet-lands.[38]

Sometimes, the garden proper was located at Srirangam island. But the lands for the support of the gardeners and the maintenance of the garden *(tirunandavanappuram)* were sold from out of the sand-cast lands, on the south bank of the river, in Tandurai.[39]

In some cases, the rental was stipulated to be delivered in the form of flowers,[40] or a portion of the fruit-yields were claimed.[41] The excess over the *Kadamai* was utilised in some cases for special offerings to the deity,[42] or for feeding Sri Vaishnavas, or for special festivals and in one case for running a dairy *(Surabhi-vilagam)*. The rate of levy was higher for arecanut grown on the river *padugai* than for the arecanut grown on the dry up-lands (No. 123).

In a few cases, a moratorium of five years or less was provided,[43] so that the actual process of reclamation might be completed and the lands brought to beneficial yield within that period. During such moratorium, the full yield was allowed to be appropriated by the reclaimer himself *(murruttu-undu)*.[44] The payment of the *irai* at the optimal level was postponed to a crop year after the expiry of the moratorium to synchronize with the time of full yield. The labourers or the gardeners were given the hereditary occupancy rights on the land for themselves and their heirs *(vargattar)*. But there were instances when the gardens endowed were ineligible for sale or for making usufractory mortgage of and if these were transgressed the vendees who acquired the garden were to forfeit their acquired property rights.[45]

LABOUR AND WAGES

The labour provided for reclaiming the lands (?) and mantaining the gardens generally worked out at one person for ½ *veli* (3 acres and 30 cents).[46] This should be taken as the requirement for maintenance. The actual reclamation of the land would have required a lot more of labour to be deployed.

The wages for the gardeners were normally one *kuruni* of paddy per day, per head plus a capital deposit of two gold *kasu* (*Por kasu*) per head, the proceeds of which were adequate for the annual clothing to be supplied.[46] From 1090 A.D. or so, this cash deposit for annual supply of clothing *(pudavai mudal)* became reduced to 1 *kasu*. If a rate of interest of about 20·/. to 25·/. was presumed the yield of 0·4 or 0·5 *kasu* was adequate for the annual supply of clothing - of a dhoti or two per labourer per year. Sometimes, the grain component of wages was higher at *kuruni* and 4 *nali* per head.[47] The labourers *(kudi)* were free from the obligations attached to the tenantry or the cultivators - of (a) contributing free labour *(vetti)* or (b) physical labour at the palace or the temple and such obligations; sometimes they were even relieved of the obligations (c) to keep a watch over the river bund *(kulaikappu, kaval)* and (d) to contribute labour for strengthening the earthwork embankment for Cauvery river and (e) for clearing the channels (of silt) at the time of freshes and (f) to put up a Korombo work across the river to divert water into the supply channel. But these were not uniform. Specific reservation of the obligations (c), (d) and (e) had been made. These were enjoined in a few cases, on the cultivators and garden tenders despite the arduousness of the reclamation work and maintenance.[48] The maintenance of the security of the river embankment and clearing the channels of silt were of paramount importance and could not admit of any indifference.

The progress of reclamation and the course of the direction it had been taking as gleaned from the inscriptional evidence has already been delineated. Portions of the lands already reclaimed or under enjoyment were excluded, six *ma* in one case, and the charge was on the remaining nine *ma* and *mukkani*. If an earlier assignee had not reclaimed the land or did not require it, the parcels were resumed and granted to another. In the instant case, the stipulation was 200 lotuses were to be supplied daily *(nittam)* to the deity at Srirangam. To maintain the labour engaged in picking and supplying them the excess over the rentals or *kadamai* had to be utilised. The 2 *ma kilarai* of wet-land was priced at 6 *kasu*; the 9 *ma* of garden land cost only 1 *kasu*-in all 7 *kasu*.[49]

SECTION-II

Inscriptional evidence throws up interesting data on the comparison of the level of price of paddy, and of the wages and the changes that had occurred therein during this period.

PRICES OF LAND

The price of land sold by Srirangam temple from out of the *devadana* grants could be compared with the private sale of lands in the same location. Secondly, the land-values of *devadana* lands situated on the south bank, and those on the north bank of the Cauvery river would also be revealing.

PRIVATE SALE AND DEVADANA SALES

In the 45th year of Kulottunga - I, A.D. 1115, a Brahmin lady, the wife of . . . . . Taya-nambi piran and daughter of an Athreya-gotra Brahmin, Damodaran Narayanan, by name Sri Andal Sani, sold for a big garden 6 *ma* of land in several parcels to some Sri Vaishnavas, including Tiruvengada Pichchar and another. (The location of this land is unfortunately not available in line 10 of the published epigraph) The price was 23/80 *kasu*, i.e., its works out to almost one *kasu* per *veli*.[50]

Sales of other lands in different locations are set out in Appendix-III. It could be inferred that the prices of garden lands of *devadana* tenure on the northern bank of Cauvery, especially so within Srirangam island, were higher, particularly when there was a well within, which could be of avail for baling water in summer months. The price gets weighted if there were yielding trees in the garden lands. Of course, the wetlands were far more valuable then the garden lands. The flood damaged sand-cast lands on the south bank, extensive as they were, were priced at one *kasu* per *veli*; regard being paid to the reclamation cost. The possible recurrence of such floods could also be a damper.

In 1156 A.D. Kodai Ravivarman, the Kerala ruler, donated cash for a lamp-service. There was reluctance explicitly stated that if the cash were invested on land, when the lands were damaged, the service could not be kept up. But if the cash was deposited in the temple treasury, the proceeds could be utilised for permanently maintaining the service.[51]

WAGES THROUGH THE AGES

Some idea could be formed of the wage level for the gardeners during the Chola times, from the time of Uttama Chola to the reigns of Kulottunga-I and Vikrama Chola and Rajaraja-III and also, for

comparison, the wages obtaining at Chidambaram some 120 years later during the time of Kopperunjinga. They are tabulated in Annexure-V. The inferences are as follows: The ratio of a supervisor to the number of workers had varied from 1:17 to 1:24. The dairy attendants got wages in between a gardener and a supervisor, in terms of clothing, though the grain wages were the same, or sometimes higher.

There was a rise in wages from the time of Uttama Chola to the first part of the reign of Kulottunga-I (i.e., 1090 A.D.). The wages in terms of capitalisation for the supply of clothing had however, halved from the 21st year of Kulottunga-I (i.e., from 1090 A.D.) and the trend had continued during Vikrama Chola's time. Both grain wages, and capital requirement for annual clothing supply had got doubled from that level some 120 years later, (i.e., 1246-60 A.D.).[52]

It could be inferred that from 1090 A.D., the interest yield on one *kasu* was adequate to procure the requisite clothing for the gardener; prior to that date double that quantum was necessary. Logically, either the interest rate which was usually as high as 20-25 percent should have doubled for the deposit quantum to come down to half. Alternatively, the price of cloth should have come down to half. It is not conceivable that the supply rate of clothing could admit of 50 percent reduction. Of the two possibilities, the price of cloth should have altered more favourably for the consumer, perhaps due to better availability and production. This trend had continued in the reign of Vikrama Chola as well. The cloth price should have risen to its earlier level by the middle of the 13th century. It is presumed the variety of the cloth was the same in this period.

MOVEMENT OF PRICE OF PADDY

A third economic trend is the movement of paddy to *Kasu* ratio and it can be viewed in juxtaposition with the trends in wages. The number of *kalams* sold per *kasu* that can be gleaned from inscriptions is set out in Annexure-V. The following inferences are plausible:

Paddy was cheaper in Uttama Chola's time (*10 kalams*) than in the time of Rajaraja-I and his successors including Virarajendra (*8 kalams*). This seems to be the case even in the southern parts of Chola empire in Rajaraja's time where *7 kalams* could be had for one *kasu* at Gangaikondan (Tirunelveli District).[53] In the hey-day of the Chola empire, paddy-availability per *kasu* was far less than in the earlier or the later periods. By the reign of Kulottunga-I, paddy could be had at

the same level (*10 kalams*) per *kasu* as in Uttama Chola's time. In the latter half of his reign, it was even cheaper (*13 kalams*) than in the earlier half, in some locations as at Alangudi (Thanjavur District). But by 1259 A.D., 1½ times the quantum of paddy could be had per *kasu* (*15 kalams*) than what was obtainable in the earlier half of Kulottunga's reign. Strangely, grain was cheaper at the time of the decline of the Cholas than in their hey-day. The season and crop condition, and availability of grain in any particular year and specific locality would account in part for this fluctuation, and unless these details are filled in, the contours of economic trends are apt to be puzzling.

Making allowance for all possible variables, it still stands out that at a time when paddy was cheaper as in the mid-13th century, the wages had doubled. Wages had increased even at times when the price of paddy had declined to the consumer's advantage. The former had occurred despite or should we say, because of the latter. The increase in grain wages generally from 986 to 1131 A.D. was from 6 *nali*, to 8 *nali*, a rise of 33-1/3 percent, if one could compare the rates in Chingleput and in Thanjavur; perhaps in 986 A.D. labour was cheaper in Kachchipedu (Kancipuram) than in Thanjavur, but in the Cauvery delta and the riverine tract, they were constant at one *kuruni* per day. It had occasionally increased also (1½ *kuruni*) to 12 *nali* per day in the period 1070 to 1098, but had settled at one *kuruni* again from 1099 to 1131 A.D. In the mid 13th century, grain wages have increased by 100 percent, when paddy prices had got depressed by 50 percent. Cheaper grain availability would not necessarily guarantee a concomitant lowering of wages. If grain-*kasu* ratio was elastic, so were the wages; not merely in terms of grain, but the interest yield required for annual supply of clothing. The price of cloth seems to harden at a time when grain availability was cheaper in the mid-13th century, a trend which was somewhat of a contrast in the mid-12th century.

While paddy prices had become further depressed, the cloth prices had increased as between the periods 1090 to 1135 A.D and 1246-60 A.D. The price per unit of supply in terms of interest yield on cash deposits had doubled. In any event, a gardener in the mid-13th century should have been better fed, but not better clothed than his counterpart at any earlier time. On the whole, a long stability in wage level had continued from 978 to 1090 A.D. The wages had somewhat become cheaper thereafter for about half a century. But about 125 years later, the wage levels had risen sharply, almost doubled.

These are pointers to the areas for further investigation into the economic trends of the Chola and the Pandya times. The composite and complex economy of the times had a substantial part of the transactions made in grain, and it would imply grain performing the function of money. Could it be, then, that if grain was cheaper, wages would have risen, not commensurately, but even more elastically ? Was it because the grain was cheaper though, but demand for labour was far more, the rate of increase in wages for labour had been higher than the rate of decrease in the price of paddy? Only further patient collection of data and analysis can provide answers to these questions.

ANNEXURES

Annexure I. The extent of land reclaimed and the names of *srikaryam* Officials.

Annexure II. The extents of land reclaimed in Srirangam, and the number of workers and the wages.

Annexure III. Prices of land sold at different dates and locations.

Annexure IV. Wage levels in the Cauvery-Coleroon delta at different periods.

Annexure V. Price-movement of paddy.

Note

The data marshalled in Section II are necessarily based on sampling of available data, and as such are subject to the limitations inherent in such sampling. These limitations are sought to be mitigated, to some extent, by drawing the sampling data from a restricted localised area with homogeneous tract-characterestics. The data, as presented, are hence pointers to some tendencies and at this stage the inferences should be treated as hypotheses, subject to further detailed check with fuller data, if they can be had from identical source-material. In any investigation, it follows that the stage of formulation of hypotheses could well be a cross-road with even contradictory or subaltern possibilities being met with.

Annexure-I

TOTAL EXTENT OF RECLAMATION SALES EVIDENCED BY THE SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTIONS AND THE CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SRIKARYAM OFFICIALS

Reference to inscription no. in *S.I.I.* Vol. XXIV	Reign-date	A.D.	Extent	*srikaryam* Official
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
27	Kulottunga I	N.A.	N.A. 1½ *veli*	Ilakkantirattu Sankara-narayana Bhattan
28	-do- (6) cultivable land *(vilai nilam)*	1076	9-3/80 *ma* 2-1/640 *ma* (6 *kasu*)	Nishadarajar -do-
29	-do-	N.A.	N.A. 1¼ *veli*	N.A.
30	-do-	-do-	N.A. 1¼ *veli* ¾ *sey.*	Devar Velar's orders
31	-do-	N.A.	½ *veli* 3 *ma*	N.A.
32	-do-	N.A.	N.A. 1¼ *veli*	Adhikarigal Arkattu . . . . .
33	-do-	N.A.	N.A. N.A.	N.A.
34	-do-	N.A.	N.A. ½ *veli* wet-land 1/8 *veli* (*l* ·8)	Muvenda-velar
35	-do-	N.A.	N.A. 1 *veli* 14½ *ma*	(Naraya)na Bhattar
36	-do-	N.A.	N.A. 1½ *veli*	*Srikaryam* Narayana Bhattar
37	-do-	N.A.	N.A. 1 *veli*	N.A.
38	-do-	N.A.	N.A. 5/8 *veli*	N.A.
39	-do-	N.A.	N.A. ¾ *veli*	N.A.
42	-do-	N.A.	N.A. 2 *veli* (*l* ·11)	N.A.
44	-do-	N.A.	N.A. 2 *ma*	Nishadarajar
49	-do-	yr. 13 (?)	(1083) N.A.	Sirilango Bhattar
51	-do-	yr. 10	1080 1½ *veli*	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
54	Kulottunga I	yr.13-14- 231 day)	1084 2 *veli*	Karipurattu Anantanarayana Bhattar
55	-do-	y. 13	1083 1½ *veli*	Karipurattu . . . .
58	-do-	15	1085 6 *veli*	Nishadarajar
59	-do-	15	1085 1 *ma*	Nishadarajar
61	-do-	15	1085 ½ *veli*	Adhikarikal Nishadarajar
62	-do-	15	1085 1 *veli* & 2½ *ma*	
64	-do-	19	1089 2 *veli*	Karipurattu (Naraya)na Bhattar
65	-do-	20	1090 1 *veli*	Adhikarikal Viravichchadira Muvendavelar
67	-do-	21	1091 1 *veli*	Chola sikhamani
68	-do-	22	1092 ½ *veli*	(I)svara Kulakala Brahma marayar
69	-do-	24	1094 1¼ *veli*	Adhikarikal Vira Chola Muvendavelar
72	-do-	25	1095 ½ *veli* + ²/₁ *ma*	Rajendra Muvendavelar
77	-do-	31	1101 1½ *veli*	Alatturudaiyar
78	-do-	32	1102 1½ *veli*	
79	-do-	32	1102 2 *veli*	
83	-do-	38	1108 7/1 *veli*	N.A.
84	-do-	39	1109 NA	Nedunjerikkudaiyan Bhuvani Narayana muvendavelan
85	-do-	39	1109 ½ *veli*-1 *ma*	Adhikarikal Bhuvani Narayana Muvendavelan
86	-do-	40	1110 1 *veli*	Narayana Muvendavelan
87	-do-	40	1110 ½ *veli*	Vichchadira Muvendavelan

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
88	Kulottunga I	40	1110	¼ *veli*	Nedunjerikkudaiyan Bhuvani Narayana Muvendavelan
91	-do-	41	1111	4 *veli*	Parthivendra Brahmadi-rajan
92	-do-	41	1111	1¼ *veli*	Parthivendra Brahmadi-rajan
93	-do-	41	1111	4	-do-
95	-do-	41	1111	3½ *ma*	
96	-do-	42	1112	½ *veli* + 2 *ma*	Parthivendra Brahmadi-rajan
98	-do-	42	1112	2½ *veli*	Sabha sold the land
99	-do-	43	1113	6 *ma*	Talaichchengadu Sirilango Bhattar
100	-do-	44	1114	N.A.	Adhikarikal Nittavinoda mu(vendavelan)
102	-do-	44	1114	¼ *veli*	Nittavinoda muvenda velar
103	-do-	45	1115	¾ *veli*	N.A.
104	-do-	45	1115	6 *ma-kale araikkani*	N.A.
108	-do-	48	1118	6 *ma*	N.A.
110	Vikrama Chola				Pulivalam . . . . .
111	-do-	3	1211	1 *veli*	Visayalaya Vilupparayar
112	-do-	3	1121	¼	-do-
113	-do-	8	1126	1 *veli*	. . . Valava narayana muvenda velar
114	-do-	8	1126	3 *makani*-8 *kasu*	Both are same transaction·
115	-do-	8	1126	3 *makani*-North of Cauvery	Private transaction.
116	-do-	10	1128	2 *kasu* = 2 *veli*	N.A.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
117	Vikrama Chola 10	1128	—	(puli . . . ?) Pulivalam udaiyan velar Tiruvaykkulamudaiyan *alias* Valavanarayana muvendavelan
118	-do-	yr. 12	1130	1 *veli* (*l* ·33) $\frac{3}{4}$ Raja vichchadara Brahmadirayar Naravichchadara Brahmadirayar
119	-do-	13	1131	1 *veli* (*l* ·20) -do-
120	-do-	15	1131	$\frac{3}{4}$ *veli* -do-
121	-do-	15	1133	N.A. (*kasu* 40) Tiruvala nattu Manadudaiyar
122	-do-	16	1134	about $7\frac{1}{2}$ *veli* private sale in Allur Tiruvadakkudi
123	Kulottunga II	7	1140	For planting arecanut and coconut-confer 147, Kulottunga II
124	Kulotunga II	11	1144	(1000 *kuli* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *veli*) north of Cauvery-south Tiru Vettaikkelundarulum Tiruvidi The street by which the deity passes for the hunt.
126	Rajaraja-II	11	1157	2 *ma* *kasu* 1700
146	Kulottunga III	32	1210	15 *veli* = 15,000 *kasu* Including land in Tandurai Karaikudi (*l* ·6)
				1 *veli* = 1000 *kasu* 1000 *kasu* = 1 old *kasu* (?)
152	Rajaraja	32	1216	$2\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* = 15000 (acc.) *kasu* North-east of Tiruvarangam

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
153	Rajaraja III	21	1237	400 *kuli*

Somala-desigar 50000 *kasu* for garden and for land for the maintenance of gardens.

4 *ma*+2 In Tirukkurai parru Tennolukku.

8 *ma* = 20,000

3 *veli* of land for maintenance = 30,000 *at* 10,000 per *veli* 10000 = 1 *veli* ?

COMPARISON OF RATES OF LEVY OF ARECANUT AND PLANTAIN:

SII., 123, Kulottunga II, 7th year (1140 A.D.)—

Kadamai	Arecanut:		*SII. 147., 35th year of Ku. III (1212A.D.)*
(i) in river-bed	1st year per tree	100	Per *veli* Paddy
(Agavarril)	2nd year	200	
	3rd year	300	1 *veli* – 100 *kalam* each x 2 crop
	4th year	400	"*vambu* payir" – 50 *kalam*
(ii) *Kollai*	1st year	80	(unsetted cultivation)
	2nd	120	Reclaimed year = ¼
	3rd	240	2nd year ½
	4th	300	3rd year ¾
			4th year Full
15 for 1000			*Kamuku* = 2000 trees per *veli*; 400 nuts per tree
			Veli = 3,000 plantain.
			mango trees = 2 *kasu* per *ma*
			coconut trees = 2 *kasu* per *ma*

Annexure-II

THE EXTENT OF LAND RECLAIMED IN SRIRANGAM, NUMBER OF WORKERS, WAGES

No.	Extent	No. of persons	Paddy	Wages Cloth-capital	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
27	1½	3	*Kuruni* per day per head	2 *kasu* cloth capital	
28	9·3/80 *ma*	2	*kuruni*, 4 *nali*	2 *kasu*	For collecting flowers
30	1¼ *veli*	2	*kuruni* per day	2 *kasu*	Reading in 1 . . . 10 as per *tuni* 2 per year appears to be wrong; should be per day,
31	½ *veli*; 3 *ma*	2	*kuruni* per day per head		
32	1¼ *veli*	2	unclear		
36	1½ *veli*	3	*kuruni* per head	2 *kasu*	
51	1½	3	4 *kuruni*		
54	2 *veli*	4	*kuruni* 4 *nali*	2 *kasu*	For work in dairy gardens
		2	*kuruni* 4 *nali*		
55	1½ *veli*	2	*kuruni* for 1	2 *kasu*	
64	2½ *veli*	5	N.A.	2 *kasu*	
67	1 *veli*	N.A.	*kuruni* per head per day	1 *kasu*	
72	1½ *ma*	—	N.A.	1 *kasu*	
77	1 *veli*	4	N.A.	1 *kasu*	
83	7/8 *veli*	3	*kuruni* per head per day	1 *kasu*	
88		4			
91	4 *veli* (32 *kalam* at 8)		N.A. (*l*.14)	1 *kasu*	
92	1¼	3	—	1 *kasu*	
96	½ *veli*-2*ma*	2	—	1 *kasu*	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
99	6 *ma*	2 *kuruni* per head	1 *kasu*	
102	¼ *veli*	2 *kuruni*	1 *kasu*	
108	6 *ma*			
	6 *makani*	1(?) *kuruni*	1 *kasu*	
112	¼	*kuruni*	1 *kasu*	1 *kasu* = 10 *kalam*
119	1 *veli*	3 1-1-1/3 *nali*	1-1/6 *kasu* (3½ *kasu* for 3)	
121	N.A.	*kuruni*		
124	½ *veli*	5		
153	8 *ma*	4 *Mukkuruni*		But no cloth capital indicated

Average worker can take ½ *veli* for maintenance of gardening?

Annexure–III

LAND–PRICES IN SRIRANGAM

sl. NO. *SII.*, vol. XXIV)	Reign and Date	Location	Classification	Extent	Price	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
104	Kulottunga I, 1115 A.D.	45 N.A.	Garden	6 *ma*	*kale-mukkani* a brahmin lady *kasu*	Private sale by
107	-do-yr. 47 1117 A.D.	Tiruvaranga-nallur Madhurantaka-chaturvedi-mangalam	wet-land *kadu nilam*	7½ *ma* 4 *veli*	2 *kasu*	Temple sale
108	Kulottunga I, 1118 A.D.	48 Karaikudi Tandurai(?)	Garden to be re-claimed	6 *ma*	6 *makani kasu*	-do-

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
114	Vikrama Chola I yr. 8 (1126 A.D.)	In Srirangam Island- *(Tennarrukku vadakku)*	Garden fully established	3½ *ma*	8 *kasu*	private sale
115	-do-	(also with a well)	(A fully reclaimed well laid garden land).			
122	Vikrama Chola I yr. 16, 1134 A.D.	Tiruvadakkudi (a *brahmadeyam*) forming part of Allur.	Wet land	1/16 *veli* (1 *veli*=240 *kasu*)	15 *kasu*	Private sale
124	Kulottunga II, 11th year 1144 A.D.	Within Srirangam Island	For laying a garden	1000 *kuli*= ½ *veli*	30 *kalanju* of gold	Temple sale
126	Rajaraja II 11th year 1157 A.D.	Within Srirangam Island *Tirukkuraipparru-Vada volugu* (northern side)	Already established garden	200 *kuli*= 2 *ma*	17000* *kasu* (Deposit for gardens 13 *pon*)	Private sale
134	Kulottunga III yr. N.A.	Within Srirangam Island	-do-	50 *kuli* =½ *ma*	N.A.	Private sale for plantain and coconut planting)
146	-do- yr. 32, 1210 A.D.	Lands both within Srirangam Island and in Tandurai and Karaikudi sandcast waste lands.	Some laid gardens, others to be reclaimed	15 *veli*	15000* *kasu*	Could it be the old gold *kasu*=1000 new *kasu*?
152	Rajaraja III yr. 8 f. 1 (1225 A.D.)	*Tirukkuraipparru* in Srirangam	Already established garden	2½ *ma*	10,500 *kasu*	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
153	Rajaraja III 21st yr. 1237 A.D.	*Tirukkuraip-parru*- southern side towards west	Garden already laid Wet-land for maintenance of gardeners.	400 *kuli* : 4 *ma* × 2 8 *ma*. 3 *veli*	20,000 *kasu* 30,000 *kasu*	
156	Rajaraja III 23rd yr. (1239 A.D.)	*Tirukkurai-padi olugu*	Garden	2 *ma*	$8\frac{3}{4}$ *kasu*	
160	Rajaraja III 26th yr. 1242 A.D.	*Tirukkuraip-parru* - northern side	Garden	Kol. 2	1000 *kasu*	
191	Pandya Manabharana	*Tirukkuraip-parru* southern side	Garden	2 *ma*	10,000 *kasu*	Private sale
208	Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II 1290-91 A.D.	Alagiya-manavala chaturvedi-mangalam	Garden	1000 *kuli* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *veli* plus 800 *kuli* plus 700 *kuli* = 1500 *kuli*	200 *panam* for 1000 *kuli* 120 *panam* for sandywaste.	

Note: As already set out in the text, invariably the sand-cast flood damaged lands in Karaikudi and Tandurai on the south bank of Cauvery river were sold at 1 *kasu* per *veli* in the time of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola, for reclamation.

Annexure–IV

WAGE LEVELS FROM THE TIME OF UTTAMA CHOLA TO KOPPERUNJINGA AT DIFFERENT LOCATIONS IN THE COLEROON–CAUVERY DELTA.

Date	Location	Wages in Kind	Cash Deposit	Remarks	Reference
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Uthama Chola 8th year 978 A.D.	Koneriraja puram	one *kuruni* per day including clothing	Nil	(6 *nali* for food: 2 *nali* for clothing)?	*SII.*, Vol. III, 151-A

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Uttama Chola 14th year 984 A.D.	Govinda-puttur (near Udayar-palayam)	one *kuruni*	1 *kasu*	One woven fabric : $\frac{1}{4}$ *pon*. At 25·/. interest. 1 *kasu* could give $\frac{1}{4}$ *pon* for clothing	*SII*., Vol. XIX, 357
Parakesari, 15th yr. 985 A.D.	Sembiyanma-devi.			Price of cloth :3 pieces : 3-3/20.	XIX, 380
Parakesari, 16th yr. 986 A.D.	Madras Museum plates Kachchi-pedu	6 *nali*	1 *kalanju* for 2 or 1 *kasu* for clothing	1 *kasu* = $7\frac{1}{4}$ *narakkan* $\frac{1}{4}$ *kasu* per *pudavai*	*SII* III No. 128
Kulottunga I 1070-98 A.D. (pl. see Annex. II)	Srirangam	1 *kuruni* (occasionally 1 *kuruni*, 4 *nali*)	2 *kasu*	Please see Annex. II for details.	
Kulottunga I and Vikrama 1090-1131 A.D.	Srirangam	3 *kuruni*	1 *kasu*		
Rajaraja III year (21) 1247 A.D.	Srirangam	3 *kuruni*	No cash deposit for cloth		
Kopperunjinga* 1246-1260 A.D.	Chidambaram	*Padakku* 2 *kasu*		For supervision and garden planting (No. 56)	
	-do-	3 *kuruni*	3 *kasu*		
		Padakku	$1\frac{1}{2}$ *kasu*	Dairy attendants (54)	

Ratio of supervisors to workers had varied from 1:17 to 1:22.

*For details, please see below :

CHIDAMBARAM

Reference	Year	work-force	per day Paddy	per day cloth	Each Rate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
SII., VIII 53	3rd year, 81st day 1246 A.D.	48 workers 9 supts. —— 50	*Padakku* 3 *kuruni* per day	2 *kasu* 3 *kasu*	1 *kasu*=15 *kalams* for funding per individual

1 supt. : 24 workers.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
54	3rd year 1246 A.D.	1 shepherd for 150 cows	*Padakku*	1½ *kasu* funding	
55	16th year 1259 A.D.	95 workers 5 supts. 19 workers per superintendent	*Padakku* 3 *kuruni*	2 *kasu* 3 *kasu*	
56	16th year 228 day 1260 A.D.	34 workers 2 *nayakam* 2 garden planters 38	*Padakku* 3 *kuruni* 3 *kuruni*	2 *kasu* 3 *kasu* 3 *kasu*	

Annexure–V

PRICE MOVEMENT OF PADDY

Reign and Period	Location	Price Movement	Reference
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Uttama Chola 984 A.D.	Govindaputtur (Tiruchirapalli)	10 *kalams* per *kasu*	*SII.*, XIX, 357
Rajaraja I 1006 A.D.	Tiruppugalur (Thanjavur Dt.)	8 *kalams* per *kasu*	68 of 1928
Vira Rajendra 5th yr, 348th day 1069 A.D.	Tirumukkudal (North Arcot Dt.)	8 *kalams* per *kasu* (16 per *kalanju*)	182 of 1915
Kulottunga I Date N.A.	Srirangam (Tiruchirapalli Dt.)	10 *kalams* per *kasu*	XXIV-44
Kulottunga I 47th yr, 1117 A.D.	Alangudi (Thanjavur Dt.)	13 *kalams* per *kasu*	*SII.*, IV, 44of 1891
Vikrama Chola 3rd year 1121 A.D.	Srirangam (Tiruchirapalli Dt.)	10 *kalams* per *kasu*	XXIV-112

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
15th year 1133 A.D.		10 *kalams* per *kasu*	*SII.*, Vol. XXIV-21
Kopperunjinga 1259 A.D.	Chidambaram (South Arcot Dt.)	15 *kalams* per *kasu*	*SII.*, Vol. VIII-15

Note: The Caveat has to be entered that *kasu* denoted different values at different times but circumstantial evidence could support more or less our equivalence. Please see f.n. 52 in the text.

Notes :

1. In all about 60 inscriptions. In quite a few inscriptions, the date is lost or is not available.
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 54.
3. *Ibid.*, No, 55.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 208.
5. For *e.g.*, please see *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 1356, Tiruverriyur.
6. Please see *ARSIE.*, No. 201, 1919: Tribhuvani; *ARSIE.*, 1922 No. 404: Madurantakam; of 1922 *ARSIE.*, 224; Tenneri; *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 436, Tirunelveli.
7. "*The Cholas*", Vol. II, pt. i, p. 51 (1937 Edn.)-K. A. N. Sastri.
8. No. 38 for e.g.; No. 54 gives it as 40 years. These should be taken to indicate that the lands were lying waste and unreclaimed for long and not specifically for the number of years. The numbers refer to *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 59.
10. On this please see the author's detailed study "Allur and Isanamangalam Re-visited" - in "*Svasti Sri*", Dr. Chhabra. Felicitation Volume (1984) (Agam Prakasham, Dclhi). Allur is a village, just two miles north-west of Karaikudi lands belonging to Srirangam temple.
11. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 102, Line 11.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 64, Line 12.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 64, Line 13.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 72.
15. *ARSIE.*, 1918, No. 346-352.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 358, Parakesari - 3rd year.
    Ibid., No. 349, Rajakesari - 6th year.
17. *Ibid.*, No. 350 – One Karumanikkam Aditta Devan *alias* Chediyarayan had a land assigned to himself in Karaikudi village, the *devadana* of Srirangam temple in the 40th year of Kulottunga I (1110 A.D.). Please see *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 88.

18. Please see *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 111, 112, 113. Some plots lay even further north of the highway and to the north of Karaikudi habitat. Please see No. 120.

19. Please see the boundaries in No. 85. On the eastern boundary of the plot sold, a land was already under reclamation. On its south, a parcel had already been reclaimed. On the west, there was wet-land held by the potters. On the north lay the river-bund of Cauvery.

20. Please see Nos. 72 and 87, Ibid.

21. *Ibid.*, 119.

22. *Ibid.*, 99.

23. *Ibid.*, 39.

24. *Ibid.*, 65.

25. *Ibid.*, Nos. 111, 3rd year of Vikrama Chola 1121 A.D. 113, 8th year of Vikrama Chola 1126 A.D.; 119, 13th year of Vikrama Chola 1130 A.D.

26. These executive officers appear to have been officers appointed by the king and were frequently changed, unless there were more than one officer simultaneously in-charge. Their tenure appears to be for about 1 or 2 years at a time. Persons of the same name could be noticed again after an interval and if they were identical they had been resposted after a break. The officers are either styled *Brahmadirayan* (Brahmin) or *Muvenda Velan* (other than Brahmins). A tabulated statement of officers from the 10th (1080 A.D.) to 44th year (1114 A.D.) of Kulottunga I and from the 3rd to the 15th year 1114 A D. of Kulottunga I and from the 3rd to the 15th year of Vikrama Chola 1121 to 1133 A.D. is provided in Annexure I. It will be an interesting study if we could have an analysis of the change in incumbency, their tenure and their reposting and to trace the same officer's postings elsewhere. Likewise, it will be interesting to study the composition of the committees, and the incumbency and get at their tenure the frequency of rotation of the same members and the identity of the persons in the committees over the corresponding periods.

27. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 59.

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, No. 77.

29. A price of one *kasu* for 1/2 *veli* in No. 72 and 87 appears to be exceptional.

30. *Ibid.*, No. 59. The four parcels totalling 1 *veli* sold at 2 *kasu* in No. 119 also appears to be of this category as some of the lands were readily cultivable.

31. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 91 and 93.

32. *Ibid.*, Nos. 77 and 83.

33. *Ibid.*, No. 32.

34. *Ibid.*, No. 86, 65.

35. *Ibid.*, No. 68.

36. Line 12, No. 55; also No. 54.

37. *Ibid.*, No. 86.

38. *e.g.*, No. 35 the text has a number of gaps and hence this should only be treated as a surmise.

39. No. 39. *e.g.*, No. 119.

40. Please see No. 33. The inscription is damaged.

41. *e.g.*, Nos. 29, 123 Kulottunga II - 7th year. The garden Tirukkuraiparru appears to be located within Srirangam island. Also No. 147, No. Kulottunga III, 34th year.

42. See Nos. 39. 59, 111 and 30 for *Surabhivilagam* (1. 9)

43. *e.g.*, No. 69, Line 9; also No. 64.

44. *e.g.*, No. 31.

45. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 512. Even as early as in the 4th year of Rajakesari, the *Mahasabha* of Srirangam prohibited those who left the township (*irandar*) and no longer resident therein from holding, cultivating and enjoying the *devadana* and garden lands. Any transgression was visited with a fine of 25 *Pon* to be severally paid by the members of the committee (*variyam*) and the accountants (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 516).

46. Vide Annexure II.

47. No. 28.

48. e.g., *ibid*; also Nos. 33, 38, 39 and 55. Please see the wording "*Kolai-kappu, sennir vetti alladu marrepper pattaduvum tavirndu*". *Korombu* is added in Nos. 99, 111, among the obligations to be rendered.

49. e.g., No. 28.

50. *Ibid.*, No. 104.

51. *Ibid.*, No. 125.

52. The argument assumes that the *kasu* occurring in the inscriptions of different dates had identical value, an assumption which is not without hazards and this could hence be a weakness. This could bear a check. But circumstantial evidence could lend support to this assumption. At any rate, so far as the grain-wages are concerned, this possible weakness could not vitiate their comparability.

The *kalam*, if not the *kasu*, could more confidently be taken to convey the same value when used to express daily wages, but not the *paddy-kasu* nexus, as both the units of measure and of currency could vary from area to area and time to time, The need is hence the greater to attempt a detailed history of the economic conditions from reign to reign and from period to period within the same reign, and region to region. For even within such periods there are fluctuations and short-term changes in the same reign.

53. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 724.

LAND OCCUPANCY IN THE CHOLA HEARTLAND

(A.D. 985 to 1045)

Land grants could be either of the land itself where it was not occupied already, or in the form of assignment of revenue on occupied land. If the occupation was an estate upon condition of service (Jivitam) the land could be resumed (Tirappu) and reassigned.

In the generality of Chola grants after the Pandyan Kingdom was incorporated in the Empire, both the forms of land-grants occur in the conquered territory with or without the assignment of the land dues payable to the King. But a study of the inscriptions in the Brahadisvara Temple at Tanjavur and those in the vicinity, besides some copper plates of the reigns of Rajaraja I, and Rajendra I bring out a striking index of the density of land occupancy and the content of the grant in the Chola heartland.

The Tanjavur delta irrigated by the five rivers, and its many branches had fertile wet lands with silt-enriched alluvial soil and with natural river flows for irrigation. When the Pallavas held the delta, a number of townships, Brahmin settlements, temple-grants and Jaina Pallis had come into being. The "ancient standard of Nandipuram" (also known as Ayirattali) a flourishing town in Tanjavur was universally adopted.[1] The grant in the Tandantottam plates is another instance.[2]

By the latter half of the 10th century the density of land occupation should have reached a high level. Sale and alienation, besides inheritance, gift, and dowry for daughters and the female line of succession had become established forms of transfer of property already. Unoccupied lands for induction of tenants appeared to be scarce. Two conspicuous instances can be cited.

In A.D. 1002, the Mahasabha of Rajakesarichaturvedimangalam a Brahmadeya, implemented the edict of Rajaraja I. He had ordered that in Brahmadeyas (land-grants for the occupancy of the Brahmin literati) if there was any holder other than the Brahmins who held the lands their holdings should be sold (in public auction). The only exception made were the service tenure lands held by the township servants other than the Brahmins.

The rationale for this order was that the object of the grant was not subserved if such alienation had occurred. Moreover, where unoccupied lands were getting scarce such alienation could render land availability even for endowments more inelastic.

Accordingly, the Mahasabha sold 4½ ma (about 1½ acres), south of Rajakesari channel to Kundavaipiratti, the daughter of Sriparantaka and sister of Rajaraja. She paid the price, 81½, 3 ma, araikkani Ilakkasu, and endowed the purchased land for a lamp service in the temple at Karuntattangudi[3] on the outskirts of Tanjavur.

A second instance of land sale was to one of the queens of Rajaraja I, Ulagamahadeviyar who had set up a shrine named after herself at Tiruvayyaru. The extent sold was 3 magani, araikkani, mundirikai kil mukkale magani kil mukkale 1 ma. Its price was, at 100 Kalanju gold per veli, 307 Kalanju, 9 manjadi. The land, lying in the midst of lands endowed for festivals, had belonged to the temple at Tiruvayyaru and was sold by the Devakanmies (the temple priests and executives,)[4]

These most influential ladies of the palace had themselves to purchase lands and in small parcels in particular in auction or on sale by the temple.

In the long list of Rajaraja's grants to the Brahadisvara temple what was endowed for the temple services, like the dancers, accountants, treasury officers etc. was the "Kanikkadan" i. e., the land dues to the State from the occupied holdings in various townships in the Chola heartland and clsewhere[5] There is hardly any grant of land *per se*. This situation could be partly the reason for the prohibition of alienation by the eleemosynary tenure holders by Rajaraja I. Even some devadana lands appear to have been resumed.[6]

The nature of the grant conveyed in several Copper Plates throws further light on this subject. The learned editor of the Karandai Tamil Sangam plates of Rajendra I (A.D. 1020-21) has aptly summarised it. The villages included in the big Brahmadeya formed and named as Tribuvanamhadevi Chaturvedimangalam were first removed from subsisting Vellanvagai tenure, and the rights of the existing occupants (kudi) were extinguished. The land demands, hitherto shown uuder Vellanvagai tenure were reduced, and thereafter the land-demand shall be the customary levy on the Brahmadeya tenure holdings (Brahmadeya Maryadi). An incremental remission was granted even on the special (concessional) rates of demand.

Dr. Krishnan rightly brings out the significance of these terms. "The Brahmadeya was not an - *Iraiyili Brahmadeya*". "It is stated that those Brahmanas who were already tenants of the localities specified in the record (ll. 282-301) before the formation of the new big Agrahara were required to continue to pay rent on their lands as their tenancy subsisted. The reference to the previous tenants and the description of the land (as Vellanvagai) indicate that the lands were not lying uncultivated; on the other hand they were put to fairly good use so as to fetch the assessed paddy in question"[7] Dr. Krishnan

adds "It is not known whether the concellation of proprietory rights of the old tenants involved any payment of compensation or whether those rights were purchased outright from the old tenants by the officer at whose instance the Brahmadeya was formed. It is just possible that only the proprietary rights of the existing non-Brahmin tenants were bought off and transferred to the Brahmanas."

Adopting my interpretation of the term "Kudi-nikki" attempted elsewhere[8] it could be taken to mean that there was no 'removal' or 'eviction' of the old holders, and that they continued to reside within the area of the grant. Only their earlier rights as holders of land directly under the State, paying full land demand were extinguished and instead an intermediary, the Brahmin occupants were interposed who could vary the terms of cultivation and sharing the crop yield with the latter, who in turn had the obligation to pay the customary land dues as for the Brahmadeyas to the State. In effect, the subsisting occupancy tenants of the State were transformed into the cultivating tenants under the Brahmin intermediaries. The latter could not themselves cultivate the land. The residential areas of the Nattar continued to be retained under lands excluded from demand.[9]

The Larger Leiden plates of Rajaraja I[10] and the Tiruvalangadu plates of Rajendra I[11] also grant only the land-dues (Kanikkadan) due to the State to Chulamanivihara, and to the temple at Palayanur respectively. No land endowment was conveyed.

The point to be stressed here is that the lands were already occupied and under cultivation.

Even later, when a Pandya Chieftain formed a new Brahmadeya he had to purchase lands from another Chieftain, Chinattarayan, excluding some lands retained with the latter.[12]

From these data, it could be inferred that during the period (A.D. 985-1150) the pressure on land was felt. The occupancy ratio of lands in the Chola heartland had been high. Perhaps, the density of population could have been larger than elsewhere as in Pudukkottai.[13] In the fertile Cauvery delta the possibilities of getting any unoccupied land for wet cultivation were rare (except those escheated, resumed or sold in auction).

The expansion of the empire could have mitigated this situation in more ways than one. The employment of the weavers, the shepherds and the farmers during the off-season in expeditions secured direct employment elsewhere.

The conquest of the Pandyas[14] and the Cheras, and Ilam[15] was followed by waves of mercantile militia (Valanjiyar), merchants, priests and Brahmins and Vellalas down south to other riverine basins of Kodayar, Palayar (Kanyakumari District) Tambaraparani and Gatana (Tirunelveli) Srilanka, and westwards in Amaravathi basin. Extension of cultivation and spread of settlements and temple establishments and palaces had enlarged the existing nuclei This trend received greater impetus after Rajendra I established the Viceroyalty of his princes in the conquered domain.

The proximity of the ruler, and easy access for the supplicants to the viceregal authority could have facilitated the larger number of grants. Not all of them were unoccupied lands. Some were occupied holdings acquired including Brahmadeyas and converted to other tenures. Others were lands which had reverted to waste and had to be reclaimed. Still others were lands at the foot hills or were forests felled (Kaderu) and brought under the plough.

Unlike the conquered tracts lands to be reclaimed from waste, and virgin soil to be turned to the plough, were not much in evidence in and around Tanjavur. After the middle of the reign of Kulottunga I when the Chola empire shrank, reclamation of sand-cast and flood-damaged lands (as in Tiruchirapalli) had received greater attention.[16] The near collapse of the royal authority, and the arbitrary exactions by the King's men led to desertions, and cultivation was abandoned even in the Vennar belt. These had to be mitigated by suitable concessions especially during the reign of Rajaraja III and Rajendra III (A.D. 1215 to 1280)[17] Land sales were also more frequent as in Lalgudi Taluk and elsewhere at that time.[18]

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1 A.R.E. 365, 367/1924; 145/1928
"*The Cholas*" – K.A. Nilakanta Sastri - Vol. II pt. 1 p. 321 (1939 edition)

2 S.I.I. Vol. II pp. 517-ff.

3 Ibid., Vol. V No. 1409

4 Ibid., 518

5 Ibid., Vol. II Nos. 4, 5, 21, 22 & 68

6 Ibid., 16

7 "The Karandai Tamil Sangam Plates of Rajendra Chola I" by Dr. K.G. Krishnan (A.S.I. 1984) Please see p. 29 (Introduction) and ll. 27-30 of the Tamil Text at p. 78

8 Please see my "*Pudukkottai Townships*" pp. 233, 234 & p. 261 and "Land grants and agrarian reactions" p. 95

9 The Karandai Tamil Plates – *op cit*. p. 203-204 f

10 Ep. Indica Vol. XXII p. 213 f.

11 S.I.I. Vol. III p. 383 f.

12 Ibid., Vol. II Nos. 21 and 22

13 On this pl. see "*The Brahmadeyas of Pudukkottai*". - *Infra*

14 "*Rajendra Vinnagar*" by the author and' '*The Pandyan Townships*" (under publication)

15 "*The Chola Townships in Srilanka*" please see *infra.*

16 Please see "Land reclamation in the Cauvery belt-reconstructed from Srirangam Inscriptions" - *Supra*

17 Please see the author's '*Land grants and agrarian reactions*' on this aspect (Lecture II)

18 Please see "Land Sales in the reign of Rajaraja III" *infra.*

LAND SALES TO JAMBUKESWARAM TEMPLE IN THE REIGN OF RAJARAJA III AND RAJENDRA III - AN ANALYSIS

A number of agreements to sell lands to the deity at Jambukesvaram were executed by several vendors in the reign of Rajaraja III,[1] and one, in addition in the 3rd year of Rajendra III[2] (AD 1250). Of these, as many as six transactions, 5 relating to Rajarajan-Kurrangudi and one relating to Valadi were executed on one and the same day, on the Pusa asterisk - Aparapaksa Ekadasi, in the month of *Kanni* (Purattasi - September-October) corresponding to Sunday the 12th September AD1232.[3]

The times were troubled. In about AD 1230 Rajaraja III had been worsted by Maravarman Sundara Pandya I who occupied Mudikonda Cholapuram, the Chola capital, and Rajaraja III had to flee the capital. But he was captured and imprisoned in Sendamangalam by Kopperunjinga. The Hoysalas defeated Kopperunjinga, and released Rajaraja in about 1231. In about AD 1232-1233 the Hoysalas had established themselves in Kannanur and the temple of Hoysalesvara was built there about AD 1235 and they held sway in Samayanallur.

Even in the Chola heartland lands were brought to public sales, as the owner had been guilty of treason as in, Valivalam, in AD 1230.[4]

In the following pages the several sales of lands in Rajarajan-Kurrangudi, Valadi, Tattamangalam and Sembiyanallur are analysed and some possible inferences are drawn.

The details of the predecessors-in title who held these lands, and the manner in which they were acquired by the present vendors, the respective extents, and the price paid in every one of the transactions are tabulated in Annexure I.

Rajarajan Kurrangudi was a Devadana village, endowed to the temple of Jambukesvaram. It was situated to the east of Sembiyanallur *alias* Sembiyan Kurrangudi and to the south of Kiramangalam and Valadi. To its east was the boundary of Valadi and to the south was a channel from Kaveri. The Coleroon is not distinguished here, and channels taking off from the Coleroon are also referred to as from Kaveri. The entire village measured about 35 *velis* 6 *ma* and odd. Of this extent the lands excluded from assessment (*Ningal*) totalled about 14 and odd *velis*. They are accounted for as below :

i) the temple of Udaiyar Tiru alaiyaru udaiya nayanar; and the courtyard, the gardens, and appurtenant houses and occupiable sites and cultivable lands, and dry lands which were held in the name of the deity.

ii) the temple of Sri Kailayamudayar, court yard, gardens, and cultivable lands held in the name of the deity

iii) The Vishnu temple of Tuvala Sundara Vinnagar alvar, the court yard, garden, and wet and dry cultivable lands in the occupied holdings of the deity,

iv) the temple of Vinayakar

v) the land endowed for Ayyan (Ayyanar), and

vi) that for Pidari, and the garden attached.

vii) the land endowed for the Township accountant.

viii) the occupied holding and house-site (granted to) one Madana-mangalamudaiyan, who figures as the Madhyastha in some of these documents.

The remaining occupied lands (after the exclusion) growing double crop, and single crop, measured 21 *velis* and odd.[5]

These lands were all not divided by metes and bounds and were collectively held, and cultivated prior to these sales. As such the produce should have been shared in proportion to the fractional share of the occupied holdings held by everyone of the several vendors.

The lands in Rajarajan-Kurrangudi were all held originally by two brothers, Nayakan Citrakuttan and his younger brother, Nayakan Citraguptan. Apparently they were the occupants of the entire 21 and odd *velis* of land in this Kurrangudi village. As the village is described as Devadana, the State dues in cash and kind and Kudimai or services to be rendered were granted to the Deity. Thus the two predecessors-in title were only having occupancy, rights, with rights of enjoying the whole or part of the produce, according to their status as occupant-cultivators or occupants engaging cultivators working in the estate. The two predecessors-in-title were alive when these sales to the Jambukesvaram deity were agreed upon. They had attested the documents of agreements of sale as witnesses, which bound them to the sale.

The lands (21 *velis* and odd) which were in the sole enjoyment of the two brothers had been purchased severally by many occupants, numbering about 37 in all.

The price paid by these 37 vendors to the two brothers who were their predecessors-in-title is not known. But taking the cumulative total of the price realised by the vendors a *veli* has fetched about 477 *anradu narkasu*.

The cumulative total extent of land sold by the 37 vendors comes to about 21 *velis* and 16 263/640 *ma*. This meant the entire net cultivable and occupied extent of the village had been sold, and the deity had became the single possessor of the occupancy rights which could be sold, or assigned or leased to others for cultivation on its own terms.

The vendors belong mostly to Turaiyur in **Paccil Kurram** in **Rajaraja** Valanadu. This is identical with the village of that name in Lalgudi Taluk.[5A] The lands sold were located in Rajaraja-Kurrangudi in the same *nadu*. Sembiyanallur is also a Devadana village lying to the west of Rajaraja Kurrangudi. Valadi lay to its north and east, Sembiyanallur is identical with Sempayanur, which was about 2½ miles west of Valadi (Lalgudi Taluk) on the Tiruchi-Lalgudi Road. (Please see map enclosed). (Annexure II)

An abstract of sale of lands in Rajaraja-Kurrangudi is set out below :

Veli—Ma	*Price* (Anradu narkasu)	Ref. Fn
4— 8 87/640	20993	6
5—12 565/640	26645	7
1— 4 and odd	5776	8
5— 2 283/320	24502	9
5— 8 65/128	25845	10

The sale of Sembiyanallur lands was in the 28th year of Rajaraja III (AD 1234)[11]. These lands were also sold by an Arayar of Turaiyur, Nitya Kalyanan alias Pandyanayan who was the same individual who subsequently had sold his lands 3 *velis* in extent in Tattanallur, a Devadana village for 16500 *kasu* in the 3rd year of Rajendra III (AD 1249-50).

The lands in both Sembiyanallur and Tattangulam (same as Tattanallur) had belonged to his Chief (Mudaliyar), and after his demise had devolved on him. The predecessor-in-title had purchased the Sembiyanallur lands from several persons who in their turn, had acquired the lands in a public or State sale (Rajavilai).

The vendor was apparently in need of liquidity. He had to pay the land dues to the King and having no other resources he made a usufructory mortgage to the deity of Tiruvanaikka, and got money from the Temple treasury in the 24th year of Rajaraja III (AD. 1239-40). Again 2 years later the lands became the occupied holdings of the deity *(Thirunamattupparru)*. The extent sold was 14 and odd *velis*. Out of these lands he had already sold as *Madattukkani* for maintenance of Somanatha-devar madam of Kiliyalur Kilavar an *Andar* of the temple *veli* ¼ (5 *ma*) and a house-site 25 *Kuli* in extent to the east in northern row of Kilari Kurimuri in the house-sites of the village. Inclusive of those, 14 and odd

veli were sold for 200,000 kasu. He had already got 100,000 *kasu* by the usufructory mortgage referred to above. He received another 10,000 *kasu*, the balance of the sale price, for paying off the land dues amount in default left by another to whom he had stood surety earlier.

The same individual had sold 3 *velis* of land in Tattanallur[12] in AD 1249. This extent was also originally owned by his Mudaliar, Chief who had purchased the lands from several holders. After the death of the Chief, this vendor had acquired the lands. The lands were in collective enjoyment and not divided by metes and bounds. The extent sold was 3 *velis* and its proportionate share of the house-site, and the house-sites of the agricultural tenants in Kadaicceri (perhaps on the outskirts). Against the price of 16,500 *Kasu* he had already received 5,500 *Kasu*. The 16,500 *Kasu* were paid from the big Treasury of Adiselvan of Tattanallur. Tattanallur is, perhaps, identical with Vadakku Tattanur to the north of Valadi and east of Udaramangalam.

The transaction relating to Valadi[5] was a sale of 1½*veli* and odd for 6,195 *Kasu* by one vendor from Dharmapuram in Mulaiyur nadu, This extent was mixed with other holdings and was under common enjoyment and not partitioned by metes and bounds. This vendor had purchased it from 7 predecessors-in-title of Valadi, and a few of them were coparceners. Valadi, lay to the east of Rajarajan-Kurrangudi and to the south of Sendamangalam, Pudukkudi Sendamangalam and west of Sempalani. Apparently this Valadi should refer to Melavaladi. (Please see map enclosed). This sale agreement was also concluded on the same day as the other five relating to Rajarajan Kurrangudi. This inscription brings out that there were lands belonging to other villages accounted thereunder but geographically lying within the boundaries of this village, and these were excluded. But there were certain lands geographically situated in other villages which formed part of this village account and these were included in the total extent of this village account accounting for 22½ and odd *veli* of land. From this total, the following lands had been excluded from assessment :-

a) Tiruvirucisvaramudaiyanayanar Devadanam
b) Ambala Vinnagar Emberuman Tiruvidaiyattam
c) Jananathapperumpalli Pallichchandam

Besides, lands purchased from the Chieftains (Mudalis) by many, measured 7 *veli* and odd.

Out of the balance of 14½ and odd *velis*, the land sold was wet 1½ *veli*, and odd. The proportionate dry lands, excluding the dry lands of the above three items was also sold. The lands sold to other occupants from Pudukudi and others were also excluded. The price paid was 6,195 *kasu*.

The signatories as witnesses to the transactions hail from several villages near about. In another transaction, the *urar* of Turaiyur had rendered $7\frac{3}{4}$ extent tax-free, and endowed it for the maintenance of the shrine of the Goddess installed by them.[8] They themselves bore the land dues.

The lands were situated about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-west of their native village V. Thuraiyur, and the holders might have felt it irksome to supervise the collective agricultural operations, and recover the dues.

This is a case which demonstrates that collective holding and farming for sharing the produce were not favourcd and the tendency was to consolidate holdings into one occupant's hands, the Temple. This is the more explicitly stated in every one of the documents-viz. the rights conveyed by the sale include the share proportionate to the cultivated extent sold, in the forests or waste, dry lands, the house-sites of the village in terms of Kuli, the house-sites for the *Pulayar* (agricultural bonded labourers), the village common, cattlestand, the extents of land excluded from assessment (which are distributed), the riverbed and the *padugai* on river-banks on which silt is deposited, and the other shares and appurtenances, and sharable common yields.

A second reason could be, some of the vendors were Araiyars and as such they could have faced compulsions to pay dues in the troubled and confused times when the central authority had weakened. Indeed such strain is explicitly revealed in the transaction relating to Tattanallur and Sembiyanallur.

What was the motive for this wholesale transfer of their occupancy to the temple ? This can be different in different cases as is shown below. So far as Tattanallur was concerned, it was the arrears of land dues for which the vendor had no wherewithal to pay which compelled the occupant to part with his holding. The same vendor had sold a much larger estate in Sembiyanallur for redeeming a mortgage. Apparently he was in need of liquidity to pay off the arrears of land revenue.

The sales of lands in Rajaraja-Kurrangudi reveal only one cause. The lands were all in common enjoyment, and were not divided by metes and bounds. Hence the collective farming and sharing of produce according to their respective shares was in vogue. This should have caused hardship to the purchasers who were from different locations, Turaiyur, Paluvur, Anaiccur, Vellur, Sattangur, Kurukkai, Nanandur, Ennore, Sembangur (?), Punnaivayil, Panaiyur, Panai veli, Velur and many others. More so because the lands in Valadi contain both the lands outside the village boundary and the lands within.

Above all, the times were troubled. The sovereign was in distress. The Kingdom was under threat from the south and the west and the north. The Hoysala ruler, Virasomesvara held the Pandyas under check (AD 1234-1251) but Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I who came to the throne in AD 1250 was a great conqueror and the Cola Kingdom was threatened again.

Perhaps these transactions could have been motivated by the wartime exactions that the Pandyas and the Hoysalas could have made to finance the war, and any way, due to the political unsettlement at the times. A fear of confiscation of lands of the Arayars, (the Chola Chieftains) might also have been engendered in the minds of the vendors. It was to prempt these forebodings perhaps, that the occupants thought the sale to a temple (which would not be ordinarily interfered with) was prudent. They could also secure some liquidity that should come in handy.

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1. ARE Nos. 32 to 36/1937-38 (5 Transactions) relating to Rajarajan - Kurrangudi alias Kilarrur in the 17th year of Rajaraja III (AD 1232-33). Also 31/1937-38 sale in Sembiyanallur in the 28th year of Rajaraja III (AD 1244) and 37/1937-38 sale in Valadi also in 17th year of Rajaraja III (1232-33).
2. ARE 29/1937-38 sale in Tattanallur in 3rd year of Rajendra III (AD 1250).
3. Ind. Ephemeris Vol. IV - p. 67.
4. ARE 112 of 1911.
5. Rajarajan Kurrangudi :

Lands sold	Veli	ma	
32/1937-38	4	8	& odd
33/1937-38	5	12	& odd
34/1937-38	1	4	& odd
35/1937-38	5	2	& odd
36/1937-38	5	8	& odd
	21	14	& odd

totalling 21 Velis — 16 263/640 ma

5A (see map enclosed). Also ARE 698 to 703/1909 S.I.I. Vol. XXVI. Nos. 749-754.
6. ARE 32/1937-38.
7. ARE 33/1937-38.
8. ARE 34/1937-38.
9. ARE 35/1937-38.
10. ARE 36/1937-38.
11. ARE 31/1937-38. But the matha had to pay land-dues to the temple.
12. ARE 29/1937-38.
5. ARE 37/1937-38.
8. ARE 701/1909 S.I.I. Vol. XXVI - p. 792.

Appendix I Analysis of Sale Transactions of the 17th and 28th year of Rajaraja III, Rajendra III

Occurrence : Jambukesvaram Temple, Tiruvanaikka

ARE No.	Date	Previous owners	Vendors in the Transaction	Vendor	Location & Extent	Price all in Anradu Narkasu	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
32 1937-38	Rajaraja III (16+1) 17th year Kanni month Aparapaksha Ekadasi Pusam Sunday (corresponds to Sunday the 12th September AD 1232	Kurrangudaiyan Nayakan Citrakuttan and his younger brother, Nayakan Citrakuttan	1) Turaiyurudayan Araiyan Nityakalyanan alias Malavarayan (figures also in) 29, 31) 2) Turaiyurudaiyan Arayan Tenayanpaduvan alias Rajaraja Malavadarayan 3) Turaiyurudayan Arayan Uyyaninraduvan Tiruvakattidayan Tirunadampurindan 4) Paluvur Kilavan Semandan Tirunattapperuman 5) Anaiccur Kilavan Ulaguyya Aduvan Udaiyandan	The deity of Jambukesvaram at Tiruvanaikka	Rajarajan Kurrangudi a devadana of the deity in col ·5 4 *veli* 8 87/640 *ma*	20993	Nilankalanda Varrar lands not divided by metes and bounds but collectively cultivated and shared yield

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
33 1937-38	Rajaraja III 17th year -do-	-do-	1) Turaiyurudaiyan Velan Muvayiramudayan alias Kulottunga Chola Muvendavelan	-do-	-do-	26645	-do-
			2) Turaiyurudaiyan Sivapadasekharan Uyyavandan alias Tenkarainattu Muvendavelan		5 *veli* 12 565/640 *ma*		
34 1937-38	Rajaraja III 17th year same date	same as in 32, 33 1937-38	Turaiyurudaiyan Nityakalyanan Tillai Kuttanana Alvan Malanattuvilupparaiyan (figures in 701/1909 as a signatory)	Deity of Jambukesvaram at Tiruvanaikka	Rajaraja Kurrangudi *alias* Kilarrur 1 *veli* 4 *ma* cinnam	5776	Lands not divided by metes & bounds . . . scribe (Madana) mangalamudaiyan Pancanadivanan Kalumala . . . .
35 1937-38	-do-	-do-	1) Tenkarai Rajaraja Pandinattu Velluru-daiyan Uyyavanda Periyanayan alias Milalai nattu muvendavelan				
			2) Sattangudaiyan Thiruvarangapperumal Alagiya Nayanana Arindavana Vilupparaiyan				

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
35 1937-38 (contd)			3) Turaiyurudaiyan Sundara Cholan Urai nayakan alias Raja-raja malanattu velan 4) Karukkai udaiyan Vadukkappillai 5) Nanandurudaiyan Orrikondan 6) Eyinnurudaiyan Alagiya Manavalan Devandan alias Pampuri nattukkon 7) Sembangudaiyan Tirupattisvaramudai-yan Surran Kattanana Amur Nattukkon 8) Sembangudaiyan Tirumangaialvan Parimelalagiyan 9) Vellurudaiyan Alvan Periyanayan alias Kulottunga Chola Milalainattu Velan 10) Vellurudaiyan Adira Visi Aduvan Mudali alias Vikrama Chola Milalainattu Velan	Deity of Jambu-kesvaram at Tiruvanaikka	Rajaraja Kurrangudi *alias* Kilarrur 5 *veli* 2 283/320 *ma*	24502	Lands not divided by metes and bounds

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
35 1937-38 (contd)			11) Punnaivayiludaiyan Soralvan Kanapuradevan 12) Turaiyurudaiyan Tiruvalan Polladapillai 13) Panaiyurudaiyan Tiruvanaikkavudaiyan Arampundan 14) Vellurudaiyan Kulamdan alias Anaiandan 15) Vellurudaiyan Uyyandan Sembiyan Milalainattu Velan				
36 1937-38	Rajaraja III (16+1) same date	same as in 32, 33	1) Vadakarainattu Paccil Kurrattu Kil Palarru Turaiyurudaiyan Senda piran alias Kurukularayan 2) Turaiyurudaiyan Kuttaduvan Kulottunga Chola Malavarayan 3) Turaiyurudaiyan.... nayanana Vikrama Chola Malavadaraiyan	Deity of Jambukesvaram at Tiruvanaikka	Rajarajan Kurrangudi 5 *veli* 8 65/128 *ma*	25845	Lands not divided by metes and bounds

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
36 1937-38 (Contd)			4) Turaiyurudaiyan Tillainadampurindan alias Tiruccirrambala Malavadarayan 5) Turaiyurudaiyan Sundara Cholan Tavapperuman 6) Panaiveliyudaiyan Manrulladuvan Kulottunga Chola Nattarayan 7) Tiruvennainallurudaiyan Narayana pillai 8) Ennore udaiyan Appan Alagiyadevan 9) Parkattiudaiyan Desavidangan Kunra merindaperuman 10) Kurukkaiudaiyan Sokka nayan 11) Panaiveliudaiyan Arasandan Malanattarayan 12) Velurkilavan Ponnambalakkuttan Ariyapillai				

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
36 1937-38 (Contd)			13) Panaiveliudaiyan Valavandan Kunrudaiya Peruman 14) Annaikkudaiyan (Pancanadivanan) Uyyakkondan Ambarnattukkon				
37 1937-38	Rajaraja III 17th year	1) Rajaraja Valanattu Paccil Kurrattu Kilpilarru Valadiudaiyan Silamban Piccadevan 2) Valadiudaiyan Tiruvekampamudaiyan Adavallan 3) Valadi Udayan Adithadevan Alagiyan 4) Valadiudaiyan Adavallan Nayan 5) Devadanakkudaiyan Aludaiyan Nambi Tiruvaruran 6) His younger brother Devargal devan 7) Arumbakkilayan*	Tenkarai Uyyakkondan Valanattu Malaiyur Nattu Dharmapuram Udaiyan Sendan Alvandan	Deity of Jambukesvaram	Lands in Valadi Extent : not specified. His share of purchased lands $1\frac{1}{2}$ *veli* & odd	6195	Lands not divided by metes and bounds

*Transcript unclear.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
31 1937-38	Rajaraja III 28 (AD 1244)	The Vendor's Chief (Mudaliyar) from whom he inherited the lands and enjoyed	Turaiyurudaiyan Arayan Nityakalyanan alias Pandyarayan	To the deity at Jambukesvaram	In Paccilkurram Sembiyanallur 14 & odd cinnam (veli)	206,000	mortgaged by the vendor to the temple 4 years earlier (1240) for payment of revenue
29 1937-38	Rajendra III 3rd year (AD 1250)	Lands purchased by his chieftain (Mudaliyar) from many holders and inherited by the vendor	Turaiyurudaiyan Araiyan Nityakalyanan alias Pandyarayan (Vendor figures also in 31/1937-38 and here)	To the deity at Tiruvanaikka in Pandikulasani valanadu	Tattanallur a devadana village 3 velis & proportionate share in house with urnattam and in (Kadaiyacceri)	16500	Lands not divided by metes and bounds

A NOTE ON THE LAND ASSESSMENT MODES IN THE CHOLA AND THE PANDYA TIMES

The Chola land assessment mode has several intricate features which need to be unravelled. The available evidence is inadequate to set at rest all issues that are thrown up in the investigation of the subject. For one thing, the evidence is scattered and fragmentary. For another, no exact ratio could readily be established between the classification and assessment. This note sets out the salient features as far as can be ascertained from the available data with reference to the present state of understanding of the problems.

First : Land records maintenance were very detailed and intricate. The *olugu* was the register of occupancy and enjoyment. *Vari* or *vari-pottagam* was the register of assessment of land showing the tenure of the land, and the occupants from whom the land-dues in respect of each holding had to be collected. Whenever changes in tenure occurred they were promptly ordered to be entered in the *vari*, and the authenticated extract of the mutation *(ulvari)* made by the *variilar*, the authorities in-charge of land-tax register was conveyed to the grantees. It was the official basis for the grant and its conditions. The *puravu* was, perhaps, the land-register showing lands assessed to full demand. In addition, there was a *tarappottagam*[1] maintained. This showed such of those lands classified on the basis of the assessment rate charged for it, and consequently, the *taram* classification to which a classified land belonged, As the *tarapottagam* was not traceable, assessment was reckoned at the rate applicable to area measurement of the same command area in Ambasamudram *(tarap (po) ttagam kanamayil puravu nilattopadi mudal)*[2].

It follows that in the same township, nay in the same command area *(puravu)*, there were at the same time lands classified on the basis of assessment, and non-classified lands (*taramidu and taramili)*. The tank water-spread and other areas not cultivable were also *taramili* and had no assessment classification. In fact, there are reasons to believe that the assessment classification *(taram)* was fixed only when lands were reclaimed, and brought under cultivation.[3] *(tiruttippayirseyda innellukku okka taram ittukkollak·kadavomagavum)*.

Thus in Mayavaram, we have both lands bearing assessment-classification, and those which did not according to accounts.[4]

Within the command area itself, lands were localised and grouped under each channel ! (*kannaru*) and *sadiram* (block or square) or *sadukkam*

and within each such block there were both *taramidu* and *taramili* lands located alogside.[5]

From what has been stated, two broad bases for land-demand had existed side by side, those which had been assigned assessment-classification *(taramitta)* and those which had not been (*taramili*). These latter could be either unoccupied or occupied. Temple sites, house-sites, tank-beds could be unassessed. But those assessed which did not bear, however, an assessment - classification (*taram*) were charged on the square area or extent measured by the standard measnring rod or pole in use in the township (*virivile or parappile)*. In order to equitably distribute the lands among the different rates of demand and to equitably distribute their spread among locations with differential advantages the lands when granted were located, some at the head, and some at the middle, and other at the tail-end of the command areas.

In some inscriptions, the extent in term of *taram*-classification are given, for example, 15 *velis* of land were reckoned as 5 *veli* in terms of different *taram* classifications or *madakku ma*[6] *munronragamadakki)*.

While the area measurement is understandable, the computed or commuted area in terms of the assessment-classification needs some scrutiny. Lands of various *tarams* or assessment-classification fastened on them were folded into a standard *ma (madakku-ma)* and the total assessment in terms of paddy and *kasu* were given at the rate applicable to *madakku ma.*

In modern revenue settlement (in the British administration which adopted and preserved many of the indigenous features), the *taram* is the assessment-classification which grouped together lands bearing the same assessment rate though the lands might bear different classes and sorts. This is possible because the assessment rates were expressed in terms of a money rate based on the commuted value of grain. But in the Chola and the Pandyan times this was not possible. For one thing, demand was both in terms of grain and cash. The rates under both were varied. The currency also consisted of *kasu*, *dramum*, etc., of varying exchange-value and even intrinsic value. There was no uniform monetary currency system. If several parcels of land bearing varied assessment rates were owned by the same holder, they had to be reduced to a standard measurement which was a co-efficient of both the area measurement and the assessment rate classification each parcel in the holding had borne, to arrive at some common standard of equivnlence. This is explicits conveyed by the phrase "*taramittu-madakki*"[7] or '*taramadakki*' that occurs often in the inscriptions. The *madakku-ma* is then the constructive unit of assessment computed on

the basis of the assessment classification-wise distributed area, and the total area (by measurement) was reduced in terms of such unit of assessment-area.

But it is not easy to establish the correlation between the area-assessment and the *madakku-ma*. A computation made by Subbarayalu gives quite a bewildering variety of ratios.[8] Some are explicit and straight forward. Thus in Tiruvidaimarudur case,[9] the text says 15 *velis* under *madakku (15 veliyum surrumurram munronraha mudakki vanda nilam 5 veli)*. In another case,[10] 12 *veli* 8 *mā* were reduced in terms of *madakku* 4 *ma mukkani, araikkani kil arai.*

The *taram* classification as per *taram* account were:
10th *taram*-3 3/4 4 *mukkani* 1/2 *kani mundirigai kil arai*
11th *taram*-5-6 *ma/kil* 1/2
12th *taram*-2 3/4 4 *ma mukkani mundirigai kil arai*
13th *taram*-2 *ma* 1/2

Folding up the several *tarams* in terms of *madakku*, the extent was 4 *ma mukkani*, 1/2 *kani kil* 1/4.

The rates as per *madakku ma* were.

Paddy : 158 *kalam*, 2 *tuni*, *Padakku*, 4 *nali*
Antarayam 4 *kasus*-6 *ma*.
Total demand : 21-2 *ma* in *kasu*, and 778 *kalam*-1 *tuni-padakku* 1 in paddy.

In terms of area measurement, the demand was expressed as :
1 veli = 62 kalam 2 tuni kuruni 4 nali
Antarayam = 1 1/2 4 *ma*

It could be inferred that unless we know the *taram*-wise classified extent and the rates applicable to each as well as the area-measurement and the rates, it will not be easy to tally the extents and assessments under either of the modes, nor will it be possible to get at the co-efficient to establish the ratio between the extents. The contradistinction between the *madakku ma* and *virivile or parappile* as the basis for assessment is clearly borne out.

A distinction was made between the demand due on the extent of the land *nilopadi* based on area-measurement, and the demand-due on the basis of *taram* or classification of lands for assessment-grading (*taropadi*). This distinction is very essential to be kept in view. For, it had its repercussions on the quantum of land dues and also on the manner in which it devolved on the tenants and the cultivators as against the occupants.

Both systems appeared to be in vogue, generally the area basis in the case of unoccupied lands; and the *taram* mode in the case of the

occupied lands, but this was not certain nor uniform. Also based on *taram* rates on different parcels, a constructive standard of *madakku ma* as distinguished from the *virivu* or *parappu* or area-*ma* was evolved. The available data is inadequate to work out the mode of deriving the standard *ma* or *madakku ma*. But circumstantial evidence would not support any generalisation that *madakku ma* was more favourable than the *virivu* or area-*ma*. Whether the *taram* was all that scientifically applied based on strict productivity is open to serious doubt. For, the instances cited are enough to show that they were arbitrarily pegged or lowered.

Two issues arise : 1. Whether the *taram*-classification is based on productivity? To this the answer appears to be clearly in the negative.

The *taram* in this paper has been correctly rendered as "assessment-classification" and not a classification based on "productivity".[11]

True, when an assessment is fastened on the land, the nature of the soil, its productivity and the yield and the number of crops and irrigation facilities enjoyed by the parcel having regard to the location of the field, whether at the head-reach or the middle or tail-end of the irrigation system-are all factors which should or could have been taken into acount. But, there are many instances noticed where the *taram* has been arbitrarily adopted, pegged or reduced to limit the assessment on the land. In fact the quantum of demand had been fixed first, and then the *taram* worked out on that basis.[12] (*tirutti payir seydu innellukku okka taram ittukkollakkadavo-magavum*). Lands purchased in the 14th *taram* were assessed at the 20th *taram* the difference between the two being treated as remission of *irai* in other words, the rate was reduced ad-hoc.[13]

The *nattar* of Melappaluvur fixed the demand at 25 *kalanju* when they inducted an occupant and undertook not to fix the *taram* when they assigned the assessment-classification of lands at any rate higher than the demand fixed at 25 *kalanju*.[14] In 1048 A.D. Rajadhiraja ordered that the lands belonging to the temple of Tiruvayppadidevar be taxed according to the lowest grade *taram* as in the case of the (lands of) *Vishnu* shrine at Ennayiram.[15] In 1041 A.D. the *mahasabhaiyar* of Tribhuvani agreed not to change the classification of the land or levy any *eri* ayam or *Seruvari* on it.[16]

In 1048 A.D. Rajadhiraja stipulated that the *taram* of the land granted to the temple and the college at Tribhuvani should not be altered even when the general classification of the lands in the township was effected.[17] The *mahasabha* of the same township altered the classification of the land in accordance with the command of Rajadhiraja I in 1053 A.D.[18] Five years later (1058 A.D.), the same *sabhaiyar* altered the classification of the land at Puttur already granted for the merit of Udaiya-Pirattiyar Piranta-

kan Ulogamadeviyar in accordance with the mandate of Rajaraja II.[19] Lands granted to two deities Tiruvayindarapurattu Alvar and Viranarayanavinnagar Alvar in 1079 A.D.[20] and a third granted to a poet (in 1097 A.D.)[21] were all pegged at the 12th *taram*, the *sabhai* of Tribhuvani obeying the orders of Kulottunga-I. He ordered in 1103 A.D. that the *devadana* lands in Pennadam should be charged at half the rates.[22]

In Tiruvidaimarudur, in 1141-42 A.D. the *mahasabhai* agreed to retain the assessment classification permanently even if the existing *taram* was done away with, and assessment based on a revised classification, or in the alternative, even when *taram* was not adopted at all, but demand was charged on *parappu* or area-measurement basis-*taram-alindu-taram idilum taramidate parappile irukkilum*. The township agreed not to alter the rates fixed at the time of the sale.[23]

After fixing the land-demand at Tiruvarur at 150 and odd *kalams* per *veli* from the 12th year of *Kulottunga-II* (1143-44 A.D.): the land being *devadana iraiyili*, the *sabhaiyar* agreed to maintain the demand at the rate, as the lands were not classified. But even, if subseqnently the lands were to be classified resulting in an excess demand, the excess shall be borne by the township or reduced from the demand of the ur *(urir surikki)* and not shown on the temple lands.[24]

The king had ordered that lands in occupancy of Subramanya temple at Chidambaram bearing assessment-classification *(taram perra nilam)* shall not be revised higher than what they would have to pay at the 8th *taram*.[25] He further ordered lands assessed higher than at the 8th *taram* be brought down to the 8th *taram* and those bearing an assessment classification below 8 be continued as before. This was executed by the *nilam alarpor perumakkal* (the land survey officers) of Kulottunga II.

In Tirunelveli, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I restricted the assessment to the 8th classification as was revised earlier, and further brought down the *taram* with a view to reduce the rate of land-demand.[26]

The instances cited are enough to show that the classification has been argued on the basis of assessment, and that the *taram* classification does not *ipso facto* denote the productivity of land or any other objective norms. There have been distortions deliberately introduced in the numerous instances cited. As the evidence forthcoming is from temple grants deliberately charged at concessional rates, it will not reveal the mode of *taram* fixation adopted for the fully charged lands paying full land revenue to the state.

It is also evident that the assessment classification was liable to revision, and at the time of such revision some lands were deliberately pegged at the *taram* rates assigned to them originally at the time of the grant to a

temple or sale to a benefactor. For lands not earlier assigned *taram* could also be assigned later, and the resultant assessment classifications could be folded into the *madakku* or the constructive convertion factor of the assessed lands in the township.[27] Also perhaps, the higher the number of the *taram* the higher was the rate of assessment.

II. Which of the two assessment modes, one on the basis of the *taram* and the other on the basis of area-measurement *virivu* was more favourable to the occupants and the cultivators?

On this point, Subbarayalu seems to suggest that the *madakku mā* rates were unusually excessive.[28] This is not self-evident. If the assessment rates are fixed and the co-efficient established, there has to be internal consistency between the rate per unit of extent and *madakku ma*, They cannot vary qualitatively. Where assessment classifications adopted were deliberately or consciously made favourable and concessional, the *madakku ma* that resulted from the constructive computation could also have been only favourable. Also we notice in the inscriptions of the period that the occupants, the tenants and the cultivators were deliberately preferring the *madakku ma* as the basis for calculating some of their obligations, in their attempt to contain the higher demands made on them.

Hence, one cannot be dogmatic on the qualitative excess of the rate under the *madakku ma* computation.

Substantial evidence from some inscriptions indicate that the cultivators and the tenants insisted on the *madakku ma* being the unit-basis for the fixation and demand of the obligations due from them. When this was altered on the basis of *virivu* or *parappu* or area extent, they protested and urged the *status quo ante* to prevail. There are other instances where the *virivu* was adopted as the basis. This is clear from the joint deliberations of the occupants and the cultivating tenants at Mannargudi.[29]

If the *madakku ma* had been more onerous as the basis for levy of the rate of obligations and cash-dues, there is no reason why the cultivators, the tenants and others who had to render the *kudimai* obligation should prefer that to the *virivu* in some cases, especially when they sought to reverse the changes in demand made on the basis of *virivu* and to restore the *status quo ante*. Indeed to the extent the *tarams* of individual parcels of land were artificially depressed, the *madakku ma*, as a consequence, could also have been cumulatively favourable.

The conclusion is that both the bases for assessment were in force side by side, one the *madakku ma* and the other *virivu*. The former expressed the cumulative effect in terms of a standard *madakku ma* the different *tarams*

and the extents under each contained in a grant or holding. Both have had their points of preference, and it is difficult to categorically state that one was more advantageous than the other. It follows, as Subbarayalu mentions, that any quantum or rate of land-demand can only be interpreted and quantified only when the basis adopted, whether it was on *madakku* or on *virivu* was known.

In the Pandyan inscriptions two other terms occur which appear to convey the same distinction as *madakku ma* and *parappile*. The distinction is between "*iraippadi itta nilam*" and *padakappadi*. In an inscription of Jatavarman Kulasekhara at Kodaganallur, this distinction is borne out by the manner of concession extended to the temple.

Originally a parcel of land, according to land assessment fixed was equal to *mukkale oru ma mundirigai arai*. As a parcel of land (i.e. area measurement) it was *1 ma*. But the demand was fixed, on the basis of the rates prevalant in the township, at *1/2 ma araikkani* (5/160); later even this rate was revised as *1/2 ma mundirigai* (9/320).[30]

It can be inferred that there was a dual system of land accounting in the Pandyan kingdom as well, one on the area measurement of parcels of land *(padagam)* and the other on the commuted extent based on the land assessment that this extent was charged. The higher the rates of assessment at par the commuted extent was also higher. But the concessions in the rates of assessment shown got reflected in the diminished extent correspondingly This implied a normative basis of the optimal-assessment demand to standard extent which should have varied from area to area and from time to time.

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1. S.I.I., Vol. XIV, No. 245, Ibid, Vol. XXIII, No. 1.
2. Ibid., Vol. XIV, No. 245.
3. Ibid., Vol. XVII, No. 600.
4. Ibid., Vol. XXIII, No. 375.
5. Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 440, 11. 79, 84

Kannar	*Sadhuram*
1	3
3	3

6. Ibid., Vol. XXIII, No. 257; Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 248; Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 223; Ibid. Vol. V, No. 663 and Ibid., Vol. XXIII, No 303.
7. Ibid., Vol. V, No. 633.
8. See his paper "Classification of the Land and Assessment of Land Tax A.D. 950 to, 1300 a study" —*Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress*, XXXVIII Session 1977, n. 13 and 14, pp. 341-46.
9. S.I.I. Vol. XXIII, No. 257.
10. Ibid., Vol. XXIII, No. 303.

11. I have, it should be noted, revised my interpretation and the rendering of this term, which I was inclined originally to interpret as "productivity-classification" having regard to fertility of soil and command facilities etc.
12. S.I.I., XVII. No. 600.
13. Ibid., XXIV, No. 57.
14. Ibid., XIX, No. 378.
15. A.R.Ep., 1917, No. 330.
16. Ibid., 1912, No. 187; *Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 566.
17. A.R.Ep., 1919, No 176.
18. Ibid., 1919, No. 188; *Cholas* Vol. I, p. 583.
19. Ibid., 1919, No. 111.
20. Ibid., No. 178.
21. Ibid., 1917, No. 186.
22. Ibid., 1919, No. 198.
23. S.I.I., Vol. XXIII, No. 303.
24. Ibid., Vol. XVII, No. 597.
25. A.R.Ep., 1913, No. 262.
26. S.I.I., Vol. V, Nos, 413 and 414.
27. Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 236.
28. Op. cit., p. 344.
29. S.I.I., Vol. VI, Nos. 48, 49, 50, 57 and 58 (Please see "*Land grants and agrarian reactions*" (Mad. University p. 68; note 7 that follows in Appendix-I.) Note: After I wrote the text of the main lectures therein, Subbarayalu brought to my notice his learned paper on land assessment in which he has taken pains to examine the concept of *madakku ma*. The lines of thought of both of us, though each worked them out independently lead to the same conclusion on the content of the *madakku ma*. I have also re-examined the evidence and have made a significant departure from my earlier interpretation of *madakku ma*, as based on productivity. I now feel it safer to treat it and interpret it as based on assessment classification (without bringing in the concept of productivity). But my other conclusions on the preferential character of one mode over the other, somewhat, differ from Subbarayalu's for the reasons set out above. I might add that Subbarayalu's interpretation of Prof. K.A.N. Sastri's statement in the *Cholas* at p. 529 (2nd Edition 1955) is not what the great Professor had in mind. He was clearly aware of the "Cowle" system or gradual enhancement of tax over a period on reclaimed lands or the plantation crops which took longer time to yield. The Alangudi inscription on which the Professor's statement is based (A.R.Ep., 1899, No. 3), though fragmentary, refers not to arecanut-palms but also to wet lands which were on a fixed rental basis (*ottu*). That was revised and the demand in terms of grain and cash were fixed. This was a change in the form of holding or a tenure, when it was assessed to pay at the cash rates at which the *nadu* collected the dues (*kasu nadu kolla nichchayitta padiye*) and paddy at the rates prevalent (in the *nadu*). The reference to arecapalms in the inscription has, perhaps, led Subbarayalu to equate the Professor's general statement on the periodical revision of classification with concessional graduated scale of demand taken for arecapalms and plantains. But

the periodical revision of assessment of all cultivated lands was clearly in evidence and even the inter-change of the basis from *madakka to virivu and vice versa* are attested by the instances cited in this note. As such the Professor's general statement "that the revenue from agricultural lands was periodically reassessed, and classification of the land revised from time to time" is, indeed, amply borne out by the inscriptions.

But whether such revisions were in accordance with the changes in cropping, fertility *(et al)* is an aspect on which further evidence will be necessary, and investigations should be directed on this aspect.

Thirdly, to argue classification on the basis of assessment is no medieval deflection. It was adopted even in modern revenue settlement in British times as explained in my last note in appendix-I in my book referred to above.

I am grateful to Subbarayalu for his courtesy and furnishing me with a copy of his learned paper which is very incisive in its analysis, and written with clarity.

30. A.R.Ep., 1933, No. 204.

A NOTE ON KANDULAVU OR CROWN LANDS.

The term *Kandulavu* occurs in Pandya and Travancore Inscriptions to describe the erstwhile tenure of some lands granted by the king. Sri T. N. Subrahmanyam has correctly described this term as "king's own lands" *(arasanatu sonda nilam)*.[1] This paper seeks to throw some more light on this term. The term *ulavu* means cultivation, and enjoyment. *Kandu* means here direct or personal supervision under his very eye. Personal supervision of the gross yield at harvest time *(obbadi)* is even now termed *kandu-mudal-kana*. In other words it denotes lands held by the king for direct cultivation under or through his personal supervision. In Malayalam the equivalent term is *kandukrishi*.

In the nature of things, such lands would be comparatively limited in their occurrence and their location could be close to the capital. Two such instances are noticed - one in inscriptions from Tirunelveli[2] which was a Pandyan head-quarters of the medieval Pandyas[3] and another in an inscription from Tirupparankunram[4] close to Madurai, the capital. The term also occurs in Travancore inscriptions.[5].

In the 10th year of Maravarman Sundara Pandya, two princes or chieftains Tirunelveli Perumal and Pandya Perumal had endowed for a deity of Tirunelveli and the goddess for the mid-day service *(uchchhi sandhi)* their *kandulavu* land in Terkukuli in Asur-nadu. The inscription is incomplete and can be assigned to early 13th century A.D.[6]

The second instance is more detailed. In the reign of Sundara Pandya he granted lands for maintaining and feeding 11 Brahmanas who were to recite Sri Rudram (Sri Rudradhyayanam) before the Tirunelveli deity on the Mula asterisk, the native star of the king. The 11 Brahmanas were:

Madabosai Govinda Bhattan
Irunganti Andan Bhatta Somayaji
Pagatur Ulagamundan Bhattan
Allur Yagnanarayana Bhattan
Sottai Arulalapperumal Bhattan
Sibasai Sri Krishna Bhattan
Gomatam Bhupati Bhatta Brihaspati Savaiyajiyar
Settabosai Arulalapperumal Bhattar
Pullalur Yadava Bhattar
Irunganti Souripperumal Bhatta Somayaji
Vangipuram Nambi Bhattar

The lands were in Kunrattur a *devadana* village of the deity of Tirunelveli.

The lands were in the occupied holding (kani) of Malavarayan Tangai-nachchhi, apparently a tenant at will. It was under personal cultivation (*nam-ulavu*). It can yield 2 crops both *kar* and *pisanam* and first rate land (*talaivarisai-nilam*). The lands were located to the south ot *Rajarajavaykal*, west of the pathway or channel (*vadi*) and comprised the following:-

Sluice/ channel No. (kannaru).	No. of sey or field.	Extent
1	4	1 *ma*
	5	1/2 *ma*
	6	*mukkani* (3/80)
	8	1 *ma*
2	1	1 *ma*
3	3	1/2 *ma*
	7	1/2 *ma*
	8	1 *ma*
	9	*mukkani arai* (3/80+1/60)
4	1	1 *ma*
	2	1 *ma*
	3	1/2 *ma*
	4	*mukkani* (3/80)
	5)	
	6)	1 *ma* (each ?)
5	7	1 *ma*
	1	1/2 *ma*
	5	*kani* (1/80)
	3	1 *ma*
	Total.....	*veli* 3/4, 1 *ma varai*

The personal cultivation was discontinued from the month of *Purattasi*. The *kadamai* was payable together with *antarayam* to the temple as before, but *karanmai* and tax-yields in cash or as distributed among the fields were allocated as *Sri Rudradhyanappuram*.

From this evidence the following inferences can be made:-

The *kandulavu* lands could be located in *devadana* villages in which case, the land-dues allocated to the temple had to be paid to the temple. The full yield along with unallocated land-dues share could be appropriated by the king. In the instant case the lands though belonging to the king or the cheiftain as Palace Estate or as Crown lands, were still having a holding-claimant Malavarayan Tangai Nachchhi, who had, perhaps, agreed to pay in lump a share of the yield (*pattam*). But being a *kandulavu* land such a holding-claimant could be terminated, synchronising with the conversion of the tenure from *kandulavu* to *Sri Rudradhyanapuram* granted to the 11 Brahmanas.

Thirdly the lands were scattered over seven channels taking off from the main channel or tank-sluice. While the average size of the individual parcel was 1 *ma* (33 cents) some were even smaller. Also for purposes of grant, it could be that select parcels were picked out or all parcels under one tenant were granted in the aggregate, but they were scattered though in fairly close proximity.

But the lands were capable of growing two crops regularly and they were first rate in yield or assessment (*talaivarisai*).[9]

A second instance of *kandulavu* lands also comes from Tirunelveli. This is dated in the 8th year of Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandya.[10] In that year, the superintendents of the cultivated lands of the *sabha* of Tirunelveli *alias* Kulasekhara Chaturvedimangalam (*Pannai veli seyvar)* gave a single deed of conveyance (*eka pramana*) in substitution of several earlier ones. The grantees were the Brahmana residents of Anavaradadana-Chaturvedimangalam, a Brahmana settlement of 24 Bhattas having 24 shares besides 2 shares each for the Siva and the Vishnu temples, to the west of the Siva temple. The *agrahara* (Brahmana township or settlement) was set up by one Kottaiyur Alavandan Daivachchhilayar Bhattan and named after a chieftain or prince Anavaradadanapperumal.

One of the items of lands conveyed to the new Bhattas had a history. In earlier times, there was a rain-fed tank collecting surface-drainage and *ayacut (punakkulam)* in Melvembu-nadu in Ayarkulam included area. In that *ayacut* (command area) excluding the land-share *(karai)* enjoyed by one Jatavedan . . . . . the ancestors of *sabhaiyar* or Kulasekhara-Chaturvedimangalam had given the lands to the king as *ulavorri* that is they conveyed their cultivating rights to the king on a usufructary mortgage in return for cash payment. The king had then constructed a tank named Panditappereri[6] and the lands became a water-spread, and could not be cultivated. Hence in lieu of the yield-share the original Brahmana holders were given *svamibhogam* or a title share for the ownership of the lands. Subsequently this payment of *svamibhogam* was discontinued. The lands under the tank newly constructed and the tank were appropriated as the Palace Estate or Crown lands of the king *(pinnam, svamibhogam taramal perumal kandulavakki ponda Parril).*[7]

In the lands so constituting the Palace Estate the king by a letter had granted from the 7th year Chittirai, (*i.e.*, the year previous to the date of this inscription) 1-$\frac{1}{2}$ *veli* or 30 *ma* as *dharmadana* to the Bhattas who had been newly settled in Anavaradadana-Chaturvedimangalam. The *sabhayar* of the mother-township (Kulasekhara-Chaturvedimangalam) confirmed such a grant and a share of the water-spread *(kulam korvai)* (i.e., water-rights from the tank so granted). The new settlers could raise two crops *(kar, pisanam)* and a

summer crop also *(kuruvai)* by direct cultivation or by causing the lands to be cultivated *(payir seydum, seyduvittum)*, and could occupy the house-sites or cause them to be occupied *(kudiyirundum kudiyirutthiyum)*.

The king also issued a command that the new settlers were to pay the (proportionate) immutable demand *(vadakkadamai)* of 4-5/8 *achchu* to the deity of Tirunelveli temple. The *sabha* representatives endorsed this obligation, and directed payment[11] of other land dues to the temple as stipulated by the king. The facts set out are self-explanatory. In the process of betterment of irrigation facilities undertaken by the king, even the rights of the earlier grantees had apparently been overlooked, or ignored after an initial period of recompense paid for their title-dues *(svamibhogam)* as diversion fee for conversion of cultivable lands into a tank-bed.

The parcels of *(kandulavu)* lands in the *ayacut* of Virapanditapereri in Kunnattur had survived even upto the 16th century. For the Tiruvadi chieftain, Vira Marttandavarman granted some lands of this tenure in the same *ayacut* to the temple in Tirunelveli temple in Kollam 721 (A.D. 1525).[12]

The third instance comes from Tirupparankunram.[13] This is from the cave on the south side of the hill from Umayandar Temple. It is dated in the 7th year, 325th day of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (circa 1224 A.D.). A new deity named after the king was installed and a shrine built. (The present Umayandar temple). The priests supplicated for a grant of land for the apparel expenses, temple construction works, and other needs of the shrine. Malavarayan, the chieftain endorsed this request and suggested the grant of 6 *ma* of double crop lands, and 6 *ma* of single crop lands in all 1/2 *veli* and 2 *ma*. The lands were the *kandulavu* lands of the king in Pulingunrur, to the east of *(kilpuram)* Viranarayana tank, *alias* Sundarapandyapuram. The lands were to be measured by *Malaikudi* rod (L. 4, 10) or *Vasantavai* rod (Lines 33-34; 48) and were to be localised in a contiguous block on one side of the fields (*orupakkamadaiya*) so that they need not be interspersed and the beneficial enjoyment of both the grant lands and of the residue might not be affected.

The king granted 12 ma of lands as *devadana iraiyili* (lands endowed for the temple rendered free from land-dues) accordingly together with the land dues, *karanmai miyatchi*, *antarayam*, *marakkalam*, *vettippattam*, *panjupiii*, *sandivigrahapperu*, *perumpadikkaval* and all other dues. The royal officers duly conveyed the grant.

The effect of the grant was that the crown lands in which the king had absolute rights (without any tenancy or occupancy) were converted into *devadana* lands. The temple could either directly cultivate the lands through tenants at will or through creation of occupancy rights. The land dues conveyed include *marakkalam* i.e., the superintendening fee for lands and harvests while the lands were under direct cultivation.

There was a similar case of change in tenure noticed in Suchindram. In A.D. 1489, the Tiruvadi chief, Ravivarman *alias* Tiruppappur Mutha Tiruvadi granted a land which was a *kandulavu* or crown land irrigated by the south channel of the Virakerala big tank in Tuppaykkudi in Nanjil-nadu, released it from his personal cultivation and gave it to Perumal Rayar, daughter of Arumugapperumal, the first service-holder in Suchindram temple, instituting a bath and a special service on his birthday - *Purattadi* asterisk in *Masi* month.[14]

The term is also used to denote the land under the direct cultivation of the deity *i.e.*, through hired labour under the supervision of the temple authorities. One such parcel was released from direct cultivation in *Saka* 1489 (A.D. 1567) from among the temple lands of Tenkasi Visvanathasvami in later Pandya times.[15]

Instances of *kandulavu* lands endowed by Pandya kings to temples[16] or converted into *tiruvidaiyattam pattam*[17] also occur in the western hamlet of Srivaikuntam and in Kadayanallur. There were also some crown lands in the village Nallur in Kil Kala Kurram which were irrigated by the Chittar river (Also cf S I I vol. XXVI 553).

The corresponding term in Malayalam is *kandukrishi*. This term has come to be used later even to lands under the temple's own direct cultivation (1795 A. D.) in the Pattali Copper Scroll of Kollam 971[18]. But its definitive use was to denote the home-farm lands of the king. It occurs as such in the Kadukkarai-olai document of Kollam 898 (1722 A D.).[19] It was an year of acute distress and conflict between the landholders and the rulers of Travancore and the palace servants. On account of the unbearable exactions on the lands in Nanjil-nadu and the deployment of the army for revenue exactions the lands were left uncultivated and people retreated to the east of mountains. The king himself interceded and patched the dispute. But the landholders were in a resolute mood and demanded damages for their sufferings and those who transgressed their collective decisions were called to account.

Among the lands of various tenures, *kandulavu* lands also occur but these lands were also leased (*pattam*) at a fixed rate of 30 *panams* per *ma*, as all other *devadana*, *brahmadanam* lands of special tenure, and waste lands. Even the small parcels of *kandulavu* lands were held on the same *pattam* terms. Though they were the king's own lands in actual cultivation they should have been neglected to be rated along with waste lands and other endowed lands.

The lands of this tenure have survived right down to our times in the former Travancore State. Dewan A. Seshiah Sastri has described

the *kandukrishi* lands as the homefarm lands of the sovereign. The lands were theoretically speaking cultivated by the sovereign himself. Seed and hire for cultivation used to be advanced to the actual tenant and recovered with interest out of the harvest out of which the tenants got for their share generally a little more than 1/2 of the gross produce. If the lands were held under direct cultivation they were *tanatu* holdings.

If they were leased on a fixed rental the lands were on *pattam* sub-tenure. Some lands paid even a quitrent or favourable assessment to the government. The sovereign could also assign the lands at his pleasure free from all levy (*irayili* or *karaolivu*). *Kandukrishi* tenants however. in strict legal theory, were only tenants at will and they do not and could not have any property rights in the lands,[20] But in actual practice the *pattam*-holders of the *kandukrishi* lands freely bought and sold and bequeathed and inherited the lands and dealt in land otherwise. In the tranferred territory of Kanyakumari District, there were 119 acres and 38 cents of *kandukrishi* lands. They had earlier been transferred to the Government of Travancore-Cochin by the ruler of Travancore in his proclamation dated 27th May 1949, and the ruler surrendered all his rights to the government. On the States Reorganisation Act coming into force, it was left to the then Government of Madras to appropriately deal with lands of this tenure in the Revenune Settlement of the transferred territory.

Notes :

1. *S. I. Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Pt. 2 p. 412
2. *S. I. I.*, Vol V, Nos. 408, 432 and 411
3. Maravarman Srivallabha, a Pandya ruler of the early 12th century had a palace (*koil*) at Tirunelveli (*T.A.S.*, Vol. VII, Pt. 1, pp. 3-4 : *Kanyakumari Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu Govt.*, Part III, 308 of 1968
4. *A.S.S.I.*, Vol IV, pp. 43-4.
5. *T.A.S.*, Vol VI, part I, p. 93; *Ibid.*, Vol. V pt. 3, p. 223H
6. *S.I.I.*, Vol V, No. 408.
8. The total would tally on the basis of I *ma* each in fields 5 & 6 roughly to 3/4 *veli*, but does not exactly tally.
9 *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 432, pp. 157-8.
10 *Ibid.*, No. 411, p. 138
11 *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 411, p. 138, line 25
12 *ARSIE.*, 1927, No. 59.

13 *A.S.S.I.*, Vol. IV, Burgess & Natesa Sastri, pp. 43-4. It should be noted that the lexicographical memory of Tamilnadu in the 19th century has lost sight of the technical and denotative significance of this term. Nelson in his *Madura Manual* while giving a free translation of this inscription takes *Kandulavu* to be a field name. Even Burgess & Natesa Sastri in editing and translating this inscription have not brought out the correct import of this term.

14. *ARIE.*, 1958-59, No. B 458 I am grateful to the Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India for sparing a transcript of this unpublished inscription. (*Tenkal kandulavil vittukkudutta nilattukku*)

15. S.*I.I.*, Vol. V, 766 Tenkasi. (*nam kandulavum tirandu*) Also please see *ARSIE.*, 1927, No. 86 (A.D. 1557-Tirunelveli)

16. *ARIE.*, 1959-60, Nos. 379-76

17. *ARSIE.*, 1917, No. 645

18. *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI part I, pp. 93-96

19. *Ibid.*, Vol. V part 3, pp. 222-4

20. *T.S.R. Manual*, Vol. III, part I pp. 15-16

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A CHOLA VILLAGE ACCOUNT OF A.D. 1234

Reconstructed from an Acchalpuram Inscription

Occurrences of *Verbatim* copies of land surveys or land accounts are rare among epigraphs. Where they occur they are the epigraphists' delight.

A true copy of the Village traverse survey conducted in the 9th year of Rajendra Chola I (AD 1021) has been reproduced from the palace archives, and inscribed some 200 years later in AD 1209-10 in Mannarkoil temple.[1] A command area account, sluice-wise or channel-wise has been recorded in Pudukkottai tract at Irumbanadu.[2]

A complete copy of the village account containing the land grants to Tirupperumanamudaiya Nayanar of Kulottunga-Chola-Caturvedimangalam has now come to light.[3] The inscription is well preserved. It is dated in the 18th year of Rajaraja III (AD 1234).

The aforesaid Brahmadeya township otherwise called Pancavanmadevi was in Vennaiyur nadu in Rajadhiraja valanadu.

The deity had three grants severally endowed at different times. They were (1) Tirunamattukkani lands-lands held by and registered in the name of the deity. These were located in the hamlet (Pidagai) (of the main Brahmadeya Township), called Sattamangalam alias Sivasarana-sekharanallur. From within that hamlet (Utkuru) the endowed lands were separated and named as "Tirupperumananallur" after the deity. This was based on a royal epistle (Tirumugappadi).

A second component were the lands granted and already separated in the 30th year of Kulottunga III (AD 1208) and constituted into a separate unit. The lands so enjoyed by the deity were constituted into a revenue unit called "Tribhuvanaviramangalam".

These lands however, were interspersed with the lands held collectively by the Township to their account, and some other parcels held by the deity as Tirunamattukkani (urparray Tirunamattukkani ana nilamum utpada). The account included these, the third component, of lands as well.

The record is a Kaittadi (a partition deed) of the lands constituting these different categories, and it contains the details as per enjoyment in AD 1234.

The necessity for engraving this complete transcript (Ediridai) or counterpart document on stone might be traced, perhaps, to the troubled times in the reign of the hapless ruler, Rajaraja III and the need to make a permanent record of the lands endowed in the name of the deity, and in His enjoyment, lest there should be disputes regarding enjoyment and difficulty in collection of land-dues for the deity.

The document is described as Kaittadi - a partition deed or an account of the lands enjoyed by the deity, preserving the integrity of the three different components. The document is attested by 7 accountants of the townships involved (i) Uttamappiriyan, (ii) Anaimudaiyan Alankarapiriyan, (iii) Tiruccirrambalappiriyan, (iv) Sri Mahesvarappiriyan, (v) Vanavanmadeviudayan Brahmappiriyan, (vi) Ayirattinurruvappiriyan, (vii) Bhattappiriyan. Perhaps (i) to (iii) were Village accountants, (iv) looking after the accounts of Srimaheswaras of the temple, (v) and (vii) being the accountants of the Brahmin Township organisation - the Sabha, and (vi) an account serving the merchant Township, if some presumptions could be made based on their names.

The total extent of the lands of the three components described below adds upto 108 9/32 ma (or about 46 acres and 04 cents). The components are:

(i) Tirupperumananallur lands endowed and separated as per the royal epistle (of Rajaraja III (?) (Tirumugappadi). The extent of this unit was 78 1/16 ma.[4]

Of the balance of 30 7/32 ma,

(ii) the "Tribhuvanaviramangalam" had lands enjoyed by the deity measuring only 3 23/64 ma (about I ac. and 11 cents),

Of the 3 23/64 ma of item (ii), the lands excluded from assessment (Ningal) was 17/32 ma. The yielding lands (vilainilam) bearing the Taram classification totalled 2 53/64 ma.

(iii) The balance of 26 55/64 ma constituted the lands held in the collective account of the Township - (Urparray Tirunamattukkani) and in the Deity's name.

Out of the total of 26 55/64 (item iii), however, the lands excluded from assessment totalled 21 13/64 ma. The garden lands (Kollai) assessed and classified were 5 21/32 ma.

All lands used for non - agricultural purposes, like bed and bund of tanks, and embankments etc. were unassessed and unclassified and were treated as part of the Township common The parcels falling to the grant villages had varied in extent from 1/8 ma (4.125 cents) to 5 ma (Ac. 1-65 cents).

The Tirupperumananallur grant contained, perhaps, mostly yielding lands (though their Tarams are not available and the lands excluded from assessment are but limited. The available data listed in Appendix I gives a total of 1 29/32 ma of excluded lands only and the yielding lands, consequently, at 76 5/32 ma.

This abstract of constituent - grants is given at the end of the inscription, after full details of the location, nature of the land, and the particulars of lands of either of the two categories, viz. (i) excluded from assessment and (ii) assessed and classified lands are given block-wise under each sluice.

The yielding lands of Tribhuvanaviramangalam, and of the Urparru Tirunamattukkani have been classified; the extent of land under each Taram is given as per area-measurement, (parappu) and also in terms of "madakku ma" i.e. in terms of the assesment and the consequent area deduced in terms of the standard classified ma (madakku ma).

The Taram - wise classified lands which are capable of yield are given below unit-wise, and the corresponding madakku ma and their total.

(i) Tribhuvanaviramangalam:

Taram	Extent as per area measurement (all in ma)	In terms of madakku or ma.	Percentage of 3 to 2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
14	11/32	75/5120	
15	9/32	31/2560	
16	2 13/64	137/5120	
Total	2 53/64	17/320 ma or 0.0531 ma	1.88

(ii) Urparru Tirunamattukkani lands :
(Kollai) backyard or garden land.

Taram	Extent as per area-measurement (ma)	Madakku ma	Percentage of 3 to 2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3	3/16	9/512 ma	
5	11/16	11/256	
6	2 11/32	253/2560	
7	1 1/160	9/256	
8	1 5/16	21/1024	
Total	5 21/32 ma	233/1024 madakku or 0.223 ma	3.91

The lands were spread over several blocks (saduram) under several Kannar (sluice-wice channels). These items of parcels number 22. The lands of Tirupperumananallur and Urparru Tirunamattukkani occur in all the blocks. The lands constituting Tribhuvanviramangalam did not lie in blocks 4-4, 6-4, 7-4, 1-1-1, 2-1, 3-2, 4-1, 6-2nd bit, 7-1, 8-2nd bit. The total extent of this grant is only 3 23/64 ma, and hence this is explicable.

Appendix II sets out a tabulated analysis of the block (under each channel) the total extent of the block, the extents falling to the respective units, Tribhuvanaviramangalam, Tirupperumananallur and the Urparru-Tirunamathukkani. This last were lands, presumably, interspersed and accounted as the collective holding of Sattamangalam, alias Sivasarana-sekharanallur, the hamlet of the Brahmadeya village.

The details contained in the inscriptions have been checked and they are found tally in all cases except for three discrepancies noted in the remarks column of App. II. These discrepancies might be attributed to the copying of the fractions or omissions therein or in transcription.[5]

The tabulation follows the scheme of the account in the inscription. It sets out the sluice number, the concerned (block or square) *saduram*. Sometimes extents of land in excess of the block are termed 'miguti' or tundam or bit. In all, there are 22 items.

The total extent of each block in 13 cases is 6 ma (1 acre-48 cents). This seems to have been, the general standard size of the block formed in this command. In 9 other cases the extent varies. The reason, as inferred above, is that they formed bits, or excess-extents, less than the standard size of blocks, but lying adjacent to the block formed with the standard extent

of 6 ma. and numbered. The items with less than 6 ma, the Standard area, are given below:-

Sl. No.	
5	2 ma
6 & 7	3 1/3 ma (excess land "miguthi"
11	5 1/4 ma (2nd bit)
13	5 1/4 ma (2nd bit)
15	5 1/4 ma (2nd bit)
18	3 1/4 ma (2 bit)
20	2 1/4 ma (excess lands - 6 "miguthi)
22	1 1/4 ma (2nd bit)

The account gives the total extent, and the respective extents pertaining to (i) Tirupperumanallur, (ii) Tribhuvanaviramangalam and (iii) the Urparru Tirunamattukkani of Sattamangalam.

The third category of lands-"Urparru Tirunamattukkani"- should need explanation. It might mean lands, used for public purposes or for non-agricultural use and hence collectively held by the Township, for the tenure of such user, and as such unassessed and unclassified. Should the public purpose cease, and the lands so used be turned to agricultural use, the Township would be either liable collectively or can assign the occupancy of those lands to any individual who would bear the assessment on the classification assigned.

But yielding or cuitivable lands were held in the occupancy of the Deity (Tirunamattukkani) and bore the assessment and classification assigned. These latter formed part of the occupied holdings of the Township.

It might also imply that the lands classified and assessed in the name of the deity were originally occupied holdings of the individuals which had been given away to the deity and the lands became the occupied holdings of the deity. Assessment rates denoted by the Taram and fastened on these lands when they were held by the occupants of the Township would subsist and devolve on the deity for payment unless expressly remitted by the King, or taken over by the Township to be borne collectively or otherwise provided for by a capital deposit. It follows that "Tirunamattukkani" lands were assessed lands, liable to pay land dues unless specifically exempted or otherwise provided for.[6]

The lands comprised in everyone of the components are further divided into (i) lands excluded from assessment (*Ningal*) and (ii) lands which are cultivated, cultivable and yielding (*vilainilam*).

The former consist of lands excluded from assessment and these include tanks, bunds of tanks, embankments (kulai), channel-bunds, garden waste, (Kollai-manal pal), sand-waste, streams, temple-sites or appurtenances, and pathways leading to such places (olukkai), house-sites, whether occupied or not. Most of these falling under the third component were held in the collective holding of the Township (Urparru). They are not classified, as no assessment is due from them so long as they are utilised for the public purpose or non-agricultural use.

The distinction has to be borne in mind between 'Ningal' and 'Irangal'. Prof. Sastri has pointed out "it is clear that the term IRANGAL means exemption (from taxes) whereas "*Ningal*" means "only that the taxes were removed from the State revenue registers because they had been transferred to some other agency for its own use".[7]

The statement of Prof. Sastri has apparently been derived from the clubbing of "Iraiyili" lands together with other lands used for public or communal use in the long inscription of Rajaraja I.[8] In that inscription to arrive at the net tax-paying lands all lands that were excluded from assessment (i.e.) lands exempted from payment of land dues (including "Iraiyili") have been taken together and deducted.

T. N. Subrahmanyam has rendered the term "Ningal" as follows: "Generally it refers to the remission or deduction of the land-dues to the State (Irai), yet, it refers to those dues, though removed from the Governmental revenue-demand register, which were transferred to the tax dues register of Nadu or other institutions and are utilised for the expenses of such institutions to which they are tranferred".[9] This requires revision.

The statement of Prof. Sastri would also require revision, especially in the latter part.[10] "Ningal" more appropriately, refers to lands not cultivated or readily cultivable but used as bunds, channel-embankments or as temple site or house-sites or left waste for undefined communal use. As there was no crop yield, they could not be assessed and the classification of such lands would not arise. But these lands could be/were reclaimable, and cultivable particularly when the communal purpose or the user had ceased or no longer required the land for such purpose or the user had fallen into disuse. Once they were reclaimed or cultivated (Tiruthu) they were assessed and assigned

a Taram classification. In short, "Ningal" would refer to lands put to public or communal use or otherwise not readily cultivable but liable to assessment and classification when they were brought under cultivation. They include lands assessed but exempted for the time being from payment of land dues.[11]

This is established by a few instances cited in the inscription under study. Item 11 has an extent 1/16 ma which was *Kulaivarambu Tiruthu* - i.e. a land formerly used as a boundary edge or an embankment but since reclaimed and had borne an assessment and classified and a Taram (14, 16) assigned. So too 1/8 ma (item 12) was originally excluded from assessment. After it was reclaimed or it became cultivable it was assigned 16th Taram. Other instances are 1/8 ma in item 14, and 3/16 ma in item 19.

Lands were classified as Kollai (Garden land) and the cultivated/ cultivable yielding (wet) lands (vilainilam) and dry lands (Punjai). The Taram classification is assigned to the *Kollai* (garden) and vilai nilam (wet) lands. No lands occur here under 'dry'.

The area-measurement of each parcel of land is given, and the Taram classification, the extent under each Taram are entered. The area-measurements for each Taram is then converted into the Standard-conversion ma (madakku ma), being the coefficient of the area measurement and the assessments these parcels had borne.[12]

The classified extents are available in the inscription only for lands constituting Tribhuvanaviramangalam, and the collective holdings and Tirunamattukkani in the village (Urparru Tirunamattukkani). Perhaps this classification account for Tirupperumanallur was maintained in a distinct and seperate account on its being formed into a separate unit and hence is not transcribed in this inscription.

Appendix III sets out the Taram-wise classification and the extent under each in each block in the two units mentioned above.

Cultivable wet lands in Tribhuvanaviramangalam have been all classified in Tarams 14, or 15 or 16. The lands in the collective holding of the Township and Tirunamattukkani tenure range from Taram 3 to 8. The lands of the two constituent units even when they were located in the same block are classified differently as seen below.

(1)	(2)			(3)		
Sl.No.	Tribhuvanaviramangalam			Urparru Tirunamattukkani all in ma		
8.	15th	Taram	3/32 ma	Garden	8th Taram	1/8
11.	14th	,,	1/14	Garden	5th ,,	3/16
	16th	,,	7/64		6th ,,	1/4
					7th ,,	3/16
12.	16th	,,	1/8	Garden	bund	
					5th ,,	5/16
					6th ,,	3/32
13.	16th	,,	19/32	Garden land	3rd ,,	3/16
					5th ,,	3/16
					8th ,,	3/16
14.	14th	,,	3/32	Garden	7th ,,	3/4
					8th ,,	5/8
21.	16th	,,	3/32	Garden	8th ,,	1/16

This difference in *Taram* has to be sought in the category of the lands. The lands in Col. (3) above are all classified as Garden lands and bear Tarams 3 to 8. There are other garden lands of the Urparru Tirunamattukkani. They are also classified as below:

Item 2	Garden 6th Taram	1/8 ma	
4	6th	,,	3/4 ma
9	6th	,,	1 ma
15	6th	,,	1/8
16	7th	,,	3/16
	8th	,,	7/16

Hence the lands under Urparru Tirunamattukkani being garden lands or backyard (Kollai) cultivation lands are placed in higher Tarams.

The lands in Tribhuvanaviramangalam were cultivable, yielding wet lands (vilainilam). They are all placed in 14, 15 and 16th Tarams. The following instances substantiate this in addition to those listed above.

Sl. No.	Extent	Taram
1	1/8	15
3	1/4 ma	16
8	3/32"	15
17	1/4 ma	16
19	3/16 ma	16
20	3/32 ma	16
22	3/16 ma	16

Moreover, some of them were lands originally excluded from assessment but after they were reclaimed they were assessed and classified. Examples are (as already noticed), items 10, 12, 14, 19 in App. II. Hence they were assessed at lower rates. There might be a concessional element in the rate as well.

The data relating to the Taram classification of the lands and the total area-measurements for each Taram, and the corresponding *madakku ma*, and per *ma* (by area-measurement) equation for the *madakku ma* and per *veli* (Taram-wise) are given in the App. IV. The data presented would substantiate the higher the numeral of the Taram the lower the rate of the land dues levied. The only instance which belies this statement is under Taram 15 where the per *ma*/veli to madakku ma ratio is higher than for Taram 14. Appendix IV-B gives the differential margin between the higher and the lower Taram in terms of *madakku ma*.

The Tarams numbered as many as 20.[13] The larger the number of Tarams the inter se margin between the lower and the next higher Taram would, presumably, be small. For: the range of the Taram-spread is wider.[14]

The more important question is the ratio between the Parappu or the area-measurement and madakku ma. It varies from 1 : 0.0937 to 1 : 0.156 as between the 3rd and 8th Taram. The variation is 1 : 0.0414 to 1 : 0.012 as between 14th and 16th Taram. Unfortunately the rates for the different Tarams are not available, and in their absence how the *madakku ma* given for the area-measurements was arrived is not known. If these rates become available, a more definitive conclusion on the *Taram* area and the *madakku ma* equation may be arrived at. Perhaps one may surmise - but only surmise- the larger the extent under a higher Taram (as under 6th, 7th and 8th) the higher are the equations between the Veli and the *madakku ma*. (See App. IV - A & B).

SUMMARY

The following conclusions can be drawn from the analysis made and the other data contained in the inscription.

Irrespective of the grant extent, the tenurial integrity of each grant was maintained by constituting such lands enjoyed by an entity like the temple (Devadana) into a separate revenue village.[15] Accounts were maintained, as such, for each grant separately.

The lands, though accounted for separately need not necessarily be divided by metes and bounds nor need they form a contiguous localised area. Indeed, in this case, the lands enjoyed from AD 1208 and those granted in AD 1234 were both lying interspersed with the other Urparru-Tirunamattukkani lands of the hamlet in the same command blocks.

The evidence is explicit in some cases that in order to equitably distribute the good, bad, and indifferent lands, or lands at the headreaches, middle and tail-end of the command areas the granted parcels were deliberately distributed to reflect the varied locational advantages or command facility, and differential fertility of soils and consequently the lands were scattered.

Channels were named after the rulers or adopted their titles (Parantaka, Madhurantaka) and even the field channels had borne such names.

Parcels of land had become already very small and fragmented. There might be some cases, where the lands were not divided by metes and bounds. The fractional share interest in respect of lands used for communal purposes but divided among the constituent grants was also perhaps notional.

In almost every command block among the excluded lands occur 'tank' in small extents. Examples are in S. no. 12, 13 and 15 all in Tirupperumananallur grant. In items 1, 3, the 'tank' occurs under Urparru and in 9 under both Urparru and Tirupperumananallur. There may be two possibilities. Though the tank and other communal lands are distributed among several command blocks they might be continuous; alternately they might be small ponds in each individual block for storing water for irrigation. A third possibility might be the notional fractional share in the tank area of the township relatable to the extent of the occupied lands was apportioned and taken to the account.

The account adopts the form of a traverse survey commencing generally from the south, proceeding thence to west or east and the north and the type of lands in between, distinguishing the lands excluded from assessment and those bearing assessment and classification. But this is not uniform as in some cases the traverse commences from the north. It is very much like an *Olugu* or traverse location sketch of enjoyment. A verbatim translation of one segment is afforded in Appendix V.

The remarkable accuracy of the fractional[16] measurements and the minutest detail of lands of various descriptions and their extents are noteworthy. The breakup of the measurements and of the component lands of various descriptions have been checked and they fully tally barring the few exceptions that prove the rule.

The particular significance of this inscription is that it gives a model of the village account kept, and the intricate land measurements and land-records maintained during the Chola rule, even when it was fading out of its glory. The terminology, land-use and land-rights, and the tenurial attributes had in many instances, lingered right down to our times especially in ex-Zamindari areas or in native States.

The lands excluded from assessment were those used for communal purposes and the exclusion subsisted only so long as those purposes continued to be served. If they were converted for agricultural use, or reclaimed then the lands bore assignment and classification based thereon.

The command area was divided sluice-wise and blocks of 6 ma (1.98 cents) formed, and the residual or excess extents if any were formed into bits (Tundam) within such blocks. The extent is separately given for lands excluded from assessment, as distinguished from assessed lands.

This account is only of the partitioned extents of principal occupancy and enjoyment. There should have been separate accounts for each grant, with an inventory of all lands (Olugu) excluded from assessment or assessed and classified, with the interests and shares held by different holders which had converged on a parcel of land. Similarly, there should be a Taram Pottagam and 'vari Pottagam', a Revenue account, the former a classification register of lands, and the latter showing the land dues demand from the lands so classified and due to the State or to the assignees. There are references to these registers specifically in other inscriptions.[17]

APPENDIX – II

An abstract of the accounting details of the parcels of lands constituting the Villages of Tribhuvanaviramangalam, Tiruppperumananallur and the common holdings of the Township, and in the deity's name Sattamangalam village otherwise known as Sivasaranasekharanallur (Common holdings of the Township).

———

Sl. No. 1	Kannar (Sluice) 2	Block (Saduram) 3	Extent 4	Tribhuvana-viramangalam 5	Tirupperumana-nallur 6	Urparru 7	Remarks 8
1	3	4					
		West of Madhurantaka field channel North of Parantaka channel	To the south 3 ma To the north 3 ma —— Total 6 ma ——	5/32 ma of which sand waste 1/32 cultivable 1/8 - - 15th Taram	3/4 ma 2 13/16 ma ———— 3 9/16 ma ————	1/4 Tank bund, channel bund and embankment 3/16 ,, ,, excluded from assessment —— 7/16 ——	4 5/32 ma Total accounted for Balance 1 27/32 not detailed. (was part of the common holding or excluded lands of the township(?)
2	4	4	6 ma	—	1/4 (Veli) or 5 ma	i) Excluded land from within the common holding 1. Sand waste 7/8 ii) Tank bund 1/2 2. Garden or backyard 1/8= land (Kollai) 6 Taram —— 5/8 ——	Total comes to 5+5/8+7/8=6 1/2 1/2 ma excess (?).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3	5	4	6 ma	1/4ma = 16 Taram (Cultivable land)	4 15/16 ma yielding land	13/16 comprising channel, bund, tank, streams, tank bund.	Total 6 ma
4.	6	4	6 ma	-	4 1/4	i) 1 3/4 of which excluded from assessment 1 ma ii) Garden land 3/4 ma = 6 th Taram	Excluded land house site, tank, sand waste, tank bund and embank -ment boundary Tallies
5.	7	4	2 ma	-	1 5/8 ma (Vilainilam - Cultivable land)	Excluded lands 3/8 being house-site, tank bund, embankment, boundary.	Tallies
6.	1	1	2 ma + 1 1/4 ma = 3 1/4 ma	-	1 ma of which excluded bund of tank etc. 1/8 Cultivable land 7/8 = 1 ma	Excluded lands - 2 1/4 ma Comprising Ayirattennurru Vinayakar Temple Courtyard, garden, besides garden waste, sand waste.	Tallies
7.	2	1	(including excess land north west Vada merku mighuthi)				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8.	3	1	6 ma	Cultivable yielding 3/32 lands= 15th Taram	4 25/32 ma	1 1/8 of which land excluded from assessment 1 ma Garden land 1/8ma - 8th Taram Total 1 1/8 ma	Tallies
9.	3	2	6 ma To the South 3 ma To the North 3 ma Total 2 19/32 +3 5/32+1/4 $\left(\frac{19+5+8}{32}\right)=32/32$ =5+1=6 ma		2 19/32 ma of which tank bund 3/32 etc. house sites 5/8 cultivable land 1 7/8 Total 2 19/32 Temple premises 1/8 ma Pathway leading to Pillayar temple 1/8 ma =1/4 ma	Excluded from assessment 13/32 ma Embankment & tank Tallies 3 5/32 ma of which Excluded land 2 5/32 Garden land 1 ma - 6th Taram	
10.	4	1	6 ma	-	5 11/16 (Yielding land)	5/16 Excluded from assessment	Tallies

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
11.	2nd bit 5 1/4ma=,29/64+ (Thund-3 24/64+1 27/64 am) =5 1/4 ma		29/64 of which (Kulai Varambu Tiruttu)* i. The reclaimed bund/boundary 1/16 ii. Garden waste & Sand waste excluded from assessment 3/32 iii.Cultivable land 19/64 Excluded land : 3/32 (item ii) Cultivable land : 23/64 (items i&iii) of which 14th Taram 1/4 16th Taram 7/64 } 23/64	3 3/8ma of which Tank bund 1/8 etc. excluded from assessment Cultivable land 3 1/4 3 3/8		91/64 or 1 27/64 ma of which excluded land from assessment 51/64 Garden land : 5/8 of which 5th Taram: 3/16 6th Taram: 1/4 } 5/8 ma 7th Taram: 3/16	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			* Note : A land excluded from assess-ment(ningal) bears a Taram (assessment) when re-claimed.				Tallies
12.	5	1	6 ma (5/32+4 7/8 +31/32) = 6 ma	5/32 of which Excluded from assessment house site 1/32 *(Ahamanai)* Excluded from assess-ment, but since reclaimed & classified & cultivable-1/8 16th Taram	4-7/8 of which excluded land 1/8 tank, embankment 1/8 cultivable land 4 3/4	31/32 of which Excluded land 9/16 Embankment, bunds & house-sites Garden land 13/32 of which 5th Taram 5/16 6th Taram 3/32 ------- Total 13/32 -------	Tallies
13.	2 bit therein		5 1/4* * (Left out in the transcript)	23/32 ma Excluded land 1/8 Cultivable land 19/32 - 16th Taram	3 3/8ma of which tank and 1/8 bund excluded cultivable land 3 1/4	1-5/32 ma of which excluded from assessment 23/32 Garden land 7/16 Classified under 3rd Taram - 3/16 4th Taram - 3/16 8th Taram - 1/16	Tallies

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14.	6	1	6 ma (9/16+2 3/4+ 2 11/16) =6 ma	Total 9/16 i) Excluded land since reclaimed & Cultivable: 1/8 16th Taram ii) Cultivable land : 3/32 14th Taram iii) Cultivable land : 1/16 15th Taram iv) Cultivable land : 3/16 16th Taram --- Total: 15/32 ma --- Thus: Excluded land 3/32 from assessment Cultivable land 15/32 --- Total: 9/16 ---	2 3/4 ma	2 11/16 ma of which excluded from assessment 13/16 Garden land: 1 3/8 of which 7th Taram: 3/4 8th Taram: 5/8 | 1 3/8 --- Total 2 3/16 ---	1/2 ma discrepancy between breakup and total. But the total Urparru should be 2 11/16 to take the total extent of the Block to 6 ma.
15.	2nd bit	(To the north east) Excess:(miguthi) 4 1/2			3 3/32 ma of which Tank bund 3/32 Cultivable land - 3 ma	1 13/32 of which excluded from assesment 1 9/32 Garden land - 1/8 6th Taram 1 13/32	Tallies

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
16.	7	1	6 ma in all 1 bit to the West-2 ma(?) 2 bit to the South & excess on North east = 3 3/4	Nil	4 3/4 ma of the second bit 2 29/32 of which Excluded land in 2nd bit being Urparru 3/32 Net 2 13/16 (Cultivable land)	1 1/4ma of which Excluded land from assessment 5/8 Garden land 5/8 = 1¼ of which 7th Taram: 3/16 8th Taram: 7/16 = 5/8 ma	The total for 7-1 block seems to be 6 ma excluding 3¾ ma additional in the 2nd bid
17.	8	1	6 ma (5/16+5 1/16 +5/8)	i) Cultivable land 1/4 16 Taram ii) Excluded from assessment 1/16 --- 5/16 ---	1/516	Excluded lands - 5/8	
18	2nd bit	N.A. (3 1/4 ma)	—	Cultivable land 2 5/8 ma	5 3/16 land yielding	Excluded from 5/8 ma assessment	Tallies. The Total reconstructed from break up.
19	9	6 ma (7/32+5 3/16+ 9/32)=6 ma	—	7/32 Excluded land bund 1/32 Excluded land since reclaimed 3/16 & Cultivable land (16th Taram) Total 7/32		13/16 (inclusive of 7/32) Excluding Tribhuvenaviramangalam 7/32 balance 19/32 Excluded from assessment 19/32	Tallies

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
20	—	2	(To the North east excess (Miguthi) 2 1/4	Excluded land 1/32 cultivable land 3/32 -16th Taram ——— Total 1/8 ma ———		5/8 ma Excluded from assessment being embankment, bund 3/32 and tank bund 1/8 Garden waste & sand waste to the north 13/32 —— Total 5/8 ——	Tallies
21.	10	1	6 ma	1/8 ma of which Excluded from assess-ment 1/32 ma Cultivable lands 3/32 ma 16th Taram ------- Total 1/8 -------	Cultivable land 1/4 (or 5 ma)	7/8 ma of which excluded from assessment 13/16 Garden or backyard (Kollai) 1/16- 8th Taram ----- 7/8 -----	Tallies
22.	2nd bit	-	1 1/4 ma	Cultivable land – 3/16- 16th Taram	Cultivable land 1/8 ma	Excluded from assessment 15/16 ma	Tallies

APPENDIX–III

Statement of Classified Lands :

Tribhuvanaviramangalam				Urparru Tirunamathukkani		Tirupperu mananallur
Kan.	Sad.	Taram	Extent (all in ma)	Taram	Extent	(Not given)
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
3	4	15	1/8			
4	4			6	1/8	
5	4	16	1/4			
6	4			6	3/4	
3	1	15	3/32	8	1/8	
3	2			6	1 ma	
4	2nd bit	14	1/4 | 23/64	5	3/16)	
		16	7/64 |		)	5/8
				6	1/4)	
				7	3/16)	
5	1	16	1/8	5	5/16)	13/32
				6	3/32)	
5	2nd bit	16	19/32	3	3/16)	
				5	3/16)	7/16
				8	1/16)	
6	1	16	1/8)	7	3/4)	
		14	3/32 } 15/32	8	5/8)	1 3/8
		15	1/16 |			
		16	3/16)			
6	2nd bit			6	1/8	
7	1			7	3/16)	
				8	7/16)	5/8
8	1	1/16	1/4			
9	1	16	3/16			
9	2	16	3/32			
10	1	16	3/32	8	1/16	
10	2nd bit	16	3/16		—	

APPENDIX - IV

A Statement of Taramwise total classification, madakku/ma reduction, per ma-madakku ma extent, and per Veli - madakku ma equation :

Urparru Tirunamathukkani

Taram	Parappu or area measurement (all in ma)	Madakku ma	Madakku ma per ma	Per Veli : to Madakku ma equation
3	3/16	9/512	3/32	1 : 0.0937
5	11/16	11/256	1/16	1 : 0.0625
6	2 11/32	253/2560	253/600	1 : 0.0421
7	1 1/160	9/256	45/1288	1 : 0.0349
8	21/16 or 1 5/16	21/1024	1/64	1 : 0.156

Tribhuvanaviramangalam

14	11/32	73/5120	73/1760	1 : 0.414
15	9/32	31/2560	31/72	1 : 0.043
16	2 13/64	137/5120	137/11280	1 : 0.012

Note : 15 Taram violates the descending order, as the equation is higher than for 14.

APPENDIX IV (b)

Taram differential statement

Garden land	3 to 5	0.031
	5 to 6	0.037
	6 to 7	0.40
	7 to 8	0.19
	15 to 14	0.38
	15 to 16	0.19

ANNEXURE V

A Sample Verbatim translation for one block of the Village account

Land in 5th *Kannar*, 1st *Saduram* — 6 *ma*. Out of this the embankment boundary land to the South Araikkani (1/160) to the west of it tank, and bund land Araikkani (1/160). The embankment boundary in the middle land *Mundirikha Kil Mukkal* (1/320 + 3/1280). To the east, embankment land Kil mukkal (3/1280). To the west, garden land *arai ma mundirigai* (1/40 + 1/320). Of this, to the south house site land Araikkani (1/160). Within this Tribhuvanaviramangalam lands Kilarai (1/640), excluded, and excluding the house-site, *mundiri Kilarai*, (1/320 + 1/640) garden land : *Kani mundirigai* (1/80 + 1/320) in the 5th *Taram*, Tribhuvanaviramangalam land formerly excluded but since reclaimed araikkani (1/160) in the 16th *Taram*. To the north embankment boundary land araikkani kilarai (1/160 + 1/640). Out of this boundary land *mundirigai* (1/320), excluded, Tirupperumananallur land 4 *ma* (mu) kkani araikkani (4 3/80 + 1/160) or 4 7/8 or 4 7/8 *ma*. Out of this the tank and bund towards the north-west Araikkani (1/160) excluded, Tirupperumananallur cultivable and yeilding land 4 *ma mukkani* (4 3/4). These total 6 *ma*, out of the 6 *ma*, Tirupperumananallur land 4 *ma*, *Mukkani araikkani*. Tribhuvanaviramangalam land *araikkani Kilarai* (1/160 + 1/640). Of this, the excluded (from assessment) land is *Kilarai* (1/640) deducted, cultivable land *araikkani* (1/160), deducted, Urparru (collectively held land of the township) Mukkani araikkani Mundirigai Kilarai (3/80 + 1/160 + 1/320 + 1/640). Out of this extent, land excluded from assessment is arai ma, mundirigai (1/40 + 1/320) deducted, garden land Kani araikkani Kilarai (1/80 + 1/160 + 1/640). Out of this extent, 5th *Taram* land 1/80 + 1/320; 6th *Taram* land *Mundirigai* Kilarai (1/320 + 1/640).

Note : Fractions above are in terms of *Veli*.

THE TENUOUS FISC OF THE MEDIEVAL TOWNSHIPS IN SOUTH INDIA

Dr. Ajay Mitra Sastri, has edited and analysed several copper-plate grants and inscriptions and after the late V. V. Mirashi he has continued the intensive research in the history of the Guptas and the Vakatakas. His penetrating analysis and deep study of the copper-plate grants have brought out the formation and organisation of Brahmadeyas–the townships of the Brahmin literati. I thought the best form of my tribute to this great scholar could be to present a paper on a significant aspect of my area of epigraphic studies-the fiscal structure and its precarious character of the medieval townships, especially of the Brahmadeyas.

The old conventional view of the South Indian village communities has rather, over-emphasised their autonomous and self-governing character. The "democratic" character of these "little republics" has been also overstated.[1] These views have been further given credence with reference to the surviving vestiges of village organisation in early British times by writers like Sir Henry Maine and even Baden Powell.[2]

These palpable over-statements have been since sought to be rectified in perspective by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. A. Appadurai. The present writer has had occasion to examine in detail the relative scope of the functions of the village community and organisation with particular reference to the royal institutions, and their hold over the former.[3]

The purpose of this paper is to examine (i) the sources of fiscal receipts of the townships and their contribution to the king and his men, (ii) the resources of the townships for the internal administration-their budgeting for their functioning, particularly to bring out the precarious nature of their own financial outlays and inputs. In short, this paper attempts the financial structure of the township and its inherent weaknesses.

The character of the township-the UR, the *NAGARA*, the *BRAHMADEYA*, or the *PADAIPARRU*—was essentially determined by the predominant composition of the principal land-occupants residing therein. It had a dual role-one as the collecting agency of the king's dues, and the other as the collective organisation of the community to attend to the common needs of the township. It had however a concurrent jurisdiction over the utilisation of the unoccupied waste-lands. It was intent on converting them into occupied holdings, unless required for communal use as grazing ground or residential habitats or threshing floor.

This process resulted from an economic necessity. In its first role the township was charged with the collection and remittance of the primary land-dues payable by the occupied holdings. It was an obligation to be rendered compulsorily as a form of invoking the collective responsibility of the township. Instances of how the leaders of the townships were put to torture, exposed to sun and cold are recorded.[4] The township could keep no part of the *KADAMAI* or the *ANTARAYAM* for itself nor could it remit or alienate it unless it agreed to take on the responsibility of paying the dues to the king's officers.

Where the king had granted—and he alone could—or alienated any portion of the land-dues payable to him, the township had to tender the dues to the assignee or the grantee-beneficiary.[5] It could, often, collect a deposit, the interest on which was sufficient to pay the land-dues to the king. In several cases the deposit was three or four times the land value *per se* of the parcel on which the *Kadamai* was charged.[6] The deposit and the interest rates, were inelastic while the land dues to the king could be elastic, but invariably increasing rather than decreasing.

A third alternative was for the township to bear the dues assigned to a temple or a matha from its common funds or the proceeds of unoccupied common lands leased from time to time by the township.

In addition, the township had to be on attendance when the king was on a visit or on tour or feed his messengers or contribute to the village temples' festivals or expenses, not specifically funded for by any benefactors or instituted to celebrate the king's birthday or praying for his welfare or that of the benefactors or of the township. These are illustrations.

The source for payment of the king's dues then was essentially from the *Kadamai* and *Antarayam* payable on occupied lands. In addition professional levies like those on oil-mills,[7] potters, carpenters, blacksmiths and several others were levied by the king. What he could levy he alone could remit unless the township took on itself any of these obligations.

The second part of the receipts of the township were those for the collective and public utilities of the township. This was administered by the *Ur* or the *Brahmadeya* or the *Nagara* and they could also remit these dues and the obligations from lands which were granted for religious or charitable purposes or for service-holders like an apothecary or barber or sculptor or any benefactor.

Three main distinctions between the first part of the receipts and the second can be drawn: The first part was essentially to be rendered to the king in full and could not be retained by the township. They were the primary

obligation of the occupants to discharge.[8] The second part of the dues were largely in the form of services that could be demanded on various occasions for public or common purpose. The incidence of these obligations fell more on the tenants, the cultivators-at-will than on the occupant land-holder on whom, of course, the ultimate responsibility for the discharge of these obligations could be enforced.[9]

What were the kind of receipts for the services ? These were of three categories-first a distributed obligation among all the tenants or the cultivators or the occupants themselves (*UR VINIYOGAM)* (ii) The proceeds of the unoccupied lands held collectively by the township and leased *(OTTU)* from time to time. These were lands relinquished or bought in or abandoned by the occupants. By the same token most of these lands could be but of marginal productivity such as the outlying lands on the fringes of the township limits and hence more costly to cultivate and uncoveted, and lands not easily reclaimable or coming to yield or lacking in command facilities and hence relinquished or lands on which the dues were not paid, and the erstwhile occupants had abandoned or absconded. These characteristics would indicate that the yield from such lands could but be poor or inadequate.

The third source were the voluntary contributions or endowments made for specific purposes, like a gift of a boat for desilting the tank, or cash endowments for deepening the tank-bed or building and maintaining a sluice-head. These were augmented by the proceeds of the sale of fish when at the end of the cultivation season the tank-bed was cleared of weeds and deepened for fresh receipts.[10]

While cash receipts under the Viniyogam (distributory cases) were particularly noticeable, compared to the quantum of *Kadamai* paid to the king, the township collection was but small. Sometimes collection in grain was also undertaken but its quantum could not compare with the quantum of *Kadamai* dues. The king's share was really the lion's share, and often his orders to arbitrarily lower the demand[11] on the land granted to a beneficiary as at Ennayiram and Tribhuvani[12] entailed an additional burden cast on the township to make good the difference.

The cash or kind-component of the category was comparatively limited (SILLIRAI). The fines imposed for any communal offences (MANRUPADU) was a part of such receipts as well as fines for delinquencies levied on the executives of the township organisation.

The receipt in the form of services was the mainstay of resources of the township and they formed also a larger component. They were illustratively (i) to raise the embankment of the river and attend to its periodical maintenance; (ii) to do *KOROMBO* work to divert water from the river into irriga-

tion channels (iii) to clear silt from distributaries *(SENNIR VETTI)* when freshes arrive; (iv) to do *(AMANJI)* communal labour *(CORVE)* free of cost whenever required to repair roads or close a breach in the tank or the channel due to flooding; (v) to assign to each occupant, in turn, or otherwise the feeding of the public servants of the king and the *NADU*,[13] (vi) to depute men to take the collections of *KADAMAI* to the treasury of the king or for watch and ward at the palace gate in turn;[14] (vii) to light lamps and render services to the deity in the temple[15] and (viii) in places were libraries (*Sarasvati Bhandaram*) or hospitals *(Adula Salas)* or schools or colleges (*Ghatikas*) were run, to attend to their maintenance and (ix) finally to ensure the collection and transport of paddy from the township to a beneficiary outside it or at a distance. Also the *AMBALAM*, the common meeting hall-had to be maintained and re-roofed every year with new hay.

It will be seen thot these were mostly in the form of services rather than cash or in kind. They could be demanded, in other words, only when the need arose and could not be stored or carried over. Occasionally in the 13th century in later Chola times the services were sought to be converted into payments in cash or in kind. But then this met with resistance from the tenants and the cultivators-at-will. Indeed the executive committee (VARIYAM) of the township organisation itself had usually a tenure of only one year at the end of which a new body was selected and came in position. Moreover, on lands to be reclaimed or growing preferred crops like arecanut or plantain many of these obligations were remitted; the township distributed that part of the remitted obligation among the residential occupants.

The voluntary contributions or donations were *ad hoc* and could not be a regular annual accural and was indeterminate.

In the circumstances, the fiscal resources of the township were slender and tenuous. They were annual levies and abated when the year ended or when the need did not arise. There was very little of resources of cash or in kind left with the township of a "revenue" nature. In fact, the Mahasabha of Sembiyanmadevi Chaturvedimangalam, as an economy measure took a decision to meet only during day and not at night as the expenditure on oil could not be met by the proceeds of contributions in its budget, apart from inconvenience caused. (ARE 500/1925) "இரா அம்பலம் ஏறினால் உபஹத்தியுமுண்டாய் அம்பல விளக்கெண்ணைக்கு வினியோக மிகுதிபட்டு இருக்கையாலும்."

But the king's land demand was under no circumstances to be delayed, there could be no let-up in its payment even when there were floods or drought and the cultivated lands did not come to yield or lands were even left fallow or were abondoned. In such cases, even the collective responsibility of the township was invoked. The demands[16] of the king and his men increased to the level of

exactions after the time of Kulottunga-III and his successors. The weaker the royal authority the greater were the exactions. The scions of the royal family and the chiefs increased their demands on the tenants indiscriminately and made them unpredictable besides.

Moreover large extents of communal lands had to be reclaimed in some townships and this needed capital outlay.[17] With a slender revenue-base, with hardly any scope for carry over surplus or savings – accural, the townships were obliged to dip into their capital—resources, by selling communal lands, or the watch and ward rights (PADIKAVAL Rights) or by selling water from the tanks or irrigation sources, collecting *(NIR VILAI)* water charges. If such communal lands were sold to a religious or charitable institution, the township not only disposed of their revenue-obligation but also added to the latter burden on themselves as well.

Where the scope for the sale of common land had decreased, the township, had to dip into the cash deposits they had received for maintaining endowed lamp or other services, and in the process the service was sometimes jeopardised. The royal officers especially under Rajaraja-I and under Kulottunga-I, scrutinised intensively the endowment accounts and detected such lapses and enjoined on the townships the obligation undertaken to render the endowment services in full besides paying a fine as in Tiruchanur:[18] where no such capital resources were available *(UDAL ILLAMAYALE)*[19] the townships were obliged and had no qualms to borrow cash or jewellery or gold or silver vessels from the temple and pledge the land and raise resources for reclamation of land or construction of a tank or payment of king's demands. In some cases, the amounts so borrowed were large and the period of repayment was very long exceeding over a century. The temple rushed to the help of the township but then the latter could not often repay the borrowed gold or silver. Instead it had to allocate lands from the unoccupied common land and even bear the land-dues thereon.

To sum up, the township had to dip more and more into its capital assets to pay the revenue demand; by such sale or allotment of the common land of the township, it unwittingly added to its own revenue liabilities the more; and lacking in capital assets, its borrowing from temples further depleted its own fixed assets and added to the recurring revenue demand. In the later Chola times (13th century) when the central authority had weakened, and additional imposts by way of cash or conversion of service into cash, and non-customary services were exacted by the royal servants and officers and the soldiery severally the burden cast on the townships could only have become unbearable, leading to abandonment of holdings or migration.

The slender possibilities of the annual carry over of the revenue yield of the township were a persistent feature. But in exceptional cases where it had a surplus the township utilised it for instituting a new service in the temple for the benefit or health of the king or for the general well-being of the community.

In short, local financing was restricted to the limited objectives of collective or common utilities and services and left little scope for funding or a reserve. With the progressive depletion of the capital assets to discharge annual revenue obligations the township had either to make further *ad hoc* levies and distribute it among the cultivators. The more they did so the more was the resistance. Alternatively, the township borrowed heavily from the temple and had no qualms even to utilise funds kept for the repair of the temple or the silver vessels, and jewellery in daily use for the deities.

Additional levies were made by the township for social charitable or religious purposes on its own initiative, either on the community as a whole or distinct sections of the community.[20] Together, the burden on the community could only have progressively increased by the end of the 13th century.

Conscious attempts to arrest these trends were made and were in evidence. While these could have mitigated the exactions on the agrarian community, the weakness inherent in the fiscal structure of the township had remained. That could have led only to the progressive neglect of the communal obligation, especially of maintaining irrigation sources, and channels and could have affected the effective and full maintenance of services and endowments in the temples from the 14th century onwards. The establishment of Nayak rule and the chieftains could have added further to the burden of the township community, besides the progressive change in the mode of levies increasing the cash-component and reducing payments in grain.

What little land was reserved for the grazing of cattle or for threshing floor or the village site were progressively encroached and added to the occupied holdings of the more powerful *Mirasidars* or landholders of the village even as late in the 18th century. The beginning of the British revenue system thereafter in South India with its characteristic feature of individual engagements with the ryots sounded the death-knell of such faint vestiges of the collective characteristics of the township as had survived at that time.[21]

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1. Please see R. K. Mukerjee's *Local Self-Government in Ancient India*; Altekar's *Village Communities;* and R. C. Majumdar's *Corporate Life in Ancient India*.

2. Please see Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities-East and West*; Baden Powell's *Land and Land Tenures of India*.

3. Please see the author's works on *Studies in the History of Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai*; *Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions in Chola and the Pandya Times* and several occasional papers like *The Brahmadeyas of Pudukottai* in SRINIDHI; *Allur and Isanamangalam Revisited* in SVASTI SRI; *Grant, Resumption and Re-grant in* MM K.S.R I. Centenary Volume, *passim.*

4. Please see pp. 182-4 *Studies in the Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai* (Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology; 1981); pp. 124-5, 128-141 of the *Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions in Chola and Pandya Times* (University of Madras; 1987).

5. *TAS* Vol. VII, p. 2, No. 2.

6. *Studies in the Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai.* p. 186 : Also *Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions.* p. 129.

7. *T.A.S.* Vol. VII, p. 55.

8. Please see the chapter on Tenures and Sub-Tenures and other obligations at pp. 199-262: *Studies in the Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai.* Also *Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions.* pp. 87–93.

9. *Ibid* pp. 87–93

10. Please see the chapter on 'Irrigation' *Studies in the Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai.* pp. 137–150.

11. *SII* Vol. XXIV, No. 57 : *Srirangam.*

12. *ARE* 330 of 1917: ARE 238 of 1929.

13. *ARE* 155 of 1912.

14. *SII* XXII No. 33 : *Tirukkadaiyur.*

15. *SII* Vol. V No. 610 : *Tiruchchatturai;* No. 625 : *Tiruvedikkad.*

16. Pl. see the *Land Grant and Agrarian Reactions.* pp. 128-139.

17. Pl. see for a spectacular long-drawn out debt incurred by the Mahasabha of Alangudi in *SII* Vol. VI-440.

18. *TTD,* Inscriptions Vol. I, No. 19 (p. 28).

19. Eg. The Nagarattar of Tirukkadayur.

20. Pl. see *The Cholas* Vol. II, pt. i p. 323 : by K. A. N. Sastri.

21. Please see my paper on "Village Communities in South India in the 18th and 19th centuries" read in the Indo-Soviet Cultural Exchange Programme at Moscow in May 1986 sponsored by ICHR (under publication in Vol. II of the Collected Papers).

MANNARKOIL INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA CHOLA - I

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Gopalaswami Temple at Mannarkoil village in Ambasamudram Taluk of Tirunelveli district. The Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India has kindly furnished me with the estampages of the inscription. I edit this inscription registered as ARE 112 of 1905 with the kind permission of Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the Chief Epigraphist.

The inscription is in a tolerably good state of preservation. It consists of 22 lines in all, of which the first four lines proceed to the entire length of the prakara wall and the rest are shorter, being engraved on the moulded and rounded basement and the space in between one block and another therein. The inscription is in Tamil prose and written in Tamil alphabet of the early 11th century to which the record belongs. A number of Sanskrit words and syllables are in Grantha characters. The letters are well engraved and are uniformly engraved,1·85 mm. to 3·7 mm.

Two forms of "ya" occur, one with a closed loop to the left which is very common, and the other that is open form, which occurs occasionally. The central loops of the consonants like "ṇ" are written without the loops. The secondary "i" sign is marked not only on the left top but also on the head as is generally found in the inscriptions of this period as illustrated by "pi", "ti", "vi", etc. In the case of, 'vi", it is also marked on the top by its right side. The signs for "u" and "ū" in the letter "mu", "mū" are distinguishable. The use of the anusvara has been generally omitted wherever the samyuktaksara (compound consonants) occur, for e.g., 'Iraja sindan' for 'Raja̍simhan'. The use of "ai" symbol is represented by two "e" signs, as in the case of "dai", "rai", "tai", etc. In the case of "n" occurring in "nasakam", the letter is peculiarly shaped, shown with two concave curves. The long vowel "e" is absent; "ēva" is written as "eva" (1.4).

Orthographical errors are seen in some of the words. "Iraja sindan" wherein the use of the syllable 'nda' is reduntant. The omission of anusvara is noteworthy (1.2, - 19). The name Vindanur occurs as Pinjanur (11.1, 15). "Nayakam" is correctly written in line 2, but is written elsewhere as "Nasakam" (11.10, 21 and 22). The name of the Nadu in which the grant-village was located is spelt as "Kurumadai" (1.1) and "Kurumbai" (1.15), while it should be "Kurumarai." "Vidyadara" is written as "Vicchatira" (1.2). Onbadu" is written as "Onmbadu" with superfluous anusvara. "Caturvedimangalam" is written as "Catuvvedi" (1–2) or "Catuvedi," (1-19). "Uyya" (1-3) is spelt as "Uya" (1.4). "Puravu vari" is written as "Puravari" (11. 4, 7, 11). It will be seen that some of the peculiarities

noticed in an inscription on the north wall of this central shrine, No. 109 of 1905, edited by Sri K.V. Subrahmanya Iyer[2] are not present in the inscription under study while others are common to both. Sometimes colloquial forms of expression are used "Kudukka" for "Kodukka", "Edupicca" for "Edupitta" (in 1.2).

The object of the inscription is to convey and record the royal grant of the land-demand on the tax-bearing occupied / occupiable holdings in Pinjanur (*sic* for Vindanur) village to the deity of Rajendra Vinnagar. The temple was erected by the Chera ruler Rajasimha and named after the Chola sovereign, Rajendra Chola-I (AD 1012 to 1044). Lines 1 and 2 convey the royal command orally promulgated. Lines 2 to 14 contain the officials through whom the order was processed and conveyed. Lines 14 to 22 contain the registry in the Revenue accounts and attestation by the chiefs of the Revenue accounts chancery.

The inscription is a direct record of Rajendra-I, but it also refers to the regnal year of the Chola Pandya Viceroy, Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya, his son. Rajendra Chola-I had adopted a policy of appointing the princes of the royal family as Viceroys and this system of viceroyalty had continued at Madurai till about the reign of Kulottunga-I (AD 1070 to 1122).[3] This inscription is particularly significant. For it helps correlate the regnal years of the Viceroy, Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya with those of his father, the Emperor Rajendra Chola. It also helps synchronise the Chera ruler, Rajasimha with the reign of Rajendra-I.

During this period, the Cholas had already subjugated the Pandyas and the Cheras. The conquests led to the direct rule by a Chola viceroy, a Chola prince, stationed at Madurai, the capital of the Pandyas. The viceroys seem to have enjoyed almost regal status, could date the grants in their regnal years, and grant lands or remit revenue without reference to the Emperor, as their own. Jatavarman Sundara Chola-Pandya is stated to be reigning in his 15th year which corresponded with the 24th year of Rajendra-I. Hence this inscription clearly establishes the first Chola - Pandya viceroy at Madurai commenced his reign from AD 1020-1.

The date of the inscription is 24th year and 118th day, *i.e.*, AD 1037. This corresponded to 15th regnal year of his son and Viceroy, Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya. The order was entered in the revenue accounts in the 17th year, 154th day of Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya, *i.e.*, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ years after it was formally pronounced by the Emperor (1-14), *i.e.*, in AD 1039. The temple had already been constructed. For we have therein the earliest inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya, dated 4th year[4] (AD 1024-25). In that year the Mahasabha of Rajaraja Caturvedi-

mangalam were already solicitously providing for the gardens and garden-tenders, the pipers and the potters, and the dancing girls, and the shepherds, and for their habitat on the northen side of the temple premises. Thus the temple should have been erected a few years earlier than this proceedings of the Mahasabha, in about AD 1021-25 perhaps, marking the assumption of the Chola Viceroyalty.

The content of the royal grant was Pinjanur (*sic*) in Kurumadai (*sic*) Nadu. The king was seated on a couch called Rajendra Chola Brahmadi-rajan in his palace at Kanchipuram and having his dinner. The grant village was in Kurumarai nadu in Mudikonda Chola Valanadu in Rajaraja Pandi nadu. It was a village held by the peasant-occupants (Vallan *sic* for Vellan Vagai) and had been paying land revenue-receipts to the King. This was remitted from the 15th year of his son, Prince Sundara Chola's viceroyalty, and the quantum was reduced from the revenue-demand (mudal tavirndu). The extent of land in the grant-village was 78 veli, 9 makkani. It was assessed to land demand of paddy kalam 3340 - 2 Tuni - 3 Kuruni and 2 nali and in cash Kasu 433¼ and Araikkani. These land dues in paddy and cash were assigned as Devadana to the temple of Rajendra Chola - Vinnagar, erected by the Chera Ruler, Rajasimha in Rajaraja Caturvedi-mangalam in 'Mullinadu' in Mudikonda Chola-Vala-nadu.

If the average per veli demand could be arithmatically deduced, it would work out to about 42½ kalams and 5½ kasu per veli. It works out to about 2·125 kalams and 0·275 kasu per ma (66 cents). The lands in Pinjanur(Vindanur) should be considered to be assessed at the lower ranges, of land-demand rates prevalent at the times.

This inscription is important in several respects. Firstly the temple was built by Chera Rajasimha in the Pandyan country and named after the Chola suzerain Rajendra Chola. It is a clear acknowledgment of the Chola supremacy. Secondly,[6] the royal order issued forth from distant Kanchipuram where the Emperor was stationed. It was reduced to writing by the Tirumandria Olai, the chancery official Arumoli Deva Vala-nattu Arvala Kurrattu Mummudi Chola-nallur Kilavan, Singanar Mummudi Konda Cholan, countersigned by Tirumandira-olai nayagam, the Chief of the chancery, three of them (1-3). It was attested by a fourth official and ordered to be entered in the revenue-demand account by Rajendra Chola-Brahmadirajan. In compliance with that order, the officials of the king also endorsed it. Then the superintendent of the land and revenue accounts (Puravari-Tinai Kalattu Kankani) and the officer in-charge of the land and revenue and the accountant of revenue-demand register (Vari pottaga Kanakku), and the scribe of the revenue-account (Variyilidu), the scribe and accountant of Devadana revenue accountant, and the mutation-officer of the revenue accounts, and the authenticating officer, all endorsed and

authenticated the command in the 17th year, 154th day (of Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya). The entry as Devadana and the assignment of the revenue demand to the deity were finally attested by 2 heads (nayakam) of the division of the land and revenue account.

This long list of the royal officials and the machinery of the Government through whom the royal command was processed and registered and conveyed, after making necessary mutations is significant. The grant village, as is shown below, was located at the foot of the western ghats on the western extremity of the Pandya country, to a temple located within about 15 miles from the grant-village also in the southern most part of the Empire. The Royal command had issued forth from his palace at Kanchipuram. It had taken over 2½ years to be registered in the revenue accounts. Nevertheless it had passed through a number of royal officials whose functions and the revenue modalities could be gleaned from their designations. For the sake of convenience these designations and functions that could be attributed to them are set out in the form of an annexure. Prof. Sastri has rightly stressed the close contact maintained between the headquarters of the Empire and the outlying provinces,[7] the array of officers of the administration, and the detailed manner of the royal command getting transcribed and transmitted to the field officers, through twelve levels of officials. In several of these levels there were more than one incumbent each. The system of administration that emerges is not only one of a hierarchy of officers with several tiers, but it also comprises several each in some of the tiers, who acted as counter-checking or corroborating officials. This system should have left little room for any miscarriage of the orders or manipulating them, at a time when it had functioned effectively. The procedure followed has been identical to another land-grant of Chola-Pandyanallur.[8]

There was one more substantive importance of this document. About two hundred years later, in about AD.1209, this grant-village was involved in a boundary dispute, between the Nagarattar of Avani-marthanda-puram alias Vindanur in Kurumarai nadu, and the urar of Puliyur in Tenvarinadu, the Srivallabha Caturvedimangalam, a Brahmadeya also in Kurumarai nadu. A benefactor from Malai mandalam (Chera country), Sendalangara dasan had set up a new shrine for Kulasekhara alvar in the then newly built second prakara of this Rajendra-Chola-Vinnagar temple.[9] He got released this village already endowed as Tiruvidayattam to the main deity by citing a copy of the original grant deed, from the palace records (Maligai catanappadi pattu)[10] and argued for the restoration of the old endowment and had the dispute settled, and redeemed these lands. The Vindanur nagarathar who had claimed occupancy rights in these lands gave a grant of their rights, relinquishing them in favour of

a new shrine of Kulasekhara. The benefactor reclaimed the waste lands, and made them fit for wet cultivation by excavating tanks, and laid and fixed boundaries. He secured valuable water rights and supplies to the new tanks from the Nagarattar of Avani-marthandapuram and Puliyur urar. He also secured the grant of the land dues, Kadamai and other levies payable on these reclaimed lands from Jatavarman Kulasekhara-I, the Pandyan ruler to provide for food, sandal and other daily offerings to Kulasekhara Alvar in the new shrine set up by him.[11]

It could be inferred that in between the two centuries (A.D. 1039 and 1209) the grant village of Vindanur was involved in a triangular dispute as to which village had comprised some of the lands therein. The boundary of Vindanur had touched a tri-junction point. The broad outer boundaries were also noted in this later Pandyan inscription: East - To the west of Sundarapandyapuram and Sri Vallabha Caturvedimangalam. South - to the north of the open canal. West - to the east of Puliyur and to the east of the old Highway going north-south from Puliyur to Vindanur. On the north - to the south of the ayacut fed from the channel which went to feed the tank excavated by Tamiladarayan and Bhagavan Tiruvaraya-kulam and to the south of the westward flowing channel at the end from the bund of the tank.

Not content with these release-deeds from the adjoining townships, a Brahmin Sanyasin, Sendalangara mahamuni who was the inspiring spirit behind this benefaction had the entire boundary-record based on the land survey made in the 9th year (A.D. 1021) of Rajendra Chola from the first copy maintained in the palace-chancery and had it engraved on the north and western walls of the Kulasekhara shrine.[12] This detailed survey-extract throws a flood of light on the modalities of survey, the authorities and village servants who participated in it, the extent comprised, gross and net and the lands excluded from assessment, and the authenticating officers. It is interesting to note that the original survey record of A.D. 1021 was available for reference and re-copying even after 200 years in the archives of the palace. It may be noted in this context that there was a palace of the Pandyan kings in Rajaraja Caturvedimangalam itself.[13]

The data in these two inscriptions help identify the village and its correct name. The subject of Rajendra's grant was Vindanur, mis-spelt as Pinjanur in Kurumarai nadu (mis-spelt as Kuramarai nadu). From the data above, it should be identified as the village Vindanur to the south of the present revenue village of Sambavar - Vadagarai in Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district. Later Pandya inscriptions refer to Kurumarai nattu Vindanur alias Parakrama Pandya Caturvedimangalam. The Brahmin-beneficiaries had their original nativity in Karambiccettu,[14] Irungandi,[15]

Tiruverkadu, Muppuram, Settabosai, Kovur,[16] Utruppattur, Marungur,[17] and Vengipuram,[18] Some of the Brahmin residents of Rajaraja Caturvedi-mangalam had also belonged to the same townships, like Kovur, Irungandi, Karambiccettu.[19]

The spread of the nadu, Kurumarai, can be gleaned from the data below :

Kasikkut vayakkanallur[20]
Vindanur[21]
Tiruvarangadu[22]
Idaitavanar[23]
Melappalur-Pagur-Raja kula rama caturvedimangalam[24]
Pavur[25]

The spread of the big Brahmadeya village, Rajarajacaturvedimangalam was co-extensive almost with the western half of present Ambasamudram taluk. It comprised villages of Ambasamudram and Kallidaikuricci; It exciuded the Seramadevi firka. Idaikal was its north eastern hamlet. Pappangulam (Velar kuricci) and Alvar kurucci (Kaderu) and Kadayam were its north-western hamlets.

The geographical divisional names that occur in the present inscription can be identified as below :[26]

Rajaraja pandi nadu	—	The tract comprised in the Pandya country.
Arulmoli deva valanadu	—	The tract in Tanjavur district between Kaduvayar und Vennar.
Arvalakurram	—	In Mannargudi and Tirutturaipundi taluks.
Ksatriya Sikhamani valanadu	—	Between Aricilar and Kaduvayar in Tanjavur district
Tirunaraiyur nadu	—	In Kumbakonam taluk.
Nitta vinoda valanadu	—	In between Vennaru and Vadavaru.
Venni Kurram	—	In Mannargudi taluk.
Kilan kurram	—	In Papanasam and Tanjavur taluks.
Mangala nadu of Arulmoli valanadu	—	In Nannilam taluk.
Jayankonda Cholamandalam	—	In Tondai nadu.

Puram karambai nadu	—	In Mannargudi and Tirutturaipundi taluks.
Uyyakonda valanadu	—	The area between Kaveri and Arasilar.
Vennadu	—	In Nannilam and Mayuram taluks.
Tiruvalundur nadu	—	In Mayuram taluk.
Vadavali nadu	—	In Lalgudi taluk.
Mudigonda Chola valanadu (in Rajaraja pandi nadu)	—	Comprised Tirunelveli, Ambasamudram and a part of Koilpatti taluks.

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(Text)

1. Svasti Sri : : Yandu Irupattu Nalavadu Nal Nurroru
Patt Ettinal Purva Desmum Gangaiyum Kadaramun
Konda Kopparakesari Perumarana Udaiyar Sri Rajendra
Chola Devar (Kac)cipurattu Koyilinullat (Ittiruma . . . . du)
Irajendra Chola Brahmadi Racanil Tiruvamudu Seydarula
Virundu Irajaraja Pandi Na(ttu) Mudikonda Chola Valanattu
Kurumadai[1] Nattu Pinjavur[2] Vallan[3] Vagaiyil Mudalay
Varukinra padi nam pillaigalil Sundara Chola Pandyanukku Yandu Panaijavatu mudal tavirndu ivvur nilam
elupattette onmbadu makkani yinal kanikkadan nellu
muvayirattu munnurru narpatin kalaneyirutuni mukkuruni
iru naliyu.

2. m Kasu muppatu munrey kaley araikkaniyum Mudikonda Chola
Vala Nattu Mulli Nattu Iraja Raja Catu(r)Vedi Mangalattu
Chera Manar Iraja Sindan[4] edupicca Rajendra-Chola Vinnagart-
Deva . . . . . du nivandamgalukku iruppadaha nam pillaikalil Sundara Chola Pandiyanukku Yandu Padinaijavadu mudal
(Devar) Danamaga variyilittu kudukka ventru tiruvoy molindarulinar enru Tirumandira Olai Aru Moli Deva Vala Nattu
Arvala kkurrattu Mummudi Chola Nattur Kilavan Singanai
Mummudi Cholan Eluttinalum Tirumandira Olai Nayakam Gangai
Konda Cholapurattu Iraja Viccadira[6] Perunderuvil Sonakan
Sa(yur Pa)rancoti

3. ana Irajendra Cholakkan
Tiru vapperaiyanum[7] Ksatri(ya) Sikhamani Valanattu Tirunirai-
yur Nattu I(dip)puliyur Udaiyan Kovanaccanana Gangaikonda
Chola Arumuri Nadalvanum Uyakondar Vala Nattu Vennattu
Ke(rala)n (Ta) . . . .vadi Mangalatu Narakkan Marayan
Arumoliyana[8] Uthama Chola Brahma Mara(ya)num Innattu Tiru

valundur Nattu tu(la)a rudaiyan Narayanan edutta padamum Uthama Chola Cholakonum oppinalum pugunda kelvi variyiluttu kolka venru uyak-

4. kondar Valanattu Vennattu Keralantakac Catu(rvedi manga lattu) Navakkan Marayan Jananatha nana Irajend(ra) Chola Brahmada rasar eva ivar evina padiye adikarigal Uyakkondar Vala Nattu Tiruvalundur Nattu Mananta Kilar Maran man nalaiyana nitta Vino

5. da Muvenda Vitarum eva, Puravai[9] Tinaikkalattu kan kani Ksatriya Sikhamani Valanattu

6. Tiruniraiyur Nattu Sembiya Nallur Udaiyan Nurran Bhattanum Irayasyya[10] Va

7. la Nattu Vadavali Nattu Ti(ru) vellarai Udayan Tiruvakki Adittanum Puravariti[11]

8. Naikkalam(ni)tta Vinoda Valanattu Vennikkurrattu Puliyur Kilavan Tirai Uran Coti Vilakkum Innattu Kilarkkurrattu Pirambalakudaiyan Kanavati Mup

9. Pulliyum Mukavetti Arumoli[12] Deva Valanattu Mangalanattu Mangala Kilan Pittan Piganganum Vari Pottaga Kanakku Jayankonda Chola Mandalattu Puli-

10. yur Kottattu Kunrattur Sekkilan Nasakan[13] Vidiyum Variyilidu Purakkudaiyan(ri) Kavidi Bhattanum Pattolai Arumoli[14] Deva Valanattu Puran Karambai Na-

11. ttu Kulatur Udaiyan Padugan Devanum Devadanam Variyilidu vitta Puravari Tinaikalam Puliyur Kilavanum Pirambalakkudaiyanum Varacittiran varip po-

12. ttaga Kanakku Sekkilanum Variyilittan Terippu Arumoli Deva Valanattu

13. Nenmali Nattu Korru rudaiyan Pukalan Govindanum Pattolai Kulatu-

14. rudaiyanum irundu yandu padinela vadu nal nurraimbattu nalinal Iraja-

15. Raja Pandi Nattu Mudikonda Chola Valanattu Kurumbai[15] Nattu Pinjanur[16] Ve

16. llan vagaiyil mudalay varuginra padi yandu padinanjavadu mudal tavirndu ivvur nilam

17. elupattettey on(m)badu makkani yinal kkanikkadan nellu muvayirattu munnurru na-

18. rpadin kalaney irutuni mukkuruni iru naliyum kasu nanurru muppattu munrey kaley araikkani
19. Mudikonda Chola Vala Nattu Mulli Nattu Iraja Raja Catu(r) vedi Mangalattu Ceraman Iraja Sindan[17] E-
20. duppitta Irajendra Chola Vinnagar Devarkku Vendu Nivandan galukku iruppadaha yandu padinainjavadu mu-
21. dal Devadanamaha Variyilittadu // Ivai Puravari Tinaikka nasakam[18] Puliyur Kilavan Eluttu // Ivai Puravari
22. Tinaikkala Nasakam[19] Pirambalakkudaiyan Eluttu //

TRANSLATION

Hail Prosperity ! In the 24th year and 118th day of (the reign of) Kopparakesari Udayan Sri Rajendra Chola Devar who took the Purva desam, Gangai and Kadaram, while (the Emperor) being seated on the (couch called) Rajendra Chola Brahmadirasan, inside the Palace at Kaccipuram, (Kanci-puram) and having his food, he commanded as follows :

The Revenue yield accruing from the lands on Vellan Vagai (tenure lands held by the occupant-peasantry) in the village of Pinjanur (Vindanur) in Kurumadai nadu (Kurumarai nadu) in Mūdikonda Chola vala nadu in Rajaraja-pandi nadu from the lands with an extent of 78 (veli) and 9 makkani on which the assessed demand (on occupiable) holdings of paddy 3340 kalam, 2 Tuni - 3 Kuruni and 2 Nali and of Kasu $433\frac{1}{4}$ and Araikani shall be deducted from the State revenue demand from the 15th year of one of our princes Sundara Chola Pandya and from that year the revenue yield in paddy and in Kasu shall be paid for the services requirements (Nivandam) of Sri Rajendra Chola Vinnagar Devar, in the temple erected by (Cera manar) the Cera king, Rajasinha in Rajaraja Caturvedimangalam in Mulli nadu in Mudikonda Chola valanadu and that this Command shall be caused to be entered as such in the revenue-demand accounts (Vari). (This command was conveyed) under the hand of Tirumandira Olai (the Chancery Official) Arumoli Deva valanattu Arvala kurrattu Mummudi Chola Nallur Kilavan Singhanai Mummudi Cholan, and Tirumandira Olai Nayakam Gangai-konda Cholapuram Raja Viccadara Perunderu (resident) Sonakan Savur Paranjoti *alias* Rajendra Colakkan Tiruvapperaiyan, and Kovan Accan *alias* Gangaikonda Chola Animuri nadalvan of Idippaliyur in Tiruniraiyur nadu in Ksatriya-sikhamani Valanadu, and Narakkan marayan *alias* Arumoli Uthama Chola Brahmadarayan of Keralantaka . . . (vedi) mangalam in Vennadu in Uyyakonda . . ar Valanadu, under the attestation (oppu) of Narayanan Eduttapadam *alias* Utthama Colakkon of Tiruvur in Tiruvalundur Nadu in (Uyyakondar Valanadu) this Nadu and the oral royal command was ordered to be entered in the revenue demand account by the order of Uyyakondar Valanattu Vennattu Keralantaka cat(urvedimangalattu) Narakkan—marayan Jana nathan *alias* Rajend(ra) Chola-Brahmadirasar, and following this order, further endorsed by

Adhikarikal (executors) Uyyakondar valanattu Tiruvalundur nattu Mananda Kilar Mannaliyar *alias* Nitta Vinoda Muvenda Velar (thereupon) the following officials being present, viz., Puravurvari-Tinai Kalattu Kankani Ksatriya Sikhamani Valanattu Tirunariyur Nattu Sembiya nallurudaiyan Ninran Bhattan; Rajas(ra)ya Vala nattu Vadavali nallur Tiruvellarai Udaiyan Tiruvarri Adittan, Puravu vari Tinaikkalam Nitta Vinoda Valanattu Venni-kurrattu Puliyur Kilavan Tirai Uran Sothi Vilakku, in the same nadu, Kilar-kurram Pirambalakkudaiyan Kanavati Muppulliyum, Mukavetti Arumoli Deva Vala nadu Mangala nadu Mangala-kilan Pittan Pisangan Vari pottaga Kanakku Jayankonda Chola mandalam Puliyur Kottam Kurrattu Sekkilar Nasakan (Nayakan) Vidi, Variyiludu Purakkudayan Kavidi Bhattan, Pattolai Arumoli deva Valanattu Kulatur udaiyan Padugan Devan, the Puravu vari Tinaikalam who made entries in the Devadana tax-register, Puliyur kilavar, Pirambala kudaiyan Vara citran, Varipottaga Kanakku Sekkilan, Vari yilittan Terippu Arumoli deva valanadu, Nenmali nadu Kovurudaiyan Pugalan Govindan, Pattolai Kulatturudaiyan - it was accordingly entered in the revenue demand register on the 154th day of the 17th (regnal) year (of Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya) that the village of Pinjanur in Kurumai nadu in Mudikonda Chola Valanadu in Rajaraja Pandi Nadu which was bringing in the revenue yield from the occupied peasant holdings to the State, shall be struck off the State demand, and (instead) from the 15th year onwards the revenue yield of lands of that village measuring 78 (veli), 9 makkani with an assessed demand of 3340 kalam, 2 Tuni, 3 mukkuruni, 2 nali and Kasu 433¼ and araikani shall be (delivered and) paid for the services – needs of Sri Rajendra Vinnagar deity erected by the (Ceraman) Cera ruler Rajasinhan in Rajaraja Caturvedimangalam, in Mulli Nadu in Mudikonda Chola Valanadu from the 15th year and as Devadana. In witness thereof, the signatures of Puravuvari Tinaikala nasakam Puliyur Kilavan and Puravuvari Tinaikkala nasakam Pirambalakkudaiyan.

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1. Should read "KURUMARAI"
2. -do "VINDANUR"
3. -do- "VELLAN VAGAI"
4. -do- "RAJA SINHAN"
5. -do- "ARULMOLI"
6. -do- "VIDYADHARA"
7. -do- "PERARAYAN"
8. -do- "ARUNMOLI"

9&11. Puravai - Short for PURAVUVARI.

10. Should read : "RAJASRAYA"

12&14. -do- "ARUNMOLI"

13. -do- "NAYAKAM"
15. -do- "KURUMARAI"
16. -do- "VINDANUR"
17. -do- "RAJA SINHAN"

18&19. -do- "PURAVU VARI TINAIKKALA NAYAKAM"

ANNEXURE

TABULAR STATEMENT OF OFFICIALS AND THEIR PROBABLE FUNCTIONS

Designation (1)	Function (2)	Name of Officers (3)	No. (4)
Tirumandira Olai	The Chancery Official who reduced the oral royal command to writing.	Arumolidevavalanattu, Arvalakkurrattu Mummudi Chola nallur Kilavan Singanai Mummudi Cholan.	1
Tirumandira Olai Nayakam	Supervising Officer over the above.	Gangaikonda Cholapurattu Raja Viccadara perunderuvil Sonakan Savur Paranjoti alias Rajendra Colakkattiruvapperarayan	
	Attestors . . . ?	(i) Ksatriya Sikhamani valanattu Tirunarayur nattu Idippuliyurudaiyan Kovan accan alias Gangaikonda Chola Arumuri nadalvan (ii) Uyyakonda valanattu Vennattu Keralantaka Caturvedimangalam Navakkan urarayan Arulmoliyana Uthama Chola Brahmamarayan. (iii) Tiruvalandur nattu Tularudayan Narayanan Edutta padam alias Uthama Chola Cholakkon.	3
	Authenticator of the entry of the oral command to be made in the Tax Register.	Uyyakkondar valanattu Vennattu Keralantaka Caturvedimangalam Narakkan marayan	1

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Adhikarikal	(Adhikarigal) Officials who convey the order.	Jananathan alias Rajendra Chola Brahmadarasar Uyyakkonda valanattu Tiruvalundur nattu Mananda kilar Maran Mannalaiyana Nitta Vinoda Muvenda Velar.	1
Puravu vari Tinaikkalam Kankani	Superintendent of the Department of Officials of land and revenue accounts.	(i) Ksatriya Sikhamani Valanadu Tirunaraiyur nattu Sembiya nallur Udaiyan Ninran Bhattan.	2
		(ii) Rajasraya Valanattu Vadavali nattu Tiruvellarai Udayan Tiruvakki Adittan	
Puravari Tinaikkalam	The Official (Tinai) in charge of the department of land and revenue accounts.	(i) Nitta Vinoda valanattu Vennikurrattu Puliyur Kilavan Tirai uran Sothi vilakku	2
		(ii) Kilan kurram (in the same nadu) Pirambala Kudaiyan Ganavati Muppulli	
Mukavetti(?) or (Sri)mukavetti	The despatcher of the royal communications[20]	Arulmoli deva valanattu Mangala nattu Mangalakkilan Pittan Pihungan	
Varipottaga Kanakkar	The accountant in-charge of the land-demand register.	Jayankonda Chola mandalattu Puliyur Kottattu Kunrattur Sekkilan Nayakan vidi.	
Variyilidu	The scribe of the Tax Register authenticating entries.	Purakkudayan Kavidi Bhattan	
Pattolai	The clerk in-charge of the revenue communication.	Arulmolideva vala nattu Puramkarambai nattu Kulaturudaiyan Padukan Deven.	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Devadanam Variyiliduvitta Puravu vari Tinaikalam	The accountant who maintains the Devadana accounts of land and land-demand and authorised to make entries therein.	Puliyur Kilavan Pirambalakudayan Varacittiran	
Varipottaga Kanakkar	Accountant maintaining land-demand register.	Sekkilan	
Variyilittan Terippu	The mutator of the entries in the land demand register.	Arulmolideva valanattu Nenmeli Nattu Korrurudayan Pugalan Govindan	
Pattolai	Communicating Clerk.	Kulalurudayan	
Devadana variyiliduvitta Puravari Tinaikala Nayagam	Superintendent of the land and land-demand accounts pertaining to demands assigned as Devadana.	Puliyur Kilavan	
Puravari Tinaikala Nayakam	Superintendent in-charge of the land and land-demands accounts pertaining to State Demand.	Pirambalakkudaiyan	

Puravu and *Vari* appear to be two separate accounts; the former of the command area and tax-bearing ayacut lands and the occupant holdings therein where so held with particulars of location, extent and perhaps of the *Taram* where assigned. the *Vari* is a register of land-demand on occupied holdings, payable in kind and cash to the State or the king and from whom due.

There were also parallel sets of accounts maintained for Devadana lands and Land-demands assigned to temple-beneficiaries and the land demands payable direct to the king's officers. "Eval" should refer to the orders of the successive hierarchical officers dealing with land and land-dues Tinai (Puravu vari) Kalam.

The detailed tabulation of the hierarchy from the time of the pronouncement of the royal command to its translation and entry in the revenue accounts at the State and local levels and the tiers of officers through whom it was conveyed clearly substantiate that the Chola kingdom had an elaborate official hierarchy and a procedure for giving effect to land-grants and maintaining revenue accounts worked out in detail.

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1. ARE 112 of 1905
2. E.I. XI, p. 299--I am indebted to Dr. M.D. Sampath, Dy. Suptg. Epigraphist for helping me with an independent examination of the paleographical and orthographical peculiarities which have corroborated my own findings.
3. It is now known that Chola princes were also appointed as Viceroys in Ilam (Sri Lanka) during this period-- Please see Dr. K. Indrapala's interpretation of the Kantalai inscription in Senart Paranavitana Commemorative Volume; Also the author's "Glimpses of Chola Townships in Sri Lanka" in the International Journal of Asian Studies, June 1982--published by Concept Publishers, New Delhi.
4. ARE 107 of 1905; SII, Vol. XIV, No. 132, p. 68.
5. On the history of this temple, and the reconstructed history of the tract, Please see "Rajendra Vinnagar", a monograph by the author: Published by Institute of Epigraphy, Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology--1980, Madras.
6. A Survey of Kerala History--by A. Sreedhara Menon, MAAM (Harvard) pp. 128-129 (National Book Stall, Kottayam - 1970 Reprint).
7. The Colas, Vol. II, p. 244 (1935 Edition)
8. SII, Vol. XIV--No. 145, pp. 75 following.
9. ARE 402 of 1916-vide p.v. in appx. II to Rajendra Vinnagar (op. cit)

10&11. ARE 402 of 1916--For text, please see pp. v-viii of Appendix II in "Rajendra Vinnagar" (op. cit.).

12. ARE 400 of 1916. pl. see the text at pp. xviii to xxii in Appx. II of Rajendra Vinnagar (op. cit.).
13. Tamil Nadu Inscription Series III, Kanyakumari dist. 193/1961) Sucindram inscription-vide also-- Annexure - p. xi.

14. TAS, Vol. XV, pp. 252-253.
15. TAS, Vol. XV, p. 255.
16. Ibid, p. 257.
17. Ibid, p. 258.
18. Ibid, p. 259.
19. E. I., XI, p. 298.
20. ARE 3 of 1912.
21. TAS. Vol. XI - p. 89.
22. TAS., Vol. IX - pp. 89
23. Ibid.
24. ARE 386 of 1917
25. SII, XIV-No. 267.
26. For details, please see Historical Geography of the Chola Country, by Y. Subbarayulu. E.I., XI, p. 295 -comprised Neruvaranadu (*Sic* for Nercura nadu) Kil-kala-kurram and Kilvembunadu and Mulli nadu *inter alia*.
A number of the Chola officials, who are Signatories to this document hail apparently from the heart of Chola country.

SELF IMMOLATION IN CHOLA TIMES AND A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM MALLAL

A poetic supplication to Mahasakti of Subrahmanya Bharati commences as follows:-

"Kill my desire-or else
Stop my breath
Fell my body - or else
Mop-up the Thought in it."[1]

This, perhaps, is the latest lingering trace of an ancient practice of offering one's body or life in fulfilment of a vow or on behalf of another to save the latter's life. An early sculptural representation of a hero offering his own head has survived in the so called 'Draupadi-ratha'. The "ratha", in reality, is a Durga Shrine. The Devi is shown as Paradevata. By the side of her feet are shown two warrior-devotees on either side. The warrior to her right is kneeling before her, majestically holding his own head by the locks with the left arm and severing the neck with a sword with a dour, but serene determination, perhaps to fulfil his vow.[2]

There is clear epigraphic evidence for this practice of self-sacrifice or self-immolation in the Chola times.

Marudadu, a township in the *nadu* of the same name in Venkunra-kottam was threatened with destruction sometime about the 8th year of Rajaraja I (993 A.D.). An individual of Maganur-putturai by name Kalip-peruman fell in order to save the village from destruction (*aliyamayanru)*. The *urar* of Marudadu gratefully instituted a lamp service in his memory to god Peruntirukkoil-Alvar in Purandaresvara temple in the village and gifted land for its maintenance.[3]

The second instance is from Tiruvorriyur in the 30th year of Rajendra Chola I (1042 A.D.). This case has to be distinguished. In Marudadu an individual gave up his life to protect the community or the township from destruction. In Tiruvorriyur, a high -placed army officer gave up his life so that his master's distress may be relieved. Kuttan Ganavadi was the military officer of Gangaikondan *alias* Uttamachola-Marayan who was also styled as Sirudanam-Perundanam-Marayan. Kuttan Ganavadi in the 29th year of Rajendra Chola I (1041 A.D.) had deposited an amount in *Rajarajan Kasu* in cash with the Nagarattar of Tiruvorriyur, who agreed to measure out paddy

in lieu of interest accruing on the deposit for feeding a Brahmana.[4] Perhaps, this was done with a wish to get relief from some distress or affliction that he was in at the time.

In the very next year 1042 A.D. Ganavadi Idumban *alias* Tannai-munivar Pendirganda Visaiyarayan stabbed himself and died (in order to relieve) the distress of his master, Gangaikonda Cholan *alias* Uttamachola-marayan of Tiruvarur in Tiruvarur kurram, a sub-division of Kshatriya-Sikhamani-vala-nadu. The grateful master, Uttamacholamarayan instituted a lamp service in Tiruvorriyur temple and gifted 90 sheep for its maintenance.[5]

An inscription was noticed by the author during his field settlement inspection in Survey No. 235. in Mallal Village, Sivaganga Taluk, Ramanatha-puram District. In that survey field a temple for Nachchiyaramman, the Sakti goddess, is also located. The inscription runs thus :

1 Svasti[1*] Sri - Kolottu -
2 ngasola - devarkku ya -
3 ndu 11 avadu Viman
4 Udaran - ana Kolot -
5 tungasola - muvaraiya -
6 nukku viyadi torra
7 tungutalai nondu
8 tungutalai kudutta
Ambalakkuttanuk -
10 ku sattikudutta nilam -
11 avadu kuli cheyyu[m*]
12 tan meladuvum chatti [vi]
13 yakkalum idan vadakk -
14 ana tadipalavum mavukku
15 terkkil tadi munru -
16 m Kallivilagam - udaiya -
17 [lu]kku kudutta nilam ma -
18 rruvan tangal - ammaikku
19 tane minalan

The inscription is dated in the 11th year of Kulottunga - chola (1081 A.D. or 1189 A.D.) depending on whether it is to be ascribed to Kulottunga I or III. It is unlikely that the regnal year could pertain to Kulottunga II. It is known that Kulottunga I and Kulottunga III were involved in about the 11th year of their respective reigns in wars with the Pandyas. "The most sustained efforts of Kulottunga I resulted in the reconquest of the Pandya and the Kerala countries between the 7th and 11th years of his reign."[7] Indeed, the *Kulottunga Cholan Pillai Tamil* mentions a battle near Semponmari in Ramanathapuram District.[8]

Kulottunga III also had taken out an expedition against Vira-Pandya, the contestant to the Pandyan crown who tried to retrieve his position, when Vikrama-Pandya had been installed as king in Madurai after an earlier Chola expedition. In this second campaign Vira-Pandya's attempt was crushed on the battlefield at Nettur in about A.D. 1189.[9]

Viman Udaran *alias* Kulottunga Chola Muvarayan could be one of the generals or chieftains who participated in either of the campaigns. The new Mallal inscription states that he fell a victim to a disease and as a result he had a chronic headache affecting (him even in) his sleep. Or alternatively he could not sleep as a result. In order to relieve him of this malady, Ambalakuttan had severed his head and died. A land grant was made in his memory. The double entendre on "Tungutalai" is noteworthy.

A similar instance has also been noticed in Tirupurantakam in Kurnool District in an inscription paleographically assigned to the 13th century. The glorious Somasivagurudeva offered to Tripuradevi his (own) head so that good may befall to the hero named Alladda Viramalla. Another label in the same temple reads "This is the head to the goddess."[10]

In Chengam herostones, a hero was stated to have cut off his own head and offered it to Korravai (Sakti) and a herostone was raised to commemorate it.[11]

Two instances of the Andars (worshippers) immolating themselves were also noticed, one at Anbil[12] and the other at Tiruppadirippuliyur.[13] The former was in 1250 A.D., and the latter was in the 3rd year of Vikram Pandya. Both were protests against the township, the *Mahasabhaiyar's* action. In Anbil the Mahasabha claimed unlawfully land-dues from the temples for a land which was resumed from the deity's holdings (Tirunamattukkani). To safeguard the temple's interest one Paludai Andar died. The township gave up the demand made on the temple and accepted the temple's obligations as entered in the accounts of the temple. They also deified the deceased Andar and erected his image and provided for services in the temple.

In Tiruppadirippuliyur the dispute was over 2 *ma* of land (66 cents). The Brahmadeya holders claimed it as theirs while the temple claimed it as its own. To safeguard the temple's interests one of the Mahesvaras fell into the fire. The King, hearing this, enquired into the case through his chiefs, and upheld the temple's claims. This disputants also endorsed the temple's title.

A later instance of some Vairagis (austere mendicants) falling from the top of the Eastern Tower of Sundaresvarar Temple at Madurai to protest against the soldiers of the East India Company entering the temple precincts is also recorded. To commemorate this act of self-sacrifice a grant of land as "blood-compensation" '*Udirappatti*' was made in Anuppanadi, a neighbouring village in Madurai-Tiruppuvanam Road. The inscription, to the author's recollection, is recorded on the gateway of the Sundaresvara Temple at Madurai.

This practice of self-immolation has attracted the notice of foreign travellers to South India like Marco Polo and Friar Odoric. Their observations are extracted below :

Marco Polo (*Circa* 1293 A.D.)

" " They have in this country the custom which I am going to relate. When a man is doomed to die for any crime, he may declare that he will put himself to death in honour of such or such an idol; and the government then grants him permission to do so. His kinsfolk and friends then set him upon a cart, and provide him with twelve knives, and proceed to conduct him all about the city, proclaiming aloud : "This valiant man is going to slay himself for the love of (such an idol)." And when they come to the place of execution he takes a knife and sticks it through his arm, and cries; "I slay myself for the love of (such a god)"! Then he takes another knife and sticks it through his other arm, and takes a third knife and runs it into his belly, and so on until he kills himself outright. And when he is dead his kinsfolk take the body and burn it with a joyful celebration. Many of the women also, when their husbands die and are placed on the pile to be burnt, do burn themselves along with the bodies. And such woman as do this have great praise from all." "[14]

Friar Odoric (*Circa* 1321-2 A.D.) has observed in his "Cathay and the way Thither" as below:-

" " And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God" And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: "Thus I cut my flesh for my God"; and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: "I devote myself to die for my God", he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And may other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written. " "[15]

The practice of undergoing physical torture by suspending oneself by iron hooks thrust through flesh, hanging from a beam had persisted in the old Mysore State till late 19th century. Dr. Hultzsch, the pioneer Epigraphist has furnished the following account of his observation at Chitaldrug :—

"A curious feature of this part of Mysore are high stone-porches *(uyyalekambha)*, which are found near the temples and from which iron chains are suspended. At the swinging-festival of each particular goddess, a board is attached to the chains, and on this an image of the goddess is placed and swung. Near the swinging-porch in front of the Ekanathesvari temple on the Chitaldurg rock there is a raised platform (sidi-patti) with a vertical pole (male-kambha) in the centre. On this there used to turn a horizontal beam (sidi-mara) to which a man or woman, who had made a vow to this effect, was attached by a rope and iron hooks, with his face downwards. The beam was then turned round by the by-standers. The back of the devotee was held by the iron hooks thrust through the flesh. After he hed been swung round five or seven or more times according to his vow, they took him down and rubbed his back with margosa leaves to heal the wounds. This practice, which is said to be described in a Kanarese work called *Renukapurana*, has been stopped by the Mysore Government. Mr. F. Fawcett, Superintendent of Police, has found relics of this custom in the Ganjam district."[16]

The following comments can be made from the instances noticed from the inscriptions:-

(i) The evidence for this practice comes from Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Andhra.

(ii) The practice had been prevalent for long from about the 8th century to 19th century. And this weird practice had attracted the notice of foreign travellers who were amazed by the dour ease with which the sacrificer took his own life.

(iii) The offering of the head has been in a temple of Sakti-as the Mallal, and Tripurantakam inscriptions bear out. The sculpture at Mahabalipuram also confirms this practice before Goddess Durga. Thus it could be attributed to the influence of Tantric or Sakta forms of worship and rituals. Even Tiruvorriyur was a centre of Tantric worship. Chaturanana Pandita had a matha there and at his instance Rajendra Chola I rebuilt the temple. The former and Vagisa Pandita, the author of Jnanamritam had participated in the temple festivals.

(iv) It could be in fulfilment of a vow for offering one's life at the feet of Sakti as his own austere ritual, or for the benefit of another.

(v) It was a known practice to offer one's life for saving the life of his master, or sometimes for the good of the community. This was, then, a vicarious sacrifice for the benefit of another.

(vi) It was even held as a mark of personal dedicated loyalty for servants, soldiers or gallants to make such a sacrifice when their masters were in distress or at the time of their demise.

(vii) Where an individual has thus made a life-sacrifice as an act of recompense for the unnatural death, the beneficiary-be it his master or the Township community-instituted a lamp service and/or gave a land grant to maintain such services and/or to provide sustenance for the dependents of the deceased.

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1. A Supplication to Mahasakti, *The Poems of Bharati*, p. 93. Vanavil Publication.
2. Dr. R. Nagaswami, *Tantric cult of South India* p. 150 and pl. VII.
3. *A.R.S.I.E.* B 411 of 1912.
4. Ibid., B 141 of 1912.
5. Ibid., B 138 of 1912.
6. From the impression of the inscription which was recently copied by the office of the Chief Epigraphist.
7. *The Cholas*, Vol. II, Pt. I, P. 15.
8. Ibid., p. 20.
9. Ibid., p. 128.
10. *ARSIE.*, 1909, p. 120, para 73.
11. *Seminar on Herostones*, Ed. by Dr. R, Nagaswami (1979).
12. SII., Vol. VIII, No. 193.
13. Ibid., Vol. No. 759.
14. *Foreign notices of South India*-Edited by prof: K.A.N. Sastri, 1972 Edn., p. 167.
15. Ibid., p. 197.
16. Para 2 of his Report dated 30-11-1888 (No. 269) at page 2 of A.R.E. 1889. J. Burgess, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India has noted thereon: "This is the Chakrapuja, which I have seen practised in Bengal as late as 1856; in the Bombay Presidency it was suppressed at a somewhat earlier date."

GRANT, RESUMPTION, AND REGRANT

(A historical case study based on the Pandyan Inscriptions of the 11th and early 12th centuries).

The writer deems it a privilege to join the world of scholarship in paying his humble tribute in the form of this article to the late Mm. Sri S. Kuppuswamy Sastrigal. For one thing, he was a research scholar under, and had lifelong association with late Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, a younger contemporary and an intimate friend of the late Sri Kuppuswami Sastrigal. For another, the writer was guided in his Sanskrit studies by the late Sri T. R. Chintamani, one of the Mahamahopadhyaya's brilliant diciples, who passed away prematurely.

Introduction

This study is based on the 12 inscriptions[1] copied from the temple of Citraratha Vallabha Perumal Temple at Koil Kuruvitturai (Village No. 32 in Nilakkottai Taluk. Madurai District). There are two villages of the same name, No. 34 which is *Ayan* Kuruvitturai-a Government village. The other is No. 32, Koil Kuruvitturai. Both are now Ryotwari Government Villages. The latter is a tell-tale name that implies the lands/land-revenue from the village had been assigned to the Temple in former times as an endowment. The Perumal Temple has about 11.69 acres of wet and 16.82 acres of dry lands, yielding together with other proceeds. an income of about 6571 rupees in 1961.[2] The temple and the village are located about 6 miles north-west of Cholavandan (Sholavandan) Railway Station. The ayan village lies mostly to the south and west of the river Vaigai. Koil Kuruvitturai lies to the south and west of the river as the river winds north and then loops south-eastwards. But a portion of this village also lies to the north of the river Vaigai (Survey Nos. 1 to 52).

The Vaigai river emerges from the dry uplands just above Koil Kuruvitturai. The village immediately above is called characteristically, Mettuppatti. The gradient has been utilised as vantage points to run the anicuts across the river Vaigai from early medieval times. At the commencement of this century the Peranai was constructed at a higher contour, now to pick up Periyar water and push it down through the Periyar channel system on the north bank-side and through the Thirumangalam canal on the south bank-side. To the west ot the village stretch the reserve forests of Vikramangalam, and Mannadimangalam (Block No. 200). The slope southwards facilitated the wet ayacut or command area to be formed in between the river and the uplands further south-west (vide Taluk Map-1) in the ribbon of the Vaigai valley.

The epigraphic evidence examined below fully brings out the extension of irrigation and reclamation activity the tract had witnessed in the 11th and 12th centuries and the fluctuations the process had undergone.

The bunch of the twelve records are all of the Pandyan dynasty. Of these nine records belong to the reign of Jatavarman Srivallabha, ranging from the 2nd year to the 22nd regnal year. Six of them have the common *prasasti* or '*Meykirti*' beginning with "Tirumadandaiyum Jayamadandaiyum"[3].

Among the three other records, one is dated the 15th year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara[4] I — A.D. 1205. The second is dated the 9th year of Parakrama Pandya.[5] The third is undated.[6] This last records a pillar gifted by one Sirrambala Udaiyan—Pandarangi Vanan.

The deity is referred to in the inscriptions as Tiruchakratirtha Emberuman. The temple is located in Survey No. 256 of Koil Kuruvitturai village right on the banks of the Vaigai river. Perhaps the turn of the river from the north to the east was considered sacred and named Chakratirtha and the deity was named after the hallowed waters of the place. The name "Tiruchakratirtha Perumal" has become corrupted into Citraratha Vallabha Perumal. The occurrence of "Vallabha" in the deity's current name will distinctly recall the benefactions of Jatavarman Srivallabha to the temple. Perhaps, the temple and the settlement, even if founded earlier, were patronised much during Jatavarman Srivallabha's time. He was himself found to have been camping there once in the 11th year of his reign and this is recorded in one inscription.[7] A Tamil verse inscribed in the 9th year of Parakrama Pandya mentions the temple as Sri Vallabha Vinnagar[8].

Date

Jatavarman Srivallabha Pandya with the *Meykirti* "Tirumadandaiyum Jeyamadandaiyum" has been held with some basis to be the contemporary of Chola Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070 - 1120)[9]. This Pandyan ruler had a reign of nearly 23 years. A considerable number of his records are found in Tirunelveli, Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts. He had a queen called Ulagamulududaiyal. Among his thrones, one was named Pandyarajan. and another Kalingattaraiyan in his palace at Madurai, east of Madakkulam. Parakrama Pandya, after whom an anicut and a channel have been named was perhaps one of his predecessors. The inscriptions can hence be taken to belong to the late 11th century and early 12th century.

The name of the township, Kuruvitturai, occurs in the inscriptions as Cholantaka Chaturvedimangalam, a Brahmadeya in Paganur Kurram. Prof. Sastri was inclined to attribute the name to the commemoration of Vira Pandya's success over Chola Aditya II.[10]

The Township and Temple History

The earliest record noticed is of the 2nd year of Jatavarman Srivallabha.[11] In that year one hundred *Dramam* were deposited as capital in the temple treasury for a lamp service by two widows of a Brahmin, by name Sri Devi Sani and Sri Bhumi Sani.[12] Their husband was Chitrabhattan of Turpil[13] residing in the 10th *Ceri*[14] (Street) of the Brahmadeya village. These two ladies were represented by their elder brother who acted as their guardian *Mudukan* and his name was Sundarattoludaiyan Bhattan of Goma-puram. The two ladies were sisters, and had both married Chitra Bhattan who was perhaps no more. Bigamy was prevalent. The deposit was to remain in tact. From the interest at 2 *dramams* per month a lamp service in the temple was to be maintained by supplying *ulakku* oil per day.

The temple authorities undertook to execute the service. It was to be supervised by Narayanan Nindaponmeni alias Sri Garudadasar, residing in the ninth *ceri.* He was already eausing the building works for the temple to be executed. He was also a priest (*Kanmi*) of the temple. The other signatories were:-

Anbil Narayanan Sriraman.

Anbil Kulisa. . . . Piccan Madhava Bhattan alias Sri Karimaradasar.

The document was inscribed by the stone mason attached to the temple, Chandrasekharan Sorudaiyan Tiruchakra-Achari. The following inferences can be drawn from this document. The Brahmin settlement had a number of families whose nativity could be traced to Anbil[15] in the Chola country, and to Turpil (near Kancipuram) and Gomapuram. They were of Vaishnavite persuasion, as their names reveal and one bears the name, "the devotee of Kari Maran", i.e. Nammalvar. The donors were cowives of Chitrabhattan but their brother had acted as their guardian, as the husband was, perhaps, no more. The temple was just then being built as the works under execution were being supervised by one of the priests, Garuda-dasar. The deposit was to remain in tact and the rate of interest was 24·/. . One *dramam* could purchase 15 *ulakkus* or 3·3/4 measures *(nali)* of oil. The *dramam* was still in vogue as a currency.[16]

In the 7th year of Jatavarman Srivallabha a deposit of gold, *sembon* 12 *kalanju* was made with the temple priest by a lady, Tiruvarangam Perra Tiru, wife of Appan Isvaran, a merchant of Keralantakapuram in Nerkuppai.[17] She had installed a deity, Uyyakkondalvar, for being taken in Sribali procession in the temple of the Paramasvamigal who stood in

Srichakratirtha. With the deposit, the following scale of offerings for *Sandhi* (service at dawn/dusk) was to be made :

For food offerings — 4 *nali* of rice with curries, ghee, curds and betel and nuts, and leaves in all per day 14 *nalis* of paddy.

The priests themselves undertook to remit this paddy by way of interest on the deposit of 12 *Sembon Kalanju*. In other words, 12 *kalanju* of gold yielded by way of interest 53-1/4 *kalams* of paddy or 4-5/12 *kalams* of paddy per *kalanju*.

These two inscriptions help date the construction of the temple and its establishment in the early years of Jatavarman Srivallabha's reign. Even by the 7th year, the image of the deity for Sribali procession, the daily ritual, was a felt want which was supplied by the wife of a merchant.

But the series of inscriptions examined below are of great interest to a student of medieval economic history and land tenures.

Creation of a Sub-tenure

In the 9th year and 330th day, while the King Jatavarman Srivallabha was inside his Palace in Madurai seated in the Pandyarajan throne in the bedstead in Alagiyapandyan hall, on the submission of his chieftain Kalingarajan he ordered as follows[18]:— The *Devadana* lands called '*Parakrama pandyan Kattalai*, being endowed lands for Tiruchakrattalvar, shall be granted on '*Kudinigakaranmai* Tenure' to Sri Harshan alias Narayana Bhatta Vajapeyi Sarvakratukkal of Kiranur residing in the 6th street *(Ceri)* of the township and his heirs *(vargattar)*. The subtenure holder, as the name indicated, should have been a person of distinction as he is described as Vajapeyi—he or his ancestors could have performed Vajapeya sacrifices—and as Sarvakratukkal, or a person competent to perform all kinds of Vedic sacrifies.

The boundaries of the lands so granted were defined. The outer boundaries were:

East — To the west of Parakrama Pandya Peraru.

South — To the north of the jungle stream which was flowing along Karumanikkavaykkal fields.

West — East of the quarries *(karkalam)* from which stones were being supplied *(Irukkum)* for the stone anicut called Parakrama Pandyan *Kallanai*.

North — To the south of the Vaigai big river, and west of the head-reach fields of Vilakkamangalam.

Within these broad outer boundaries the lands lying within the following boundaries were to be excluded.

To the west of Kuruvikkalludaippu, a local quarry. (Did the township take its name after this quarry?) To the north of Parakrama Pandyan big river — It is really a channel taking off from the river Vaigai, — to the east of the western breaches, and to the south of the Vaigai river.

The lands referred to should be located perhaps in between the Vaigai river and the channel flowing to the south and these were excepted. All other lands within the outer boundaries described were to be enjoyed by the Sarvakratukkal and his heirs as Kudininga Karanmai. He was authorised to excavate a new channel, by name Sri Vallabhankal from the river, and to dis-afforest, and bring the lands under cultivation. On the yielding lands per *ma* (33 cents) measured by the rod called "*Malai kutti malai*". 1/4 *kasu* and 5 *kalams* of paddy measured by the Vira Pandyan *Kal* were to be delivered to the temple. For Kuruvai (Summer crop) on yielded lands at 3/4 of the rates specified for the main crop.

The royal order was attested by :—

(1) Madusudana Ambalakkuthan alias Tennavan, Mudalinattu Muvenda Velan of Seluvanur of Mutturru Kurram.

(3) Koluvanur Udaiyan Ganapuradevan Kuvalaya Chandiran alias Kumanarajan.

The Srivaishnavas of the temple recorded this grant of subtenure by the King as conveyed in the royal epistle (*Srimukha*). It was engraved by the same temple stonemason who engraved the record of the second year. This subtenure grant was later formalised in the name of the deity, who abides at Chakratirtha.[19] The land so given to the Sarvakratukkal had formed part of the endowment for the kitchen services (*Adukkalaipuram*). The temple was the original grantee of the lands, and hence this formal deed of conveyance in the name of the deity. Deeds were made and done in the name of the deity as He was a legal person.

Two years later, i.e., in the 11th year Jatavarman Srivallabha, the King had visited the township. He was seated in the bed-stead called Pandyarajan in Alagiya Pandyan hall inside the palace (*Koil*) (Temple) (?) at Cholantaka-chaturvedimangalam.[20]

Grant of Lands in exchange

Opportunity was availed of this royal visit by Kalingarayan the chieftain who submitted as follows :

From the 2nd year of the reign a grant of lands purchased from the Sabhayar of the township for cash by Siddhakutti-Madhavan alias Chola Muttarayan, the *Kilan* (headman) of Mangadu in Mangadu nadu, a sub-division of Puliyur Kottam, a division of Tondaimandalam was in the enjoyment of the temple. According to the title deed the boundaries of the lands were as follows :—

East	To the west of Vilakkamangalam head-fields (Talaivayal) and Parakrama Pandyan *Peraru* (Canal).
South	To the north of the dry lands allocated for the enjoyment of stone-cutters of Muvayiranallur.
West	To the east of the quarries from which stones were being supplied for the stone anicut named after Parakrama Pandyan.
North	South of Vaigai.

Within these limits the *Devadana Iraiyili* - Grant (Tax-free) lands were in three bits. The first bit measured 12 *velis* or 79·20 acres. The second bit comprised the temple and the courtyard, and the appurtenant temple-sites, 5 *veli* or 33·00 acres. The third bit had comprised lands to the north of Vaigai river purchased and endowed, 5 and 13/160 *velis*. Total 22 and 13/160 *velis*.

The three scattered bits were together named Sri Kulasekhara-mangalam.

Of these bits, the lands of over 5 *veli* on the north bank were not contiguous but detached *(Seravallamayal)*. Hence it was submitted that this bit might be resumed (*Tirappaki*) from the 11th year. In exchange therefor, on the south bank of the river (*Talaimaru*), an equal extent of 5 and 13/160 *velis*, which were earlier the *Devadana* lands of the temple and had been resumed, and then paying full land dues might be granted as free from tax dues in contiguity with the lands already tax-free and in enjoyment of the deity.

Again, out of the 5 *velis* of land endowed for the Temple-site, courtyard and garden and appurtenant temple sites for temple services, 3 *velis* were not contiguous and hence they might be resumed and the Devadana tenure might be cancelled, and the remaining 2 *velis* alone might be registered for the temple.

The King accepted the submission of Kalingarajan. He ordered that within the boundaries indicated but to the south of the Parakrama Pandyan *Peraru*, towards the west of the lands with a draining water course *(Selkalai-varugira)* as of old, measuring 12 *velis* already under cultivation and close and

contiguous to it, in exchange for the lands in the north bank of Vaigai it be granted 5 and 13/160 *velis* in Parakrama Pandyan *Kattalai* comprising :—

(a) lands resumed earlier on which land dues were being borne *(Tirappai Iruttu Varugira)*	3-1/2 *veli*	
(b) Cultivable waste land to be reclaimed *(Vasakki)*	1-1/2 *veli*	1-1/2 *ma & araikani*
	5-13/160 *velis*,	
Total	17-13/160 *velis*,	
Add Temple and appurtenant sites	2 *velis*,	
Grand Total	19-13/160 *velis*.	

Thus the total extent of *Devadana* lands got reduced by 3 *velis*.

The reassigned lands were deducted from the village-extents and accounted for separately as Kulasekharamangalam and endowed *Devadana-Iraiyili* for the services including provision of apparel for the deity. The original grant reduced in writing was also attested by Kumanarajan alias Ganapuravan Kuvalayachandran of Koluvanur in the Eastern *Kuru* (portion) of Milalaikurram.

An *ulvari* or counterfoil extract of the tax-register was also given, and attested by Puravuvari-Tinaikalam Mukavetti Velmangalamudayan Velan alias Aliyungayyan of Milalai Kurram and the Uttaramantrin, Andanattu Perumanalur Mantri, Tirumalaiudaiyan.

It will be noted that the contiguity of land was much coveted for beneficial enjoyment. The advantages were (i) for cropping and watch and ward over the lands and farming over the contiguous lands. (ii) The gradient southwards would permit better irrigation from a new canal permitted to be excavated which the fields to the north of the river Vaigai did not adequately possess. The disadvantages were (i) the temple suffered a diminution of 3 *velis* and (ii) 1-1/2 *velis* and odd obtained in exchange had still to be reclaimed and had to be brought under cultivation.

Resumption and reversion to status quo ante and termination of sub-tenure

Five years later in the 16th year and 171st day of Jatavarman Srivallabha, the grant so made in the 11th year was changed.

The King was again seated in his Palace at Madurai in the Alagiya Pandyan Hall *(Kudam)* in his royal couch called Kalingattaraiyan. The Vaishnavas of the temple of Srichakrattalvar submitted as below[21] :—

The 17 and 13/160 *velis* of wet land *(Nir-nilam)* given as a contiguous estate were undertaken by Sarvakratukkal—perhaps the same Brahmin who had been favoured by the King in his 9th year[22] — for cultivation with *Karanmai* rights. He excavated a canal (from Vaigai river) above the Parakrama Pandyan kal and cultivated the land. The Sabhayar of Cholantaka-caturvedimangalam objected to the newly excavated canal as it 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, that new canal was closed and filled up *(Turtamayil)* with earth. It was hence submitted that the 5 and 13/160 *velis* of land granted in exchange in the 11th year could not be successfully cultivated unless the new canal was permitted to be used for command. But this was not possible due to the Sabhayars' objection which had been upheld. It was, hence, supplicated that the lands granted on the south bank in the 11th year might be resumed again. Instead an equal extent of land which had formed part of the original purchase in the name of the deity and endowed by the Kilan of Mangadu on the northern bank might be restored as *Devadana Iraiyili*, changing its tenure from resumed assessed land. As a result, together with the 12 *velis* of land retained as *Devadana* on the south bank, and 2 *velis* of temple-site and appurtenances and garden and temple-endowments and the 5-13/160 *velis* of land on the north bank of Vaigai restored to the temple, the total extent of 19 and 13/160 *velis* were reduced from the tax-bearing lands and separately accounted for as Kulasekharamangalam. The *Karanmai*, and the *melatci* rights on this estate be it more or less, shall belong to the deity Himself. In addition, the *antarayam* payable to the King on the lands by the temple shall be remitted for 4 years from the 16th year. Thus supplicated and on being recommended by Kalingarayan, the King granted the request.

The oral royal order was reduced to writing by Munayadarayan, and attested by Parakrama Pandya Uttara-Mantrin, his minister, in the 16th year and 171st day. It was also confirmed by a letter issued by Kalingarajan, the chieftain to the Sri Vaishnavavariyan (Executive of the Temple), and the temple priests of the Chakratirtha-Alvar temple.

By this order the *status quo ante* was restored. But the temple had still two disadvantages—(1) The total extent of endowment had suffered a diminution of 3 *velis*. (2) The restoration of the originally endowed purchased land of 5 and 13/160 *velis* on the north bank had less of command facilities for irrigation. Presumably for this reason the Sarvakratukkal had relinquished his *Karanmai* rights on the 5 and 13/160 *velis*. The entire land-rights vested with the temple. The temple was hence put to the necessity of finding suitable tenants or sub-tenure holders or alternatively the temple authorities had to undertake direct cultivation of the endowed lands notwithstanding the inferior irrigation facilities. It was in recognition of this difficulty and

to allow time for stabilised wet cultivation that the *antarayam* was ordered to be remitted *(Taviral)* for 4 years from the 16th year.

Final grant of resumed lands and enlargement of Temple-endowed lands

The Srivaishnavas of the temple were not contented. They sought an augmentation of the grant extent as well as the absolute and permanent remission of *Antaraya*. In the 22nd year and 200th day, i.e. 6 years after the last transaction, the king was seated on the royal couch Pandyarayan in the theatre *(Natakasalai)* inside the Palace at Madurai. On the submission of the Srivaishnavas and as recommended by *Periyan* (a chieftain?), the King ordered as follows[23] : The 5 *velis* of land on the south bank lying with the original grant area called Parakrama Pandyan Kattalai and given in exchange in the 11th year as *Devadana Iraiyili* but resumed in the 16th year were again ordered to be made tax-free to the temple. The *antarayam* payable even on the *Devadana* lands of the deity was also granted to defray the expenses for providing apparel and for the renovation/extension works of the temple from the 22nd year. The grant inclusive of *Antaraya* was made permanent.

The oral Royal order was again attested by Mani Tirumalaiudaiyan *alias* Parakrama Pandya Uttiramantrin of Perumanalur in Andanadu and Arayan Ambalakkuttan of Koluvanur in Milalaikurram.

The order was also confirmed by Kalingarayan's epistle conveying the grant and attested by Veliyarrur Udayan the Puravuvari-tinaikalanayagam, the Superintendent of the Revenue Accounts of the assessed and arable lands. As a result, the total grant-extent increased to 24 and 13/160 *velis*. Also the *Devadana* lands need not pay *Antaraya* any longer and thus the quantum of the grant also included this item of land-dues usually payable in cash.

There was only one more inscription of interest. It was dated in the 15th year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1205), a successor king after Srivallabha. It referred to the construction of a *Mandapa* and a *maligai* (a pavilion and a hall) named after the King. The work was undertaken at the instance of a native of Tirunelveli, *allas* Kulasekhara-chaturvedimangalam in Kila-Vembunadu[24] (identical with Tirunelveli, the District headquarters of that name).

A Sum up

The grant-village is clearly identical with Koil-Kuruvithurai (Village No. 32 in Nilakkottai Taluk). The details in the Village Map show three shrines, the main Chakratirtha-vallabha (corrupted as Valluva) Temple, an Alvar Temple on the banks of the river Vaigai, flowing in Survey No. 57,

where, perhaps, Sudarsana was worshipped. A third Valluvar Temple is marked on the north-western part of the main temple. Was this a new shrine added and a deity was named after Srivallabha?

There were two estates–one was lying entirely on the south bank of river Vaigai and a grant made in a prior reign. This was Parakrama Pandyan *kattalai*. It had enjoyed canal irrigation from Vaigai. The stone-masonry anicut and a canal taking off therefrom were both named after Parakrama Pandya. Perhaps they were intended to irrigate these endowed lands. A portion of these lands granted as *Devadana* to the temple had been granted on a sub-tenure as *Kudininga karanmai* in the 9th year, to Narayana Bhatta Vajapeyi, i.e., he was a holder under the temple with landlordship including occupancy rights which were inextinguishable. But he had the obligation to pay 1/4th *kasu* and 5 *kalams* of paddy per *ma* to the temple. This was the royal order issued at the instance of Kalingarajan and the temple authorities carried out the command.

The main tenure of the lands was *Devadana* or Eleemosynary Tenure, The sub-tenure Kudininga-Karanmai had the following characteristics: The Temple was the main grantee with rights of land dues assigned to it by the King. The lands, in this case, being reclaimable the grant could be presumed to include the land also. The sub-holder had inextinguishable (*Ninga*) land-holder's rights including occupancy (*Karanmai*). Usually such rights were fastened on unoccupied lands and the payment of rental to the temple was usually an immutable fixed quantum of obligation. (*Vadakkadan*). But this case was a variant and the stipulation was per *ma* of 33 cents and it was an exception. The hazards of cultivation as well as the benefits of future improvements, the choice of crop, and even the freedom to induct tenants at will accrued to the sub-tenure holders.[25]

Here the *Kudi* denotes the Brahmin occupant holder under the temple. As such, it could not denote the actual tiller of the soil. The *Kudi* need not himself be the actual cultivator. The Sarvakratukkal was presumably, a man of influence and a man of the world. He should have engaged managers for farming the estates and sub-tenants and cultivators under them. He had acted as an agricultural entrepreneur bringing under cultivation endowed lands which were lying waste and also excavating canals for irrigating the lands.

The first estate was apparently a royal endowment. The second was the result of a purchase and endowment by a benefactor from Mangadu in Tondaimandalam. It had perhaps, carried with it some pre-existing obligations like the payment of *Antarayam* borne by the predecessors in title, the holders in the Brahmadeya village.

This second estate was called Kulasekharamangalam. It had comprised the following :

(1)	The original temple sites and appurtenances:	5 *velis*
(2)	One bit of land of 12 *velis* lying to the south of the river, Vaigai and perhaps abutting the first grant of Parakrama Pandyan *Kattalai*	12 *velis*
(3)	A second bit of land lying north of the Vaigai river,	5-13/160 *velis*

This last was a detached bit. Together the lands were named as Kulasekharamangalam. It has to be distinguished from the first. These lands were endowed after purchase from the Sabhayar by Mangadu Kilan.

In the 11th year, the King ordered the resumption of the third bit and they were made liable to pay land-dues to the King. *(Tirappu*, a term which is still used in Revenue parlance to denote resumed land). Instead he gave an equal extent from within Parakrama Pandyan *Kattalai*, an earlier grant but resumed earlier, and bearing full land dues at the time. The advantage of contiguity in location secured was at the sacrifice of 3 *velis* of land which had belonged to the temple but lying detached. The incentive for this sacrificc was, perhaps, the possibility of command facilities for irrigation.

The Sarvakratukkal, perhaps the same holder, granted a sub-tenure in the 9th year, had also extended his occupancy holding, and landlordship *(Karanmai)* over that exchanged bit. Of the 5-13/160 *velis*, 3-1/2 *velis* were readily cultivable. The remaining one and odd *velis* had to be reclaimed as they were waste lands. The Sarvakratukkal had excavated a new canal with a head above the Parakrama Pandyan Kal. This new head had intercepted the supply to the already established riparian owners of fields in the Brahmadeya village. Their objection was upheld by the King, and the new canal was closed and filled up.

In the 16th year, the temple authorities and the Sarvakratukkal relinquished the 5 and odd *velis* of exchanged land on the south bank. The original lands endowed after purchase on the north bank were restored to the temple. But the *Karanmai* rights on that part of the estate when it was located south of the river enjoyed by Sarvakratukkal were terminated. The temple folded up in itself the entire rights on the entire grant as reconstituted including *Karanmai* and *Melatci*. However, the King temporarily remitted *Antarayam* payable on the private endowed lands for a period of 4 years, which had still subsisted after the purchase by the Mangadu Kilan without his terminating or determining it by a capitalised payment deposit with the Sabha or the King.

Six years later, the 5 *velis* of land lying within the Parakrama Pandyan *Kattalai* initially granted as *Devadana* but resumed and later granted in exchange in the 11th year and again resumed in the 16th year were finally granted free of all land-dues in the 22nd year to the temple. In addition, the King also permanently remitted or made over to the temple *Antaraya* dues from Kulasekharamangalam to the temple to meet expenses on clothings and renovation/expansion works.

Comments on the evidence

It is significant that the King had to interfere three times to grant, resume and regrant lands in the 11th 16th and 22nd regnal years respectively. This was due to two factors: (1) The disadvantageous lacation of the 5 and 13/160 *velis* detached on northern bank of the river Vaigai. The series of transactions were intended to contiguously locate the lands endowed to the temple, and to secure better command which could be had on the south bank of the river rather than on the north, together facilitating beneficial enjoyment.

(2) The tenure of the lands—"Parakrama Pandyan *Kattalai*" lands was outright royal grant to the temple on *Devadana* tenure. The "Kulasekhara mangalam" lands were the result of purchase of Dharmadana or Brahmadeya lands from the Sabhayar of the Township and endowed as *Devadana*. As such the earlier obligations to pay *antarayam* had continued with the grant made by the vendee. The exchange for this private endowment of a portion of the purchased land was sought from the lands resumed by the King and fully assessed though prior to such resumption the lands were part of the royal grant to the temple. Hence the change in the tenure of the land granted in exchange from the State to the Temple in the 11th year and the reversal of that transaction in the 16th year and the final regrant of the extent in the south bank location in the 22nd year had all to be done and could, perhaps, only be done by the King himself. It follows the King's share of the land dues could be temporarily or permanently remitted only by him and his officers. The acquired land carried with it the subsisting obligations of the prior tenure until they were specifically waived by the King. In this case it was not till the 22nd year that the obligation to pay *Antarayam* on the purchased land endowed to the temple in the 2nd year were finally remitted by the King.

The inscriptions also afford evidence on the settled official procedure. The affected parties made representations either at the Capital or when the King was on tour, they could do so *in situ*. The chieftain or high official had to recommend the proper course of action. On the King's oral orders they were recorded, and attested by a minister and a responsible official, sometimes more than one. Then an *ulvari* or an extract of a tax register conveying

the royal order of grant was issued. This was confirmed by a communication from the chieftain, *(Olai)*. The attesting officials were also identical and had served the king from the 11th to the 22nd year.

One striking feature of the transaction of the 9th year could be noticed. The lands were part of the temple-endowed lands.—Parakrama Pandyan *Kattalai*. Normally the creation of landlordship *(Karanmai)* including occupancy rights could have been done by the Temple authorities themselves acting together with the Township, the Sabhayar of Cholantaka-chaturvedi-mangalam. Numerous instances of this type could be cited. But in the instant case the sub-tenure rights were ordered at the instance of the chieftain, Kalingarajan by the King himself. This was an exception. Perhaps it could have been the result of the Sarvakratukkal approaching the King through the chieftain. The former could have been a person of stature, of Vedic learning and practices, a Vajapeyi, and also a man of influence, a Sarvakratukkal, "doer of all".

Alternatively, the process of reclamation had entailed excavation of a new canal (to be named after the King). This excavation might have needed royal permission. If it could be presumed the channel permitted to be excavated in the 9th year or an extension therefrom was identical with the channel closed on the objection of the Sabhayar in the 16th year, perhaps the Sarvakratukkal had anticipated the objection of the riparian land-owners and had attempted to forestall the objection of the fellow land-holders in the township by seeking royal permission.

The Sabhayar, however, were indeed alert. They saw to it that the new canal though excavated by one among them, and one recognised among the land-based literati at that, being above their own earlier channel-head, was closed and covered up. The King was also quick to uphold their objection.

The royal tours facilitated direct contacts with the subjects and the proximity of the Township of the capital, Madurai, could have been another factor. That could have been of avail to seek and secure royal intervention.

The period, late 11th and early 12th centuries, had witnessed active efforts to reclaim lands to extend irrigation and wet cultivation. The Parakrama Pandyan stonemasonry anicut on Vaigai from which the main canal *(Perar)* took off was still in the process of construction. The quarries from which the stones was supplied to build the anicut 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 locations of grant-parcels culminating in the total grant of 24 and odd *velis* indicate the progressive attempts to optimise cultivation and enjoyment. The Temple acted

as an agent for such agricultural extension. The land-based literati, 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 Tirumangalam canal taking off from Peranai, a few kilometres upstream Vaigai and proceeding southwards in Usilampatti and Tirumangalam 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 afford an early but distinct precursor of the contemporary experience.

The keen attention paid to water management, canalisation of river flows for wet cultivation and consiousness 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 Pandyan 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 Pandyan country.

Location

The two estates Parakramapandyan *Kattalai* (extent not specified) and Kulasekhara Mangalam (of about 158 acres) could be located in the Koil Kuruvitturai village (Village No. 32) which even in its present revenue village formation extends to both sides of the river, the bit in the northern bank being smaller.

Parakrama Pandyan Peraru was perhaps identical with the original of the Vaigai channel now flowing through this village and then turning into Ayan Kuruvitturai. The stonemasonry anicut bearing the same ruler's name

and from which the channel took off could be located at the western extremity of the village abutting Mettuppatti village limits. The new channel excavated and closed could have been a little to the west above that site on the upper course of the river, to help secure command for the high level land on the western extremity abutting the forests.

The quarries from where the stones were supplied for building the anicut could be located in the Vikramangalam and Mannadimangalam Reserve Forest Limits.

The southern boundary of the Parakrama Pandyan *Kattalai* in the *Kanaru* could be identified as the jungle-streams forking off from Mannadimangalam Reserve Forest flowing eastwards.

The entire location is to the east and west of Madurai-Nilakkottai Road passing through the village—Koil Kuruvitturai. Even in the revenue village as at present constituted there is a bit (Survey Nos. 1 to 52) north of the Vaigai river. The 5 and odd *velis* that had formed part of Kulasekharamangalam disadvantageously located could have been part of that block or in the lands adjoining that block in Ayan Kuruvitturai village, but more probably the former. The changes in tenures and the interesting early history of these lands have left their lasting impress on the village, its location, its limits and the areas comprised within, even in its present constituted form. The Brahmadeya, Cholantaka Chaturvedimangalam, in Paganur Kurram is identical with Sholavandan in Nilakkottai Taluk.

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1. ARE Nos. 318 to 329 of 1908.
2. Census of India 1961, Vol. IX Part XI D – p. 98.
3. ARE 321, 323, 326, 328, 324 & 322.
4. Ibid 326 / 1908.
5. Ibid 328 / 1908.
6. Ibid 329 / 1908.
7. SII Vol. XIV No. 229 p. 132.
8. ARE 328 / 1908.
9. *The Pandyan Kingdom*—By Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, pp. 118 to 123.
10. Ibid.
11. SII Vol. XIV, No. 198 p. 113.
12. "*Sani*" is a term of honorofic for noble women or ladies of rank and in Telugu means 'a wife' also.

13. Turpil was a famous centre near Kanchipuram from where in the 14th century a great Vaishnavite Acharya, Vedanta Desika hailed. Some residents therein were apparently of Vaishnavite persuasion. The original nativity of Chitrabhatta was perhaps in Turpil from where his ancestors had migrated down south.

14. *Ceri* - a street or literally a cluster of houses. In every Brahmadeya village there were invariably twelve *Ceris* after the 12 names of Vishnu (*Dvadasanama)*. In the Chola times the streets were re-named frequently after the Kings, their spouses, or mothers, sisters and brothers. This vanity appears to have been less pronounced or less frequently flaunted by the Pandyan Kings in the naming of the streets, though villages were named and renamed as also some of the principal colonies and streets.

15. Anbil is in Tiruchirapalli District (Lalgudi Taluk). It was a Brahmadeya in Kilkurru, a subdivision of Kilarkurru (vide A.R.E. 106/1920). Aniruddha-Brahmarayar, a Minister under Sundara Chola hailed from a Vaishnavite family residing near about this place.

16. One *kasu* = 6 to 7 *Dramams*.

17. S.I.I. Vol. XIV No. 215 p. 122

18. Ibid No. 223 p. 127

19. Ibid No, 224 p. 128,

20. Ibid No. 229 p. 132.

21. Ibid. No. 236 p. 141.

22. Op. Cit. No. 223.

23. S.I.I. Vol. XIV Nos. 254, 255, pp. 156.

24. A.R.E. 327 of 1908.

25. On this subject of "Tenure" and "Sub-Tenure", a full study has been presented in the Author's Book on the "Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai", published by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology.

KARISULNDAMANGALAM

Karisulndamangalam is a village on the south bank of river Tambraparani in Ambasamudram Taluk of Tirunelveli District. The extant inscriptions in Sri Venkatachalapati (named in the inscriptions as Ten Tiruvengadam) temple and in Sri Sundaresvarar (called Kanaviniya Pandesvaramudaya Nayanar) temple of the village take back its history to the 13th century A.D. The river Tambraparani is called "Tanporundam[1]" or "Mauktika Vahini.[2]"

The township was the eastern hamlet of the big *Brahmadeya* village Seranmadevi Chaturvedimangalam.[3] The village was variously, and sometimes corruptly, named in the inscriptions as Kaliseyamangalam[4] (Kalijeyamangalam), the oldest form, Kalisekharamangalam,[5] Kalikesarimangalam,[6] Kulasekharamangalam,[7] and only in one modern inscription of A.D. 1814 as Karisulndamangalam. Its correct and oldest name as persisting in mediaeval inscriptions appears to be Kalijeyamangalam in Mullinadu. Local tradition attributes its present name to the existence of Ganesa temples all around the village.

The extant inscriptions, thirty in all, can be grouped into three chronological periods:-

(1) Inscriptions of the medieval Pandyas of the Second empire-11

(2) Pre-Vijayanagar period-13

(3) Vijayanagar period and after-5

There is but one modern record of A.D. 1814. Ten records are in the Sri Sundaresvara Soundaranayaki Amman temple; six of them belong to the Pandya period. The rest are in Sri Venkatachalapati temple. The records here are more and richer because of the patronage of Vaishnavism by the Tiruvadi chieftains of Kalakkadu, and by the Vijayanagar chieftains and because of the role of the *matha* of Sripadapuri Tirthas in administrating the temple.

While the inscriptions of the Chola rulers are to be found in large numbers in the adjoining big *Brahmadeya* village of Seranmadevi and some of its hamlets, there is not one Chola inscription in this township. The earliest mediaeval record in this township dates back to the period of Maravarman Sundara Pandya (presumably the First — Acc. A.D. 1216) as can be gleaned from the title "Chonadu Valangiyaruliya"[8] - who was pleased to

regrant the Chola country. Records of his 18th year refer to a shrine "Kaliyuga Ramesvara" in Melakkadayam[9] (Tirunelveli District) and some coins with the title "Kaliyugarama" are surmised to belong to this King or some predecessor of his. Was "Kalijeya" a variant of this title? Was the principal deity in the Siva temple named after the Pandya ruler? For it was a common medieval practice to name shrines and townships after the rulers, the former sometimes with a *double entendre* intent. The Vishnu temple named "Ten Tiruvengadam" attested the spread of Vaishnavism during the period, and the high veneration in which the Venkatesvara shrine in Tirumalai was held by the Vaishnavites.

There were some lands held as *Jivitam* comprising I $\frac{1}{16}$ *veli* of which $\frac{1}{16}$ *veli* (1$\frac{1}{4}$ *ma*) was of seed-bed and garden land of 2 *ma* and, a housesite by one Parasuraman, one of the *Angavaisyas*. In the 8th year of Maravarman Sundara II (A.D. 1247) the King abrogated the earlier rights of the *Jivitam* holder and the cultivators under him, and granted the lands as *Devadana* Irayili, including the lands, for a new shrine of Avudaiya (Aludaiya?) Pillayar for maintenance of services in that shrine in the Tirunelveli Temple.[9A]

In a record (palaeographically) of the 13th century, a merchant in Ulaguyyavanda Pandya Perunderu in Kalijeyamangalam gave three *anai-accu* for the kitchen requisites of Ten Tiruvengadamudaiyan temple.[10] A merchant from Kottaru in Malaimandalam (near Nagercoil in Kanyakumari District) had gifted two *accu* for a lamp service near the Goddess and for Vinayaka set up by himself in the temple of Kanaviniya Pandyesvaramudaya Nayanar in 'Kalijeyamangalam'[11] (9th regnal year of Jatavarman Vira Pandya). A record[12] of the same year of Jatavarman Vira Pandya who was pleased to take the Chola country, Ilam, and the crown and crowned head of Savagan (Jat Vira Pandya I : A.D. 1263) recorded a gift of paddy from the fields of *kudimakkal* (tenants) in Purapparru, Vettaikaranparru, Brahmanapparru, Padaipparru, and Narrangal (seedbeds) of the village by the members of the *ur* of this village for *tiruppani*, repairs to the temple. Thus, besides the *mahasabha* of Seranmadevi Chaturvedimangalam (consisting only of the resident Brahmin landed interests) there was also a local assembly (*ur*) of land-owning interests of all classes, such as husbandmen holding lands from outside the village or resident agriculturists holding lands outside the village, the hunters and the army. The same body assembling as *ur* undertook to give nine *kalams* on each *ma* of land in lieu of *irai* (land revenue) due to the King, ordered[13] to be remitted by the King in favour of the Siva temple, in the I(4)th year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya.

A record[14] of the third year of Maravarman Kulasekhara referred to the shrine set up for Bhairava named Kshetrapala Pillaiyar by Immaitaruvan Vira Chola Muvendavelan of Milattur near Kalijeyamangalam and land gifts for

the services. Another shrine for Vignavinayakapillaiyar was set up by Udaiyandal, one of the servants of the *agapparivaram* (maid in the palace service).[15] The big assembly of Seranmadevi Chaturvedimangalam endowed land gifts for maintaining the services in that shrine.[16] A 2(9)th year record of Kulasekhara who was pleased to take all countries ("Emmandalamum Kondaruliya" Maravarman Kulasekhara I A.D. 1298)[17] referred to rebuilding of the *vimana* over the central shrine of Venkatachalapati temple by a Lata, Pithusi Raguttar, son of Kalisa Raguttar, and the rebuilding of the temple in the 30th year. An incomplete record revealed that a dancing girl, Tentiruvengada Manikkam, was appointed as a musician in the Vishnu temple, herself together with her two brothers were to be the hereditary servants of the temple.[18]

The township, the collective organisation of the landed interests as *ur*, the Brahmin land holders constituting the *mahasabha* of the main village of which this village had formed a part, the temple establishments and endowments made therefor were all well-established even at the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

Records of the early 14th century A.D. revealed the tract and the temples had gone over to the regime of the Tiruvadi chieftains of Jeyasimhanadu (Kalakkad and Thovala tract) in Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. They also brought to notice a well-established *matha* belonging to Paramahamsa Parivrajaka Sripada Svamis. Besides having an establishment of their own, they wieldad considerable influence over the Venkatachalapati temple and its administration. The principal head of this *matha* was Amara-Rajapuri Sripada[19] who also lent his name to the vicinity of the Vishnu temple, named Ammarajapuri-Chaturvedimangalam. Four of his successors named in the records were Devendrapuri. Mukundanandapuri[20] (there appeared to be two sanyasins of the same name), and Sankarananda.[21] From now on chronology becomes settled, thanks to the adoption of Kollam or Saka era.

In A.D. 1312 Mukundananda Sripada of this *matha* had to order a change in the incumbency of the manager of the endowments of the *matha* and the temple.[22] Hitherto, these properties were managed by one Iruvittukkoil Maniyan, son of Maniyan, who was capable, and devoted to the *matha*, 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 Maniyan's death, his eldest son Narayanan proved unequal to the task, allowed the dues to fall into arrears, and surrendered the title deeds and his credentials to the *matha*. This affected the conduct of the *matha* and of the temple rituals. When he was admonished by the head of the *matha* he did not

improve. Thereupon Mukundananda invoked the assistance of the *sabha* assembling in the temple of Kodanur[23] (identifiable as Kodaganallur in Tirunelveli taluk on the north bank of Tambraparani river. Inspite of their intervention, Narayanan 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" (*ikkalattu nellum panamam tarar enru)* both before the *sabha*, and directly to the head of the *matha*. Thereupon Mukundananda appointed another capable and ardent dovotee of the *matha* 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 *matha* 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 sanyasin of the same name, perhaps another in succession, repaired and reconsecrated the Tentiruvengadamudaya Emberuman shrine in A.D. 1398-9 at the Pavanasini Tirtha on the Tanporundam river.[24] The deity was worshipped by Romesa Maharishi, a Rishi referred to in *Bhagavata Purana.*[25] The temple lands were to be administered by Mukundananda Sripada and also the chief, Martanda Adigal of Jayasimhanadu. Endowments were made for various purposes—for maintaining lamps, for the *matha*, 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 *matha*. The record also referred to three maid-servants who were also the servants of the *matha*, Aruvi, her daughter Nakkavudaiyal, and grand daughters, Mati and Piravi who were to serve both the temple and the *matha*. A record of A.D. 1344[26] referred to two washermen gifted for the temple service. A record of 1401[27] similarly endowed men and women as servants in the temple who were also to obey the orders of the *sri karya sishyas* (disciples of the *matha*).In A.D. 1417, seven more persons were similarly endowed for hereditary servioe to the temple and the *matha.*[28] Additions to the temple servants were made in A.D. 1433.[29] A native of Malaimandalam made a money-gift for offerings to the deity.[30]

The administration of the temple and of the *matha* had become so completely fused that an inscription of A.D. 1453[31] recorded that Mukundanandapuri, a disciple of Amararaja Sripada, was pleased to declare that all property of the *matha* 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 *matha* 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 *matha*. This Mukundananda should have been a successor-sanyasin or the *yati* of the same name occurring in the record of A.D. 1312. He might, perhaps, have been identical with the sanyasins of the same name referred to in the inscription of A.D. 1398, and if 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 *matha*.

In A.D. 1439[32] one son of Sanyasi Virappa built a temple for the Alagiya-jiyar (?) in the Siva temple, repaired the *Sikhara* and other parts, and secured three *ma* of land in Seranmadevi, with the permission of Udaya-martanda Sri Papura (Ramavarma), endowed a perpetual lamp and servants; and arranged for worship in that shrine. In A.D. 1441[33] Martandan Sivandikamudaiyan had gifted lands for services on his native asterisk, *Bharani*. Provision was made in A.D. 1509 for offerings on special festival days in the month of *Kartigai* in the Vishnu temple, in the presence of Sri Sankarananda Sripada of the *matha*, and the temple servants.[34] The *matha* had thus continued to maintain its influence and control over the management of the Vishnu temple for well over two centuries.

Records of A.D. 1544-45[35] refer to the gift of lands for daily offerings in the Vishnu temple and refer to Mahamandalesvara Ramaraja, Vittaladeva, Timmaraju, Ramaraja was Aliya Ramaraja, the Vijayanagar ruler of the Aravidu dynasty who met with his defeat and downfall in the battle of Talikota (Rakshas Tangadi), Vittala and Timmaraju (also called Chinna Timma) were the cousins of Ramaraja, Vittala and Timma being brothers.

During the first half of the 16th century political conditions in the Tirunelveli tract were unsettled. The Later Pandyas had branched off into several lines, each scion holding a small tract. They were quarreling among themselves. One of them Perumal was powerful near Kayattar-Maniyachi. South of the river Tambraparani in the Paccaiyar tract (comprising Kalak-kadu) and Thovala tracts, the five Tiruvadi chieftains were holding portions of the territory. The Catholic missionaries, the Franciscans, followed by the Jesuits, were intensifying their activities; they built churches, appointed priests, made levies on the fishermen of the Pearl fishery coast, and even induced the new converts to defy the local rulers, and owe allegiance to the King of Portugal. Flushed with success they had even desecrated and damaged old Hindu temples including Srirangam, Tiruccendur, and Kanyakumari.

Ramaraja had sent down an expedition under his cousin Chinna Timma to subjugate the territories and partly also to curb these activities and restore

and reconsecrate the temples which were demolished, or had fallen into disuse due to neglect, and arrange for their proper upkeep. Chinna Timma's expedition, assisted by his brother Vittala, was successful, and the latter was left behind to administer the territory. The Tiruvadi chieftains also acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar rulers. The village Timmarajapuram near Palayamkottai and Vitthalapuram near Seidunganallur (Srivaikuntam taluk) are place-names recalling these Vijayanagar generals. They appointed *sthanapatis* or administrators for the temples, to restore them to order and arrange for the management of the properties of these institutions. Correspondingly, the influence of the *matha* also declined, and naturally so because the power of the Tiruvadi chieftains who patronised the *matha* had also been eclipsed. Also perhaps, the period completed the transition in the *agama* (ritual) practices in the Vishnu temple from the *tantric* to *vaikhanasa* form. The setting up of images for Vaishnavite *alvars* and *acharyas* for worship, and additional shrines, besides elaboration of rituals and festivals were characteristics of Vijayanagar times. Inscriptions were also bilingual—written in Tamil and Telugu.

In A.D. 1544[36] one Appaiyyangar came to the village as the *sthanapati* of King Erra Timmaraju, and erected a *dvajasthamba* (flagmast), covered it with copper, provided a *Garuda-vahana*, set up eleven *alvars*, and presented a silver vessel to the Vishnu temple. Three months later[37] one Chikka-nayya (Chikkaraju in Telugu) Naranappan visited the temple as *sthanapati*, appointed byTimmaraju and worshipped God Tiruvengadanatha. This *sthanapati* set up a shrine for Lakshminarayana[38] in the temple for the merit of his wife and his masters, Ramaraju, Timmaraju, and Vittala; and provided for offerings and services in A.D. 1545 *(Asada)* Gifts of lands for daily offerings were also made in addition.[39]

Next year (A.D. 1546—*Parabhava*)[40] Singarayyan, son of Ayalur Tatappayyangar of Srivatsagotram, Apastamba Sutra, Yajurveda, was appointed as *sthanapati* of Sri Chinna Timma. He visited the temple and endowed lands and some additional items of revenue to the shrine for the benefit of his mother, Ammangaru, his father, and his Lord *(Svami)* Chinna Timma Maharaja, and Gopinayakkar.

This is an interesting record which gives details of the endowments not only of lands but of assignments of local dues and professional and communal cesses which the donor, in his turn, had received as grant. The lands and house sites were situated in the *agrahara* village of Vira Kerala Chaturvedimangalam *alias* Munnaippallam Malla Samudram which was the western hamlet of Sivalavanmangalam of Kilavembunadu (Tirunelveli and adjoining) area). The land consisted of five shares *(bhagas)* which he had inherited and were in his possession, together with four house sites. Each share yielded

38 *kotas* of paddy and his father had already endowed 30 *kotas* from one of these shares for the *alvar* shrine he had set up in Appan Tope and the previous endowment was to be excluded. The balance of eight *kotas* from one share, and the 152 *kotas* of paddy from the other four shares were endowed for the Lakshminarayana Perumal shrine. To these were added the assignment of local cesses, and communal or professional levies from the following, gifted to him by the chieftain, Ramavarman Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanadu—the miscellaneous dues of *kadamai*, *valangai*,[41] *taragunul*, *undigai*, *karunjarakku*, *maruttupattam* the levy on all liquid measurements and weighments of goods *("alandu nirukkappattatum")*, the cess payable by the resident Chettis including Naccadai Tavirthan and by those who have newly taken residence additionally *(mekudicetti)*, *Sambai*, *paccaippattam* and *ur taragu* of Kalakadai, *taragu* in *Kaikola* street (weavers), that is the *kadamai* due for eight looms (*tari)* in the village of Kali Kesarimangalam, the *kadamai* on *kulalas* (potters) on their production, the *kadamai* on goldsmiths *(Tattar)*, and *idangaipanam* etc. All the proceeds from these several communal and collective levis which he had received as gift were in turn assigned by him to the shrine of Lakshminarayana. The record revealed how every community or profession, or trade had several dues, *kadamai* (fixed basic levy), and also a variable quantum on production of the different items or their sale to the ruling chieftain, These were invariably collected on a lease (*pattam*) or an agency *(taragu)* basis. This agency and authority to collect was assignable by the chieftain to a beneficiary and was transferable by the donee to others for any purpose. This document was hence a settlement of the agency dues received as gift by the donor on the temple and called *taragu pidippadu*, an agreement transferring the agency for collecting these dues.

The record in its second part proceeded to give the details of the several provisions required for offerings to the shrine, on a minutely worked out daily budget and scale—for rice, for firewood, for curries, pepper, salt, coconut etc, and then calculated for 30 days and 12 months of 30 days and the provision for five more days to make the total number of days in a year was thoughtfully added.

Out of the offerings so made, the *matha* (presumably of the Sripadas), the servants or workmen *(duram seivar)*, the priests *(santhikkarar)* were all to have their share. The balance was distributed for the six services—for garlands, for leaves to be supplied and mat or leaf-plates *(muram)* for spreading the cooked rice, for lamps, for oil therefor, for sandal, betal and nuts.

This was a typical instance of the detailed accounting of the proceeds of the endowments and the items of expenditure on which they were to be defrayed, and the scale and mode of distribution of the offerings.

There are but three more records spanning two centuries and a half, two of these from the Siva temple. In A.D. 1571,[42] a resident of the village here called Kulasekharamangalam gifted paddy for conducting worship on Sankranti day (*i.e.* the first day of *Tai* month) in Sri Venkatachalapati temple.

The ceremonies of *karshana*, *kumbabishekam* and *bijapratishtha* of Sri Sundaresvara temple were performed again in A.D. 1687.[43] A century and a quarter later, in A.D. 1814 Suryamurtiya Pillai, son of Sivarama Pillai of Kesavasamudram, endowed 64 cents of land in the village of Kesavasamudram[44] and Karisulndamangalam for the midnight service and worship in the shrine of Sri Kanakasabhapati in the Siva temple.

This is the latest of the epigraphic records in the village. The current name of the village occurs in it. Not inappropriately, with the provision for this midnight service, the curtain drops.

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1. Annual Report of Epigraphy (ARE.) 586/1916.
2. Ibid 568/16.
3. 571/16.
4. 572/16.
5. 588/16.
6. 584/16.
7. 594/16, 595/16.
8. Ibid, 570/16.
9. 524/1916. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri *The Pandyan Kingdom*, Page 145.
10. 571/16.
11. Ibid 586/16.
12. Ibid 588/16.
13. ARE. 593/16.
14. ARE. 587/17.
15. ARE. 590/1916.
16. ARE. 589/1916.
17. ARE. 568/1916.
18. ARE. 565/1916.
19. ARE. 583/1916. ARE. 564/1916.
20. ARE. 576/1916. ARE. 566/1916. ARE 509/1916.
21. ARE. 579/1916.
22. ARE. 576/1916. Note : I am indebted to the Government Epigraphist, Mysore, for the text of the inscription 576/1916 which is unpublished.
23. ARE. 203, 204, 205 / 1932-33.
24. ARE. 566/1916. Also T.A.S. IX, pp. 15-16.
25. Ibid.

26. ARE. 578/1916.
27. ARE. 564/1916.
28. ARE. 509/1916.
29. ARE. 585/1916.
30. ARE. 582/1916.
31. ARE. 583/1916.
32. ARE. 595/1916. This inscription is in Kannada language.
33. ARE. 594/1916.
34. ARE. 579/1916.
35. ARE. 577/1916.
36. Ibid.
37. ARE. 575/1916.
38. ARE. 573/1916.
39. ARE. 574/1916.
40. ARE. 584/1916. Also Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. IX, pp. 16-18. In the annual Report of Epigraphy this village is reported as Mullippallam. There is a village called Munnirpallam on the South bank of the river Tambrapārani.
41. The castes in medieval times, especially Vijayanagar times, were divided as Idangas and Valangai. on a mythological basis and sometimes had intense and acrimonioui conflicts even upto early British times.
42. ARE. 581/1916.
43. ARE. 592/1916.
44. ARE. 591/1916 - Kesavasamudram is a hamlet of the adjoining village of Patamadai (Ambasamudram Taluk).

KODANUR *alias* KULASEKHARA CHATURVEDIMANGALAM- ITS EARLY HISTORY

I have great pleasure in joining the host of scholars in felicitating my good friend, Sri K. V. Soundararajan, not merely as a scholar of great repute but also as one who has contributed to the understanding of the art and architecture of the temples in India as a whole, and of the South in particular. It is a complex subject which demands a thorough comprehension of the idiom of the Sanskrit works on architecture as well as a practical knowledge of detail as exhibited in the different styles adopted in the different regions. It is a multi-disciplined study too, embracing the Agamas, epigraphy, and literature. It is a tribute to the dedicated lifework of Sri Soundararajan that he has fulfilled the demanding requirements of this subject and has lucidly expounded the intricacies of architecture including Muslim or Mughal architecture. I am, indeed, privileged to contribute this paper as a token of my appreciation and tribute to him.

I thought the most befitting manner it can take will be to write a paper based on the unpublished inscriptions on the history of his own native-place, Kodaganallur.

Kodaganallur is a village about 13 kilometres south-west of Tirunelveli, the headquarters of the district of that name in Tamil Nadu. It is a few k.m. south of Melakkallur railway station and is on the northern bank of Tambraparani river. It was a place of great learning in the last century, both in Saivite and Vaishnava theology. Kodaganallur Sundara Swamigal was a great "Sadhaka" in Saivism and had given "diksha" to Maha Vaidyanatha Sivan and several others. The township had also contributed great musicians and performers of Harikatha, like Kodaganallur Subbiah Bhagavathar. The temple for Vishnu is dedicated to Periyapiran and that for Siva to Abhimuktesvara in this village. There are six inscriptions in the former and one in the latter, listed in A.R.E. 1933. But the transactions relating to the township are also noticed in inscriptions elsewhere, as at Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli and Karisulndamangalam.

The beginnings of this township as a Brahmadeya are traceable from epigraphical sources to the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekhara-I(acc. A.D. 1190). It should not be understood that it was not occupied before. Even gravelly and infertile lands to the north in its immediate vicinity as in Kallur were under occupation and yields from 2 *velis* therein were assigned in the 17th year and 7th day of Jatavarman Sundara-Chola-Pandya, the son of Rajendra-I (A.D. 1037-38) to the Kailasamudayar deity in Seranmadevi village across the Tambraparani river.[1]

The earliest record available at Kodaganallur is of the 4th year, 243rd day (A.D. 1195) of the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekhara-I. He was seated on the couch *MUNAIYADARAYAN* in his bed-chamber in the palace at Chola Kulantaka Chaturvedimangalam in Paganur Kurram (identical with Solavandan near Madurai).[2]

Kodanur is referred to as Kulasekhara Chaturvedimangalam in Mela-vembu Nadu. This nadu extended to the west of Tirunelveli which itself was located in Kilavembu Nadu, but was to the east of the Tambraparani river. For Seranmadevi on its west bank was in Mulli Nadu.

The priests of the Vishnu temple named Kulasekhara Vinnagar Alvar and the Srivaishnavas (the resident landholders of Vaishnavite persuasion) supplicated to the King for a grant as Devadana Iraiyili (tax-free endowment for the deity) for the daily offerings and clothing and apparel expenses for the deity. They required one Kalam of paddy per day, by the grain-measure called Kulasekharan and 365 kalams per year. This request was commended by Manabharanamangalattu Nambi[3] and Uttama Cholan who carried weight or influence with the king.

The king granted this request. The 365 kalams by the grain-measure KULASEKHARAN were equal to 584 (1 : 1·6) by another measure called "65". The paddy was allocated from the paddy-dues from the lands resumed by the king, and revenue-yielding land hither - to paying the dues in cash (KASUKKADAMAI TIRAPPAGA) which were to be paid thereafter in paddy. The land was localised and measured as $\frac{3}{4}$ (Veli) (15 ma) and 1 ma, mundirigai, araikkal in extent by the Vira Pandya-measuring rod. The grant was to take effect from the main crop (Pasanam) of the 4th year. An extract of the registry (ULVARI) in the land-register (Vari) was also ordered to be given to the beneficiaries. The royal command was attested by two officers:-

(1) VADATALAI CEMBIL NATTU MANAVILUDAIYAN VELAN ALAGINAN ALAGIYA PANDYA VILUPPARAYAN.

(2) VENBAIKKUDI NATTU ELUR MANNAI KO SRI VALLAVANANA THENNAVA . . . .[4]

Two years later (A.D. 1197-7th regnal year) the king, presumably **Jatavarman** Kulasekhara, issued an order at the instance of Ayyan Malavarayan to the priests and the Srivaishnavas of Kulasekhara vinnagar Alvar in this village to the following effect.[5] The deity had some lands in the village as His occupied holding (Tirunamattukkani). The *Kadamai*, and *Antarayam* the principal land dues payable on these occupied holdings to the state, shall continue to be paid. But other miscellaneous levies like Vettipattam (free labour for communal service leased for a lumpsum) Panjupili (the fluff of cotten), Sandhivigrahapperu (levies for war and peace),

Ponvari (tax on gold) or (coinage), and others shall be exempt for these lands. The same concession shall be extended to the deity's occupied helding in Seranmadevi Caturvedimangalam in Mullinadu across the river. The king ordered the Sabha of Kodanur *alias* Kulasekhara Chaturvedimangalam to forgo the proportionate levy of SABHA VINIYOGAM, i.e., the collective contribution levied by the Sabha on all the deity's occupied holdings. The King's command-letter with the endorsement of Sekkandar (a royal dignitary) were received. The Sabha obeyed the king's command, and decided not to demand or take proportionate obligations of the distributed levy from the deity's occupied holding.

The royal epistle was attested by the officials:

Andanattu Perumanallur Piriyan Kulasekhara Devan *alias* Kulasekhara-Uttaramantri. Milalai Kurram, Naduvirkurru Sirumainallur Kunja . . . . Murrula Kali Ca . . . ndavansudar *alias* Visayarayan, Karungudi nattu Kilanettur *alias* Kirtivijayalaya nallur Ayan Maranalagiya perumal *alias* Vikrama Pandya Thondaiman. Immediately following this royal order, the Sabha issued an endorsement to the temple priests reiterating that barring *Kadamai* and *Antarayam* which should continue to be paid on these tax-bearing lands in the occupied holdings of the deity (IRUPPADI NILAM) all other levies shall be exempt. They also in compliance with the royal command, exempted the Tirunamattukkani lands from the levy of Sabhaviniyogam-distributed levies demanded by the Sabha on the occupied holdings of the Township.[6]

This document is significant. For as many as 56 signatories—all Brahmin land holders of the township constituting the Sabha have signed it. There are several Sarvajits, Somayajins, Atiratrayajins (an optional part of Jyotisthoma sacrifice), Vajapeyins, and several Bhattas. Many of them are of Vaishnavite persuasion, if their names afford any clue. They bear even Tamil names like Alvan, Solaippiran, Alagan, Tiruvaranga Selvan, Alum-piran, Pandava-dutan, Ulagamundan. Others sign in Sanskrit and have Sanskrit names like Bhavasvamin, Narasimhabhatta, Sri Krishna Bhatta, Tejasvi Bhatta, etc. Some are Saivite names like Sankaranarayanan and Nagesvaran. A few reveal their original nativity, Irunganti, Mudumbai, Irayur kottai, Vangipuram, but others have dropped it. But the number of signatories exceeding 60 would indicate how populous the township was, and the large population that had already settled there, migrating southwards at varied times from Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh.

In the 10th year (A.D. 1199-1200), while Jatavarman Kulasekhara was sitting on his couch "Munaiyadarayan" in his bed-Chamber in Sri Vallavan kudam in the palace at Madurai the Sri Vaishnavas of Kodanur made a request to him which was granted by the king.[7]

The king enlarged the quantum of the tax-free content of the land-yield already granted by him in the 4th year. This was again ordered, on the request of the Sri Vaishnavas attached to the Kulasekharavinnagar Alvar at Kodanur, and endorsed and recommended by Manabharanamanga-lattu Nambi and Uttama Cholan.

The deity at Kodanur had been granted already in Seranmadevi village[8] ¾ *veli* 1 *ma*, *mundirigai* and *araikkal* of double crop land in the 4th year as per the land-assessment revenue-account (Iraippadi ittu). There was a parcel of land 1 *ma* in extent which was assessed to *Kadamai* as ½ *ma*, *araikkani* (5/160) at the rates prevalent in the village. Later the king ordered the *Kadamai* to be received from this one *ma* shall be at ½ *ma*, *mundirigai* (9/320) - i.e., a concession equivalent to 1/320. This had left a balance extent of 1 *ma varai mundirikai mukkal* which had to be granted as *Devadana Irayili*. Besides, *Kadamai* was being realised on ½ *ma* 4 *makkani mundirikai kilmukkal*, and also on *mukkale* 1 *ma mundirigai arai* (the grant made in the 4th year) on which *Kadamai* alone was assigned to the temple. Now it was ordered that the *Antarayam* also on the lands left out earlier shall be paid to the deity as *Devadana Irayili*. In effect lands only paying *Kadamai* as assigned revenue to the deity were ordered to pay *antarayam* also to the temple. *Devadana* lands assessed to State revenue were exempted from it.

The order was conveyed by:

Idaiyarru Nattu (accountant of the occupied lands) (Karai kanakkudaiyan) Adirakural Sangattadukan Viran *alias* Srivallabha muvenda velan. Milalai Kurru Kilkurru Kalumalurudaiyan Aryan Sankaradevanana Vannadudaiyan.

The ulvari or the extract of the land tax-register giving effect to this order was signed by a number of officials. Mukavetti Cholamandalam Manikkavalanattu Alanattu Varinji corudaiyan Alagiya manavalan Karpagam *alias* Alagiya Pandya Muvendavelan.

Puravaritinaikala nayakam Villavan-muvendavelan

Puravaritinaikala Mukavetti Cholamandalattu Rajendra Chola valanattu . . . nattu Manakkudaiyan Pallikondan Venkadan,

Puravari tinai kkalanayakam Milalaikurrattu Vilattur udayan

Puravaritinaikkala nayakam Vaniyangudiyan

Puravaritinaikala nayakam Sirukamburudayan Kangeyan

Puravari(van)tinaikkala Kanakku-authorising the entry to be made-Milalai Kurrattu Kilarru Munayadarayan Arindan Vilupparayan.

Two years later, (12th year A.D. 1202), Jatavarman Kulasekara was seated on the couch Munayadarayan in the Mandapa called Pugalabharanan in the palace at Madurai.[9] The students (Sattar) of Kumarimangalam (Kanyakumari) requested as below : A new Matha had been erected in the temple of Kumari Piratti, and the Matha was named after the king. The Paradesis (visiting pilgrims and mendicants) who attended the festival in the month of Thai(January-February) Pushya had to be fed. For this purpose, they requested the grant of a portion of Antaraya paid to the king by the lands endowed as Devadana to the deity at Tirunelveli and for the maintenance of services for the Goddess (Tirukkamakkottapuram) in that temple-specifically to divert 50 Kasu out of cash revenue yielded by the Devadanam of deity of the Tirunelveli, Kodanur *alias* Kulasekhara caturvedimangalam.

With this amount, the Matha at Kanyakumari would buy the paddy at the prevalent market rates from time to time for feeding the mendicants. The request was made by Sri Vallabharayan *alias* Arayan Seran who was the royal superintendent of the Kitchen - assigning duties to the kitchen servants (Adukkalayarkku Kuru)

The King ordered accordingly 50 Kasu to be assigned from the revenue due to him from the land holders in Kodanur as Madappuram.

The royal officials who signed the command were: Kilkundaru Veliyamurudaiyan Arayan, Sattan *alias* Veliyarrudayan Milalai Kurram Kil kurru Vilatturudayan Araya Narayanan *alias* Mayirapalan

The Ulvari was signed by :
Puravari Tinaikala Milalaikurrattu Kil kurru Vilattur udayan Sokkan udayan
Puravari Tinaikala Nayakan Arangan Vilupparyan
Puravari Tinaikala Nayakan Aliyatten udaiyan
Rajaraja vilupparayan, Kalingarayan

The township paid *Kadamai*, the principal land-dues to the deity at Tirunelveli and *antaraya* and other lesser levies to the king besides bearing community obligations. A portion of the cash-dues paid to the king was assigned for feeding the mendicants in the Kulasekhara Matha in the temple of Kanyakumari,

This evidence can clearly point out that the township as a constituted Devadana with a large population of Brahmin land holders could be traced to the end of the 12th century (A.D. 1194-1202).

Grants made in A.D. 1194 for the dress and apparel and services in the temple clearly indicate that the temple must have been built about

the year 1194 or so and named after the rising Pandya ruler Jatavarman Kulasekhara-I who wrested the independence of the Pandyan Kingdom from the Cholas.

The patronage was continued by the successor of Jatavarman Kulasekhara, Maravarman Sundara-I. In his 5th year (A.D. 1221) the king gave up his right to receive the share of the first production (Cinna Mudal Peru) realised from the oil-mongers confined or relatable to the oil-presses (Sekku) which supplied oil for the lamps in the Vishnu temple and other dues so that from the proceeds three of the lamp-services could be maintained *(TIRUNANDA VILAKKU SESAM)* Kulasekhara Kaduvetti signed the order. Manalur Nambi(a royal official or one incharge of realising the oil-press dues?) also followed suit *(Nanum tavirndamaikku)* desisting from collecting the dues, as per the royal command. The person who was instrumental for getting this exemption from oil-press levy and who had it inscribed on stone was Sendalangara Mamuni.[10]

Perhaps this Vaishnava ascetic was identical with the Brahmavidvan (Sanyasin) of that name (A.D. 1209-1258) who actively took up the construction of a shrine for Kulasekhara Alvar in the temple of Rajendra Vinnagar (Mannarkoil) about 13 or 14 miles west of Kodanur. He had a Matha in the first Ceri of the big township Rajraja Cathurvedimangalam (Brahmadesam). He had recovered lands from a dispute among three townships and had them endowed to the Kulasekhara shrine built in the year A.D. 1209 in the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekhara - I. Sendalangara mahamuni had been active even later as records of the mid-13th century make grants to his Matha as late as A.D. 1258.[11]

The Maha Sabha of Kodanur were also solicitous to make voluntary donations out of their land yield to a new deity installed in Tirunelveli temple.

In the 13th year of Maravarman Sundara (I?) in Makara month, 24th day, on a Wednesday, they made a grant as follows:

A new deity, Avudaiyar Alagiya Tiruccirrambalamudayan had been installed in the temple at Tirunelveli by one Tiruccirrambalam udaiyan Udayanayakan *alias* Viluppadarayan of Adumper(?) in Milalai kurram. The Mahasabha made a voluntary gift of 15 *kalams* (by Vira Pandyan measure) per crop from the Pasanam of that year. They agreed to measure the 15 *kalams* to the merchants to whom they delivered the *Kadamai* paddy for every crop over and above the *Kadamai* payable to the Tirunelveli temple, and get the receipts of the merchants.[12]

A number of Brahmin signatories attest this grant:

Paladai Srirama Bhatta Somayaji
Irunganti Grama Bhattan (Sri Rama?)
Karambicettu Srideva Bhatta Vajapeyaji
Irunganti Alvan Bhatta Brahaspati(sar?)vayaji
Irunganti Damodara Bhattan
Paladai Vishnu Bhattan
Karambicettu Tiruvaranga Narayana Bhattan
Pilakkil Andan Bhattan
Vattamani Sankaranarayana Bhattan
Ilayanarayana Bhatta
Mukkattu Siyan
Karambicettu Srideva Bhatta
Tiruvarangapperumal
Pisamanakku Alvan Bhatta Adiratriyaji
Vangipurattu Solaipiran Bhattan
Irunganti Alagabhattasya
Pisamanakku Kesavabhatta Sarvakratukkal
Irunganti Govinda Bhattan
Bhavasvamin Bhattan
Yagnamurti Bhattan
Sriranganatha Bhattan

The deed was written by Samvatsarapriyan Prandur Sowmitri.

A comparison of the large number of Signatories to the resolution of Mahasabha of A.D. 1197[13] with those in this document of A.D. 1230 would establish the identity of the families to which they both belonged and some of the names repeat themselves-like Irunganti Alvan Bhatta Brahaspati Sarvayaji, Alvan Bhatta Adirutrayaji, Bhavasvami, Yagnamurti and Ranganatha Bhattan. They might be the original signatories themselves of the deed of 1197 in their more advanced age after 33 years or alternatively their grandsons who had come of age. It was customary in families to name the children after their grand father.[14]

A third inscription can also be probably ascribed to Maravarman Sundara Pandya-I.[15] This was the letter of Kandiyatevan, addressed to the Sabhayar of Kulasekhara Chaturvedimangalam (Kodanur). It recognised that already the king (Nayanar) had ordered that except Kadamai and Antarayam all other levies like Ponvari, etc. have been remitted on the lands held with Karanmai rights by the Vishnu temple and this order was conveyed by an express letter and command (Prasadam Seydarulina

tirumugamum, niyogamum undayirukka). In the circumstances, it sternly prohibited any innovations (i.e., any new or additional levies) being made (Ippodu Sila pudumaigal seyyakkadavargalalla) and enjoined on the Sabhayar to conform to the niyoga already issued and endorsed by the Sabhayar.

It may be recalled in the reign of Maravarman Sundara-I certain over zealous officials had demanded higher rates of levies from the Sabhayar even in lands of Brahmadeya and Devadana tenure and the king had to intervene to redress the grievances.

The last inscription is a resolution of the Mahasabha of Kodanur *alias* Kulasekhara Caturvedimangalam.[16] Its date is lcst. This is recorded in the Siva temple of the village dedicated to Abhimuktesvara. A benefactor, Podiyir(?) Pillan Sri Valladevar of Madurai, the Pandyan capital in Madurodaya valudi Celiyan Maran Valanadu had installed in that temple a goddess (Tirukkamakkotta nacciyar) and named Her as Angayarkkanniyar after his mother. The Sabha sold 6 ma (1.98 cents) to the benefactor as Devadana Iraiyili and reduced the demand in the land-tax-register (Variyil kalittu) and effected mutation and attested it in the land register (olugilum matterindu).

Here again the signatories are both of Vaishnavite and Saivite persuasion, though the latter are a few :

Kiranji ... Vishnu Bhattan
Vangipurattu Yegnanarayana Bhattan
(Karambiccettu) Tiruvaranga narayana Bhattan
Irunganti Sridhara Bhattan
Vangipurattu Sankaranarayan Bhattan
Sottai Sriramadeva Bhattan
Kalasai Suryapperumal Bhattan
Vangipurattu Ayyappiran Bhattan
Subrahmanya Bhattan

Even later, Kodanur had continued to be an influential centre and its Mahasabha had exerted considerable influence and authority. In A.D. 1312 the head of the Paramahamsa Parivrajaka Sripada Svamin, Mukundananda Sripada in the neighbouring township Kalijeyamangalam across the river Tambraparni on its south bank appealed to the Mahasabha of Kodanur assembly in the temple but their intervention to put wise the defaulting but incompetent manager of the properties of the Matha was not of avail. The head of the Matha had ultimately to change the incumbent.[17]

From the 13th century onwards there was further influx of Vaishnavites; some were appointed as Sthanikas of the temples to administer them

on behalf of Vijayanagar rulers and Nayak Generals who were their masters (Svami). Following the downfall of Vijayanagar and the unsettled political conditions in Kanchipuram and the northern part of the truncated empire, there were waves of migration to the riverine tracts of the south. This is attested by evidence in adjoining townships,[18] though there is no evidence of the period forthcoming from Kodaganallur.

A Summing up

Kodanur or Kulasekhara Chaturvedimangalam was Devadana-Brahmadeya village. The *Kadamai* the main part of land-revenue was payable to the Nellayappar temple at Tirunelveli. A portion of *Antarayam* a subsidiary cash levy was assigned for feeding the visiting mendicants in a Matha built in A.D. 1202 in the temple at Kanyakumari. The Vishnu temple had been assigned Antaraya and other miscellaneous land-dues from a few parcels of lands in Seranmadevi Cathurvedimangalam and within the township it had been granted parcels of land tax-free. The fact that such grants were made to the deity named Kulasekhara Vinnagar Alvar would indicate the Vishnu temple had come up and the Vaishnava settlers had taken occupancy not long before A.D. 1194-5, The Brahmin literati well-versed in rituals enjoyed the Karanmai rights, i.e., the yield share of the oocupancy-holders.

The township was populous. Over 63 Bhattas had signed a document on behalf of the Mahasabha of the township which, from recorded evidence, was active from the late 12th to the 14th century. The Brahmin residents were all of the same ilk as those who[19] had settled in the Ghatana and Tambraparani tracts migrating from the Andhra country. Their original places of nativity prefixed like Mudumbai, Karambiccettu, Irunganti, Kiranji, Vangipuram indicate their original nativity but by the 12th century they had got acclimatised to the Tamil country and have assumed Tamil names, some of them reminiscential of the phrases occurring in Divya Prabanda (Pandavaduta, Ulagamundan, Solaipiran, Alumpiran, Tiruvaranga selvan, Tirumalirunjolai Narayanan, Ranganathan, etc.). From the available epigraphic evidence the Brahmins of the Vaishnavite persuasion appeared to be more than those of the Saivite.

The period when this township comes to limelight through the epigraphs was a watershed period. The Chola suzerainty was check-mated Even so some of the king's officers still subsist named after the Chola-kings (Uthama Chola) and some hailed from the Chola country still serving in the Pandyan kingdom.

The Pandyas "of the Second Empire" had well-established their authority especially in the southern districts of Tirunelveli, Madurai and Ramnad. The kings had encouraged extension of cultivation in the riverine tracts of Vaigai and Tambraparni. The rising power of the Pandya ruler, Jatavarman Kulasekhara-I was aided by his matrimonial alliance with the Cheras. In deference to the wishes of his Chera brother-in-law Kodai Ravi Varman, the king had endowed grants to the Appan (Vishnu) temple[20] at Seranmadevi. He had also extended the second prakara of the Vishnu temple at Rajendra Vinnagar (Mannarkoil) in about A.D. 1209.[21] There was, no doubt, Jatavarman Kulasekhara had encouraged the Vaishnavite Brahmin settlement at Kodanur and it had its tell-tale name Kulasekhara Chaturvedi-mangalam, named after him. So too was the deity named as Kulasekhara Vinnagar Alvar. The medieval mind hailed royalty as a spark of Divinity, invested with a subtle appeal to the king who was on the ascendant at once elevating and pleasing to him. In his successor's time, the levy of the king's pre-emptive share of the oil produced by the oil-press supplying the oil to the temple was foregone in favour of the deity. But attempts at enhancing the land-dues and obligations were apparently made by the king's officers here as elsewhere, which were remedied by the intervention of a scion of the Pandya ruling family, Kandiyathevar.[22]

The evidence bears out the shares in land-yield and how they were distributed among different beneficiaries, and also the complex agrarian structure and land-dues systems.

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1. SII Vol. XIV - No. 164 (ARE. 630 of1916).
2. ARE 205 of 1933. This and other epigraphs of Jatavarman Kulasekhara have the characteristic Meykirti "PUDALA MADANDAI".
3. Manabharanamangalam is a western hamlet of Seranmadevi Chaturvedimangalam.
4. These two Nadus could be located, the former in Mudukulathur Taluk and the latter in Sattur taluk, in Ramanathapuram dt. For a historical geography of the tract please see the forthcoming work by the author on "The Pandyan Townships" - Vol I.
5. ARE 206 of 1933.
6. ARE 207 of 1933.
7. ARE 204 of 1933.
8. See supra; ARE 204 of 1933.
9. TAS VIII, pp. 26-28.
10. ARE 203 of 1933.
11. Please see pp. 20-31 of my "RAJENDRA VINNAGAR" monograph, 1980, Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology.
12. SII Vol. V, No. 437, p. 16,

13. ARE 207 of 1933 supra.
14. The term "Peyaran" in Tamil is used in inscriptions to denote both the grandfather and the grandson.
15. ARE 208 of 1933. Kandiyadevan figures in an inscription of Maravarman Sundara-I (Conadu Valangiyaruliya) (SII Vol. V-413) 11th year. The king redressed at his instance a grievance that the rates of Kadamai payable by the Sabhayar of Kulasekhara Chaturvedimangalam, i.e., Tirunelveli, were enhanced, and he restored the *status quo ante*. This was a case similar to the one described here.
16. ARE 209 of 1933.
17. ARE No. 566 of 1916; TAS IX - pp. 15-16. Please see the author's paper on Karisulndamangalam (pp. 126–132 of this volume.)
pp. 147-157
18. pp. 147–157 *Ibid*.
19. Please see ARE 109 of 1905 – E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 295-297.
20. ARE 664 of 1916.
21. Please see my "RAJENDRA VINNAGAR" op. cit. p. 19; ARE 408 of 1916.
22. Even today a tank near Tirunelveli bears his name—Kandiyaperi·

VIRASOMIDEVA CHATURVEDIMANGALAM—A PANDYA TOWNSHIP NAMED AFTER THE HOYSALA VIRASOMESVARA

Introduction

In the first half of the 13th century, the Hoysalas had effectively intervened in the Chola-Pandya conflict for supremacy. The aim of the Hoysalas was to maintain the balance between the two. The Cholas, from the latter half of the reign of Kulottunga III had tended to be the weaker side. The Pandyas under Maravarman Sundara Pandya-I (acc. A.D. 1216) had gained the upper hand. The intervention of the Hoysala Vira Narasimha II (1220-38 A.D.) and of Vira Somesvara (1233-67 A.D.) was to contain the Pandyas. They achieved this end both by use of arms and of diplomacy, entering into matrimonial alliances with the Pandyas.

The Pandya rulers reciprocated this latter gesture, and were deferential towards the Hoysala ruler. Indeed, tributes were extracted by the Hoysalas for which portions of land-dues in the Pandya townships in the Ramanathapuram district had been allocated, as in Ilayangudi[1], Paramakkudi taluk, and Chaturvedimangalam, Tiruppattur taluk.[2]

Services were instituted in the name of Vira Somadeva, as in the Vishnu temple at Alagarkoyil[3] and in the Minakshi temple at Madurai,[4] including a festival in the Minakshi temple when at the end of it, the *tirtha* (bathing festival) was to synchronise, with the Magha in Arpasi (October-November) month, the natal-star of Vira Somesvara.[5] Grants made by the Hoysala rulers were ratified and supplemented by the diversion of the king's dues from lands.[6]

The penetration of the Hoysala influence is also attested by two lamp services instituted by Vamanna, the brother-in-law of Varadana-dandanayaka, the *srikarana* (Accounts Officer) of the Hoysala king, Vira Somideva to Nelveli-udaiyadevaru (i.e. Nellaiyappar) at Tirunelveli. This inscription is in Kannada.[7]

THE GRANT : The most spectacular tribute paid to this acknowledgedly friendly supremacy of the Hoysalas by the Pandya ruler was the founding of a *brahmadeya*, a township granted with occupancy rights to the *brahmanas*, on the banks of Tambraparani river in the southern most part of the Pandya kingdom. This grant village named Vira Somideva-chaturvedimangalam is identical with Murappa-nadu village in Srivaikuntam taluk in Tirunelveli district.

The grant was made on the 988th day after the 8th year of Maravarman Sundarapandya-II (acc. 1238 A.D.). The inscription has his *meykirtti*: *Pumalartiruvum*. This could be ascribed to the 11th regnal year (1249-50 A,D.). The king was seated in his palace at Madurai on a couch named *Malavarayan*. His uncle, the Hoysala ruler (–he was either the maternal uncle or his father-in-law) had suggested the grant of the *brahmadcya* village *(Mamidi namakkuch-chonnamayil)*. The king readily granted it.[8]

The grant was to 224 *brahmanas* well-versed in the *Vedas* and *Sastras (Vedamum Sastramum poy Vyakhyathakkalai)*; each was given 1 *pangu* (share). Twenty *pangus* (shares) were added for the services in the temple *(devadana pani seyvritti)*-in all 244 shares had been allocated.

LOCATION : The township was constituted, including therein Kudalur and Kilaikkudalur in Murappa-nadu. To the north and east of the new township, the Tambraparni river skirted it. The river takes a sharp turn from the north to the south at this point. To its east lay the Valla-nadu ridge, sloping from the south to the north from the range are the reserve forests of that name. To the south of the grant-village was the boundary of Muttalan-gurichchi *alias* Rajasimhamangalam, and the boundary of Seynalur *alias* Tiruvaranga-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in the same *nadu*. This latter is identical with Seytunganallur village[9] on the Tirunelveli-Tiruchchendur railway line. It lies about 6 miles to the south of Murappa-nadu. To its west, flowed the Murappa-nadu canal, called in the record as *Sundarapandyan Tennaru*. This could be the original canal of the present day Marudur west canal, taking off from Marudur Anicut on the Tambraparni river. The entire territorial division in which Seytunganallur was also situated was named Murappa-nadu.

ITS HISTORY : The grant included the wet lands, black-soil and dry lands, house sites, gardens, tanks, the water-spread and the foreshore-lands. It excluded the earlier grants, if any made, for Jaina shrines and other shrines, and specifically, 4 *ma* of land purchased by Villavadarayan *alias* Udayan Kuttaduvan, of Valukkur in Kulasekhara-perunteru, near Pattinamarudur in Surangudi-nadu,[10] who had endowed it for Ulaguyyavandisvaram udaiyar, the local Siva deity, together with a house-site, house and garden.

The earlier occupants. the tenants, and the cultivators and the land-dues payable by them were all extinguished, The entire lands were re-constituted into one revenue unit *(orupuravakki)*. The occupiable house-sites were divided, and assigned to each *brahmana* grantee according to the share allotted. The township was re-named as Murappa-nattu-Posala Vira Somideva-chatur-vedimangalam, in the name of the king's uncle and Hoysala ruler.

The land dues payable on the lands had already been granted to the Nellaiyappar temple at Tirunelveli. The rates for such dues were re-stipulated as recommended by the Hoysala ruler. Only lands cultivated and coming to

yield after being measured by the rod '*Sundarapandyan-kol*' of 24 feet were to be charged the rates, inclusive of the *antarayam*, *viniyogam* and cash levies *(achchu)* and *karyavarachchi* (court-fee), *vettipattam* (corvee), and *panjupili* (the lint of cotton) due to the king and *sandhivigrahaperu* (levies for war and peace or diplomatic emissaries) and all other items, the rates as revised were as below :

For *kar* - (The pre-monsoon crop) = 3 *kalams* of paddy (per *ma*) by the *Vira Pandiyan* measure, and
4 *kasu* per *ma* (of 33 cents)
For lands brought to yield by baling *(Tulaviraicha)* - ½ of the above rate.
For gingely, horsegram, *tinai*, *Irungu* (black-millet) - 2 *dramams* per *ma*.
For *pisanam*, the main crop, also at the rates specified above.

It will be noted that while the irrigated crops had to pay the dues, both in cash and in kind, the rates charged for dry and unirrigated crop was payable only in cash. Also a baling remission of 50% was granted to offset the higher cost of labour.

The king's command was to be transcribed into an authenticated extract of the revenue account (*ulvari*) by the revenue officials, and it shall also be conveyed in the form of the proceedings by the authorised officers. The officials who authenticated this command were :

Gurukulattarayan *alias* Viracholadevan *alias* Uyyaninraduvan of Tadanganni Sirrur in Tirumalli-nadu (near Srivilliputtur in Ramanathapuram district.)
Pallavarayan *alias* Arayan Viradamudittan of Sakrapaninallur of Sevvirukkai-nadu.

A royal epistle refers to the 4 *ma* of land excluded in the above grant which, by a mistake of fact, had been granted later to the Vishnu temple overlooking the *karanmai* rights therein.[11]

Ali Villavadarayan of Valukkur had this holding of 4 *ma* of land (measured by the *Sundarapandyan-kol*) and it was excluded from the *brahmadeya* grant. There was a share-interest in the 4 *ma*, the *karanmai* or occupancy rights belonged to Villavadarayan. The *kadamai* or the king's share of the land dues had been assigned to Yogisvaramudaiyar, the Siva temple in Murappa-nadu. This was also engraved on the walls of the temple at Tirunelveli.[12]

But Venadudaiyan, a chieftain, without securing the consent of the subsisting occupant, Villavadarayan had made over the *karanmai* right belonging to the latter to the Vishnu temple which the former had built in this township.

The mistake had to be rectified. Hence, Venadudaiyan had purchased, in exchange therefor, a parcel of land in the command area of Manakkudi, the eastern hamlet of Srivallavamangalam, in Kilkala-kurram.[13] This village lies about 6 miles to the north-west of Murappa-nadu. The extent of the land purchased was 16 *ma*. The *karanmai* rights in this parcel of land were made over to Villavadarayan. The *kadamai* portion was granted to Veda-nayaga-vinnagar-alvar temple at Murappa-nadu.

The rate of *kadamai* was one *kalam*, one *tuni*, one *padakku* of paddy, and *Muvaraikkani-achchu* in cash per *ma* for lands which had sustained paddy cultivation per crop, to be delivered to the priest and the Srivaishnavas of this temple.

The purchase of the land in exchange in the neighbouring township, some 6 miles to the west, is noteworthy. Did that indicate that the vendible lands were hard to come by in the new township where the occupants had been inducted on all irrigable lands ?

In the 12th year of the king by a *Konerinmaikondan* grant addressed to the priests and Srivaishnavas of Vira Somideva vinnagar-alvar temple, the king made a further assignment of *achchu* yield from *viniyogam* (appor-tioned cesses), *kariyavaraychchi*, *vettipperu*, *panjupili*, *sandhivigrahapperu and ponvari* and other dues realisable from the 16 *ma* and another $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* being the occupied holding in Manakkudi in Srivallabhamangalam of Ali Villavada-rayan of Valukkur-*i.e.*, the land bought in exchange by Venadudaiyan to restore the *karanmai* rights of Ali Villavadarayan.

On measuring the lands coming to yield, the rate of levy inclusive of *kadamai* and other items specified above, according to the grading of the township shall be as follows:

For pre-monsoon crop *(kar)*- paddy 1 *kalam*, 1 *tuni* and *padakku*;
For gingely and horsegram and *tinai*, etc.-2 *dramam*;
For *pisanam*, the main crop-at the same rates.

While the dry-rate is the same, the difference in the rates charged for wet crops as between Murappa-nadu and Manakkudi could be due to the differential yield, fertility and water supply. The paddy rate is just $\frac{1}{2}$ of that for Murappanadu, but no cash-levy is indicated. This could account for the higher extent to roughly correspond to the gross yield. The dry rate is the same.

The supplication made to this effect by Ayyan Malavarayan (a high official) of the king was granted.[14] It is noteworthy the Vishnu deity here is named also after the Hoysala ruler.

Another royal order issued in the 12th year refers to several grants made to the Vishnu temple,[15] and consolidates them.

The Vishnu temple had been erected by Venadudaiyar, *alias* Arayan Puvan of Marudodayanallur *alias* Kilai-kodumalur in Vadatalaichchembi-nadu.[16]

To provide for the maintenance and apparel supply for the deity, the s*abhaiyar* had re-allocated lands as follows:

(a) 1 *pangu* (share) originally excluded from the common holding *(podu)* for Devannan;

(b) 1 *pangu* excluded from the common holding for the township accountant;

(c) 2 *pangus* allocated in lieu of 1 *ma*, earlier granted with *karanmai* rights to the Vishnu temple by the *Sabhaiyar* and in substitution for 16 *ma* of land added to this township account, which was in the occupancy of Valuvur Ali Villavadarayan, the *kadamai* from which was assigned to the Yogisvara temple at this place-that is the land in Manakkudi above, making an additional 3 *ma*-in all 4 *pangus* and

(d) an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* of land.

Presumably, the *Sabhaiyar* felt it will be conducive to better management if the Vishnu temple had lands allocated from within the township.

The king ordered the grant of the *karanmai*, *miyatchi*, *kadamai*, *antarayam*, *viniyogam* and all the cash dues (*achchu*) *kariyavaraychchi*, *vettippattam*, *panjupili*, *sandhivigrahapperu*, and other demands from these lands.

The supplication to this effect was made by Ayyan Malavarayan.

The two officials who authenticated the deed were Alagiyapandya Vilupparayan of Arumpor-kurram and Arayan Mudivalangum-perumal of Perumanallur of Anda-nadu.

The next transaction evidences the keen sense of ownership of individual holdings. A *brahmana* occupant, Yadavasimhabhattan of Pirandur had been enjoying one *pangu* as a charitable grant based on a written deed *(sasana dharmam)*. A Malayala *brahmana* Arangambi (presumably a migrant from Kannada or Kerala country) had purchased the land in the name of the Vishnu deity, Vedanayakapperumal, and had got the taxes remitted (*vari nikkalukku*). He had instituted a festival but had abandoned it without concluding the tenth day festival. The original occupant (*purva - svami*) Yadavasimha-bhattan contended that he had not received a portion of the price due for the land *pangu* (share) which was restored to him. The land-dues therefrom were also re-fixed. In addition to the *kadamai* due to the deity of Tirunelveli temple, an additional share of *kadamai* and *antarayam* and the apportioned levies due to the *sabha* for communal obligations was fixed at 140 *kalams* to be paid to defray the festival expenses.

This royal command addressed to the *sabhaiyar* of Posala-chaturvedimangalam was attested by Gurukularayan, Tondaiman, and Palandiparayan and Pallavarayan.[17]

The transactions evidence the deep-rooted sense of individual ownership, and occupancy rights which could be acquired only after due compensation or by exchange of lands or equivalent rights elsewhere.

There was a *matha* of the Advaiti (*ekadandi paramahamsa*) sanyasin in the township. Provision was made for it in the 14th year of Jatavarman Vira Pandya who conquered Ilam, Kongu, Chonadu, and had an anointment of heroes at Chidambaram (A.D. 1266-67). The *mahasabhai* of Vira Somideva-chaturvedimangalam made provision for the *matha* accordingly.[18]

The grant was made to Sri Narasimha-parama-svamigal, who was the deity presiding over that *matha* (*samaradhanai kondarulia*). The lands so endowed comprise the following:

(i) The land sold in the month of *Vrischika* (November-December) in the 11th year (A.D. 1263) by the *Mahasabha* located as under:

2nd canal-8th field and the 9th field part;

3rd canal-8th field and the 9th field part, both on the northern portion.

The land granted as garden land to the deity of Srivaikuntam was to be localised as convenient towards the west, and excluded. Also in the remaining land, a pathway all along the river east-west ½ *kol* in width, running south-north was to be retained for easement rights.

(ii) To the south of the Anavaradadanan channel the lands to be enjoyed by the *matha* were

under the second canal - 8th field on the west and
under the third canal - 8th field on the west

A pathway ½ *kol* in width should be left out, right till another channel, Tirunadu Udaiyan channel towards the south and all along that channel thereafter towards the east and this pathway shall be left at the head of each parcel of land contiguously.

(iii) A third plot was granted in the month of Karttika (November-December) in the same year as *madappura iraiyili* ½ *ma* in extent. A parcel of land had belonged to one Solapiran Bhattan. This was bought in by Agnideva Bhattan in a sale made by a royal command (*ajnakrayam*), for cash. The previous occupant had made a grant of *kani* land in lieu of which a share of 3 *ma* was allocated to the *matha*.

(iv) Some more private grants by Iraiya-naraiyur Sri Krishna Bhattan and Sankirtana Bhattan of the same nativity had been made. These were ½ *ma* in extent, equal to ¼ share. It can be deduced that 1 share of holding in the *brahmadeya* was about 2 *ma* of land or 66 cents.

(v) From the 13th year, *pasanam*, a royal grant of 1 *pangu* of Paganur Sevakan has been granted as *madappuram* with *karanmai* and *irayili* (i.e., both with occupancy rights and the royal dues remitted)

The *mahasabha* recorded these varied grants made by the king, and other private benefactors, and their own sales of land and entered them as tax-free for the *matha*. It should be noted that while in some parcels, only *karanmai* rights were endowed, in others, land dues alone were granted and in a few others both.

A number of the Brahmadeya residents attested this deed, being the proceedings of the *mahasabha*. Their names disclosed that the residents were both of Saivites and Vaishnava persuasions. The nativity and the names of the signatories are given in the appendix. If an inference can be drawn therefrom *brahmadeya* residents do not appear to be of any different stock from the occupants of other *brahmadeya* township of the Pandya country. The *matha* belonged to either the *Advaita* or the *Dvaita* sect (*Ekadandi)*, with the presiding deity therein of Narasimha.

In thc 21st year of Vira Pandya, the deity of Tirunelveli made a a grant to the same *matha*.[19] The command was addressed to the bhattas of Vira Somideva Chaturvedimangalam. The village Murappanadu is described herein as the grant for kitchen expenses for the Tirunelveli deity (*adukkalaipuram*); the deity was pleased to re-assign the yield of *Kadamai*, and *antarayam* from the occupied lands granted as *iraiyili* to that temple in favour of the *matha*. These had been entered earlier in the temple revenue accounts, and were collected earlier by the *sanyasins* attached to the Tirunelveli temple. Hereafter, the benefit was to accrue to the Ekadanda sanyasi, (*i.e., brahmana advaitin*) for their food requirements (*bhikshasesham*).

From the evidence described above, the following summing up of the facts and conclusions can be made:

SUMMARY

A new *brahmadeya* township, Virasomideva Chaturvedimangalam had been constituted on the banks of Tambraparni by the Pandyan ruler, Maravarman Sundara Pandya-II in A.D. 1249 at the request of his uncle, the Hoysala ruler, Virasomisvara (A.D. 1233-67), and named after him. The township was situated in the eastern most extremity of the then command

area of the Tambraparni river, where it takes a turn from the north to the south, and the high ridge of Valla-nadu range rises to its east. The township is located on the west bank of the river, on the Tirunelveli-Tuticorin road, abutting the wet-lands fed by the canal from the Tambraparni river. This would perhaps be an index of the progress of wet cultivation, and occupied land, having reached the very end of the gradient in the Tambraparni basin. The utilisation of the gravity flow had reached its optimal proportions.

The *brahmadeya* had 224 shares, besides 20 shares for the temple services. The *brahmadeya* share holders were not big estate holders, but men of smaller parcels with varied obligations. The occupant-assignee had constituted themselves into a *mahasabha* to administer the common affairs of the township. They could allocate shares of land from common holdings, and also give effect to the royal grants suitably localising the land.

The prescriptive grant of the *kadamai* and other dues in the whole township had belonged to the Tirunelveli temple. The *brahmana* grantees were eligible to hold the land under that deity, and enjoy the residual share of the yield. But there were others as well, like Ali Villavadarayan, who had *karanmai* rights. These rights could not be extinguished unless duly compensated by exchange of lands or by payment of purchase price. A grant made of such pre-existing *karanmai* right by mistake of fact had to be rectified, and re-compensed to the lawful owner by purchase of land in an adjoining township to restore his share. Could this possibly suggest the paucity of vendible irrigated lands within the new township wherein the occupant *brahmanas* had been inducted? The *brahmadeya Sabha* later seems to have allocated shares from their common holding within, in lieu of this parcel lying outside their limits to facilitate easy beneficial enjoyment. The attribute of private property in holdings was pronounced. Lands could be bought and sold or gifted or inherited. But the rights so conveyed were confined to and co-eval with those of the predecessors in title or the vendors and the grantors.

The king's share of land dues had been made over to the Tirunelveli deity, but that share in smaller parcels were granted to other beneficiaries like the Siva or the Vishnu temples in the new township or to the *matha* of the Ekadandi Paramahamsa.

The township while executing these grants carefully localised the lands contiguously to help the beneficial enjoyments of the parcels by the grantees. They ensured easement rights, and took care to demarcate pathways in a contiguous and unbroken manner to be preserved while allocating localised parcels of land. The totality of land-holding pattern that emerges brings out the multiplicity of shared rights and obligations and the tenurial complexity.

The lands were mostly channel-fed. The ayacut was parcelled out and laid out under each channel, numbered serially and the parcels thereunder were also numbered. The lands being on a higher level, with the river flowing deep down, at least the lands abutting the river banks would have needed baling of water. So too, the high level pockets in between the wet lands. In lieu of the additional labour, and the scarcity of supply entailed, only 50 percent of the levy for flow irrigation was collected on lands irrigated by baling.

Even the rate charged for the *brahmadeya* holders of land, 3 *kalams* per *ma* and 4 *kasu* was clearly concessional. This was the specific response of the Pandya ruler to the Hoysala ruler's request. The rate for the lands in Manakkudi was less than half of even this rate. In addition to the Siva and the Vishnu temples. the latter named after the Hoysala ruler, the *brahmana matha* of Ekadandi Paramahamsa, with the presiding deity of Narasimha-svami had existed in the township. Some names of the occupants like Devanna and Arangambi would suggest a sprinkling of migrants from Malayala and Karnataka among the occupants. But the nativity and names of the *brahmana* signatories on behalf of the *mahasabha* could indicate that many were of the same stock as the residents elsewhere in the tract.[20]

The influx of occupants from Karnataka could have begun in the Hoysala times, when a number of Madhva and Kanarese-speaking people migrated to this locality and became land-owning residents as in Vasava-puram, Vithalapuram and other places on the banks of Tambraparni.

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1. ARE., 1949 - 50, 295
2. Ibid., 1928, 308
3. Ibid., 1929 - 30; 292
4. Ibid., 291
5. ARE., 1961-62, B 326
6. Ibid., 1949-50, B 295; ARE., 1928, 308
7. ARE., 1912, 16
8. SII., Vol. V, No. 448
9. ARE., 1959-60, B 359-360
10. This nadu should be located in Koilpatti taluk of Tirunelveli district in which Adanur township lay - vide SII., Vol. XIV, Nos. 142; 174 and 183
11. ARE., 1906, No. 433.

12. Op. cit., SII., Vol. V, 448 - The deity is referred to therein as Ulaguyyavandisvaram-udaiyar.

13. This township is identical with the revenue village of Gangaikondan in Tirunelveli taluk - vide SII., Vol. V, Nos. 724, 728, 729 and 734. The extent is described as "*Mukkale oru ma*" It could denote 16 *ma*.

14. ARE., 1906, No. 431

15. Ibid., No. 434

16. He should have belonged to Kodumalur in Mudukalattur taluk, Ramanathapuram district - SII, Vol. XXIII, No. 399. It is noteworthy that all the chieftains who figure in the Tambraparni tract here hail from the area now comprised in Ramanathapuram district.

17. ARE., 1906, No. 432

18. Ibid., No. 435 Six of the signatories in this document have signed in Sanskrit.

19. Ibid., 1927, 72 - As Madhava himself lived from about AD. 1195 to 1275,, it is more likely that this *matha* was of Advaita persuasion.

20. Six of the signatories have signed their names in Sanskrit, —vide ARE., 1906, No. 435.

APPENDIX

Names of signatories to the proceedings of the *mahasabha* which met on the *purva paksha prathamai* in the month of *Adi* (July 4th, 1266).

Irungandi Tiruvaranga Narayana Bhattan

Irayur Sottai Ravi Devi bhatta somayaji's son Mahesvara Bhattan

Varavalur Yagnamurti Bhattan

Kanja Bhattasri-Mahasuraikanatha Bhattan (He signed in Sanskrit)

Idayattakudi Tirumalirunjolai Narayana Bhattan (signed in Sanskrit)

Pirandur Virrurindan

Kattukkuri Dandakumara Bhattan (signed in Sanskrit)

Prayagai . . . . Dhavasvami Bhattan

Adanur veda Nayaka Bhattan

Varralur Sri Madhava Bhattasomayajiyar (signed in Sanskrit)

Idayarrakkudi Erutiruvudaiyan Bhattan

Par Konrai Tiruvisalur Adigal Bhattan

Iraiyanaraiyur Narayana Sankirtana Bhattan

Mudumbai Kola Vamana Bhattan (signed in Sanskrit)

Irayur Narayana Bhattan

Pirandur Narayana Bhattan

Govinda Bhatta Somayajiyar

Vangipuram Sri Krishna Bhattan

Korovi Sri Bharatalvan Bhattan

Seynjnalur Nanabhatta Somayaji

Agnivit Sarvakrathukkal's son Deva Bhatta Somayaji

Agnivit Vajapeyajin (signed in Sanskrit)

Irungandi Avudaiyan Bhattan

Sri Ranganatha Bhattan

Gomatam Damodara Bhatta Somayajiyar

Iraiyur Sottai Yajnasri Bhatta Somayaji

Varralur Sri Madhava Bhatta Somayajiyar's son Sridhara Bhatta

Kanjai Suyajna Sridhara Bhattan's son Parthasarathi Bhattan

THE VICISSITUDES OF VIRAYACCILAI

Virayaccilai is a Padaiparru (Garrision-township) in Pudukottai district. Its chequered history as revealed by the 18 inscriptions contained in the temple therein has been reconstructed in the chapter under that title in my "*Studies of Ancient Townships of Pudukottai*".[1]

More light is thrown on this township by inscriptions found in Tirukkalakkudi Temple. Tirukkalakkudi is situated about 13 miles west of Tirumayam and a few kilometres west of Virayaccilai in the adjoining Tirupattur taluk of Ramanathapuram district. The temple was held in reverence by the surrounding *nadus*. Besides benefactions, sale of land particularly by townships in distress had been made to this temple by the *urars* of other townships. Thus in 3rd year of Vira Pandya the urars of Sevur (Puramalai-nadu) in distress (*engal arramayal*) sold their occupancy lands of Mangudi to the temple at Tirukkalakkudi for a new deity installed by an ascetic residing in the matha at Tirukkalakkudi.[2]

The *urar* of Velangudi (Pungunra-nadu) sold to the same temple an ayacut together with a tank called "Orusolvasagaparayan kudikkadu" on which the land-dues had not been paid, and they hence sold the land as *ur-kil iraiyili* to this temple together with irrigation rights.[3]

The *urar* of Virayaccilai in Kananadu including the Arayars (Chiefs) made a similar sale of water from their tank to the Urar of Kumattakudi in the 12th year of Maravarman Sundara Pandya-I (A.D. 1228). The tank irrigating Amaradiccan Kudikkadu had breached even earlier and the field channels had become obliterated and the fields had been lain waste and uncultivated. They hence sold the water in the tank to be taken direct to Marudangulam tank of Kumattakudi for a mutually agreed price of 18 *palankasu*. They also permitted the vendees to cut a channel right in the middle of the abandoned tank-bed and take the feeder channel to the north of the Vettipiran tank, excavating a channel in that tank-bed and take the water to Marudankulam.[4] The first handicap of Virayaccilai, then, was nature itself and the poor rain-fall. Consequently, the tank, even if filled had afforded but inadequate supply to the command-area. They hence preferred to sell their water to Kumattakudi *urar*. Due to the inability to cultivate the lands, and the poor yield, even the *Arasamakkal* or the families of chiefs had declined in their prosperity. In the 16th year of Maravarman Kulasekhara (Emmandalamum Kondaruliya (A.D. 1284) -- the *Maramudalis* of Virudarajabhayankaravalanadu *alias* Kana-nadu, and some of the *Arasamakkal* (about 6 of them) had sold the ayacut of Nattaneri. This tank and

the ayacut had been bought earlier by the vendors from the Urar of Kumattakudi and from the date of purchase to-date, they had enjoyed the lands and paid the land dues. But, their township Virayaccilai had fallen on evil days, and they (the *Arasamakkal*) had also been in distress going hither and tither. The *Arasamakkal* or the families of the chiefs had also declined *Talarukaiyale*); they could not pay the land-dues for the Nattaneri ayacut. They hence requested the *Urar* of Kumattakudi who had previously owned the lands to take back their lands by re-purchase and submitted a sale-deed to them. The *urar* of Kumattakudi, however, declined to re-purchase the lands, but stated that the *urar* of Virayaccilai may instead sell the lands themselves, taking on the obligation to pay land-dues, rendering them tax-free to the deity of Tiruk-kalakudi and deposit the sale deed in the temple treasury. The *Arasamakkal* and the *Maramudalis* agreed to sell the land accordingly in auction, and the temple at Tirukkalakkudi agreed to purchase the lands. They, however, reserved for the cultivating tenants the right to receive the *Arimukkai*, *misukurini*, for the Virayaccilai deity and the goddess, and the cesses for the Township Accountant for maintaining records, the paddy payable to the artisans, the Parayan, on the same basis as the rates obtaining in the occupied lands at Viraiyaccilai.[5]

The above difficulties of uneconomic holdings were due to the un-favourable natural conditions. They were aggravated by conditions which were man-made. Some 6 years later, (22nd year of Maravarman Kulaskhara-Emmandalamum Kondaruliya (A.D. 1290?), one of the executives of Kandiya-devar, the scion of the Pandya ruling family, Tirunelveli-udayar by name, had acquired control over the tract including Virayaccilai in Kananadu. He stipulated for the previous years an outstanding amount, and for the current year's determined amount 4,000 panams. The Township could not bear this heavy burden and were dying to pay up the demand. They sold or mortgaged their belongings including their under-tenants or bonded labour (*adi-kudi)*, and cattle and yet they could not comply fully with the demand. For the balance, as they had no alternative - paddy was being sold at 3 kalams per *panam*–and none could even lend money or paddy to them. And yet Tirunelveli-udayar was unrelenting in his demand, and caused a lot of hindrance. They had perforce, to sell their land - '*Nattu-perayam*' which they had purchased earlier from the *urar* of Kumattangudi in the same *nadu* and had got added to their own occupied holdings and had been enjoying them paying land-dues. The temple authorities of Tirukkalakkudi in Puramalai nadu of Ponnamaravathi tract responded in the public auction. The lands were sold, the *urar* taking on the obligations to pay the land-dues, Apparently these lands were the ayacut lands under or adjoining Nattaneri sold 6 years earlier to the same temple *Munnal udayar Tiruk Kolakkudi-udaya-nayanarku nangal iraiyili Tirunamattukani aha virra innattanteri*), lying to the north.

The Virayaccilai *urar* also permitted the vendee-temple to take a channel close to the northern part of Annurruvar Tank in their own township, and take the water from the channel running east-west on the northern side of that tank. They also permitted the continued supply, as theretofore, from the channel running on the southern side. Hence, the supply from the channel on the north was a newly permitted augmentation of the already existing but inadquate supply. The sale price was 800 *panam* and *parivattam panam* 200 - in all 1,000 *panam*. The original sale deed by which Kambodirayan and others had acquired these lands from Kumattangudi *urar* was also deposited with the temple. The Virayaccilai *Arasamakkal*, *Maramudalis* and the *urar* could get relief from the unrelenting demand of Tirunelveliudayar only by parting with their movables, and immovable property.[6]

This first case brought out an aspect of customary law: the right of first refusal was given to the township of which the ayacut was originally a part and from whom it was purchased; (2) in both the cases, the township of Virayaccilai taking on the obligations to pay land-dues may, on the face of it, appear to imply no relief to them. But, the capitalisation of the land dues could have been added to the sale price of land; even if it were not so, there was a latent and later possibility of getting the King's grant of the land-dues for the temple, as the lands were sold to the temple. Alternatively, the temple or any other benefactor could determine such payment by capitalising the land-dues or by paying the *Karpura vilai* to the king. Even if none of these possibilities were of avail, the incidence of levy on the distinct parcels becomes more dispersed when the obligation is distributed over the entire assessed occupied holdings of the township.

The 'denouement' came in Saka 1509, (A.D. 1587-Kollam 761). In that year, a chieftain (presumably of Pandyan extraction or one who had assumed their title) Rajakkal-tambiran, raided Suraikkudi with the help of Manjili Sa. Elisu Sa, Asamadakkan, MirVasam-Khan Sa, and Rachatti kan. These Muslims could have been adventurers taking service under the native or local chiefs for the time being. Their soldiers were directed to destroy Suraikkudi, and the chiefs asked the *Urar* of Virayaccilai and Kottaiyur to meet them at Mattur tank-bed where they were camping. Their order was shown to them to this effect. Earlier on, the townships of Virayaccilai and Kottaiyur had been assigned and paying the land-dues to Rajakkalnayan Tambiran. Now he ordered these two townships and others to be added to the *Nadu* of Ponnamaravati and they were to be merged (*onru pada nadatti*) with the accounts of the Ponnamaravati nadu.

The Nattar of Ponnamaravati and the *urar* of Virayaccilai and Kottaiyur accordingly agreed to abide by these orders. This, then, was the end of

Virayaccilai as a separate entity. The townships had suffered at different times for different reasons.

Perhaps the role of Virayaccilai during the Chola - Pandya wars of Maravarman Sundara I could have been ambivalent. The later evidence of the names of Suraikkudi chiefs taking after the Cholas in the 15th and 16th centuries could lead to this inference. Even later they have been subjected to harsh levies unrelentingly imposed by the Pandya chiefs from Tirnuelveli and scions of Maravarman Kulasekhara in the late 13th or early 14th century, who captured the tract. In fact, there appears to have been some rioting and confusion in about A.D. 1284,[8] and some documents of title had been lost, requiring renewal.

The Suraikkudi Chieftains came into the limelight towards the later days of the Pandyas, almost about the time of the latter's decline. From about A.D. 1430 to 1550, Virayaccilai was unmistakably under the sway of Suraikkudi Chiefs, for about a century. The *urar* of that place unreservedly threw in their lot with them. They lent their loyal support unwaveringly to the Suraikkudi Chiefs, stood by them and helped kill their enemies who invaded the Suraikkudi tract. But with the declining prosperity of Arasu-makkal, the attacks of Rajakkalnayan Tambiran (from the south), strengthened by Muslims against Suraikkudi in A.D. 1587-8 could not be withstood. The Virayaccilai *urar* bowed out of their separate identity and became merged with Ponnamaravati nadu. The inherent natural disabilities notwithstanding, they continued to hold their own, until political forces stronger than they could withstand, overtook them.

The Suraikkudi Chieftains, however, seem to be continuing for long after. The chiefs are conspicuous in the temple records of Kovilur (Tiruppattur taluk). Even in A.D. 1550 Tirada vinai Tirtha Vijayalattevar's son Sriranganadar *alias* Peddappa Vijayalaya devar - note the change in names they took, after Vijayanagar and Nayak ruler or chiefs - granted 2 *ma* of land to the Kovilur temple. The Chief had his own executive officer (Kariyappar) and Palace accountant (Vasal Kanakku) still; his distinct emblem was also in use.[9] The same chief made another grant to a Matha at Kovilur some 5 years later.[10] The Chief Vinaitirtha - Vijayalaya Devar still called 'Suraikkudi - had held authority over the temple at Kovilur. One Rayappa Vijalayadevan signed that deed dated A.D. 1569.[11] The deity in an undated letter addressed to Periyan *alias* Vijayalayadevar, whom he calls his son,[12] *(Adesam nammudatya Pillai Periyandana Vijayalayadevan)* was pleased to command that the renovation and the consecration of the deity at Kalanivasal *alias* Srivallavapuram can be undertaken.

The Suraikkudi chiefs continue to be in-charge of Kovilur temple and authenticate transactions of the temple in documents of Saka 1719,[13] and Saka 1785[14] (A.D. 1797; A.D. 1863). In the document of Saka 1719 (A.D. 1797) the Suraikkudi Arasu Irasa- (Vijaya)laya-dever, Devandiappar is a signatory to the deed of grant by the deity to Tiruppunavasal matha in the west street of Kalanivasal. In the last document of Saka 1785 (A.D. 1863), the name of Suraikkudi Vijayalaya (devar) and his characteristic emblem appear in another deed by the deity to the same Tiruppunavasal Mudaliar of the Matha. This was an assignment of some temple lands, stipulating the rates of rental to be paid by the Mudaliar to the temple. As has often happened, the Chieftains long after their loss of political and revenue authority over the tracts held, continued to linger as the chiefs having control over the main temple in the tract, and its possessions.

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1. pp-25-40 "*Studies of Ancient Townships of Pudukottai*" by the author.
2. ARE 744 of 1916.
3. ARE 75 of 1916 (undated)
4. ARE 90 of 1916.
5. ARE 86 of 1916.
6. ARE 81 of 1916.
7. ARE 60 of 1916.
8. P. I. 393
9. ARE 528 of 1962 - 63.
10. ARE 525 of 1962 - 63. Kovilur is almost a suburb of Karaikudi - in Tirupathur Taluk (Ramanathapuram Dt)
11. ARE 527 / 1962-63
12. ARE 529 / 1962-63
13. ARE 523 / 1962-63
14. ARE 524 / 1962-63

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THE BRAHMADEYAS OF PUDUKKOTTAI DISTRICT

I wish to join scholars, through this article in paying my tribute to Sri K. R. Srinivasan. Together with his brother, Shri K. R. Venkatarama Iyer, he did pioneer work in preserving the monuments and interpreting the history, art and archaeology of Pudukkottai. Shri Srinivasan has further distinguished himself in the Temple Survey of South India. Knowing him as I do for over forty years, I thought the best tribute would be to bring out some aspects of the *Brahmadeya* townships in Pudukkottai, based on epigraphic data, an area of his own interest.

In my *Studies in the History of Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai*,[1] I had drawn attention to a feature noticed in the tract. "The Brahmadeyas or the Brahmin residential Townships with their *sabhas* were comparatively few, and even in their sprinklings the strength of their population appeared to be but small".[2] I have also suggested a reason for this paucity in the scanty rainfall of the tract[3] and the precarious irrigation and cultivation often threatened by droughts or floods alternating. This paper seeks to substantiate these observations.

The earliest references in inscriptions to the Brahmanas and to the provision made for their feeding are from Kunnandarkoil. An undated inscription provides for rice supply for feeding 110 Brahmanas.[4] In the third year of Pallava Nandipottarayar (A.D. 734), provision was made for feeding 100 Brahmanas.[5] These were in the famous rock-cut shrine of Kunnandarkoil. In Chola Parakesari's second year provision was made for feeding 20 Brahmanas on all the seven days of the *Panguni Uttiram* festival and a deposit of 10 *kalanju* of gold was made for the purpose to be maintained or protected by the Panmahesvaras in Kudumiyamalai temple.[6] Each Brahmana was to be fed with *nali uri* rice, and three *alakku* (of rice) towards curds and one *alakku* for the curry. Similar provision for feeding the Sivabrahmanas or the Temple priests in Siva temples and the priests in Vishnu temples and for feeding Brahmanas, either itinerant or resident, was also made in other places, as and when endowments and services increased. Inscriptions also bear out a number of Brahmana generals and benefactors from outside the tract making endowments either in temples or for public utilities, as they passed through that tract or when they visited particular places. But the *Brahmadeya* townships or permanent settlements of residential Brahmana landholders for which we can reconstruct the history in fair detail date to the early Chola times.

CHITTUR

Chittur (Sirraiyur) could trace its beginings to the tenth century. In the fourth year of Rajakesarivarman, ascribed to Gandaraditya (A.D. 953-956), Parantaka Vira Chola Mahimalaya Irukkuvel granted three *velis*, of land for the food offerings of the deity. One and a half *velis*, including dry lands were granted for the piper service for *sri bali*.[7] The *village* was a *Brahmadeya* in Kudalur-nadu in Keralantaka valanadu. In the seventh year of the same king Rasingan Uttama Silan *alias* Mummudi Chola ordered from Kodumbalur (his capital) that an area called Kadaiyavayal, renamed as Uttamasilamangalam (after himself), be registered as *devadana*. His subordinate, Parantaka Kunjaramallan who was looking after the *nadu*, released the grant extent for the benefit of the donee.[8] In the fifth year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 990), 12 *kasu* were deposited by a donor from Puliyur with four Siva brahmanas of the temple for maintaining one lamp[9]

Seventeen years later (A.D. 1007), the *sabhaiyar* recorded on stone the grant of a piece of wet land by the *nadu* for food offerings on which they had remitted the land dues (*irai-ilicci*), presumably taking the obligation on themselves. They also recorded the grant of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *velis* of land for piper service in the temple and half a *veli* for blowing the horn, for the conch service and for beating the drum (*dimilai*) in all four persons (2+1+1 persons respectively). The lands were distributed and spread in the upper, middle and the tail reaches (*talai*, *naduvu*, *kadai kalakka*), a precaution taken to ensure equitable and even distribution of land with varied degrees of irrigation facility. A cash deposit for the *kalam* service was also made.[10]

In A.D. 1009, 13 *kasu* were endowed against which seven *nali* and one *uri* of ghee per month were to be delivered for a lamp service. The Siva-brahmanas (of the Kasyapa *gotra*) in the temple undertook to maintain the service from the interest proceeds.[11] Fifty sheep were endowed for a third lamp service [12] and 25 cows by Puliyur Kilavan. The Siva-brahmanas undertook to deliver seven *nali* and one *uri* of ghee.[13] This gave the nexus : 12 *kasu* = 54 goats = 25 cows = interest-yield equivalent of 7 *nali* 1 *uri* of ghee per month.

Two lamps were endowed in the third year of Rajendra Chola, I (A.D. 1015) for which six *kasus* were deposited with the Siva brahmanas.[14] In the third year of Rajendra II an image of Chandrasekharadevar was installed by a lady, Sadiran Venangai. The *Perunguri sabhaiyar* of the village sold under the smaller sluice of the tank land for the upkeep of services to this deity.[15] The township has practically no epigraphic evidence to bear out its existence after the Chola times.

TIRUVENGAIVASAL

Evidence relating to this Brahmana settlement dates back to Rajaraja's time. In his 26th year (A.D. 1011), the township was described as a *devadana* in Peruvayil-nadu in Pandikulasani-valanadu. Twenty *narkasu* were deposited by a merchant, and the priests who shared the services in the temple agreed to deliver one *ulakku* of ghee per day.[16]

In the 26th year of Rajendra (A D. 1038), the name of the *valanadu* got changed to Jayasinga-kulakala-valandu. The *sabhaiyar* of the village, together with the *urar*, sold to one Sattan Tirukottiyur Madhavan Narayanan Mahadevan *alias* Dharmishta Yogi a land (which had apparently been held in common by the *sabhaiyar* as *sabhai nilam*). They received from the vendor the tax-vigil (*irai-kaval*) amount of 41 *kasu*, and agreed to forego the land dues for the parcel.[17]

In the 30th year of Rajadhiraja (A.D. 1048.), a record was made of all the *devadana* lands of the deity in that village as well as in Perunjunaiyur and Sentondri, Kavidikkudi, Vadamayilappur, Orumanimangalam. and in Tiruvetpur Palakkudi, in Tenkavirnadu and in Kavalamangalam in Akakiliyur-nadu in Pandikulasani-valanadu,[18] including the lands held free of land dues obligations. In the 14th year of Vikrama Chola A.D. (1132), the *nattar* of Peruvayil provided for dance services for nine days during the festival.[19]

In A.D. 1165 Rajadhiraja II's fifth year, Sadiran Rajan or Kulottuga Chola Kidarattaraiyan installed a Sadira-vidanga image. To provide for the Tiruvadirai festival in Vaikasi month he purchased land from the *sabhaiyar* of Tiruvengavayil and also provided for six dance services (*sandikuttu*) during the festival.[20] A reference has been made to the dry lands so purchased near the cremation grounds of the Brahmanas, while describing the boundaries.

When the tract became a part of the Pandyan kindom, in Maravarman Sundara Pandya's reign in the presence of Chera Pandyadevar who conquered this tract, certain land grants were finally settled agreeably to the *nadu (nadugalukku isaya arulipanni)*.[21] The *sabhaiyar* were not mentioned in this context. Again, the *nattar* of Peruvayil participate in a sale of land of the temple together with the temple authorities in the seventh year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya.[22] The *nattar* also rendered the land tax free in the sixth year of Maravarman Kulasekhara.[23] The *nattukkanakku* drew up the deed. As against 18 or 19 *kilavan* and *velars* signing the deed, only one Damodara Madevabhattan, attested the deed.

Even later, either the temple authorities by themselves[24] or they together with the *matha* authorities settled the land dues to the temple.[25] A reference is also available to a land purchased from the *sabhaiyar* of Sirusunaiyur in passing. But no *sabhaiyar* or representatives of the *Brahmadeya* participated in the sale transaction.

In the reign of Kampana Udaiyar, the temple authorities and the *urar* gava a *padikaval* right in favour of the Irumbali-urar. They refer to the tank of Tiruvengaivayal having breachcd and the lands and the tank lying waste. Apparently the Irumbali-uravar had helped in closing the tank breaches, and providing a drainage outlet. In return a share of the yield from the dry and wet lands was assigned to them.[26]

In Plavanga year a letter was addressed to the *valayar* of Tiruvengai-vasal regarding relinquishment of the rights in the temple.[27]

The evidence can be summed up thus: The Brahmana resident-holders of land were very much in occupation and active during the Chola times. In Pandyan times the *nattar* were regulating the affairs of the temple and the temple lands. Thereafter, either the temple authorities or they in conjunction with the *matha* supervisors were administering the endowments. A change in the composition of the population was also noticed. In Kampana Udayar's reign the tanks had breached, and the residents by themselves could not renovate the tank and repair the breaches.

TIRUVILANGUDI

The ancient name of the township was Tiruvirayankudi or Vikrama-kesaricaturvedimangalam. Presumably the township was grantad as a *Brahmadeya* by or was named after Bhuti Vikrmakesari, the Irukkuvel chieftain of Kodumbalur.

The earliest record was dated in the 37th year of Chola Rajaraja.[28] The *Brahmadeya* was in Urattur-kurram in Keralantaka-valanadu. Provision was made for the sevices in the temple. For over a year the temple services were hindered as there was no piper service, and the *sribali* could not be performed or festivals conducted. The lands were apparently contributed by several adjoining townships or settlements. They were scattered in small parcels in many hamlets or villages including Iraiyankudi, Perungulattur, Adigalmarputtur, Sirrayakkudi, Samudram *alias* Madurantaka-caturvedi-mangalam, Saralakkudi, Sirukadalakkudi, Ariyakudi, Tribhuvanamadevi-caturvedimangalam, Koppunaviratunga-caturvedimangalam, Pirantaka-caturvedimangalam (*alias* Panayur) and Rajanarayana-caturvedimangalam. In the next year provision was made for the many service holders in a hamlet called Nurruveli for the cleaners of the temple, and for the bugle service.[29]

The *Brahmadeya* ever since its occupation. commenced (*erittumudal)* till that year, had the lands left waste in scrub jungle. The tanks also had breached. The *Perunguri sabhaiyar* hence sold the lands for five *narkasu* and rendered the lands tax free. Provision was made for gardens to be laid and for services like those of potters and washermen, renovation works, and for the service to Kshetrapala (Bhairava).

This sale deed was written by the *madhyasta*, Sivanudaiya Divakaran *alias* Ennayirattu-annurruvan. Another *madhyasta* was Kuttan Kedaran.

Besides daily service for Adivitankadeva, a festival in *panguni sadaya* (*nakshatra*) was instituted when the deity was taken in procession. The registry of the land sale and the grant for the service were engraved by the *sabhaiyar* on the basis of the letter of the Settlement Officer of the *Nadu* Keralantaka-nallurudaiyan Ketran Uttamacholan.

The *sabhaiyar* also, at the instance of the temple priests, assembled on the tank-bund of the tank, directed the repairs to be carried out to the tank and renamed it after the mother of a Chola General, as Pasur Nangainallur. The lands were declared free of all dues and the proceeds were to be utilised for a bath festival on the *Tiruvadirai* day in Chittirai month For the Tamil hymns (*Tiruppadiyam*) to be sung, as no land grant was made, provision for daily payment of paddy commuted in cash per year was also provided with 12 *kasu* for four singers.

In the same year they recorded that ever since Keralantakanallur Udaiyan Ketran or Uttamacholan had made the *devadana* grant to Kshetrapalar the lands till date were not cultivated.[30] In that year the lands were reclaimed to the extent of 9½*ma* and *mundrikai* and a seed-bed land were assigned in the *devadana* portion. The seed-bed lands were situated to the north of the old habitation of the old township; usually seed beds are located close to the habitation. The *sabhaiyar* again sold another parcel to the temple in the sixth year of Rajendra Chola (A.D. 1018).[31]

Eight years later, Panchavata Kaikkola, a general of Rajendra Chola, and a Brahmana general Narpattennayira Brahmamarayar *alias* Viranarayana-amudu endowed one lamp each [32]

After Rajendra's reign the *valanadu* was renamed Irattapadikonda-valanadu. In the sixth year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1076), a Brahmana lady of the village, Atreyan Chandrabharanan Ponnambalakuttan *alias* Nilakantan Andanangaiyar, endowed a lamp service and deposited 64 *kasu* with the Siva-brahmanas.[33]

The *sabha* was still active in the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekhara (33rd year) when they gave an award in favour of the *pallar* of Puranjeri and the other hamlets in return, presumably, for the help the latter rendered in repairing the breaches to the Karraneri and Perambur tanks that had occurred in the 11th year.[34]

In Saka 1227 (A.D. 1305) a Nayak chieftain made a grant to the temple.[35] But a record of Saka 1303 (A.D. 1381) was even more significant.[36] In Virupanna Udaiyar's time, the *nattar* of Vadakonadu in Urattur-kurram in Kadaladayadilangai-konda-chola valanadu gave a deed conferring the *arasu* and privileges on Narasingadevar of Anaiyur. He was to see that no incursions were to occur inside the *nadu*, and protect peace and security within. In return he could collect one *kalam* per *ma* in all the villages, and have one *ma* of land *iraiyili* in every township. The rates were modulated according to the crop and for dry lands. Any tenant from outside had to pay one *panam*.

This evidence clearly brings out the fact that the *sabha* was vigorous and active in Chola times and continued to function in the Pandya period. At the beginning of the 14th century, it faded out of existence. A few Brahmana residents perhaps descendants of the Chola Brahmana generals, had continued to reside in the township and participated in the protective arrangements made by the *nattar*. If a deduction could be made from their names, a number of the bhattas were apparently Vaishnavites influenced by the movement propagated by Nathamunigal of Viranarayana-chaturvedi-mangalam (near Kattumannarkoil). But that did not come in the way of their supervision of the arrangements made for the worship in the Siva temple and for the reclamation of the tanks and lands endowed. Also, many of the surrounding *Brahmadeya* villages named in the records of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I have survived as mere names. They would attest the larger number of Brahmana settlements founded or fostered at that time. But they had not struck roots nor is there evidence enough to reconstruct their history.

PERAVUR

In an undated record of Rajendra Chola I it is described as a *Brahmadeya* in Arulmolideva-valanadu. The *sabhaiyar* had taken up the obligation to pay the land dues for a land endowed for the temple and relieved the temple of this obligation.[37] In the 15th year of Rajakesarivarman Kulottunga, the *sabhaiyar* enquired into a criminal case involving a fatal assault and took possession of 50 sheep endowed for maintaining a lamp.[38]

Throughout the Chola and the Pandya times, the township was continuously described as *Devadana-brahmadeyam*.[39] The term *Devadana-brahmadeyam* may convey one or two implications: first, the main tenure of the village

was a grant to the temple (as in Tirumayyam).[40] But some Brahmana residents had also holdings in the village. They also supervised the village common, the temple endowed lands and the unoccupied lands. Alternatively, the township could have been held in varied or equal shares between the temple and the Brahmana landholders. The overall control of the unoccupied lands, the obligation to collect the dues from individual occupants for remittence to the king and the *Nadu*, or alternatively the obligation on themselves to bear the land dues undertaken by the *sabha* either with or without a deposit of capitalised amount were all discharged by the *sabhaiyar* as a collective institutional organisation for the township.

In the 13th year of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D. 1229), a *Nagara*, called Kulasekhara Perunderu, was formed by the merchant community who bought a portion of the *nattam* (village-site) from the Peraiyur temple authorities, and *Nattu-kankani* in public auction. The *sabha* is not mentioned among the vendors.[41]

In the 20th year of Maravarman Kulasekhara, the temple authorities, the Arayar and Maramudalis, sold a land as *kudi-ningadevadana* (i. e. with inextinguishable occupancy rights) to a *matha* chief. Among the signatories a number of bhattas and one Avani Narayana Brahmadirayan also figured, but there was no reference to the *sabha* or the *sabhaiyars*. The township accountant *(ur-kanakku)* was the scribe.

The township continued to be termed *Brahmadeya* throughout the Pandya and early Vijayanagar rule.[42] The last such record is in A.D. 1421 (Saka 1343).[43] But even this terminology gets dropped in inscriptions dated Saka 1437 (A.D. 1515)[44] and in Saka 1458 (A.D. 1536).[45] in Acyutaraya's time and thereafter. There is no reference to the *sabhaiyar*, and the Brahmana signatories of the documents also tend to become few.

From the available evidence it could be seen that a *Brahmadeya* with a sizable number of landholders had flourished in the early Chola times, but the strength gradually diminished and from about the beginning of the 15th century they faded out. However, a *nagara* township had sprung up in later Pandya times and the holdings were found to be also in the enjoyment of the Maramudalis and the Arayars from about that time.

A few other *Brahmadeyas* could be located, though there is no evidence on their continued history. These are noticed below:

Kiranur: A record of the 13th year of Muttarayar refers to the *sabhaiyar* of Kiranur as having endowed lands with *miatci* and other land dues to the Uttamadanisvara temple at Kiranur.[46] But later inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period refer to Kiranur as a *padaiparru* (a garrison township) in Kananadu and the *urar* conduct its affairs.[47]

Kappukkudi : In A.D. 1106, two Brahmanas, Kiranjimalai-kiniya-ninran Sahasran,- and Vedagompuram Arulala Sahasran of *Brahmadeya* Kappukkudi in Irattapadikonda-Chola valanadu had been entrusted with the agency for collecting the levy on betal and arecanuts which were imported into the *Nadu*[48] and for remitting the amount for the expenses of the Kudumiyamalai temple.

Kadavambatti : The *Brahmadeya* was known as Kaidavam *alias* Alagiya-manavala-caturvedimangalam. The *kadamai* and *kudimai* dues in respect of two *ma* of land in this township in the occupancy of one Narpattennayira Nambi were endowed for the early waking service for the Periyanacciyar shrine in Kudumiyamalai by an Arayar of Uratturkurram in A.D. 1196 in Kulottunga III's reign.[49]

We have more data on this *Brahmadeya* from the only inscription copied from the dilapidated Perumal temple. This is dated in the 36th year of Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandya. The *Brahmadeya* was in Urattur kurram in Kadaladaiyadilangaikonda Cholavalanadu. It had a *sabha*. The *sabhaiyar* sold the land in the village public action for being endowed to Rajamahendra Vinnagar Emberuman, the deity in the Vishnu temple, as *kudininga-tiruvidaiyattam*. A benefactor, Nambuseivan, a Vanniyar of Perambayur in Kunrusulnadu, purchased it for 500 *irasi-panam* and endowed it, and the land was deducted from the revenue demand and occupied holdings account of the village. Eight *kalams* of paddy per *ma* were the rate of land dues to the temple. The lands sold in Nelvai ayacut had the tank, some appurtenant dry lands, and the *nattam* site also included in the sale. The vendee had the right to induct tenants of his choice and he could collect the obligations cast on such tenants. He could also assign the house sites to such tenants. In return he had to pay a consolidated amount of 10 *panams* in the coins current from time to time towards *per capita* and the house-site levy. Five more *panams* were the payment due from him towards the *pasipattam* (fishery rentals) which he could dispose of in auction.[50]

Within the ayacut there were some earlier grants:	
For Tirunalakunramudaiya nayanar	1 *ma* of tax-free land.
Atta Irayili of the *Ur* (?)	1 *ma*
Goldsmith	*mukkani*
Pranopakaram (Apothecary)	1 *ma*
Potter	1 *ma*
Total	4 *ma* & *mukkani*

These were excluded. The signatories on behalf of the *sabha* were Salvanambi, Malaikkiniyaninran. Alvar, Nayan, Kurukur Nambi, Ammal, and Samantan. The Accountant of the ur was Manalirayan.

The principal Brahmana occupants of the township were Vaishnavite. This is confirmed by the names of two occupants of the *Brahmadeya*, Karambi Siyanopam (?) Srirama-bhattar and his brother, Alagiyamanavala-bhattar. They held eight *ma*, *mukkani araikkani* in their occupation (*kani*). From the 20th year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara the land dues from their holding were assigned to the Kudumiyanmalai temple.[51] There is no evidence of this *Brahmadeya* in the Vijayanagar period,

Vetkur *alias* Malayadvaja-chaturvedimangalam, in Puramalai-nadu was granted to the Rajendra Cholesvarar temple at Ponnamaravati by Nishadarajan in the 26th year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1216).[52]

A few other Brahmadeyas were also referred to, if this character of these townships could be inferred from their names. But no further information is available on their history. These are noticed below:

Alagiya Tiruccirrambala - chaturvedimangalam : Two Brahmana attestants, Narayana bhattan and Chakrapani-bhattan attesting an endowment in a record from Tiruvetpur dated A.D. 1253, belonged to this viilage.[53]

Udayadivakara-chaturvedimangalam was a *Brahmadeya* in Tenkavi-nadu. The *sabhaiyar*, together with the temple authorities, made over in the second year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya an ayacut called *Thavadivilagam*, a *Tiruvidaiyattam* of the Vishnu temple in that township, to one Sembiyan Velan. The tank could not hold enough water and supplies were inadequate. The lands were lying waste. The vendee was to build a tank at the expense of the *sabhaiyar* and to endow purchased lands to the Vishnu temple. The Accountant of the *Nadu* signed the deed.[54]

In A.D. 1262 (11th year of Jatavarman Sundra Pandya), the *sabhaiyar* of Virudharaja-bhayankara-chaturvedimangalam, *alias* Sirusunaiyur, a *Brahmadeya* of Peruvayil-nadu in Jayasinga-kulakala valanadu, sold to the Accountant of the *sabha*, Anindan Tiruvambalapperumal of Mayilappur in the same *Nadu*, a piece of land as *Kudininga-tiruvidaiyyattam*. The lands endowed for the Kariyamanikkapperumal temple in the *Brahmadeya* were for long lying waste, overgrown with trees and the field bunds had become obliterated. There were no funds to defray the expenses of the temple. The *pujas* had fallen into disuse. The temple had become dilapidated. So the *sabhaiyar* sold the lands for current *varahan* 35 for reclamation of lands and restoration of tanks.[55]

Mathiyur, *alias* Nirpasekhara-chaturvedimangalam, a *Brahmadeya* of Keralasingavalanadu is also referred to in a Virachilai inscription, but it was located outside the Pudukkottai tract,[56] in Tiruppattur Taluk.

A *Brahmadeya* in Ollaiyur-kurram was Samamangala-nallur *alias* Cholasikhamani-chaturvedimangalam in Konadu. Dasaratharaman Sri Satagopan bhattan of that township had endowed a land *girivayal* for the temple and he himself had obtained this parcel of land as a charitable gift (*dharmadana*) from the *sabhaiyar*.[57]

A few other grants to several Brahmanas as *dharmadanas* were made. One such was by the king from the 38th year of Pandya Kulasekhara, comprising one-half of Kilnelveli for 24 Brahmanas and the grant extent was renamed after the king. The earlier grants to Jaina shrines and the temples were excluded from within. The township itself was formed and located around the Vishnu temple of Alagapperumal in Karaiyur[58] But Karaiyur itself had predominately agricultural residents, and the *urar* therein had participated in several transactions.[59]

In the 61st year of Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya, Tirumeni Alagiyar Vijayalayadevar, the cheiftain of Suraikkudi, formed a *Brahmadeya* settlement in Suraikkudi itself called Onkaranada-chaturvedimangalam for twelve Brahmanas of various *gotras*. At their request, the chieftain endowed one half of the wet, dry *nattam* and waste and other appurtenances in Adanur village in Kananadu. The grantees were absentees who could collect the proceeds by way of all land dues and miscellaneous levies from the grant portion.[60]

Again, in Saka 1368 (A.D. 1446), another scion of Suraikkudi, Ponnayan Vijayalayadevar, granted an additional share (*bhaga*) to Yadavapperumal Somayaji of the Apasthambha *Sutra*, Kasyapa *gotra*. This referred to the earlier grant of Adanur one-half as *irayili bhudana* to 13 Brahmanas as *sarvamanya*. Presumably, in between the two grants, one more grantee had been inducted. The share granted was seven *ma* in extent (two acres, 31 cents) out of the remaining half of Adanur and had the same privileges as the earlier grantees. The proportionate land dues were also deducted from the demand for the township.[61] But Adanur itself was not a *Brahmadeya*, but an *ur*.

In Saka 1435 (A.D. 1483), a Bana chieftain, Sundara Toludaiyan Mavalivanadarayan, granted a *Brahmadeya* on the auspicious occasion of seeing the face of his new-born son, Tirumalirumjolaininran (*putra-mukha-darsanam)*. The grantees were the residents of various *gotras*, and *sutras* in Nerkunram, a *Brahmadeya* in Kananadu. The grant extent was renamed Bhuvanekavira-chaturvedimangalam and was a *sarvamanya*.[62]

Nerkunram itself was termed Sundararaja-chaturvedimangalam in an undated royal order of an earlier period (perhaps). The *sabhaiyar* had purchased some lands from the *urar* of Vellur and added these lands to the tax-bearing ayacuts of the *Brahmadeya* village. The rates of land dues payable were also stipulated in the royal order at five *kalam*, two *tunis* one *padakku* and four *nali* for the main crop for all yielding lands as was being paid for the lands of Nerkunram itself.[63]

In a record of Vira Pratapa Devaraya of Vijayanagar at Viralimalai, a reference occurs to Kilikkudi *alias* Tirunarayana chaturvedimangalam in Ollaiyur-kurram, but little is known about this township.[64]

In A.D. 1646, a grant of 110 shares, as decided at the time of an eclipse (*grahana*) in Dhanushkoti, was made in the time of Kandappa Pallavaraya near Kilikkudalur village in Kulattur taluk.[65]

There were a few other townships with the suffix *mangalam*. But is not possible to infer merely from this that they were *Brahmadeyas*. On the contrary, they are distinctly referred to as "ur" and the *urars* conduct their affairs. Examples are Ollaiyurmangalam,[66] and Rangiyam.[67] Kalasamangalam was a *nagara*, with a Vaisya settlement called *Desikulamanikkapuram*.[68] Sendamangalam also had the *urar* administering its affairs.[69] Karamangalam does not yield any reference to Brahmana settlements or *sabhas*.[70]

A SUMMING UP

Loctaion: The available evidence on Brahmadeyas in Pudukkottai contrasts with the wealth of details, often with data for continuous history, that are recorded in the epigraphs of such townships in riverine tracts of the Kaveri, the Vaigai, and the Tambraparni. Even here, their locations were largely in areas fed by jungle streams, like the Vellar and the Korayar or by large rain-fed tanks, like Kaitavam. Seven of the townships were in Tirumayyam taluk and an equal number in Kulattur taluk but none in Alangudi taluk. Despite such preferential situations, as the epigraphic evidence shows, it took a long time to reclaim land and commit cultivation. Even thereafter, the hazards were many and recurring due either to drought or to breaches by floods. Tanks had breached, bunds had been erased and ayacuts abandoned. These required repeated efforts and investments for reclamation and renovation. The tract was, thus, economically unattractive.

The period of their provenance ; The *Brahmadeyas*, properly so called, that is settlements of land-based literati permanently residing therein, had been assiduously formed and fostered in the imperial Chola times, especially in the reigns of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I, but their attempts, though valiant, did not succeed and the settlements did not strike roots. They were formed around

Siva temples at Cittur, Tiruvengaivasal, Tiruvilangudi, Kiranur and Perayur. These *Brahmadeyas* in the Chola times could be considered earnest attempts at colonisation. The familes—especially the less affluent—could have moved from the Chola country down south along with the Brahmana generals or in the wake of the Chola conquest. Some of them might have been originally immigrants from the Andhra country, but their original nativity is not sufficiently attested for many others. These townships showed a genuine interest and effort to stabilise and develop the township amenities, irrigation facilities and land improvement, against all odds. The *sabhaiyar* were also, along with royal officers, recognised participants in land and township administration.

The *Brahmadeyas* of the Pandyan times, especially those in the later Pandyan and Vijayanagar periods, were mere hamlets or part villages or portions of ayacuts separately demarcated. They could be either lands or land dues assigned for enjoyment by the grantees, some of them on ceremonial occasions Absentee landlords like the grantees of Adanur, or small clusters like that around the temple at Karayur, could only comprise a small number of holders or beneficiaries. They were more in the nature of rentiers with an interest in the share of produce than permanent residents of the township. Barring a few exceptions, they were found to be functioning only in a lower key and somewhat attenuated.

The townships during Pandyan times bear a larger population of Vaisnavites. Examples are Tirumayyam, Kappugudi, Kadavambatti, Tiruvetpur, Sirusunaiur, and the grantees in Karayur and Nekkonam. Sectarian rigidities had become aggravated from the mid-13th century.[71] The influence of Srirangam could be felt in the townships of Kulattur taluk and of Tirukoshtiyur and Tirumayyam in Tirumayyam taluk. The *pasurams* of Tirumangaialvar had a great appeal to the *nattar* and the residents of the tract and this could also account for the large number of Vaisnavites.

Still, the total number of such *Brahmadeyas* was very few. The population also was sparse. The explicit evidence summarised above and, more so, the limited number of signatories to the deeds from the townships would attest this inference. Nowhere is there any evidence of a full-fledged *Brahmadeya* with as many as twelve *cheris* or streets teeming with population. Everywhere, however, the temple priests, the Siva-brahmans or Vaikanasas who would only have been limited in number, were seen attesting the deeds very often and Brahmanas of the non-priestly class were very limited in number. This could, in its wake, have had social disadvantages.

Decline : Evidence is striking on the final disappearance of the *sabhaiyar*, the occupant-residents from about the Vijayanagar times, though it tapers off even earlier. The *urar* and the *nattar* are more conspicuous

participants in co nmuni*t*y transactions. Some townships like Kiranur even changed their nomenclature. There are other instances of such change in the character of townships, consequent on the changed composition of the predominant population. Narttamalai was one such example.[72] Holdings were sold either because land was waste or lands could not be reclaimed, being of poor fertility,[73] even late in the 17th century.

The reasons for this decline of the *Brahmadeyas* were not far to seek. The inherent natural disadvantages and the cost and effort of reclaiming lands for cultivation have already been mentioned. From the late 13th century onwards violent quarrels among the Arayars and social eruptions should have made life insecure. The Muslim incursions had aggravated the malady. The prevailing high rate of land-dues and levies, especially in the Vijayanagar periods, should have tended to add to the economic and agrarian stresses. Though the *Brahmadeyas* were shown concessions, they too were liable to land levies; even when these were remitted, cesses and obligations persisted.

The Pudukkottai tract itself lies between the fertile Kaveri on the north, and the Vaigai and the Tambraparni basins down south. A number of *Brahmadeyas* were being formed in the Tambraparni tract during the Chola period, egpecially when the Chola viceroyalty was established at Madurai. After the Pandyas of the second empire reasserteds their supremacy, new townships were formed in the Vaigai basin, such as Rajagambhiram.[74] These would have attracted the residents of the comparatively difficult terrain of Pudukkottai. What with progressive extensions to the ayacuts that could be attempted with greater facility and lesser outlay and patronage by more affluent chieftains or princes on the ascendant, the resident population of *Brahmadeyas* in Pndukkottai could only have been lured to these tracts both to the north and to the south where cultivation could be more settled and yields encouraging. The *Brahmadeya* settlements of Pudukkottai were, thus, desined only to be short-lived like,

> "bubbles on the river (of Time),
> sparkling, bursting, borne away".

They were transitory and transitional.

Even in the Vijayanagar and the Nayak periods it was not as if rew Brahmana settlements were not formed; but they were formed elsewhere. Interest had shifted to the area west of Pudukkottai. to the Tiruchirapalli uplands, Marungapuri, Dindugal and the Shanmuganadi ribbon near Palni, and the Ammayanayakkanur area. Tiruchirappalli, Dindugal, Madurai became the arterial route. With this deflection, there was no evidence of any revived or new settlements of that period in Pudukkottai.

It was not surprising that in the 18th century the Tondaiman rulers found it necessary to induct and induce Brahmana populations from outside to settle in the native State by new grants of rents from villages.[75]

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1. Publication of the State Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu, (1981).
2. R. Tirumalai, *Studies in the History of Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai* (hereafter *Studies*), Introduction, p. iii.
3. Ibid., p. 138.
4. IPS., 9.
5. Ibid., 15.
6. Ibid., 67. see the detailed history of Kudumiyamalai in *Studies*.
7. IPS., 24.
8. Ibid., 26.
9. Ibid., 83.
10. Ibid,, 85.
11. Ibid., 87.
12. Ibid., 93.
13. Ibid., 94.
14. 1bid., 95.
15. Ibid., 109.
16. Ibid., 88
17. Ibid., 100
18. Ibld., 108.
19. Ibid., 128.
20. Ibid., 139.
21. Ibid., 327.
22. Ibid., 480.
23. Ibid., 538.
24. Ibid., 599.
25. Ibid., 639.
26. Ibid., 681.
27. Ibid., 945.
28. Ibid,, 89.
29. Ibid., 90.
30. IPS., 92.
31. Ibid., 96.
32. Ibid,, 98.
33. Ibid., 117.
34. Ibid., 550
35. Ibid., 777.
36. Ibid., 687.
37. Ibid., 103.
38. Ibid., 218.
39. Ibid., 225, 263, 264.
40. *Studias*, pp. 116-135.
41. IPS., 288.
42. Ibid., 412, 496, 585, 629.
43. Ibid., 699.
44. Ibid.. 840
45. Ibid., 749, also 856.
46. Ibid., 237.
47. Ibid., 690 (S. 1328 = A.D. 14906); IPS., 704 (S. 1359 = A.D. 1437) IPS., 744 (S. 1448 = A.D. 1536) On the characteristics of Padaiparru, see *Studies*., pp. 36-39.
48. IPS., 125.
49. Ibid., 151.
50. Ibid., 544.
51, Ibid., 549.
52. Ibid., 245.
53. Ibid., 371.
54. Ibid., 475.
55. Ibid., 350.
56. Ibid., 393.
57. Ibid., 420
58. Ibid., 584.
59. Ibid., 417, 843.

60. IPS., 623.
61. Ibid., 789.
62. Ibid., 672.
63. Ibid., 979.
64. Ibid., 700.
65. Ibid., 869.
66. Ibid., 700.
67. Ibid., 491, 669, 791, 835, 940.
68. Ibid., 807 (S 1360 = A.D. 1338).
69. Ibid., 171.
70. Ibid., 407, 410, 411, 822, 827.
71. See the Author's Study on "*Tirumayyam*" for the sectarian disputes, pp. 119 to 122.
72. See '*Narttamalai*' in the *Studies*, p. 18, 22 and 23.
73. IPS., 872 - Purchase of Kottaiyur from Mahajanas, *vide Studies*, p. 130.
74. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri., *The Pandyan Kingdom* p. *144*.
75. *Pudukkottai State Manual*, Vol. II Part I p. 746.

ALLUR AND ISANAMANGALAM REVISITED

Professor Noboru Karashima has contributed a painstaking study of two south Indian villages of early Chola Times based on the thirty stone inscriptions found in Allur and Tiruchchendurai villages.[1] They are distributed as follows: 21 inscriptions relating to Isanamangalam from Chandrasekhara Temple of Tiruchchendurai and 9 inscriptions which concern Allur from the Pasupatisvara Temple at Allur. The villages adjoin each other. Allur is located in the narrow strip of land lying in between Cauvery river and the Tiruchirapalli Karur Trunk Road and the railway line running along-side. By its location the low-lying lands in the north-eastern extremity of Allur are liable to inundation by the river Cauvery when in floods especially in those earlier times when neither Cauvery nor its principal tributaries had been dammed in the reaches above the flat plains.

Tiruchchendurai, if we could project back from its present location, largely lay to the south of the trunk road referred to and did not appear to have suffered the above disadvantage.

Prof. Karashima has taken pains to interpret a number of terms occurring in these inscriptions and has approached them from a somewhat statistical angle to get at inferences. The inferences are drawn on the nature of the holdings, whether individual or not, and also the shares of yield belonging to the King or the chieftain, and the Temple and the role of the *urar*.

Prof. Karashima's paper is very carefully worded with a good deal of study of the texts of the inscriptions and his conclusions fully reveal the scholarly hesitancy to generalise. Nevertheless on a critical and circumspect examination of the evidence, the conclusions extracted in the Appendix could bear some revision and this article indicates the possible areas for such revision.

Both the townships have thrown up evidence dating back to early Chola Times of Parakesari and Rajakesari. The Irukkuvel Chieftains of Kodumbalur who had political and matrimonial alliances with the Cholas figure prominently among the donors and benefactors. Isanamangalam was throughout a Brahmadeya village. The Allur Siva Temple is located in an *ur* or agricultural township but it was also later described as Brahmadeya. Presumably the agrahara part of the village, called Tiruvadakudi, was founded later and its Sabhayar also participated in the temple affairs from the time of Rajaraja I. There was one other principal resident-group, the

nagara merchants including oil-mongers who lived within a walled habitat. In the following account the history of the two townships is traced, as revealed in the inscriptions. The aim is to let the epigraphs (arranged as far as ascertainable in chronological sequence) speak for themselves and where appropriate, set in focus the inferences that can be drawn from the evidence.

ISANAMANGALAM

The earliest inscription is dated 2nd year of Parakesari.[2] In that year on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Bhuti Aditta Pidari, a lady of the Irukkuvel Chieftain family of Kodumbalur endowed 4 parcels of garden lands to the deity at Tiruchchendurai for festival expenses and for the temple servants. The lands endowed were acquired in the following manner:—

(i) garden land purchased by the donor from Vachchiyan Sendan Suvaran—2 parcels,

(ii) a garden land purchased by her from Tiruvellarai Padakarai Murugan Sadaiyan and others,

(iii) a garden land for which the donor had stood surety given on a usufructory mortage (Orri Kalamayappunai Kondanavum) made by the same parties who sold item (ii) which she got relieved by paying gold to Nila Narayanan (perhaps, the mortgagee) and also to the wife of Narayanan Sudan and endowed to the deity. She endowed to the temple these parcels of land.

The boundaries of the garden land were : to the south of the bund called Karikala Karai; to the east of the big street passing towards the south; north of the land owned by Kumaran Kadan; and also to the east of the lands covered by Vattuni Marangattan and (Kasyapan) Narayanan and to the north-east of Videlvidugumangalam township boundary.

In the same year, Bhuti Aditta Pidari endowed two additional garden lands on the occasion of the Suryagrahana. (i) A garden purchased in the same year by the donor for 75 *kalanju* from Kachchuvan Dattanarayanan, and a second garden purchased by her from Bharadvajan Isana Maran. They were endowed for defraying the expenses of the festivals in the stone temple she had erected for Siva at Tiruchchendurai[3] and the endowed lands carried with them the same rights as the donor had acquired through the purchases.

Bhuti Aditta Pidariyar who had caused the construction of the stone temple, had acquired a garden land from one Velkovan, called Ur-vilayan garden, and a garden and house-site have been conveyed to her by the Sabhayar for her residence, called Eastwall garden. She conveyed these two

gardens on the same terms on which they were obtained by her to the temple for exchange of land (Bhumattu) and for the cultivators of the deity's lands for their residential quarters on the occasion of a Suryagrahana. This inscription though undated could be ascribed to about the 2nd year of Parakesari.[4]

In the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman, Bhuti Adichcha-Pidari, daughter of Tennavan Ilangovel and wife of the Chola prince, Arikulakesari gave 60 *kalanju pon* to the Parudayar of Isanamangalam for provisioning for the temple she had erected at Tiruchchendurai. The gold deposit had carried an interest at Tuni, padakku, Paddy per *kalanju* per harvest—thus in a year 60 kalams of paddy to be measured at 30 kalams in Kartigai (October-November) and another 30 kalams in Pisanam in the month of Panguni (March-April). This could indicate that these wet lands were already yielding two crops in a year. The Parudayar undertook to deliver this paddy at kuruni paddy of old rice (at recovery rate of polished rice of 8 : 10) per day for food offerings and for midday service.[5] The interest yield for 1 *kalanju* of gold was 1 *kalam* of paddy.

From this evidence the following inferences can be drawn. The tract has had townships founded even in late Pallava times and one township was named after the Royal signmanual of the Pallavas. A number of Brahmins, of various Gotras. Kasyapa, Vasuyau (Vajasaneya?), Kausika, Bharadvaja and others had already settled and had owned lands in individual and several enjoyment. Rights of properties were defined, and lands were bought and sold and made usufructory mortgage of, or even had descended on women from whom titles could be acquired on purchase. The township had to its north an embankment, named after Karikala, presumably to protect the lands and the township against the floods from the river Cauvery. Bhuti Aditta Pidari was the daughter of Bhuti Vikramakesari *alias* Tennavan Ilangovel *alias* Maravan Bhutiar and sister of Bhuti Aditya. She was married to the Chola prince Arikulakesari the son of the Chola Emperor identical with Parakesari Arinjaya who ruled in A.D. 956-57. For raising the stone-temple and making provisions for the temple services and the temple servants and cultivators, the Sabhayar too were solicitous to the needs of the donor and the temple. This could be dated perhaps in about A.D. 909-10 in the first decade of the 10th century.

In the same year the wife of Tennavan Ilangovel *alias* (Marava?)....n Bhutiar, Nakkan Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur had deposited 20 *kalanju* gold (tested by Videlvidugu touchstone) with the Parudayar (i.e. the Parudai in chargc of Tiruchchendurai temple) in the Brahmadeya, Isanamangalam for a lamp service.[6]

In the 3rd year the Parudai of Isanamangalam endowed the land held in common by the Parudai (Parudainilattai) as Devadana. It lay to the east of Ammangudi Township boundary, and to the

east of the East Street, to the west of the land owned by several Brahmins (Bharadvaja) Nakkan Sattan and others, Bhadakari Marudan Sundan, Avani Narayanan and others, to its north lay the lands of Kaccuvur Kanna Nakkan, Maitreyan Narayanan, Murugan, and others, and Bharadvaji Narayana Nakkan, and to its south lay a field or channel-head, Maravanvay.[7]

In the same year, another donor, Bhuti Kulichchi of Perayur of Urattur Kurram purchased a land from a Brahmin, Arikan Naranan Soman of Sattamanagalam, a Brahmadeya in Idaiyarrur-nadu. The land was given as *Stridhana* for his wife Nilan Nagai and was in the northern part of the wet lands in Isanamangalam. It was 2 ma in extent and sold for 10 *kalanju* of gold tested by Videlvidugu (touchstone). The field had the following boundaries:

(i) to the east of the land endowed for the students or the inmates of the Matha;
(ii) to the west of the land endowed for the shrine of Tirupparat-turai, an adjoining township;
(iii) to the south of the land owned by Kausigan Dattanalakesvaran and others;
(iv) to the north of Avanisetti-devan.

The husband had acted as the guardian of the lady who had the title to the *Stridhana* land, but she gave the receipt for the amount paid and endorsed the sale. The vendee endowed it for a lamp service in memory of her husband, Todan Manikkan of Kilvelur and it was stipulated that the land dues thereon shall be paid as was appropriate for similar lands in the township.[8]

The data confirm private ownership of land and of women's right to receive property as *Stridhana*. Perhaps as her husband belonged to a different village Sattamangalam, Nilan Nagai thought it convenient to dispose of her land in her parental village. The land was still an occupied holding liable to pay land-dues and the vendee while endowing the land for a lamp service in temple had stipulated that the land dues, as levied on the township lands, shall be paid and the residual yield-share appropriated for the lamp service. This was then a land bearing its dues to be paid from the produce and only the net yield was to be appropriated for the lamp service.

In the 4th year of Parakesarivarman a garden land, 2000 *patti* was purchased by Nangai Bhuti Aditta Pidariyar. The price paid was 37-1/2 *kalanju* of gold which included the capitalised amount as tax-vigil, from the proceeds of which the Parudayar undertook to pay the land-dues and discharge the customary obligations.[9]

Four years later the same lady purchased 1/4 *sey* (5 *ma* of land) which was (somewhat alkaline and low-lying—Pallatil Nedungalar) for 34-1/2 *pon* from Vacciyan Titta Narayanan of Isanamangalam and endowed it for a lamp service.[10]

In the 9th year the Parudayar of Isanamangalam sold to the temple for 28-1/2 *kalanju* gold 473-1/4 *ma* of land together with the tank, to the north of Maravan channel which were paddy-yielding lands. The other boundaries were the known township boundaries. The Parudai undertook to pay the land-dues and other obligations.[11]

Next year (10th) again Nangai Bhuti Aditya Pidariyar purchased for 7-1/2 *kalanju* (by Videlvidugu touchstone) from the Parudayar of Isanamangalam a land held in common by them (Parudainilam). To the east of the parcel ran the Āmbala Street. A channel also ran to its east and to its north, and the western boundary was the known boundary of the village. A Tinai (Official of the Parudai) figures in this and other documents executed by the Parudai. On his behalf one Anikalan Kaliyadakki of Amutiyur wrote the deed.[12]

From the evidence of the three transactions of the 3rd year, 9th year and 10th year, it could be inferred that in addition to the individual ownership of the lands held by the several Brahmin residents of Isanamangalam there were some blocks of lands held in common by the Parudayar. These were perhaps Devadana lands not occupied by tenants. These common holdings (Parudai-nilam) were located at the western extremity of the township, abutting the village boundary of Amangudi,[13] or at the extremity of the recognised Township boundaries.[14] The Parudayar were keen to dispose of those common holdings so that they could be brought to better beneficial enjoyment and they could be assessed to revenue, and the rental demand would be borne by the vendees. The Temple gained in its capital resources by the sale price realised and the tax-vigil deposit and it also reduced its tax-burden, if any, and obligations by such sale. The purchaser benefactor could endow a share of the yield as well for services. The dues to the state were, however, in tact unless specifically remitted.

In the 10th year, again, the same donor Nangai Bhuti Aditya Pidariyar deposited 28-1/4 *kalanju* of gold (tested by Videlvidugu touchstone) with the village elders of the Brahmadeya (Brahmadeya kilavar). The object was to treat it as a tax-vigil deposit to defray the land-dues, and discharge other customary obligations. The lands were 1/4 *sey* or 5 *ma* in extent, which she had purchased,[15] and also the old Devadana lands 1-1/4 *sey* located near the open head sluice (vaymadai). When converted into cultivable fields (nilam seydu), the net extent on which land-dues were fastened was 1 *veli* and 4 *ma*

i.e. 1 *ma* of land was taken up by field-bunds, and uncultivable patches or field channels. The township official Tinai-Desavallavan wrote the deed.[16]

In the same year, the same lady deposited 10 *kalanju* as tax-vigil with the Parudayar from the (proceeds of which) they agreed to defray the land-dues and other obligations on some lands held by the Temple in 850 '*potti*' (Patti?) By order of the Parudai and on behalf of Tinai Kanakkan Desavalluvan, the township Accountant wrote the deed.[17]

There was a similar undertaking by the Parudayar on receipt of tax-vigil deposit for the lands brought under wet cultivation by Nangai Bhuti Aditta Pidariyar and she was also allowed irrigation rights for the lands so brought under wet cultivation. Among the customary obligations undertaken occur *eccoru* –feeding the King's messengers, Kulaivetti, to do earth-work free to keep the river embankment in good repair, Koruppuvettu, or raising bunds and earthen embankment work across the river at the head of openhead sluice for channel intake.[18]

It could also be inferred that the unoccupied house-sites were at the disposal of the townships for allocation among those who took residence or who caused induction of tenants into the township to take up cultivation or other benefactors who were providing for the township temple and amenities.

By the 14th year of Parakesarivarman, Isanamangalam had got separated from Uraiyurkurram and became a Brahmadeya in Taramburrur nadu. Vacciyan Sattan Sundan sold a wet land in the southern block of lands a land called Vada (north) vilaguvayyatsey. It comprised 2 bits—1/8 *sey* or 2-1/2 *ma*, which he had received as *Stridhana*, and the other 2-1/2 *ma* he had himself purchased. Nangai Bhuti Aditta Pidariyar purchased the lands at the auction-centre where by midday-light land sales were transacted.[19]

Two years later, Nakkan Pokki, son of Devanar of Tirubhutisvaram of Kodumbalur purchased a wet land by name Mungilsey in the southern wet fields of Isanamangalam from one Vacciyan Narayanan for 30 *kalanju* gold. The boundaries of the land were :

> West of the land obtained as *Stridhana* by Kachchuvan Nakkan Paramesvaran and of the field channel flowing to that field. North of the land obtained as *Stridhana* by Savanti Chandrasekharan Nakkan and of the land of Bhadarayan Nakkan Kandan. East of the land owned by Bharadarayan Nakkan Kandan and the channel of the Brahmadeya Township, and to the south of the Brahmadeya channel. The vendee endowed it for a lamp service to the deity at Tiruchchendurai.[20]

Isanamangalam seemed to be a Township of in-laws and there were several who received *Stridhana* and some from without would have taken up residence after their marriage migrating from their home-towns, and some others, who would not have, sold their lands with the consent of their spouses.

In the 20th year, 39th day of Parakesari, Sembiyan Ilangovel *alias* Bhuti Aditta Pidaran, the father of the builder of the temple, had endowed 2 *veli* of land he had purchased in Isanamangalam as Irayili and on the same terms on which he had purchased the land.[21]

The Parakesari inscriptions from the 22nd year onwards introduce us to the benefactors of the next generation from the same family.

In the 22nd year Adityan Bhuti *alias* Madhurantakan Irukkuvel, son of Bhuti Aditya endowed as tax-free Devadana the village of Tuvelimangalam in Uraiyur Kurram for special services on his monthly native asterisk "Purattadi".[22]

Next year on the 43rd day, his brother, Adityan Tiruvorriyuradigal *alias* Vira Chola Ilangovel got married and gave 3 *veli* of land as *Vivaha daksina* (marriage gift) in the hands of a priest. Iramanallur Nambi *alias* Bhavarudrabhattan. The lands were in the village limits of Amangudi a village abutting the Brahmin township to its west. Twelve lamps were to be maintained at 1/4 *sey* for a lamp service.[23]

In the same year, some 6-1/2 months later, Madhurantakan Irukkuvel *alias* Adityan (Bhuti) granted a garden Kanakkudi Koilar Tottam as tax-free Devadana and on receipt of the chieftain's epistle, the Sabhayar recorded the grant deed in the temple.[24]

Five years later, a resident of the township Bhadarayan Nakkau Kandan purchased 1 *ma* of land from the temple itself apparently for endowing it for a service.[25]

In the 30th year of Parakesarivarman, Sembiyan Ilangovel *alias* Bhuti Aditta Pidaran granted as Irayili Devadana wet and dry lands in Panayur Valkkai Kalumalam. This grant was (*a*) to provide for 4 lamps 1/4 *sey* per 1 lamp—in all 1 *veli* (*b*) to provide for bath with ghee on the donor's native asterisk every month, Uttirattati at a rate of 1 *nali* of ghee which was priced at tuni paddy-per month 10 *nali* of ghee, i,e. equivalent of 3 kalam-tuni paddy and per year 120 *nali* ghee equivalent of 40 *kalam*, (*c*) for offering green gram food offerings-6 *nali* rice and green gram-2 *nali* = Kuruni paddy; ghee-Uri = paddy Padakku; Plantain fruits 10 = paddy 5 *nali*, Ghee—3 palams = 3 *nali* paddy; Curry = 2 *nali* of paddy. Betel *(Terilai)*, 1 parru, betelnut 10. Thus in all in a month = Tuni, Padakku, and 6 *nali*, per year : 6 Kalam, 2 Tuni, Kuruni of paddy. Total per year = 46 kalam, 2 Tuni, Kuruni,

which is equal to the yield from 9 *makani* araikkani land; (d) for 2 yogis who perform Tiruvaradana Puja in 3 services = daily at Tuni paddy = 120 *kalams* per year being the rental from the veli of land. The rate of rental stipulated works out to 6 *kalams* per *ma*; (*e*) for Panchamahasabda, musical instruments played by a troupe: 9 persons = 2-1/4 veli; and (*f*) Segandi = 1.

In all 5 *veli* of land were endowed.[26]

The next bunch of inscriptions are dated 12th and 16th year in the reign of Madurai Konda Ko Parakesari Parantaka I (i.e. A.D. 919, 923).

In A.D. 919, a resident of the township Baradarayan Nakkan Kandan provided for a lamp service in the *sanctum sanctorum*. He purchased a land from the Sabhayar, a parcel by name Avarrudavai 1-1/2 *ma* (49-1/2 cents) in extent. It was irrigated by the western channel taking off from the Allur channel. The land was included in the block called Tottappatti of the village, and lay to the east of Amankudi boundary, west of Maravan-Vay (channel head?), north of the lands owned by Atreyan Nakkan Ayyan and others, and to the south of those held by Kachchuvan Damodaran Nakkan and Dananambi. The *mulaparudai* of the township undertook to maintain the service.[27] This could be close to the land endowed by the Parudai in the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman.[28] He provided this land for meeting the expenses of the water-shed charity for which the river water had to be brought and provided at the Kallambalam (stone-built common-place.) The Mulaparudayar were to protect the charity.[29] This evidence would clearly bring out that by about A.D. 919-923, the lands on the extremity of the township abutting Videlvidugumangalam and Amangudi were held in common by the Sabhayar and they had been sold, creating occupancy rights for being endowed by the vendee. Some of the lands held by the Parudayar in common[30] at the township extremity abutting Amankudi were sold much earlier in the 3rd year of Parakesari. As the channel flow was eastwards. some of the parcels perhaps, on a high level in the western extremity had been brought under occupancy mnch later than others to the east. Of course from the available evidence, it is clear that Isanamangalam lands were held more in private holdings, and the lands still not so held in private ownership were scattered parcels at the extremity of the township abutting the other townships to the west.

The third bunch of inscription are dated 2nd, 6th and 23rd years of Rajakesari. In the 2nd year Udaiyar Virachola Ilangovel *alias* Orri Madhurantakan deposited 100*kalanju* gold with the Mulapparudayar. The latter undertook to defray all the land dues in paddy and in cash or gold, and discharge other customary obligations due on 1-1/2 (*veli*?) of land, comprising half in *Urpatti* (or garden lands abutting the township) and another half in

wet lands. The dues now to be defrayed from the interest proceeds on the deposit, were previously paid by the deity on the lands endowed, and were collected by the township from the temple (Ur Koduvanda). Nagan Udayan Martandan, the Brahmaperundinai, official under the Five Parudai (Parudai consisting of 5 members(?) signed the deed. It will be apparent that some of the lands held or endowed to the temple were assessed to land dues and the proportionate obligations had to be diseharged by the deity. These ceased and were determined by the tax-vigil deposit. The donor was the grandson of Bhuti Aditya *alias* Sembian Ilangovel and son of Madhurantakan Irukkuvel. The donor had thus solicitously provided for the shrine erected by his grand-aunt, Nangai Bhuti Adiɨya Bhatari.[31]

In the 6th year, a Brahmin, Bharadvajan Kandan Viranarayanan sold for 30 *kalanju* gold his land called Tirumalirunjolai Vayakkal a wet land in the eastern portion of the township to Vettuvan Aditta Pidari wife of Tanjavur Perumal of Tanjavur Kurram. It was surrounded both on the north and the east by the Kandan channel, perhaps a channel named after his father or an ancestor. To its south lay a street proceeding eastwards, and to its west was the land held by the Parudai. A Parudai official, Accountant Tuvvurudaiyan Kaman Sirappan signed the deed.

This land was apparently, secured by a maid, Cholapperundevi *alias* Bhattan Malli from her mistress (engal acci) and the former endowed the Svamibhogam proceeds from the land excluding the enjoyer's share (vagaiseyvar nikka *svamibhogam*) for maintenance of an *ambalam* (or rest and water shed) which she had erected at Videlvidugumangalam, the adjoining township.[32]

Evidently there were still some smaller parcels held in common by the Parudai.

In the 23rd year, the builder of the shrine Nangai Bhuti Adicca Pidariyar purchased some lands from the Parudayar for 5 *kalanju*. To its west was a field enjoyed by Narayanan Nakkan. To its north was the land enjoyed by Atreyan Maran Iravi. To its east lay the Big Street and a channel running towards the south. To its south was the village boundary of Karuppur. The Parudayar also undertook to defray the land dues and obligations. The vendee endowed the 6 *ma* of land for the piper service.

This inscription in its latter part proceeded to detail some additional parcels of lands acquired by private purchase by the same donor.[33]

The Siva shrine and temple in Tiruchchendurai were the contribution of the Irukkuvel lady, who married the Chola prince Arikulakesari or Arinjaya. The Vishnu temple therein was the benefaction of a Tanjavur

merchant, Karnataka Pulalayacchetti who was perhaps a native of Kirai-Kottal a Mahagrama in Ganga-padi, (Karnataka plateau) who came to this township, after visiting several countries on his rubies-trade (manikka-Vaniyan). He asked what charity he could execute, to stand forth as his progeny (perhaps he was childless). The township directed him to build a Vishnu temple to the west of the township and the shrine to be named as Pulalayavinnagar after the benefactor. At that very instant he undertook the task, excavated the earth, filled it with sand filled it with water and had it consolidated with the elephant treading on it and brought a vigraha from the north, and installed the image in the 12th year of (Raja?) Kesarivarman (A.D. 968?). The temple so erected was under the maintenance of 401 of the Parudai and Vaishnavas.[34]

He also acquired a land from the Mulapparudayar (free from all levies—Sarvaparihara) for 40 *kalanju* and the deposit for the tax-vigil was 70 *kalanju*, in all 110 *kalanju* of gold, and endowed it for the Vishnu Temple he had built,[35] and this charity was to be protected by both the Vaishnavas and the Panmahesvaras. Schisms had not yet developed apparently.

In the 20th year of Rajakesari, he also desired to acquire the lands within the circumambulatory passage abutting the temple, and the Mulaparudayar obliged him by selling the lands for 5 *kalanju* together with many yielding trees, in all 100 *patti* (garden lands). Dry land or garden lands were reckoned in terms of *patti*. (A *patti* could be termed a furrow or a long trench or groove made by plough or by moulding loose wet clod by feet or hand). He also deposited another 5 *kalanju* for the tax-vigil against which the Parudayar agreed to defray the land-dues from the interest on the deposit.[36]

Apparently this was concessional, or the yield of an equivalent amount of sale-price is adequate to defray the tax dues on a garden land or dry land or house-site. In the case of a wet land it worked to the ratio of 70 : 40. The rate of aessessment and the quantum of dues from the wet land were quantitatively far more than for the dry.

The remaining part of the available epigraphic evidence is easily recounted. In A.D. 997 (12th year of Rajaraja I), a Vaikhanasa (priest of Vishnu Temple) received 5 *kasu* from a Vellala Adichchan Udaya Pillai for a lamp service.[37] In the 21st year of Rajendra I (A.D. 1033), the Sabhayar of Isanamangalam received 15 *kalanju* (tested by Kudinai Kal) which was equal to current good coin 200 *kasu* at 1 *kasu* = Manjadi, Kunri), and sold a land. They also agreed to defray and keep vigil for the payment of the land dues.[38]

The fragments of records proceed to register other land grants for the deity, including those endowed by a woman—inheritor, and for

Salabhogam for feeding Brahmins, well-versed in the Vedas. The Sabha undertook to maintain these endowments, and on its behalf the following signed the deed.

Uruppattur Anantavarman Kramavittan
Kamakkani Vasu... ....
Tiruvaranga Sahasran,
Atreyan Somadevan Sankaranarayanan
Mogilyan Bhaskaran Srikrishnan

The village Kavidi and Kanakku and the Madhyastan and Karanattan attested this deed.[39]

In the 3rd year of Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1121), two priests of the Siva Temple confessed they had no capital or resources to execute the earlier endowments undertaken by them. They took a deposit of 10 *kasu* from one Gangai Sadai-Karantan Varahur and from the interest at 1 *dramam* per *kasu* they undertook to provide the lamp services.[40]

In the 46th year of Rajakesari Kulottunga (A.D. 1116), the temple priests received an endowment of 4 *kasu* from a benefactor Tiruvegamban Chokkan, and agreed to provide a lamp service and to feed a Mahesvara. The rate of interest yield worked out to 1 *ulakku* ghee per *kasu*. They also received from the same benefactor 45 kalams of paddy and from the interest at the rate of Tuni-Padakku per kalam per year, they agreed to provide food offerings.[41] The rate of interest works out to 50·/.

In the 6th year of Rajaraja (III?), Isanamangalam was renamed as Viruddharajabhayankara - Chaturvedimangalam in Uraiyur-Kurram in Keralantaka Valanadu. The Siva-Brahmanas undertook to maintain 3 lamp services.

A SUMMING UP

Isanamangalam had, perhaps, its beginnings in the late Pallava period. For, even after their times, the touchstone for gold was still named after their sign-manual, Videlvidugu. An adjoining township also bears this name. The touch stone was not renamed/substituted till the reign of Rajaraja. The Sabhayar of the Brahmin township had held common lands which they were willing to sell creating individual occupancy holdings. A large part ef the arable lands and the garden-lands were already in the early 10th century held under individual ownership or enjoyment (alukai). The garden lands were reckoned in terms of '*patti*' or grooves of furrows, (A *patti* could be termed a furrow or a long trench or groove made by plough or by moulding loose wet clod by feet or hand).

Landed property could descend to women-holders who could endow or sell them or as *Stridhana* which with their consent, their husbands or guardians could alienate. The township had a number of *Stridhana* properties gifted to the in-laws, some from within and others from without. Even so, there were still lands held in common either by the Sabhayar or by the Parudayar. The latter were the custodians of the Siva temple and also of the Vishnu temple endowments in the early period together with Sri Vaishnavas. Their common-holdings were generally lying at the extremity of the township, abutting Amangudi, Videlvidugu-mangalam and Karuppur in the west and a few also to the east. But comparatively the unoccupied extent was less than the occupied holdings, as seen from the pattern, the quantum and intensity of evidence.

The Siva shrine was built in the first decade of the 10th century by Bhuti Aditta Pidariyar, the daughter of the Irukkuvel chieftain, Bhuti Vikrama Kesari, and wife of the Chola prince, Arinjaya, who solicitously provided for the upkeep, maintenance and festivals in the temple. Her father, her brother and her nephew and grand-nephew all provided for this deity and added endowments. Some of the endowments were in the form of lands acquired by them or alternatively they endowed the land-dues from specific parcels of lands or villages. The chieftains in the latter case had exercised the prerogative of the sovereign to grant, assign or endow land-dues proceeds to the beneficiaries.

Where such grants or assignments of land-dues were not made, the Parudayar in some cases, the Sabhayar in others received cash deposits to defray the recurring land-dues and to discharge customary obligations from out of the proceeds. The deposit in one case worked out in the ratio of 70:40 to the sale price of the land and in another was equal to the sale price of the land. The former lands were wet, and the latter, a house-site a garden-land or dry.

The Vishnu Temple was a later addition, perhaps, in the reign of Rajakesari Sundara Chola and the benefactor was a ruby merchant from Gangapadi in Karnataka and he was permitted to name the shrine after himself.

The recorded evidence is abundant, pertaining to the 10th century, but it becomes slender from the time of the Imperial Cholas, from Rajaraja's time.

This summing up would substantially bear out the conclusions on Isanamangalam holdings which have been quite realistically and factually set out by Professor Karashima in the extract reproduced from page 154 of his article.

ALLUR

Allur was a township in Uraiyur Kurram. The transactions summarised below could be dated in the first half of the tenth century—from the reign of

Parantaka I onwards. It is difficult to precisely ascribe each particular record to a distinct reign, but to the extent the sequence of events, as far as they can be surmised to be inter-connected, and the Irukkuvel genealogy could help, a probable chronological order has been evolved and adopted. Also, clearly ascribable records are grouped together. This aspect can certainly bear further scrutiny and confirmation. But the main theme of this article on the location of the fields, their extent, and the progressive reclamation, and the bearing these aspects have on the character of land-ownership, individual or collective, does not get affected by this chronological uncertainty or sequential ambiguity.

In the 6th year of Parantaka I (A.D. 913), Bhuti Madevadigal purchased a land at a price (which included the tax-vigil deposit) from the Parudayar of the adjoining Brahmadeya, Isanamangalam and endowed the land to Tiruvadakudi Mahadeva in Allur.[42]

In the 17th year (A.D. 924), the Urar of Allur donated as Devadana to the deity of Allur, Nakkar Mahadevar, the lands in Sirukalanjeri. The lands had never been yielding in the previous years. They were alkaline (*Kalar*) and, perhaps, had been infested with termites (Karayan kolli). The *urar* donated those lands, so that they could be reclaimed into channel-fed wet lands (Vari nilama vayakki kolla).[43]

The boundaries of the lands so donated were as follows:—

East : To the west of the pathway leading to Erukalmugam.

South : To the north of the northern fields (Vadavai) held by Puliyan Parasuraman, and by Siriyan Gunamandaran, and other residual lands.

West : East of the lands of Vettan Kandan, Singari Nilan (and ?) of the Nattiyattar (the dancing troupe).

North : South of the land belonging to the Chieftain (Ko ?), $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* in Vadakalar (the alkaline lands in the north) and the wet land of Kaliyar (Kali deity, or owned by a person of that name) and other lands and the land of Ettan, (an individual ?).

The *urar* have made a virtue of necessity, and have endowed an infertile alkaline land to the deity so that some benefactor could under take to reclaim the lands. The grant by the *urar* was solemnly attested (Ottu-ittu-kkuduttu) by Puliyam Parasuraman, the holder of the adjoining parcel.

The land could be located near the dry lands to be reclaimed with the 20 *pon* deposited by Vira Chola Ilangovel in the 3rd year of Parakesari noticed below.[44]

Next year (18th) (A.D. 925), the Allur *urar* again donated a wet land as Devadana.[45] The boundaries were as given below :—

Ēast : To the west of the water course-cum-pathway through which corpses were taken.

South : To the north of the high-level of the township.

West : East of Padana Vayakkal, field already reclaimed and the *ambalccey* and Sattan Vayakkal, of Siriyan Pullan.

North : South of the western field in Mulaichchevvai within the parcel brought to wet cultivation by Mundan Kalimari.

The *urar* permitted the earth that would be excavated (while deepening the field for wet cultivation) to be deposited in the abutting (high level land) abutting the field donated. No customary obligations and land dues were to be borne by the land so donated; that is the *urar* took over these obligations on themselves. This grant was attested by Siriyan Pullan, the adjoining land-holder of Sengundaiyur and resident of Allur.

This parcel of land should be located contiguous or adjacent to the Chandramangalam land granted as Kudinikka-devadana,[46] in the 4th year of Parakesari by Mummidi Chola Ilangovel. The boundaries on the east, south and west were almost common between these two parcels. From the fact that the adjoining field owners had attested the transactions, it could be inferred that they were instrumental in bringing these lands under reclamation and wet cultivation, so that their own adjoining parcels may be cultivated without hindrance by cattle and with greater felicity. Besides their attestation served as evidence of the grant by adjoining land-owners. The evidence would also bring out that undoubtedly individual ownership and occupancy of lands were very much in vogue in Allur. But fields in the extremity, of inferior utility, and highlands of marginal productivity were still unreclaimed or unoccupied. The *urar* were assiduously trying to get them reclaimed and to bring them under cultivation by donating them to the temple of the township so that the necessary inputs or capital could be contributed by the temple or by other interested benefactors. The remission of land dues and customary obligations, on such lands, presumably by the *urar* taking them over was an incentive for such investments and reclamation activity. These customary obligations included excavation, and earth-work for embankment of the river (kulai) and putting a diversion across the river (Karappu-same as Korambu?) with palm and bamboo to divert river water flow into the channel head, and also repair work and channel clearance when the freshes flow (Sennir-vetti). The interest of adjoining landholders in such efforts was also evident by their attestation and response in auction-sale of such lands for reclamation.

In the 37th year (A.D. 944) of Parantaka I, the eleven in charge of the open head of the channel taking off the Cauvery river proclaimed in auction sale their land *Vettipperu* (apparently land endowed for labour and repair and maintenance work for the open-head) located in the north-eastern part of Allur village. The land had been laid waste for 6 to 7 years, and no crop irrigated by channel water was raised, and was dry, overcast with sand, as the earthen embankment or river-bund (Kulai) had been breached due to floods in Cauvery (which could have occurred in A.D. 937-38). They sought a buyer; Siriyan Pullan of Allur, responded to buy the land which was in 2 parcels, provided he could endow it as Devadana to the temple for food-offerings in the day-service.[47]

The boundaries of the lands sold were as follows :—

Parcel 1

East : West of the Padana vayakkal of Chandramangalam, which occurs as the western boundary of the land donated by the *urar* in the 18th year.[48]

South : North of the channel flowing eastwards.

West : East of Kaniyar field.

North: South of a field and of a eastward flowing channel.

The gradient was towards the east and channels taking off the river at higher level in the west were flowing parallel to the river course. This parcel and the one donated by Allur- *urar* in the 18th year should be lying on either side of Padana vayakkal Its extent was 7 *ma* or 2 acres 41 cents.

Parcel 2

The second parcel was called Kanavali-vayakkal. It lay to the north of the garden-wall of the Allur-nagarattar.

West : East of the old Devadana land.

North: South of 6 *ma* and 1-1/2 *ma* of lands.

Its extent was 3 *ma* or 99 cents.

The vendors agreed to be vigilant, were themselves to pay the land-dues on the two parcels sold.

The second parcel again should be lying adjoining the field endowed as Kudinikka-devadanam in the 4th year of Parakesari by Mummudi Chola Ilangovel[49] as the two have a common boundary.

It is not clear whether the field referred to as the western boundary of the field so granted in the 4th year of Parakesari is identical with the subject matter of this sale. This sale can be dated definitely in A.D. 944. If the inscription of the 4th year of Parakesari (No. 692) could be ascribed to the next Parakesari then it should be ascribed to A.D. 960 in the reign of Aditya II, i.e. some 16 years later. Perhaps in between Siriyan Pullan could have exchanged the land he had purchased from Talai-Vaccanror with another parcel he had acquired from the *urar* and endowed it to the temple as Devadana, to fulfill the professed intention of endowing the land with which he had purchased in auction this flood-damaged and sand-cast land.

What is most striking is the proximity and contiguity of the Kalar lands, and the sand-cast and flood-damaged lands and other reclaimable parcels at the north-eastern extremity of the township. The lands donated by the *urar* or sold by them or by the Talaivacanror or undertaken to be reclaimed by benefactors were all parcels of land of varying extents. But they were all located in the Sirukalanjeri dry uplands (tidal), or in the eastern part of Allur in Chandramangalam, on either side of the highway through which corpses were taken and to the north of the wall of the Nagarattar enclosing their garden. The initiative to bring such lands under reclamation sometimes was taken naturally by the adjoining landholders, like Siriyan Pullan, and Puliyan Parasuraman.

These inferences are further confirmed by the evidence of some more transactions of the 40th year (A.D. 947). In that year Arinjikai Pandan gave 10 *kalanju* of gold and he also reclaimed two parcels of land. One parcel of land which he had obtained from the *urar* themselves, deposting the tax-vigil amount to defray land-dues from its proceeds was reclaimed by him into a wet land and he endowed it to the temple. The extent was 1/2 *ma* or about 16-1/2 cents.[50]

The broad boundaries for the parcel were as follows:—

On the east : West of a garden

South : North of the field called Mungil-kal-sey.

West : East of the tail-end channel (an indication of the location of the parcel at the extremity of the township limits).

North : South of Manarkar-sey and the 2 *ma* of land to its west.

The second parcel which he reclaimed lay further across the above land, and it was in the dry upland of Sirukalanjeri. It already belonged to the deity. Arinjikai Pandan purchased it from the deity, reclaimed it and levelled down the plot and made it into a wet land. Its boundaries were:—

On the east: West of the deity's dry high level land. An indication that land was raised in its level further eastwards and reclamation and deepening was from west to east.

South: North of the deity's wet land

West: East of the lands held by the Ettis (chiefs/merchants) of Allur, and the lands belonging to dance-troupes and others.

North: South of the land of the Madhyasta (or the executive) of Allur, Nanurruvan Terri.

The extent of the parcel was 2 *ma* or 66 cents. In all the extent was about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *veli* or $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* or $82\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

From the above boundary description this parcel should be forming part of or located either north or south of the land endowed as Devadana by the Allur *urar* in the 17th year (A.D. 924) of Parantaka I.[51]

Four priests of the temple undertook to maintain the stipulated services from the proceeds of the gold deposit and the land. They apportioned the obligations in proportion to the share of the service every one of them had, and undertook to pay the interest on the gold deposit and the rental obligations for the lands.

About the same time, the same donor purchased some more dry high level lands from the Allur *urar*.[52] These lands were till then unyielding, and the vendee reclaimed them, and endowed them for 3 *sandies* of worship, and for the priests. The boundaries of these parcels were as follows:-

For the first parcel,

East: To the west of the highway leading to the river,

South: North of Chandramangalam wet lands,

West: East to the $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* of land of Chandramangalam,

North: South of the Chandramangalam wet lands.

The land reclaimed was about $\frac{1}{4}$ *veli* or 5 *ma* or 1·65 acres.

The second parcel was abutting this first parcel, and was also purchased from the *urar* of Allur; it comprised wet and garden lands. The boundaries were:-

East: West of the highway leading to the river,

South: North of the east flowing channel,

West: East of a reclaimed land (particulars of which are lost),

North: South of the Devadana lands.

The wet land was 1/16 or 1.25 *ma* or about 42 cents and there was also a garden.

A third parcel of wet land was called Kalliccey which was a dry land reclaimed by a temple-servant/executive, Idaivan Kani Kavidi. It was purchased from him by Arinjikai Pandan and freed from land dues by capitalising the amount. The boundaries were:—

East: West of the channel which flowed from the dry lands (into the wet field),

South: North of the Devadana land and channel of Kani Kavidikkudi, the vendor,

West: East of Sirukalamceri,

North: South of the east flowing channel.

This evidence attests the lands purchased from the *urar* or undertaken for reclamation from the Devadana lands were all located in the north-eastern portion of Allur, near Sirukalamcheri and Chandramangalam lands. They were all high level lands, sand-cast and dry. Benefactor-purchasers were reclaiming small portions within such high level lands wherefrom sand and earth could be moved out, and the levels could be lowered to form wet fields. The size of such fields varied from 1/16 *veli* to about 3/8 *veli*. The reclamation work was proceeding from west to east. To the east of the reclaimed wet parcels was the dry high level land. The highway from the habitat leading to the river was running to the east of the lands. Small parcel of lands, as far as feasible, lying contiguous to the already reclaimed lands with abutting boundaries on one or more sides were being deepened, casting away the sand, and converted into wet parcels. Where this could not be done, gardens, especially mango groves were being reared. In their very nature, the occupied holdings in this block of reclaimable land were comparatively few. Still there were a few.

In the 41st year of Parantaka (A.D. 948), a lady who was connected with Vira Chola Ilangovelar made a gift of a lamp-stand and also deposited gold with the *urar* of Allur, who undertook to pay interest in the form of paddy for maintaining the lamp service.[53]

The process of reclamation of lands had continued even after the time of Parantaka I. In the 3rd year of Rajakesari (Gandaraditya) Mayilai Tindan *alias*

Avantiyakopa Pallavarayan[54] of Pudukkudi in Urattur Kurram supplicated his chief, Vira-Chola Ilangovel *alias* Parantakan Kunjara Mallan and under his authorisation got donated from the *urar* of Allur and the *Nagarattar* of Allur some lands in the village. Tindan reclaimed the land, lowered its level, to enable wet cultivation and named the field after himself as Tindan Vayakkal. The boundaries of the field were as below :—

East : West of the channel flowing to Paluvur,

South : North and east of the wall enclosing the garden belonging to Sankarappadiyar (Oil-mongers),

West : East of the highway through which corpses were carried,

North : South of the channel which flowed from the east from Chandramangalam to irrigate the ayacut of Kilpanangadu.

The lands were granted on Devadana tenure. The lands included channel-fed wet land, dry and garden lands or where irrigated crops could be raised with rain-water or seepage or moisture (*Men-sey*). As they were unoccupied hitherto, and newly reclaimed the temple-priests were themselves to plough or cultivate these lands. That is to say, the temple-priests could have the lands ploughed by the temple-servants or induct tenants at will, and have the cultivation directly supervised. From the proceeds 2 lamps and I food-offering were to be provided to the deity.[55]

From the boundaries given the land so reclaimed and endowed could be located on the other side of the 1 *veli* of land granted in Kilur Chandramangalam across the highway for taking corpses to the river (endowed in the 4th year of Parakesari).[56] This latter lay to the west of the highway, while the parcel under reference lay to its east. The Nagarattar's garden-wall was the common boundary on the south, the highway was passing in between and the fields lay outside the wall.

In the 6th year of Rajakesari-Varman (Gandaraditya?), the donor Arinjikai Pandan (who had already made a few grants in the 40th year of Parantaka) again deposited 6 *kalanju* of gold with four temple-priests as detailed below :—

Arangan Anaikkavan	..	3 *kalanju*
Arangan Tirumerrali	....	1½ ,,
Uranarinjikai	....	1 ,,
Vidaman Karkadai	....	1 ,,
		6 *kalanju*

Against the interest on this amount, they agreed to bring water from the river Cauvery at 3 pots (the pot with a capacity of *Tuni* water) per day for the 3 Sandhis for the sacred bath of the deity. If remiss for 1 Sandhi, twice the stipulated quantity were to be brought, and if defaulted a fine of *manjadi* gold per day was to be paid, and yet the service would have to be continued.[57]

The recorded evidence from Allur epigraphs also attest the interest of several generations of Irukkuvel Chieftains who had made benefactions to the temple at Isanamangalam. Bhuti Aditya's second son, Adityan Tiruvorriyur-adigal *alias* Vira-Chola-Ilangovel had a wife, Gangamadeviyar Tippaykinrar. Her benefaction included a deposit of 20 *kalanju* made in the 3rd year of Parakesari for the Mahadvar shrine in the Allur-nakkan temple. Four priests of the temple undertook to maintain a lamp from the proceeds of a land ¼ *sey* (or 5 *ma* or 1 acre 65 cents in extent) which they agreed to reclaim into a wet land with the capital of 20 *pon* donated. The land to be so reclaimed was the deity's land in Sirukalamceri dry lands.[58] In the 4th year of Parakesari (Aditya II ? — if so, A.D. 960), Adityan Munayadarayan *alias* Mummudi Chola-Ilangovel, granted as Kudinikka-Devadana Iraiyili (Tax-free land endowed to the temple, without extinguishing the subsisting tenancies) 1 *veli* of land in a block called Chandramangalam located on the eastern part of Allur wet lands. This donor was the third son of Bhuti Aditya *alias* Sembiyan Ilangovel, and brother-in-law of the donor above, Gangamadeviyar. He addressed the Brahmadeya elders and the Nattar of Uraiyur kurram to give effect to this grant, and demarcate by boundary stones and planting prickly pear the 1 *veli* of land and proclaim the grant. By the order of the local officer, (Anatti = Agnapti), Avantiyagopa-Pallavarayar this was given effect to by the elders of the Brahmadeyas and the Nattar. The boundaries of the 1 *veli* so granted were as follows :—

East : To the west of the highway through which corpses were taken to the river from the Allur nagaram; the township-part occupied by merchants. The road should be running north-south, the river Cauvery flowing to the north of the habitat-

South : To thc north of the enclosing wall of the Nagaram of Allur.

West : To the east of the following :—

Pidariyar Tudavai field (field owned by Pidariyar or endowed for Pidari shrine); and the land granted to this deity as *devadana* got in exchange by Siriyan Pullan from the *urar* of Allur for the land which he had purchased from Allur Talaivayar (i.e. the owners of the land at the head-reaches or those in charge of the channel-head) and gave to the *urar* as a substiute; the tank belonging to the deity; and 4 *ma* of land of Chandramangalam.

North : South of the east flowing channel.

Within the block of land so demarcated, 4 *ma* of land had already been purchased from Allur *urar* by Arinjikai Pandan, a resident of the township and he had reclaimed the land and endowed it for the priests (yogiyar) who were performing daily worship for this deity and this parcel was excluded (puramaha). The residual 1 *veli* was granted as Kudinikkadevadanam and hence the Allur *urar* or agriculturists having already occupancy rights were themselves to plough and cultivate the land and per year they were to measure 120 kalams (at the rate of 6 kalams per *ma*) at the temple courtyard by the measure, Sulakkal. No free irrigation—servicing labour (sennirvetti) was to be contributed, but they could irrigate the land with the water. Nor any customary labour obligations were to be demanded.[59] It may be surmised that Siriyan Pullan unable to reclaim the sand-cast flood-affected lands he had purchased, exchanged it with the *urar* for an already-occupied land from which the share of the stipulated landdues at 6 kalam per *ma* were made payable to the temple, as this would fulfil his intention better and quicker and perhaps at lesser cost.

In the 4th year of Parakesari, Vira Chola Ilangovelar *alias* Orri Madhurantakan, the grandson of Bhuti Aditya, and son of Adityan Bhuti granted 1 *veli* of land as Kudinikkiya-devadana, i.e. as devadana land, extinguishing the subsisting tenancy/occupancy rights. The grant was one half for making food offerings, with ghee, and curds, and betel, and the other half for 3 (Adigal) devotees who sang Tiruppadiyam. This epistle of the Chieftain was given effect by Allur *urar*. Apparently this 1 *veli* had some earlier occupants whose rights were extinguished, so that the grantees could stipulate their own terms or cultivate the land themselves directly or induct others as new tenants on agreed terms.[60]

In the 17th year of Parakesari, Tiruvorriyur-Adigal had again purchased from a number of individuals (Tanikkudigal) Brahmin holders, and their coparceners dry and wet lands and these lands were abutting the habitat near the channel-head (Talaivacceri), and south of the embankment for the river called Karikalakkarai. Was the embankment named after Karikala, the legendary Chola who built embankments for Cauvery or Aditya II who had the title of Karikala? The inscription is full of gaps and unfinished. These were purchases made and recorded by the Sabhayar of Kudalur, a Brahmadeya of Uraiyur Kurram two years after the purchase.[61]

In the 12th year of Rajakesarivarman, the *urar* of Allur sold an irrigated wet land Kurukkatti-mahani (1/16 *veli* ?) for an agreed price to the temple for a new foodoffering service. The boundaries of the land were:—

East : West of Alinji-vilai (a dry land?—*vilai*)

South: North of Kurukkatti 2 *nia*,

West : East of Sattirapulam,

North: South of Kilangurai mukkani.

It could be inferred that except on its east where there was a dry land, lands had been converted to wet on all the 3 sides.[62]

In the 17th year of Madurai-Konda Rajakesari (Sundara Chola) (*circa* A.D. 973-4?) two priests of the Temple received 3 *kalanju* of gold from a few depositors.[63]

In the reign of Rajaraja I the cash deposits were increasingly made as below:—

Year	*Donor*	
5th year	On behalf of Parantakadeva son of Vira Chola Ilangovel *alias* Orri Madhurantakan.[64]	30 *kalanju* of gold on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.
Regnal year 20th (A.D. 1005)	By a lady of (Vira?) Narayanpuram and 2 other grants.[65]	30 *kalanju* for feeding a Brahmin well-versed in the Vedas.
22nd year (A.D. 1007)	Deposit by the wife of Madhurantaka Ilangovelan.[66]	30 *kalanju* for feeding a Brahmin well-versed in the Vedas.

The township is described as Devadana Brahmadeya Tiruvadakudi and the Sabhayar undertook to implement this charity. The interest rate was 1 kalam of paddy per *kalanju* of gold per year.

In the 27th year (A.D. 1012) Arinjikai Vunnaval, an oil-monger reclaimed 1/4 *veli* or 5 *ma*, scooped the earth, and made it fit for irrigated wet cultivation. The *kadamai* due to the temple was 6 *kalams* per *ma* per year. The donor was one of the Sankarappadiyar of Allur *nagaram*. He also instituted a hunting festival in a garden named after himself for which he reclaimed 1/2 *ma* of land. Among the services provided for were the singing of Tiruppadiyam.[67] He was perhaps, one of the few delivering oil to the inner *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple for lamp services.

Even in the reign of Rajendra I in the 4th year, (A.D. 1066) reclamation work was still undertaken, A benefactor Sendan Tirunilakantan of Vanarkurai Kimakkani, a Brahmadeya in Kilar-Kurram purchased 1/4 *sey* or 5 *ma* (1.65 acres) from the temple, and reclaimed it from the state of sand-cast high level dry land in which he had purchased it. He endowed it for feeding a Brahmin.[68] To the east of this reclaimed field there was a mango grove.

In the same year, other members of the same family, Senand Vikramakesari, Accadipadara, Kavali who were elder to Tirunilakantan and their mother Vikramakesari Ponni, deposited 5 *kalanju* of gold and from its interest of 6 kalams, 5 Brahmins were to be fed by the Sabhayar of Tiruvadakkudi.[69] There was a similar charity made in the 13th year, and this was undertaken for implementation by the Devakanmies and the Tiruvadakkudi Sabhayar jointly.[70]

In the reign of his successor Rajadhiraja the Royal official for the survey and settlement of Keralantakavalanadu in which Tiruvadakkudi was located, installed a Uma-Skanda-Sahita Image, Nilivanavitankar, and also Pasupati-devar and provided for special services.[71]

In the 27th year (or 37th ?) of that ruler (A.D. 1045 or 1054-5), the king confirmed the supervisory privileges over the temple granted already by his father, i.e. Rajendra Chola, to one Ambalattadi Tirunavakkarayan and his descendants, who were reciting Tevaram and Tiruppadiyam and attached to the local matha. He was to be given Tuni paddy per day as Matabhogam from the temple treasury. He was also authorised to appoint and change all the several temple servants, including the Sivabrahmana priests of the temple.[72]

A separate shrine for the goddess was added in the second *prakara* and provision was made by a Kaikola (weaver) attached to the temple' Avattukkattan. He took up a Devadana Tirunamattukkani land 10 *ma* in extent (3 acres 30 cents) and he applied his own capital and that of his relatives and engaged hired labour and reclaimed the land. But the Kadamai on the land was to be paid from the treasury of the goddess.[73] This was in the 37th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1205). The township was still in Urattur Kurram but the Valanadu was renamed as Rajagambhira-valanadu.

The last inscription to be noticed is in the 29th year of Pandya Maravarman Kulasekhara.[74] In that year, a merchant of Viranarayana-puram (a part of the township), Prumanrur Kilavan Mudali Vijayapalan Tirunavukkavudayan gave a grant of land to the temple. The boundaries given indicate that there were a number of private holdings, and also the lands were located just outside the habitat of the Cettis or merchants.

East : To the west of the ground in front of the Pillayar Temple entrance located on the western side of the Cetti Street (facing east?),

West : East of the Devadana land,

South : North of the Pillayar Temple and the levelled and even frontage (Sevvai),

North : South of the temple of Pidari Mandapamudayal.

Another long strip he gave was running all along the backyard of the Cettis Street to its north.

On its east : West of the frontage of the western ridge of a field Tiruvennaval vayakkal.

North : South of the wet lands of this deity.

South : North of 7-1/2 *kol*-length strip.

West : East of the land already endowed as Devadana by their ancestors.

The grant was made with rights to wells, trees and easements, public channels and all the rights due to the share.

A SUMMING UP

This history of the reclamation of lands is very striking for the repetition and intensity of the effort. They were all concentrated in the north-eastern extremity of the township close to the river bund. The lands were either *Kalar* (alkaline) or saline soil near Sirukalamjeri or highland (Tidal) near Chandramangalam. This part of the lands of the township being close to the river had also been damaged due to the breach in the Cauvery embankment in about A.D. 937-938 and the lands became sand-cast and highground. This was a natural phenomenon when Cauvery and its tributaries had not been dammed, and the drawal was only through open-head channels into which water was diverted through korombo works or temporary hedges annually or periodically raised by customary obligation. Also the river was running in embankments, (Kulai) raised by customary labour and this could have been breached due to the pressure and velocity of freshes of the river, and due to the sandy/porus nature of the soil especially in the earthwork. Even today the areas near-about Cintamani, further east of this township are prone to such flood-damages. Hence, they had become unfit for wet cultivation, and the river channels and field channels had silted up and had fallen into disuse. The sand-cast lands were at best used for dry or growing garden trees like mangoes and coconut palms.

These lands naturally had not been coveted and individual occupancy in such lands was very limited. The *urar* were intent on reclaiming these lands, and so were the few holding still some parcels in the adjoining fields and were making efforts to clear the sand, and bring back the lands to wet cultivation. The *urar* took every opportuntity to donate the lands themselves to the deity or sell the lands to the benefactors eager to make provisions for services. The local chieftains also assigned such lands or dues therefrom to the temple. Such lands endowed to the temples were also purchased or otherwise rendered tax-free by making the tax-vigil deposit with the *urar*. This should have been a welcome relief as the collective obligations of the *urar* had to bear themselves otherwise, got reduced. They also sometimes responded by relieving such reclamation effort and the vendees of the customary obligations to contribute labour for embankment strengthening, Korambu work for channel-heads, and silt clearance and re-forming channels when the freshes were received (sennirvetti). The deposit yield they had and the collective contribution of the township could easily take care of such micro-effort that was otherwise enforceable by the township on individual occupants.

Even so, the parcels brought under wet were small in extent varying from 1 *veli* at the largest to 1/16 *veli* and in one instance 1/2 *ma* or 16-1/2 cents. The rest of the lands were still retained as garden or growing dry or irrigated dry crops with rain water where channel-water could not flow due to the high level. The wet parcels lay where there were depressions formed within the block where gradient was favourable, and contiguous to the lands already reclaimed or growing wet crops. The following tabulation as far as is ascertainable of the extents of lands specified as wet in the inscriptions will bear out this inference.

S.I.I. Volume VIII

No. 684 Land purchased from Isanamangalam.

No. 695 Sirukalanjeri—Kalar land. Extent not availabte.

No. 696 Near Tidal

No. 689 High land. Laid waste for 6 to 7 years due to flood:

Extent reclaimed: (a) 7 *ma* = 2.31 acres

(b) 3 *ma* = 0.99 ,,

No. 698 (a) 1/2 *ma* = $16\frac{1}{2}$ cents

(b) 2 *ma* = 66 ,,

No. 690	1/4 *sey* = 5 *ma*	=	1.65 acres
No. 692	1 *veli*	=	6.60 ,,
	1 *veli*	=	6.60 ,,

No. 687 Not available.

Rajaraja Kesari

No. 688	1/16 *veli* (?)	
	1.25 *ma*	= 42 cents

Rajaraja I

No. 681	1/4 *veli*	
	5 *ma*	= 1.65 acres
No. 677	1/4 *veli* = 5 *ma*	= 1.65 ,,
		22.79 acres

The ascertainable total extent of reclaimed wet extent comes to only 22 acres 70 cents.

It is quite likely some of these items might be double reckoning, as the lands endowed as *Devadana*, were either taken up for reclamation or purchased by individual benefactors. Allowing for this possibility, the net extent could have been far less. Also 1 *veli* of land in two cases were the grant made by the Irukkuvel Chieftains. In one case what was granted was only the Kadamai or land dues shares at 6 *kalams* per *ma* and the lands were already occupied by individuals. In the other case the subsisting tenancy rights were extinguished. And in the analysis and interpretation made above, it would only have implied in all possibility a fresh engagement between the temple and the erstwhile tenants of the village at the revised terms stipulated by the temple. Both the extents were already oecupied.

These efforts at reclamation recognisably commenced in Parantaka I's time and continued in fuii vigour in the succeeding reignr of Gandaraditya, Parantaka II, Aditya II, even upto the reign of Rajaraja and Rajendra. But the repetitive intensity of experience in reclamation efforts noticed in the eight decades of the 10th century (A.D. 913-980) was tapering off, as could be seen from the lessening sampling afforded by later recorded evidence.

The analysis would lead to the following conclusions:—

(1) This reclamation effort was in a localised block of lands at the north-eastern extremity of the township. On account of its proneness to floods, nay, the actual flood-damages suffered in A.D. 937-38, and the inherent infertility of the soil due to saline clayey or alkaline content, the individually occupied holdings in this block were far and few between. Hence the block was held in common by the *urar*. Bui they assiduously made efforts

to reclaim them progressively inducting occupancy tenants and reduce their own liability. Even so, there were individual occupants near about, and such occupancy was slowly increasing.

(2) What could be true of the conditions in this block approximately 23 acres in extent, as far as ascertainable, prior to the induction of occupants need not and cannot be true of the township as a whole.

(3) The collective holding of the township cannot be predicated of the rest of the lands, as there is enough evidence from the boundary descriptions of individual occupation of lands in this block in Allur. At any rate this block cannot be the sole true and representative sample of the general nature of the holding of the township.

This caution is all the more necessary because the recorded evidence available pertain necessarily only to the temple-held or endowed lands and as such affords only proof of a segment of the lands held.[75]

(4) The inference that collective ownership of land was more prevalent in Allur than in Isanamangalam will be thus vitiated by both sampling and non-sampling errors.

(5) A sharp contrasting of the nature of land holding as between the *ur*/and the Brahmadeya villages is even less sustained. As already brought out, there were lands even in Isanamangalam held by the Sabha in common but at that point of time (first half of the 10 century) more of such lands had become occupied in the Brahmadeya villages than in Allur. At any rate there were no flood-damaged block of land or lands inherently infertile and hence having no takers for cultivation as in Allur[76] evidenced in the epigraphs from Isanamangalam, and this could, perhaps, explain the lesser extent of the lands held in common

(6) Again, the temple-held lands (Koilar nilam) and the township-held lands cannot be dichotomously classified nor contrasted. The temple itself could be one of the holders in the township, and the constituents of the township community could be occupants under it besides having their own lands assessed to land-dues. There could also be uncultivated or unreclaimed lands belonging to the temple or the township. The temple's claim was for the produce or the assigned share of the produce. Its rights could vary from the full appropriation of produce where the lands were directly cultivated by it engaging tenants-at-will (for which there is some basis for inference from the inscriptions in Allur) under the supervision of the temple authorities to only receiving the stipulated share of the land-dues assigned by the Chieftain from the Kudi-nikka Devadana lands. The quantum of their rights could only be ascertained with reference

to the content of the grant and what was conveyed to the temple in each case or the share of the produce stipulated in the engagements between the temple and the tenants who undertook to reclaim or cultivate the lands.

The tenures on which lands were held in a township, whatever be its type, had varied characteristics with duality or multiplicity of interests, which could be discerned on a study of their characteristics, location and history in detail. It will be hazardous to typify from available evidence a monotype pattern of tenure, especially when the available evidence can at best be only segmentary. It is to the credit of Prof. Karashima that he is fully aware of the need for this caveat to be entered. The attempt made above to analyse and reconstruct the tenurial composition of the lands based. on the totality of the available evidence would only reinforce this need and set the facts in perspective.

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1. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, Vol. III, No. 2 (June 1966).
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII-619.
3. *Ibid.*, 126
4. ,, 626.
5. ,, 228-229, No. 96.
6. ,, No. 615.
7. ,, No. 630.
8. ,, No. 617.
9. ,, No. 621.
10. ,, No. 608.
11. ,, No. 605.
12. ,, No. 618.
13. *Op. cit.*, No. 630 – Ammangudi is a hamlet of Andanallur (Village No. 14 of Tiruchirapalli, Tk.)
14. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 605, 618.
15. Was this identical with the land purchased by her from Vacciyan Titta Narayanan (See *op. cit.*,–605) and endowed for a lamp service.
16. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 623.
17. *Ibid.*, No. 620.
18. ,, No. 631.
19. ,, No. 604.
20. ,, No. 602.
21. ,, No. 601.
22. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 627.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 632
24. ,, No. 616.
25. ,, No. 603.
26. ,, No. 624.

27. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 609.
28. See above, *Ibid.*, 630.
29. *Ibid.*, No. 607.
30. ,, No. 630.
32. ,, No. 612. The term "vagai-seyvar nikka svamibhogam" could bear another interpretation, alternatively, as "the svamibhogam or share of land-ownership extinguishing the rights of those on whom it was settled previously."
33. *Ibid.*, No. 629.
34. ,, No. 633.
35. ,, No. 636.
36. ,, No. 634.
37. ,, No. 635.
38. P.I. 631.
39. *Ibid.*, No. 613, Fragment 3.
40. ,, No. 606.
41. ,, No. 622.
42. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 684. Was the donor the wife of Rashtrakuta Kannaradeva who figures as the donor of one lamp service in the 15th year of Parakesarivarman to the deity at Tiruvalandurai Perumal in the neighbouring township of Andanallur ? (Ibid., No. 665).
43. *Ibid.*, No. 695.
44. See *infra Ibid.*, No. 690.
45. *Ibid.*, No. 696.
46. Please see *infra*, 692. This is also confirmed by No. 689 noticed below.
47. *Ibid.*, 689.
48. *Op cit.*, 696.
49. *Infra* 692.
50. *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, No. 698.
51. *Op. cit.*, 695.
52. *Ibid.*, No. 699.
53. ,, No. 686.
54. He has instituted a lamp service in Kudumiyamalai in the 23rd year of Parakesarivarman. (Please see p. 70 of author's *Studies in Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai*) (P.I. 70, *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, No. 436).
    In a record of the 4th year of Parakesarivarman he also figures as the executive (Anatti - corrupt for, Agnapati) of Mummudi-Chola-Ilangovelan *alias* Adityan Munayadarayan, the third son of Bhuti Aditya, a cousin of Parantakan Kunjaramallan *S.I.I.*, Vol VIII, No. 692.
55. *Ibid.*, No. 694.
56. See *infra*, No. 692.
57. *Ibid.*, No. 697.

58. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 690.
On the genealogy of Irukkuvels, please see *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, page (x) and Appendix 'B' (Tables I to III) to the Author's Study on Kudumiyamalai in his "*Studies in Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai*" (Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, Government Publication).
Also No. 129 in *S.I.I.*., Vol. XXIII at pp. 101-2.

59. *Ibid.*, No. 692.

60. S.I.I. Vol. VIII, No. 687.
The interpretation of the term "Kudinikki" is fully borne out from the clear evidence in S.I.I Vol. VIII, Nos. 668 & 669 from the adjoining township of Andanallur. In the 11th year of Ko Parakesari, Sembian Irukkuvel *alias* Bhuti Parantakan (son of Bhuti Vikramakesari) supplicated his Chola King (Parantaka I) for 3 *velis* of wet land to be granted as Kudinikkiya devadanam in the holdings of Andavanallur. At 120 kalams per *veli*, the paddy per year to be measured out was 360 kalams. However, in the 18th year the Chola King directed Arayan Vira-Cholan shall be inducted as an unextinguishable tenant (Kudinikka devadanam) or that he need not be dispossessed but may be inducted as a tenant bearing the obligation to measure the dues to the temple. Accordingly Sembian Irukkuvel directed his executor the Tinai (Revenue Officer) of Urattur to give effect to it. On this revised basis, the paddy to be measured out was 180 kalams and 120 kalams or in all 310 kalams (SIC). But the customary water-rights were to be enjoyed without obligations of free labour (No. 668). Perhaps, the difference of 50 kalams were left to be appropriated by Arayan Vira Cholan so inducted. 7 years later (25th year) this Arayan Vira-Cholan reinducted the *urar* of Andavanallur as tenants into the 3 *velis* of lands on the same terms as he had tenanted and enjoyed (and released the lands Vittukudutten), No. 669, ibid).

This episode makes it clear that when the subsisting tenancies were extinguished the grantor or the grantee was free to stipulate fresh terms and these were more favourable to the temple which could stipulate a higher share of produce at 360 kalams for 3 *velis*. Subsequently, a Chieftain at the instance of the King himself, had been inducted as an inextinguishable tenant and the land-dues assigned to the temple were reduced to 310 kalams. He, in his turn, had conveyed his rights of inextinguishable tenancy to the *urar* of the township who perhaps were still in *de facto* possession and cultivating the lands and had successfully got themselves reinducted into the lands though as sub-tenants under the principal tenant Arayan Vira-Cholan, but on more favourable terms of inextinguishability and lower share or yield-dues to the temple on which the Chieftain had been inducted and which he transferred *in toto* to the *urar*. The use of the word "Vittukkudutten" perhaps, implied that he had relinquished his claim and released the tenancy over the 3 *velis* in favour of the *urar* who were not reconciled, presumably, to the extinguishment of their rights. They seem to have had their way, at last, and somewhat on more favourable terms than what they would have had to tenant for if the lands were held directly under the temple.

That the tenants under the Koilar need not be persons altogether different from the other constituents of the township is clinched by the evidence from Tiruvidaimarudil (No. 203 in S.I.I. Vol. III at p. 381). In the 4th year of Parakesari who took the head of the Pandya one interesting dispute arose. Tiraimur was a Devadana Brahmadeya village endowed for the deity. A royal officer enquiring into the affairs of the temple found that the Pancavara dues to the temple were stipulated at 256 kalams but actually only 160 kalams were being measured by the Sabhayar (the Brahmin landholders of Tiraimur, Brahmadeya portion). The plea set up was Tiraimur the grant-village had the subsisting rights of tenants which were not extinguished (Kudinikkiccilaienru). On a verification with the original grant by which Tiraimur was made a Devadana, it was found to be *Kudinikki* (i.e. the tenants' rights were extinguished and they had entered into a new engagement (*adaiolai*). Accordingly the Pancavara was to be measured by the Brahmin landholders at 256 kalams, i.e. an increase of 60./. This would bring out the arduous condition of Kudinikki Tenure *vis-a-vis* Kudinikka Devadana Tenure. The gross total land dues also were correspondingly revised from 40 kalams per *veli* to 140 kalams per *veli*. The grant-village was 20 *velis* in extent (Please see page 402 of "The Cholas", Vol. II, Part I by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri).

61. Ibid , No. 682.
62. ,, No. 688.
63. ,, No. 691.
64. S.I.I. Vol. VIII, No, 676.
65. Ibid., No. 678.
66. ,, No. 679.
67. ,, No. 681.
68. ,, No. 677.
69. ,, No. 674.
70. ,, No. 683.
71. ,, No. 680.
72. ,, No. 675.
73. ,, No. 685.
74. ,, No. 693.

72. This caution will be fully borne out if it is recalled that the total extent of the occupied/assessed lands in the township could be far more than the endowed lands on eleemosynary tenure.

Confer the analysis for some typical villages endowed for Brahadisvara Temple at Tanjavur in S.I.I. Vol. I, Part I ft. 1 at p. 66. Out of the total extent on 6 villages, lands free from taxes were roughly only 11·/. while lands assessed to land-dues were 89./ (7-3/4 *veli* and 63-2/20 and odd *velis*).

76. The block of lands under review based on the Allur Epigraphs could perhaps be located in S. No. 1-27 and 194 of the Village Map for Allur (Village No. 12, Tiruchirapalli Taluk).

NOTE :

I had the privilege of showing this paper prior to publication to Dr. Karashima and he very kindly appreciated the point of view projected in it. He has desired me to publish this paper. I am greatful to Dr. Karashima for the time he spent in perusing this paper, and for his kind courtesies.

APPENDIX

Extracts from Prof. Karashima's article on ALLUR AND ISANAMANGALAM in "*The Indian Economic and Social History Review*", Vol. III, No.1—March 1966.

(A) ON ALLUR

Page 153—Seven pieces of land out of eleven had belonged to the *ur* and two pieces to the talaivaccanrar. This is a sure indication that non-individual land holding was prevalent. In other words, the connection between land and an individual person seems to have been very weak in Allur.

(B) ON ISANAMANGALAM

Page 154—A striking difference between Allur and Isanamangalam can easily be recognised. In Isanamangalam more than half the pieces of land examined belonged to individual persons. The connection between land and an individual person is evidently strong in Isanamangalam and most of the land in the village was probably divided and held by individual persons who were presumably member of the *sabhai*. It cannot be denied, however, that some pieces of land were held in common by the members of the *sabhai* or *Parudai*.

(C) ON THE MODE OF CULTIVATION

Pages 158, 159 & 160—There are two other pieces of evidence on cultivation. No. 694 records the donation of reclaimed land to the temple. There is no phrase connected with tax. It cannot therefore be assumed that the land was exempted from tax. In any case, the donated object is land itself and in this inscription the phrase "isrikoyilp pattutaiyarkaley ulutu kontu" is found. "Koyilppattutaiyarkal" are temple priests or servants. The meaning of the phrase is, therefore, that the temple priests or servants should cultivate the land. Priests themselves do not usually cultivate, and therefore the land might be cultivated by the temple servants or more likely by agricultural labourers other than the temple servants. They were, however, certainly not the members of the *ur*, because if they had been the members of *ur*, the phrase "isrikoyilp ...." should have been replaced by the phrase "ure ulutukontu". No. 687 is the record of the grant to the temple by one of the Kodumbalur chiefs. The object granted is, however, land itself in this case and in this inscription there appears the phrase "Kutinikki" which means that the previous cultivators should be evicted. The land was obtained from the people of *ur*, and the previous cultivators who were to be evicted, therefore, must have been *ur* members. From these two evidences, it is clear that the cultivation of the land donated to the temple was not to be conducted by the

members of *ur*. Though there is no evidence in the inscriptions, the lands given to some persons as remuneration for their services were also presumably cultivated by some people other than the *ur* members. From the facts shown above, it is inferred that there must have been a group of agricultural labourers who were not the members of *ur*. Though they do not seemt to have been large in number, their very existence might be taken as an indication that social stratification was taking place to some extent in Allur.

(D) CONCLUSIONS

"It may be concluded that in Allur the land held by the members of *ur* in common was cultivated by them and that the other land which belonged to the temple, astrologers, dancers, etc., seems to have been cultivated by the people other than the *ur* members. The produce from the *ur* members land was divided into two parts, namely, the Government's share, and the land-holding cultivators' share, while the produce from the land held by the temple, astrologers, etc., must have been divided into three parts, namely, the Government's share, land-holders' share and cultivators' share.

"The interpretation that *ur* was an organisation for the village administration has not been faced with any contradiction throughout the argument above. Most of the land in Allur was held by the members of the *ur*, not individually but in common. Some land was held, however, by individual persons as the remuneration of their services for the villagers. Individual holding of land does not seem to have existed. The members of *ur* who were the land-holders appeared also as cultivators of their land and therefore the fundamental structure of the community of Allur seems not to have been stratified except to the extent that there were some agricultural labourers who were not the members of *ur*, and the stratification of this kind seems to have been going on to some extent.

The interpretation that *sabhai* was an organisation of the land holders for the village administration is quite compatible with what we read in the inscriptions of Isanamangalam. Many of the lands in Isanamangalam were held individually—most likely by the members of *sabhai*—though some land was held in common also by the members of *sabhai* or *parudai*. Anyway, individual land holding did exist there. The land holders and the cultivators were apparently different from each other and there existed, therefore, two strata in the community of Isanamangalam.

Isanamangalam and Allur were in the same locality and of the same period, but the characteristics of their social structure were quite different in many respects. This conclusion would be more important if it is considered that one of these two villages is brahmadeya and the other is non-

brahmadeya. To the extent that these two villages can be taken as the typical cases, the examination serves as a typological study, and many hypotheses might be proposed on the problems of the Chola power structure or the historical development of the Indian village community. These conclusions, however, must not be generalized too hastily. For Isanamangalam is only one example of the brahmadeya villages, and Allur, that of non-brahmadeya villages, This comparative study, therefore, should be considered as a preliminary approach to the question of characterizing the two types of the village communities and of analysing the historical implications of the typology."

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KANYAKUMARI

(A RECONSTRUCTION FROM EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE)

Kumari of Kumarimangalam[1] as this township at the land's end was known in the inscriptions, had figured in the accounts of the early foreign travellers of the first and second centuries A.D.

In ancient Tamil literature, Kumari has been the traditional frontier of Tamil Nadu and the *Tolkappiyam Payiram* has declared it to be so in the opening lines.[2]

The Pandyas seem to have had the distinguishing title of "*Kanni-kavalan*"[3]

It was also held as the sacred place for taking bath especially by maidens and married women who wanted to expiate and redeem their sins of unfaithfulness or immorality by taking a bath at Kumari. After the bath, they worshipped the Kumari Goddess. *Manimekhalai* refers in more than one place to Sali, a Brahmana woman from far off Varanasi, wife of a Vedic teacher who was unfaithful to him and afraid of the punishment for her sin, came to Kumari for bath to purify herself and get rid of her sin. The suggestion was obvious that the bath at Kumari was even more sacred and purifying than Varanasi and even sinners from Varanasi had to come to Kumari to expiate for their sins.[4]

Silappadikaram refers to Pahruli, a river and Kumari hills which the cruel sea had engulfed. The Paraliyar, flowing southwards from the ghats in this district still preserves the memory of this old river.[5]

The evidence from these literary sources, viz., *Silappadikaram*, *Manimekhalai*, and *Perungadai* can be attributed to about the 6th to 8th century A.D. It was quite likely that that was an age when there was a great deal of contact with, and migration from the Gangetic plain, and the sacred Tirtha at the southern tip of the land had attained universal recognition. It is interesting to note that Pandya Nedunjadaiyan, the Pandya ruler in his 17th year (773 A.D.) granted a village, Velangudi, after renaming it as Srivaramangalam a Village in Kalavali nadu that is in Sivaganga Taluk as Brahmadeya with *karanmai-miyatchi* as "*sarvaparihara*" (with all immunities) to Sujjata Bhatta, who had been well-versed in all Sastras and Yajna Vidya, son of the learned Suhu Misra (a Rigvedi Bahuvrasan of Bhargava-gotra, Asvalayana-sutra), a resident of Saptali, a Brahmana village in Magadha country.[6]

Later literary references continue to extol this traditional sanctity of Kumari and the merit of a bath at its ghat.[7]

But the earliest extant epigraphic evidence dates only to about the 9th century. In the 10th year of Pandya Maran Sadaiyan a Vellala, Murugan had endowed 25 ewes for a lamp service on Pushya asterik in the month of Tai (January-February).[8]

The evidence pertaining to the Chola times is more copious. In the reign of Kopparakesarivarman, a Velar of Kilar-nadu in Kilur-kurram endowed a lamp service to Kanya Bhatari.[9]

In the 15th year of Rajaraja I (1000 A.D.) Kumarimangalam, as the place was called, was included in Purattaya-nadu, in Rajaraja-valanadu. One Raja Marttandapperarayan *alias* Surai Sattan of Nattaravakkudi in the same *nadu* had endowed a lamp and 25 ewes which would yield 1/8 (*alakku*) measure of ghee per day for the lamp service. Narayanan, a resident of that township was entrusted with the ewes and he had to measure out the ghee. Surai Sattan also donated a bugle (*kalam* 6 *palam* in weight by the weighment rod - (*vellikkol*)[10] a balance in which the weights are noted by silver stripes for digits.

Purattaya-nadu has been taken to mean "a nadu which is outside the (Venadu) country. The country east of Kottar was known in the olden days as Purattaya-nadu or the country outside Venad".[11] This observation of Sri Vasudeva Poduval based on *Travancore State Manual* (1906), Volume, I, may perhaps, be open to doubt. For one thing, the most important township east of Kottar, Suchindram itself was located in Nanjil-nadu. The tract termed "Purattaya-nadu" was the coastal strip in Nanguneri Taluk and (Radhapuram sub-Taluk) and extended upto Kanyakumari, this tract was known for the external revenues (*purattu-ayam*) (as opposed to internal revenues *(ullayam*) from the brisk fishing, pearl fishing and commerce and trade in foreign imports that should have accrued to the State. It is perhaps, legitimate to trace the name to this significant feature of external revenues and it could mean "the tract which yields external revenues" and this term occurs right from early Chola times.

Next year (1001 A.D.), two merchants, Kudidanam Chetti and another Chetti by name Rajamarttandan gave fifty ewes for feeding a lamp with ghee in the temple.[12] Kon Korran was another donor who figures in a record of the 20th year. If the person of the same name occurring in Darsanam koppu (8th year) and Vadaseri (18th year) of Rajaraja I and in Terur (the 3rd year of Rajendrachola)[13] was identical, he must have been

an important person from Sirrarasur in Arakattu-kurram in the South bank, in Chola country, who came down to Nanjil-nadu in the wake of the Chola military expedition and expansion.[14]

A number of fragments dated in the 12th and 13th years of Rajaraja I are also noticed in the Kumari temple[15] and also in the Siva temple called Guhanathasvamin temple at Cape Comorin.[16]

The evidence dating to Rajendra I's reign is even larger. These are also found not only in the Goddess temple but also in the Chola temple (now dilapidated) called Rajarajisvaram-udaiyar, now called Guhanatha-svamin temple of Konerisvaramudaiyar. It is located at the very entrance to Cape Comorin at the junction of Valliyur-Kaval Kinar Cape Comorin road and the road from Suchindram.[17] The location of the township has also been described as in Purattaya-nadu in Uttama chola-valanadu in Rajarajapandi-nadu from Rajendra's record of 24th year (1036 A.D.) onwards.

Besides a few records of the 5th year, when early in his reign Rejendra I undertook the war against the Chera[18], a number of records are dated from 28th to 31st year (1040 to 1043 A.D.). This perhaps, was the period when there was recrudescence of trouble in the Pandya and the Chera country towards the close of his reign.[19] There are also records of the Chola-Pandya Viceroys, Jatavarman Sundara and Maravarman Vikramachola Pandya. From the data presented below the following conclusions can be drawn. There was a movement of a number of Vellalas from the Chola-mandalam to the South. Besides, a number of generals and garrison chiefs stationed in Nanjil-nadu also figure in the inscriptions. A maid servant of high status serving the emperor himself, and another from Paluvur serving the Queen Mukkokilanadigal have donated lamp services. Donors from as far as the south and north banks of the Cauvery or the Coleroon in Chola-mandalam and also some from within Nanjil-nadu, and also merchants therefrom and from the Pandya country are conspicuous. The garrison chiefs and the soldiery had taken the supplementary occupation of tending the gifted ewes or sheep and supplying ghee to the temple.

Kanyakumari had apparently different parts of Brahmana settlements named Kumarimangalam (near Kumari temple). Rajarajisvaram near Guhanatha or Konerisvaram-udaiyar temple was also known as Kalikudi perhaps because of the proximity to backwaters (kali) and had a merchants' residential area as Gangaikonda cholapuram. The epigraphic evidence is now set out in detail.

Rajendra I	To whom	Donor	Donation	Entrusted to whom
5th year[20] (1017 A.D.)	Kanyabhatarar	Sundaran-Nangaip-perumal of Chola-mandalam, Tenkarai.	25 ewes for 1 lamp for 1/8 measure of ghee per day by 1/4 measure called "Narayan"	Singan devan[21]
Do[22]		Peruman from Chola-mandalam Tenkarai. (fragment)		
24th year[23]	Guhanathasvamin (called Rajarajis-varam-udaiyar at Kumari)	Cholakulavalli of Palayur-Tittai in Puliyur-nadu in Arunmolideva valanadu, who is the Kitchen-maid, who served (*adum*) the food for the Emperor, Rajendrachola,	50 ewes	(Built in)
28th year[24] (1040 A.D.)		Appi Ponnandi, a Vellala of Madil-kuruchchi, in Mulli-nadu for the benefit of his	25 ewes	Meruda cholai, a Vellala of Kalik-kudi.

Rajendra I	To whom	Donor	Donation	Entrusted to whom
		younger brother, Appi Narayanan.		
28th year[25]		A dancing girl, Kandan Solai.	25 ewes for 1/8 measure per day.	Budan Ganavati. His surety Viyalan Sadayan.
29 th year[26] (1041 A.D.)	Guhanatha-svamin temple (Rajarajisvaram-udaiyar)	Sivajnana Bhataran *alias* ..... a Vellala of Kalikalachola-nallur *alias* Karungula-vala-nadu.	25 ewes	Isvaran Iluppai, a shepherd of Manarkudi in Nanjil-nadu. Surety Arangan Baladevan, resident of Manarkudi.
30th year[27] (1042 A.D.)	,,	A Vellatti, Adigal Appi, a donor from Tirukkurungudi in Nattarruppokku (identical with the famous Vaishnava centre of the name, in Nanguneri Tk.)		
31st year[28]	,,	Manarkkadan *alias* Naduvunila Danmachetti of	50 ewes for measuring	A garrison chief (Padaitta-

Rajendra I	To whom	Donor	Donation	Entrusted to whom
		Manalur on Vaigai banks in Rajarajapandi-nadu. (identical with Manalur in Sivagangai Tk on the south bank of Vaigai?)	1/4 measure ghee by the temple measure called Pavittira-manikkam.	laivan) Avayan Kavidi Surety a shepherd Arangan Maniyan.
	Other donors to Goddess Kumari temple for a lamp service were, the general (*Perundaram*) Somasi Amohava .....in service under Rajendrachola.[29] The (fifty) ewes which he had donated were taken over by the garrison leader (padaittalaivan) Anji Tidan and his chief Vidanan, undertaking to deliver *ulakku* ghee. One other donation was on behalf of an Arayan (chieftain) Pannanadi Merkkudaiyan of Vadagarai of Chola-mandalam.[30]			
Chola Pandya Jatavarman Sundara 10th year[31] (1033 A.D.)	Goddess Kumari shrine	Periyal Sangam, a maid-servant from Paluvur in Uttungachola-vala-nadu in the house hold retinue (*Ahaparivaram*) of	50 ewes for 1/8 measure per day ghee	Keralan Kuttu . . . devan . . . *alias* Solagan Pandi and Tamani Sattan.

Rajendra I	To whom	Donor	Donation	Entrusted To whom
		Mukkokilanadigal the queen (was the queen also a princess from the Chera family?)		
13th year[32]		A native of Gangai-kondacholapuram Karungulanadu.		
Chola Pandya Maravarman Vikrama.[33]	Goddess Kanya-bhatarar	Devan puvana-Tirumugavan, a resident of Kottar, *alias* Mummudichola-nallur.		N.A.
Vikrama-chola-Pandya.[34]	Bhagavati of Kumaraman-galam.	Tiruchchirrambalam-udaiyan-*alias* Perayarkudaiyan Narayanan of Alamulai in Mullaikkadu-nadu in Arumolideva-valanadu, in Chola-mandalam	1 kasu for (lamp?) service within the *garbhagriha* of the temple on (new moon) Amavasya day.	

A record of the 29th year[35] of the Chola Pandya ruler is significant. In that year the Perumakkal of Rajarajesvaram in Kalikkudi (i.e., the Brahmin residents near about the Konerisvarar temple in Kanyakumari) met on a Pushya nakshatra on a Tuesday in the *mukha mandapa* of that temple and made a collective transaction *(sabha karyam)*. A merchant of Kumari *alias* Gangaikondacholapuram by name Achchan Marrili *alias* Pendirundan had set up a shrine named after himself, Tiruppendisvaram, udaiyar. The residents, hence, honoured him *(Desam kuduttu)*. He had deposited a sum of 20 *kasu*, which he had collected through donations (*ivan paiyikshampukkut tedittanta*) for defraying the food-offerings of the new shrine. The *Perumakkal* - the Mahajanas - (translated thus in Tamil) could refer to the Brahmin residents-used the deposit of 20 *kasu* for repairing the Konadarkulam, in Jayangonda chola nallur in Nanjil-nadu which was a *devadana* tank of Rajarajesvaramudaiyar temple and had been breached by a heavy flood and was not able to hold the storage; its supply channel had also to be relaid. The *Sabhaiyar* hence repaired the tank, and re-excavated a canal straight along (or in continuation of) the branch channel taking off from the [Ta] laikkudi channel with this amount. (" . . . . . *laikkudi Kalininrum ponda ner kavare kal kallavum.*") From the yield in years of successful cultivation under this renovated tank they agreed to deliver per day 2 *nali* rice for the food offerings for the new shrine set up by the merchant. The temple accountant (*devakkanakkan*) Arayan Kunran wrote the deed.

Further evidence is available pertaining to the reigns of his two sons, Rajadhiraja and Rajendra II. It may be recalled Rajadhiraja had carried the war into the Chera territory, and put to death the vanquished Chera ruler and also conquered Kupaka country identified with Venad around Quilon and liberated its prince *Kupakattarasai sevagam tulaitu)*. The King of Venad was also killed and Kandalur-salai was again sacked.[36]

A series of records of the 30th and 31st year of Rajadhiraja[37] refer to the arrangements made for a water-dispensing shed set up near Rajarajes-varam-udaiyar temple, and also for maintaining a feeding-place *(salai)* for students learning the Vedas.

The water-pandal was set up by Ayyanambi *alias* Tenmangalakalaman, a minister of the Chola emperor.[37] The donor also arranged for the supply of 10 *nalis* of paddy from Manarkudi for defraying the expenses for distribution at the shed.[38]

In the 31st year of Rajadhiraja[39], the temple authorities of Sri Rajarajis-varam at Kumari Kalikkudi sold a piece of land to the Narpattennayiravar. The plot had the following boundaries:—

To the south of the circumambulating wall running to the south of the temple of Aiyappan Vediya Sasta, who was pleased to be installed on the south eastern side of the temple of Rajarajesvaramudaiyar; To the north of Uttamacholappereri, about 10 feet in width ; To the west of the highway which ran on the eastern bund of the Uttamacholappereri ; The highway which was passing from Kumari to Chakratirtha, about 12 feet in length ; The eastern boundary is not given ; perhaps the plot abutted the temple wall.

The vendees could erect a water-shed called Jayangondacholan within this plot. They could raise a grove and a pandal, within (*kavanam)*, and fence the plot within these boundaries, and raise fruit-bearing or yielding trees within. They received the agreed sale price which is not stipulated. The accountant of the deity, Arayan Kandan wrote the deed. The total area of the plot should be 120 sq, yds. (12× 10).

Apparently the Chola minister had set up the water shed at the junction of two highways. It was located at the junction of the Valliyur-Kaval Kinar-Kumari road. The *chakratirtham* referred to is a tank, though dilapidated still noticed on the southern side of Nagercoil-Kumari road near the dilapidated Guhanathasvami temple. Uttamacholappereri is an old abandoned tank beside the Konerisvarar temple (as Rajarajesvaram or Guhanathasvamin temple is now called). The *Narpattennayiravar* (48,000) referred to are identical with a body of Siva Brahmanas or Panmahesvaras who were widely distributed including Srilanka.[40]

These Panmahesvaras had received a signed deed from the Manarkudi *urar* to supply (paddy) from lands endowed as *salabhogam* for Rajarajan=salai at Kumari which was also located to the south of the Sasta temple referred to above at the south- eastern corner of Rajarajesvaramudaiyar temple. The details are, however, lost.

The *salai* was distinct from the water-pandal referred to earlier. It becomes evident further from the inscription of the 30th year of Rajadhiraja[42] The *salai* is here named as Srivallabhapperunjalai *alias* Rajarajapperunjalai at Kalikkudi. Perhaps this *salai* had existed even earlier than Rajadhiraja's time and was renamed after Rajaraja and had continued to exist. The salt pans called Mahipalakulakalapperalam at Manarkudi[43] had been in default in tendering the salt at the fractional rate stipulated against the total yield as 'royalty' and assigned to the *salai (kaiyurai-kollum uppu)*. This was supplicated to the king for revival by one Pavitramanikkattar-agapperarayan *alias* Arikulakesari of Tittai, who was a yeoman of the queen's palace, and keeper of the royal *insignia* serving Ulagudayapirattiyar, the queen of Rajadhiraja *(Pirattiyar Tiruppallittongaludaiyan)*.[44] He brought forth a royal epistle

addressed to those who regulate and subdivide *(kuruseyvar)* the salt pans in Rajaraja tennadu and those who superintend the collection of dues *(kankani-seyvar)* therefrom. The king stated that it was reported to him that in earlier years, from the salt produced and distributed *(selavu)*, the *salai* was provided for, by a *nali* salt per *kalam* of production (i.e., 1/96) as the share of the royalty allocated to it, and that this share payable to the *salai* was not being remitted or permitted by these officials (*Vidukalirenru kettom kottom)*. The king ordered that, if that was the case, the officials should restore the (assigned) share of salt to the *salai* for its customary enjoyment. *Tirumandira olai* Sembi-yan Ten..nnattukkonar transmitted the royal order and conveyed it.

The Manarkudi *urar* also had received a deposit of 30 *kasu* and agreed to measure out paddy every year from the 31st year (of Rajadhiraja ?) to the *Sattap perumakkal*, i.e., the elders or guardians or teachers of the students in the *salai*. The *ur-karanattan*, Maran-Madhurantakan wrote the deed and attested it.[45] There was also a grant of ewes for a lamp service by a donor whose name is lost.[46]

An order of Rajendra II dated in his 4th year (1057 A.D.) is significant.[47] It was issued from his couch called Kaduvetti in Keralan-maligai in the palace at Gangaikondacholapuram. The order has three constituents. It allocates the revenue and *antaraya* (payable in cash) from the villages from which already the main land demand (*kadamai*) had been assigned to the respective institutions.

(I) For celebrating the Hasta asterisk, the natal star of one of his queens, Kilanadigal, and for festivals for the goddess on that day, the proceeds from the following levies due from the *devadana* villages of Kanyabhattariyar were granted : *Ur-kalanju*, (fee for testing gold). *Kumara kachchanam* (marriage-levy ?), *min-pattam* (fishing-lavy) included *kilirai* and (ii) *pattam moram*, *Ilaivaniyap pattam* (the lease amount of levy on betel-leaf growers), *tingal-kasu* (cash for particular days or months) *kalalavu-pattam* (levy on measuring liquid measures), *padikkaval-kuli* (watch and ward fee), *kal-kuli* (fee for measuring grain), *kol-kuli* (for measuring linear measurements or survey of lands), *attup pattam* (lease-levy on sheep), *permudalayam*, *taragu-kuli* (fee for brokerage) included *antaraya* dues as levied on occupied holdings *(karai-kudalai-varuginrapadi)*

(2) Besides *Ur-kalanju*, *Kumara kachchanam*, *min-pattam*, *tari irai (*tax on looms), *tattarap-pattam* (levy on goldsmiths) included *Kilirai*

(b) *Ilaivaniyap pattam*, *kalalavu pattam*, *padik kaval*, *attup pattam*, *Permu-dalayam*, (*taragu) kuli* included *antarayam* from the *devadana* villagers of Rajarajesvaramudaiyar granted for the provisions required for the deity.

(3) The yield from the *antaraya* items (similar to the above) from the villages held as *salabhogam* by the Rajarajan-salai also were granted as additional income for the *sala*.

The record is signed by as many as 105 royal officials in the revenue hierarchy. The designation of the officials signing the royal order are as follows:

Tirumandiraolai:	Chancellor who conveys the order.
Opputtupugunda Kelvivari:	The attestor of the royal order being entered in the Revenue account.
Udan Kuttattu Adigarigal :	The officers attending on the king.
Vidaiyil Adigarigal :	The correspondent-officers.
Ulvari-Tinaikalattukkankani:	The superintendents who supervise the Revenue Accountants/Administrative Officers of the original accountant.
Puravari-Tinaikalam:	The Superintendent of the Field Revenue Officers or officers who maintain field revenue accounts.
Varipottagam :	The keeper of the Revenue-demand Register.
Mugavettu:	(The endorser of the addressee or despatcher?)
Varipottaga Kanakku:	Account of the tax-registers.
Variyilidu:	Registrar of the tax-register.
Ātchippattamum Kaiperal Kadamaiyum Kadamai-Eluthum:	The officers writing the accounts for the enjoyers of *pattam* amounts assigned and the *kadamai* dues from each occupant.
Puravuvari Tinaikala-nayagam:	The chief of the superintendents of the field accountants.

The inferences that flow from the data are (l) in the first instance only a part assignment of the dues which should have constituted the main land-revenue dues (*kadamai*) was conveyed and not the whole proceeds and levies due from the devadana villages. *Kilirai* or supplemental revenues and *antaraya* (usually) cash levies from within the assigned townships or dues from various professions or occupation or cesses were retained with the king which were subsequently granted to the three donees. the Kumari goddess, the Rajarajesvaramudaiyan and the *salai* named after Rajaraja.

2) The levies enveloped the diverse agricultural operations and non-agricultural occupations.

3) The revenue hierarchy was really a long one comprising 105 persons and well-manned for cross-check.

Next year, (1058 A.D.) Vetti Sendil, mother of Viranilai Vellala, Appi Achchan instituted a lamp service in the temple of Rajarajesvaram-udaiyar, in memory of the latter (who had deceased) and the 25 sheep she endowed were taken over by Bhattan Kumaran together with his brothers (who had stood surety for him presumably).[48] Viranilai was a devadana village of Kanyabhagavati temple.

In the 7th year of Rajendra II's successor, Virarajendra (1059 A.D.) two villages were granted for the goddess Kumari :

1) Narrirakkudi-in the same Purattaya-nadu : 371-3/4 (*veli)* ; 2 *ma*

2) Perungudi (Kil-Kombu included) : 59 odd *velis*. This is the famous inscription which gives a whole *prasasti* of the Chola dynasty in Sanskrit, but the operative portion of the grant is in Tamil.[49]

The same villages figure again in a grant by Kulottungachola I dated in his 14th year (1084 A.D.). The king made the grant for feeding the Brahmanas in the temple of the Goddess Kanyabhatarar and the grant constituted the following :

12	kalams	from the salabhogam of Narrirakkudi.[50]
28	,,	-do- Perungudi.
12	,,	from Sengalur alias Sabha .....mangalam
2	,,	from Viranilai Sattaneri.
54	,,	

This assignment of the dues was entered in the tax-register. A part of the inscription in the temple in a second pillar seems to convey the grant or lands in several villages in Purattaya-nadu for the food offerings to the Goddess from the 7th year of a king whose name is not available.[51]

A fragmentary inscription refers to the jewellery including Tirumulaippattam, the breast-cover plate and others made of gold.[52]

Fragments attributed to 11th and 12th centuries introduce a new name *Tenvaranavasi-nannattu Kumari*, (Kumari in the southern Varanavasi nannadu). A donor from Kurakkeni Kollam instituted a lamp service in the *garbhagriha* of the Goddess.[53] A more interesting inscription refers to special services for *Mahanavami* day, from various individuals of the place like Vuga-

cheraman Ammai Sattan, Adiyan *alias* Korri Devadevan Muniyan and two others. The provisions for the services were to be delivered by the *variyar* who was performing the *variyar* service in that year. This would indicate a committee system of temple servants undertaking collectively the responsibility for conducting services instituted had developed[54] and the committee had a tenure, perhaps of one year.

After the reign of Kulottunga I, the Pandyas were slowly reviving in the southern parts of their kingdom and near about Madurai. A number of inscriptions of Jatavarman Srivallabha, Parakrama Pandya and Jatavarman Kulasekhara are noticed in this tract. Several fragments of inscriptions from Agastisvaram could be ascribed to Jatavarman Srivallabha.[55] On the Supplication of one Kambai Nadalvan, the king remitted 150-1/2 *madai* to be granted as *devadana-iraiyili*.[56] In another brahmadeya village, irrigated by *nattar* (a jungle stream), Munnurruvamangalam, the revenue-yield was granted as half-*devadana-iraiyili* for providing clothings and other needs of Agastisvarasvami.[57] at the request of one of the temple priests Sattan Narayanan[58] and at the request of the queen Ulagamulududaiyal.[59] The total yield of revenue from Munnurruvamangalam was 215 *madai*.[60] After deducting half the yield granted to the temple, the remaining half of 107-1/2 *madai* was granted as *madappura-iraiyili*[61] and the dry and rain-fed lands were also granted for feeding the daily-serving priests, Sivayogis who returned after taking their bath in Kanyatirtha (i.e., in the sea at Kumari). They were residing in the *matha* called after his queen. This grant was to take effect from the fourth year.[62]

It would appear that the serving priests and the attendants in the temple had to have their daily bath at Kanyakumari Tirtham prior to the commencement of services.

Munnurruvamangalam should be located in the tract irrigated by Nambiar (nattar in the inscription) in Nanguneri Taluk, as Tirukkurungudi also is stated to be in the same river tract,

Even later in 1568 A.D. on every Amavasya day, the Brahmanas who were returning after bath in Kanyakumari were supplied free *kanji* (rice porridge)[63] at Agastisvaram, the neighbouring township.

Jatavarman Parakrama claims to have vanquished the Cheras in battle and received tribute from them. He was offered by the king of Kupaka, his daughter, and Parakrama married her. He fought and took Vilinjam and Kandalur-salai. He reformed the weights and measures and stamped them with the Pandyan emblem. He gave 10 lamps of exquisite beauty to the temple at Anantapuram (Tiruvanandapuram) and granted Tayanallur for that purpose. He also presented Purattaya-nadu to the family deity of the Pandyas,

(*Tennavar tam kuladeivam tenkumari kanniyar)* the Goddess Kanni of (Kumari) for giving alms and feeding those who were present on the festival day of Tai Pushya (Pushya asterisk in Tai month), which, incidentally, was also the king's natal star,[64] This king has been held to be a contemporary of Kulottunga I, and his successor Vikramachola.[65]

The Kanyakumari inscription of Parakrama Pandya from which the above details are culled is couched in beautiful Tamil. In his 9th year he recorded the broad outer boundaries of all the *devadana* villages endowed for Kanyabhatarar. They are :

North : Adiyanur (identical with Alagiyapandiyapuram) in Nanjil-nadu, including Perungudi hills of this nadu, excluding Panaikudi hills, and the area enveloped by the three hills, as per royal order, the hills noted below.
Anaimalai, Manattirapparai, Toranakuli, Pidaraneri Kolukkottu (Cairn), Kandaneri (Cairn), the northern branch of Valaiaru, Kodikkala and other conifer from which firewood is taken *Vira-kadukkuppai*

North-eastern corner : Karungulam, Alliyur, Pusankad, including Pukkul-kuli, Kirattikulam, Sidarraipparai, Neduvelikkuli, and west-facing water-drainage or water-fall ; and other locations specified.

The eastern boundary : Visapuri in Karungula-valanadu and the south-eastern corner of Irukkanturai.

Southern boundaries : Going east as far as the Melmalai, south of this nadu and Keralamgudi or Keralankuruchchi, and Manarkudi of Nanja-nadu, and traversing a number of specified places, including the depres-sion literally, water collection (*Nirkolli*) of Devikulam joining at the east of Tovalai, along Urandam Porrai and Usimalai, joining at Anamalai.

The area comprised in these traverse-boundaries would thus include all the hills now comprised to the north-east of Alagiyapandyapuram and north of the present Thovala channel in Thovala Taluk, but excluding Panagudi hills and then comprising the hills to the north-east of Agastis-varam Taluk and extending upto Karungulam (Village No. 42) Nanguneri Taluk on the Cape Comorin-Paluvur-Panagudi road and Erukkanturai, Nanguneri Taluk to its east and the sea coast from Kuttapuli to Pillikulam

in Nanguneri Taluk. On the south, it extended upto the eastern limit of Agastisvaram village and the hills called Marutuvamalai, in roughly the area to the east of Thovala-Marungur-Mayiladi road, and the alignment of Nanjil-nadu Puttanar channel, and the eastern portion of Agastisvaram Taluk.

The three hills referred to should be in the Thovala Taluk forest ranges now called Mahendragiri, Poigaimalai, Thadukamalai, excluding the Panagudi range, and also the smaller hills of Kattadimalai, Sastankoyil-malai, Latchmanapottai and Parvatamalai.

These were granted as tax-free *devadana* for meeting the expenses of food offerings, sandal and camphor for the festival conducted on the King's birthday, the *Taippusam* day. The tract endowed consisted mostly of the ghats and hills, perhaps, because the yield from the sandal trees growing therein could be appropriated.

Another record of the 16th year of Maran Sadaiyan records a grant of a lamp service and sheep therefor by one Pullanarayanan of Kalakkadu.[66]

In the 9th year (1202 A.D.), Jatavarman Kulasekhara I, the Pandyan king who revived the Pandyan glory, was seated in his couch, Munaiyadara-in Pugalabharanan-mandapam in the inner enclosure of the palace at Madurai, east of Madakkulam. The students/managers (*sattar*) of Kumari-mangalam made a request. A new *matha* named after the king had been instituted in the temple of Kanyakumari, and to feed the mendicants (*paradesi*) or travelling pilgrims they sought an assignment of 50 *kasu* from the *antaraya* dues payable by the township of Kodanur *alias* Kulasekhara-chaturvedimangalam in Melavembu-nadu (identical with Kodaganallur, a village 3 miles south of Melakkallur in Tirunelveli Taluk) which was already endowed as *devadana* to the deity at Tirunelveli and the goddess (*tirukamak-kottappuram)* so that against this cash-assignment they could buy paddy at the current prices from time to time to feed the *paradesis*. On this request being endorsed by Soran Srivallavamarayan, the chief in-charge of the kitchen and commissariat of the king, he ordered that the request be granted from the 12th year and 50 *kasu* be entered as *madappuram.* A counterfoil (*ulvari)* for the grant entered in the tax-register and his epistle of command were also ordered to be issued. A number of royal officials signed and attested the order. They were:

Kilkundarru Veliyarrurudaiyan *alias* Avaiyan Sattan

Milalai-kurram Kilkurru Vilatturudaiyan Araiyan Narayanan *alias* Mayira-palan.

Puravuvari Tinaikalam Milalai-kurram Kilkurru Vilatturudaiyan Sokkan-udaiyan.

Puravuvari Tinaikalanayakan Arangan Vilupparaiyan Aliyatturudaiyan.

" " " " Rajaraja Vilupparaiyan Kalingarayan.[67]

In Kollam 376 (1201 A.D.), in the month of Mesha (Chittirai-April/May), a merchant, Maniyan Govindan from Kurakkeni-Kollam endowed a lamp, and a lamp with a peacock-head (*Mayilvilakku*). The tract is called here Purattaya-nadu *alias* Tenvaranavasi-nannadu. The temple priests serving within the inner precincts undertook to maintain the service. The first accountant of the temple, Tiruvaranayanallurudaiyan signed the deed. It was attested by the goldsmith Appan Sundaran *alias* Muppattiruva-tattan.[68] A fragment also notes a donation or assignment by Arayan Soran of Tayanallur for a daily service expense which was entrusted to the Kumari Sattan.[69]

There is a gap in the available epigraphic evidence from the 13th to 15th century. In 1452 A.D. a resident of Muttam presented a lamp weighing 25 *palam* with 2 tiers of lamps.[70] King Udayamartandavarma (1516-35 A.D.), the Venad king, was a prolific grantor of lands, and revenue to the Hindu temples. They extended even to many temples in the Pandya country on the banks of Tambraparni and even further north. In Kollam 708 (1533 A.D.), he instituted a new morning service in his name in Kumari temple. He gave in all 4 *ma*, *mukkani*; 1/4 *mundirigai* (in all 1 acre and 58 cents) which were to yield nearly 60 *kottas* for the early morning service. Presumably the lands were double-crop lands. The lands were in 10 parcels under the several sluices, third, forth and fifth in the ayacut of Pudukkulam in Talaikkudipparur in Nanjil-nadu. While distributing food offerings, *kuruni* cooked rice was to be given to Nayinan Marttandan including Vattappalli per day. This order was issued from the king's camp at Kalakkadu, on the banks of Pachayar.[71] Further lamp offerings in 1568 A.D. and a deposit of 100 *panam* was made by a private donor.[72]

Two inscriptions at Muttam, 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 *(kadamai-vagaiyil)* from various fishing activities for pounding oil (presumably cocoanut oil) for the lamps in the church at Kumari Muttom.

The taxes so assigned were, the tax on *madi valai* (a kind of net or net used by fishermen in double catamarans) on each *valai-valai* (net used for

catching *valai*, on each *salai-valai* (net for sardines), on each hemp net (*sanal-valai*), and on each boat (*uru)* (laden with cargo) for import or export 1 *panam*; and 1 *panam* for every boat (*vilai virra samban*) sold. In addition, the share of paddy collected as brokerage *(nel eduppu)* and other customary dues (*sutantriyam*) and the share of the fish due (to the King) for the catches in that haven, viz., at Kumari-muttam, Kovaikulam. Kumari muttam is on the Gulf of Mannar facing east, while Kovaikulam is facing the Arabian Sea about 2 miles west of Kanyakumari.

Within the four boundaries of the area specified, the king also exempted the taxes on left hand and right hand castes, the military levies *(padai-panam)* and *piri-sanda kanikkai* (a tribute on brought in cargoes for distribution on or those boats which missed their destination(?) and other levies.

These dues were ordered to be utilised for the *palli* (church) and for the services(?) (Odnikku) therein for all time. Stones were planted for the area so relieved of the obligations, symbolising *(sanketam)* the grant.[73] This order should be assigned to the ruling Venad king, Ravi Ravivarma. The dispensation of Kollam 701 (1525 A.D.) was that of Udayamartanda-varma. This recalls the notorious quarrel, violence and tyranny and black-mail and illegal confiscation of fish, and other activities in which the *kudimakkal* of Muttom Turai (fishermen) including elder *kankan* and younger *kankan*, (i.e., the headman of the community) were involved. The king interfered and put a stop to this unruliness and gave asylum to fishermen to live there in peace.[74] The first order was given in the reign of Ravi Ravivarma, and the second in the reign of Udayamartandavarma. They were both solicitous to the fishermen who had been converted to Christianity by the Franciscan and the Jesuit missionaries and the Venad 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.

The dispossessed Pandyan rulers also sought the help of the Vijaya-nagara rulers. Hence, Achyutaraya of Vijayanagara sent Saluva Timma, his brother-in-law down south and he succeeded in subjugating the Tiruvadi ruler, Udayamartandavarma and making him a vassal under the Vijaya-nagara emperor, extracting tribute from him.

But two more invasions of Vijayanagara rulers had occurred. The second was in the reign of Vira Keralavarma (1544-45 A.D.) The Venad rulers had been following, perhaps as a matter of political expediency to secure support against the Vijayanagara invasion, a policy of tolerance and facili-ties were extended to St. Francis Xavier for his missionary activities in the

Pearl Fishery Coast. The Venad rulers also discontinued payment of tribute. Ramaraja sent his cousin Erra Timma Vittala, who defeated the Venad ruler.

Appanna-nayaka, the *Dalavoy* of Vithalesvara, set up a *jayasthambha* and recorded it on the pedestal or the *balipitha* (the pedestal where food offerings are made) of the Kumari temple. Another inscription at the base of the *dvajasthambha* (flag-staff) of Kumari temple also gives the genealogy of the Tuluva dynasty.[75]

In Kollam 782, Saka 1529 (1607 A.D.) Muttu Virappa *alias* Visvanatha-nayaka, son of Muttu Krishnappa-nayaka had endowed the *ayacut* of Kakkaraikulam, the cultivable lands (*puravu*) and the wells and the dry lands falling to the share of land holdings (*karaikkadu*) in Pullalankuruchchi in the same *nadu*. The lands were to yield in all 56-1/4 *kottas* of paddy for the morning service to the goddess. This was the *Sattimukham* (or permanent deed issued by the officials of the treasury of Kumari temple to account for the *dharmakarta*, Nayinan Tirunelveli-perumal). From the food offerings, this accountant of the *dharmakarta* was to receive *kurunai* cooked rice daily.

The signatories to the documents were interesting[76] :

1) *Srikaryam*, Mudali-nayakkar.
2) *Attantra-kanakku* - Kannayiram
3) *Kadaikuttu-kanakku* - Sevvandinatha Pillai
4) Accountant Kumarasvami
5) ,, Sevandichettiyar's accountant-Padmanabhan
6) ,, Valappanayakkar's accountant-Madikkuttu
7) ,, Naguchettinayakar's accountant-Sadapokan
8) ,, Devadana Dikshitar's accountant-Kandai
9) *Mudal-parru-kanakku*-Sivindrakkutti Kalikkutti.
10) ,, ,, Anandan Iravi
11) *Dharmakartar-kanakku* Nayinan (Tirunelveli)-perumal
12) *Sribhandara-kanakku* Nayinan Marttandan

The accountants were of several categories: (1) Of the Temple and its Treasury-*Srikaryam* and *Sribhandaram* (1, 2, 12) (2) Of final audit and accounts-*kadai-kuttu* (3,4) (3) The accountants for the various *karyakartas* or *sthanikars*-instituted by the nayakas (5,6,7,8) (4) Accountants recording transactions in the first instance (9,10) or who enter the Capital receipts gross amounts *(Mudal)* (5) The accountant for the *dharmakarta* (11)

In 1664 A.D., Tirumalai Kolundu Pillai (who might have been a *sthanikar*) made an endowment for the merit of his ruler, Chokkanatha-

nayakkar, and Vadamalaiappa Pillai (the *karyakarta*). This was a *dharmadana* for the Tirugnanasambanda-*matha* on the banks of *Chakra-tirtha*, to the north of the temple. The lands comprised the following: (1) newly reclaimed land under Karaikulam in Panakudi.... 15 *kottai* sowing capacity, (2) Vivalainjan reclaimed land .... 3 *kottai* sowing capacity, (3) Parisuryankulam . . . 14 *kottai* (4) Kali sluice . . . 14 *kottai* (5) In Karungulam(in Tenparru) - (in Nanguneri Taluk) under Tererrukulam, Kolumanerikulam:- 30 *kottai* (6) 1/4 *kottai* of salt per month from Variyur-Sengulam salt pans. (7) The old waste reclaimed (or under reclamation) in Viramarttandappereri and Punarkulam in Konamangalam in Nanjil-nadu, a *tiruvidaiyattam* of the goddess shrine.[77]

A few label-inscriptions engraved in the *mandapa* in front of Kasivisvanathar shrine in the temple should also belong to this period. The shrine was distinctly the contribution of the *karyakarta* of the Nayaka, commemorating Visvanathanayaka, the first Nayaka general who came down south and founder of what became the Nayak dynasty of Madurai.[78]

An inventory of jewellery of the goddess perhaps left in the custody of a recipient temple-functionary is listed in an inscription of 1671 A.D. They were kept in a big brass box.[79]

(1)	The main goddess (Periyanachchiyar) crown . . .	1	item
	An ear-ring-pair . . .	2	,,
	The eye-petals (2) . . .	1	,,
	Sutti with diamond and rubies set . . .	1	,,
	Front-costume cover (Munnangi) . . .	1	,,
	Srihasta (Hand) . . .	1	,,
	The Mangalyam - (Malaiyan Tali) . . .	1	,,
	Kulal (The gold tube chain) . . .	1	,,
	Undaimani - Two beads usually pended on either side of tirumangalya . . .	1	,,
2)	Those of Thyagasaundari-nachchiyar :		
	Front costume cover . . .	1	,,
	Silver hand . . .	1	,,
	,, curls . . .	1	,,
	,, sandal cup . . .	1	,,
	,, small cup . . .	1	,,
		4 (four silver) pieces	

The last inscription worthy of note[80] is dated 1760 A.D. (Kollam 935). This records the expenses incurred in connection with the renovation of the main entrance and building a shrine for Ganesa at the main junction and consecration of the deity and other connected items and how they were met.

Expenses	How met
In the year 1760 A.D.	
1) Removing the main beam jointed at the entrance-gate on the eastern side of the sikhara of the temple and replacing it by a new cut plans therein . . . 1325+3/4+1/16 panam	1) Balarama Kulasekhara Perumal Padmanabhadasa (Venad ruler) : 3000 panam
2) Expenses for 8 panam weight of sandal paste applied to goddess and Brahmanas' feeding . . . 3553-1/16 panam	2) The Superintending Accountant of the temple Bhagumati-bhattan of Putteri. 350 panam
3) For drawing pictures in the temple on the northern side . . . 550+3/4+3/16 panam	3) The accountant of the Srikaryam Muttamperumal-bhattan : 156-1/2 panam
In the year 1761 A.D.	
4) For building the shrine of Kanni-Vinayaka at the Brahma-Sandhi of the village and consecrating the deity. . . . 1269-1/16 panam	4) Santikaran (Priests), the Pillaimar, the Stalattar, the temple tenants, the nattar, the chetties of Kottar, the nagarattar - gave as Valipadu (contribution for worship). 4422+3/4+1/10 panam
5) Silver image of a Sribali together with an aureole (including working charges and for silver and gold weighing 1143-1/4) . . . 3698+1/4+1/16 panam	5) Expenses, including paddy and money from the temple treasury. 4023+3/4+3/16 panam

6)	For bathing the said image ...	356-1/16 panam			
7)	For making a silver pot (weighing 400 of silver) including making charges ...	1200 panam			
	Total ...	11953-1/4 panam		Total ...	11953-1/4 panam

It will be seen the king had met 1/3 of the expenses and the contributions from the residents of Nanjil-nadu of various descriptions was 1/3, and the temple treasury had borne 1/3. The two temple officials had (on their own or on collecting contributions) contributed 506-1/2 panam and they were stipulated to be used for making images of Sribali and the beam-replacement, and for the image of the Ganesa respectively. The two accountants, one supervising, and the other Srikaryam looking after temple affairs were Bhattars from Puttur, a village near Nagercoil.

A SUMMING UP

The temple and the township of Kumari was as old as the beginning of history. Early foreign notices and continuous Tamil literary traditions attest the sanctity attached to the waters at the confluence of the three seas and to the worship of the Goddess Kumari, who was claimed to be the guardian deity of the Pandya dynasty. Significance was attached to the place as the natural frontier of the land. It was the ambition of any conquering ruler to put up a pillar of victory at the place.

But the available evidence of the Chola period is more abundant. A number of lamp-services were instituted by the natives of the Chola country from either side of the Kaveri and the Coleroon rivers. They were a mix of people-the soldiers and generals (*perundanam*), *Vellalars* or agricultural elite, the officers of the Chola kingdom, merchants and dancing girls, and servants of the palace. Among them were the kitchen-maid who served food to the Chola emperor, Rajendra I and maid-servant of one of his queens. Lamp service to Kumari was a favourite form of offering. Lamp-making, particularly with that of a peacock-head, was a handicraft which had been developed very early in the tract and still continues to retain its fame. This should attest the diversification of crafts and the excellence attained in metal work.

Sheep or cash deposited for feed of oil were left with the garrison-chiefs or heads of soldiers who had set up residence at Kottar and elsewhere. This provided a peacetime or supplemental occupation for them and their families.

The place around Kumari temple was known as Kumarimangalam. Surely the *Sivabrahmanas Panmahesvaras* and others of the Brahmana literate class had taken residence near about that temple.

In the reign of Rajaraja, a temple for Siva was newly added, and this was located at the junction of the two roads from the east and the north. The deity here was named after the Chola emperor and there was also, perhaps, a colony of *Panmahesvaras* and others near about this temple. A fresh water tank called Chakratirtha and an irrigation tank Uttamacholappereri were also adjoining this temple. There was a *sabha*, and the members of the *sabha* received cash deposits from donors, and invested the amount reclaiming and renovating *devadana* tanks and ensured a steady income and return to defray the expenses for the purpose of the grant.

In the reign of Rajadhiraja I, a water pandal was added by one of his ministers at this site, and it was provided for, by assigning land-dues payable by Manarkudi-urar. The site and appurtenant land purchased from the temple authorities were utilised for not only a pandal but raising fruit-bearing trees. The *Panmahesvaras* belonging to the 48,000 *Sivabrahmanas* who had spread all over South India and even Sri Lanka looked after this charity.

In addition there was also a school and or *matha* for teaching the Agamas and the Vedas. They were assigned not only land-yield or dues but also salt from the royalty due to the State from the salt pans of Manarkudi. The discontinuance of this former vogue was reported to the king by an official of his queen's establishment and the king directed its restoration.

Rajendra II enlarged the content and the quantum of earlier grants by assigning the *kilirai* and *antaraya* as well from villages endowed as *devadana* both to Kumari temple and to the Siva temple, as well as those endowed for the school as *salabhogam* (to maintain the *sala* and feed the inmates). Vira Rajendra added 330 and odd *velis* in 2 villages as grant to Kumari temple. Portions of these villages and two others were further assigned as *salabhogam* by Kulottunga I. Provision was made to give early morning breakfast or food to those who had been returning from Kumari after bath even in the adjoining township of Agastisvaram. None of the three institutions so assiduously fostered by the Cholas, the *salai* the water-pandal and the Rajarajesvara temple have survived in form, and they have fallen into disuse.

There is enough evidence to show that the township organisation in the area closely followed the pattern of similar townships in the Pandya and the Chola tracts. The *sabha*, the *urar*, and the temple organisation shared the characteristics of similar organisations, during this period. There are also references to the *variyam* of the township organisation which undertook executive responsibilities.

By the end of Kulottunga's reign, the Pandyas slowly gained ascendancy. Parakrama Pandya endowed a whole tract comprising the hills in the western ghats on the north-eastern corner of Thovala taluk besides, dry and irrigated lands in the southern portion of Nanguneri taluk, near Panagudi, and the eastern half of Agastisvaram taluk to meet the festival and sandal and camphor expenses on Tai-Pushya festival and to feed the pilgrims attending the festival at the Kumari temple. The Goddess is described as the family deity of the Pandyas.

A *matha* named after the Pandya ruler, Jatavarman Kulasekhara was generously provided for, by the king assigning 50 *kasu* from the *antaraya* due to the king from a *devadana* village, Kodanur in Melvembu-nadu endowed for the Tirunelveli temple. The lands or villages endowed as *devadana* were mostly located in Purattaya-nadu, where Kumari is itself located and in Nanjil-nadu to its west, but some stray grants were in Melvembu-nadu in the adjoining district of Tirunelveli. Right upto this period Purattaya-nadu was a part of the Pandya kingdom.

With the rise of the Venad kings to power, Kanyakumari passed into their territory. Udayamartandavarma also liberally provided for additional services by land grants in Talaikudi.

But his reign was quite noteworthy for the changes that were overtaking Nanjil-nadu and the sea coast. Christianity had claimed a large number of converts, and a church had been established at Kumari-muttom, the adjunct of the town-ship where the fishermen lived, on the north-eastern corner of the township. King Udayamartanda had also assigned substantial revenue from fishing, an important occupation, trade, and commerce, to the church for supply of cocoanut oil. The vigorous external trade and commerce the region had is well attested by this inscription. He adopted a liberal policy towards the Portuguese, the Jesuits and the converts. Also he interfered in the quarrels among the fishermen–leaders or chieftains and gave asylum to those who were threatened eviction from their habitats.

Udayamartanda's expanded territorial acquisitions had ousted the Pandya rulers, The Vijayanagara rulers could not also take kindly to the

increasing conversions aggressively pursued by the Portuguese, the Jesuits and the Franciscan missionaries and their desecrating the Hindu temples.

The Vijayanagara invasions were the result. The Tiruvadi chieftains were subdued, and the Nayaks made their power and influence felt. In the period that followed *dharmakartas* or *sthanattars* were presumably, appointed by the Nayaks to look after the temple affairs. A new shrine of Kasi Visvanatha was also an addition during this period. The temple had an elaborate organisational structure with several categories of accountants to cross-check each other.

The last noteworthy epigraphic evidence is of the renovation done in 1760 A.D. and how the expenses were met. The entire people of Nanjil-nadu, and several sections of the community therein had participated and contributed to this renovation. in addition to the king of the tract.

That was a collective effort. The king contributed only 1/3 of the expenses but his was perhaps the largest single share. The *sthanattar (*temple servants*)*, *sthalattar* (leading residents of the place), the merchants from Kottar, the *pillaimar*, holders of lands, the temple tenants, the *nagarttar* or the merchant-community guilds contributed the highest proportion, The two *Bhattars*, who were temple officials preferred a contribution towards the making of two images of Ganesa and the Goddess. Together it was an example of the entire residents of various community-groups, contributing to the renovation, sharing the expenses and the merit with the king. Even so, the temple treasury had to bear a third share thereof. The liquidity that the treasury had could be attributed to the cash contributions and deposits and yield-proceeds from endowed lands converted in cash which the treasury had accumulated over time towards spending on capital maintenance expenditure . This broad-based sharing of expenditure would also attest that besides the king, the residents of Nanjil-nadu had made substantial contribution towards the renovation and the installation of new images in this favourite shrine at the land's end.

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1. Vide "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" (*Circa* 81–96 A.D.) *Foreign Notices*, p. 59, the author refers to Comarin, "beyond Balita (Varkalai) at which are the Cape of Comarin and a harbour hitherto come those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celebacy; women also do the same; for it is told that a goddess once dwelt there and bathed." There is also a distinct reference to 'Panaliya' (Paralayar) and the tract around, the Nanjil-nadu.

2. *Vada Vengadam Ten Kumari aiyidai*
Tamil Kurum Nal ulagattu" Sirappupasuram (Tolkappiyam)

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 274.

4. "*Kumari Padan Kolkaiyin Vanangi*"-*Manimekhalai*, *UVS* Edn., 1981, c. 13, line 74. "*Terkatkumari yadiya varuven*" - *Ibid.*, c. 13-line 83

   The goddess here was known as "Pushpahasi".-Vishnu is also named Puspahasa in *Sahasranama*; p. 439.

5. "*Pahruliyarṛudon Palmalai Adukkattu Kumari Kodunkadal Kolla.*"—*Silappadikaram*, Ch. 11, lines 19, 20, (1957 Edn.).

6. Srivaramangalam plates of Pandya Nedunjadaiyan (*Ten Pandyan Copper Plates*) The Tamil History Academy, Madras. (1967).

7. "*Peruntogai*" - M. Raghava Iyengar Ed. 1935-36, v.v. 108, 109, 26, and also v. 1463 at page 335.

8. *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 141, f. n. (32 of K. 1085).

9, *Kanyakumari Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1968, 54 (*T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 142)

10. *Ibid.*, No. 48.

11. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI, p. 275.

12. *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 142.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 145.

14. ,, Vol. VI, p. 143-4. Vadaseri Inscription.

15. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 142 f.n. (No. 38 of 1085, Malayalam Era)
    (No. 39 of 1085, Malayalam Era)
    (No. 34 of 1085, Malayalam Era)

16. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI. p. 142 (No. 27 of 1085, Malayalam Era)

17. There are two roads, one from the north (from Tirunelveli) forks off at Kaval Kinar towards the east and joins the other from the west from Nagercoil to Kanyakumari about a mile west of the temple. The road from Tirunelveli proceeds further south to Aralvoimoli and through Thovala pass it proceeds to Nagercoil.

18. *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 241.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 269–70.

20. *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 147.

21. Singan Devan had undertaken another endowment of 25 ewes for tendering 1/8 measure of ghee (No. 25 of 1087) *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 152, f.n.

22. *Ibid.*, f.n. (No. 24 of 1087, Malayalam Era)

23. *T.A.S.*Vol. I, p. 161. Palaiyur Tittai has been located in Nagapattinam Taluk, Thanjavur District (S. No. 101 in the Chola–mandalam list of Sri Y. Subbarayalu's "*Political Geography of the Chola Country*" - 1973)

24. *T.A.S.* Vol. I, pp. 239-40.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 240; Also *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-1972 (p. 115)

26. ,, Vol. I, pp. 240-241; *K.I.* Vol. I, 1968-120 (T.N.)

27. ,, p. 241, Fragment; *K.I.* Vol. I, 1968-108.

28. ,, p. 241.

29. *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-64

30. *Ibid.*, No. 50

31. *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 150; *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-51 (T.N.) The year is here read as 2 (0). There appears to be another deposit of 10 *kasu* for a lamp service to be maintained from the interest yield of someone connected with Mukkokkilanadigal, a queen, (*K.I.* Vol. I, 1968-40)

32. *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 151-2 Fragment.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 152, No. 113.

34. *Ibid.*, No. 114.

35. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 249; *K.I.*, 1968-118. The regnal year is read as 21 in the latter. My interpretation of portions of the inscription differs from the translation in *T.A.S.*, Vol. I. Talakkudi the village referred to, perhaps, can be identified with the village of that name in Thovala Taluk. It is irrigated by a channel from Palayar.

36. *T.A.S.* Vol. I, p. 242.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 169; *K.I.*, 1968-110 ; *The Cholas*, Vol. II, pa.t ; II, pp. 797-98 ; *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 242.

38. *T.A.S.* Vol. I, p. 170; *K I.*, 1968-112. Manarkudi is identical with the sea-coast village of that name in Agastisvaram Taluk.

39. *T.A.S.* Vol. I, pp. 168-69. The error in attributing this inscription to Rajaraja II at p. 168 has been corrected by the learned epigraphist himself at p.242 ; *The Cholas* Vol. II, part I, p. 79.

40. *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 14-20.

41. *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 242; *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-114. The learned editor notes that the contents of this inscription proceed to mention something about the water-shed established by Ayyanambi (p.242) because of the common occurence of Narpattennayiravar and the Sasta temple. My interpretation differs. The inscription at p. 242 refers to a *Salai* and not *tannir-pandal* and there are more than one reference to such a *Salai* as explained in the text. Narpattennayiravar being a collective body could be associated with more than an institution besides their accredited responsibility for Sri Rajarajesvara temple, other institutions like the *Salai* and water pandal could even be taken as adjuncts, under their supervision.

42. T.A.S., Vol. I, p. 163; K.I., Vol. I / 1968-12.

43. This place is even now known for its salt pans from and salt production is even now current.

44. The term "*Tongal*" is interpreted in the sense of royal apparel and *insignia*. (Vide *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. IV, p. 208, item (13). The term "*Kaiyurai*" is interpreted as the customary share of royalty expressed as a fraction of the total salt provided. Confer "*Urainali*" (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8 and *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. I, p. 486)

45. T.A.S., Vol. VI, pp. 149-50.

46. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 164-68; K.I., Vol. I, 1968-56.

47. K. I., Vol. I, 1968-39.

48. T.A.S., Vol. I, p. 243; K.I. Vol. I, 1968-106.

49. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 144.

50. Read as Narasayarkkudi in K.I., Vol. I, 1968-56. The reading adopted in the text is that in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 274-5. *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, No. 217.

51. A.R Ep., 1965-66, No. 218; in K.I., Vol. I, 1968-58.

52. K.I., Vol. I, 1968-43.

53. Ibid., Vol. I, 1968-71; See also Ibid., 1968-60.

54. Ibid., Vol. I, 1968-53. Of course in Kerala *Variyar* means a distinctive class of temple servants. But the phrase *andu-variyam-seyyum-variyar* refers to the annual committee or executive members.

55. Ibid., Vol. I, 1968–2.

56. Ibid., Vol. I, 1968-4.

57. Ibid., 5.

58. Ibid., 6; also No. 12.

59. Ibid., 8.

60. Ibid., 10.

61. Ibid., 11.

62. *Ibid.*, 14

63. ,, No. 27A ; *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 48

64. *T.A.S.* Vol. I, pp. 17-23 ; *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-57. My identification of some place-names here differs from the learned editor of *T.A.S.*, Vol. I

65. *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 18 ; K.A.N. Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 123-24.

66. ,, Vol. I, p. 141, f.n. ; *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-55. The latter attributes this inscription to the 12th century.

67. *T.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 26-27.

68 *Ibid.*, Vol, IV, p. 65. For a similar endowment, please see *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-63 & 71, Are the two identical ? The latter edition has several gaps in the text.

69. *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-74.

70, *T.A.S*, Vol VII, pp. 64-65, No. 48.

71. *Ibid.*. Vol. VI, pp. 124-30. The grant is described here as *tiruvidaiyattam* a term usually used only for grants to Vishnu temples. Talaikkudi is the village of that name in Thovala Taluk. Kalakkad is a village of that name in the western part of Nanguneri Taluk . Vettappalli is the *Sthanikar* family which wielded great influence in Suchindram also.

72. *K.I*,. Vol. I, 1968-93.

73. *T.A.S.*-, Vol. VI, pp. 179-8. *Madi-valai* is stated to be a double net, inner one being of small meshes and the outer larger. *Vilai Virra samban* may mean either a boat sold or the boat-load of cargo sold. On *Samban*, Duarte Boubasa has an interesting note (vide) in *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 178. "The navigation (in Coalem and Quilicare) is carried on in small craft which they call *Champanes*, in which Moors come to trade and carry thither the goods of Cambaya. Here certain horses are of great value and they take cargoes of rice and cloth and carry them to Malabar" It seems to have been derived from a Chinese word to mean "three blanks", with reference to the method of building the small boats, according to Sri R. C. Temple.

74. *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 181

75. *A.R.Ep.*, 1945-46, Nos. 109-110

76. T.*A.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 195-98; Naguchetti-nayaka here might have been, perhaps connected with Chinnanaguchetti-nayaka, son of Potti-nayakkan, who built a Teppakulam in Mannarkoyil in 1604-5 A.D. (see the author's work *Rajendra Vinnagar*, p. 51).

77. T.A.S., Vol. V, pp. 198.

78. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 201.

79. ,, Vol. VII, pt. I, p. 64.

80. ,, Vol. IV, pp. 113-15.

GLIMPSES OF CHOLA TOWNSHIPS IN SRILANKA

It is a fact of history that the Imperial Cholas from the time of Parantaka I onwards took expeditions to Srilanka. Although Parantaka was unsuccessful, Rajaraja I succeeded against Mahinda (about A.D. 991)[1] and brought the northern portion of Srilanka under his sway, and extended thus the Chola authority and administration into the territory. The Chola imperial conquest was not merely in the nature of military venture or a political annexation. It was in effect a colonization. The social and economic features of the mainland were fully brought in and transplanted, thorough and complete in the Chola territory within the island and it became a 'province' in every sense during the effective period of Chola rule from about A.D. 991 to about A.D. 1070.[2] Nowhere is this thorough-going transplantation more fully mirrored than in the character and organization of the townships. And some of these features left their impress even after the Chola rule was ended by the Simhala King, Vijayabahu and sometimes got grafted on to the indigenous social fabric. This note gathers such data from published readily available inscriptions. It would be rewarding to work out the theme more fully, pursuing the study of the texts of all available epigraphic data. In this context it should help scholarship and research if the entire corpus of Tamil inscriptions in Srilanka is, carefully edited and annotated and published in one volume. A. Velu Pillai has, I understand, already published the Ceylon Tamil inscriptions in 1972 in a few parts ; but the publication could not be had for immediate reference. Indeed the Tamil, Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada inscriptions in Burma, Srilanka and the Far Eastern countries could be similarly brought together and made available in one conspectus. I am happy to state that the Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India Dr. K. V. Ramesh has welcomed this suggestion and would trust that his efforts in this direction would bear fruit.

The present study is based on the 28 inscriptions published in *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, also noticed in *A.R.E.* 1912 (Sl. No. 594 to 618) and the valuable inscription published and competently commented on by Dr. K. Indrapala in his learned article on "An Inscription of the 10th year of Chola Lankesvaradeva from Kantalai" in the *Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume* (Vol. VII pp. 81-97, 1978).

The province (*mandala*) itself was renamed as Mummudi-Chola-Mandalam. The Chola rulers were fond of renaming territories, rivers[3]. townships and streets (*ceris*) and channels[4] after themselves or after the members of their family, The new capital, Polannaruva was named Jananathamangalam after one of the titles of Rajaraja I. Temples for Hindu deities, especially for

Siva, were constructed and they were named likewise after the scions of the Chola dynasty. Thus, Vanavanmadevisvaramudaiyar was the deity in Polannaruva[5]; the deity at Kalpe Kovale was named Uttamachola-Isvaramudaiya Mahadevar[6] and the temple at Mantota (Mahatittha) Rajarajesvaramudaiyar.[7]

Even more significant is the evidence available from the Kantalai inscription dated in the reign of Chola Rajadhiraja (*Circa* A.D. 1033/1047).[8] Dr. Indrapala rightly brings out the significance of this inscription that "it appears that in Srilanka also, at least in the Tamil-inhabited areas, the local government institutions of the Chola kingdom were transplanted". This inscription was dated in the 10th year of the Sankhavarma Chola Lankesvaradeva, whom Dr. Indrapala interprets convincingly as a scion of the Chola imperial family appointed as viceroy to rule over the province in Srilanka. This was identical with the mode of appointing the sons of the Chola emperor as Chola-Pandya viceroys in Pandya-nadu.

The territorial division in which the Kantalai temple was located was named Rajarajachola-valanadu-Rajavichchadara Valanadu. Kantalai is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit Gangatala. The township was a *Brahmadeya* that was predominantly inhabited by Brahmins and named as Rajarajacaturvedimangalam. The *Brahmadeya*, as in the mainland, had a *sabha* and the elder constituents (*perumakkal*) were convened by the beat of the big drums (*perunguri*). They met on a Tuesday, at night, on the asterisk of Ayilyam on a Dvadasi day in Purvapaksa, that is, the 12th day before the full moon, in the month of *Kumbha* (February- March). The damaged inscription refers to a revenue official of the township (Nam-ur-Tandu- kinra Muttangai Koil Marri . . . .) and proceeds to record an award or decision (*parisu*) regarding a wet land (*nir-nilam*) sold or transferred for consideration of cash received *(kasu)*. The land was 3 *ma* in extent (99 cents) in the 3rd block [catu(kkam)] under the sluice outlet *(kannar)* taking off from Vikrama-Chola-Vaykkal.

Kantalai continued to be a *Brahmadeya* but was renamed as Vijayarajacaturvedimangalam when Vijayabhaya regained the freedom of Srilanka and continued to be so in the reigns of Gajabahu II and Nissamkamalla. In the latter's time it was known as Caturvedi-Brahmapuri.[9]

This important evidence can bear out the following inferences: Different types of townships including *Brahmadeyas* were founded and named after scions of the Chola family in Srilanka. The township constituents looked after the endowments, and solicitously provided for beneficent land use. They were in charge of the land, presumably unoccupied, and competent to make and register sales of land together with irrigation rights. Thus they had identical functions and roles as the Brahmadeya

Sabhas and Mahasabhas in the mainland. It proves incidentally, that the taboo on Brahmins crossing the seas weighed but lightly with those who were willing to follow the Chola flag and seek "new verdures under the sun" away from the mainland.

This last inference is confirmed by another inscription[10] from the Siva Devale No. 2 at Polannaruva. "This beautiful little Siva Devale constructed of granite and limestone, in its architectural form, seems at once to class it with the Hindu fanes of South India erected from the 10th to the 12th centuries".[11]

The inscription is dated in the 3rd year of Adhirajendra (circa A.D. 1070). A lamp service was instituted by one Vellala (agriculturist) Siralan, alias . . . Konda Chola-pallavarayan of Mangalappadi in Virupedunadu in a Kottam (name lost) in Cholamandalam for the shrine of Vanavanmadevis-varamudaiyar in Jananathamangalam (Pollannaruva) to be maintained at *ulakku* oil per day, for which he made a deposit to earn interest from Citra (April-May) month. This was undertaken by the priests (Padipada . . . dai pancacariya Deva-kanmikal) of the temple, including a Brahmin, Gomatam . . . Kramavittan . . . and some Siva Brahmanan . . . Tillainayaka-bhattan. The inscription also refers to a piper (*uvaccan)* Aryan Kaval . . . Rajadhiraja Mudakkarainadalvan, and the Panmahesvarakankani of the temple, and several dancing girls including Narpattennayiramanikkam. It proceeds to conclude that those named members of temple-establishment, and after them, their substitute (*Talaimaru*) priests, *(Tiruvaradanai pannuvar)*, attendant service-holders (*Paricarakar*), the superintendent among the priests *(Panmahesvara Kankani Seyvar)*, the landholding residents of the Nadu (*Nattavar*) and the dancing girls (Devaradiyar) were to ensure the service for which 5 *kasu* were deposited. The lamp was 2 *san* and 4 fingers in height.[10]

The evidence leads to the following conclusions : (1) A few Brahmins whose nativity was Gomatam *(*Kramavittukkal—competent to recite the Vedas in the prescribed order) and some priests especially of the Narpat-tennayiram group who seem to have been wide spread in the Tamil country, the pipers, the dancing girls, and the attendants had all migrated to the conquered territory; the outfit of the temple establishment was also a fairly faithful replica of that of the mainland temples. The use of the word *talaimaru* in the context of the successor service-holders is interesting, If one does not read too much significance into this term, one may assume that it allows for replacement or substitution, a procedure which is not ordinarily noticeable in the arrangements made in the mainland temples where the responsibility descended on the lineal successors (*vargathar*) in the male

agnate line or even by *Sridhana* (dowry) in the female line. It would be tempting but risky to suggest from the available data that regular turns were taken by interchange as between persons from the main land and those on the island by rotation.

The temple at Polannaruva also had a shrine for Vishnu, Pallikondar,[12] and another deity Alagiyamanavalar (presumably Vishnu) was also installed there (*elunderulivittu*).[13]

The system of endowing to the temple lands tax-free, and assignment of taxes and cesses which were due to the king, was also in vogue. Also a merchant-township (*nagara*) is evidenced by the slab inscription preserved in the museum at Colombo.[14] Tali-Kumaran, a headman or leader *(kilavan)* of Sirukurranallur of Velainadu in Kshatriyasikhamani-valanadu in Chola-mandala had set up a temple in Matottam otherwise known as Rajaraja-puram in Mummudi-Cholamandalam and named it Rajarajisvaram. The yield from a few items of tolls, and cesses besides land-revenue *(irai)* were assigned to the deity for defraying the expenses of mid-night worship *(Tiruvardhajamam)*, and the 7-day festival in connection with Vaikasi Visakham. The land endowed as tax-free *devadana* was to the north of . . . (description lost), east of *Rajarajapperunderu* (the big street), south of *Kammanaceri* (the street of blacksmiths) and the eastern boundary is not available. Within that land, the residential mansion *(maligai)* of Kurran-Kaman, a landholder *(kudi)* of the township, his house and garden were to be excluded. For reciting Bharatam, I *akkam*(?) was provided. On the shuttles weaving in the township 1/8 *akkam* per month was levied and for all transactions in the township 1 *vattam* from the giver or transferor and 1 *vattam* from the taker (or 1 *vattam*) each for two parties involved in any marriage alliance(?) was to be collected; besides tolls from roadways (*padai idangalil*). With these yields, 2 *nali* of rice for service, in all 6 *nalis* of rice per day were to be served and a bachelor-attendent was to get 8 *nali* of paddy per day. There was also a *matha* and a chief therein.

In the same temple there was another shrine for Tiruviramesvaramu-daiyar. A native of Sirukulattur . . . Devan Sandiman serving in the army *(Perundanam)* of Rajendra Chola entrusted 2 *kasu* with the *Sankara ppadiyar* and 1 *kasu* each with the betal-growers *verrilai vaniyar* or vendors, and with plantain-growers *(valakkai vaniyar)* or vendors.[15] The object of the grant was to provide for Ramesvaramudaya Mahadevar ceremonially riding on his sacred bull. *Sankarapadiyar* from this con-textual occurence, would appear to be an occupational group of oil mongers and this lends support to the particularization in Prof. Sastri's interpreta-tion.[16] Replicas of other specific bodies looking after particular deities or shrines are also noticed. Thus in the 5th year of Sri Sangapatmarayan

in the month of *Margali* (December-January) Sekkilan Setti Sankan deposited 30 *Ilakkasu* with the Perurar of Kumaraganam. From the interest thereof the latter agreed to make one food offering and one lamp.[17] Another deposit likewise was made by Sekkilan Sennai with the same Perurar.[18]

A construction-piece was the gift of Ilamayar of Kilaicceri (East Street among the Perilamayar, an *anuloma* caste.[18]

Doubtless with the Chola army a number of generals and chieftains had also gone to Srilanka and perhaps stayed back. Annurruvanambalam,[19] Arangan Ramesan, a donor who endowed 50 coconut trees for 5 lamps to be lit at *sandhi*,[20] and several *nadalvans* (chiftains)[21] including Jayamuri-Nadalvan[22] Mukari-Nadalvan's daughter Karpakam,[23] Tiruppuvanadevan of Mokanur, Tillaikkarasu Tyagachintamanimuvendavelan, Pancanadivanan of Srinallur are other benefactors on record. The merchants, organised as Tisai ayirattu annurruvar had also perhaps established trade contacts.

The colonists had continued even after Vijayabahu wrested the independence of Srilanka from the Cholas. He had invited and entrusted to the Tiruvelaikkarar, a corps of Tamil gallants in service or soldiers hired by him, the Daladaypperumpalli, the Buddha Tooth Shrine (*Danto-kuti*) at Watadage and named the Buddhist shrine after them to be maintained and protected by them. The Tiruvelaikkarar had comprised three wings—including their ancestors—Valanjiyar the Nagarattar who worked in close collaboration with them. Each constituent was given 1 *veli* of land per head. They were to protect the Buddhist shrine, the endowed townships, the attendants and service-holders, the Treasury, and those who sought refuge therein. Even at the risk of their sustaining injury or harm they would not swerve from the duty to protect the shrine. The signatories *(Tiruvelaikkarar)*, included Valangai, Idangai, Sirudanam, Pillaigaltanam, Vadukar, Malayalar, Parivarakkondan, Palakalan.[24] One belonging to the three-wing Tiruvelaikkarar Adigarana-Saranan also had made an individual endowment for charity.[25]

It will be interesting to recall that the Munrukai-Mahasenayar, the Chola garrisons were entrusted likewise with the protection of temples at Tiruvalisvaram[26], and at Pattamadai[27]. In an inscription at Anuradhapura the Tamils of four *nadus* figure as the donees and guardians of a Buddhist Vihara[28].

Indeed, the Tamil bard with his characteristic panegyric undertones was not slow to follow, and he was near at hand to praise the patron-ruler One such verse has survived[29]

Sethukankanam Verkanninayark
Kattinar

Kamarvalaippankayakkaimer Tilatam
Parittar
Pongolinir Singainagaraniyanai sera-
Vanuresar Tangal Madamadar Tam.

The Vellaivilvattu Konesvarar temple at Mannankarai (Tirukonamalai) was one of the shrines celebrated by Saiva Nayanmar, and held to be a sacred Siva-sthala.

The data presented would be enough to warrant that the social and economic structure and fabric of the mainland found many of its faithful reproductions in the island. These were a significant feature of the Chola colonization of Srilanka, and even after Srilanka ceased to be a part of the Chola Empire, their vestiges had lingered.

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1. *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 205.
2. *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 303.
3. See the author's *Rajendra Vinnagar*, pp. 1-3.
4. Vikrama-Chola-vaykkal: in the text of the Kantalai inscription.
5. S. I. I., Vol, V/1388.
6. A. R. E. 615/1912.
7. S. I. I. Vol. IV/1412.
8. Dr. K. Indrapala in *Paranavitana Commemoration Volume*.
9. *Op. cit.*, Dr. Indrapala's article.
10. S. I. I. Vol. IV/1388.
11. A. S. C. 1906, p. 17.
12. S. I. I. Vol. IV/1390.
13. Ibid., 1391.
14. S. I. I. Vol. IV/1412. Please see also No. 1396 Ibid.
15. Ibid. Vol. IV/1414.
16. Comp. A.R.E. 300 & 309 of 1964-65. Cholas, Vol. II, p. 272.
17. S. I. I. Vol. IV/1403.
18. Ibid. Vol. IV/1404.

18A. S.I.I. IV/1409, Perilamayar' is also taken to mean a group of the Nanadesi merchant guild, or dancing girls (SITI-TN, Kumarasvami-p. 1470 (Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library).

19. Ibid., Vol. IV/1415.
20. Ibid., No. 1414.
21. Ibid., No. 1410.
22. Ibid., No. 1408.
23. Ibid., No. 1393-'C'.
24. S.I.I. Vol. IV/1396.
25. Ibid. No. 1398.
26. A.R.E. 120/1903
27. Ibid. 542/1916.
28. S.I.I., Vol. IV/1405.
29. Ibid., Vol. IV/1412.

THE CHOLA INSCRIPTIONS IN MYSORE DISTRICT

This paper analyses the contents of the Chola inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* (New Series, Volume III to V) by the Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore. The scope and objective is to delineate the lines of investigation which can be undertaken on the basis of the data contained in these epigraphs. As such, the study made in the paper is indicative.

In all there are 65 inscriptions. The time spread is from the reign of Rajaraja I to Rajendra III. Their location can be grouped as under:

Nanjangud Taluk	— 9	Epigraphia Carnatica Volume III
Heggadadevanakote	—12	
Gundlupet	— 2	
	23	
Chamarajanagar	8	Ibid Volume IV
Hunsur	2	
Kollegal	4	
Yelandur	3	
	17	
T. Narasipur	19	Ibid Volume V
Mysore	3	
Krishnarajanagar	3	
	25	

Twelve of the inscriptions are too fragmentary or contain only portions of the Prasasti of the rulers and hence are not of much value except to indicate the spread of the Chola power to the places of their occurence.[1]

Eleven inscriptions are on hero-stones set up to commemorate the valiant who fought against the cattle-raiders and rescued them and protected the women and property of the townships. Seven of these are dated in the reign of Rajendra I, and these could be a fallout of the political conflict and the wars waged by the Cholas[2]

Some of them are killings due to private feuds. Naganna of Kereyur killed Sangaya, and Rachagaunda avenged the latter's death by killing Naganna This would attest that *Les Taleonis*—avenging the death of one by killing the killer—was prevalent (A.D. 1062).[3]

In one case, from Tippuru, Rajendra Colamarayan, a soldier of Rajendra Chola-terinda-valangai-velaikkaran during an attack by Poysalan, and his son protected the place[4] (AD—1102—1103) in the reign of Kulottunga I

The major part of the inscriptions can be grouped under the following categories :

[i] Royal grants for temples or others

[ii] Private benefactions

[iii] The undertakings and endowments made by the community-organisations.

These are illustrated below :

The earliest of the grant is dated in the reign of Rajaraja I (2...)-late in his reign.[5] Four gamundas. Vasava gamundan, Saga gamundan, Naga Konaganrum, Siru gamunda received from the Treasury of the templefrom the gold given by Peria Kundavai Alvar, the sister of Rajaraja I [*ninrum*] from her treasury 100 *kalanju* and sold land as tax-free [Iraiyili] ; that is the Gamundas undertook the obligation to pay land tax to the King. That the elder sister of Rajaraja had deposited a large amount of gold for the daily offerings in this temple speaks for her interest in this distant and newly acquired territory, Mayilangai in Ten Karai Idainadu (South bank of Cauvery)

The next grant is in the 10th year of Rajendra I (A.D. - 1021-22).[6] This is from Tadimaligai. It is referred to as Jananathapuram (after a title of Raja-raja I) alias Mayilangai in Īdai-nadu in the South bank in Mudigondasola-mandalam alias Gangapadi. The grant is to a Vishnu shrine, Iravikula Manikka Vinnagara alvar. The Perundanam officer, Senapati Kuravan Ulagalandan alias Rajendracolajayamur-nadalavan gifted 10 *kalanju* of gold ; from out of the interest on the amount the person tending the flower garden was to be paid I *Kuruni* of paddy daily. The *Nagarattar* of the township agreed to deliver this paddy, having received the gold. The interest rate for 1 *kalanju* of gold works out to about 3 Kalams of paddy per year.

In A.D. 1033, Rajendra Chola provided for maintaining a tank, and for offering of the food to the two deities at Sutturu, Isana Isvaramudaiyar and Mulasthanamudayar of Srotriyur, evidently a village the main occupants of which were the Brahmins. Gundabbe, wife of Marayyasetti is said to have got the temple of Mulasthanadeva constructed and gifted a land purchased Dorayya-setti, their son, also made a gift to the God and the Goddess Srotriyuravve. The Sabha of Srotriyur, and the *Samaya* [i.e., the merchants community] including the Nanadesis granted land, and contribution of oil, from the oil gunnies. The land was for maintaining a tank, and the oil was for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Isana Isvaramudayar. In addition cotton for the cloth, 10 Kolagas of paddy, one head load from each family, and 3 tulas of *bannige* were community contributions made for the worship in the temple and for playing the Panchamahasabdha (the five Vadya instruments) thrice daily, and maintaining a flower garden, and perpetual lamp. The five musical instruments were Tivali, Datte, Khandike, Jayagante, and Kale.[7]

In the 7th year Vijayarajendra—II [A.D. 1058-69] a merchant Adisadanapa nangadan gave 20 Antiyakabaranan madai to the Gamundas of Cholaviccudianallur *(Sic)* in Gangaikonda Colavalanadu in Mudikondasola mandalam. They included Solavichaduranallur gamundan, Vimbaperuman, Kundanalegan. The merchant-donor was from Madurantakapuram in Keralantakavalanadu [Padinenbhumi]; perhaps, he belonged to the Tisaiayirattu-annurruvar guild. Three Kandigas of land were sold by the three gamundas of Komummana chola viccadiranallur in Padi Nadu. The merchant endowed the purchased land to Tirumulastanam udayar of Alur[8]. Talakadu, the capital of the Western Gangas, had a temple Rajendra-Cholavinnagaralvar and Kulottunga I granted to the temple lands in Kilamur.[9]

In the 12th year of Rajakesari Kulottunga-I, while the king was seated in the temple of Tiruvegambam—Udaiyan at Kanchipuram on the occasion of a Puspabhiseka [Anointment with flowers) on the representation of Maja gurukkal, the village of Mala....r *alias* Rajendrachola Chaturvedimangalam in Padinadu, and its hamlets, Mullur in the nadu Siriya Kalavur and Pala ya....mada—all were clustered and constituted into one renamed as Virudarajabhayankara caturvedimangalam and granted as Brahmadeya Iraiyili. The income from various taxes due, in kalanju, kachchanam, madikkuli, dasavandam, periya madai, pocchinnam, cess on products measured by capacity were all granted. The antaraya (which is incorrectly rendered as tax for internal administration) i.e., the subsidiary taxes, gadyana, minor tolls, community levies on weavers, Parayas, goldsmiths, washermen, and tax on the nadu, on the Idangai and Valangai divisions and customary levies on goods incoming and outgoing, and all other antarayam were remitted. This was entered in the field register (Puravari) and revenue register.[10]

The oral order of the king was recorded in the revenue register and issued to the Mandala—mudali (the chief of the Talakad *alias* Rajarajapuram and to the royal officer Rajamanikkamuvenda velar, who entered the royal order accordingly in the accounts.

Again in the 34th year, a further grant of tax-free lands was made and the Mandalamudali Rajendrachola Brahmadhiraja entered it in the revenue register, and it was granted to the temple. This was when the king was seated on Kalingarajan in the anointment hall in the palace at Kancipuram on the supplication of Vesalipparayan. The extent granted was wet and dry lands of 20 and odd velis in Bhutanapalli. the northern hemlet of Marudur *alias* Panchavanmadevi caturvedimangalam abutting Virudarajabhayankara caturvedimangalam.[10A]

But misfortune befell the Agrahara some 120 years later. Recalling the royal grant, in a Krodhi year, due to *political chaos and riots* (Rajikam), the lands were lain fallow and were full of bushes and the ayacut was completely destroyed subsequently. The illustrious Sankara nayakkar of ....dananjikottam, the illustrious Mahavadda vyabari got the village reclaimed and renovated, excavated a big Lake and a spring channel, laid a sluice, and constructed the temple. reconsecrated the deities and protected the occupants of the place, and the Brahmins blessed the benefactor.[11]

It will be interesting to trace the fuller history of Agara which has as many as 78 inscriptions.[12] Similar studies can also be undertaken of other important townships with a large volume of epigraphic evidence like Belaturu Talakad, Tadimalingi that will enable tracing their growth and characterestics. I would commend this work to scholars in Karnataka, and the Universities therein.

Endowments to temples and charitable institutions were not merely the products of royal patronage and grace. The common man, the farmer, the headman, the merchant, the chieftain had all their part. Families of donors could be traced through these epigraphs. The inscriptions also throw a flood of light on the economic conditions and local community organisations. These are aspects as yet not fully worked out. They need to be. It will be appropriate to do justice to this subject if studies of each township and the aspects of economic traits therein are worked out in detail.

In this paper, a cross-section of the evidence and what type of data can be gathered are indicated. They are intended to appetise rather than vet the appetite of scholars.

In the reign of Rajaraja-I, Madanamangalam-odeyan, merchant of of Tattanur (one of the villages in the forty of Kotunad) endowed 3 Kandigas

of wet land for (measuring the produce?) in the courtyard (Tirumurram) of the temple. The Mahajanas (the Brahmin occupants) are also referred to. The inscription is fragmentary.[13]

In A.D. 991 the merchant-residents of Velur *alias* Rajadhirajacaturvedi-mangalam-eri-vira pattanam made a settlement. It was situated ln Padi nadu in Gangaikondacholavalanadu in Mudigondacholamandalam. This is an important document. It gives the prasasti or the laudatory verses of the praise of this merchant-group.[14] In fact a fuller Prasasti of the Virabhalanji (Virabananju) dharma and the Nanadesis is available in Belaturu [A.D. 1033].[15] They trace their origin to Ayyapolil, and as the children of Parameswari of that place. The settlement provides for the oil for feeding a lamp in Kavarai-Isvaram-udaiyar for which a levy at the following rates was made.

Melirram Udayar — [The elder or the higher class of weavers] - one cloth of finer variety

Kilerram Udayar — [the lower or the junior class of weavers] one cloth of finer variety.

For each swordsman — watchman : cloth - piece.

These could be either the rates of contribution for the temple or presentation to honour them. If the latter, the phrase "Tiruvilakku ennaikk kuduttom" does not fit in, and the former interpretion as a levy appears to be more probable, If the merchants visit the place, they shall be given food during their stay, and a pig (shall be sacrificed or roasted for eating) at the funeral ceremony if a swordsman died.[16]

The mercantile community functioned through a Karmavariyam (executive committee). The document is signed by the Karma variyam senapati-Padi andan, Nanadesi uyyakkondan, Virasetti, Viragalam-Talaiyu-vadarayan, Rajadhiraja padinenbhumiandan, Konga mandalam-Uyyakkondan Annurruvandan, Desapadai kalayaiar setti constituting, the Karma variyam Nanadesipperaiyan finalised the deed. They all instructed that the collective decision of the Samaya be recorded and this was written by Dasambi-ulokamanikkasetti.

The organisation of this mercantile commuity was farflung and they were non-vegetarians. They had different sections of the community and not the least important were the militant swordsman to guard the marchan-dise and afford protection. The merchant-class constituted an important section of the donors who constructed or renovated and endowed the temples and shrines as the evidence further extracted will show.

In the same year [S. 913 - 991 A.D.] Poleyya of Kelluru granted two Khandigas at Kiri Herur[17] of garden land, and 10 Khandigas of wet land in his own rent-free land in Nalligunda at Poginuru in the presence of the deity to Somarasibhattaraka of Isvara line, for dispensing free education [Vidya dana), for feeding the ascetics, and renovation of the matha.

The gavundas of Kiruvennagara, the house of the Perggades [to which belonged Bediyanna] raised a flower garden by paying land value.[18] [A.D. 1017 - 18]. In A.D. 1021, the Udeya chief of Nugunad caused the temple at Belaturu which had become dilapidated and fallen to the ground to be renovated, and consecrated the Linga, which had been pulled out. Basavayya, son of Murugasetti performed the Rudrahoma, and fed 1000 people, and offered Bali (propitiatory oblation). Jayagonda perumadi gavunda, son of Javani-gavunda of Belatur and Basava-setti and Magabhe purchased 15 kulas of wet land and 5 kulas of flower garden and presented them to the temple by pouring libation water with the knowledge of the village and ayamannangar (Landholders), Tamarind trees and flower garden were also included. Chovavu of the temple servants also joined in making the gift and had it engraved.[19]

A similar benefaction was from Nanigunda in A.D. 1021-22.[20] [S. 943] On a lunar eclipse day, while the Edadurainadu was enjoying peace, ths god Mallesvara was consecrated by Malla-Gavunda (the deity being named after himself) the son of Enagara-Kumbayya of Nandigunda in Maisu nadu. Erema and Kumbayya joined him. Malla-gavunda gave land for the temple priest, for the perpetual lamp, besides oil for lamp from a hand-mill. His father-in-law and son-in-law had also set up a shrine for which he made further grants. Family ties played a great part in the benefactions made.

Transfer of land either by sale or by donation is attested and such transfers were of undivided parcels expressed in terms of shares.[21] At the instance of Rajendrachola-gamunda, the Gamunda of Kundu nadu Todu nurru nadu of Gangaikonda Chola Valanad of Mudikonda Chola Mandalam, Karaikkandaiyyan son of Segattu yuvilagamarayan granted 2 khandugas jawar-growing land and a kulaga of seeds[22] (A.D. 1045-46).

A number of fragments found at Madhavamantri dam could yield valuable information but they are tantalisingly incomplete. *Three pons* were endowed for a perpetual lamp by a lady. The share of the yield from 4 ma of land annually to be measured to the deity Rajarajavitrankadevar was 2 *kalams* and tuni of paddy for one kalam of rice to be hulled and supplied.[23]

Chikkakati is another place where Kesavabhatta (in A.D. 1049)[24] son of the illustrious Achayya of Torekaratti caused a temple to be constructed for the merit of his father and mother. 100 *Batta* of land and 6 cows were

also gifted, the latter for a lamp. Makayya, son of Biyalable, and Rachamma son of Mara Vadeya grandson of Kongani-gavunda of Elandevadi in Hosanad gave money to Kesavabhatta and the Sabha (the assembly of Brahmins) and bought from them wet and dry lands. In S. 971 (A.D. 1048) Makkayya gifted cows. Provision was also made for the learned and those well-versed in the Vedas.

Nadagandaraditya-chola-gavunda Rachayya son of Uthama Chola Gavunda, of Koligala of Navale-nad consecrated Gangesvaradeva and donated five Kolagas of dry-land below Tavudahalli tank and 300 *puttis* from the village and oil from oil-mill (A D. 1053).[25] The adoption of names after the Chola emperors is noteworthy.

A more poignant episode is from Hebbalaguppe. In the 18th year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1088-89), Alagiya-chola of Peruvayal, the Nalgavunda of Navile nadu made a grant. His son Navalashiraja died, and his wife (daughter-in-law) (eleti) Tapareya Kammari died by entering fire. A flower garden of 100 *ghatias* land in Kadammanere and 10 kolagas of dry land in Kongunikere were provided for the charity.[26]

In S. 1030 (A.D. 1108) Muttagavunda *alias* Satya vakya gamunda from Karai nadu in Gangaikonda chola vala nadu erected the temple of Mulastha-namudaiyan, excavated a tank, with a sluice (tumbu).[27] Stone oil mills, apparently to supply oil[28] and a lamp[29] were other grants made.

In 1060-61 A.D. one Karikala chakravarti granted to Kulatturan Solandan of Munga family of Kulattur in Kaivara-nadu in Nigarili chola Mandalam Kulattur, together with the lands as his Kani (his holding), also a cloth (Parivattam) as an honour. The beneficiary built a tank and a temple in the land so gifted.[30]

Talakad had the renowned shrine of Rajaraja-varamudaiyar. The entire lands in Rajarajapuram with all the income from the taxes and the land dues payable by the occupants and the cultivators [Kudi-irai] were granted to the God and these were made over to the priests [the Deva Karmies].[31]

The evidence marshalled is enough to indicate the chiefs of the Nadu, the headmen of the villages, and men of smaller parcels out of filial affection or piety had made endowments. The data will also indicate the need for reconstructing the historical geography of the tract for which ample data is available.

We may now consider the evidence available on how the endowments made were administered or maintained. The township organisation

had been of a piece with the structure obtaining in the Chola empire elsewhere. Its character was determined by the pre-dominant community of occupants holding lands. Its functions were also identical-to assign or sell communal lands, to collect taxes, and look after the common affairs.

The Sabha of Marudur *alias*.... Madevachaturvedimangalam including... yan, Tekkaya . . . Vikkayan, Madhavayan, Irugamaiyan. Sama . . . sold land for 100 kalanju of gold received from Rajaraja's sister, Periyakundavai alvar for providing for the Vishnu temple at Tadimalingi. $1\frac{11}{12}$ *veli* of dry land were made tax-free. To its north lay a land for the washerman service. The Nagarathar agreed to carry out the services. The Accountant of the village Devan Karalan wrote the deed.[32] The Srivaishnavas were to protect the grant.

Sutturu had a Sabha, the members of which consisting of Tevaya Somaya, Narayana, Narasinga, Chavundayya of Sriyur sold land to two donors, Teva nadu velan and Munchadi Ariyam Chimma and made the lands tax-free. Two Kandigas and 10 Ballas of land were sold for 2 kalanjus of gold. The lands were tax-free as the tax proceeds were appropriated for services in the temple. The gifts were to be protected by Aychamayya, a Brahmin Odeya of Kereyur in Kadambaliga nadu, the Nanadesis of the nadu and the Brahmasettis of Ayyapolil, the five hundred. The endowment was for goddess Durgadevi shrine.[33]

The Sabha (at Talakad) granted land to a matha and a house (manai) and at their instance the grant was engraved by Ottaggiri Konda Cholavacharya.[34]

In A.D. 1015-16 a lamp service was instituted for the Tiruvolakka (for the god to be taken in ceremonial procession) in the temple at Tadimalingi (Jananathapuram as it is named in the inscription). Dandanayaka Panchavan Manukunakesari *alias* Panchavan—marayan endowed 2 *madai*. The Nagarattār of Jananathapuram received the amount for supplying daily 3 *padi* of oil to the temple.[35] The township's name is after one of the titles of Rajaraja-I. It was in Idainadu in Gangai Konda chola vala nadu in Mudigonda cholamandalam.

Another instance of A.D. 1035 - 36 is interesting, also from Tadimalingi.[36] An endowment was made for the temple. Iravikulamanikkavinnagar alvar by Uthamacholaviccadiaraiyan [a servant in the entourage of the queen 'Nambirattiyar'] [?]. The donor gave three Mudigonda cholan madai. The interest rate was per month Kunri pon per madai and per year 3/4 pon and 3 manjadi. The interest proceeds were to be utilised for feeding people during Panguni festival. The rate of interest works out to 30·/.

The Nagarattar of Jananathapuram agreed to have this endowment carried out. They also made a gift of their own to god Sudda mallesvaram udaiyar[37].

In Ennagumba the predominant landholders were agriculturists—Ur gamundas.[38]

In the 40th year of Kulottunga [A.D. 1110 ?] lands were donated to Tiruviramisvara mudaiya Mahadevar, 1000 kuli to the north of the Devadana, and 1000 kuli under a tank. The donors were Gangaikonda chola valanadalvan *alais* Malan, Nagan .... konda chola gamundan, Kacchchalakonga velan of Erumaikunbam in Ennai nadu in Gangaikonda chola vala nadu in Mudigonda chola mandalam. The donees were the head of the matha, Deva sivapanditar's son Amurtakattaar. The latter and his four brothers set up the temple and hence the grant was a Madapariyalam [Madapuram] or charitable endowment. They were not to pay the tax on Matha [house tax], grass tax, tax in lieu of compulosory labour and other proceeds which were remitted. The grant was described as made by the Ur and the Gamundas, the leaders of the agricultural community.

Individual holdings werc also sold for charitable purposes. In A.D. 1114 the Sthanapatis [the Authorities in charge of the temple] Marajiya, and Nagajiya had been in ejoyment of equal share. Nagajiya sold his share to Marajiya in the presence of several individuals. Both belonged to Karavura.[39] The witnesses were Cholagamunda son of Madimara Machaga gaunda, Macha gaunda, son of Madeyara nadalva of Karavura, Nemi setti, the chief of the Ede-dore-nad 1000-tala, the villagers of 12 villages and the 5 manigars, and Nemagaunda of Tandaya and another of Kaniya. Cholachari son of Nakara-chari of Karavura was also a witness.

Another grant in Nagarle was to be administered by the Gavara, the Settigutta, and the nada-gavundas.[40]

The region has thrown up a large volume of inscriptions in which the mercantile groups, the Tisaiayirattanuruvar, and the Nanadesis figure. Their prasasti is also recorded in some of them as already noticed. In Kempana-pura[41] there was a settlement of the soldiery of the mercantile community who guarded the highways and afforded protection. This was in Velur in padinadu in Gangaikondachola valanadu. It had another name Rajadhiraja caturvedimangalam—eri vira pattanam. The learned editors have taken the inscription to mean that the village was converted into an eri-virapatnam, for a

mercantile settlement, this need not be. Instances are not wanting of composite townships where there were mercantile settlements [e.g., Tiraimur] and Brahmadeya land holders [Caturvedimangalam]. Another instance could be cited—Rajarajacaturvedimangalam in Mulli nadu where there was also an eri virapattinam.[42] It is hence better taken to refer to the mercantile settlement in Rajadhiraja caturvedimangalam, the predominantly Brahmin settlement. The contents of this grant have already been noticed above.

Finally, a grant to a Jaina temple at Kelasuru was made in the 12th century. The village Kelasur was in Kudugurnadu in Gangaikonda chola valanadu in Mudigonda cholamandalam. It was made by Vikramasolappermadi gamundan the gamunda of the nadu from Kallur village. It was engraved by Manikkachari son of Rajachari, the [tattan] smith of .... kulam.[43]

One of them was also honoured. Gogge-Gavunda of Nagavadi bestowed upon the son Biravachari the title of Goggiyachari naming him after himself. Several persons including the smith Chamundayya, Basara the barber, the blacksmith Bivani, washerman Buna, and several others are cited as witnesses.[44]

Summing up, the three categories of township organisations were noticeable—the Sabha, the Nagara and the Ur. The Nagara, and the mercantile groups are more conspicuous. The Ur or agricultural community—organisations figure but rarely in the sampling here. But a large number of leaders or chiefs of the agricultural community collectively or individually are seen to be donors or executors of the donations made. The Sabha and the Nagara have discharged functions similar to those which their counterparts in the Tamil country did. Nevertheless the royal officials and generals also had conjointly supervised the endowments besides making some. The Sri vaisnavas of the township and the temple authorities [Sthanattar] also have had an oversight, and direct responsibility for the fulfilment of the endowments. Each township had its own service holders, the accountant, the goldsmith, the washerman etc. A committee system for executing the decisions of the community-organisation was in vogue.

It now remains to trace some of the particularly interesting inscriptions noticed in Mysore district dating to this period.

in A.D. 1097 at Belaturu there lived in Nugunad a family of chiefs It gives the genealogy of Ereyanga and of the chiefs of Eda nadu. A scion of the former, Echa of Peruvayal, the ruler of Navilenad was married to Dekkabe, a lady of the latter family. Echa was a great wrestler and for having killed a rival the king put him to death. Dekkabe entered the funeral

pyre, despite attempts at dissuading her by her relations. A flower garden was created to commemorate this incident. Dekkabe herself had granted a flower garden and 5 kolagas of wet land south of Malla tank she had created. Malla a Brahmin wrote a poem and Singachari engraved it.[45]

At Kaliyuru in A.D. 1007 a pillar of victory was set up to celebrate Aparameya of the Tilla family, lord of Kottamandala who alone on his excellent horse fought in Kalavur- Elaga, Poysala, and innumerable soldiers and drove away and killed many. He had the title of Kulamanikya.[46] Aprameya was a subordinate of Rajaraja-I.

Reference has already been made to the Prasasti of the Virabalanja, with the Gudda flag who were the mercantile community with far-flung contacts all over South India.[47]

Numerous fragments of inscriptions as from Mudigonda (Kollegal taluk)[48] and other places referred to above, if patiently analysed, can yield a great deal of information on the economic conditions of the times.

To sum up, a careful and painstaking study of the texts of the inscriptions with the clear comprehension of the true intent and purport of the text and by understandingly interpreting the terms that occur in the contemporary sense in which they were used will yield a great deal of knowledge and data to truly discern the social and economic conditions and the life of the people, the common man, his joys and travails. An impression has often been created that the epigraphs in Karnataka or elsewhere are not as full of details of the kind revealed in the inscriptions of the Tamil tracts. This lacuna is more apparent than real. True, some of the inscriptions are not preserved in full and to that extent they are tantalising. But there is enough for those who are curious and turn their minds critically to unravel the information that can be culled, even from the available inscriptions. I have also indicated some of the fruitful lines for investigation thrown up by my study.

I would particularly plead for a patient study and interpretation of each term that occurs. Lexicography, etymology, contemporary literature, and above all a concordex of the inscriptions both from within the region and outside and contextual similarity/identity of the occurrence of the terms —especially fiscal—in Tamil inscriptions should all be aids to satisfactorily fulfil this task. Here as elsewhere co-operative and composite scholarship should be pressed into service, and greater interaction among them should be rewarding.

The Mythic Society, I am sure, true to its objectives and in the spirit of the founder-members would foster this investigation. There can be no higher tribute or form of commemorating Narayana Iyengar's scholarship and contributions than pursuing these lines of original historical research.

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1. Tn 124, 173, 213, 214, 216, 231, 291, Ch 1, 132, 167, Ko 73, Hg 44, 27, Nj 131
2. EC IV 406/Ch. 2, IV H 34, 5. III Hg 7, Hg 98, Hg 122, V Kn 113, III Hg 10, V Kn 85, V My 113, 114
3. EC III Hg 34
4. EC V/Kn 110
5. EC V. TN 230, The translation at pp 87-88 that the Gamundas (deposited) into the treasuries of Periyakundavai Alvar from the temple treasury will have to be revised. The text is correctly rendered here by me,
6. EC V TN 229,
7. EC III, Nj 215
8. EC IV, Ch. 186
9. EC V, TN 180
10. EC IV, YI, 98 (Agara).

10A. The translations at p. 754 of EC IV is incorrect and needs to be revised as rendered by me here.

11. EC IV, YI. 143, p. 765
12. EC. IV, Nos. 67-145
13. EC. V, TN. 57: The translation of Tirumurram should be the temple courtyard and not "subsidiary shrine."
14. EC IV, Ch. 146
15. EC III, Hg. 59
16. My interpretation differs from the translation provided in the EC Vol. III (On the pigs roasted in ceremonies good and bad, please see another instance IPS 281 and my PUDUKOTTAI STUDIES, p. 14. (Narthamalai)
17. EC, IV, Ch. 145
18. EC V Tn. 142
19. EC III, Hg. 58
20. EC III, Nj 201
21. EC V Tn. 192
22. EC IV. Kg. 65
23. EC V, 247 : Frag. 2 & 4
24. EC III, Gl. 56
25. EC III, Hg. 32
26. EC. III, Hg. 61 (Nalgavunda-in Tamil : Nadu gamundan
27. EC III, Nj, 348
28. EC III; Nj, 166
29. EC V, Tn. 179
30. EC V, Tn. 104 (Kolaturu)

31. EC V, Tn. 211
32. EC V, Tn. 227
33. EC III. Nj. 213
34. EC V, Tn. 217 - The rendering of Sabha (as of agriculturists) is not appropriate. It was a group of Brahmin occupants EC V, Tn 189 p. 973. ibid 217. see p. 980. ibid
35. EC V, Tn 233
36. EC V, Tn. 232 : My rendering differs from the translation of the learned editors.
37. EC V, Tn. 239
38. EC IV, Ch. 303
39. EC III, Nj 169 - I have slightly departed in interpreting the content of the endowment from the editors. The term Sthanapati is rendered as "priests" at p. 276 and as the local officials at p. 698
40. EC III, Nj. 241
41. EC IV. Ch. 146
42. ARE. No. 348 of 1916 (Tiruvaleswaram)
43. EC III, Gl. 102 - For a similar signatory Sengalantakan *alias* Madaratakavaya naman Kannukkiniyan who had the hereditary services of the goldsmith in the township. Pl. see. EC. IV, YL. 97,
44. EC V, My 22I
45. EC III. Hg. 60
46 EC V. Tn. 220
47. EG III, Hg. 59 (Belattur)
48. EC IV, Kl. 93 to 117. Most of these relate to Hoysala contemporaries of the Cholas

THE SAGA OF THE CHOLAS
(A Historical Kaleidoscope)

The Sangam age (A.D. 100 - 400)

The Cholas are, indisputably, the greatest dynasty in South Indian History. They date back to the earliest known period of Tamil history - the first 3 or 4 centuries of the Christian era. The Sangam literature refer to a few famous rulers - Koccenganan, with a religous bent of mind, who built temples to Siva all along the course of the Cauvery. Karikala was easily the greatest, in war and peace, who put the Chola kingdom on the map, and was reputed to have built dams, to harness the river Cauvery for agriculture. Trade with Rome and Greece was flourishing even then. The administration was well-organised. Urban growth and prosperity was noticed as at the capital, Urayur, and ports like Puhar.

An age of Obscurity (From the 5th to 9th century)

Then followed an age of eclipse. The Kalabhras held the land until the Pallavas in the north, and the Pandyas in the South re-asserted their authority by the end of the sixth century. The Cholas were, however, only feudatories under the Pallavas at this time.

The Cholas of Vijayalaya Line (From 9th century onwards)

It was Vijayalaya Chola (A.D. 850 - 870) who wrested Thanjavur and made it his capital, and set the Cholas on the track of a rising Imperial power. His son, Aditya-I (A.D. 870 - 907) carried forward that policy, captured the territory held by the Muttarayar Chiefs in the Cauvery basin (circa A.D. 890), annexed portions of the Pallava territory and Kongu (Salem-Karur tract). The Gangas acknowledged his supremacy. From then on, a number of vigorous Chola rulers pursued a policy of conquest and annexation, laying the true foundations of the Chola empire.

Parantaka-I (A.D. 907 - 953) even at his succession had the entire tract-from Kalahasti to Cauvery - including Kongu under him. He campaigned in the south, conquered the Pandyas and extended his authority right upto the land's end, Kanyakumari. The Banas, on the west, were also subjugated. Towards the end of his reign (A.D. 949), however, the Rashtrakuta king Krishna-III invaded the Chola kingdom. In a pitched battle at Takkolam, the Crown prince Rajaditya lost his life. Krishna extended his sway into Tondaimandalam (Chingleput and North Arcot district) at the expense of the Cholas.

The successors of Parantaka (A.D. 935 - 985) were rulers of varied ability. Gandariditya was a pious ruler and his queen Sembiyan Madevi not only built a temple and township named after hereself but endowed liberally land, gold and jewellery and vessels to other shrines throughout her long life spanning six reigns of the Chola monarchs.

Sundara Parantaka-II recovered partly the lost territories both in the south from the Pandyas and with greater success in the north from the Rashtrakutas. Uthama Chola, his successor and a rather unworthy son of the devout Gandaraditya held secure the recovered territories in the north, and instituted administrative checks of religious institutions and endowments. He was succeeded by Rajaraja, son of Sundara Parantaka-II.

Rajaraja the Great (A.D. 985 - 1014)

Rajaraja-I ushered in an era of grandeur, and glory. Not a little of his achievements in war, in administration, in the building of temples and fostering arts and literature were due to his own personal ability and his versatile personality. Rajaraja conquered the Cheras, the Pandyas, and his empire embraced Tuluva, Konkan coast (on the west), Malabar, and Coorg and also the northern part of Sri Lanka, which became a province (*mandalam*) named after him. He also conquered Gangapadi, Nolambapadi, Tadigaipadi- the entire Mysore plateau. The boundaries of the two great empires at the time of the Western Chalukyas in the Deccan, and the Cholas in the South abutted each other. Towards the close of his reign, Vengi (the Eastern part of Deccan i.e., the Andhra country) was also brought under his sway. He had a good fleet which helped conquer the 12,000 Maldive islands. In this expansion of the empire, he was ably assisted by his Crown Prince Rajendra, who utilised the army and the navy built up by his father to fuller use in making further conquests in the north-eastern India and across the seas in the Malay archipelago.

Rajaraja's reign was at once the most formative and productive period in the Chola history. A great builder, the Brihadesvara temple at Thanjavur is a standing monument to Rajaraja's Imperial stature. He provided for its upkeep by endowing the land-dues from a number of villages, including some in Sri Lanka. The gems, gold and jewellery brought as booty were dedicated to the Great Lord he installed. He was as liberal in his grants as he was careful in the check and control of the use of their proceeds. His benefactions extended to the Buddhist Vihara at Nagapattinam, the Jain temple as at Tirumalai (North Arcot district), besides numerous Siva and Vishnu temples that proliferated at the time, in step with new colonisations in the Empire.

A patron of literature, dance, music, painting and sculpture, he has left permanent vestiges in every one of these. The Saiva hymns were recovered, codified and provision was made for their recitation. Dance and music were cultivated assiduously in the vast temple halls and court arenas, and were in everyday vogue. Painting with natural and most sensitive touches, realistic and vigorous even today embellish the high circumambulation of the Thanjavur tower. A variety of literary forms, of folk-dance (Kuravanji) and drama, glorifying the God, and His son, the Emperor were composed and rendered. In sculpture and architecture, a vigorous style using the granite stone with full-blown beauty and charm and embellishment was in evidence. Above all, the era of the Cholas, and of Rajaraja in particular, was unsurpassed in bronze casting of images and idols, of Gods and men, of royal and noble personages. It was an age of high technological excellence in metallurgical casting and perfection which at once aided, and, was aided by, a religious revival of dedicated forms of Hindu worship.

His constructive talent organised the empire with a well-knit administrative setup, with several tiers of the chancery, ensuring effective control over revenues, and a powerful standing army, and naval wing. And yet, the autonomy of the local organisations was not abridged, but fostered and woven in as effective instruments of a progressive imperial policy and benevolence. Rajaraja-I, the founder of the glory of the Imperial Cholas was also the greatest ruler of the dynasty.

Rajendra-I (A.D. 1012 - 44) **(A great conqueror)**

Rajendra had inherited an extensive empire and a stable administration, with a trim army and navy, His reign was one of a series of wars and conquests in the first half of the reign in which he had associated his son, Rajadhiraja. Other scions of the family were appointed as Governors of the Pandya territory and Sri Lanka province with co-regent status. Rajendra's conquests extended to the Raichur doab and Banavasi (Goa coast) territories which were wrested from the Western Chalukyas. Other wars were to suppress the risings in Sri Lanka and Kerala. Finally he led an audacious raid across the Baster State (Chakkarakottam) right upto the Ganges in Bengal and brought to his new capital, Gangaikonda Cholapuram water trophy (Cholagangam).

He deployed the strong navy (about A.D. 1026) against the king of Kadaram and Srivijaya and its several dependencies Pannai, Malaiyur, Mayirudesigam, Ilangersokam, Mapappalam, Talaittakkolam (Takuapa), Ilamuridesam, Manakkavaram - all in Malay Archipelago, and Indonesia and in Nicobar islands. These could, possibly have had the motive to

stabilise the Chola share in the trade then revived with China, or a mere spectacular march of conquest to impress upon the distant rulers and climes across the seas the Chola might and prowess.

Towards the close of his reign, the Western Chalukya territory was, again, invaded and its ruler Ahavamalla was, again, defeated. The crown prince brought a fine sculpture of a Dvarapalaka from Kalyanapura, the Chalukyan capital as war-trophy and had it installed at Darasuram. Rajendra's closing years were the most splendid period of valour and might of the Cholas. His long career of conquest could have but left little time for him to attend to details of internal administration. It is a tribute to Rajaraja's organising capacity that despite this military preoccupations of his son, the administration was able to function on its own effectively ; it is equally an attribute of the virile local autonomous communal organisations functioning with intense local concentration to secure public weal.

Successors of Rajendra-I

Three sons of Rajendra succeeded him in turn - Rajadhiraja-I (A.D. 1018 - 54), Rajendra-II (A.D. 1052 - 1064), Vira Rajendra (A.D. 1062-3 to 1069) followed by Adhirajendra (A.D. 1067 - 70), son of the last ruler. The war against the Western Chalukyas was continued with unabated vigour ; partly because they were butting into the Vengi affairs which had been drawn closer to the Cholas, by successive matrimoninal alliances. Though Rajadhiraja him. self died in the battle at Koppam, his brother heroically crowned himself on the very battle-field and wrested victory for the Cholas. Another memorable battle was at Kudal-Sangamam and the Cholas retrieved Vengi and bestowed it upon Vijayaditya. The Chalukyan power, however, remained unbroken. Down south, Sri Lanka was falling apart, their rulers striving tirelessly to regain their independence.

Fusion of Chola - Chalukya Ties

The main Vijayalaya line was thinning out. The reign of Adhirajendra was troubled, and the Chola empire was looking out for a worthy Emperor. Kulottunga-I (Rajendra as he was called at home), the Eastern Chalukya offspring through two successive Chola matrimonial alliances came on the scene and set at naught the disturbed conditions in the Chola kingdom. Thus was effected a fusion of the Chola and Chalukya dynasties.

Kulottunga-I (A.D. 1070 - 1120-5)

Kulottunga-I was a statesman who aimed at the possible good, giving up the impossible better. The Chola province in North Sri Lanka was lost for ever from about A.D. 1081, Venad (South Travancore) also rose in revolt but was suppressed. The hold over the Pandyan kingdom was loosening

from the latter part of the reign. But Vengi was incorporated with the Chola Empire and was ruled by a Viceroy. With Vengi as the base, he waged two wars against the Kalingas, celebrated in Tamil Literature. Towards the end of the reign, Gangavadi in the west was lost to the Hoysalas, and the northern half of Vengi to the Western Chalukyas who subdued the Velanadu prince, when Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga's son, left to take over his richer inheritance of the Chola throne. But trade and commerce were encouraged, especially with the Far-East and even a mission was sent to China.

Kulottunga's Successors

But Vikrama's inheritance, thus was an attenuated empire, confined practically to the Tamil country. His reign (A.D. 111 - 1135) was seventeen years of peace, marred only by occasional natural calamities like floods. He successfully re-established his authority over the southern part of Vengi but could not recover Gangavadi. Peace and stability in the residual empire continued under Kulottunga-II (A.D. 1133 - 1150). The Western Chalukyas were, however, a powerful rival in the north and this led to the eclipse of the Chola power and influence, such as was left, there.

The Beginning of the Decline (From A.D. 1146 - 1178)

The history from Rajaraja-II's reign (Accession A.D. 1146) was one of gradual rise of feudatories and vassals and the conquered territories carving out their independence. The Velanadu chiefs had become more powerful, asserting their rule in their own right. In the reign of Rajadhiraja-II (A.D. 1163), a civil war among the Pandyan princes had prompted a Ceylonese intervention and invasion of the mainland. This was repulsed. But the Pandyas and the Venad rulers were restive and were re-asserting their independence soon.

The Glow Before the Sunset: Kulottunga-III (A.D. 1171 — 1217 - 8)

Kulottunga-III, who was again not from the main line of succession, by dint of his sheer personal ability stemmed the tide of the disruptive forces which were steadily increasing in number and intensity. His reign marked the last great epoch in Chola architecture, art and literature. The Telugu Chodas had asserted fully their independence. Kanchi was lost but recovered The Adigamans in Kongu, however, recognised Chola sovereignty. The Pandya were overcome and Kulottunga gave went to his wrath by destroying Madurai and anointing himself there, only to be repaid in his own coin by the powerful Pandyan ruler, Maravarman Sundara Pandya-I (Accession A.D. 1216). These wars were carried on for well over two decades, weakening economically both the kingdoms. The Pandyas were successful at the end. Kulottunga-III was a great builder, and several new temples and extensions were built. It was also marked by high attainments in Tamil literature and poetry. But the glory of the Cholas was fast ebbing out.

The Decline (A.D. 1216-1279)

Between Rajaraja-III and Rajendra-III (A.D. 1216-1279) the first was a weak and even foolish ruler. and the second a somewhat abler but unlucky successor; together they faced successive calamities. In the north, Kanchipuram was captured by Tikka, and later by Kakatiya Ganapati for a while and finally annexed by the Telugu Chodas. The Pandyas and the Venad rulers down south were firmly on the saddle and on the ascendant. The Hoysala rulers in the west, had become so powerful that they invaded more than once the Tamil country and imposed their supervening authority. They held the balance between the Pandyas and the Cholas alternately, containing either of the powerful contestants at a time. In the heart of the Chola territory, a chieftain, Kopperunjinga was so powerful as to defeat the Chola ruler Rajaraja-III and imprison him in the former's capital, only to be released by the help and strength of their saviour, the Hoysalas. In the reign of Rajendra-III, the Chola kingdom had shrunk back to the size it had under the early Cholas. The rise of the feudatories, the illegal exactions and multiplicity of demands made by local chieftains and magnates had all imposed a visible stress and strain on the agrarian community and local administrative organisations. The central authority was but nominally felt. But the paddy prices seemed to be somewhat more favourable than even in the hey-day of the Chola glory, perhaps because of the freer circulation of grain and the lesser vigour and control of the central authority.

The Lasting Impact of the Cholas

The history of the Cholas, in a sense, from the 10th to the 13th century was the history of India, south of Vindhyas. The Chola age in South Indian history was an age of grandeur and lasting achievements. The greatest Tamil poet Kamban produced his epic 'The Ramayana' noted for its classic poetic diction and dramatic characteristics and excellence. Ottakuthan, the court poet, wrote euologies of the Chola military achievements (*Parani*) and of the Emperors (*Ulas*). Pugalendi was another epic-poet. Music and dance were assiduously practised, with several instruments in support, in every township and temple. Monumental sculptures and architecture and bronze casting of images and idols were unsurpassed in their workmanship. These were the lasting legacies of the Cholas.

Tamil Nadu, in particular, and the empire as a whole had economically been developing, thanks to royal grants, and the initiatives of township communities and individuals. Irrigation and agriculture had expanded and occupations were diverse. New settlements had sprung up. More land should have been under the plough and more grain should have been available at the end of the Chola epoch than at its beginning. The village communities and local pluralistic organisations far from being hamstrung were themselves

fashioned into effective but willing accredited instruments for implementing the central authority and the king's commands. They continued to be so for over four centuries (9th to 13th) until the larger constituents, the Nadus, and the feudatories and individual chieftains sucked out the essence of local initiative and authority. Even so, the Chola land administrative system had left its lasting impress on the revenue system and terminology of Tamil Nadu.

Rajaraja-I's Contribution and Place Therein

The chief architect of this structure and its varied achievements was Rajaraja-I. His was a magnificent personality, many-sided in its brilliance. He built an Empire which held together for over a century, and an administrative organisation with permanent vestiges still to be seen. He fostered art, architecture and literature with care and by his liberal patronage. He planned the edifice grand in its design, truly like a Titan and finished it like a jeweller, with unremitting care and attention to detail that characterise the Chola sculpture and architecture even today.

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THE CHOLA TOWNSHIPS

The Chola Townships - a paradoxical blend

A strong personal monarchy could sound the death-knell of local autonomy and initiative. A virile local autonomy and initiative institutionalised at the unit level would be the very antithesis of a strong personal monarchy. Paradoxically enough, there was one type of institution which blended both the local autonomy and initiative, and its functioning as an instrument for implementing royal command and decrees. That was the Chola Township. This paradoxical mix worked for nearly four centuries from the 9th to the beginning of the 13th century very successfully.

Their Variety

There was a variety of Townships, largely determined by the predominant composition of land-occupancy-holders who constituted its residents. The Brahmadeya was a Township where the King's share of the land-dues either in whole or in part was granted to the Brahmins learned in the Vedas and the Sastras. Where the earlier occupancies were extinguished the grant had included the land and its usufruct or yield as well. The content of the grant was a question of fact, that could be determined only with reference to the terms of the grant and the subsisting tenures.

The other varieties of Townships were—

The Devadana : Grant to temples for maintenance ;

The Madappuram : Grant for the maintenance of Mathas ;

The Nagara : The township where the predominant occupancy holders were the merchants or merchant-community ;

The Ur : The townships where the predominant occupancy holders were the agriculturists ;

The Padaiparru : This was also of the same type as the Ur, with this difference that the occupancy-holders had the obligation to serve as the soldiery or in the army of the chief or the king, as the case may be. In return for such loyal service, concessions were shown in the quantum of the land-dues payable to the latter.

The character of the township thus reflected the terms of land-holding, the composition of the predominant category of occupancy-holders, and the common identity of their interests. There were also composite townships

reflecting the shared interests like Devadana-Brahmadeya (Tirumayyam) or where more than one variety of townships had existed like Tiruvidaimarudur which had a Brahmadeya, an ur, and a nagara, all co-existing in different localised areas within.[1]

Their Expansion

The Chola age had witnessed a spurt in the growth of townships of all varieties. Their conquests had facilitated movement of population from the North to the South and *vice versa*. Matrimonial alliances had also led to similar influx of population from the neighbouring tracts.[2] Migration to the riverine ribbons in the South and in the North had occured. Trade and commerce also had expanded with the growth of the Empire. New commercial and mercantile settlements had sprung up as a result. Cantonment establishments, where the army was stationed, could also be noticed especially in the outlying areas of strategic importance.

Their Organisation

The land-owning elders constituted the organisation which functioned through its executive, the madhyastha or the accountant, or through the executive committees (Variyam). In larger townships division of responsibility was noticeable among the committees, which held office only for one year at a time. Everyone of these functional committees looked after its own function - Eri (tank), Tottam (garden), etc. Sometimes such committees were *ad hoc* to demarcate tax-free temple lands or make provisions for services commensurate with yield. Regulations have come to notice which barred continuous holding of office, or members who were persistently obstructive. Age, educational and property qualifications were enjoined. It was an *aristocracy* of landed gentry, and not a democracy. The Brahmadeya township had an assemblage of the land-based literati called the Mahasabha.[3] The ur and the Nagaram were similar assemblages of the respective constituents. They had joint and several responsibilities—which was set out specifically "Sabhaiyagavum, Tanittagavum" — and were collective in character. The corporate idea is itself a comparatively later concept, and the available evidence will easily contradict the popular or loose fathering of the 'Corporate' character on these ancient institutions.

Their Functions

The different types of the township organisations had discharged similar functions. They were the instruments for collecting state, dues and land dues, enforcing community-obligations for maintaining the tanks, canals, and bunds of rivers, and organising collective discharge of responsibilities for the township maintenance. They also, alongside other community organisations, had an oversight of the charitable endowments made, and of the temple administration and could call to

account any default or remissness in execution. They could allocate lands from unoccupied lands and lands at their common disposal or otherwise take steps for their productive use. The responsibility for the king's dues was paramount and in cases of individual default, or disowning by the agnates, the collective responsibility of the township was rigorously invoked, and they were even subjected to physical hardship if they presisted in not making good any amount defaulted or defalcated. This led sometimes to their dipping into their capital, assets to pay off revenue arrears and at other times even to pledge or buy off the jewellery of the deity.[4]

The townships could take on communal obligations, such as instituting or maintaining services in the temples or mathas or excavating tanks, etc. This they could do by voluntarily bearing the expenditure themselves. Alternatively they could receive a capitalised amount the interest proceeds from which were adequate to maintain the services, and/or pay the royal dues and other obligations where land was endowed. The capitalised deposit could be made either by the benefactor or the beneficiary. The royal dues could be granted only by the king or his agents. So too the obligations due from the community to the township and the Nadu could be foregone only by either of them, though the king's grant generally was followed by the grant of their part of the dues by the township or the Nadu. A closer analysis of the terms of the grant would indicate that the absolute tax-free grants by the king were only a fraction of the totality of the Endowments.[5]

Land-grants and their Economic Functions

Land grants had an economic function. They were instruments for reclaiming lands, and revival of cultivation after such reclamation. Thus extension of cultivation and payment of royal dues therefrom were rendered possible by such grants. Crops like betel-vine, plantains, arecanuts were preferred and where undertaken, an inducement remission on a progressive scale was allowed, so as to reach the optimal rate of demand by the 4th or 5th year when the crop comes to full yield. Similarly concessional rates (analogous to present-day increment remission) were also extended to new reclamation or revival of cultivation after the abandoned tanks and ayacuts were brought back to beneficial use after repair.[6]

Individual ownership of land was clearly attested by epigraphic evidence dating back to early Chola times. In fact, throughout that period, the townships were converting assiduously the unoccupied common into parcels of individual holdings, fastening occupancy and

land-demand on them. The end of the Chola period witnessed not only the extension of cultivation but also increase in individual occupancies.[7]

The townships were in their full vigour of functioning during the times of the Imperial Cholas. The watchful eye of the king's officers was constant, but it was not scotching or stifling.

This is a seminar on Rajaraja I and it is appropriate to linger over his own attitude to the Township affairs.

Rajaraja's role in regulating the townships and eleemosynary tenures

Rajaraja was a very effective ruler keenly attentive to his duties to supervise the proper conduct of services and the discharge of the responsibilities of every agency in the kingdom. He personally inspected the temples in the Chola heartland and caused the temples in outlying areas to be similarly inspected by high royal officials. Madhurantakan Gandaradittan was one such officer who frequently figured as an itinerant supervisor of the temples in Tondaimandalam. In the outlying areas this check and inspection was done through the agency of the township organisation itself as in Sucindram.[8]

The objects of the check were the following : (a) to account for all moneys, and lands endowed to a temple or a shrine; (b) to ensure the effective realisation of the full yield or shares due to the temple, (c) to ensure a scale of services fully appropriating the yield in cash and kind from such endowments made at current market prices and (d) to see that these services were performed by many sections of the people responsible therefor.

He took several steps to tighten the administration. Delinquent accountants were punished and their lands brought to sale (A.D. 1001). Arrears of revenue were also recovered with equal vigour bringing lands to sale, and debts undischarged, as at Tirukkadavur (A.D. 1001), were also recovercd by auction sale of the lands of the debtor In A.D. 1002, he ordered that lands alienated by the Brahmin holders in the Brahmadeya villages (except those held on service tenure) shall be sold.

Lastly in A.D. 1008, he ordered the township to resume and bring to sale lands held in the townships by the Brahmins, the Vaikhanasas and the Jains in Chonadu, Tondainadu and in Pandyanadu, belonging to those occupants who had not paid the taxes due on their holdings for three years, of which two were completed-between the 16th and 23rd years of the reign, and also those who would fall into arrears from the 24th year. Presumably the measure is intended to secure the full benefit of the grant to the beneficiaries.

It will be seen that Rajaraja was as benevolent in his grants as he was strict in the enforcement of the terms and conditions of the grant. He could tolerate no laxity and, to use a forceful phrase, "stand no nonsense."

Land Improvement measures

However, during the Chola times, the initiative and the scope for regulating their internal affairs especially in public interest, allocating lands for the temple servants, and the sale of lands for services to be instituted, improving the tanks, and such like purposes, were fully allowed and encouraged. Similarly steps to reclaim lands and bringing them to beneficial enjoyment, especially those damaged by floods or sandcast, conversion of dry lands to wet, and of forest lands to cultivable wet lands,[9] and planting of the preferred crops like arecanut and betel or plantains, were all undertaken by the townships, and sanctioned at the instance of rulers like Kulottunga[10]. These could have had the effect of augmenting the revenues. The Mahasabhas also regulated their own constitution and manner of functioning, but the presence of royal officials in such gatherings, if not their participation, is clearly attested by inscriptions. Deferential compliance with the royal wishes and implementation of his command were also clearly noticeable. These could illustrate the fine blend of the royal direction and surveillance and local initiative and action and the balance struck between the two divergent forces

The Township's Structure and Character

The township structure was internally cohesive and its attitude was inward-looking. The former trait springs from the homogenous composition of occupancy interests and the latter out of the premium on residential status that conferred certain rights and entailed duties. In fact, the tenants or cultivators from outside were discriminated against, and a tax (Pura vari) in cash was collected; but where local labour was scarce, this could be relaxed[11].

The Fiscal Weakness of that Structure

This inward-looking character had its weakness. For they could only demand services and cesses (besides the basic land-demand due to the king) from out of such resident occupants and/or their tenants. In fact the share of the land-dues payable to the township was, perhaps, the smallest. Such dues in cash were fractional but in services were far more. These services could be demanded only for specific purposes and occasions such as when the river bund breached or when freshes arrived, to clear the silt, or when a *Korombo* (bund) had to be put across the river to

divert water, The Kudimai or the tenantry obligations were thus self-lapsing in character, if the occasions did not arise to demand them. They could neither be capitalised nor carried forward. Hence in times of stress and strain, the townships could either by collective consent distribute the burden (Viniyogam) among the occupants or, alternatively, sell their capital assets of unoccupied lands, if any, were left to raise funds to meet the expenditure. They could not accumulate any resources.

When the royal dues had to be paid, and they were compelling in their demand, lacking a capital base, the townships had to sell their communal obligations (like Padikaval-watch and ward fee) or at the worst, sell or mortgage or borrow temple jewellery to pay off the dues, recompensing the deity by making either land-grants out of the unoccupied common or taking on the obligations on themselves.[12] In a sense, the annual tenure of the executive committees at once guaranteed the annual nature of the levies and their collection.

The positive side of such customary obligations lay in their fixity, inflexibility and definiteness. Even because they were customary and not written down, they were indefinite. But any transgression from custom could not be countenanced since there was a definiteness, a rigidity of content and enforceability.[13]

Plurality of Institutions in the Townships

The township organisation was only one, but there were other predominant, administrative institutions. There were others like interregional trade organisations (Nanadesis, Tisai ayirattu annurruvar), social groups (Samayam), sectarian groups (Sri Vaishnavas; Mahesvaras, Andars and Mathas) and occupational groups (oilmongers—Sankarappadiyar). Instances were not wanting when the townships' interests occasionally conflicted with those of the temple or other landholders. Some of them led to tragic incidents like self-immolation by the Andar or the Mahesvara to vindicate the claims of the deity/temple. The king or his chieftains had to interfere in such cases, and the disputes went in favour of the deity or the temple, invariably the township organisation recognising the rights of the former, and conceding what was legitimate, though not without avoidable loss of life for which they atoned by instituting special services and deifying the martyrs.

This plurality of institutions co-existing in the township had left its imprint in social, judicial and administrative set up of the community. It also implied the multiple or simultaneous cognizability of the wrong by any one of them by all or several of the others.[14]

Land Tenure Structure and Changes

The land tenurial structure was complex. There was a multiplicity of shared interests converging on the same parcel of land. The rights of one institution or share-interest-holder were the obligations of all others. There were a variety and severality of obligations distributed among the segmental interests and their holders.[15]

The course of township history never did run smooth. Towards the end of the 13th century, the burden of the royal dues was exacting, and growing in its volume and in occasionality of demand. Grain-dues were often demanded in the form of cash, and so too the services were capitalised. *Ad hoc* demands and distribution of burden had increased. With diminished capital assets, the townships had to increase such *ad hoc* demands when the pressure of the king's demand and its occasions had increased. This had led to tensions (a) between the king's men and the Chiefs and the township-occupants and (b) between the occupants and the tenants/the cultivators holding the lands under them. Self regulatory measures to contain such dues at the *status quo ante* level, resisting changes in the nature of demand, and its occasions, and in the mode of payment/performance were collectively deliberated upon and undertaken.[16]

While Rajaraja I prohibited the alienation of lands granted on favourable charitable tenures, by the time of Rajaraja III the beneficiaries were left with no alternative to selling such lands granted to pay up the increased, varied and vexatious land-dues demand.[17]

Their weakening effect

The end of the 13th century, then, marked the decline of the Imperial Cholas and waning of their authority. Local initiative and authority and organised customary land-obligations had met with rude a shake-up, and that tended to weaken the township organisation's efficacy and performance. This was aggravated by the changes in the revenue and police and their organised structure and functioning in the Nayak times. The individual holder of an estate, instead of the collective authority of the township, was coming more and more to the fore.

Organisation of the township into larger bodies, to resist the increased and new exactions with greater effect than was possible for them individually were noticeable. They were also preferred by the Nayak chieftains as a more facile method to recover their demand from a fewer number of collective bodies.[18]

The history of the townships over the five centuries is also the history of the changes that had occurred in the economic, agrarian and tenurial structure and their functioning in the period. It is a part of the paradox that the local initiative, authority and action had also suffered with the eclipse of the royal authority of the Cholas.

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RAJARAJA'S MEASURES FOR ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF ENDOWMENTS AND TEMPLE SERVICES

The year 1985 marks the thousandth year after the accession of Rajaraja-I to the Chola throne. Rajaraja-I was known to be a great conqueror who brought the whole of Southern India under his direct sway from sea to sea and also brought under his influence the kingdoms on the north bordering the Chalukyan Empire. It is rarely in history that a conqueror is himself an able administrator, who could set up an organisation that can at once see to the implicit obedience of the royal commands in the farthest part of the empire, and at the same time leave in tact the local initiative and autonomy of the township organisation. Rajaraja's singular achievement was this paradoxical welding of the central authority with local initiative.

He, however, did not leave things entirely to the townships unchecked and allow them to default. Conscious steps were taken to tighten the administration of endowments to see that the lands or the land revenue assignments due to the temples were realised and full appropriation of the realisation was made and the endowments were utilised for the specific objects for which they were instituted. These observations are fully substantiated by epigraphic evidence. Its spread both in time and over the area indicates that right through the reign, and from the northern most to the southern most point of the empire the impact of the royal check and control was felt, and it was all to the good.

Two records of Rajaraja-I in his 14th and 15th years respectively (999 A.D., and 1000 A.D.) from Suchindram are very significant bringing out the relationship between the *Mulaparudai Sabhaiyar*, the Brahmin executive council in charge of the temple affairs, and the *Mahasabha* of this *Brahmadeya* township.

Nripasekharanallur was an ancient *Devadana* village endowed to the Suchindram deity, together with its southern adjunct Tenvalanallur. In 999 A.D. in the month of Vrichchiga (November – December) Periyan Muvendavelan, (presumably a Chola royal official) had ordered that the under–tenants having sub-occupancy in the temple lands (*Kil Karanmai Udaya Kudigal*) and their co-parceners (*Dayadi Udayar*) who held lands shall deliver to the landlord interests ((*Miyatchiudayar*), as in all Nanjil-nadu villages 3 *kalams* per *ma* (33 cents) for all yielding lands. He later revised his own order, and increased the levy to 3 *kalam* and 1 *tuni* per *ma* on all yielding lands. Excluding the *Muraipadi* the share due at this rate shall be measured by the *Munnali Narayam*, the authentic measure of the deity, and shall be

transported to the temple at their cost and measured out at the temple. This rate was per crop; and it would be double for a double crop land. Lands on which (tenancy or occupancy) obligation had not been fastened shall be supervised by the temple executives or the priests *(Devakanmi)*. Those who negated this command shall suffer the penalty for those who transgressed the royal command, besides being held as heretics who had violated Siva dharma.[1]

This evidence is significant. In Rajaraja's time, there was a tightening of land administration and of the charitable endowments. The royal official had fixed initially a general rate of 3 *kalams* of paddy per *ma* on all occupancy-holders in townships in Nanjil-nadu, payable to the landlords or the holders of land under grant or assignment by the king. He thought it fit to himself raise it by 1 *tuni* per *ma* or by about 11 per cent on a single crop or by 22 per cent on double crop lands. This was particularly ordered to be paid by the tenants in the Devadana village, endowed to the temple, and their co-parceners. It could perhaps be inferred that the sub-occupancy tenancy on temple lands could be inherited or could devolve on co-parceners but might not be sold or made a usufructory mortgage of to aliens. In addition they had the obligation to deliver paddy at the temple, and measure out the paddy by the authorised temple measure. This implied the transport charges,[2] the losses in storage till delivery and the driage and the loading and unloading expenses–all had to be borne by the sub-tenants themselves and were to their account.

Perhaps, there could have been some under-assessment, or it might be that the increase was ordered specially on *Devadana* lands as distinguished from other private holdings. In the latter case, it was done despite the fact that some lands assessed and held on *Devadana* tenure had no occupants yet taking over the parcels This much is certain- the sub-occupancy holders were asked to pay more as their share to the grantees and were left with less. Naturally a disinclination to accept the enhanced obligation would have been the result The term *Kilkudikalilar* would, perhaps, imply that the occupancy-rights in the *Devadana* lands were held by the *Mulaparudai Sabhaiyar* or the temple executives - an inference which gains strength from the evidence of the document of 1000 A.D. set out below.

Already there were lands which were not held by the occupancy tenants; they were assessed but unoccupied. In such cases the temple executives were to supervise the cultivation of the lands by the cultivating tenants or the tenants at will. Such lands were in the nature of directly cultivated lands of the temple under the supervision of temple executives themselves. The cultivators suffered the additional disadvantage of being

tenants at will. If they were outsiders inducted into these lands they were also discriminated against by a levy *(Purakudi Vari)*, if the evidence from other areas could be grafted to this tract.

Conditions of tenancy under such terms, could have been onerous and the tenants were not easily reconciled to the upward revision of the land-dues obligation even if they were made payable on temple lands, and to the temple authorities. This inference is strongly suggested by the stern penalty imposed treating the default as treason and wilful disobedience of royal command *(Tiruvanai Maruttar Padum Pattum)* and it was even held to be a heresy.

It is pertinent to record a similar episode in Cheranmadevi in the time of the next emperor, Rajendra-I. In the 17th year and 7th day 1337 A.D, Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya, his son and viceroy converted 2 *velis* of land in Kallur village at Melvembu-nadu (Mela-kkallur in Tirunelveli taluk) and ordered that the land dues shall be paid to Sri Kailasamudaiyar temple at Cheranmadevi. Two years later (1039 A.D.), the occupancy-holders under the state who became temple-tenants after this grant, relinquished the lands.[3]

The reaction to this upward revision of land-dues rates by Muvendavelar could have been no different. Next year, the 15th year of Rajaraja-I's reign (1000 A.D.) on 30th day of Kanni (September-October), on a Tuesday Purattadi asterisk, the *Mahasabhaiyar* of Tiruchivindram, the *Brahmadeya* village in Nanjil-nadu in Rajarajavala-nadu, caused the bugles to be blown, and tomtommed and assembled in full in the dining hall. In their presence, and thereafter, the *Mulaparudai Sabhaiyar* who were administering the temple affairs of the Siva temple in the township delivered into the hands of *Mahasabhaiyar*, i.e. handed over charge to the *Mahasabhaiyar* of the township stating as follows:

"We could not pay the land-dues to the deity on the *Devadana* lands; nor could we administer the temple affairs. Nor would the occupants under the *Parudai* or those inducted by the *Parudai*, i.e., the non-occupants (*Parudai Kudiyilakalayittu*, *Parudai Kudiyilarum)* pay the land-dues to the deity. And hence they handed over charge of the administration of the temple affairs and endowments to the *Mahasabha*.

"Having thus ourselves relinquished these holdings and functions, if any of us individually claim any rights (hereafter) we shall be liable each to a fine of 10 *kalanju* of gold as penalty. If any of the erstwhile (occupancy) tenants claim any rights they shall (collectively) pay 50 *kalanju*

of gold as fine. Even after paying such fine they shall not prefer any claim towards or on the temple affairs or property and an oath *(Ottu)* by the tenants was sworn to by them, and the temple affairs were left with the *Mahasabha* of the township.

In the circumstances, the *Mahasabhaiyar* proceeded to transact the sacred business as below. The two committee members *(Variyam)* and the (one) accountant (*Karanattan*) together shall attend to the temple affairs. The emoluments for the three persons were fixed per individual per day 5 *nali.....padakku* and *alakku* paddy.

Further details of the annual administration of the lands by the committee members and the accountant are, unfortunately, not transcribed as the end is built in.[4]

Even the language of this relinquishment of their responsibilities by the *Mulaparudai Sabhaiyar* and the tenants and the procedure of declaration on oath (*Ottivittamayil*) bear a close resemblance to the relinquishment deed cited of the Kallur tenants some 37 year later.[5]

This evidence has to be set in perspective. In Rajaraja-I's time there was a conscious administrative check made through the officers administering temple affairs and temple lands, or through the royal officers and the townships were also involved in it.

Several instances could be cited, As early as in the 2nd year (987 A.D.) the chief, Arayan Acharakanda Brahmadirayan directed the *Mulaparudaiyar* of Mahendramangalam (Srinivasanallur in Musiri taluk, Tiruchirapalli district) that they should record compendiously (*Tirala)* the landgrants on *Devadana* tax-free tenure held by the temple, and allocate income from endowments for specific services and items of expenditure. The *Mulaparudaiyar* complied with this direction, and set up a committee (*Variyam*) and the committee and the accountant so set up prescribed a scale of outlay and service-endowments.[6] In the fourth year there was a similar enpuiry into the affairs of Agnisvara temple at Tirumalpuram by Madurantakan Gandaradityan.[7]

In the 5th and 6th year of his reign (990, 991 A.D.), Rajaraja himself directed the temple superintendent to fix a detailed schedule of services and assign a specific number of persons who were to have each his obligation. He also caused an obligation to be cast on the non-service holders residing in the house-sites belonging to the temple to come daily to the temple and hold the lamps in the temple[8] He also personally enquired in his 7th year (992 A.D.) into the endowment of the temple at Tiruchchaturai and directed the temple superintendent to set apart

endowed lands for food offerings to the deity within the township itself so that the land-dues therefrom could be easily realisable.[9] In the same year, when Madurantakan Gandaradittan personally came and worshipped the Alvar in Tiruvallam (Tikkali-Tiruvallam) after a bathservice with one thousand pots he noticed that the food-offerings made to the deity were deficient in ghee, and other side-dishes and the lamp was also burning but dimly (*Alasyamay*). He immediately questioned the Siva-Brahmans of the temple, and the Sabhayar of Tiruvallam to state the full endowments made by the royal orders and epistles.[10]

In Vedaranyam in the 16th year 36th day (1000 A.D.), Rajarajesvara-marayar sat on the common hall called Tirumaraikkadu Bhattar, and gathering the temple executives and others concerned, enquired into the cash dues they were paying (*Akkam*). He ascertained 24 (*Akkam*) were being paid, and after checking on the service-holders, and with their consent (*Tangal Esaivinal*) he increased the levy by 10 *kasu*, a six-fold increase. The additional proceeds were utilised for the sacred bath with 108 pots of water to the deity on the native asterisk of Rajaraja.[11]

In the 17th year, the land settlement officer, Tiruvadigal Sattan enquired into the provisions made for the temple of Tirunombalur-Paramesvara at Devanapalli in Tattaigala-nadu a sub-division of Keralantavalanadu and from the fines realised from the defaulting temple servants a gold diadem was made for the deity.[12]

A similar scrutiny by a royal official of the endowed lands of Tirunamanallur deity revealed that the lands had not been surveyed, and demands in paddy and gold were not fixed. The omission was rectified in the 18th year of Rajaraja.[13]

In Melsevur (Gingee taluk) in the 18th year (1003 A.D.) Arulmoli Muvendavelan camped at Perumandai, the headquarters of the *Nadu* of the name and was enquiring villagers (about the management of land and land-dues). Two temple executives from Kilvali Tantarripiran temple complained that the endowment-services and obligations had not been settled for that temple, and requested that taking into account the occupancy of holdings in *Devadana* ayacuts he (the Royal officer) should prescribe a scale of service obligations. The royal officer did so, and his proceedings were recorded in the temple.[14] The scale of services so fixed was augmented by the superintendent of the temple affairs, Sundara Chola Muvendavelan five years later (1008 A.D.)[15]

In a review of the 26th year and 206th day it is stated that the king's commissioner and trustee of Tiruvamattur temple called together the assembly and the residents of the temple and enquired into the temple affairs and

finding some surplus of paddy on measuring it by *Vidivitankan marakkal* instead of *Rajakesarikkal* he ordered the surplus to be utilised for the daily supply of *Akkara Adisal* (cooked rice mixed with sweet gur) to the god. This was made by Tamulan Korunangai of Surudhamanallur, a village in Vadakarai merkadu-nadu, a portion of Vesalippadi-Chaturvedimangalam.[16]

In Kalahasti (Chitoor district), in the 27th year (1011-12 A.D.) a royal official of the army *(Sirutanattu Panimahan)* Murkkan Pandi (the elder/ headman) of Urappanur was supervising the temple affairs.[17] In the same year 1012 A.D.) the head of the superintendents of the *Nadus* including Arrur-nadu (in which Tirukalatti, was situated), Vaippur-udayan Adiyan Bhuyangar summoned the temple-priests, and listed out specifically the cases of the services/endowments which they were derelict in executing.[18]

The vigilant supervision of Rajaraja's administration could not leave unnoticed the alienations of lands in *Brahmadeya* villages. In the 17th year (1002 A.D.), the royal orders issued were peremptory that such lands (other than those of the service-tenure holders in Brahmadeya villages) should be sold and the cash remitted.[19]

Some seven years later Rajaraja himself directed that the lands in the villages of eleemosynary tenures in the kingdom (Chonadu, Tondai-nadu and Pandi-nadu) held by the occupants who defaulted in the payment of land dues (within a stipulated period) shall be bought out by the residents of the town-ships concerned (as village-common lands) to the exclusion of the defaulters.[23]

The instances cited are from varied parts of the empire and cover the long period of the reign. The repetitive intensity of such check, almost from the beginning of the reign to its later years is striking. The king's personal grip over, and check of revenue administration is obvious, and extended to every detail of it. His anxiety to ensure particularly that lands granted to temples for endowments and on favourable terms were actually utilised for the purpose of the grants speaks out. There were two specific, effective, and organised administrative measures of check and supervision. The lands were surveyed and settled. In the case of temple lands for services royal officers enquired into the defaults and took steps for rectiftcation. They also checked the rates of land-dues paid, and did not hesitate to raise it where there was scope for increase. They tightened the control over the temple establishments, and insisted on the *Mulaparudaiyar* fully recording the endowments and the outlay therefor. Scales of services and emoluments were also prescribed, evolved and adopted. If the king's check over temple affairs in the Chola heartland was direct and personal even from the early years of the reign, it permeated through his chiefs and officers, commissioners, superintendents and the townships to the outlying reaches of the empire which was yet no less effective. The earlier Suchindram experience of unauthorised alienations

that had to be enquired into even in Vira Pandya' reign would only warrant that this intensification of check was, by no means, superfluous. The *Parudaiyar* and the temple tenants, generally complied with these salutary measures. But there were cases, as noticed above, in the Pandya country, in which the tenants expressed their unwillingness, and they threw up their holdings in such cases.

1000 A.D. was therefore a year of crisis in Suchindram. The tenants under the *Parudaiyar* holding temple lands were not reconciled to the orders of 999 A.D. increasing the land dues rate as high as 11 per cent on single crop, and 22 per cent on double crop, excluding transportation and loading and unloading charges. They lost no time in relinquishing their holdings. The *Mulaparudaiyar* too were either helpless or were abettors of this collective action, pleading that as the land dues could not be realised they could not, by the same token, attend to the temple affairs. There was an inherent and obvious link between the relinquishment of the holdings by the tenants on the ground they could not bear the land-dues to the deity on the *Devadana* lands (at the scales enhanced the previous year, particularly) and the *Mulaparudaiyar* giving up the temple administration. In the event, the *Mulaparudaiyar* had joined hands with the tenants and that at the commencement of the main crop cultivation operation (*Kanni*). The interests of the deity's affairs and his properties did not deter them from taking this extreme step. Medieval agrarian dedication to the deity's affairs was pronounced but then its price could not be inelastic.

The *Mahasabhaiyar* who were the accredited township organisation of the land-based literati were undaunted. They took over the administration of both the temple and the lands. They entrusted it to a committee of two, together with an accountant to assist. Presumably, the Committee had entered into direct cultivation of the lands or used their persuasion and authority with the delinquant tenants to cultivate the lands on acceptable terms. We could, in the absence of this part of the text, only speculate on this aspect.[21] Nor are there any data on the constituents of the two Sabhayars available.

This was not a case of civil disobedience but of collective relinquishment. The penalties for the *Mulaparudaiyar* for any claims preferred individually by any of them was specified at 10 *Kalanju* of gold. K.A.N. Sastri rightly infers that their joint or collective character became extinct.[22] But the erstwhile tenants had to bear a collective penalty,as their relinquishment too was collective.The Kallur instance is also another example of this kind.

What the Mulaparudaiyar gave up was the lay administration of the temple. The rituals and worship and the services in the temple did not appear to have been hindered by it.

There can be no greater tribute to an administrator, a builder, a warrior and a partron of arts than his recognition that eternal vigilance was not only the price of liberty, but also the price of effective administration.

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1 *TAS*. Vol. IV, Pt. 2, pp. 128-129; *Kanyakumari Inscriptions*, Vol. II/1968, No. 226.

2 Transport charges would vary with the distance and quantity of paddy. In Tiruvakkarai (in South Arcot district) in the 16th year of Rajaraja-I 1000-01 A.D. per one *podi* (load) of 2 *kalam* 1 *tuni padakku* from Manali to Tiruvakkarai, it was *padakku* paddy. It worked out at 6-2/3·/. of the paddy transferred. (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 222, p. 81).

3 On this, please see pp. VI-VII of the Annexure in the author's "Rajendra Vinnagar", (1980) (Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology publication). This annexure also brings out the correct import of the term "*Kadan Parrada Nilam*". Even the "Rajendra Vinnagar" endowments ten years after the grant by Jatavarman Sundara Chola-Pandya's time, were assessed but unoccupied lands in the grant-village of Manabharana-Chaturvedimangalam. The temple resources had to be augmented by additional land-grants therein simultaneously inducting occupants willing to pay a fixed obligation.

4 *TAS*, Vol, II, pp. 2-9. The importance of this inscription, as pointed by the author, has been missed by the learned editor of the Series and even by other scholars.

5 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIV, No. 164. - Prof. Sastri has brought out the formal aspect of this documentation and has referred to the Kallur relinquishment. (*The Cholas*, II, pt. 1, pp. 252-53). On similar attempts of tenants to secure advantageous tenure, please see also the author's paper on "*Allur and Isaanamangalam Revisited*" in Dr. Chhabra Felicitation Volume. Also *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 668 and 669.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 2; No. 3.

7 *A.R.S.I.E.*, No. 283 of 1906 - Tirumalpuram (North Arcot district).

8 *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 610 - Tiruchchaturai (Tanjore district) No. 625 - Tiruvedikkadu (Tanjore district).

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 612, p. 244.

10 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 49, p. 102.

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 492 - 1 *akkam* 1/12 of a *kasu* in Rajaraja's time - please see *The Cholas*, II, pt. 1, p. 450.

12 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 199 of 1917 - Somur (Karur taluk) Tiruchirapalli district.

13 Tirunamanallur (South Arcot district) - *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 1000, p. 477.

14 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 243-4, pp. 91-94.

15 *Ibid.*, No. 234, p. 87

16 *A.R.S.I.E.* 21 of 1922 - Tiruvamattur (South Arcot district).

17 S.I.I., Vol. XVII, No. 313.

18 Ibid., No. 328

19 Ibid., Vol. V, No. 1409,

20 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 9 - This aspect has been correctly brought out by George W. Spencer (North Illinois University) - Please see his article "*Royal Initiative under Rajaraja-I - The Auditing of Temple Accounts*" - *I.E.S.H.R.*, Vol. VII - No. 4 (Dec. 1970). Also this repetition and intensity has been correctly thrown up by IBM card indexing on which Mr. Spencer has based his study and this is one of the areas where the computer technique can give a good lead, even because the data lend themseleves for such concentrated and clear analysis and the analysis aims at an identifiable purpose.

21 The tenure of such committees generally appears to be only one year (confer: *Avvavvandu Nayagam Seivarum Srikaryam Seivar Variyapperu Makkalum.....*). *S.I.I*, Vol. V, No. 981 - Tiruvenkadu: Also "*Aitattar*" in the fragmentary line 21 in the inscription under study..... *TAS*, Vol. II. p. 7. But the one year tenure and the annual change would not have caused any disruption. The township was compact in its geographical extent and social structure. Their actions were collectively undertaken and by and large, by common consent and there were enough opportunities for those other than the committee members to keep themselves fully informed of the township affairs.

22 "*The Cholas*," - II, pt. 1, p. 271, *F.N. 5.*

ADVAITA IN THE POST-SANKARA PERIOD
THE CHOLA-CHALUKYA PERIOD A HIATUS ?

"Presidential address at the Inauguration of the All-India Level Institute in Post-Sankara Advaita" in the University of Madras, Department of Sanskrit; on 13-2-1985.

I confess, I am primarily a student of history, especially of the medieval South India. But my philosophy of history is such as to embrace all aspects of human life, and thought, and their evolution through the ages, and in the different regions of the country. From that standpoint the development of the Advaita School in the Post-Sankara period interests me. I hope you would bear with me in the analysis that this approach of mine leads to. In doing so I shall apply Manu's principle of judicial interpretation — "Desasca, Kalasca, Rupasca" — with reference to the tract, the time and the form of evidence.

An Inter - disciplinary inter-action

At the outset I wish to point out that all higher branches of knowledge are aspects and results of an inter-disciplinary interaction. The course now organised is under the Department of Sanskrit, The content is an integral part of Indian Philosophy and epistemology. The evolution of that Philosophical school is within the province of history to unravel. The first part of the title "Post-Sankara" itself implies this historical approach.

Advaita was not born with Sankara, nor did it end with him. A great Orientalist like Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastri could trace the sperms of Advaita thought and Vedanta School to the Rgveda itself, though the whole system could not have been obviously worked out in it or attributed to any part of it. The *Upanishads* are more explicit, and more of the Advaitic thought can be traced, at least, in their origin to the *Upanishads*.[1]

It is significant that Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva, all principal exponents of Advaita, Visishtadvaita or Dvaita systems, wrote their works in the form of Bhasyas or commentaries on the *Bramahsutras*, the principal *Upanishads*, and the *Bhagavad Gita* besides some independent treatises like *Upadesa-Sahasri*—a tacit statement that Advaita thought had existed before and was being expounded only as a codified system by Sankara or other exponents.

Early Developments in Post - Sankara Period

In the period immediately following Sankara (A.D. 758—820)[2] a spate of restatements are available from his pupils. Vachaspati Misra's *Bhamati* belonged to a slightly earlier period (circa A.D. 840). Suresvara (*Vartika)*,

Padmapada's *Panchapadika* (an author from Kerala), Sarvajnatman (10th Century - Travancore) and Jnanaghana's *Tattvasuddhi* (considered to be an Acharya of Sringeri) all belong to this early period. Their provenance from Kerala and Western Karnataka is noteworthy.

Immediately after the first flush of works of Sankara's disciples, most of them direct, a barren period of Advaita development appears to have set in. There were exceptions like Jnanottama Misra who wrote a commentary on Suresvara's *Varttika* and Anandabodha Bhattacharya. The dialectical method of criticism, already adopted by Sankara (II *Adhyaya Vedanta Sutra*) came to the fore in the post-Sankara period with Sriharsha and Chitsukha and others. But Sriharsha (placed in the 3rd quarter of the 12th century) admittedly was at Kanauj, patronised by its ruler (Kanyakubjesvara).[3] Chitsukha (c. A.D. 1200) had written a highly esteemed commentary — *Bhasya-bhava-prakasika*, but he hailed from Simhachalam.

In Tamilnadu there is a conspicuous lack or paucity of Advaita literature from the 10th to the 13th centuries.[4]

It was only much later that the lines of Vedanta interpretation of Suresvara, Padmapada and Vachaspati were vigorously continued in the commentaries and in the independent works in the later centuries. Amalananda's *Vedanta-Kalpataru* (mid-13th century) (He lived in Nasik in the Yadava Kingdom) was the beginning of this later stream. It was only from the 14th Century onwards[5] a larger flow of Vedanta writers occurs. It gathers strength from century to century upto the 18th. Vidyaranya and his guru, Bharati-tirtha can be said to have blazed the trail with the *Panchadasi* and to have given a real impetus to this trend. The Vijayanagar rulers'patronage, followed by the lesser chieftains who emulated them, extended to Vidyaranya and the Advaita writers like Appayya Dikshita was significant.

Paucity of Advaita Works in the Chola and Chalukya Period

The point I make is about the comparative paucity of Advaita literature in the Chola tract which is even more striking from the later half of the 10th century to the 14th. This is negative evidence.

The reasons therefor

There is positive evidence that can be taken, based on epigraphic and literary sources of the times. First, there is clear epigraphic evidence of the *Prabhakaram*, the Mimamsa School, as a prescribed curriculum in the colleges in Brahmadeya townships almost to the exclusion of the Bhatta School. As early as A.D. 959 land was gifted for expounding Prabhakara commentaries in PURVAMIMAMSA SUTRAS[6] at Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam. In

A.D. 996, provision was made in Tirukkoshtiyur for expounding *Prabhakaram*[7]. In Ennayiram (in about A.D. 1023) in North Arcot District a similar provision was made in the reign of Rajendra Chola I.[8] The curriculum in Brahmadeya schools was weighted in favour of Mimamsa, *Vyakarana*, the *Veda Samhitas*, Baudhayana *Grhya*, *Kalpa gana*, and *Vajasaneya*. A second factor borne out by epigraphic evidence is the encouragement extended to Vedic learning and practices. Any number of Sarvakratus (performers of all Vedic rites and sacrifices) Somayajins and kramavitts could be found strewn among the Brahmin literati who subscribe to the transactions recorded in the epigraphs of the period. Even the conventional hymns as in Tirumangai Alvar's *Periya Tirumoli* refer to the sacrifical smoke rising to the skies and the Vedic chants which rent the air in the sacred places in Brahmadeya Townships. A third noticeable trend is in the great impetus given to the study of the *Agamas* and expounding *Sivadharma*[9], and *Soma-siddhanta*, the doctrine of Kapalika Saivas.

This last is depicted as a horrid from of practice and condemned as 'Vama puja'. The Kapalika, and the Pasupata sects have been in vogue even in Pallava times. Tradition claims that Adi-Sankara himself visited Tiruvorriyur to contain the vital energy of the Evil-Goddess, and his image was installed and a regular worship is being performed for him. Adi Sankara's attempt was to humanise the practices, to substitute the red flower for the flesh and blood, the milk and honey for the more inebriating fluids and of the symbol for the act. But the presistence of *Soma-Siddhantā* at Tiruvorriyur even in the 13th century, and the importance attached to the *Agamas* runs counter to the efficacy of Sankara's endeavours to avert this form of rituals and practices, and brings out how much the former were at a premium even at that time.[10] In fact, Agama and Sakta teachers and of the Kalamukhas and the Pasupatas (traceable to Lakulisa) many hailing from Aryadesa and Gauda (Bengal) enjoyed royal patronage of the Cholas, and some like Chaturanana Pandita of the Golaki-matha at Tiruvorriyur were even royal preceptors (Svami-devas).

The repulsive practices of the Kalamukhas and Pasupatas had been condemned by a humanist like Ramanuja. The Saiva persuasion, too, should be added it, the Saiva-Siddhanta developed by Aghora-sivacharya (*C.* 1158) and Umapati Sivacharya (1292-1320) and of the Mahesvara sects-as distinct from Sivadvaita as developed by Srikantha was at variance with the Kalamukhas.

A fourth factor was the rise of alternative schools like Visishtadvaita of Ramanuja and the more uncompromising school of Madhva's *Dvaita*. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri goes so far as to say that even the seceder like Ramanuja is solicitous to accommodate his way of Monistic thinking on the

one side to the pluralistic realism and on the other to the Advaitic monism. A grant of the latter half of the 13th century provides for expounding *Sribhashya* of Ramanuja at Kanchipuram in the Varadaraja Temple.[11]

A fifth factor to reckon with was the Bhakti movement of the Alvars and the Nayanmars and their outpourings of direct appeal in the language of the people. Provision was made for the recital of the *Tiruppadiyam*[12] and *Tiruvaymoli*[13] extensively during the period and these could not but have had an impact on the minds of the people. It was characteristic of the times that contradictory and irreconcilable trends of philosophical thought and practices had coexisted. A thousand flowers had bloomed literally in the garden of Hinduism. Enough has been set out to conclude with Prof. Nilakanta Sastri that "Saivism was at the period of the Cholas in marked contrast with the Advaitism of Sankara, Smarta Hinduism as it may be called, and embraced a whole gamut of sectional groups ranging from the comparatively mild Siva Yogins (Mahesvaras) to the extremely fanatical and repulsive groups like the Pasupatas, the Kapalikas and Kalamukhas".[14] This would apply also to the 'Kalyani Chalukya Kingdom' and even later of the times of Yadavas of Devagiri. In the Chola-Chalukya period in particular, say from the 10th to 13th century, there was a hiatus in the development of Advaitic thought in South India. But the better and the more intellectual and humanist of these trends could not but influence Advaitic thought of the subsequent periods. It is well to remember that Advaita in the post-Sankara period was never the same as what Sankara had expounded. There are the fundamental differences between the Bhamati School and the Vivarana school or between any two Advaitins.[15]

The influence on later Advaitic thought

(a) Subtle changes — Each commentator while refining the concepts had given turns if not twists, and wrought changes in the content of the philosophy of Sankara and his system of thought, while protesting all the time that he was only adhering to, and making explicit the meaning of the Master. The Advaita thought and writings could never be the same after the impact of the diverse trends of metaphysical thoughts and mystical experiences born of devotion and the super-imposition of the counterschools over time.

Wide divergence

(b) A wide divergence of views among the scholars couid be noticed on what is the nature of the Divine Wisdom-*Pratibha* (PRATIBHA). To quote a great savant, Mm. Gopinath Kaviraj:

"Even in the system of Sankara there is hardly any unanimity. They are divided in their opinion. Thus in *Siddhantalesasangraha*, Appayya Dikshita

quotes no less than 5 different theories on the question of Divine Omniscience—the theories associated with the names of authors of *Prakatartha*, *Tatvasuddhi*, and *Kaumudi*; of Bharati Tirtha, and Vachaspati Misra. In the process, some like *Kaumudi* would remind one of the theory of *Sat Karya* of Sankhya-Yoga school and of *Patanjalisutra* and appear in their general setting to be a graft, and in effect, running counter to the original tradition of Sankara Vedanta".

To cite a further example, Sankara's fundamental thesis that omniscience, omnipotence etc. are not *really* predicatable of the Supreme Being. He denied the reality of Sakti and with it of personality and self-consciousness in the Absolute."

But Srikantha who came from Gaudadesa and whom Vikrama Chola adopted as his *guru* and a host of other Vedanta commentators had no difficulty in interpreting the doctrine of the Divine (and human) omniscience. They admit the existence of a real Sakti in Brahman and affirm that knowledge is as much the essence *(Svarupa)* of the Brahman as its power or predicate *(Sakti-dharma)*.

Proximity of Srikantha's to Ramanuja's thought

The exposition of Srikantha is not very different from Ramanuja's as both posit an external real *Sakti* in the Supreme Being and explain the facts of omniscience and omnipotencc by means of this Sakti.[17] Subsequent commentators follow this trend.

The wheel has come full circle. There are even notable verbal coincidences between Srikantha's *Bhashya* and the *Sribhashya* of Ramanuja. *Sivadvaita* bears close resemblance, like cousins, to the Visishtadvaita of Ramanuja, and by the same token not the same as Sankara's *Advaita*.

The rapprochment in Appaya Dikshita and Madhusudana Sarasvati

Appayya Dikshita, the renowned polymath of the 16th century has clearly shown that the Advaitic scheme of weight and discipline can be accommodated completely to the Visistadvaitic scheme through the device of treating Saguna Brahman as the Intermediate purport (*avantara-tatparya*) of Vedantic texts and Nirguna-Brahman as the ultimate purport. Only his pre-conceived and pre-established Saiva obsessions have restricted this accommodation to *Srikanthabhashya* and made him unwilling to extend it to the teachings of Ramanuja.[18]

It is not an accident that the exposition of the Texts for the course being inaugurated are selected from *Suddhadvita Sangraha* by Appaya Dikshita, *Advaitasiddhi* by Sri Madhusudana Sarasvati (early half of the 16th century) and *Tatvapradi-pika* of Sri Chitsukhahcarya (C. 1200). Chronologically the works are in inverse order.

But even Madhusudana Sararvati, having perched himself on the Advaitic peak of Nirakaravada, feels nervous, and his thought seeks emotional comfort in giving vent to his *Bhakti* impulse at the end of that section.

"Vamsi vibhushita Karannavaniradabhat
Pitambaradarana Bimbaphaladharoshthat
Purnendu Sundara Mukhadaravinda netrat
Krishnatparam Kimapi Tatvaamaham na jane"[19]

The last line is significant; *Krishnatparam Kimapi tatvam-Aham Na jane.*" Krishna is a *tattva*; only that if known is knowledge. There is nothing else of Tatva that, he knew of, can be known. The intense emotion in the verse is an index of the subjective depth of feeling.

Here there is even a conscious synthesis attempted, going the whole hog, to envelop or be enveloped by the *Bhakti* spirit as presented in the *Bhagavata*, and a theistic faith in personalised god embodied in the Tamil *prabhandas* and the Vaishnava philosophy of Ramanuja--the Purushottama concept—with the Advaita ideal of Brahman realisation. It is truly a *Bhakti-rasayana* an alchemy or chemistry of *Bhakti* and other ingredients with Advaitic metaphysics pressing into service the pliable text of the *Taittiriya Upanisad* (*RasoVai Sah-Brahmavalli (Anuvaka 7)*. It will be interesting to compare this view of Madhusudana with the early and literal interpretation of Suresvara in verses 421 to 427 *(Brahmavalli Bhasya Varttika:* pp. 494 to 496 of the work and translation by Dr. R. Balasubra manyan (Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in philosophy, Madras University, 1984). The *rasa*s in Sanskrit poetics were originally eight. *Vatsalya* or *Bhakti* was tenth and perhaps a late admittance. The title he gave to his works is a confession of faith like St. Augustine's!

So then, Advaita could not but change its contours, complexion, countenance and content, nor remain isolated from the powerful trends of the later day philosophy, and even of emotional movements where the spirit gets the better of the intellect, the feeling triumphs over logic, and the Union over the Unity and the Unit.

Conclusion

I have said enough to indicate that Advaita in the post-Sankara age could not be the same as its pristine form of the early 9th century. It was not. I have also indicated some areas which call for further investigation, especially—(a) the regional *hiatus* in the development of Advaitic thought in the four centuries from the 10th to 14th, (b) the interaction of Advaita with

the subsequent schools of metaphysical thought (c) even of the interaction of the Advaitin from the North and the Eastern parts of India with the South. and (d) It will also be of interest to check on the authentic sources of the Purvapaksa set out in Ramanuja's *Sribhashya* and trace them to the original Advaitic sources.

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1 "Compromises in the History of Advaitic Thought" by Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri (*Mm. K. Sastri Commemoration* Vol. I, KSRI—1981) pp. 75-89).

2 *A History of South India*, p. 253: Prof. K. A. N. Sastri O.U.P. (4th Edn. 1967),

3 *The History of Indian Philosophy*—Surendranath Dasgupta, Vol. II (Cambridge University Press — 1961, p. 126).

4 *Ibid*, pp. 48-49.

Mukundaraya the earliest Marathi poet also expounds in his *Vivekasindhu* (*C*. A.D.1188) Advaita philosophy on the lines of Sankara, in the Yadava-kingdom — But even in the Yadava Kingdom the most prevalent Saiva sect was that of the Kalamukhas and they were patronised by *Boillama*, V. Singhana, and Krishna who held them as Rajagurus. They had their mathas at Kuppathur, Balligamva, (Shimoga Dt.) (*The Sevunas of Devagiri*, Dr. A. V. Narasimhamurthy. — pp. 177-179) Rao and Raghavan, Mysore. 1971).

5 Dasgupta — *op. cit.*, p. 53.

6 *Annual Report of Epigraphy* (A.R.E.) 233 of 1912;

7 330 of 1923;

8 333 of 1916-7.

9 *Annual Report of Epigraphy* (ARE) 214 of 1911; 321 of 1917; 403 of 1896; 463 of 1919; 696 of 1920.

Sivadharma is the *upagama* of the main Agama entitled *Sarvokta*, or *Sarvokta*, its contents *inter alia* are:

Siva-bhaktiprasamsa, Lingarchanaphala; Lingodbhava varnana, Prasadanirmana-seva-phala; Sivarchanadravya-punyaphala; Sivapujaphala, etc. I am indebted to Dr.S.S. Janaki, Director K.S.R.I. for this information.

10 The philosophic drama *Prabodha chandrodaya* by Krishna Misra (mid-11th Century) introduces a character in the form of a Somasiddhanta and depicts it as a horrible form, wearing garlands of bodies, living in burial grounds, eating from skulls, and practising the use of sorceric collyriums to realise the true relation between the seen and the unseen. Human sacrifices to please Bhairava and his consort revelling in drinking and debauchery were considered as means to attain Siva-hood while enjoying sensual pleasures. (*ARE* 1912, para 29, part I1) it should however. be added that there appeared to be different shades (strains of thought) even among the Pasupata and Kalamukha sects with varying practices and thought.

These sects, also predominant in their activity under the Chalukyas of Kalyani, had important centres at Balligour, Sudi, Kukkanur Sri Sailam and other places). — *The Chalukyas* of *Kalyani* by B. R. Gopal(Karnataka University 1981).

11 *ARE* 493 of 1919

12 *The Cholas* Vol. II. Pt. i. p. 476

13 ARE 181 of 1923; 176 of 1923; 61 of 1892, 343 of 1921; etc. The Cholas—Vol. II-Pt. i. pp. 479-480 (Madras University...1939 Edition).

14 *Ibid.* p. 493

15 *Taittlrlya-Upanisad-Bhashya-Vartika of Suresvara*: Introduction - 1984) p. 20. Ed. and Translated by R. Balasubramaniyan. It will be interesting to compare Sankara's works with Suresvara's and Vachaspati Misra's and Yadavaprakasa's and note the distinctions among them.

16 *Aspects of Indian Thought* by Gopinath Kaviraj. (The University of Burdwan-1966) pp. 25-26.

17 Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj-*op cit* p. 29. Also, "Compromise in the history of Advaitic thought"

18 "Compromises *op cit* p.86

19 "Compromsies *op cit* p.81

Post Script

Since writing the above paper an inscription has been noticed in the Kailasanatha temple at Cholamahadevi (near Tiruchirapalli).[20] This is dated in the reign of Vira Rajendra (A.D. 1068-99). The sabha of Cholamahadevi chaturvedimangalam (in Pandi kulasani Valanadu) gave several pieces of land for expounding a commentary (Vartikam) on *Pradipakam* on "Sariraka bhashyam" *alias* "Bhagavad padeeyam" by one Chananor Bhataran (Dr. Nagaswamy reads it as Chidananda Bhataran).

Dr. Nagaswamy identifies the Sararika Bhashya as Sariraka meemamsa Sastra and the commentary thereon as that by Sankara, which he states was known as 'Bhagavad padeeyam'.

This seems to be a singular piece of evidence which if supported by collateral evidence of the times will be of value to revise the hypothesis projected in this paper.

20. Indian Express, May 18, 1991

2 Also please see 'Sanskrit education in ancient Tamil country' by Sankaranarayanan S. at pp. 7 ff in "*Brahmavidya*" vol. 57 (1993) the evidence in the learned article also does not controvert the presentation in this paper. But his presumptions at p. 16 and page 20 needs evidence and proof.

ECONOMIC LIFE IN KANCHIPURAM DURING PALLAVA, CHOLA AND VIJAYANAGARA PERIODS

The economic history of Kanchipuram could be traced to the early centuries of the Christian era. Excavations, though limited, have brought to light Roman pottery of the imported fine amphora ware. They were conical at bottom and were used as wine jars. These were found along with locally made pottery out of fine clay, modelled on or imitating the imported specimens.[1] The occurrence of Roman pottery like the rouletted and amphorae ware clearly evidenced the trade contact of Kanchi with the Roman world.[2] The earliest historical evidence of Kanchi through excavations range from circa 3rd century B.C. to the end of the 1st century B.C. K. V. Raman states that Arretine (one sherd) is found in Kanchi.[3]

The excavations near Kamakshiamman temple have revealed finds mostly of fine black and red-ware, brick structural remains whose nature is ambigous. "But the renewed digs confirm the non-Buddhist nature of the earliest brick structures".[4] A single Satavahana coin dated c. 200 A.D. possibly lent support to the extension of Satavahana rule over Kanchipuram area.[5] Ivory combs were found in the early levels at the Kanchipuram excavations.[6] Also vestiges of a Buddhist shrine have been uncovered; a potsherd with Brahmi inscriptions was found.[7]

The significance of Kanchi in the early times can be attributed to its location. Not far from the sea, with Kadal Mallai and Tiruvallikkeni-Mayilai as its outlets or inlets for trade overseas Kanchi is situated in the east coast route from the north from the Krishna-Pennar basin to the south Pennar-Cauvery basin. It is also laterally situated to attract the trade from the western coast and the Mysore plateau, as it lies almost in the same latitude as Talakad, the capital of the Gangas. This location had significance. For all the trade routes, from the west coast, the north-west and the north-east, and the south converged here. It was, as its name implied, a girdle of the world, and in its history could put a girdle round the world as well. The finds of wine kiosks, ivory combs, and other items indicate that the imports were luxury-items, and, perhaps, were consumed by the King, his court and nobility.

Kanchipuram had attained prominence even in the early Chola period of the Sangam age,[8] but it attained greater fame under the Pallavas of the Simhavishnu line who made it their capital. This capital city, undoubtedly, had the palaces, the royal household, the court, the chieftains, officials and nobles and bureaucracy. Around the temples that were built from time to

time Brahmin settlements had been found. The predominant constituents of the population were the traders and professionals. It was a cosmopolitan city though, not merely of the fashionable Hinduism - worshipping gods of the Vaishnavite and Saivaite pantheon – but of the Jains and the Buddhist. The Buddhist contacts had also fostered trade (especially with China), particularly in silk. The silk-weaving then became one of the earliest established industries in Kanchipuram. The Mahayana Buddhism, centred in South India, during the 7th and 8th centuries, threw up a number of teachers like Vajrabodhi, Bodhisharma, Bodhisena (of Bharadvaja Gotra, to which Gotra the Pallava rulers also belonged), Dharmapala Pada, and Dinnaga many of whom were either natives of Kanchi or came to reside there for a time. Kanchi then became a spring-board for the preceptors of Mahayana Buddhism to set sail first to Sri Lanka and thence to China and even Japan where they rose to be the chief priests. Kanchipuram was the cradle of Theravada (Pali) Buddhism as well as of the Dhyana school right upto the 6th century A.D. Foreign travellers like Huen T-suang made it a point to visit Kanchi for gathering ancient works of Buddhism.[9] Trade too had flourished and supported Buddhism and its spread.

A city with such far-flung contacts owed its fame to two great institutions known to history from epigraphic evidence - The Ghatika which consisted of learned men and who even participated in the election of the ruler when the main dynasty of Paramesvara-II became extinct, and Nandivarman-III was 'chosen by his subjects' to be the ruler. The Ghatika had continued even in Rajendra Chola's time and was located to the east of the Kailasanatha temple presuming it to be identical with the institution of the Pallava times.[10]

The other institution was the Nagara, or the Mahanagara of Kanchipuram. The city is consistently termed "Eyir Kotta nagaram Kanchipuram"- a Nagara in Eyir kottam. The Nagara was entrusted with the responsibility to maintain the charities for which Pallava Danti Varma (786–847 A.D.), the king gave 10,000 Kalanju of gold and another 3,000 Kalanju were brought by Avani Chandrar.[11] This is a later Pallava inscription. But the large amount of gold granted would attest the prosperity and flourishing state of trade and the availability of gold over time.

This prosperity was not unchequered. The Pallava-Chalukya wars were long drawn out. Other enemies like the Cholas and the Pandyas, the latter sometimes their allies and at other times a thorn on their side, sprang from the south. The poet Dandin, (the contemporary of Rajasimha) the great grandson of the illustrious poet Bharavi narrates– "When the Tamil, Chola and Pandya countries become disturbed by affliction from enemy rule family women were violated, Agnihotra was stopped, the

granaries became empty, householders were driven out, honour was destroyed, rows of trees and gardens were devastated, water trough was dismantled, sacrificial sheds were destroyed, the rich were killed, roads became bad. Kali was the sole monarch. Dandin, the son of Kausiki, his relations dead and lost, deserted by his followers with no means of livelihood, with his purse becoming scanty on account of famine, wandered all over the country.[12]" Even the Buddhist perceptor Vajrabodi's invocation was sought to bring the rains.

Despite such depressing interludes, the achievements of the Pallavas in all their splendour are confirmed by the extensive temple construction, initially of brick and then rock-cut and stone structures that were undertaken during the period. The temple-building and the sculptures could, perhaps, be traced through the Andhra Vakataka and other earlier models to the Gupta sculptures in the north. Also the Hindu mythology and the Purana had spread down south and there was poetry, concretisation and valour and splendour to be captured in the stucco work, initially, embellished with colour and then in the more enduring stone structures and sculpture. The age of Mahendravarman was *par excellence* an age of great poetry, great art, and sculpture. Undoubtedly royal patronage as well as the the benefactions of small men of small parcels, in setting up images, donating lamps, in making provisions for feeding Brahmins and the deity, and in temple building should have given a fillip to metal castings, bronze icon-making and wooden artefacts and building requirements and stone and stucco work. Artisans had found a ready market for their skill and production. Their creativity flowed into numerous monuments, while yet conforming to the texts of the Agamas and their set pattern. The age of the Pallavas witnessed a true efflorescence of the Hindu creativity. Subsequent ages had further extended its range or its magnitude, in dimensions and in space, and in rituals. But the beginnings were undoubtedly laid for this panorama of Hindu religious modes and icons by the Pallavas and people's imagination was touched. Buddhist institution dwindled and those of Jainism occupied but a secondary place.

It was a characteristic of Hindu dynastic changes that succeeding rulers not only preserved but extended and enlarged earlier temples and benefactions. That gave a fillip to the economy and trade as well. Tellarrerinda Nandipotarayar (A.D. 864)) granted a trade licence, free of tax, permitting the merchants of the village of Kudiraicceri to open shops, and deal in all sorts of articles from the precious camphor to leather sandals. Royal support to internal trade, and for enlarging the area of supply from the hinterland is evident.[13] A conquest did not affect the earlier grants to deities. Calukya Vikramaditya-II conquered Kanchi, was delighted to see the

treasures and wealth of Kailasanatha in the temple Rajasimha had built, and gave them back to the Lord (without confiscating the heaps of gold.)[14]

The foundations laid by the Pallavas for the economic prosperity of their kingdom and its capital, Kanchipuram, should be sought not in the city itself but the territory as a whole. Extensive colonisation was undertaken by founding settlements of Brahmin agraharas, Nagaras and cultivators' townships. More and more land was brought under the plough, and land-occupancy was rising steadily. In a tract where rainfall was concentrated in a short period of the north-west monsoon, but otherwise arid and dry, and where rains could fail, the value of storage in tanks was well appreciated. Many tanks excavated by the Pallavas, consciously caring for their maintenance, survive to this day. They were in a chain, the surplus of the higher up source supplying the lower down tanks. Canals from rivers too were excavated. Field channels were laid. Baling of water even by piccottahs, unless expressly permitted was punished. Water use and management was economical and productive. These steps should have contributed to the progressive stability of agriculure and of the economy. Not merely cereals for food but cotton for weaving and areca-palms and cane for sugar - were also cultivated. This process continued and expanded under the Cholas.

The nuclei so fully and strongly laid by the Pallavas were further built upon, and embellished by the dynasties that followed - the Cholas and the Vijayanagar rulers.

The Chola Period

The evidence pertaining to the period the Cholas held sway over Kanchi is much more copious. Uthama Chola had a palace (Koyil) at Kanchipuram and his grant to the Ulagalandaperumal tcmple was made while he was seated in the *Chitra mandapa* inside his palace at Kaccipedu.[15] Later, Kanchi virtually became the northern capital of the Chola empire, as it was the most suitable base for launching operations against the Banas, the Rastrakutas, the Western Chalukyas and gave access to the eastern part of the Andhra country as well. A number of grants to temples in the Mysore tract[16] and even in the extreme south in the Pandya country (A.D. 1036)[17] were made by the Emperor Rajendra when he was stationed at Kanchi.

The early Chola inscriptions in Kailasanatha temple in the 15th year of Parantaka-I (A.D. 922) record grants of sheep and gold for lamp services in the temple. Against 270 sheep donated, the yield of ghee to be delivered at the temple was 3 *ulakku* of ghee per day by the *nali* measure which could hold 4 *ulakkus*. Default entailed $4\frac{1}{4}$ *ulakku* per day and if this was resisted, 1 *manjadi* of gold was payable as fine to the king.[18] Against 180 sheep for two lamps *uri* ghee was to be delivered every day; default was punishable by a

levy of 1/8 Kalanju as fine.[19] For delivering per day 1 *nali* (measure) of ghee, 360 sheep had to be tended. The sheep were invariably left with the local shepherds resident in the village, and attached as "*kudis*" to particular temples. [Thus 90 sheep could yield 1 *ulakku* of ghee, and this is about the same scale as in Tanjavur Brihadisvara temple in the time of Rajaraja I, and Rajendra I].

Deposits of gold were also endowed for the temple and the temple, in its turn lent this gold to the Townships, for example, the Urar of Menalur[20] or the Sabha of Kalladuppur, for securing interest proceeds either in the form of oil for the temple lamps or paddy for services. The townships could invest them in productive works like excavating tanks and land reclamation. Eighteen (18) *kalanju* 3 *manjadi* 1 *kunri* could secure by way of interest daily *ulakku* oil. The measures used varied, and the Ulagan measure (used in Ulagalandaperumal temple) was adopted as the standard measure Twenty (20) Kalanju of gold according to Kaccipedu standard secured an interest of 90 *Kadis* of paddy per year.[21] Land-grants made to temple excluded prior grants to Jaina or Buddhist shrines (Palliccandam). The residents of two ceris-(Ranajaya?) . . . . ppadiceri and Ekavirappadicceri in Kaccippedu undertook to measure paddy[22] from the lands cultivated.

In the reign of Parthivendra Varman and Rajaraja-I, the interest rate was 4 *Kadi* of paddy per Kalanju,[23] though in other instances only 2 to 3 *Kadis* per Kalanju was stipulated,[24] and it was not uniform.

Kanchipuram had a good contingent of the Chola soldiery; Mutta-valperra Kaikolar (the weavers) who were serving as soldiers in the Chola army figure among the donors.[25]

The Nagarattar sold land to one of them, Accan Sinaccan, and the parcel of land sold was to the west of the highway which was passing by Kanchipuram. The yield from the land was granted for a food offering to Kaikolappillayar in the western sector of the Nagara. The Nagara then was in charge of the unoccupied lands and could sell or grant land for benefactions to be made.[26]

The Madras Museum plates give very interesting details of Kanchi-puram, and of one of its main temples, Ulagalandaperumal Temple. The Pattasalis (weavers) were residing in quarters known as Karuvulanpadi, Kamsahappadi, Atimanappadi, and Erruvalicceri. They were made the managers of the temple. They wove clothes for the king, and they were to write out by turns the accounts of the temple.

The residents of Solaniyamam, another quarters or street were to measure 2 *prasthus* and *Kudubaka* of rice and 1 *prasthu* of oil. These were

in lieu of all taxes payable to the king. This area was originally occupied by a class of people known as "Tolacceviyar" or "Elakkaiyar" but they had fallen on evil days. Hence the *ceri* was occupied by new-comers from outside and they were exempted from any other payment to the Nagara except *Ulakku* oil and 2 *nali* of rice per month to the temple. The Nagara also endorsed this levy, and remitted all other taxes.

Ramajayappadi, Ekavirappadi, Vamana Sankarappadi were the streets where oil-mongers resided and they agreed to measure oil for the temple lamps against interest due on 20 *kalānju* of gold received by them.

Two other wards or streets (*ceris*) of Kaccipedu were named Tundunukkacceri and Virappadi. The lands in the former were irrigated by channels, taking off from the high level sluice and the low level sluice.

A strong merchant-organisation attended to the city affairs. It had as its head the Managaramalvaan (Mayor or Commissioner) The Nagara was given full authority to supervise the proper management of the temple business, to appoint the watchman, and the clerks of the temple, and to exempt these latter from payment of dues and taxes to the Nagara, and to fix the obligations of residents in the Nagara. The head of the Nagara and the Annual Supervision Committee had to audit the expenditure incurred on several festivals and the Srivaishnavas of the 18 nadus were to guard against any difficulties in the way of the proper conduct of the rituals and charities. It thus, had a committee, which was reconstituted every year.

The taxes, on those weighed by balances, and those measured by a liquid measure *(Kol nirai Kalalavu kuli)* were assigned to the temple, besides land and cash-deposits yielding interest. The royal officer was authorised by the king to appropriate the income for specific services. The gold donated to the temple was left with the Sabhayar of Kuram and Ariyarperumbakkam. 24 *kalanju* of gold deposted with the Sabha of Olukkaipakkam yielded i *kalanju* and 4 *manjadi* - an interest rate of 20·/. .

The Brahmin-priest received, besides padakku (16 nali) paddy, a dhoti for which 5 *kalanju* was deposited as capital. At 20·/. interest, 1 *kalanju* was the cost of the dhoti supplied. The bachelor-server received 6 *nali* of paddy and 1 *kalanju* of cash deposit for his clothing per year, i.e , 1/5 of the former, the Brahmin priest. The watchman guarding the deity was given daily 8 nali (*kuruni*) of paddy and 2 *kalanju* deposit for dhoti. The garden-tenders were paid 14 *nali* (at 7 nali per one worker) and 1 *kalanju* of gold as deposit for clothing. The recovery ratio of rice to paddy was 2:5.

The residents of Kambupulanadi, Adimanapppadi and Kanjakappadi received gold (200 *kalanju*) against which they paid interest only at 15·/. and

30 *kalanju* were appropriated for the 7 days' festival in the month of Cittirai (April-May). These residents had the obligation to hold the lamps for the festival. They had also to maintain the accounts of the temple, and the accountant received 8 measures of paddy per day and 2 *kalanju* of gold per year. Perhaps, the concessional rate of interest was because they had these additional obligations.

Even in Uthama Chola's time, the temple had a "*Farusai*" (Parudai) or committee for the superintendence of rituals, and one organiser of the reciters of glories of God (Ghosti). The expenses not specified in the appropriations shall be incurred under the direct supervision of the Nagara and others in charge (Kandalivu). The arrangements were made as there were no separate managers for the temple.

There were two shrines in the temple. In case a person fully knowing the rites of worship in sacred temples could not be had, a Brahmana well-versed in Vedas shall alone be appointed. This would indicate that "Vykhanasa" priests were in demand and rather scarce even in those early days.

The Madhyastha of Virappadi Narppattennayira mangalathan signed the document by order of the Nagaram. It would appear every distinct part (Padi) of the Nagara had a Madhyastha of its own.

The Madras Museum plates give a detailed account of Kanchipuram and its constituent habitats, the residents, and the affairs of Ulagalanda-perumal temple, the deity in which was celebrated in the Divya Prabhandam. The economic life of the community is well reflected in the transactions recounted above.[26]

Kanchipuram merchants were apparently affiliated to the Valanjiyar, and Nanadesi-Tisai ayirattu annurruvar, the trans-regional mercantile organisations that had spread all over the Deccan and South India. In inscriptions of about the 11th century a *matha* apparently established by them at Kanchipuram has been referred to while providing for service in Sitesvara temple; the feeding of the inmates of that *Matha* was also provided for.[28]

Kulottunga-I had re-measured lands, and took special steps to bring under cultivation lands uncultivated or laid waste. In his 40th year (A.D. 1110), the lands held by the weavers were left uncultivated by them and the lands were resumed and gifted to Ulagalandaperumal temple.[29] Six years later, the Mahasabha of Kulottunga Chola Caturvedimangalam in Urrukkadu Nadu, and Kottam, sold lands to a dancing girl for a festival and for feeding the Sri Vaishnavas who visited the *matha* in Kulottunga Chola Vinnagar Alvar Temple at Kanchipuram. The lands were lying waste for over 40 years; the

tank irrigating it had breached and the vendee had to repair it and reclaim the lands.[30] Another transaction of the same type for reclamation of long waste was concluded by the same Mahasabha as *Mathapuram* with a disciple of a *Matha*, Puravuvari manikkam in Kanchipuram. They also freed the land of all land obligations. This was in A.D. 1118.[31]

The reclamation work was undertaken not only through the collective effort of the Mahasabha or the Urar or the Nagaram as the case may be, of Kanchipuram and its adjoining townships. Individuals too undertook the task. A weaver of Ravikulamanikkapperunderu reclaimed lands of the temple of the Tiruvuragattu emberuman (Ulagalandaperumal), dug a small irrigation tank for 200 kasu and made over the produce from the land to be used for offerings for the God,[32] (A.D. 1172)

The 48,000 residents of Kanchi undertook to supervise the conduct of all daily services, worship, festivals, etc., in that temple as established by old custom.[33] The 48,000 occur elsewhere as the clan of temple priests who held hereditary rights of service in Siva temples. But this inscription is in Ulagalandapperumal temple (Vishnu). The sectarian differences were not deep-rooted before the 12th century.

In the 9th year of Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1127), 780 *Kalams* were deposited at a high rate of interest, at 50·/. and the proceeds of 390 kalams were appropriated for the 13 birthday festivals on the native asterisk of *Kettai* of the two Alvars, Poygai and Butar.[34]

The oilmongers and the weavers were ever active in providing for the different deities in Kanchipuram and its neighbourhood, they were perhaps the larger constituents among the mercantile and producing community in the Nagaram. The Mahanagaram of Kanchi, and the 24 Nagarattar of this Mandalam (the Kanchi tract) met in the Tirukkattuppalli-udaya nayanar temple at Kanchipuram and resolved as a community-rule (Jati dharma) to provide for expenses in the Tiruvalakkoyil udayar temple by contributing the *Kadamai*-oil, (i.e., the share of oil due to the State) and one palangasu due on each oil-mill set up and worked in the premises (Tirumadai vilagam) of the temple.[35] It may be added the customary dues at this rate to the State payable by oil-mills set up outside the temple lands were in this case made payable to the temple as the mills were located in the temple lands. Cattle were donated freely for collecting ghee for feeding perpetual lamps. The standard rate of endowment was 33 [36] - a mix of milking cows (10), cows expected to calve (10) and calves (12) and one bull all together to ensure perpetual supply. A royal order permitted the temple cows and sheep to freely graze in several villages and no tax or grazing fee was to be collected for such cattle.[37] Evidently ordinary occupants owning cattle had to pay a grazing fee.

Among the donors, were merchants from afar-Raman Raman of Muranottamangalam in Valluvanadu, a district of Malaimandalam, gave 135 goats and sheep for 1½ perpetual lamp in Arulalapperumal temple (Varadaraja) in A D. 1213.[38] Other instances could be multiplied.[39] A merchant from Karyapalli in Malaimandalam gifted 1750 Nellur *Pudumadai* for purchase of land in the 5th year of Gandagopaladeva-the Telugu-Choda feudatory.[40]

The repetitiveness of their visits and grants made suggests that the merchants of Malaimandalam frequented Kanchipuram in the declining days of Rajaraja-III when Kopperunjinga and Vijayagandagopala were on their ascendance. These could be ascribed to circa A.D. 1230, onwards in the later years of Rajaraja-III and Rajendra-III. The Chola hold over Kanchipuram had weakened; and the Telugu Chodas had the city under their control. Perhaps, the trade contacts between the west coast and the east coast *via* Kanchipuram had increased. Maritime trade in the east coast was consciously fostered by Kakatiya Ganapati whose Motupalli inscription was a charter of concessions to the merchants in overseas trade.[41] One of his ministers, Samant Bhoja made large grants in A.D. 1249.[42] Gifts also came to be made in Nellur madai for lamp services which was equal to Perumal Rasippanam" issues of Kopperunjinga(?) in whose 20th regnal year this gift was made. (A D. 1263). One Nellur *madai* had the exchange nexus of 22-1/15 *panams*.[43] Even earlier Kopperunjinga had assigned certain taxes in Somangalam for offerings and repairs to the Varadarajesvaram temple in Somangalam temple undertaken by the chief, Kadakkan *alias* Nilagangaraiyan (A.D. 1258).[44]

We have some good evidence of the several habitats forming part of this great and big city (Mahanagaram) Rajarajapperunderu had a number of merchants residing there, and one of them donated 15 palanguligaipanam for burning a lamp in Ulagalandaperumal temple.[45] Ravikulamanikkapperunderu had weavers residing in it.[46] Oil merchants resided in Mummudicholapperunderu, and taxes were levied on them for the benefit of a shrine in Varadaraja temple,[47] and the street was marked with stones to define its boundaries. Other streets were Arumoli devapperunderu, Rajarajapperunderu (named after Rajaraja-I), Nigarilisolapperunderu, *alia*s Gandagopalapperunderu, Kurai vaniyapperunderu. Here the Saliya weavers resided, and also cloth merchants as the last name indicates.[48] Undoubtedly there were other streets where the Brahman occupants and the teachers of Vedas and Angas and ancillary subjects in the Ghatika resided.

The large number of streets named would indicate how populous the city was, and how the weavers and cloth merchants, oil mongers, and the Nanadesis with trans-regional trade affiliations had thronged in the city. The commercial prosperity of Kanchipuram which was a good meeting centre of all trade routes could undoubtedly be attributed to the activities of

these commercial and producer constituents of the population. The revenues derived by the State or assigned to the temples being taxes on professions or on cattle were also yielding with progression.

The taxes levied on these classes is yet another index of their flourishing industry. In the 20th year of Vijayagandagopala, a "Pallava Chief" Tipurasar-Nallasittarasan of Ambalur assigned the taxes on looms(of the weavers) to the deity, Suravattaramudaiya nayanar (Jvaraharesvara temple) at Kanchipuram.[49]

Not all grants were by assignments of revenue or of land by the rulers. Land-grants were also made by private individuals. Perarulalan Korri, daughter of Settalur Peruman of Kattanur had sold her jewellery, and she invested the proceeds in land (100 kuli) which was in her enjoyment during her life-time and she willed the land to Varadaraja temple to be taken over after her demise.[50] Presumably she had no heirs or agnates to bequeath her property. Garden land was sold at Palampulli *madai* 30 for 500 kulis or 6 Madai for 100 kulis.[51] In another case 250 kulis were acquired from the temple of Varadaraja for 1 *nokki madai* and the vendee deposited another sum of 11 *nokki madai* with the Temple Treasury for maintenance of gardens. In this case, the price was a token one, evidently to bring the land to beneficial use. But adding the maintenance endowment, the total amount paid by the vendee would be 12 *nokki madais* for 250 kulis. It might be inferred either the exchange value of the "*nokki madai*" was higher than the *Palampulli madai* or the unit value of the land was some what more in the second case. One *nokki madai* bore interest at 5 new *kasu* per month or 60 new *kasu* per year.[52]

Undoubtedly, the Chola rule in Kanchipuram had not only continued the traditions firmly laid by the Pallavas - but had further enlarged and embellished the temples dedicated to both Vishnu and Siva and even Jaina shrines, and the agraharas. The temples as we now know them had taken their form during the period. Brick and masonry structures, which the Pallavas had already reconstructed with stone were further renovated and the additions of shrines were made in the Chola period.[53] Services had multiplied. Offerings had also increased. Rituals were getting more intricate. Festivals were increasing in number. Kanchipuram was their northern capital; from Uthama to Vira Rajendra and even later Kulottunga, the emperor stayed for long at Kanchipuram directing the campaigns against the northern kingdoms of Chalukyas, and Kalinga and Vengi. With them, their court and entourage and the soldiery would have all taken their residence. The economy of the Mahanagara should only have received further impetus from them. The professional and mercantile population should also have increased as the number of streets and residential areas attest. Above all trade contacts between the west and the east coasts had shown a frequency

and intensity even after the decline of the Cholas. The period had becn marked by the great fillip given to reclamation of waste lands and extension of cultivation and the growth of trade and industry. Towards the end, the money economy was also increasingly noticed. Perhaps, it was an index of the increasing demand for produce, articles of every day consumption and even luxuries like jewellery.

The Vijayanagar Period

The maintenance of the temples and the mathas continued to receive attention and patronage at the hands of the Vijayanagar rulers. Royal patronage was spectacular to both the Saiva (e.g., Ekambaranatha, Kamakshi) and the Vishnu (Varadaraja, Yatotkari) temples but the latter had apparently a larger share. This was due to the greater attachment of the rulers from Krishnadevaraya downwards to the Vaishnava sect, and the influence of Rajagurus who were Vaishnava or Madhva Acharyas. The example of the sovereign was followed by his Generals, his Governors, vassals, ministers and others serving him in lesser capacities.

Due to efflux of time or possibly royal caprice, Rajasimhesvara temple had fallen on evil days, This feature often recurred, accounting for a number of old Pallava temples decaying simultaneously with new shrines added to other temples of both Pallava or of later origin. Even in Kulottunga (III?) Chola's time the endowed lands, and the temple surroundings had been resumed and made over to Anaiyapadam kavudaya nayanar Temple. But this did not accord with Dharma and they were reinstated for the Puja service and the temple precincts and the Sannadhi street were restored to the temple, in A.D. 1364 by Kampana Udayar.[54] Fresh colonisation was also encouraged and house sites west of the Tirumanjana vidhi were sold for 150 *panams* for occupants belonging to the weavers' caste and their chiefs.[55] New superintendents of temple were appointed as one Alagiya tiruccirrambalamudayan, son of Bhuvanaikabahu devan who was to supervise Suravadinda nayanar temple.[56] Lands and ayacuts lying waste were taken up for reclamation and, the tax proceeds were assigned for maintenance of the Goddess shrine in Ekambaranatha. The revenue yield from ancient waste in Ramasamudram to be reclaimed was 133 *madai*, Karaiyur 140 *madai*, Tiruvaypadi 10 *madai*. From a garden 10 *pon* and 2 *panams* were to be realised. The taxes assigned were Sungam (customs), ubhayamargam (tax on commodities products coming to or going forth), cash tax; paddy-yield, tax on shepherds (Idai thirai), tax on oil-mills, tax in lieu of free labour, customary dues from new harvests, the fishery rentals, payment for village services, the customary levy on cattle, and sales tax (*Kaivilaikkanam*) and on rice-hulling.[57] Similar reclamation of land endowed for the Varadaraja temple in Tepperumanallur was arranged by selling as *Ulavukkani* the lands

endowed for the shrine of Tirumalisai Alvar and the lease rental was 200 *panams* per year (A.D. 1467).[58]

We also have some idea of the high rate of Melvaram or landlord's share belonging to the temple. Three-fourths of the yield was taken by the temple from the *Tiruvidaiyattam* lands growings areca, coconut, mango, and other trees. Only one-fourth went to the cultivator. In a drought year, when the trees had withered, the tenants were asked to plant fresh trees, but the *Melvaram* rate on the yield of fruit trees was reduced to two-thirds. In the case of gingely greengram, and sugarcane, rates prevalent in the neighbouring villages were adopted. Where betel, plantain or other quick-yielding crops were reared side by side in the newly planted area or coconut groves the old rate of three-fourths was imposed.[59]

But these rates were not uniform. In Saka 1440 (A.D. 1518) a land was sold by Tirupparutti kunru Trailokya nadar temple authorities and they agreed to take half-half from *Varam* on Arecanut plantations. For coconut and other yielding trees, the *Kudivaram* was three-fourths, Melvaram one-fourths. For rain-fed and wet and dry lands - three-fourths of the yield.[60]

The land tenurial structure had somewhat changed under the Vijayanagar rulers. The Nayak chieftains had been assigned villages or a group of villages as *jivitam* for their maintanance and they had also to remit the *Pandara Vagai* dues to the ruler of Vijayanagar. The jivitam holder was an intermediary and was supervening in between the Townships and the occupants and the central authority. Though the nadu continued to function, its authority, to that extent, was getting eroded. Multiplicity of levies, mostly in cash and in terms unfavourable to the occupants were noticeable. Extreme remedies like desertion of villages, laying lands waste were noticed in the tract. The agriculturists and the artisans had often to be reassured of their stability, extended concesional terms and reduction in the rate of the land demand for them to settle again in the tract.

The king assigned revenues from villages in the tract or else gifted jewellery including those with precious stones set thereon. Five villages granted in A.D. 1516 by Krishnadevaraya yielded 1500 varahans.[61] Grants from private donations and yield from assigned revenues or the lands were more and more in the form of cash. Individuals made these grants according to their means and what they could offer.

A merchant Kanappasetti deposited 100 *pon* in the temple treasury (A.D. 1532).[62] House tax collected at 2 *panams* for a storeyed house and 1 *panam* on house with inside verandahs was levied and made over to the temple [63] Kandadai Ramanuja Iyengar (a non Brahmin Vaishnavite) of the

Ramanuja Matham in Sannadhi street deposited 2,800 *cakram* gold coins in Varadarajasvami temple treasury for certain festivals and processions in the reign of Achyuta deva Maharaja in A.D. 1530.[64]

By the first half of the 16th century with the advent of the European merchants, and the brisk commerce in the export of spices and cloth, and metals, the gold and silver mined in the New World found their way into the Vijayanagar Empire *via* Spain and Portugal and the Dutch. Large donations of silver vessels for offerings and for bath(A.D. 1521)[65] and gold pendants (A.D. 1524)[66] were offered to the favourite deity, Varadaraja. Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya had personally worshipped in the temple more than once, the latter together with his queen and the prince.[67] In A.D. 1529 Achyuta performed Tulabhara weighing himself in pearls at Kanchipuram in the presence of Varadaraja svami and performed Maha-bhutaghata dana and gifted 1,000 cows [68] The value of the gifts offered was 415 *pon*, besides providing for food offerings 150 *pon* - in all 565 *pon*. He also presented a Pitambara, in two wings, embellished with golden flowers, rubies, vajra (Diamonds), vaidurya, sapphire (Nilam), rubies (Pala manikkam), emeralds, pushparagam, (*mantottu paccai*), pearls 1007, and other jewellery-weighing 3,116, and a pendant in diamond, and a chain for the pendant to hang, silk sarees-11, and perfumes like sandal, camphor from Malacca, kasturi (musk), vermilion, rose-water, and vessels. Seventeen villages, the revenue yield of which was 1,500 *panam* were assigned for offerings of food and delicacies together with plates and containers.

Three years later he presented a conch with rubies set in it, and a Chakra and an Abhaya hasta and the Tirunamam.[69]

The dishes prepared, sweets, varieties of rice preparations, rice-cakes (*Idli*, *dosai*) had all required pulses, cereals, spices, pepper, sugar, and ghee and oil. The increase in demand should have been matched by the increased supply. The increasing cash and gold in circulation should have attracted unabated supply even from farther locations to meet higher levels in demand, and camphor and other perfumes imported from abroad Similar assignments to Kamakshiamman Temple were also made.[70]

These instances testify to the opulance of the Vijayanagar rulers and their benefactions to their favourite deity, Varadaraja. The jewellery items were of intricate workmanship, and the artisans of Kanchipuram, the goldsmiths, and metal workers and stone-masons were all in great demand. They were not slow to cash in on their prestigious work and contribution to the society. They vied with other sections of the society for privileges and honours in the public festivals and temples and for elevating their social

status. Kanchipuram set the pace and was the benchmark for the privileges accorded to the artisans, the Ilai vaniyar (betel-growers) and Devanga weavers. The artisans, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths of Tiruvamattur claimed no more and no less than the privileges enjoyed by their classes in Padaividu, Senji, Tiruvannamalai and Kanchipuram.[71]

The weavers (Kaikolar) one of the oldest communities in Kanchipuram had the privilege of using dandu (palanquin) and sangu (conch) for good and bad occasions even earlier. This was extended to other tracts in A.D. 1485-1486.[72]

The Ilai vaniyars in Villiyanur were accorded certain birudas of Kaikkolar by the local officers who were won over by offering bribes. The Kaikolar and the Devanga weavers were outraged. and left the place in protest. The King's officers enquired into the matter, and after referring to their communal copper plates deposited at Kanchipuram decreed that the Kaikolas alone were entitled to the use of the *Birudas*.[73]

Even earlier in 5th year of Rajaraja-III's reign (A.D. 1221) when a dispute arose regarding the rights and privileges of oilmongers and rights of the oilmongers (Sekkars) the nadu and the nagara met at Tirukkovilur and settled the customary practices and imposed social disabilities on them in accordance with the copper plates of Kanchipuram.[74]

A summing up

Kanchipuram then laid down the customary law and that was engraved in copper plates. That was the authentic and enforceable law on the customary privileges and rights and obligations of the artisans, the weavers, the oilmongers and the betel-growing community. The preeminent position of Kanchipuram was acknowledged implicitly, and adopted and extended all over the tract even in distant Tirukkovilur and Villianur. This attested the ancient settlements, the highly developed social stratification and the usages that were in vogue therein at Kanchipuram.

It owed this preeminent position to the large and ancient population of varied but high attainments of learning and productive professions and manufacture residing at Kanchi. Its production had a ready market, and royal patronage, followed by that of nobility and of the temples. Its location, on the highway from Vijayanagar *via* Tirupati, Kalahasti and down south to Tiruvannamalai and Chidambaram (taken by Krishnadevaraya) and on the highway (*Peruvali*) from the Mysore plateau linking with the eastern coast was significant. Ferries to cross rivers, when in spate, were maintained by individual or collective effort. But when in floods the river could become unfordable; even ferries by manual rowing would cease when the currents

were swift and strong. Highways were in use through which commodities were taken by carts and pack animals or in *Kavadies* or loads suspended in baskets taken on shoulders, headloads. Pack horses, bullocks or asses brought spices like pepper from Malabar. Except in the Imperial capital or significant locations where the roads were paved with stone slabs, others were of mud and could become slushy in the rainy season. The merchants had their own swordsmen (Vira valanjian) to guard their goods and wares against highway robbery in insecure stretches. They moved in a group or as a caravan which facilitated protective arrangements. Horses were also in increasing use Fairs were held on specified days of the week and the places came to be known after the day the fair was held. They also coincided with festivals in temple when luxuries, ornaments and products not locally available were brought for sale in larger quantities. Seasonal products too found their way to such markets Here then was the impact of the process of the "*longue duree*" felt perceptibly.

Kanchipuram then symbolised the pace of economic activity, its growing variety and intensity. The populous city had established its name in hoary tradition (Nagareshu Kanchi). It owed its name as much to its beauty, its broad streets; its artistic temples and surroundings with coconut and mango groves abounding, as to the populous residents pursuing varied avocations. They were the mainstay of the economic growth and intensive activity in the city. They attracted customers from afar. They had proved their mettle in their creations in silk fabrics, in stone sculpture and structures, and metalwares. No wonder some of the builders were taken to the Chalukyan capital, Badami by the victorious ruler, Vikramaditya to work for him. The victor was vanquished by the artists and craftsmen of Kanchi. Successive dynasties have added to this religious and artistic heritage. The industrial and almost pre-industrial urban character of this great city where trade from all sides converged was fostered right through the ages. Even today it holds its fame for silk and varieties of cotten fabrics or products.

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2 T.V. Mahalingam "*Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History*", p. 11

3 I.K. Sarma, "*Religion in Art and Historical Archaeology of South India – Contacts and Correlations*", p. 9. Also cf. DASSI, p. 6. Indian Archaeology - A Review, p. 32

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10 *A.R.E.* 240/1930

11 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 132

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13 *A.R.E.* 12/1895. MCCM, Vol VIII

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16 Please see the author's paper, "*Chola Inscriptions in Mysore District*"

17 Please see the author's "*Rajendra Vinnagar*", p. 10; *A.R.E.* 112/1905

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20 Ibid., No. 84

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23 *A.R.E.*, 17/1921

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25 S.I.I. Vol. XIX, No. 365

26 Confer 76/1921, Sale of land by the merchants of Kanchipuram nagaram in the 4th year of Parakesari Rajendra-I (A.D. 1016)

27 *S.I.I*, Vol. III, No. 128

28 *A.R.E*, 264/1956; *A.R.E.* 273/1956 (A.D. 1068-70)

29 Ibid., 39/1921

30 *S.I.I.* Vol. IV No. 133

31 Ibid., Nos 132; 133

32 *A.R.E.*, 46 of 1921

33 Ibid., 47 of 1921 (undated)

34 *S.I.I.* Vol. III, No. 80

35 *A.R.E.*, 261 of 1909 – Tirukachur (A.D. 1171)

36 *E.I.* 345/1919; 605/1919; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 350

37 *A R.E.* 832/1919

38 Ibid., 346/1919

39 Ibid., 343/1919; 407/1919; 409/1919; 429/1919; 450/1919; 451/1919; 565/1919; 596/1919 – also a native of Muranottamangalam. cf. 396/1919

40 Ibid., 441/1919

41 *E.I.*, XII, No. 22, p. 188 ff.

42 *I.A.*, XXI, 197 ff. No. 2 of 1893

43 *A.R.E.*, 356/1919. Text in *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 218 : But 386/1919 gives 39 panams equal to 4 madai or 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ panam = 1 madai, This is an index of the perplexity that besets the study of medieval coinage in its various denominations and varieties

44 Ibid 350/1919

45 Ibid 40/1921

46 Ibid 46/1921

47 Ibid 697/1919

48 Ibid 609/1919

49 Ibid 228/1910

50 Ibid 431/1919

51 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 854

52 Ibid, No. 861 (Rajadhiraja II ? 4th year)

53 For, instance the shrine for Emberumanar (Ramanuja) and provision for the exposition of Ramanuja Bhashya were endowed by a Pandyan General Ilaialvan Kalingarayan. please see the author's "*Rajendra Vinnagar*," p. 42, f/n 4.

54 *S.I.I.*. Vol. I, 86

55 Ibid., No. 87. Also *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, 356 - where a Dasi (Dancing girl) sold 2 ko' manai for 27 panams.

56 *A.R.E.*, 230/1910

57 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, 351 (in Kampana udayar reign)

58 *A.R.E.*, 658/1919

59 Ibid., 655/1919, para. 48 - Fn. 2, 1920

60 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, 368

61 *A.R.E.*, 474/1919

62 *A.R.E.*, 472/1919

63 Ibid., 585/1919

64 Ibid., 646/1919

65 Ibid., 412/1919

66 Ibid., 413/1919

67 K.V. Raman ; "*Sri Varadarajasvami Temple*" p. 29

68 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 53

69 Ibid., No. 54

70 Ibid., No. 52

71 *A.R.E.*, 65/1922

72 Ibid., 422/1925

73 Ibid., 201/1936-37 (Report para. 61)

74 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 865

TRADE AND PATTERNS OF COMMERCE IN MEDIEVAL SOUTH INDIA

(CIRCA 700 - 1300 A.D.)

This paper deals with Trade and Commerce in Medieval South India.

At the outset, it may be mentioned that A.D. 700 is a good enough date to start with. A natural terminal date based on economic grounds could be perhaps found in the latter half of the 13th century or say, by A.D. 1300. For by that time the prosperous days of the Cholas and the Pandya Kingdoms were over. The rise of Vijayanagar just on the horizon was yet to be. In between the Southern Kingdoms had to face the strict surveillance of trade and import and export regulations of the Chinese empire. The Arabs were intensifying their trade, and piracy on the West Coast was also on the increase. Jewish and Syrian merchants to be followed by the Portuguese had established their entrepots and even their Churches on the West Coast.[1] Coming events had been casting their shadows before, even by A.D. 1300. Hence, the paper traces the history upto that date, stretching inevitably into the period of changes that occurred thereafter in the next hundred years.

For purposes of treatment of the subject, this period can be split into two sub-periods (i) A.D. 700 to 900 being the period of the Pallavas and the Pandyas and (ii) A.D. 900 to 1300 being the age of the Imperial Cholas and the Pandyan Kingdom of the Second Empire which over-shadowed the Cholas, and persisted till the terminal date A.D. 1300. The growth of trade and commerce in South India had reached the high water-mark by the mid-thirteenth century.

1. Status of Work Already Done under the Subject

Several papers such as the one by Sri K. R. Venkatarama Iyer on "Medieval Trade, Craft and Merchant Guilds in South India"[2] and "More about Ainnurruvar"[3] are available on the subject. But a coherent and interpretative analysis of the data has been made perhaps for the first time in the Chapter on "Industry and Trade" in "the Cholas".[4] If the quality of a classic is that it provides a sense of direction for further investigation and for elaboration, Prof. Sastri's chapter on "Industry and Trade" can surely be said to fulfil it. An attempt at further elaboration has been made in Dr. Appadorai's "Economic Conditions in Southern India" which covers a part of the period A.D. 1000-2000-[5] Period-oriented studies have also been made as in Dr. Meenakshi's "Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas".[6] The latest

attempt to piece-up readily discernible features of the subject with a claim to original data is the study by Kennath R. Hall.[7]

2. Methodologies and Approaches Adopted

The studies provide an ever-growing aggregate of information, gleanings and impressionistic inferences in totality. They only afford glimpses of trade and commercial activity. Their value lies more as a spring-board for identifying the problems and issues.

3. Problems and Issues

The questions that naturally present themselves, for examination are the following:

(i) How was trade organised? The word 'organise' is used in the literal sense of a form of functioning. Caste and sub-caste would readily provide an answer. Functional differentiation and division could even be the criteria for the form of organisation, if not of the sub-caste. The horse-traders, for instance, of the Malabar tract (Malaimandalattu Kudirai Cettigal) had specialised in horse-trade particularly from the 10th to the 13th centuries. Undoubtedly, there could be quite a bit of horse-trading in such horse trade.[8]

(ii) Was there any difference between the organised form of internal trade and that of the external trade? What was their inter-connection? The evidence is but scanty on this aspect.

(iii) What was the character, nature and functions of the trade organisation ? There were a variety of such organisations.

(iv) How was the trade conducted? Are any patterns discernable, and what was the trade balance like?

(v) What was the impact of trade and commerce on the macro and micro economy and society? To what extent the professional skill and internal production available locally met the need of the micro economy, which meant the somewhat restricted area for or function of trade to that extent.

(vi) (a) To what extent trade and commerce had been influenced by the political set up of the country?

(b) What is the effect, if any, of the rise and fall of Kingdoms and dynastic wars on the trade and more particularly, on the patterns of trade? The effect was hardly discernible. The

economic activity of the community was but slenderly affected by the political upheavals and changes,

Questions (iii) to (v) are dealt with more fully below. The answers to these questions depend on the source material available and a critical examination of such material. These can be classified as below :

(1) Epigraphic data from within the Chola and the Pandya kingdoms. Some external evidence as inscriptions in Burma, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and the South-East Asian countries. The linking of these inscriptional evidences will itself be a very stimulating exercise.

(2) Literary sources, especially the Tamil epics, Silappadikaram and Manimekalai, which could throw light on the earlier parts of the study period, i,e., Circa 700 A.D.

(3) Archaeological finds both from within the country and from the *Trade entrepot*s and / or *terminii* like Rome, Alexandria, Damascus, Cyprus, Beirut and the Gulf countries, and the South-East Asian Countries.

(4) Foreign notices[10] on these aspects are of particular value because some of them are made by foreigners who were themselves traders visiting the country for commercial contact. More recent discoveries like the Geniza documents of the Jewish merchants who had trade connections with the ports of Malabar and the Coromandal Coast[11] also provide good source material.

(5) If Marc Bloch's methodology of proceeding backwards from the "grown animal" to the "embryology" were to be applied, information that could be gathered from the terminal evidence available in the Archives of Venice, Genoa, Istanbul, Madrid, Lisbon, and Paris, that pertain to the age that followed the study period especially of the 15th and 16th century would help as a starter to project backwards the investigations on the subject. Some attempts on these lines could be noticed and a fuller exploitation of these data in an integrated and wide canvas has been ably presented by Fernand Braudell.[12] These sources remain to be intensively examined, especially in the original by scholars competent to do so with the necessary knowledge of the language, the script and peculiarities of the times to which the documents belong.

The subject is one of fascinating interest. It needs study and patient interpretation. The available sources may not admit of such an intimate and minute analysis and presentation as has been brilliantly afforded in the "Wheels of Commerce" by Fernand Braudell for the

15th and 16th centuries in particular. Even so, the indepth study of the available material will be rewarding and may throw-up further data on the organisation and functioning of trade.

Internal Trade (A.D. 700 - A.D. 1200)

Even by A.D. 700, economy in South India had acquired a pre-industrial status. Besides agricultural products like rice and paddy, millets, plantains, milk and dairy products like ghee and butter oil-crushing, coconuts and arecanuts, sugar and vegetables and flowers were all products sold and bought. Pottery, smithy, carpentry and construction of buildings both of earthen bricks (baked and unbaked) stone carving and scooping and wood-working were the everyday occupation for the artisans who were by birth, more are less bound to pursue these avocations. As the monuments and relics of the period testify, they had attained a high standard of perfection. Weaving, especially of cotton cloth and fabrics, was another well established industry. Salt manufacture appears to have been a State monopoly, and in the Chola times it was carried on under a licence with a proportion of salt fixed as state dues. Toddy tappers, shepherds, potters, gold-smiths, washermen, oil-mongers, ferry-men, weavers, fishermen, were all subject to profession tax, unless exempted even, in Pallava times. This would attest the diversification of industry and trade that had already occurred in the 7th and 8th centuries.

Even then, trade and commerce were well organised. Ports flourished and customs were realised affixing the emblem of the Cholas at Pukar (Kaveripumpattinam).[13] Literary evidence and archaeological data take this intercourse back to the first few centuries of the Christian era.

The period immediately preceding 6th century - popularly called the Kalabhara interrugnam - has a paucity of evidence. But epigraphic data recently made available could only lead to the inference that life and industry and trade well organised earlier could not have altogether ceased to be. Itsing reported towards the end of the 7th century regular sailings between Kedeh and Nagappattinam in South India.[14]

One notices individual merchants, selling grain (kulam), horses (kudirai cetti) or precious stones like (Ratna Vyapari) making donations to temples in far-off locations. The Ulagalandaperumal temple at Kanchipuram had a portion of the proceeds of the mechandise sold assigned to itself. The King, Tellarrerinda Nandippottarayar had in his 18th year registered a trade licence free of tax permitting the merchants of the village of Kudiraicceri to open up shops and deal in all sorts of articles from the foreign camphor to the least valued one-leather foot-wear.[15] The Takua-Pa inscription attributed to the

time of Nandi Varman-III (A.D. 826 to 850) records a tank called Avaninaranam by one Nangur-Udaiyan which was to be protected by the Manikkiramam, the residents of the military (or merchant?) camp.[16] Towards the end of this sub-period (A.D. 900), we find organised settlements of merchants residing at particular locations, called "*nagara*" and collectively conducting the land distribution and township affairs. These territorial settlements received special encouragement in Rajaraja's reign. (A.D. 985-1014).

With the expansion of the Chola empire, the trading communities had greater facility for widened operation and increase in interchange of commodities in the period A.D. 900 - 1200, A number of new *Nagaras* were seen springing up; or at any rate, we hear and have more of them in this period. Erivira pattanas or settlements of traders with their own protective forces are also mentioned in the inscriptions. These had their own militia men who accompanied the traders as they moved in a caravan or a group from place to place affording security for trading, carrying their merchandise on the back of draught animals or carts and headloads.

The *Nagaras* were collective organisations administering land, regulating occupancy, and collecting land-dues from them and also disposing of the common unoccupied house-sites and arable lands. We have ample evidence of the functioning of the Nagaram as the Township Organisation, supervising charitable endowments of land, administering wastelands, receiving deposits in cash from the proceeds of which they undertook to defray the payment of land-dues from time to time. From the signatories to such documents we could see that there were three categories of merchants - Silai Cetti. Dharma Cetti and Brahma Cettis.[17] Even instances of Brahmins indulging in trading activities are noticed.[18]

In a record of A.D. 1056, at Narttamalai an interesting episode has come to notice. There appeared to be a controversy regarding a marriage of a merchant resident and it came to ahead on the day of his nuptials. In the course of the dispute, the bride poisoned herself to death. In propitiation thereof the Annurruvar or the (Nana) Desis and others installed a deity of Sangu-Parameswari and endowed for the services to the deity to be supervised by two committees of the Nagaram, the Dharma Variyam (Committee to supervise charities) and Enmar Variyam (A committee of Eight).[19]

The Nagaras had predominantly the merchant population, but there were also others like the agiculturists residing therein. Indeed the merchant-residents were also land–holders; some even were cultivating the lands and enjoying the produce. Sometimes exclusive streets were formed of the merchant community and the residents therein constituted a *Nagaram*, They resided sometimes in the habitats walled around. A

number of such Nagarams had sprung up and we notice in one inscription in Piranmalai alone, as many as eleven such Nagarams. The Nagara had its head in some places (Pattana Svami) and an accountant and sometimes a Madhyastha. They raised voluntary cesses levied on articles of trade at stipulated rates and endowed the proceeds for services in a temple or for any charity.

There were in addition extra-territorial organisations of the merchants who had trans-regional affiliations and acted in concert with one another or as a body. They should have acted through their constituents -- residing in various locations. These were the Tisai Ayirattu annurruvar and the Ayyavole 500, who were spread over the 18 Vishayas. They were the "Samaya" or the community-organisation who could intercede, regulate and organise communal meetings, who assumed responsibilities of supervision or protection of public utilities, and temples. One such temple under the Padinenvishayattar's protection was the temple at Piranmalai which was on the highway connecting Madurai with Uraiyur and Tanjavur. The inscription details rates of levies for the commodities traded in. It is a typical example of the trading community raising resources for the expenses of the temple by voluntary levies (Samaya Pidipadu). The articles traded as mentioned in this inscription were salt, paddy, rice, pulses, castor-seeds, arecanut, pepper, turmeric, dried ginger, asafoetida or garlic (Venkayam), mustard, cummin seeds, spices, myrobalam (kadu nelli tandri) iruppu (iron), cotton, yarn, coarse cloth, fine cloth and honey, urandu pili (Tippili-a medicine, ingredient),wax; hessian (Konikai pattu), sandal, aloe incense (akil), camphor-oil, rose-water, wigs, civet, musk, perfumes, draught bulls, horses and elephants[20]

The rates are specified for bandi-load, *pothi*, sack (carried on buffaloes, or on horse-back, or on donkeys, or such other animals), *pakkam* (*which was* half the volume of *pothi)* or headloads. It will be seen that both luxuries and necessities were traded in, The rates would also reveal the relative value of commodities. They are tabulated in the annexure to this paper.

The transport of commodities was by cart or on draught animals or by head loads. The items listed are, by far, comprehensive. But on special produts like betel, special levies were imposed, at entry points, from outside. For instance, the Nattar raised funds for the Kudumiamalai temple by a levy on betel brought in from the Cauvery fed belt in Tiruchirappalli district into the Irattappadi Konda Chola Valanadu.[21] Also the levies would

The Motupalli inscription of Kakatiya Ganapathy (A.D. 1244 - 45) also specifies rates of duty levied by that ruler, on all exports and imports as not to exceed 1/30. The articles charged were sandal, camphor, chinese camphor, pearls, rose-water, ivory, civeat, camphor oil, copper, zinc, viseya? lead, silk threads, corals, perfumes, pepper, silks, and arecanut. Some of them were items of luxury or metals. But it was a charter of commerce in that from that date confiscation of vessels which lost their way into ports was desisted from by the Kakatiya ruler.[22] Motupalli port was called "Desiuyya Konda pattinam," perhaps a corruption of Desiyu-gandapattinam" as it occurs in Tamil inscription. It refers to many countries, China (Chini) included which were traded with.[23]

Specialisation in trade had also come into vogue, The horse trade for example was largely in the hands of the horse merchants (Kudirai cetti) of Malaimandalam, the West-Coast. Caste, itself, was a natural form of specialisation even at birth.

The references to trans-regional organisations or trade groups should not be understood to imply that they were "Corporate Organisations." Trade was largely carried on by individual merchants on individual account. They had of course out of necessity come together and had collective policing and moved collectively in groups from one place to another for purposes of security. More so, when trans-regional social commitments had to be under-taken or funded. The projection of a consciously federated organisation of trade with specific territorial or functional or hierarchical jurisdiction of operation assigned to each of the constituents and inter-linkage of trading on common account are concepts which will need greater proof to be predicated of the collective bodies.

Trade was essentially in commodities which could not be locally procured. Often commodities were purchased or sold in exchange by barter within local availability. A large number of agro-based industries, de-husking of paddy, oil-pressing by country presses of stone (chekku), sugarcane mills, organic dyes, spinning and weaving were industries that were located in almost all important townships. The oil-presses were licenced by the Kings unless they were granted exemption, they had to pay a duty (Irai), either to the King or, when assigned, to a temple, often in the form of oil for feeding the lamps. The villages and townships in a preindustrial society had a far greater degree of self-sufficiency. Sometimes this was enjoined by a strict injunction against the artisans taking up the work-orders from outside the township of their residence. For example, the Maha Sabha of the Brahmadeya village of Tribhuvani stipulated that the carpenter should take up such services in their village only. Those who engaged themselves in services beyond that village would be considered, to have transgressed the law, to have

committed a fault against the great assembly, and to have ruined the village (A.D. 1113).[24] This could be partly due to the grant of land on service tenure for such artisans, which fastened them to the township or because the available services were just adequate for the needs of a large township like Tribhuvani. But the fact remains that the township was inward-looking; by the same token the agro-industrial needs and manufacturers for everyday life were capable of being met by local production.

The concept of marketing as distinct from production could not be divorced in a pre-industrial society. Often production was against an order placed and not ahead of it. There was to some extent a complimentarity and integrated character of these two forms of economic activity. This also accounts for the non-standardised production. The weight of lamps or other articles ordered for temple use in the same township varies.

Prices of paddy or other commodities were generally determined by local market forces. The King or the Nadu or the Sabha and the temple authorities generally adopted a rate or price nexus for paddy or other dues payable in kind with reference to the prevailing rate in a neighbouring market. For example, in a Virayacilai document of A.D. 1284 (Pudukkottai district), the kind yields were stipulated to be converted into cash adopting the market rates prevailing in Nerkunram,[25] For provisioning for temple requisites like ghee, or oil or other foodstuffs a conversion rate, based on the prices ruling at the time of the institution of service or endowment was adopted. Persons implementing such services undertook, often, to bear the price fluctuations themselves setting off the rise against the fall and insulated the fixed quantum of provisions from market changes in prices. Realisation of land-dues was also regulated likewise and the quantum of paddy per Kasu was sometimes mentioned in the inscriptions. Fixation of price by royal "fiat" was not normally noticeable. Rather the market rates were adopted for working out the King's dues or making endowments or grants in cash for temple services. Stability in prices of products, was generally noticed except in years of abnormal seasonal calamities like famine when due to non-availability, paddy prices soared high. To the extent, over a secular period, the price varied too unfavourably and the actual quantum of services or provisions were affected supplementation or augmentation was also made by further grants. Investment in land with a standard yield in kind could be a guarantee against such fluctuations and help directly yield paddy or rice, but exceptionally where the lands were liable to adverse seasonal conditions or flood-damages by Cauvery river, as in Srirangam, lending cash against a fixed interest-yield in cash was preferred to avoid uncertainities of income-receipts;[26] taking the inherent risk of the possible though scarce variations in the purchasing power or value of cash.

This in outline would give some idea of the internal trade and the organisations connected with it. The volume should have considerably increased in the latter period from A.D. 900 to A,D. 1300. New Townships were founded. Temples erected had large establishments. Cultivation was extended. The local resources got augmented by wealth brought in after conquest by rulers. It could be reasonably inferred that the general level of prosperity and living should have increased. Internal trade and merchandise could have correspondingly and consequently, registered both increase and diversification and territorial extensions.

External Trade

In the sphere of external trade also, this growth could be noticed. Grounds exist for inferring fluctuations in trade balances and stresses felt by the economy. Here we have to depend almost exclusively on foreign sources, the accounts of travellers and the Chinese chronicles. Very little evidence is forthcoming from the extant data in South India during this period. But the Tamil inscriptions abroad in Indonesia, in Siam and Burma and elsewhere attest the trading organisations of South India had extended their activities to these regions. Nana desis, the Tisai Ayirattu Annurruvar and Manigramam were the trading communities mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions overseas at Takua pa, Pagan, and Loboe Toewa (A.D. 1088).

Maritime connections between South India and South-east Asian countries extend to the early centuries of the Christian era. They received a fillip during the 7th century. It was a great epoch in the annals of Indian Buddhism and the Chinese pilgrims were attracted to study that religion in the land of its birth. There were constant intercourse, Indian monks proceeding to China and Chinese pilgrims coming in batches to India. Besides religion, trade and diplomacy had also brought about similar contact. The Western Chalukya rulers and Narasimha Varman-II, the Pallava ruler, had sent missions abroad. Vajra bodhi, a remarkable monk, from South India (born A.D. 661) crossed the sea to Sri Lanka first and then to China together with an ambassador sent by the Pallava King. He became friendly with some Persian merchants, with whom he sailed and reached Sri Vijaya. He arrived in China in A.D. 720 and died there 12 years later. Bodhi Sena, a South Indian Brahmin, was also similarly drawn to China and together with a priest friend of his, Buttetsu, reached Japan, where he taught Sanskrit and became the head priest (Sojo) and preached Mahayana doctrine till his death in A.D. 760. Several embassies had been exchanged between Sri Lanka and China, and there were Brahmin temples in Canton. The Tamil inscription of Takua Pa mentions a Vishnu Temple, and a tank called Avani Naranam and the Manigramam (merchant guild) of that place had been named a benefactor or protector.

By the early 9th century, foreign vessels, which visited Canton were very large, "so high out of the water that ladders of several tens of feet in length had to be used to get aboard." An office of the Inspector of Maritime Trade (Shipo-shi) had been established, It attests the importance of trade. The Inspectorate required that the manifests should be submitted to it, before the ships were allowed to be cleared and they collected export duty and also the freight charges. The export of precious and rare articles was forbidden. Attempts at smuggling was punished with imprisonment.[27]

The latter half of the 9th century witnessed a virtual cessasion of China's maritime trade with West Asia and India For a time, foreign ships did not proceed beyond Kalah where they were met by Chinese vessels. The Chinese hitherto not noticeable for their navigation on the high-seas had now taken to sea-going junks which went as far west as Quilon on the Malabar Coast and Siraf on the East Coast of the Persian Gulf. At the end of the 10th century, the Chinese political situation became normal. The Sung Government evinced a great interest in the foreign trade. "The discovery of the Chinese coins and ceramics of the Sung dynasty in South India are good testmony to the vigorous intercourse between South India and China in the 11th and 12th centuries."[28] Chinese porcelain remains have also been unearthed in the recent excavations at Gangaikonda Cholapuram, the Capital of Rajendra Chola-I (A.D. 1012-1044) and his successors. Chinese porcelain finds attributed to the Jindezhan kiln were found from Periyapattinam, Palayakayal, Devipattinam and Nagapattinam

Trade was made a Government monopoly and the Sung Government made strenuous efforts to increase its volume. Missions were sent abroad to invite foreign traders with promises of special import licences. The Chola rulers, Rajaraja-I and Rajendra-I, were eager to avail themselves of the opening up of trade opportunities; more so, because their empire had extended from the West Coast to the East. The Imperial annexations of Karnataka, the Chera and the Pandya, and Sri Lanka territories by the Cholas were partly motivated by their intent to control trade and realise its benefits. Trade connections were further encouraged after the expedition by Rajendra Chola against Sri Vijaya and the Malay Coast. It may be presumed that the expedition was motivated, in part, by the anxiety to capture trade especially between South India and the far East. They sent envoys in A.D. 1015, 1020, 1033 and Kulottunga-I sent an envoy in A.D. 1077-all with valuable presents. Though these envoys were received with honours by the Chinese Court, apparently they were not commensurate with the Imperial Cholas and their stature, out of lack of knowledge of their true status in China. Communications in the 'Southern Seas' and the Empire of China was easier and regular. This revival is attested by the Sung annals.

Already, in A.D. 971, a merchant shipping office was established at Canton and later two additional offices at Hang Chou and Ming Chou (Ningpo), "All Ta-Shih (Arabs) and foreigners from Ku-lo (Kalah), She-p'o (Java), Chan-Ch'eng (Annam), p'o-ni (Borneo), Revival Ma-i (Philippine islands) and San-fo-ts'i (Palembang, Sumatra) exchanged at these places for gold, silver, strings of cash, lead, tin, coloured silks, and porcelain-ware, their aromatics. Rhinoceros horns, tusks of ivory, coral amber, strings of pearls,, steel, turtle's shells, tortoise-shells. cornelians, ch'th-k'u shells rock, cyrstal, foreign textile fabrics, ebony, sapan-wood, etc. In the Emperor Tai-tsu's time (A D. 960 to 976), a licence office was established at the capital, and orders were given that the foreign aromatic drugs and high priced goods brought to Canton, Kiau-chih (Tonkin), the Liang Che and to Ch'uan chou (Zayton) should be deposited in the Governmental godowns, and that all private trading in pearls, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros horns, ivory, steel, turtles, shells, amber, cornelians and frankincense outside of the official markets was forbidden. All objects not included in the above list might be freely dealt in by the people.[29]

It will be seen that quite a few items like pearls, perfumes, textile fabrics, ebony and timber and ivory could be of South Indian origin. From the list above, it will be seen that trade was both in necessities such as manufactured textile fabrics of cotton, mostly spices and drugs and (ii) of luxury items, jewels, semi-precious stones, ivory, rhinoceros horns, ebony, coral and aromatic products and perfumes for preparing incense or for perfuming the body. The articles were high value, high risk items and of low bulk. Interest rates could also have been correspondingly high. Even internal rates of interest ruled at 20 to 25·/. in South India, Increasing demand for the luxury items led the Chinese Government monopoly. Trade in these luxury articles was open only to licensed vendors who brought their supplies at Government warehouses in quantities and at prices fixed by Governmeut. Trade in the cotton fabrics, spices and drugs were only subject to import duty payable in kind, varying from 1/10th to 2/10ths[30] of the goods imported, besides a fixed tonnage fee on the ship. Thus the Chinese Government had imposed an entire gamut of import and export control regulations from simple licensing to the Government monopoly of sale of specified products. In such a regulated trade, abuses developed, especially in the trade in luxuries by the middle of the 12th century. There was drain of currency and precious metals resulting from the undue increase in the illicit trade in the latter category. In the 12th and 13th centuries the Chinese Government legislated a number of measures with a view to prohibit exportation of precious metals and coined money and to restrict the volume of trade with Ma'bar and Kulum (The Coromandal Coast and Quilon).

In the 11th Century, conscious attempts had been made by the Chola emperor Kulottunga-I to lighten the burden of import or customs duties (Sungam), but the exact mode of relief and what commodities were entitled to this benefit are not known. It can, however, be construed as an attempt to sustain the foreign trade in the face of the Chinese attempts to control and reduce the import of luxury goods noticed above. A similar conscious attempt to encourage sea-borne trade was made some two centuries later by Kakatiya Ganapati as noticed above. In the 13th century, the products of the Chola country exported to China had remained unchanged. To quote Chau Ju kua "Pearls, elephant tusks, coral, transparent glass, betel-nuts, cardamom, opaque glass, cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads, and cotton stuffs." He also notes that the taxes and imposts of the Chola Kingdom were numerous and heavy and consequently traders, rarely went there, but this last cannot be taken as correct in face of the foreign trade even in the 13th century which was of no mean volume. Marcopolo notes that "cargoes from Malabar going towards Aden andAlexandria are not one to ten of these that go to the Eastwards."- a statement he repeats with emphasis.[31]

Jewish merchants were also active in the 11th and 12th centuries, particularly in the West Coast. Bhaskara Ravi Varman, the Chera Ruler (circa A.D. 1000) had issued a copper plate conferring privileges on the Jewish Chief, Joseph Rabban. The commercial importance of the Jewish Chief and the trading family is fully attested by this record. Besides, the Cairo Geniza records brought to light have even helped to trace the family fortunes of one such Jewish family, the Lebbdis, over two centuries.[32]

The available Cairo Geneza records testify to 77 items which were exported to West from India ("India" used by Goitein in the widest sense of India, and South-East Asia). They are:

(A) Spices, aromatics, dyeing, varnishing, plants and medicinal herbs (36)
(B) Brass and Bronze vessels (12)
(C) Indian silk, and textiles, mainly of cottonmade (8)
(D) Iron and steel (a chief commodity) (as raw-material) (6)
(E) Tropical fruits and coconuts (5)
(F) Pearls, beads, cowrie shells and ambergris (4)
(G) Chinese porcelain, yemenite stove-pots and African Ivory (3)
(H) Shoes, and leather work (2)
(I) Tusker (1)

The spices outrank all others in the number and frequency of occurrence and in value. A merchant visiting Malabar from Cairo sends his wife at home $7\frac{1}{2}$ Mannu of Janza (nutmeg), "the like of which is not to be had in Cairo" and the quality of which is not be found at home" (p. 357).

The east bound items were:-

1. Textiles and clothing;
2. Vessels and ornaments of silver; brass, glass and other metals:
3. Chemicals and medicaments, soap, paper, etc.,
4. Food-stuffs-Cheese, sugar, raisins, oliveoil, linseed oil for lamps;
5. Metals and other ingredients for copper industry;
6. Household goods, carpets mats, frying pan, etc.,
7. Coral

Bothways, raw-material and finished goods and even varieties of textiles were inter-changed. The industrial and common goods sent to India were of the greatest variety, but of small value. They were mostly for use by middle eastern merchant families and not for the local population.

Only in exceptional cases, as in that of Joseph Lebdis's India trip, most of the oriental goods were purchased with the price obtained for middle eastern products. Mostly in all such cases gold, and silver, in particular, Egyptian gold pieces, the Dollars of the period - accompanied orders for the Indian goods or raw-materials for the Indian bronze industry were sent as equivalent, Against 535 Malki Dinars worth of pepper and iron (excluding customs); copper (423), packing (16) Lead (29-7/12), household goods (16-3/4) and 20 Egyptian dinars (97) and cash Maliki dinars) - 7 were the means of payment. In the period A.D. 1137 - A.D. 1140, Spanish silk sold well in Malabar coast and even accepted as a means of payment in place of gold. But it was exceptional. It was customary to pay for oriental products in cash.[33]

The observation of Mr. Lopez[34] is still valid-how the middle-east made good its unfavourable balance of gold in its trade with India is still a question for which we have no clear-cut answer.

South India's trade had not been confined to the east alone. It had also developed westwards to the Arab ports. Good connections had been established with the Abbasid Khalifat of Baghdad. Indian merchant-men visited Siraf, the main entrepot and cosmopolitan city and on its decline the island of Quais and Kish. Of Siraf, the Arab writer Istakhri (10th century) states "the imports from India were aloe wood for burning amber, camphor, precious gems, bamboo, ivory, ebony, pepper, sandal-wood, and all kind of Indian drugs and condiments. It was also a great market for pearls". The bulk of the products are of South Indian origin. Kish was the entrepot where Indian merchants handed over their products to their counterparts[35] from Persia and the west. By far the largest volume of trade in South India was in

horses brought by sea on which the Arabs had flourished. The Hindu merchants of the west coast had specialised in horse trade. This continued to increase even at the beginning of the 14th century, as noticed by Marco Polo and Wassaf. The demand for horses was as insatiable as their upkeep was poor. There was a constant drain of gold and valuables. Their value totalled to "2,200,000 *dinars* which was paid out of the revenues of the estates and endowments belonging to the Hindu temples and from taxes upon courtesans and not from public treasury".[36]

If a pattern were to be evolved, the Venetians, the Genoese and other Northern Italian cities in the mediterranean - Red-sea sector and beyond, the Persians and after them, the Egyptians, and Byzantines and the Arabs, from the Gulf to the west coast of India and beyond, and the traders from the west and east-coast of South India along with the Arabs, and the trading community of Malay peninsula and the Chinese in the far-east, the Chinese joining the sea-trade from about the latter half of the 9th century, could be said to be active on this trade. The Arabs, of course, were so predominent participants that the entire trade and commodities sold were often attributed to them, irrespective of the country of origin. This statement only highlights the principal elements in the different sectors of trade patterns and should not be taken to mean that each operated in the particular sector, exclusive of all others. The universality and the ever-stretching-out arms of trade and commerce could not admit of such compartmentalistion.[37]

There were obviously two trade routes by sea. One from China, the Straits of Malacca, and straight across the sea to Ceylon and to Quilon; and thence by a land route eastwards to the Pandyan and Chola country on the east-coast or by sea after transhipment at Quilon. The other was a longer route by sea, all along the Burmese coast, after cutting across the narrow strip of Siam from Takua Pa, the Bay of Bengal, the Eastern coast of India, hugging the litteral down south.[38] On this route, Visakapatnam (Kulottunga, Chola-Patnam), Mottupalli, Sadras near Kadal-Mallai (Sadurangapatnam), and Nagappattinam were important ports of the empire of Kulottunga-I. Sailing was determined by the monsoon winds, in the months May to July towards the east and in the months from October to February from east to west.[39] Many ports on the east and west were active — Cochin, Quilon, Vilingam on the west and on the east, Kumari, Kayal, Thondi, Kodikkarai, Nagappattinam, Markanam, and Sadurangapattinam.

The 13th century was significant in more ways than one. It was noteworthy for the part played by the Arab merchants who touched the Ma'bar coast (the Coromandal coast) and thence proceeded to China, where Kublai Khan, the Mongol emperor held court. They acted even as diplomats for the Pandyan contestants to the throne. The line of distinction between

diplomacy and commerce was but thin. We hear of a Muslim, Jamaluddin, sent as his envoy by the Pandya prince to the Mongol court to intercede on his behalf and for Mongol assistance in the Pandya war of succession. But this had but a distant appeal to the Mongolian Emperor.

From these precious hints thrown by the foreign travellers and the circumstantial evidence available, an idea can be formed of the balance of trade for the southern kingdoms of the Cholas and the Pandyas from the 10th to the 13th centuries. Even without reckoning with the augmentation by war booty and spoils, and the revenues from the incorporated territories of the Chola empire in that period - 10th to the end of 12th century the balance of trade could, - indeed would - have been favourable to the Cholas.[40] Items of trade were small bulk, high priced cargoes - pearls, cotton, textiles, valuable timber, incense materials, spices and other luxury items. The very fact that the Chinese had to pay in precious metals and coins and that they were compelled to impose trade regulations and restrictions could be a pointer to this conclusion.

In A.D. 1219, the High Ministers of State reported to the Chinese Throne: "Alas! that the gold and silver of the land should be flowing out in trade with savages from afar! Trading stations should be established on the borders at which *our* (italics is mine) silks, brocades, ganzes, percelain-ware, lacquer-ware and the like could be offered in exchange for their goods. If none came to take them, it would be no serious loss."[41]

This, then, is a clear exasperation of an adverse balance of trade crying aloud for redressal: The culprits were the imported perfumes, aromatics, ivory, rhinoceros horns and sea-trade generally and these were imported despite sumptuary laws passed in A.D. 1034 and A.D. 1068 against the use by the people of brocades and embroidery and in A.D. 1107, A.D.1201 and A.D. 1241 against the king-fisher's feathers and gold for ornaments which were of no avail.

But the deminishing flow of precious metal and coins into South India from the beginning of the 13th century onwards should have turned the balance of trade adverse to the later Cholas and the Pandyas. This impression gained ground from two or three factors. First, the Chinese tightened their control over the out-flow of gold and coins. Secondly, the Chola emperor, even towards the end of 11th century (A.D. 1098), and the Kakatyia ruler some 150 years later were obliged to show some concessions in customs duty to attract more trade to their coast. Thirdly, there was a constant and perceptible drain of gold and coinage for the horse purchases by the Southern Kingdoms, by the Pandyas even more than the Cholas. The

Arab merchants saw to it that the horses were not accompanied by any farriers. The merchants could even claim the price for the horses which died or which they claimed to have been dead in transit.

The numismatic evidence also could tend to support these impressions. "While the Ceylon type of issues of Rajaraja-I are usually of a fairly good gold, all the available specimens of the later monarchs beginning from Rajadhiraja-I by the middle of 11th century appear to be of very base gold or rather silver washed in gold."[42] Barring some coins of Kulottunga-I, this tendency became pronounced after the 12th century. Even making allowance for the South Indian craving for gold and conversion into ornaments and jewellery, the debasement can afford some evidence of progressively reduced availability of gold.

The 13th century coinage and changes in the issues would further confirm the impression. A definite change in the currency was noticed, in the latter half of that century in the coins of Kulottunga-III and Maravarman Sundara Pandya-I his contemporary. The earlier coinage never fully or totally ceased to be in circulation. But in the latter half of that century, the quantum of coins endowed were out of all proportion to the quantum for similar endowments made earlier The term "*Kasu*" was used: But the nexus between the old and the new *Kasu* was disproportionately high. The conclusion that can be drawn is that the Chola and the Pandya rulers were obliged to issue copper coins in large quantities in replacement for the felt diminution in the number of gold and silver coins which were becoming scarce.

Again, the *Drammam* (a coin, perhaps of Roman or Greek origin or later of Turkish or Arab origin - the *drachm*) was in wide circulation. But the nexus of *drammam* to *Kasu* or Accu in the Pandya Kingdom was getting altered unfavourably to the former. The longer the coins had been in circulation, the larger the number of *drammams* that could be needed in exchange for the *Kasu*. We have wide variation from 5 *meni drammam* to even 24 or 15 *meni drammam*. When concessions had to be shown in payment, the rulers adopted the facile method of varying the *drammam* equivalent to a *kasu*, devaluing the *drammam* further, and appreciating the value of *kasu*.[43] The inelastic availability of *drammam* could also be inferred.

These features of the coinage noticed in the 13th century and after in South India could be attributed to (i) the fiscal strain consequent on the Chola-Pandya wars in the 13th century felt alike by the two Kingdoms; (ii) the insatiable demand for horses in the Ma'bar coast and the consequent drain of gold stock and coins; and (iii) the plunder by Malik Kafur of what

was left still in the Southern Kingdoms. (iv) To these we might add a contributory cause-the diminishing flow of gold and precious metals and coinage through external trade from China and Far-East and elsewhere. This loss could also have led *inter alia* to the larger issues of copper coins as well.

The 13th century "witnessed the paucity of gold coins, and the copper coins were minted in large numbers which boosted the prices of all commodities."[44] Instability in the economy and the high rates of the land-dues demand were burdensome, There was audible demand for relief from within, from the agricultural tenantry and land-holders. These again could be suggestive of the growing adverse trends in economy including the adverse balance of trade and weakening of the resources of the Chola-Kingdom, fast declining in its political strength, and of the Pandyan Kingdom afflicated with civil wars of succession.

If one may speculate, to the extent the trade was in high-value low bulk items of luxury or of horses, and it catered to the needs of the king, the court and nobility, the direct effect of the adverse balance of trade could have been, perhaps inelastic on the poorer sections of the people in a pre-industrial agrarian economy. But those very demands of the former and the consequent drain of gold and metals could have led to a more rigorous collection of land-dues which could have imposed a strain on the land-holders and the tenantry - a strain which was only aggravated when it synchronised with the adverse seasonal conditions and diminished crop yields. Yet, no relief in taxation was afforded. These trends were clearly in evidence in the 13th century and after.[45]

ANNEXURE

A table of the commodities traded and the rates of levy fixed by the community regulation for Piranmalai Temple Endowment :

	Commodity	(Vandi) Load (Cart Load)	Pothi	Pakkam	Head Load
	1	2	3	4	5
			(all in *kasu*)		
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	¼	-
7	Arecanut	--	4	2	-
8	Pepper	--	5	2½	-
9	Turmeric	--	3	1½	-
10	Dried Ginger	--	3	1½	-
11	Garlic				
12	Mustard	--	2	1½	-
13	Cumin Seeds				
14	Kadu pelli Tanduri (Myrobalam)	--	1	½	-
15	Iruppu (iron)	20	2	1	-
16	Cotton	10	2	1	½
17	Yarn	20	5	2½	2
18	Coarse cotton cloth	--	10	5	-
19	Fine cloth	--	20	5	5
20	Ulandu pili (dried medicinal herb) (K. V. S. Iyer takes it to mean a kind of thread)	--	-	-	5

1	2	3	4	5
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 Sandhu, civet, Jawadu (per horn) (Perfume applied to forehead.)	--	-	15	-
(For the last six items, for head loads : 3/4 of the Pakkam rates)				
32 Draft bull	-- *Kasu* 2			
33 *Horse*	-- *Accu* $\frac{1}{4}$			
34 Elephant	-- *Accu* $\frac{1}{2}$			

Note :

1 The high value items were charged at rates as per lower limit of weighment or volume.

2 A Srirangam record of A.D. 1156 gives the equivalent Kasu per 1 Accu as $9\frac{1}{4}$ Kasu; if this can be presumed to be the current exchange rate, the horses were charged 2-5/16 *Kasus* and elephant at 4-5/8 *Kasus*.

(Srirangam record No. : 125 of South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XXIV - AR 68 of 1936-37). *Accu* was a coin of higher denomination than Kasu.

References :

1 On this, please see the author's paper "Early History of the Christians in South India - upto A.D. 1600" - Please see pp. 307 *supra*

2 Journal of Indian History, Vol. 25 (1947).

3 Proceedings of the Tenth All-India Conference, Tirupati (1940) ; Madras (1941).

4 Chapter - XXI of "The CHOLAS", Vol. II - Part-I by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Madras University - 1937).

5 (Vide Chapters - III in volume - I and Chapter - V in Volume II) of the Economic Conditions in South India - By Dr. Appadurai (Madras University - 1936)

6 "Administration and social life under the Pallavas" - Dr. C. Meenakshi (Madras University Publication - 1938)

7 "Trade and state - craft in the age of Cholas" - Study by Kennath R. Hall, New Delhi, 1980.

8 They could claim the price for the horses which even died in transit, as if they were alive (Wassaf - Elliot and Dawson - (iii) - p. 33). If the later evidence of Nuniz were to be read in this context the Arab traders brought only the tails of those horses that had died at sea or supposed to have died and they were paid for as if the horses had been alive (Nuniz - Sewell - A Forgotten Empire - p. 307).

9 Confer : George W Spenser - "The politics of Expansion p. 57" - "Far from being the creatures of any particular dynastic regime the itinerant merchants exercised a chameleon-like ability to adapt themselves to local regimes to suit their own convenience."

10 "Foreign notices of South India" Ed. by Prof. K. A. N. Sastri (Madras University)

11 Translation by Goitein "Letters and Documents on the Indian Trade in Medieval Times". Islamic Culture, 37, 3 p. 196-1963.

12 "The Wheels of Commerce" by Fernand Braudell (Collins).

13 "Puliporittu Purampokki" – Pattinappalai.

14 South India and South East Asia - K. A. N. Sastri (p. 224)
Geetha Book House, Mysore : 1978.

15 ARE 12 of 1895.

16 South India and South East Asia *Op. cit.* p. 176.

17 On a typical Nagaram, please see my study of Narthamalai, in the "Studies in the History of Ancient Townships in Pudukkottai" (Institute of Epigraphy, Department of Tamil Nadu, Madras, 1982).

18 The CHOLAS, Vol. II, Part-I, p. 424; 343 of 1917 (1937 Edn.) (Madras University).

The injunction in the Sastras against Brahmins taking to trade cannot be taken *ipso facto* to have prevailed. There were variations between practice and percept. Nor was there any adherence, in practice, to the prohibition of their crossing the seas. A number of Brahmins and priests (Siva Brahmanas) had migrated to Sri Lanka and even far beyond. Please see, the author's paper on the "Chola Townships in Sri Lanka" Please See pp. 311

19 Studies in Pudukkottai Townships (pp. 4-5) (*op. cit*)

20 S.I.I., Vol. VIII - 442 The inscription is undated. The metals other than iron are not mentioned. For similar levies, please see "Mannargudi Inscriptions" S.I.I. Vol. VI, Nos. 40 and 41

On arecanut : 1 *Ulakku* per *podi* (No. 40)

On pepper : 1 *Ulakku* per *podi*

1/16 panam on every bundle of cloth (Pudavai) (No. 41)

21 Please see the author's "Studies in Ancient Townships of Pudukottai" p. 72

22 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, No. 22, p. 188 ff. The eastern coast and its adjacent hinterland in the extreme peninsular south, say south of Kayalpatnam to Cape Comorin was called "Purattaya nadu" - the territorial division whose main source of revenue - yield is from external trade and commodities exchanged "Purattu-ayam". The tract is a sandy littoral with 'Palmyra forest' and has less scope for any high agricultural yield of revenue. But this is only a surmise.

23 "Ceramics and Maritime Routes of India - New evidence - by I. K. Sharma in "*Puratattva*" No. 21 (1990-91)

24 ARE 205 of 1919 - A Brahmadeya is a township settlement of the land-based literati, the Brahmins holding predominantly occupancy in the cultivated land.

25 P.I. 393, please see *Studies* (*Op. cit*)

26 S.I.I. Vol. XXIV, No. 125, Srirangam

27 Hirth and Rockhill - Chau-Ju-Kua, p. 9

28 N. Karashima: "Relations between South India and China in Chola Times"- K.A.N. Sastri Felicitation Volume p. 69 ff. Also, Karashima- "Discoveries of Chinese Ceramic shreds on the coasts of South India" - Paper read at the (UNESCO) International Seminar, Madras.

29 Tong-Po XV. p. 420, Note (i) "*Foreign Notices*" Introduction p. 23-24. Smuggled goods were paid for in gold, silver, iron and especially in copper cash; this caused the Chinese Government serious concern.

30 For purpose of comparison, the import duty at Mottupalli was only 1/30. But that was by A.D. 1244-45 and designed to encourage foreign trade and ships touching the Andhra Coast.

31 'Marco Polo's travels - Yule and Cordier, Book (iii), Chapter XXV. *Foreign Notices, p. 184 (1972 Edn.)* Cotton or cotton with coloured silk thread seem to have been traded both ways - they could be different types or varieties.

32 Goitein - The documents of the Cairo Geneza" as the source for "Mediterranean Social History." Journal of the American Oriental Society 80, (1960)-91-92; "Letters and documents on India trade in Medieval Trade" - Islamic Culture, 37 (1963), pp. 37 - 67.

33 For fuller details, please see pp. 329-350 - "The Indian Trade in Medieval Times" in "Studies in Islamic History and Institutions" by S. D. Goitein (Leiden-E.I. Brill 1968).

34 Cambridge Economic History of Europe - Vol. II/p. 309

35 Wilson : "The Persian Gulf" (p. 94) cited in "The Cholas" II, pt. i - p. 437 (1937 Edn.)

36 Elliot and Dawson - "The History of India as told by its own Historians". Vol. III p. 33

37 Confer : "It was impossible to do business between India or even Arabia or East Africa, or Sicily or Tunisia or Spain directly although most of the Indian travellers (ie. travellers to India) came from the Western countries of the Mediterranean', Again: "Not a single document referring to direct contracts with China has been discovered so far." - (S.D. Goitein : "The Indian Trade in Medieval Times"; pp. 329-350; - in "Studies in Islamic History and Institutions - Leiden - E.I. Brill(1968)

38 Foreign Notices, p. 141, Chau-Ju-Kua - "Chulien (The Chola Country)". The references in the Chinese sources and the account in Marco Polo's travels are distinctly to South India and the products mentioned confirm it.

39 Hirth and Rockhill in "Chau-Ju-Kua" - Chu-fan-chi, p. 30

40 Confer: "It would be interesting to carry the investigation one step further to discover in what way the Muslims settled their apparently unfavourable balance of trade with China, India, and Africa. The fact seems to be that the balance was not really unfavourable.

The Senegalese gold miners exchanged their precious dust for salt and copper, both of which were abundant in Muslim North Africa. India imported horses from Arabia and Ivory from Muslim East Africa. China imported so many wares that it developed an increasingly unfavourable balance of trade which was settled by payment in cash. In the mid-eleventh century the annual import of ivory, pearls, aromatics, etc., was paid by the Chinese with more than 53,000 units of count and it rose to more than 5,00,000 units of count almost ten times as much in A.D. 1175!" Robert S. Lopez - The Trade of Medieval Europe: The South (Chap. V)-p. 309 fr. The Cambridge Economic History of Europe (1952).

To the extent this trade had comprised pepper, spices, timber, aromatics and pearls and from South India it is legitimate to infer that the outgo had commensurately increased, and gold and coinage had flowed into the Pandya and the Chola Kingdoms, as the latter had included the West Coast in the 11th and 12th centuries. To the extent, China had obligation to pay for goods in coinage and in cash the balance of trade can be presumed to be favourable to the South Indian Kingdom.

41 Rockhill – 'Tong Po', XV. p. 422 -
Chao-yeh-tsa-ki 15, 17 cited.

42 The Cholas, Vol. II, Part-I, p. 453 (1937 Edn).

43 On this, please see the Author's "Land Grants and the Agrarian Reactions in Chola and Pandya times" (Published by the University of Madras - 1987). The inelastic availability of the *Drammam* and the depreciation in its value could be reconciled by the still persistent use of the *drammam*, the exchange value of which was as low as 24 to 1 *Kasu*.

44 "The Tamil Coins - by Dr. R. Nagaswamy, published by the State Department of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu, Madras, 1981 – pp. 69-71 and p. 117

45 At pp. 424-495 of the Cholas Volume-II p. 81 commenting on the reputed abolition of customs and octroi duty by Kolottunga-I Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastry poses a question : "There is no means of knowing how this was managed, and what steps, if any, were taken to fill the gaps in the revenues of the Government caused by the remission."

It is not perhaps an accident that from the latter half of the reign of Kulottunga-I a more rigorous collection of land-dues and intermittent increases in the rates of levy and the collection of land-dues even in times of natural calamities and adverse seasonal conditions without any remission were noticed. Was this an attempt to balance the loss of external revenue by a more exacting collection of internal land-dues ?

THE VENAD RULERS AND THE MEDIEVAL PANDYAS

(A reappraisal of their relationship between the 11th and the 13th centuries in the light of the Pandyan inscriptions in Nanjil Nadu)

Introduction

Venad is the hilly tract in South Travancore which had Kollam (Quilon) as its headquarters. It extended to the sea in the south and the west. Nanjil Nadu (the eastern part of Kanyakumari district) was to its east. With the disappearance of the Kulasekharas as the Imperial power in the 12th century, unable to with stand the Chola onslaught, and the shift of the capital from Mahodayarpatnam to Kollam, Venad rose to prominence,[1]

About the same time, another ancient dynasty in the south the Pandyas, who were also subject to the imperial authority of the Cholas from the 10th century onwards, were slowly re-asserting their independence. Epigraphic evidence from Madurai, Ramanathapuram, and Tirunelveli districts attests the growing power of the Pandyas from the latter half of the 11th century onwards, say from A D. 1080.

Annexure-I sets out the geneological sequence, and the approximate periods of every one of the rulers of Venad and of the Chola and the Pandyan rulers for the corresponding period from A.D. 1087 to the end of the 13th century. A list of important Pandyan inscriptions occurring in Nanjilnad and the objects of the grant in each are set out in Annexure-II.

The Issue

Inscriptions of some of the kings of the rising Pandyan dynasty of the second empire are also found in Nanjilnad, i.e., the modern Agastisvaram and Thovala taluks of Kanyakumari district. From the occurrence of these inscriptions dated in the regnal year of the Pandyan kings and the grants made by them to the institutions or the deities in Nanjilnad, -- at Agastisvaram, Suchindram, Puravaseri, — the early epigraphists thought it "safe to conclude that the Venad rulers were subordinates to the Pandyan kings."[2] This view was also adopted by Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in his pioneering work, the Pandyan kingdom,[3] Prof. K. V. Raman follows them.[4] They considered that Nanjilnad had formed part of the Pandyan kingdom, or at any rate was subject to the Pandyan supremacy during the latter part of the 11th and 12th centuries.

The historians of Kerala, on the other hand, contest this view. They hold that the Venad rulers were, in their own right, powerful, and they had incorporated Nanjilnad in the Venad territory. They also point out that a

number of inscriptions of the Venad rulers are noticed in the very same temples mentioned above, for which the Pandyan kings made their grants, the grants made to the deities by the Venad rulers occurring during the same period. Even fundamental changes in the temple rituals, in the administrative and management structure of the temples made were the distinct contributions of the Venad rulers.[5] They also added several structures to the existing temples. These could not have taken place, had their full authority not extended to Nanjilnad.

It, therefore, becomes necessary to go in depth into the texts of the Pandyan inscriptions in Nanjilnad and harness the evidence therein to arrive at a definite conclusion on this issue. This paper is an attempt in this direction.

The Evidence

The earliest inscriptions of the Pandyas of the second empire in Nanjilnad, pertained to the 3rd year of Jatavarman Sri Vallabha (accession circa A.D. 1090). This is a grant in two parts: one to the Agastisvaram deity 'Mahadevar'[6] and the other, one half of the revenue of the village amounting to $107\frac{1}{2}$ *madai* as tax-free grant for the maintenance of a *matha* at the same place,[7] Two years later, when the attested copy of the order was issued, it was clarified that the *Matha* was to feed 50 *Sivayogis* and the priests who came to the temple after having had their bath at Kanya tirtha[8] (Kanyakumari). The village granted on this dual tenure (*Devadana* and *Madappura Iraiyili*) was a *Brahmadeya* village, Munnurruva Mangalam in the Nattarruppokku, i.e., the command area of Nattaru. The temple of Agastisvaram was itself located in Purattaya nadu in the ancient territorial division of Rajaraja Pandya Nadu.[9] Purattaya nadu lay in the south-eastern part of the Tirunelveli coast, south of Tiruchendur, compristng largely the modern Radhapuram sub-taluk in Tirunelveli district. It extended right upto Kanyakumari and Agastisvaram. The grant-village was also in the command area of Nattaru which is perhaps identical with the present day Hanumanadi. This was, therefore, within the Pandyan territory proper.

The second grant is dated in the 9th year of Jatavarman Parantaka Pandya, a contemporary of Chola Kulottunga-I.[10] He had conquered the Chera ruler in war, and won laurels *(Cheralarai cheruvil venru vagai sudi)* and received tribute (*Tirai Kondu*) married a Chera princess (*Kupakar kon makat kuduppa*) and claims the Goddess of Kumari as the family deity of the Pandyas. (*Tennavar tham kula deivam, Tenkumari kanniyar tam*). This king had granted a large extent of territory comprising almost the whole of Purattayanadu to Kanya Bhagavati Amman for a festival on his native asterisk, *Tai Pusam*, and for food offerings and sandal paste.[11] The description of the boundaries reveals that the lands extended from Adiyanur and Perungudi

hills on the north. Adiyanur is identical with Alagiyapandyapuram. The grant excludes Panaikudi (Panagudi in Nanguneri taluk). It includes a number of hillocks, and also Karungulam (village No. 42, Nanguneri taluk), Alliyur (Valliyur), Pusangudi. These are villages on the north-western and north - eastern part of Purattayanadu and lie in Radhapuram sub-taluk. The grant also included a number of hills, water-falling depressions, and scrub jungle to the east, and the villages of Irukkanturai (Erukkanturai, village No. 40 Nanguneri taluk) and Visapuri, to the south, it extended upto the junction of Keralangudi *alias* Keralankuricci and Manarkudi in Nanjilnad. Manarkudi is on the sea-coast in Agastisvaram taluk (Kanyakumari district) at the confluence of Palayar with the sea. The boundaries proceed upto Suchindram and Devi-kulam waterspread, and to the east of Thovala along the round hill (Urunda Porrai), Usimalai and Anai-malai.

From this description of the detailed boundary, it is clear that the grant had comprised the hillocks east and west of Thovala and also the foot-hills near Alagiapandyapuram (roughly corresponding to area north of the present Thovala channel proceeding on embankment). To the north, the flat sandy plains of Pusangudi and Irukkanturai of Radhapuram sub-taluk and on the south, the present revenue villages of Kanyakumari and Agastisvaram. Turning north of Suchindram, the circuit joined to the east of Thovala. Panangudi is in Nanguneri taluk on the Tirunelveli-Nagarcoil Highway, and it is excluded. Perungudi lies to its south-east, and Karungulam and Irukkanturai further south at the border of the Nanguneri taluk and Kanyakumari district; these were included.

The area roughly comprised the littoral tract of Radhapuram sub-taluk, the land's end at Kanyakumari and the tip of Agastisvaram taluk and the Thovala hills and the foot-hills to the west. The grant could, therefore be located mostly in the acknowledged territory of the Pandyas. It is, however, significant that it did not comprise any part of the land to the west of Suchindram. The accretion of the lands near Alagiapandyapuram and the hills on the north could be attributed to the king's victory claimed over the Cheras.

Two grants were made by Maravarman Sri Vallabha (A.D. 1132 to A.D. 1163) whose *prasasti* begins with "*Pu-magal Jaya-magal.*" The earlier grant was of one half of the village Pullamangalam in Purattaya nadu for the Nataraja deity at Suchindram,[12] made on the 407th day after the 8th year of his reign (circa A.D. 1142). The king was seated on the couch '*Munayadarayan*' in the bed chamber inside the palace at Rajaraja chaturvedimangalam in Mulli-nadu (Brahmadesam in Ambasamudram taluk). The urar of Irukkanturai brought to the notice of the king that an earlier grant of 10 *ma* of wet and 10 *ma* of dry land was subsisting made to Tumburu-Narada Isvaram Udayar,

the local deity at Irukkanturai. On hearing this, the king excluded the earlier grant, allowing it to continue in the name of the local deity and limited the grant to the Nataraja deity at Sucindram to the residual quantum of land dues from the land not divided by metes and bounds in Pullamangalam.

This grant was also located near Irukkanturai, a village in the southern tip of Radhapuram sub-taluk.

The second grant by the same king was on the 90th day after his 17th year (A.D. 1149-50),[13] made while he was seated on the couch *Munayadarayan*, in the bed chamber in the palace at Tirunelveli. At that time, the Sri Vaishnavas, the temple priests, and the temple executives of Puravaseri Vishnu temple made a request. Pusangulam Singan Arangan of Tennadu (Kalkulam Taluk, Kanyakumari district) supplicated the Pandyan king to grant some parcels of land assigning the revenue therefrom for defraying the daily *Puja* expenses of the deity set up at Puravuvari Vinnagar in the Brahmadeya village of Puravuvari Chaturvedimangalam in Nanjilnad (*Nitta Nimandangalukku Iruppadaga Irayiliyaga Siridhu nilam pera venum enru)*.

Singan Arangan had founded that Brahmadeya village in Kollam 336, Vaikasi month (April 29, A.D. 1161).[14]

The Pandyan king granted land in Virakerala mangalam in Nattarrupokku, in a compact block, of $2\frac{3}{4}$ *ma* of land (90 cents), and all taxes including subsidiary ones were ordered to be made over to the deity. The king's order was executed by the *sabhayar* of Virakerala Chaturvedimangalam, a Brahmadeya in Vaikuntha Valanadu in Nattaru command area.[15] The *Sabhayar* measured the land by the rod used for the collection of land tax (Iraippadu kol) and agreed to collect it at the ruling rates of 7 *kalams* of paddy and 2 *drammams* as *Antarayam* per *ma* which they would disburse to the executives of the deity and also gave a written signed field extract of the account (Kaithadi).

This small extent of $2\frac{3}{4}$ *ma* could again, be located in the Brahmadeya village of Virakerala Chaturvedimangalam in Nanguneri taluk, Vaikuntavalanadu and could have been near Tirukurungudi. For, the same topo details occur in an inscription of the 4th year of Maran Sadayan, which records the sale of land by the *Mahasabha* of Vaikuntavalanadu in the Nattaru command area to a benefactor from Malainadu, who endowed it to the Vishnu deity at Tirukurungudi.

The grant by Srivallabha was authenticated by a Pandyan official, Veliyarrur Udayan. It was also based on the Royal epistle (*Tiru mugam*) and

the king's command duly authenticated (*Tiruvai Kelvi*) and the abstract of revenue mutation made by the revenue officials (*Ulvari*). The *Kadaiyidu* on the approval of Munayadarayar, the high official and *Niyogam* authenticated (Endorsement) by prince Kulasekhara.[17]

The *Agrahara* and the temple at Puravaseri had been patronised by the Venad ruler, Vira Ravivarman Tiruvadi and his officers as well. In Kollam 337 (A.D. 1161-62), two pieces of land, 10 *Ma* and *Mundirigai* in extent, in Talaikkudi (even now a populous village in Thovala taluk, about 6 miles north of Nagercoil) were granted and 7 1/8 *Kalams* of paddy per *Ma* were ordered to be measured out to the temple.([18]) The urar of Talaikkudi together with the Venad royal officials having jurisdiction over Nanjilnad allocated the land irrigated by Kidacceri Sarkal and Sarappurakulam Seyyaneri and the land-dues therefrom were endorsed by them to be paid to the temple.([19]) Further grants made by the Venad rulers Vira Ravivarman Tiruvadi were in Kollam 340 (A.D. 1165) and in Kollam 372 (A.D. 1197). In Kollam 340, 12 *Ma*s of land were granted to the temple for services, and also for feeding two Brahmins.([20]) In Kollam 372, (A.D. 1197) the agents of the king allocated 3*Ma* of land for maintaining two teachers employed by the village *Sabha* for teaching the *Rig Veda* and the *Yajur Veda*, as *Kidai Vrtti*.([21])

Puravaseri temple, then, was distinctly in the Venad kingdom as the grants and their implementation through the Venad officials and the Urar of Talaikkudi testify. Perhaps, Singan Arangan himself was a revenue official and the temple was patronised by the revenue officials of Venad as the name of the deity, Puravu-vari-vinnagar Alvar would suggest.

The grant by the Pandyan ruler was a friendly gesture, as well as an appreciation of the meritorious deed of a new consecration in an adjoining territory. But he did not grant any land inside Nanjilnad, The small extent he gave lay distinctly within the Pandyan territory near about Tirukkurungudi in Nanguneri taluk. This instance would bring out the friendly relations between the Venad rulers and the Pandyas on terms of parity.

The next grant in sequence was by Vira Pandya (*Pu madantaiyum Jaya madantaiyum*), a contemporary of the Chola Rajadhiraja-II and Kulottunga-III, who was helped to the Pandyan crown, alternately by the rulers of Ceylon and the Chola monarch. On the occasion of his coronation, in order to ensure long life to himself, on the advice of Idaiayarrumangalam Nambi, he granted 7 *Velis* of garden land in Pusangudi in the southern region of Purattaya nadu to the deity at Suchindram.[22] Pusangudi was located near Radhapuram, the original name of which was Rajaraja-puram.[23]

Jatavarman Kulasekhara (accession A.D. 1190), perhaps the first regenerator of the Pandyan imperial stature, had made a grant in Kila-vembu-

nadu to the deity at Tirunelveli while he was seated on the couch Malavarayan, in the bed chamber, in the palace at Kottar in Nanjilnad.[24] This was in his 3rd year 504th day (A.D. 1195). This is perhaps the first indication of the Pandyan ruler, in the post-Chola occupation period residing at a palace in Nanjilnad. But then, Jatavarman Kulasekhara was known to have married a Chera princess. In his 10th year (A.D. 1200), he made a tax-free grant to the Krishna deity at Seranmadevi for a service in the name of his brother-in-law, Kodai Ravi-varman, a Chera prince.[25]

In an order of this king of his 4th year directing that the dehusking of paddy belonging to the Tiruvalisvaram temple should be entrusted to the dancing girls attached to that temple (A.D. 1194), a grant-deed, perhaps of an earlier date to the same effect by the Tiruvadi king of Jayatunga nadu had also been cited,[26] *(Setunganattu Tiruvadigal Sadanappadiyum)*. The king endorsed this earlier grant.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has observed that this inscription seems to imply that the contemporary Tiruvadi king was a subordinate of Jatavarman Kulasekhara-I.[27] The text only recalls the earlier grant made by the Tiruvadi king and the Pandyan ruler had confirmed it. This does not in itself seem to imply any subordinate status of the Tiruvadi king. In the absence of any stronger evidence to the contrary, it could be explained as an act of cordial friendship subsisting between the two royal families.

Significantly, when a grant was sought for a new *Matha* at Kanyakumari, Jatavarman Kulasekhara made a grant of a part of the land-dues from Kodanur a *devadana* village in Mela-vembu-nadu.[28] The king was seated on the couch, *Munaiyadarayan*, in a *Mandapa*, called *Pukalabharanan*, in the palace at Madurai. On the supplication of the inmates of a *matha* named after the king at Kumarimangalam, the king was pleased to grant for feeding the mendicants who visited Kumari on the Pushya day in the month of Thai (January-February) the following. He ordered that Kodanur *alias* Kulasekhara Caturvedimangalam should pay 50 *Kasu* of the *antarayam*, paid hitherto to the king by that *Devadana* village. The main part of the land-dues and other levies from Kodanur had already been assigned to the Tirunelveli deity. The request for this grant to the *matha* made by the superintendent of the kitchen, Arayan Soran *alias* Sri-Vallava-Marayan was granted in the king's 12th year (A.D. 1202). With this cash grant of 50 kasu, paddy was to be purchased at the current market price ruling from time to time for feeding the mendicants.

Kodanur is identical with Kodaganallur in Tirunelveli taluk.[29] It was a Brahmadeya, founded perhaps in the name of this king. The grant to the new *matha* at Kanyakumari was made out of the residual revenue paid to the king. If the test to be applied for considering any part of the land as the

incorporated territory of the king is that he could make a grant therefrom, the available evidence argues against the Pandyan authority over Nanjilnad. In this case, the Devadana township from which a part assignment of *antarayan* was made was situated some 50 miles away to the north in the Tambraparani basin.

Maravarman Sundara Pandya-I was pre-occupied with the warfare against the Cholas, – Kulottunga-III – and Rajaraja-III and was campaigning in the north, more than once. For strategic and diplomatic reasons, he should have pursued a policy of peace and amicable relationship with the Venad rulers. No record of this powerful monarch appears to have been noticed in Nanjilnad. But there are a few of his records in Shencottah taluk, the significance of which is brought out below.

Even later grants, in the 13th century and after, of the Pandyan rulers to the temples in Nanjilnad consistently comprised lands or dues assigned from townships outside Nanjilnad and from within the Pandyan kingdom proper. The following are instances:

In A.D. 1256, Sokkattandal, the queen of Virapandya instituted a service for which she made a deposit of 150 *accu* and odd.[30] Maravarman Virapandya in his 7th year instituted a service in his name (A.D. 1351).[31] Both were for the deity at Suchindram. The land granted by the latter was situated in the Gangaikondanparru attached to Sri Vallabha Cathurvedimangalam in Kil-Kala-Kurram (near Gangaikondan in Tirunelveli taluk).

Even the later Pandya ruler, Arikesari Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya made a grant for a special service in his 28th year (A.D. 1490) to the deity in Suchindram. This grant of 30 *Ma* (9 acres and 90 cents) was from out of the lands commanded by the Sivakamasundari tank in Sengalakuricci *alias* Sundarapandya Nallur in the tract irrigated by Panjarrangarai.[32] Sengalakuricci is village No. 59, situated about 3 miles north-east of Tirukkurungudi in Nanguneri taluk (Tirunelveli Dt.)

The data marshalled above show that invariably the grants made to the temples in Nanjilnad by the Pandyan rulers in the centuries from 11th to the 15th had comprised lands or assignments of revenue from lands in the adjoining Pandyan territory proper, i.e., in the modern taluks of Nanguneri and Tirunelveli in Tirunelveli district.

The evidence gets strengthened by two other factors. The unmistakable hold of the Venad rulers over Nanjilnad and their ackowledged authority are exemplified by the land-grants and other offerings made from within Nanjilnad. Particularly a number of grants were made between A.D. 1145 to A.D. 1150 in Tenvalanallur, a hamlet of Nrpasekaranallur, by Kodai

Kerala Varman (A.D. 1125-1155)[33] and the Malayala Brahmana were inducted in the temple administration in Nanjilnad.[34] Just as the Sabha of Vira-kerala-mangalam in Nanguneri taluk implemented the grant by the Pandya rulers to the Puravaseri temple, the Talaikkudi *urar* in conjunction with the royal officers of Venad implemented the grant made by the Venad rulers in that village to the same temple about the same time.

The second line of reasoning is the contrasting situation in the western part of the Pandyan kingdom at the foot-hills of the Western ghats. Here the evidence is unmistakable that the area comprised in the modern Shencottah taluk was under the ackowledged authority of the Pandya rulers.

Two inscriptions of Maravarman Sri Vallabha in his 16th year are found in the Perumal Temple at Shencottah. The first was a grant of land having a sowing capacity of 70 *Kalams* of seed by the benefactor who installed the deity, Niccitta Kanda Vinnagar Emberuman The location of the temple is said to be at Kurandi *alias* Niccitta Kanda Perunteru in Tenvari nadu.[35] This could be dated in A.D. 1148. In the same year, this king made a second grant which was even more important,[36] while he was seated in the couch *Munaiyadarayan*, in the bed-chamber inside the palace at Kalakkudi (identical with Ukkirankottai in Tirunelveli district).[37] He was requested by Jataveda Bhattar and Ponnan Bhagavan *alias* Sri-vallaba Kanattu Velar, to permit installing an oil-mill, and assign the tax therefrom (*sekkirai*) for being utilised to provide lamp-service in the same shrine. The king granted the request. The regal authority of the Pandyan king over the tract is fully borne out by this instance.

The Siva temple at Kalangadu in Vadavari-nadu (in Shencottah taluk) has two records of Maravarman Sundarapandya-I (A.D.1217 to 1239). The first dated in the 21st year of the king is incomplete.[38] The second also of the same year provided for a perpetual lamp in front of the Siva temple and a land endowment for the purpose, measuring one *Ma*.[39]

From the above evidence from epigraphic sources, available in Nanjilnad and in Shencottah taluk, discussed above, the following conclusions emerge :

1. The grants made to the temples or the Matha at Kanyakumari, Agastisvaram, Suchindaram and Puravaseri by the Pandyan kings were all of lands located in Purattaya-nadu or Vaikuntha valanadu outside Nanjilnad and located in the admittedly Pandyan territory.

2. There was nothing uncommon in the ruler of an adjoining territory making an endowment for the deity in the neighbouring kingdom. Chera

Raja Simha had built a temple at Rajaraja Chaturvedimangalam in the Pandya country and named it after Rajendra-I his suzerain.[40] Viraravivarman had donated a cash deposit and jewellery to the Srirangam temple in A.D. 1156.[41] In the Puravaseri case, the Pandyan king was specially approached by the banefactor, who had constituted that *Brahmadeya* to grant some small parcels of land and assign the revenue therefrom and this was acceded to by Maravarman Sri-Vallabha. This instance speaks for the very cordial and friendly relation that had existed between the Venad rulers and the Pandyan kings. A number of Pandyan kings had married princess from the Cera or the Venad ruling families, like Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya, Jatavarman Kulasekhara. So too the Chera princes, like Ravivarman Kulasekhara had taken spouses from the Pandyan royal family. That however, did not deter the rulers of either kingdom from fighting for some adjoining territory, off and on, or for super-imposing the authority of one over the other, depending on the relative superiority and strength of each at that time. In the late 12th and 13th centuries, however, the Venad rulers and the Pandyan kings had a common adversary, the Chola emperor. Intent on wresting their independence and re-establishing their authority in their respective territories the Pandya and the Venad rulers often acted on a conjoint endeavour.[42] The Pandyan grants to Nanjilnad institutions could reflect the political identity of interest, aided by matrimonial alliances. They had thus acted on terms of mutual regard, and parity, and not in terms of subordination of one to the other.

3. The mere occurrence of an inscription or a grant by a ruler is not in itself any conclusive proof of his sway over the tract in which the beneficiary institution was located. The test to be applied is the authority to grant land or revenue and the location of the subject of that grant.

4. By this test during the period under review, the Venad rulers could be said to have had their authority extended to Nanjilnad.

5. By the same token, Shencottah taluk and the lands to the east of the Ghats therein was an integral part of the Pandyan kingdom in the 12th and 13th centuries. A number of Pandyan out posts stationing garrisons were located on the eastern side of the Ghats.[43]

It was not until the time of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya-I (A.D. 1261-71) that the Nanjilnad, again, came under the Pandyas. A mighty warrior that, he himself was, together with his brothers, he launched on a career of conquest. The Pandyan empire in his time reached its height, and the extent of the territory he held was perhaps the widest. This had continued for some time longer in the reign of his successor, Maravarman Kulasekhara-I (A.D. 1268 to A.D. 1311). He took the title of "Emmandalamum kondaruliya" - the conqueror of all countries, and "Kollam Kondan" - the conqueror of the

Cheras. But he gave his daughter in marriage to the vanquished ruler-Ravivarman Kulasekhara. Soon after the demise of his father-in-law, Ravivarman Kulasekharan over-ran the Pandyan kingdom in about A.D. 1311-12, taking advantage of the fractricidal succession war among the sons of Maravarman Kulasekhara. But Ravivarman's career of conquest was like a "flashing meteor", only ephemeral in its effects.

This paper is a sincere tribute to Prof. K. D. Bajpai who ranks among our doyens of epigraphical research and scholarship. His contributions have always been marked by a high standard of intimate scholarship of the original sources, and a high degree of intellectual fidelity and critical analysis, bringing to bear the sound principles of historiographical investigation. I have great pleasure in joining the other scholars in paying my tribute to him through this paper which seeks to throw some new light on an aspect of South Indian politics of the middle ages.

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1 "A Survey of Kerala History" by A. Sreedhara Menon, (September 1980) National Book Stall, Kottayam-p. 156.

2 ARE 1896, p. 15.

3 "The Pandyan Kingdom" - p. 125

4 "The History of the Pandyas" (in Tamil) - Tamil Nadu Text-Book Committee Publication, 1977, - p. 98.

5 "A Survey of Kerala History" op.cit., pp. 157-160; Also "The Sucindram Temple", by K. K. Pillai, Kalakshetra publication, pp. 32-35; and pp. 148-149.

6 Kanyakumari Inscriptions, Vol. I (Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology Publication, 1972); - 1968/4 and 5.

7 Ibid 1968/11

8 Ibid 1968/14

9 Please see *infra.*

10 "The Pandyan Kingdom," pp. 123-124

11 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I, pp. 19 ff. He also waged a maiden war in Vilinjam, and destroyed the fleet at Kandalurccalai.

12 T.A.S., Vol. 1V, pp. 125 - 126

13 Ibid Vol. VII, part-i, pp. 3-4

14 Ibid p. 2, No. 2

15 Ibid p. 5

16 South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XIV, No. 19

17 T.A.S., Vol. VII, p.5

18 Ibid p.7

19 Ibid p.9

20 Ibid p.13

21 Ibid p.14

22 T.A.S. Vol. II, pp. 15-21; 22A; A.R.E., 1930

23 A.R.E. 350 of 1930

24 S.I.I., Vol. V, p. 153, No. 428-I have taken this evidence to indicate the friendly relations strengthened by matrimonial alliances rather than suggesting the extension of the Pandiyan political authority. If indeed Jatavarman Kulasekhara had brought Nanjilnad under his sway there was lesser possibility for it not to have continued under his more powerful successor Maravarman Sundarapandya-I

25 A.R.E. 664 of 1916

26 Ibid 370 of 1916

27 "The Pandyan Kingdom," p. 142

28 T.A.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 26-28

29 A.R.E. Nos. 203/1933 and 566/1916.

30 "Kanyakumari Inscriptions" Vol. II./1968-194

31 Ibid 190

32 T.A.S. Vol. I, pp. 281-282

33 Vol. IV, pp. 19-21

34 Please see "Suchindram Temple" (op. cit.) - p. 149

35 T.A.S., Vol. VII, p. 53

36 Ibid. p. 55

37 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIII, pp. 283-288

38 T.A.S.. Vol. VII, p. 48

39 Ibid pp. 48, 49

40 For the detailed history of this temple, please see the author's 'Rajendra Vinnager' 1980 - Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology. An earlier instance of the late 9th century and early 10th century is the endowment of 100 sheep by Rajaditta Varman *alias* Kodaivarma, a Chera ruler, for a lamp service in Tiruppuvanam temple (on the Vaigai, near Madurai) in the 4th year of Pandya Sadayan Maran (Please see p. 8 - *Kalvettu* - 20th Issue for the text of the recently discovered inscription.

41 S.I.I., Vol. XXIV, No. 125 - also EI, Vol. XXIII, pp. 159 ff.

42 The point has been well brought out by Prof. Sastri, vide "The Cholas" Vol. II, Part-I pp. 120-121 (1937 Ed)

43 On this please see my "Pandyan Townships" (under publication)

ANNEXURE - I

CHOLAS (1)	VENAD RULERS (2)	PANDYAS (3)
Kulottunga-I (A.D. 1072-1122)	Rama Varma Kulasekhara Kotha Varma (A.D. 1102-1125)	Jatavarman Srivallabha (Tirumadandai Jayamadandai) (A.D. 1090-1116)
Vikrama (A.D. 1118-1135)	Kotha Kerala Varma (A.D. 1125-1155)	Maravarman Parakrama Pandya (Thirumagal Punara) (A.D. 1087-1110)
		Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya (Tiruvalar Seyam-valar) (Married Chera Ruler's daughter)
Kulottunga-II (A.D. 1133-1150)	Vira Ravi Varma (A.D. 1155-1165)	Maravarman Srivallabha (Pumagal Jeyamagal) (A.D. 1132-1163)
Rajaraja-II (A.D. 1146-1173)	Aditya Varma (A.D. 1165-1175)	Jatavarman Kulasekhara (Pudala madandai) (A.D. 1162-1177)
Rajadhiraja-II (A.D. 1163-1179)	Udaya Martanda Varma (daughter married Pandya Srivallabha))A.D. 1175-1195)	Vira Pandya (pu-madandai)
Kulottunga-III (A.D. 1178-1216)	Vira Rama Varma (A.D. 1195-1205)	Jatavarman Kulasekhara (Puvin Kulathi Pudalavanita) (A,D. 1190-1217) - (Married Chera Princess)
Rajaraja-III (A.D. 1216-c. 1207)	Vira Rama Kerala Varma (A.D. 1205-1213)	Maravarman Sundara Pandya (Pu-maruviya) (A.D. 1216-1239)
Rajendra-III (A.D. 1246-1279)	Ravi Kerala Varma (1215-1240) Vira Ravi Padmanabha Martanda Varma (1240-1253)	Jatavarman Kulasekhara-II (A.D. 1237-1256) Maravarman Sundara Pandya-II (Pumalar Tiruvum) (A D. 1238-1251)
	(A.D. 1253-1299 - Confusion) Ravi Varman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1299-) (married Mara. Kulasekhara's daughter)	Jatavarman Sundara Vira Pandya-I (A.D. 1261-71) Maravarman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1268-1311) (Ter-pola).

ANNEXURE - II

	Pandya Ruler (1)	Occurrence of inscription in (2)	Subject of grant and its location (3)
1.	Jatavarman Srivallabha (A.D. 1094)	Agastisvaram	For temple service in Agastisvaram and feeding the yogis : Munnurruvamangalam in Purattayanadu (Radhapuram sub-taluk - Tirunelveli District).
2.	Jatavarman Parakrama Pandyan (contemporary of Kulottunga-I)	Kanyakumari	The whole of Purattayanadu including the foot-hills near Alagiapandyapuram to Kanya Bhagavati temple - (Nanguneri taluk and portion of Thovala taluk on the northern fringes).
3.	Maravarman Srivallabha 8th year, 407th day (A.D. 1141)	Suchindram	Pullamangalam near Erukkanthurai in Purattayanadu (Radhapuram sub-taluk in Tirunelveli District) for service to Nataraja deity in Suchindram.
4.	Maravarman Srivallabha 17th year (A.D. 1149-50)	Puravaseri	Vira Keralamangalam (about 90 cents) in Vaikunthavalanadu (Nanguneri taluk in Tirunelveli District).
5.	Vira Pandya (12th year) (latter half of the 11th century)	Suchindram	7 Veli in Pusangudi (near Radhapuram in Purattayanadu) - (Radhapuram sub-taluk, Tirunelveli Dist.).
6.	Jatavarman Kulasekhara (c. A.D. 1195)	Kanyakumari	Kodanur in Melvembunadu (in Tirunelveli taluk) - assignment of *antarayam*,
7.	Maravarman Vira Pandya (c. A.D. 1315 ?)	Suchindram	Gangaikondan commard area in Kil-kala-kurram (in Tirunelveli taluk)
9.	Arikesari Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya (A.D. 1490)	Suchindram	Sengalakuricci - Panjarrangarai (Sic. Paccayar) command area (Nanguneri taluk, Tirunelveli District).

Note : The inscriptions mentioned under Col. 2 above are all in Kanyakumari District.

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE REIGN OF THE LAST OF THE NAYAKS OF MADURAI

Source and description

This is a copper-plate obtained from a family of hereditary astrologers, Sri Sankara Josiyar residing in Perumal Sannadhi Street, Tirunelveli Town. The copper-plate is now deposited with the National Museum, New Delhi. It has an inscription covering the whole of the front side with 28 lines, which gets completed on the reverse with another 9 lines. It is well-preserved, and slightly bent on the right-end top and at the left and right edges at the bottom. It has a small handle shaped as a pitha with an ornamental carving with a Torana motif.

It is rectangular in shape, 13·6 cm. in length and 17 cm. in width and the handle 1.1 cm.

The *language* of the inscription is Tamil. But Sanskrit words in colloquial and corrupt forms are freely used, e.g. :

Sakāttam for Sakābdam (L. 1)
Samaccaram for Samvatsaram (L. 2)
Sampirācciyam for Samrājyam (LL. 5-6)
Letcumi for Lakshmi (L. 6)
Sakattiranāman for Sahasranāma (LL. 14, 15)
Yekkiya for Yagna (L. 23)
Vigātam for Vigātham (L. 26)
Ācanderakkam for Ācandirārkam (L. 20)
"Śaloka", "Śamīpa", Sarūpa", "Sāyuccya" (L. 22)
for "Saloka", "Samīpa", "Sarupya" and "Sayujya"

Some words are mis-spelt like "Laḷita" for "Lalita" (L. 15) "Eḷuthu" for "Eḻuttu" (L. 36), "Puṇarpūsa" for Punarpūsa" (L. 4) or Punarvasu. Dialectical Tamil words occur as "Kuduttu" (L. 29) for "Koduttu", "Pōṛa" for "Pōkiṛa" (L. 27) "Sammadiccu" for "Sammadittu" (L. 34).

The *script* is Tamil of the late seventeenth and early 18th centuries. Tamil contractions are used for year, month, and date. Tamil numerals are employed. The long vowel symbols for 'ē' and 'ō' are not employed,

typical of the alphabet of the times. The dot to indicate mute consonants is not present. The words are always joined, as appropriate, by mute consonants or by the conjunct consonants. Sometimes joint letters and contractions are used for compounding consonants e.g., "stha", "sta" and "nel". A few scriptory errors are noticed as "Sthana" for Snana" (L. 22)

The vowel symbol for "ai" is separated from consonant 'ta' for 'tai' (LL. 22-23), and so too the vowel symbol is separated from "ta" which should together make "to" in lines 27-28. The long vowel symbols 'ā' in line 1, 'pā' in line 7, 'ṇu' in line 18 and 'nu', in line 26 inadvertently omitted are added below their respective lines as postscript. The word 'this' (inda) is always written as "yinda" beginning with the consonant and not the vowel 'I' The letters are small and closely written on the front side but in the last few lines on the reverse they are inscribed bolder and deeper and are better spaced.

Date

Full details of the date are as follows : Śaka 1653 year ended, corresponding to Kollam 907, Virōdhakriti, Uttarayana, Hementarutu, Tai Masam, 30th date, Purvapaksha Trayodasi, Sukkira Vara, Punarpusa nakshatra.

The corresponding date yielded in the Christian Era is Friday, January 28th 1732.[1]

The Contents of the Grant

The object of the grant is to endow at the rate of 1/16 panam per month per head to be collected from the Ubhaya Ranu for conducting Siva Sahasranama archana to the presiding deity in Tirunelveli (known as Anavaradanacaturvedimangalam, in Kil Vembunadu, Sri Nelvelinatha (now called Nellayappa) and for Lalita Sahasranamam archana for Sri Kantimatīsvari the goddess and for food offerings and for feeding the Brahmins, the number of whom is unspecified. The charity is to the merit of the rulers, Vijayaranga Chokkanatha, the last of the Nayaks of Madurai, and the lords and two-fold garrisons (Ubhayaranu)[2] and the military or police service-holders (amaramanniyar)[3] who held lands therefor in the territorial divisions of Tiruccirapalli, Dindugal, Madurai Central Province (Madhya Rāshtra) and Tirunelveli and in the Kerala Rajya. The endowed-service was to be conducted by one Sankarayyan, son of Panchangam Nellayappayyan residing in West Mada Street in Tirunelveli The deed has the typical benedictory and impricatory formulae of the times and is written by one Anavaradanapperumalasari son of Sivandiasari, a resident of Tirunelveli.

The following *comments* are called for :

The territorial extent of the Madurai Samastanam had shrunk to Tiruchirapalli, Dindugal, Madurai Central Region and Tirunelveli tracts.

Kerala Rajya is also added, though the extent of the Nayak authority therein then is not known. But a few years before the date of this grant (in 1726 A.D.), the King of Travancore had applied to this Nayak ruler Chokkanatha for help against the former's internal enemies.[4] Salem and Coimbatore region had been apparently and irretrievably lost to the Mysore rulers. But Vijayaranga Chokkanatha was known to be, though not an energetic and successful ruler, at least a pious and religious person who has made many endowments to Srirangam, Madurai and other temples. The territorial division of the tract, *viz*, Kilvembu Nadu, and the name of the township Anavaradadana - Caturvedimangalam, had continued in tact from the early and medieval Pandya times downwards respectively and there was hardly any change therein.

The garrisons and the police and the military or service-holders were interested in making grants to the temples for services for their benefit and that of the rulers, and the lords or chieftains (Prabhu).

The endowment consisted of 1/16 panam per month per head of the garrisons, the exact numerical strength of which is not kown. However, the *panam* has been equated erroneously by Nelson to $2\frac{1}{4}$ pence and is considered to be most probably equal to 4.8 pence. This latter is based on the remark of the missionary Leon Beose that the panam is a gold coin worth 120 *REIS*, i.e., about 50 *CENTIMES*.[5] "It was considered enough for feeding a man for more than 15 days."[6]

The terms "Sārūpa, Sāmīpa, Sāloka, Sayujya" are the four stages of identification of a devotee with the God Siva and reaching the God head, but their order is slightly disarranged in the inscription. The following sloka of Sankara in Sivanandalahari is apposite:

"Sārūpyam tava pūjanē Śiva Mahādēvēti Sankīrtanē
Sāmīpyam Siva Bhakti Durya Janatha Sāngatya Sambhāsanē
Sālokyam ca carācarat Makadhanudyane Bhavanipathē
Sayujyam mama Siddhamatra bhavati Svamin Kritarthōsmyaham"

"In singing your praise, and doing your worship, I attain your same form (Sarupa). In mixing and conversing with your devotees, I attain the self same proximity to you. By concentrating always on your feet I attain the same world and universe as you are in. The union with you becomes certain right here, O Lord, I am blessed." (Sivanandalahari - 16)

The grant deed is done by the consent of the donors, and the executant of the endowed charity and service, and was reduced by the scribe to their dictation. It was also to be enjoyed hereditarily for ever by the descendants of the Panchangam Nellayyappayyan's son Sankarayyan. It should be noted

that the Tamil honorifix is used as "ayyan" and not as "ayyar" as is current at present. The gentleman who had handed over the copper-plate is perhaps, a descendant of the original donee and conductor of the service.

Its Importanec

The copper-plate has two aspects of importance. It gives gleanings of the territorial and military and police organisation of the times and how the militia made voluntary contributions for services instituted by them, intending the merit of the Nayak rulers, among others.

Secondly and more significantly, this yields direct confirmatory evidence to fix the date of the death of this last of the Nayak rulers of Madurai. Prof. Sathyanatha Iyer relying on a copper-plate inscription of about the same time (1731), also from Tirunelveli[7] fixes the date about the 15th February 1732. If the date given in Mrityunjaya Manuscripts is to be believed it was 3rd Masi, Virodhakrti, which according to Shri L. D. Swamikannu Pillai falls on 31st January 1732.[8]

But this copper-plate is clearly dated within a few days ahead of Chokkanatha's demise and establishes he continued to live till the end of January 1732. Was this endowment for performing Sahasranama Archana to the Tirunelveli diety and the goddess and for feeding Brahmins by his loyal garrisons and police and militia made as a prayer for prolonging the life of the Nayak ruler and warding off the foreboding event? One could never know.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī Sakāttam 1653 in mēlcellāniṅṛa Kollam 907 varuśam Virōdikiri

2 tināma Sammaccarattil uttarāyanattil ēmanta rituvil Tai masam 30 tedi Pūrva

3 Patsattiruyōdasiyum Sukkiravāramum Piritināma yōgamum

4 Singakaranamum Peṛṛa Punarpūśa Natsettirattil nal śeyda Taramaśā

5 tanamāvadu Srimanmahāmaṇḍalesavara Akandita Sāmberacci

6 ya Latchumivilāsa Makārāsarāsa Sri Viśaiya ranga Kirusna muttuvī

7 rac chokkāñāta Nāyakkanavarkalukkup punniyamākavum Ma

8 durai Samasttānathilt Tiruchirapuram Tiṅḍukkal Madurai Matti

9 yarāstraa Tirunelveli Mudalākiya Piradēsattilirukkira Perapukkalukum

10 mubhaya ranuvukkum Amaramanniyarukkum Puṇṇiyamākavum

11 Kerala Racciyattilirukkinra Pirappukaḷukkum Ubhayaranuvukkum
12 Puṇṇiyamākavum Kīla Vēmbunāttil Tirunelveliyana Ana-
13 varadadānaccaturvedimangalattilt Tirunelvēli Uḍaya Nayināra
14 na Nelvelinātha Suvāmikkum Kāntimatisvarikku Siva Saktiranāma
15 Lalitāsakattiranāma Vilvāradana Nēivettiya mudalākiya U
16 pacārattukkum Piramāna Pōsanattukkumaka Ubhayarānuvattā
17 rum Amaramanniyārum Nēmittukkaṭṭaḷaiyiṭṭa Tarma Sātanama
18 vadu Ubhayarānuvilccanamoṉṟukku Madamoṉṟukku mākāṉi
19 ppanam Vidai koḍuttut Tarmam naḍattivaruvōmākavum. Indat
20 tarmam Ācandirākkam Sandatippiravēsam Naḍattivaruvōmāka
21 vum. Indattarmattaip paripālanam Panninapērkaḷ ke
22 ngāsttāna palattaiyum sālōka sāmīpa sārūpa sāyucciya padat
23 tayum Aśuvamēda Yāgamudalākiya yekkiyapalattaiyum kōḍi Si
24 valingapiratattayum Kōdipiramappiratattayuñ cceyda
25 palattayum peruvārākavum Indattarmattukku yādāmoru
26 var vigātam panninapērkaḷ Kengaikkaraiyile vāyināle u-
27 ccarikkapadāta makāpādakangalaip paññinapērkaḷ pōra tō-
28 sattile pōvārākavum Yippadi sammadiccu Indattarma

On the reverse side

29 sādanameḷudikkuduttom ubhayarānuvattārum Amara
30 manniyarumom yindat tarmattai Parāparittuvaracco
31 lli Tirunelvēliyil Melamādat Teruvilirukkira Pañchā
32 ñgam Nellaiyappayan Kumāran Sankarayyanai Kattalaiyitta
33 padiyināle Sankarayyan puttirapāramparamākkakkattalai Parapa-
34 rittu Varuvārākavum. Yippadiyivarkaḷ Sammadiccucconnapa
35 ḍikku Yinda tarmasātanameḷudinēn Tirunelvēliyilirukkum
36 Sivandi Āsāri Kumāran Anavaradadānāperumālāsāri Eḷuttu
37 Vadive Tuṇai.

Foot Note : 1 & 2 : The vowel symbols are separated from the consonant and the vowel part symbol to be suffixed.

TRANSLATION

Hail prosperity : On this day in Saka 1653, Kollam 907, Virodhakriti Samvatsara, Uttarayana, Hemanta ritu, Tai month, 30th day, Purva Paksha Thrayodasi, Sukra Vara (Friday) Piritinama yoga, Singa - karama, Punarvasu Naksatra, this Deed of Charity is made as below :-

For the benefit of Srimanmahamandaleswara Akhandita Samrajya Lakhmi Vilasa Maharajaraja Sri Vijaya Ranga Krishna Muthuvira Cokka-natha Nayakkayya avargal, for the benefit of the Lords (Prabhus) the two-fold garrisons (Ubhaya ranu) and military and police fief-holders (Amaramanniyar) in Tiruchirapalli, Dindigul, Madurai Central region, Tirunelveli and other tracts, in the Madurai Samasthanam and for the benefit of the Lords, the two-fold garrisons and the military and police fief-holders in Kerala territory.

For conducting various ceremonial services (upacara) including Siva sahasranama archana for Lord Nelvelinatha and Lalita Sahasranama archana for Goddess Kantimati and Vilvarcanai (archana with vilva leaf) and food offerings for them in the temple of Tirunelveli Udaya Nayanar in Anavaradadana chaturvedimangalam which is Tirunelveli in Kilavembunadu and for feeding the Brahmins, the Ubhayaranuvathar and the military and police fief-holders established a charity as follows :-

The Ubhayaranuvathar shall conduct this charity collecting 1/16 panam per month per head of the constituents of the Ubhayaranu. We shall conduct this charity as long as the sun and the moon endure. Those who protect and maintain this charity will attain the cumulative benefit of having had a holy bath in the Ganges, the status of Saloka. Samipa, Sarupa and Sayujya, the fruits of performing sacrifices including Aswametha and of establishing a crore of Siva Lingas and a crore of Brahmas. Those who caused any abuse or act contrary to this charity shall be accursed with the sin of those who had committed unutterably great sins on the banks of the Ganges.

Having agreed thus, the Ubhayaranuvathars and Amaramanniyar wrote out and gave this charity-deed. As Sri Sankarayyan son of Panchangam Nellaiyappayyan residing in West Mada Street in Tirunelveli, has been ordered to maintain and conduct this charity, Sankarayyan and his descendants through sons shall maintain this charity. As agreed to by these and stated by them I wrote this charity deed, Anavardadanap-perumal Asari son of Sivandi Asari residing in Tirunelveli by his

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1 Indian Ephemeris - Vol. VI, by Sri L. D. Swamikannu Pillai (A.D. 1600-1799) p. 266

2 The import of Ubhayaranu is not clear. Did it refer to Imperial standing army of the cavalry and the garrison of foot-soldiers as army for feudal levies (amaram) are separately mentioned.

3 Wilson's Glossary-p. 32 for 'amaram' (1940: Eastern Law House, Calcutta)

4 Caldwell, History of Tirunelveli, p.p. 253-5.

5 Prof. R. Sathianatha Iyer - "History of the Nayaks of Madurai" pp 249-250.

6 Ibid., p. 249, Martin's letter quoted by Nelson

7 Ibid., p. 231; and p. 368 - Sl. No. 234 (Sewell's Copperplate No. 56)

8 *Op. cit.* Indian Ephemeris - Vol. VI p. 266

Additional Note on "THE TENUOUS FISC" . . .

The Mulaparudai of Tiruppattur when they wanted to go to Madurai to meet the Pandyan King Kulasekhara, raised a contribution for meeting the expenses of the journey against which they made certain temple lands tax-free. (ARE 101 of 1908)

This shows that the Sabha had to raise *adhoc* contributions for specific needs and had little reserve.

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2.	Land Sales to Jambukeswaram Temple in the reign of Rajaraja III and Rajendra III - an analysis	Paper presented in the Annual Epigraphical Conference	Unpublished
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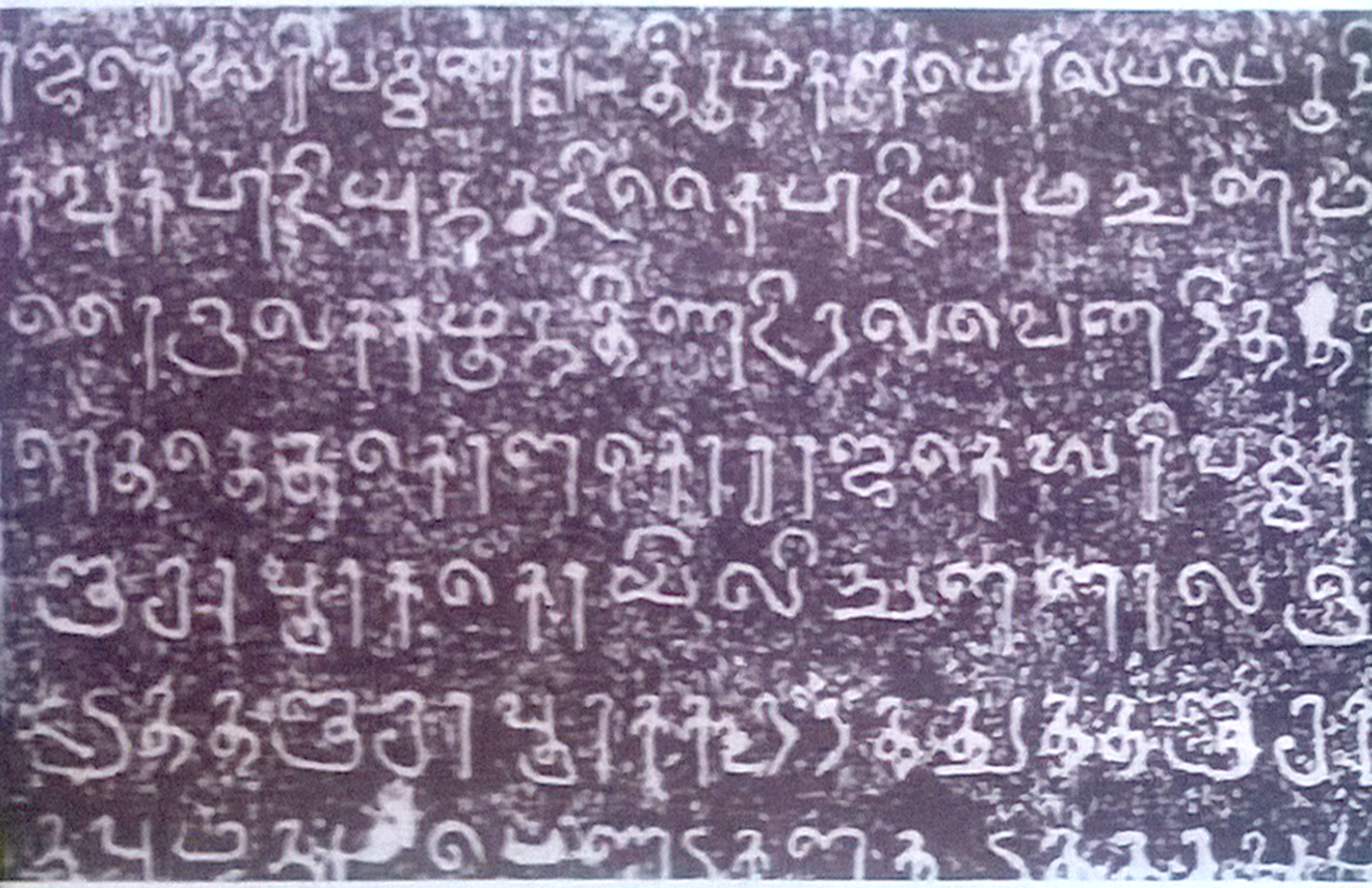

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