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STUDIES IN
CŌLA HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION

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K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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BY

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PREFACE

Of the seven studies included in this volume, all except the first two are based on lectures delivered in 1930-31.

The discussion of the historical value of the *Purāṇānūru* is a necessary introduction to the consideration of the problems relating to Karikāla, the early Cōḷa king. In the three following essays, an attempt is made to present a general view of rural administration under the Cōḷas with special reference to the working of the Sabhās of two villages. The celebrated Parāntaka inscriptions of Uttaramērūr are next studied in detail and the nature of their constitutional provisions examined. The texts of these inscriptions in Appendix II have been corrected, generally on the lines indicated by Venkayya. The last essay traces the life and work of one of the leading officials of the reigns of Kulōttuṅga I and his son.

My thanks are due to the Syndicate of the University of Madras for sanctioning the publication of this work. I am under obligation to the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India for the permission accorded to me to consult transcripts and impressions of unpublished inscriptions. I acknowledge with pleasure the assistance rendered by Messrs. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and S. Vaiyapuri Pillai who read the proofs and made valuable suggestions, Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar who kindly checked the references, and Mr. S. R. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar who prepared the Index.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, }
20th June 1932. }

K. A. N.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- A. S. I.* Archaeological Survey of India.
A. R. E. Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras).
E. I. Epigraphia Indica.
I. A. }
or } Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Ant. }
J. A. O. S. Journal of the American Oriental Society.
S. I. I. South Indian Inscriptions.

CORRIGENDUM.

Page 82—line 24—for *ṛṇḍapperādār* read *ṛṇapperādār* and cancel n. ṭ.

I

THE "PURANAM FOUR HUNDRED" AS A SOURCE OF HISTORY

The *Puranānūru* is one of the eight major anthologies of the early Tamil classics. Like the *Padirupattu* and many of the poems in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, it lays claim to be a collection of contemporary compositions of different poets on the princes and chieftains whose patronage they enjoyed in some form or other. The colophon at the end of each poem generally contains information on the subject of the poem, its author and the occasion for its composition. The authenticity of these colophons has been called in question, and it is our object here to consider whether this has been done on proper grounds. The matter is of some importance to the student of the Early History of the Tamil country. If, as is commonly believed, the colophons embody a tradition, which, apart from the corruptions and losses due to neglect and time, may be accepted as correct, then we must recognise in these poems a quantity of literary evidence of unique value; because then, no other part of India can be said to provide such sober and realistic pictures of contemporary life and politics as these early Tamil classics furnish.* The data furnished by these poems for historical reconstructions will not be the less valuable on account of their being drawn from casual literary pieces rather than from chronicles or other works of a professedly historical nature. If, however,

* That this is not an unduly high estimate of the value of these poems will be evident to those who, though not in a position to read the Tamil originals, have followed the translations of several of the poems by Pope, Kanakasabhai and other writers in the *Indian Antiquary* and elsewhere.

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the particulars furnished by the colophons turn out, on critical examination, to be undependable improvisations of a later age, the value of the poems themselves to the historian would be greatly reduced, and they would be hardly worthy of any greater credence than most other literary works.

We shall confine our attention, for purposes of the discussion that follows, to the *Puram* Four Hundred, although many of the arguments would apply with equal force to the other collections as well. The grammar of Tamil literature classifies its subject-matter under two broad divisions called *Aham* and *Puram*, often somewhat inadequately equated with Love and War respectively. Of these the *Puram* which deals with concrete objective situations (not relating to love) is naturally of more interest to us than the endless analysis and description of psychic attitudes which are the prime concern of the *Aham*. Not that verses pertaining to this last division contain no interesting allusions to historical events and social customs; but these allusions often lack the fullness and directness that is characteristic of the references in the *Puram* group.

The *Purāṇāṇūru* was first published in 1894 by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Paṇḍit V. Svāminātha Aiyar after a careful collation of several manuscripts of the text and of an old commentary for a part of the anthology. He has given a vivid description of the condition of the manuscripts when he took them up, and the cautious and scientific methods followed by him in the preparation of the first edition of this work. Nearly thirty years later, in 1923, the same ripe scholar issued a second edition with the readings brought up-to-date in the light of other manuscripts he had examined in the

interval. The colophons to the poems so far as they are known at present, therefore, rest on the authority of the best manuscript sources available and the unrivalled erudition of the greatest living Tamil scholar.

It must also be observed at the outset that the same scholar drew attention* to the fact that the learned annotator Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar himself found a difficulty in following the system adopted in the grammatical notes which formed part of the colophons of the *Puṛaṇāṇūru* verses. The divergence between the system of the *Tolkāppiyam* and that followed in the colophons was accounted for by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on the supposition that some writers had followed by mistake systems of grammar later than the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Agattiyaṁ* which alone, in his opinion, applied to the anthologies. It is needless for us to accept this explanation though his opinion that the notes on the *Puṛaṇāṇūru* verses did not follow the *Tolkāppiyam* registers a fact which may turn out to be of importance in deciding the question of the authenticity of these notes. The *Tolkāppiyam*, despite its name and the tradition about its mythical antiquity, betrays signs of not being absolutely the earliest work in the Tamil language; it is quite possible that a critical study of the linguistic and sociological data embedded in the 1600 *sūtras* of this cyclopaedic work may establish a relatively late date for it. A slight investigation of the employment of finite verbal forms ending in 'undu' in the *Puṛaṇāṇūru* has led one scholar† to the conclusion that some of the verses in that collection are anterior to the *Tolkāppiyam* in time. The divergence

* Preface to the first edition.

† Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai—'undu' *ennum iḍaiṇṇi pirayōgam* (Madras University, 1929).

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between the grammatical notes to the *Purāṇam* verses and the system of the *Tolkāppiyam* must, on this line of argument, be accounted for on a hypothesis which would be the reverse of that employed by Nacciṇārkiṇiyar. There is nothing intrinsically wrong about suggesting such an antiquity to the *Purāṇam* collection, though it is a fact that we have no information about the compiler or his time. For in one instance, that of the *Kalittogai*, we have evidence of the collection having been put together by Nallanduvaṇār, one of the poets represented in the collection itself; and this shows that *a priori* assumptions on the length of time that intervened between the actual composition of the poems and the time when they were brought together in an anthology or their colophons supplied may not be as sound as they appear.

It is not our aim in this essay to reach a final conclusion on the difficult issues thus raised. Though the volume of the literature of the Śāṅgam is not great, the historical and linguistic problems presented by it are so complex, and competent scholars who can deal with them systematically from all aspects are so few, that their proper study can hardly be said to have begun. The linguist waits for the historian to settle the chronology of this literature, without a knowledge of which the study of the growth in language is not feasible; the historian on the other hand, seeing how inconclusive the other lines of evidence are on this question, hopes for some conclusive results from the study of language development. We have therefore to wait for a synthesis to be effected between the different lines of approach and for definite conclusions to emerge on the internal chronology of this literature. Our object here is limited to examining the soundness of

the considerations that have been urged against the authenticity of the colophons of the *Puṛaṇāṇūru*, against their being accepted as a proper basis for history.

Mr. Venkayya remarks: * “The Tamil anthology *Puṛaṇāṇūru*, for instance, furnishes the names of a number of Cōḷa kings. It is extremely doubtful if we shall ever be in a position to fix definitely the period when they flourished, much less make out a connected history of their reigns. No doubt we have literary documents assigned—by whom and when we do not know—to the reigns of these Cōḷa kings. But the evidence furnished by these documents and the tradition connecting them with particular Cōḷa kings have to be received with caution.” This caution in dealing with literary evidence is, in itself, admirable. But then, having imposed this reserve on himself in accepting the evidence of literary tradition on Karikāla Cōḷa among others, Mr. Venkayya proceeds forthwith to accept unreservedly all the statements made in eleventh century inscriptions about events that happened, if at all, five centuries before their date, and to suggest on their basis a “provisional date of the Cōḷa king Karikāla.” Now, one may ask whether any statement gains in trustworthiness merely because it is engraved on copper or stone and not written on palm leaf or other more perishable material, and whether it is not possible for a deliberate invention to get into an epigraph, or for a correct tradition to be transmitted in successive copyings of literary documents. The exaggerated caution assumed by some epigraphists in their approach to literary evidence, and the childish faith they occasionally exhibit in hugging the most palpable lies set down on stone and copper

* A. S. I. 1905-6 p. 174 n. 7.

may raise a legitimate doubt as to whether their *obiter dicta* * on literary questions are entitled to the same regard as their considered opinion on technical matters within their purview. In any case, it is a strange procedure to adopt in the name of caution to prefer, in writing the history of Karikāla, the late legends of the Eastern Cālukya and Telugu Cōḷa grants to the sober and realistic statements about that king in the *Purāṇānūru* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* simply because we cannot be sure about who ascribed these poems to Karikāla's reign and when. Elsewhere, † apparently because of the common name Killivalavan, Mr. Venkayya identifies the Cōḷa king of the *Maṇimēkalai* story with the Cōḷa who died at *Kuḷamurram* ‡ concerning whom there are eighteen poems in the *Purāṇānūru* by no fewer than ten poets and makes the following observations: "In the note appended to each of these poems is mentioned the name of the king which does not figure in the body of the poem. Consequently, the assumption that these ten poets were contemporaries of the king is based on tradition current at the time when the notes were added. In the absence of definite information as to the authenticity of the tradition on which the notes are based, it is safer to abstain from drawing any historical conclusions from them." It must be stated, however, that in writing so, Mr. Venkayya may have been influenced by his view, which he subsequently withdrew ¶ in his notice of the Śīṇṇamaṇūr plates, that the anthology of the *Purāṇānūru*

* Mr. Venkayya also writes: "According to Tamil literature there was a Pallava king ruling at Kānci as a contemporary of Karikāla," and to Kōkkilī's son by a Nāga princess "was subsequently assigned Toṇḍaināḍu." Neither of these statements is supported by the sources.

† E. I. XI p. 233 n. 3.

‡ In this Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has followed him—*Maṇimēkalai in its historical setting*, p. 35.

¶ A. R. E. 1907 paragraph 17.

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was compiled by Perundēvaṇṇār, a protege of the Pallava Nandivarman III. The truth is that Perundēvaṇṇār, whose invocatory poems lead off many of the Śāṅgam anthologies, was an earlier poet of whose Tamil rendering of the *Bhāratam*, doubtless that mentioned in the larger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, only a few verses have been preserved to us in the quotations of later commentators. There is no reason to suppose that he edited the anthology. It is surprising that the correction furnished by the Pāṇḍya plates from Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr is ignored by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar * who repeats the antiquated view, that Perundēvaṇṇār the contemporary of Nandi III and the author of a *Bhārataveṇbā* was also the anthologist of the Śāṅgam poems.

In the *History of the Tamils*, the same author makes some statements on the *Puraṇāṇṇūru* and urges certain considerations against the authenticity of the colophons which, if wellfounded, would prove almost fatal to all chance of our getting any history from that collection. It is, therefore, necessary to examine them carefully. We shall be led, however, too far afield if we enter on a discussion of his general views on the internal chronology of these poems, or the tests he adopts for separating earlier anthologies from later ones and so on; such a discussion is not necessary for the limited purpose before us. Of the *Puraṇāṇṇūru* he says: "It differs from the other collections in several ways. First, it deals with the wars of kings and the gifts they gave to the poets who sang them. Secondly, dealing with wars, it also contains a number of elegies on dead kings and nobles." These are, as has been

* See Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *History of the Tamils* p. 158. In his footnote he refers his readers to his Tamil work on the Pallavas where, it may be noted, he asserts that the Pāṇḍya charters contain nothing about the Śāṅgam.

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pointed out already, just the differentiae of *Puṟapporuḷ* and hence their great interest for us. We may notice, though without stressing it, the inaccuracy of part of the statement which follows: "The first half of this anthology deals with the former subject (wars and gifts), the next fourth with the latter (deaths), and the last fourth seems to be a miscellaneous supplement in which odes discovered later on both subjects were thrust." The division of the collection into two homogeneous sections and a third forming a miscellaneous supplement is purely imaginary, and there is nothing to support the suggestion made that the last section was an afterthought or a later addition. Moreover, on the evidence of one manuscript, Paṇḍit Svāminātha Aiyar suggests that the *Puṟam* had three divisions—*aṟam*, *poruḷ* and *iṇbam*. It is, however, when we reach the next distinction drawn by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar between the *Puṟam* and the other collections, that his misstatements attain serious proportions. He says: "Thirdly, to a large number of these *Puṟam* poems, colophons are added, noting the occasions when the poems were composed. These colophons seem to have been written by a person later than the one who made the anthology and who derived the information partly by a study of the poems and partly from tradition." To say that colophons to individual poems are a distinguishing feature of the *Puṟam* Four Hundred is not correct. The objective nature of the *Puṟam* necessitated longer colophons mentioning the personnel and occasion of each composition, unlike the *Aham* verses which were for the most part self-contained and therefore got only brief colophons giving short grammatical notes and the name of the composer. Colophons similar to those of the *Puṟam* are also to be found attached to some of the songs in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*

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and to poems in the 'Ten Tens' (*Padiyupattu*) that have come down to us. To say, then, that colophons were written for a large number of poems in the *Purāṇam* is to imply that there are several for which no such colophons are known to have existed. There is nothing to support this implication. Only the state of our manuscript sources * has been responsible for the irretrievable loss of several of them. Lastly, to postulate two persons one of whom supplied the colophons at an indefinite interval after the other had made the anthology is altogether gratuitous. Why the author of the anthology could not have himself read the poems and accepted traditional information at the time the anthology was made, and supplied the colophons; further, why the colophons might not have been added to individual poems earlier than their entry into an anthology are matters which are apparently not deemed worthy of consideration by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar. The truth is that we now know so little of the technical conditions which governed the propagation and preservation of literature and literary tradition in the distant past that it is unprofitable to hazard surmises against which may be pitted other surmises not less plausible. But this we do know: that in some manner that seems to us such a marvel, the ancients commanded the means of handing down from generation to generation, orally or otherwise, a considerable literature with exceptional accuracy. The history of the Vedic Samhitas with their *anukramanīs* and of the early Buddhist Pali literature is sufficient proof of this. In the course of generations differences in readings cropped up, and particular schools and redactions of works died out for one reason and another; but these changes did not affect the substantial accuracy of what

* See Pandit Svaminatha Aiyar's remarks in his Preface.

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was actually preserved and handed down. It seems therefore only proper to accept the colophons to the poems which have reached us through the same channels as the poems themselves as of equal authenticity with the poems to which they are attached, unless, indeed, it is proved on substantial grounds that the colophons were the inventions of a much later age, the correct tradition having died out long before.

In trying to establish the unreliable character of the colophons to the *Puṇam*, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar permits himself to make so many contradictory statements that it is not easy to understand his real position on questions of vital importance to the discussion. Let us first bring together his statements about the chronology of the colophons and see how they fare in relation to one another. In a somewhat rhetorical rebuke he administers to modern Tamil scholarship, he says: * “It is high time that scholars gave up confounding the texts of poems with the commentaries of probably a thousand years later”, and he makes it clear on the same page that, in his opinion, the colophons and the commentaries were composed probably between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. From this we may conclude that the original composition of the poems has to be ascribed to a period between the second and the sixth centuries. But then we are told that “the four anthologies were made up in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.” and that, at that time, “for each ode was noted the name of the *tiṇai* (and perhaps *turaṇai*) to which it belonged and the name of its author.” So that, on the author’s own showing, no great interval elapsed between the original composition of the poems and their collection in anthologies—a

* *op. cit.* p. 410.

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result which in itself would go far to establish the authenticity of the tradition relating to the poems. This result is by no means so clear-cut, because elsewhere Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar says * that Perundēvaṇār, a poet of the ninth century A. D. “seems to have taken a great interest in the collections of the poems of an earlier age, for he has provided introductory odes in praise of Śiva” to some of these collections. In the author’s Tamil book on the Pallavas he states more definitely that Perundēvaṇār of the ninth century made the anthologies and provided them with introductory verses. Then again, it is not clear whether the colophons of the *Puṇam* are held to be all of them absolutely unreliable and useless for historical purposes, or whether only some of them are suspect for certain specific reasons, or whether, lastly, because some are demonstrably false, the rest have, for that reason, to be rejected. “The *Puṇam* as we have it,” contends Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, “has besides, † (1) colophons indicating the particular occasions when each of the first two hundred and sixty-six odes were sung, (2) paraphrases of these two hundred and sixty-six odes and brief notes grammatical or interpretive (*sic*). The colophons stop where the paraphrases stop and probably both were done by an editor of the age when commentaries were composed on old Tamil poems, i. e., probably between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. The colophons, and not the commentaries, are resumed with the three hundred and fifty ninth ode and are continued to the end.” Once more the errors in the statement of facts in this passage are not only considerable in themselves, but are such as to lend strong support to the hypothesis that the colophons and the

* *op. cit.* p. 159.

† i. e., besides the *tiṇai*, *tuṇai* and the name of the author *op. cit.* p. 410.

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paraphrases of the first part of the collection belong to one late author. The facts as stated in the passage just quoted are: (1) the colophons and the paraphrases stop at the 266th ode, and (2) the colophons, not the commentaries, are resumed with the 359th ode and are continued to the end. The necessary implication is that there are no colophons to poems numbering 267 to 358 inclusive. Now this is simply not correct; because Nos. 315, 344-5 have colophons like the other poems, and on Nos. 361-3 and some other verses we have no more information than we get on the odes that are said to have no colophons (Nos. 267 to 358). In reality, the colophons were furnished for all the odes and, as already stated it is only the decayed state of the manuscripts that is responsible for the gaps in our knowledge. This is sufficiently indicated by the learned editor of the work in his preface. Further, it is conceivable that the *tiṇai* and *turaṇai* were sometimes inserted later, because this can be done by any one who knows the rules of grammar and has before him particular poems and their contexts; but it is inconceivable that these contexts themselves, without which the *tiṇai* and *turaṇai* could not even be guessed at in several instances, were the inventions of an age much later than that to which the poems belonged. It is necessary at this point to quote (in translation) the remarks on the state of the manuscripts made by Paṇḍit V. Svāminātha Aiyar in his preface to the first edition, as these are best calculated to place the commentary and the colophons in a proper light. He says: " In this commentary are to be found many words that are not in current use. Further, here and there a few sentences seem to have been misplaced. As there are no means at present available to make necessary alterations and as I hope later to be able to do so when

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better manuscripts become available, I have published them exactly as I found them in the manuscripts. This commentary is extant only for the first 266 poems of this work; in no manuscript is found the commentary for the remaining poems; and after poem No. 242 the commentary has suffered damage and is somewhat confused. We do not know who wrote this commentary. The discussions of this author in his special notes on some poems indicate the existence of an older gloss on this work which has not come down to us.

“The manuscripts of the text of the poems (which did not contain the commentary), besides exhibiting several variations due to the excess or shortage of letters and words and many confused transpositions, did not contain the *tiṇai* after some poems, the *tuṇai* after others, and both after yet others; the names of the composers had got damaged after some poems, and these of the subjects of the poems after others, and in some other instances the names of both had disappeared.” This description of the manuscripts by the great scholar who spent so many years in collating them should give the quietus to all baseless conjectures on the colophons and their relation to the extant commentary.

“It is evident,” says Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar,* “that some of the colophons appended to the poems by the editor do not embody tradition but contain guesses, sometimes wild.” Our examination of the value of the *Puram Four Hundred* as a source of history would not be complete without a consideration of the cases adduced by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar in support of his statement just quoted. His first instance emerges from

* *op. cit.* page 410.

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a comparison of songs numbered 76 and 77, both said to be compositions of a single poet, Iḍaikkunṇūr Kīlār, on the same hero, the Pāṇḍya Neḍunjeliya who was victor at Talaiyālaṅgāṇam. He says: "It is impossible to believe that the hero victor of Talaiyālaṅgāṇam, known to the poet (76) and the boy-hero, unknown to the poet (77) were one and the same person." But was the boy-hero unknown to the poet? The operative part of the text of *Puṇam* 77 is :

"neḍundērk-koḍinji poliya niṇṇōṇ
yār-kol vālka-vavan kaṇṇi "

which is translated by Mr. Aiyangar thus: "He stands so as to adorn the carved post of the chariot; whoever he may be, may his garland not fade for a long time." A more literal rendering would be: "Who verily is it that stands so as to adorn the carved post of the chariot? May his garland flourish!" Far from being ignorant of the identity of the boy-king, the poet is sure that there is only one answer to his question. Further if amidst the many uncertainties of the literature of the Śaṅgam, there is one fact established beyond all doubt, it is that the hero of Talaiyālaṅgāṇam was a little boy whose youth tempted the cupidity of his neighbours.* And this raises a strong presumption of the identity of the persons to whom *Puṇam* 76 and 77 refer; and what can be more natural than that an admiring poet should, as he does in *Puṇam* 77, exaggerate the youth of his hero in celebrating his victory and sing of him as a tender child who, despite his youth, worked wonders on the field of battle? The next instance adduced is *Puṇam* 74, which is said to have been composed in a Cōla prison, by a Cēra king amazed at his own pusillanimity in seeking water of his jailors to quench his thirst. The colophon says that the prisoner did not drink the water

* cf. *Puṇam* 72 and the present writer's *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* pp. 27-8

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he got, and describes his act in the words: “*uṇṇāṇ ṣollittunjiya pāṭṭu*” which might mean that without drinking the water, he uttered the lines and died. This is the meaning accepted by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar who draws attention to a contradictory tradition related in the *Tamiḷ-nāvalar-caritai* which says that this ode was composed by the king and despatched to his poet-friend Poygaiyār who thereupon sang the ‘*Kaḷavaḷi* Forty’ and obtained his release. “The fact that the two legends contradict each other shows,” we are assured * “that supposed traditions which Tamil scholars regard as sacrosanct are but brittle reeds to lean upon in historical investigation.” The first thing to observe in this connection is that the *Tamiḷ-Nāvalar-Caritai* is, as Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar admits, a demonstrably late work of the sixteenth century A. D. † and some regard must be had to this in pitting its traditions against those in the colophons of the *Puraṇānūru*. Further, in this particular instance, the note in the *Caritai* leaves altogether unexplained the reference to drinking water that occurs in the text of the poem. The suggestion has been made ‡ that the Cēra for whose release the *Kaḷavaḷi* was composed by Poygai was some king other than the author of *Puraṇam* 74. But it is not possible to accept this, because Śeṅgaṇāṇ, the Cōḷa king is expressly mentioned both in the colophon of the *Puraṇam* song and that of the *Kaḷavaḷi* as the Cēra Irumporai’s foe; and the *Kaḷavaḷi* celebrates Śeṅgaṇāṇ’s victory. The real solution is that offered by Paṇḍit Svāminātha Aiyar himself; ¶ we should

* *History of the Tamils* p. 414.

† See Preface to T. Kanakasundaram Pillai’s Edn. of the *Caritai* p. XII.

‡ *op. cit.* p. 58. Also *Kaḷavaḷi* Edn., by N. M. Venkatasami Nattar, Preface pp 4-5.

¶ *Śaṅgattamiḷum Piṅkālattamiḷum* p, 94. He is followed by Pandit Ananta-rama Aiyar in his edition of the *Kaḷavaḷi*, Preface p, 12 & n.

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understand the word 'tunjiya' in the colophon not in the sense 'died,' but in the not less usual meaning 'slept' or 'swooned.' The note in the *Nāvalar-caritai* which says that the song was despatched to Poygaiyār seems hardly trustworthy; because the poet should, even without such a reminder to him, have known of his king's fate. The other discrepancies * between the notes in the *Caritai* and the colophon of *Puram* 74 are too inconsiderable to affect the authenticity of the latter. Again, two objections are urged by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar against the colophon to *Puram* 47. It says that by this song Kōvūr Kiḷār saved a fellow poet from being put to death as a spy by Neḍuṅgiḷli who died at Kāriyāṇu. First "there is nothing in the poem remotely suggesting a spy;" secondly, "Kōvūr Kiḷār was a favourite of the enemies of Neḍuṅgiḷli i.e., Nalaṅgiḷli and Kiḷli Vaḷavaṇ, and therefore not likely to have any influence with Neḍuṅgiḷli." Neither of these objections is sound. The first objection is easily met. The translation of the poem given by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar himself clearly suggests the idea of espionage, or at any rate, of some means of injuring persons. It is this: "The life of these seekers of patronage is free from the blame of harming others." This in fact is the main argument of the piece and the original is very vigorous:

ippariṣil vāḷkkai
piṛarkku-ttīdarindaṇṇō-viṇṇē.

The second objection stated above also overlooks the argument of the poet, that poets of his kind moved freely from one prince to another not taking account of their political relations, and that it would be wrong to suspect a poet who visited him simply because he

* They are: the mention of the 'east gate' instead of the 'west gate' and the number of the poem, given as 158 in the *Caritai*.

had last left the court of a political rival. Further, by saying that Kōvūr Kīlār was the favourite of the enemies of Neḍuṅgiḷḷi viz., Nalaṅgiḷḷi and Killīvalavaṇṇ, Mr. Aiyangar identifies Neḍuṅgiḷḷi who died at Kāriyāru with Neḍuṅgiḷḷi who was besieged at Uraiṇūr by Nalaṅgiḷḷi. If this identification is correct, 'as most probably it is, then it would transpire that Kōvūr Kīlār was as much friends with Neḍuṅgiḷḷi as with his foes; for *Puram* Nos. 44 and 45 are by Kōvūr Kīlār and on Neḍuṅgiḷḷi. In fact this poet's successful efforts in the promotion of peace and mutual good will among the pugnacious princelings of his time come in for special notice and appreciation by Dr. G. U. Pope. * Lastly, about *Puram* 173 Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar remarks: "It is impossible to regard this ode but as the song of a hungry bard in search of a patron; yet it is attributed to a royal personage by the editor of the *Puram*." This objection seems at first sight to be indeed well-taken. But Paṇṇaṇ is mentioned together with Killīvalavaṇṇ by Kōvūr Kīlār in *Puram* 70, and consequently there is no intrinsic difficulty in accepting that Killīvalavaṇṇ who died at Kuḷamurram and Paṇṇaṇ were contemporaries and that the king might conceivably have composed a song on his friend Paṇṇaṇ. Though the subject-matter of *Puram* 173 seems hardly suited to such a composition, its explanation may be that the poem is conceived as the utterance of a bard, as suggested in all the alternative interpretations given in its commentary. † Let us grant, however, that a real incongruity may have arisen by a wrong poem or colophon having been substituted for the right one at this point. And a close scrutiny may reveal some other instances of a similar character. But it is

* I. A. XXIX p 255.

† A comparison of this poem with *Puram* Nos. 270 and 312, especially the former, is very instructive on this point.

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grossly to exaggerate the issue to say, as Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar does, that "*many more* such colophons can easily be found in the anthology" (italics mine). We can hardly expect that in the course of long centuries the anthologies have been transmitted to us without errors in details having crept in. But, for this reason, to cast a doubt on the accuracy of whole groups of poems and their colophons and to reject them wholesale is to apply standards of criticism which would render all historical writing impossible. As is only to be expected in such a case, the practice of writers is often better than would result from a rigid application of the principles enunciated by them, and Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar himself has made far more use of the *Purāṇa* Four Hundred than would be proper if he held fast to the criticisms urged by him against the credibility of the poems and the traditions relating to them as found in the colophons. In the next study on *Karikāla* will be found instances of colophons fully borne out by the texts of poems in different anthologies, sufficient proof that the colophons embody genuine history.

It is also necessary to observe, before closing, that the question of the authenticity of the colophons which has engaged our attention so far, is different from that of the internal chronology of the poems that results from our accepting them. It is indeed true that hasty genealogical lists have been evolved for the dynasties represented in the poems; these lists lack support from the colophons and Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar does well to deprecate them. But their shortcomings leave untouched the main question of the authority and correctness for purposes of history of the literary tradition we have been discussing. The method of working in data drawn from it in a restoration of the past, and the pattern resulting from their disposition offer limitless scope to the talent of the individual historian.

II

KARIKĀLA IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

The name of Karikāla fills a great place in the early history of the Tamils. Some of the later Cōḷa kings of the line of Vijayālaya are known from their inscriptions to have borne the name. Several ruling families in the Telugu districts claimed descent from Karikāla. Lastly, he is the centre of many stories of a palpably legendary character. The Age of Karikāla has been the subject of many discussions in recent years; it can hardly be said that any conclusive results have yet been reached.

The primary sources of our knowledge of Karikāla, the early Tamil Cōḷa king, are literary. We have also secondary literary sources of later times, and equally late epigraphical references of a vague character. It is best to arrange these as far as possible in a chronological order and indicate the information that can be gathered from them. The list that follows is not intended to be exhaustive, but calculated to show the diversity in the nature of the sources we are dealing with by furnishing examples of a representative character.

I. *Puṛanānūṟu*.—(a) No. 7. The stanza is said to have been composed by Karuṅḡḷal-Āḍaṇār on Karikāla. The king's name does not figure in the text, and it is a general praise of the king's prowess in war.

(b) No. 65. This is said to be a lament of Kaḷāttalaiyār uttered when a Cēra king, Perunjēral Āḍaṇ, wounded in the back in a fight with Karikāla,

resolved to give up his life by starvation * after such an ignominious defeat. The text of the poem mentions the wound in the back of the dying king but gives no names. We learn, however, from the next verse and from *Ahanāṇūru* 55, that these events happened, exactly as they are given in *Puṇam* 65 and its colophon, at the battle of Veṇṇipparandalai.

(c) No. 66. A song by Veṇṇi-kkuyattiyār comparing the relative merits of Karikāla and his Cēra foe after the battle of Veṇṇipparandalai. This piece is important because it gives the names of Karikāl-vaḷavaṇ and Veṇṇipparandalai, and mentions the suicide of the enemy—a striking confirmation of the data furnished by *Puṇam* 65. The author of this poem, whose name means “Potter woman of Veṇṇi” was most probably a native of Veṇṇi and an eyewitness to the battle that took place in its neighbourhood.

(d) *Puṇam* 224. In this poem Karuṅgaḷal-Āḍaṇār, the author of *Puṇam* 7 (*ante*, commiserates the world on the loss it sustained by the death of Karikāla. The text does not give the name of the king which occurs only in the colophon. The king’s heroism, his patronage of poets and the Vedic sacrifices performed by him are mentioned at some length.

II. *Pattuppāṭṭu* (a) *Porunarārruppadai*.—A poem of 248 lines by Muḍattāma-kkaṇṇiyār. Karikāla is mentioned by name (l. 148) and said to be the son of

* Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar apparently understands the expression *Vāḷ-vaḍakkiruttal* as “death by cutting one’s throat with a sword”—*History of the Tamils* p. 336. *Contra* Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar’s note at p. 135 of his edition of the *Puṇanāṇūru*, which I have followed. I may add that the king starved, sword in hand, to indicate the disgrace he had sustained on the field. *Puṇam* 65 purports to be a strictly contemporary reference to events; *Aham* 55 clearly refers to them as in the past, but is very valuable as corroborating the *Puṇam* stanza. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar’s doubts on this head (*Tamils* p. 337) seem to be somewhat misplaced.

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Uruvappahr̥ēr - iḷanjēṭceṇṇi (l. 130). He inherited the right to his estate while he was in his mother's womb, (l. 132, *tāy vayir̥irundu dāyam eydi*)—a statement which the annotator Naccin̄ārkkin̄iyar interprets as meaning that Karikāla's birth was delayed by unnatural means, and that he was retained in his mother's womb until the auspicious moment came for his being delivered. The battle of Veṇṇi in which he defeated two great kings (Pāṇḍya and Cēra) on the same field is narrated in some detail (ll. 141-48). For the rest, the poem describes at length the liberality of Karikāla and the fertility of the Kāvēri country and other matters of no immediate concern to this study. The clause *mudiyōr* avai puku poludir̥ram pakai muraṇ ṣelavum* (ll. 187-8) must, however, be noted specially here. It occurs in the general description of Karikāla's rule and is, in itself, simple enough if we understand it to mean that the older men laid aside their differences when they entered the *sabha* of the king, or, if the alternative reading '*ṣolavum*' of the last word is accepted,—that the older men went to the *sabha* to state their disputes (and get them adjudged). Here again the annotator sees an allusion to the tradition † that a young Cōḷa king, dressed himself as an old man, and surprised by his correct judgment two greyhaired litigants who laid their cause before him. It may be observed in passing that the words in our poem, taken in their context, do not clearly mention any dispute or its settlement by the king; whereas the traditional stanza of the *Paḷamoḷi* and the reference in the *Maṇimēkalai* contain no mention of Karikāla.

*This word is an antithesis to *ḷaiyōr* (young folk) of the preceding clause. Pandit Svaminatha Aiyar notes an alternative reading '*Ṣolavum*' for the last word, in this clause

† *Paḷamoḷi* No 6 (ed. T. Chelvakēśavarāya Mudaliar). Also *Maṇimēkalai* IV ll. 107-8. Neither of these texts gives the name of the king.

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(b) *Paṭṭiṇappālai*. A poem of 301 lines by Kaḍiyālūr Uruttiraṅgaṇṇaṇār. It contains gorgeous descriptions of the land of the Kāvēri and of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṇam in particular, and mentions incidentally some occurrences of the life and rule of Karikāla, here called Tirumāvaḷavaṇ (l. 299). In a vivid passage replete with striking similes (ll. 220-8) the poet tells us how Karikāla in his youth was imprisoned by his enemies and effected his escape after a tough fight with the guards of his prison and thereby made himself master of the kingdom. Besides giving a vague general account of Karikāla's prowess in war and the devastation of enemy countries that was a marked feature of his work as conqueror, the poet tells us that among those subjugated by Karikāla were the many Oḷiyar, the ancient Aruvāḷar, the Northerners and the Westerners and the Pāṇḍya; while the petty chieftains of the shepherd class and of the line of Iruṅgōvēḷ were stamped out by him. He is believed to have given up Uṇaiyūr and shifted his capital elsewhere, though he took care to renew and fortify that city afresh (ll. 285-8).

(c) Veṇbā No. 3 quoted at end of (a) * Karikāla's sway failed to measure the three worlds but was confined only to this, as his leg had suffered from fire, an allusion to the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu.

III. *Ahanāṇṇūru*. This is an anthology of amatory lyrics which contain only passing and often somewhat far-fetched allusions to political events, contemporary or otherwise.

(a) No. 55.—A reference to the battle of Veṇṇivāyil as a past event, cf. ante *n.* on I (b)

* This verse is not from the *Paṇṇamōḷi* as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar seems to think—See his *Ancient India* p. 351 *n.* 2.

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(b) No. 125.—“Like the cowardly kings who, unable to face the might of Peruvaḷa-kkarikāl, abandoned their nine umbrellas in broad daylight at Vākai-pparaṇḍalai.”

(c) No. 141.—“The famous Karikāl victorious in war who fixed up the Śelkuḍi” (see later)

(d) No. 246. “Greater than the uproar in Alundūr on the day when at the gates of Veṇṇi the famous Karikāla roused to great fury inflicted a crushing defeat on his enemies in which eleven Vēḷir fell together with (some) kings.”

(e) No. 376.—Mentions the name of the king.

IV. *Śilappadikāram* :—In the text of this beautiful romantic poem we have three clear references to Karikāla and the annotators discover four others elsewhere in the poem. It would be obviously desirable to keep the text and the annotations apart. First, the relevant passages in the text are :—

(a) Canto V, ll. 90-104. Tirumāvaḷavaṇ (Karikāla) who was eager for war and found no match for him in the Tamil land, once upon a time (*annāl* l. 94) undertook an invasion of the northern countries as far as the Himalayas and obtained certain presents from the kings of the Vajra, Magadha and Avanti countries.

(b) Canto VI, ll. 159-60. Karikāl-vaḷavaṇ is said to have performed a ceremonial bath in the freshet of the Kāvēri, attended by a great crowd.

(c) Canto XXI, ll. 11-ff. The daughter of Karikāla, the Cōḷa king, saw her husband, the ruler of Vanji, being washed away while they were both bathing ; and, going after him in the flood, she rescued

him miraculously. This story occurs in the midst of a series of legends of chaste women of the past and the miracles effected by them. *

We may now turn to the statements of the annotators of the *Śilappadikāram* on Karikāla.

(d) Canto III. l. 11—means literally “In order to exhibit (Māḍavi’s dance) to the king with the hero’s anklet (*kaḷal*)”; and the earlier of the two commentaries gives the annotation: “desiring to have the first exhibition (of dance) in the *sabha* of the Cōḷa Karikārperuvalattāṇ who had the hero’s anklet.” The later annotator Aḍiyārkkunallār follows this hint not only in this context, but extends it to others e.g., canto i. ll. 65-8; v. 212 and vi. 15. It must be noted, however, that there is nothing in the text to warrant these comments which create the impression that the story of the poem is laid in the period of Karikāla’s rule. And this is contrary to the indications furnished by the text of the *Śilappadikāram*.

V. *Maṇimēkalai*:—Canto I, l. 39. “As on the day when king Karikāla went forth”, apparently on his Northern campaign as related in the *Śilappadikāram* (IV. (a) *ante*). It must be noticed that this brief reference is also clearly to events in the past.

VI. *Paḷamoli*.—(a) Verse No. 6.—See *ante II* (a). Only the commentary gives the name of Karikāla, not the Veṇḃā.

(b) Verse No. 230. The text records that an elephant from Kaḷumalam went and chose a man from Karuvūr for the kingship. The commentary sees in this incident a reference to Karikāla’s accession.

* See Pandit Svaminatha Aiyar’s note at p. 488 of the *Śilappadikāram* for other references to the story.

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(c) Verse No. 239. The text has simply : "The Cōḷa's son who escaped with his life from a fire got the aid in later life of a man named Piḍarttalai, and held the sceptre with success." The gloss of an anonymous commentator on this verse runs : "Even Karikāla who in his youth, though consigned to flames by his enemies, managed to escape with his life, obtained the aid of his (maternal) uncle, Irumbiḍarttalaiyār by name,* and, later in his life, attained the monarchy which was his by right and ruled as a just king."

Before leaving the evidence drawn from early Tamil literature and proceeding to set down that of later literature and epigraphy, it may be desirable to indicate our general position regarding the chronology and the relative value of the sources so far reproduced. The general question of the age of the earliest extant Tamil literature has been so often discussed that it is unnecessary again to pursue the subject here. My view is that this literature belongs to the early centuries of the christian era, and it rests not so much on the Gajabāhu synchronism, which in itself is quite a sound one, † as on general considerations arising out of a comparison of the political and economic conditions in Southern India as reflected in this body of literature with what we learn on the same subject from European

* This seems to be the only evidence of the relation here mentioned between Karikāla and Irumbiḍarttalai. It is strange that a scholar like Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar should have used such a statement as evidence of chronology (See his *Ancient Dekkan*, p. 107)

† Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar (*History of the Tamils* p. 38) holds that the reading 'Kūval vēndan' at *Sil.* XXX 1. 160 destroys all theories based on the synchronism. I do not think so. The prologue still remains, and it seems to be the earliest account we possess of the coming in of the Pattini cult into Ceylon where it has prevailed to this day. See *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* Vol. X, ii, pp. 114 ff.

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classical sources like the *Periplus* and Ptolemy, and from the early Buddhist literature.

The question of the internal chronology of the literature of early Tamil has unfortunately not received as much attention as it deserves. But there seems to be no reason to doubt either the priority of much of the *Purāṇāṇūru* to the poems preserved in the other anthologies and to the twin epics the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*, or the claim registered in the colophons to most of these poems that they were contemporary compositions of poets dealing with particular situations to which they were eye-witnesses. There is nothing of the conventional about these poems, each of which is a living realistic picture of a genuine human situation. It seems to me that in these poems we have some of the most genuine records of exceptional interest to the historian of Southern India; and these must be treated as a class apart. Hence the poems of the *Purāṇāṇūru* bearing on the subject of this study have been placed in the first group. For the rest, I have sought to group the sources, not strictly in their chronological order—we know yet so little of this—but in the order of their importance and trustworthiness. An attempt has been made throughout to keep clear the distinction between data furnished by the originals and by the glosses on them by latter-day commentators.

We may now bring together the evidence relating to Karikāla from epigraphy and the later literature of Southern India :

VII. The Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra * (II. 2-5) say : “ *Dinukara-kula-mandarācala-mandūra - pādapasya*

* *E. I.* XI. No. 35.

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kavēra-tanayā - velōllaṅghana-prasamana-pramukhā-dyane-kātiśaya - kāriṇaḥ Trairājya - sthiti - mātmasātkṛtavataḥ karikālasyaṅvaye”, meaning “In the family of Karikāla, who was the mandāra tree on the Mandara mountain viz., the solar race; who was the worker of many wonders like that of controlling the daughter of Kavera, overflowing her banks; who obtained for himself the position of (the headship of the) three kingdoms.” These plates have been dated by Mr. Krishna Śāstri in the eighth century. They may well be, however, a century earlier than that. * However that may be, they are interesting for two reasons. This is the earliest mention so far known of the connection of Karikāla with any family in the Telugu country. This is also the earliest reference to the flood banks of the Kāvēri. And there is no mention yet of Triṇētra Pallava.

VIII. The genealogy (legendary part) in the Cōḷa Copper-Plates and the Kanyākumāri record (Vijayālaya line):—

(a) The Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa give the order Śenni, Kiḷli, Karikāla, Kōccēṅgaṇān (verse 13) and mention only the name of Karikāla.

(b) The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra I place Karikāla between Perunarkiḷli and Kōccēṅgaṇān and furnish two explanations of the king's name in the words—‘*Kālatvāt kariṇām kaleśca*,’ besides mentioning his rebuilding of Kāncī (*Kāncīm yaśca navīcakāra kanakaiḥ*) and the construction of the banks of the Kāvēri.

* See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya—*A note on the Date of the Māṭepāḍu plates—Madras Christian College Magazine* 1929 p. 15. Also *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1925 p. 86 l. 26.

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(c) The larger Leyden grant (v. 11) gives his name after Panacapa and before Kōcceṅgaṇān; it calls him also Arikāla and mentions the construction of the Kāvērītira.

(d) The Kanyākumāri (stone) inscription of Vīrarājendra devotes two verses to him, giving his name between Perunaṅkkilli and other famous kings before him, and Valabha immediately after. Verse 48 is a general praise of Karikāla's prowess, interesting only for the phrase *samutthitaripu - kṣitipāla - kālah*—‘Death to hostile monarchs up in arms (against him).’ The next verse (49) runs :

sa kāvērī-ndūrīkṛta-sakala-sasyām vidadhatīm
 payaḥ - pūraiḥ - sphārai - ravani - mavinīto-
ddhati haraḥ |
 pratīrbhūtābhir-narapati-karāśliṣṭa-pitaka-
 prakīrṇābhir - mṛdbhir - nyaruṇa-daruṇāgrēsara
-samaḥ ||

That is to say, * “ (Karikāla) who was as bright as the sun and who curbed the pride of the insubordinate, controlled the Kāvērī—which, by its excessive floods, caused the earth to be deprived of its produce—by means of a bund formed of earth thrown in baskets carried in hand by (enemy) kings.”

These records of the 10 and 11th centuries A. D. call for a few remarks in passing. Karikāla's connection with Kāncī is first mentioned in (b); and so also (d) first sets forth the story of Karikāla employing enemy kings in the construction of the embankment of the river. But even in the elaborate verse 49 of (d) we find no mention of Pallava Triṇētra.

* The translation is that of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *T. A. S.* III pp. 154-5 slightly altered.

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IX. *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*:—A poem describing the conquest of Kalinga in the days Kulōttuṅga I. The author Jayaṅgaṇḍār gives in the eighth section of the work the genealogy of the kings, which opens with the statement that when Karikāla had by superhuman exploits won a victory over the Himalayas and subdued them, Nārada appeared before him and ordained that he should write on the mountain the story of his race as revealed to him by the sage (vv. 1-4). We learn from a stray Venḇā* quoted by Aḍiyārkkunallār that the Śeṇḍu, whatever it was, with which Karikāla managed to spin the Himalaya round and round, was a gift vouchsafed to him by a Śāttan (a guardian deity) of Kāncīpuram. The narration of Nārada includes the story of Karikāla as well as that of his predecessors and successors up to Jayadhara. Stress should not, however, be laid on the superhuman element in this narration, as it may be only a poetic device of the author suited to the conventions of the *Paraṇi*. But the quaint reference to Karikāla's conquest of the Himalaya recalls the lines of the *Śilappadikāram* on his northern expedition.—IV (a). Karikāla's conquest of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra, an enigmatic statement on the construction of the banks of the Kāvēri by subordinate kings, the conquest of Kurumi and the presentation of 16,00,000 gold pieces to the poet of the *Paṭṭiṇappālai* occur among the events of his reign (vv 19-21). The next verse (22) on the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya being made alternately torch-bearers in the court is also to be referred apparently to the same reign.

Here, the verse on the construction of the embankment of the Kāvēri must be considered somewhat

* *Śilappadikāram*, V 15-8 comment.

closely. Mr. Kanakasabhai translated the verse thus : *
 “ Mukari was destroyed when he rubbed it out of the map, finding that it did not suit the place prepared for the banks of the Kāvēri which were being constructed by vassal kings.” This ingenious translation is open to many objections. It seems to import the details of modern engineering practices such as drawing maps and plans into the days of Karikāla. It does violence to the actual words in the verse which imply that Mukari did not follow up something or somebody (*toḍara vandiḍā mukari*), and then a picture was asked to be drawn of Mukari (*vandiḍā mukariyai ppaḍatte-luduka*); the action that was taken afterwards consisted in something being wiped out in the picture, most probably an extra eye (*idu mikaikkaṇ*) which resulted in a similar consequence to the object represented by the picture. † Lastly, Mr. Kanakasabhai’s interpretation ignores the literary tradition on the subject which waxes strong from this time that a three-eyed king lost his superfluous eye in this episode, as will be seen from what follows :—

X The *Ulās* of Oṭṭakkūttan :—(a) *Vikrama śōlan ulā* ll. 24–6 :

tēllaruvic—

ceṇṇippuliyēṇiruttik-kiri tirittup-

poṇṇikkarai-kaṇḍa pūpatiyum—a brief reference

to the turning of the Himalayas and the making of the Kāvēri banks.

(b) *Kulōtungaśōlan ulā*—ll. 34–6,

talaiyēṇu

maṇkoṇḍa poṇṇikkaraikaṭṭa vārādāṇ

kaṇ-koṇḍa ṣeṇṇi karikālaṇ ; that is, ‘ the cōla Karikāla who took the eye of him who did not come

* I. A. XIX p. 331.

† Cf. Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan : *The Kāvēri, the Maṅkharis and the Śaṅgam Age*.

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to raise the Kāvēri banks which took the earth carried on the heads (of subordinate kings).” *

(c) *Rājarājaśōlan-ulā* ll. 32-4: a statement that a king (Karikāla) branded with his tiger-crest the strong chests of his foes and the slopes of the northern Mēru.

These extracts from the triad of *ulās*, specially (b), show distinctly that in the stanza from the *Paraṇi* (VIII 20) we have clearly one of the earliest statements, if not the earliest, about the three-eyed foe of Karikāla. He is called Mukari in the *Paraṇi*, and an elaborate attempt † has been made to connect him with the Maukharis of Northern India on the strength of the northern expedition of Karikāla to which the *Śilappadikāram* makes such detailed reference. Great as is the value of some of the results obtained by Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan in the course of his investigation, his conjecture about the identity of Mukari and Maukhari would seem to lack enough support. The weakness of his argument on this head is recognised by the author himself. ‡ We have evidence of a clan of Maukharis in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. and of a line of kings, Maukharis, from the 5th or the 6th century A. D. There is nothing but surmise to guide us in the great stretch of time that intervenes. While the *Śilappadikāram* which gives the earliest detailed account of Karikāla's northern expedition makes no mention of Mukari though it knows about a king of Magadha who was subjugated by the southern ruler, it is difficult, on the evidence of an obscure stanza in a work of the late 11th century A. D., to take him

* Cf. No. 55 of the much later *Raṅgēśa Venṇā* quoted by Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan *op. cit.* pp. 18-9.

† Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan *op. cit.*

‡ *op. cit.* p. 57.

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to have been a Maukhari of the I or II century A. D. On the other hand, there is no lack of other literary evidence from the Tamil and Telugu countries that establishes conclusively the identity of Mukari of the *Paraṇi* with the Mukkaṇṭi or Triṇētra who figures in Telugu epigraphy as the contemporary of Karikāla in the celebrated formula :—

caraṇa-sarōruha-vihata-vilōcana-Trilōcana
-pramukhā-khila-prthivīśvara-kārīta
kāvērī-tīra-karikāla-kula.

XI. *Kulōttuṅgaṇ Pillaittamiḷ* is a fine poem on Kulōttuṅga II by Oṭṭakkūttan, a poet of the 12th century and the author of the *ulās* already noticed (X). In this poem we read : *

muḷu-kula-nadikkaraśar muḍikoḍu vakutta karai
mukiṛoḍa-vamaitta-darivō-
miru-puṛamu-mokka ninadoru puli poṛikka
vaḍa-vimagiri tirittadaṛivō-
mikal mukari mukkaṇilu-moru kaṇiḷiya-kkiliyi-
leḷuḍu-kaṇaḷitta-darivōm

“We know of the raising up to the clouds of the banks made for the full family-river by the crowns of (subordinate) kings ; we know of the spinning of the snow-mountain of the north for engraving on either side of it your unrivalled tiger-crest ; we know of the wiping out of one eye traced on the picture so that the inimical Mukari lost one of his three eyes.”

This passage which so strikingly recalls the Karikāla legends recorded in the *Kalīṅgattu-pparaṇi* and which is written by a poet laureate of the Cōḷa court, of the generation next to that of the author of

* The *Tamiḷ-ppoḷiḷ* (Tanjore) Vol. V. p. 39.

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the *Paraṇi*, furnishes an excellent comment on the earlier work at this point, and settles the true meaning of the verse from the *Paraṇi*.

XII. The *Periyapurāṇam* of Śēkkiḷār of the time of Kulōttuṅga II mentions Karikāla's renovation of Kāncīpuram in the Kaliyuga by fortifying it afresh and encouraging people to immigrate and settle in the new city: see *Tirukkuriṇṇipputtonḍa-nāyaṇār Purāṇam* v. 85.

XIII. The *Paṇḍitārādhyā carita*, a Telugu Śaīva work of perhaps the early 13th century, gives virtually the same story as the *Paraṇi* with slight variations and the relevant passage has been reproduced and translated by Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya at pp. 88-9 of his *Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōḷa*.*

XIV. Telugu epigraphy — Several inscriptions from various parts of the Telugu country contain the celebrated formula quoted above *Carāṇa sarōruha* etc. The earliest of these inscriptions is dated Ś. 945 (1023 A. D.) †

As Mr. Krishna Śāstri points out: "Almost all the families of kings and chiefs in the South which trace their origin to the Sun mention Karikāla among their ancestors, and describe him as having constructed banks on either side of the river Kāvēri. The Kākātīyas of Warangal and, in later times, the Matla chiefs of Cuddapah and the Sāḷuva chiefs of Kārvēṭinagar and a number of feudatory families who intermarried

* The learned author considers the Telugu version "as old as the passage in the *Kalingattupparaṇi*." All the Tamil sources under X, XI and XII appear, however, to be earlier than the *Paṇḍitārādhyā carita*.

† See Dr. N. V. Ramanayya *op. cit.* pp. 115-6, (item 2). It may be noted that the reference made by the author to the Darsi fragmentary inscription of Vikramāditya I as one referring to Mukkaṇṇi or Triṇētra (No. 1 at pp. 109 and 117) is not warranted by the text of the inscription.

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with the Vijayanagara kings of the lunar race, mention Karikāla in their genealogy." * Again: "In a (Telugu) record of the 11th century A. D. from the Bastar state, it is stated that a chief named Candrāditya, a feudatory of the Nāgavamśi king Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa Mahārāja Dhārāvarṣa, was a descendant of Karikāla Cōla of the solar race, belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra, was the lord of the river Kāvēri and of the (historic) town of Oraiyūr and bore the lion-crest." †

An example of the persistence and the growth of Karikāla legends in later times is furnished by the copperplate grant dated 1356 A. D. (*śāke munyṛṣinētra-candraganīte*) of the Telugu-Cōḍa chief Bhakti-rāja which contains the following about Karikāla : ‡

“ arikālastatō jātah Karikālastatōbhavat |
 aticitraiḥ caritraiḥ svaiḥ pūrvajānatyaśeta yaḥ ||
 asnāsīd-gāṅga-tōyai-ranudina-mavanī-pālahasta-
 kramāttaiḥ
 kāverī-setubandhe-nikhila-narapatī-nagrahī-
 dagra-vēṣṭyai |
 astambhīd-Bhojarāja-prahita-mapacitē-rbhāja-
 nam b(h)andhavīyyam
 pādānguṣṭhena bhālē vilasita-mabhidat-pallaven-
 drasya netram || ”

We notice here that Arikāla, in the Leyden. grant an attribute of Karikāla, has now become the name of a new king, the father of Karikāla, ¶ and the daily bath of the king in the water of the Ganges transmitted by the

* E. I. XI, p. 340 n. 2.

† E. I. XI, p. 338.

‡ *Journal of Oriental Research*, V. pp. 138 and 334.

¶ Cf. Hultzsch at S. I. I. II 378 n 8.

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hands of his vassals is a new embellishment of the old *motif* of the vanquished kings working at Karikāla's tasks like common labourers. The story of the loss of the third eye of the Pallava king is repeated. We may, before proceeding to discuss the interesting and difficult questions that arise in connection with Karikāla and his life, mention briefly the data furnished by literary compositions of more recent times.

XV. The *Navacōḷacarita*. * This work is part of the hagiology of Vīra-Śaivism. Composed originally in Haḷa-kannāḍa, the work was rendered into Telugu verse by Pōsetṭi Lingaṇṇa-kavi in the fourteenth century. The story of Karikāla which figures first in these 'Tales of the Nine Cōḷas' is thus summarised by the editor of the Telugu original in his preface: † "While Karikāla, an ardent devotee of Śiva, was ruling the country with unrivalled power, one day he went out for a hunt in the forest on the banks of the Kāvēri and was resting a while in a lovely spot. Then there occurred a wonderful event which brought home to the king's mind the great merit of the Kāvēri; having witnessed it the king thought that he should raise the banks on either side of the river and dig a tank and earn for himself the religious merit thereof. So he sent for his *Sāmantas* (subordinate chiefs) from the various parts of the realm for carrying out the work and all of them came up, with the exception of Bhāskara-Cōḷa and Mukkaṇṭi Cōḷa and others who held themselves back on account of their noble birth and other like reasons. The king undertook a *daṇḍayātrā* (expedition) against them, conquered them and took them captives and compelled them to work on the

* See Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection* p. 273.

† *Navacōḷacarita* (Tel.) Andhra-patrika Press, Madras (1923) pp. 8-9.

construction of the banks of the Kāvēri until the task was completed.” Though sufficient for our purpose, this bald summary does but scant justice to the elaborate and eloquent narration of the original which includes some stories well-known in other connections such as that of Śiva working as a day-labourer for an old woman. *

XVI. The *Cōlavamśacaritra* or the *Bṛhadīśvara mātmya*, a work of the 16th century A.D. or thereabout, narrates at great length the story of Karikāla's black leprosy being cured by his construction of the celebrated Tanjore temple and even reports the very words of the *Bṛhadīśāṣṭaka*, a hymn of praise uttered by the grateful king at the moment of his miraculous relief from a fell disease. †

XVII. The *Śōlamanḍalaśatakam*: Verse 38 of this work mentions the construction of the banks of the Kāvēri and of a stone anicut across the river by a Cōla king; and a *veṇbā* found in some mss. of this work purports to give a date for Karikāla's construction of the bank. But partly owing to its corrupt readings, this verse can furnish little aid in a discussion of the history of Karikāla. ‡

XVIII. The *Śēvandippurāṇam* ¶ —a late seventeenth century work, gives a story which states that Karikāla, the son of Parāntaka, was brought by the state-elephant for being enthroned in the Cōla kingdom at a time when Uṇaiyūr was destroyed in a sandstorm.

* The familiar Tamil story of Piṭṭukku-maṇ-śumandadu.
See *Tiruvilāiyādal purāṇam*—any edition.

† See *Journal of Oriental Research*: Vol. IV, pp. 324 ff.

‡ See, however, T. G. Aravamuthan *op. cit.* pp. 67 ff.

¶ See the *purāṇam* (ed. Shanmukham Pillai, Madras, 1887) Uṇaiyūraḷitta Śarukkam vv. 91-93.

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One new element in the story is that the elephant found the boy prince too heavy, and that to reduce his weight his mother was advised by a saint to make a mark on the soles of his feet with a piece of charcoal, and then the elephant lifted him up on his back and carried him away without difficulty. A variant of the same story is given by one of the Mackenzie mss. and noticed at some length by Taylor in his *Catalogue Raisonne*. *

The data thus brought together from many sources bearing on the subject of this study are calculated to give an idea of the different phases through which the Karikāla legend, so to say, passes in the course of centuries. The figure of Karikāla is to start with thoroughly realistic and historical; there is nothing about it that taxes our credulity or violates our sense of congruity; but soon legend begins its busy work and there comes in much that is not only unhistorical and romantic, but incredible, unnatural and superhuman. The streams of legend flow from many sources, in the Tamil and Telugu countries, till at last the figure of Karikāla is submerged in the sea of religious mythology. The legends are not altogether devoid of interest to the student of folklore and hagiology. For our purpose, however, it is essential that each incident that seeks admission into the history of Karikāla's life and reign must be tested very carefully with reference to the source from which it proceeds and the general probabilities of the case. The performance of this task becomes doubly difficult, if we bear in mind the limitations to our knowledge of the general chronology of South Indian history. Whatever view is held of the age of Śaṅgam literature—our view of

* Vol. III, pp. 514-5.

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it has been stated elsewhere—it should not be allowed to influence unduly the discussion of the evidence relating to particular events of Karikāla's reign on the lines suggested above.

From the strictly contemporary statements on Karikāla in the sources grouped under I and II above, we learn that Karikāla was the son of ḷṇanjētcēṇṇi; that, as a young man, he fell into the hands of his enemies who kept him in confinement and that he gained his freedom by his own daring exertions; that he was great alike in war and peace, and in the patronage he gave to learning and poetry; that he performed Vedic sacrifices; that he fought at Veṇṇi where he wounded his Cēra contemporary in the back, and also defeated the Pāṇḍya king; that he renovated the inland city of Uṇaiyūr, and was master of the sea-port at the mouth of the Kāvēri and that his sway extended over the Oḷiyar, the Aruvāḷar, the Northerners and the Westerners and the Pāṇḍya, as well as the territory of the petty chiefs of the shepherd class and of the line of Iruṅḡōvēḷ. Except for the indefinite statement about the Westerners and the Northerners which, on its face, is a mere embellishment and should not be pressed far, there is nothing in this account that is improbable and this picture of the reign may be accepted as true. The Oḷiyar, the Aruvāḷar, the shepherds and the line of Iruṅḡōvēḷ, the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra are all well-known tribes and dynasties of the Tamil country, and it is quite possible that an ambitious Cōḷa monarch made the strength of his arm felt by them.

The commentator Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, who wrote in the 14th century or later, says * that Karikāla's mother was a daughter of an Aḷundūr Vēḷ and that

* *Tolkāppiyam* Poruḷ Sūtra 30—*mannar pāṅgiḻ* etc.

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his wife was another Vēlir lady from Nāṅgūr. He cites no authority, but considering the contemporary references to the Vēls in Karikāla's time, we may perhaps accept these statements as recording a genuine tradition.

Of Karikāla's children we have little definite knowledge. Mr. Kanakasabhai was clearly wrong in making Naṛcōṇai (the mother of Śēnguttuvan) the daughter of Karikāla.* Paṇḍit M. Rāghava Aiyangar holds † that both Uṛaiyūr and Puhār were under Karikāla and that after his death, his sons Maṇakkilli and Vēr-paṛṇḍakkai Peru-viṇḍa-killi became rulers respectively of Uṛaiyūr and Puhār. But as he himself admits, there does not appear to be any direct evidence either for the relationship suggested, or for the division of the kingdom.

It has been held that the father of Karikāla ‡ died as a crown prince—a view based entirely on his name Iṇanjēṭceṇṇi. Karikāla's troubles in early life, his imprisonment by his enemies and his heroic escape and even the great battle of Veṇṇi are often ascribed to his father's early death. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar observes that there are a number of Karikāla's predecessors mentioned in the Śāṅgam works; “but in our present state of knowledge of these it would be hazardous to attempt arranging them on any scheme, either genealogical or successional.” ¶ Yet he says immediately after this: “Karikāla's grandfather would appear to be Vērpaṛṇḍakkai Perunaṛkkilli”; and on this assumption he writes: “The father died a prince and the

* See Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar- *Śēran Śēnguttuvan* 2nd edn. p. 106 n

† *Ibid* p. 101

‡ Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar identifies him with Neydalaṅgāṇal Iṇanjēṭceṇṇi (*J. A.* 41 p. 147) who seems to have been a different person altogether.

¶ *Ancient India* p. 92.

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grandfather fell in battle and so the grandson was left, when quite a young boy, heir to the throne of a kingdom not in the enjoyment of peace. Nor were causes wanting for civil dissensions. Young Karikāla found himself a fugitive at Karūr after the disastrous battle in which his grandfather fell along with his Cēra enemy. It was from here that he was fetched to ascend the throne by the state elephant from Kaḷumalam (Shiyali)". Here we have a typical example of the blending of information drawn from history and legend that has played a conspicuous part in the treatment of the reign of this early Cōḷa king. It is difficult to choose between the two assumptions quoted from two writers that Vērpahṛaḍakkai-pperunaṟkkilli* was the son of Karikāla and that he was his grandfather. The fact is that his proximity to Karikāla in point of time is attested by the poet Kaḷāttalaiyār having composed songs both about him and the Cēra contemporary of Karikāla who committed suicide in expiation of his cowardice at Veṇṇi. If we accept the suggestion that Perunaṟkkilli was of the generation after Karikāla, we have also to accept that the Cōḷa war of the Cēras, of which we have one phase in the battle of Veṇṇi in Karikāla's reign, was continued in later times; and also that Śeṅguṭṭuvaṇ the son of the opponent of Perunaṟkkilli was later than Karikāla by a period of not less than half a century, and perhaps more. If, on the other hand, following Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's view, we take Perunaṟkkilli to be earlier than Karikāla, we are led naturally to the conclusion that Karikāla was much nearer in point of time to Śeṅguṭṭuvaṇ and perhaps his contemporary. But then we get into some new difficulties on

* *Puṇam* 62, 63 and 368 make it clear that he is the same as Peruviraṟkkilli with the same attribute.

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this assumption. What is the relation between Neḍum-Śēral-Ādan who fell in the same field as Perunārkkilli and Perunjēral Ādan the opponent of Karikāla himself at Veṇṇi? How long did the latter rule, if at all, and what is the interval between the battle in which Karikāla's grandfather fell and that of Veṇṇi? Again what is the relation between Perunjēral Ādan and Śēnguṭṭuvaṇ? Lastly, how are we to account for the fact that the *Śilappadikāram* which purports to be written in the reign of Śēnguṭṭuvaṇ mentions the events of the reign of Karikāla as having taken place in some remote past? For it is impossible, in the face of the statements in the *Śilappadikāram* about Karikāla's reign analysed under IV above, to accept Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's plea that Karikāla was ruling in Puhār and was an eyewitness to the early stages in the romance of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇagi. * The data from the *Śilappadikāram* and the poems of Kaḷāttalaiyār on the whole seem to favour the view that Perunārkkilli came later than Karikāla rather than before him.

The statements that Karikāla found himself a fugitive at Karūr after the death of his father and grandfather, and that he was fetched from there by the state elephant from Kaḷumalam † to ascend the Cōḷa throne, rest solely on the authority of the commentary to *Paḷamoli* No. 230 (VI b). The *Paḷamoli*, though it figures in the traditional lists of the eighteen minor anthologies of Śāṅgam poetry, is, like some others in that group, a work of uncertain age; and its commentary must, in any case, be a late work which can hardly be accepted. in the absence of any satisfactory evidence to that effect, as a reliable authority on the

* See *Ancient India* pp. 350-1 and P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamils* pp. 375-9.

† It may be noted, in passing, that Kaḷumalam may be not Shiyali, but another place of the same name near Karūr.

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events of the reign of Karikāla. Moreover, the choice of a king at critical times by the people setting an elephant at large and trusting to its sagacity, is too common a *motif* in legends * for us to accept it as a historical fact relating to any particular king. On this view, there is nothing in favour of the supposition that Karikāla was imprisoned at Karūr; in fact, there is no hint in the *Paḷamoli* of a man being taken out from a prison in Karūr for being put upon the Cōḷa throne. On the other hand, the *Paṭṭiṇappālai*, while it does not disclose the identity of the enemies of Karikāla's youth, makes it clear that Karikāla not only escaped from the prison, but attained the throne by his own exertions, and in this account there is no room for the elephant story.

The evidence from the two poems in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* on the circumstances attending Karikāla's accession to the throne seems at first sight to be somewhat conflicting. One of them says that the war-like child of Uruvappahrēriḷaiyōṇ (the young man with many fine chariots) obtained his right (to the kingdom) from his mother's womb, and carried the burden of the kingdom on his shoulders from the time he learned to crawl as a baby (*Porunar*. ll. 129-38). The other affirms that like the tiger cub growing up in a cage, Karikāla stayed in the prison of his enemies (*piṇar*) until his wounded pride roused him to action, and then, like the elephant effecting its escape from the pit into which it had fallen by filling it up with mud brought down by its tusks in order to join its mate, so also Karikāla by means of wisely laid plans effected his escape after fighting the warders of his prison with his sword, and attained royalty which was his by right. (*Paṭṭiṇappālai* ll. 220-227). One statement is common to both the

* cf. e. g. Mūrtināyanār Purāṇam.

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versions—that the kingdom was Karikāla's birth-right, for this is how, as it appears to me, the lines, *tāy-vayirirundu tāyam eydi* ' of the *Porunarāruppāḍai* and "*uru keḷu-tāyam-ūḷiṇeydi*" of the *Paṭṭiṇappālai* must be understood. * One simple way of reconciling the two apparently divergent, but professedly contemporary versions, suggests itself easily. It is that Karikāla inherited his estate as a child; that, for a time, he was kept out of it by the machinations of his elder male relatives perhaps of collateral lines until, aided by his friends, he was able to effect his escape from confinement and make himself king; and that the author of one of these two poems passed over this unhappy incident of the king's youth, or refused to recognise that he had ceased to be king even while he was in prison. On this assumption the enemies of Karikāla would be, not the Cēras or any others who were strangers to the Cōla dynasty, but some relatives of Karikāla himself. The tradition of Karikāla having been helped by Piḍarttalai, who is described as his maternal uncle in the commentary on the *Paḷamoli* verse 239, becomes easy to understand and may be a correct tradition.

To accept some of the traditions incorporated in the *Paḷamoli* while rejecting the rest is, it may be remarked in passing, not so illogical or unsound as it may appear. For one thing, in rejecting the story of the elephant raising Karikāla to the throne we are influenced by the facts (1) that the prince from Karūr is identified

* The ingenuity of Nacciṅārkkūṇiyar discovers a common legendary motif even here, and he makes the suggestion that Karikāla was made to await in his mother's womb the arrival of an auspicious hour for his birth. The same story is told in great detail of Kōccheṅgaṇ in the *Periyapurāṇam* and, I believe, of Āditya the son of Parāntaka in the *Śērvandippurāṇam*. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar (*Tamils* p. 338) thinks that "it refers to his (Karikāla's) being the posthumous child of Ṣaiyōṇ"

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with Karikāla, not by the text of the *Paḷamoli* but its commentary; and (2) that the evidence of strictly contemporary writers is clear that Karikāla's escape from prison and his accession were brought about by his own exertions, aided perhaps by his friends from outside. Here, on the other hand, we have a fact mentioned in the text (not the commentary) of the *Paḷamoli* viz., that Piḍarttalai aided Karikāla in winning the sceptre; and we also find that the identity of the king is indicated unmistakably by the mention of the accident from fire which occurred early in Karikāla's life. And the new fact supplied by this verse fits in satisfactorily with the rest of the story as given by other, perhaps earlier, writers. Whether, as the annotator says, Piḍarttalai was the maternal uncle of Karikāla, and whether he was the same person as the poet Irumbiḍarttalaiyār of the *Puṇam*, are matters which cannot be settled now and do not have any direct bearing on the history of Karikāla. It should, however, be noticed that this verse from the *Paḷamoli* confirms the oldest explanation we get of the name Kari-kālaṇ, 'the man with the charred leg,' by making it the result of an accident from fire in his early life. But there is nothing to support the suggestion sometimes made that the prince met with this accident in his endeavour to get the kingdom.* Later explanations of the name Karikāla such as "Death to elephants," and "Death to Kali" and the story of the mother making a charcoal mark on the soles of the prince to enable the elephant to lift him up easily are not entitled to any weight, at any rate, with reference to this early king Karikāla.

The results of this discussion of the incidents relating to the early life of Karikāla then seem to be the following. He inherited the Cōḷa throne as a boy;

* *I. A.* Vol. 41 p. 147.

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illegitimate attempts were made by his relatives, for a time successfully, to keep him out of his birthright; by his own ingenuity and strength, and with the assistance of friends and partisans from outside, among whom may have been a maternal uncle Irumbiḍarttalai, Karikāla, after some years of confinement in a prison, effected his escape from it and succeeded in making himself king. An early accident from fire which maimed him in the leg for life seems to be rather well attested and to furnish the true explanation of his name.

We have seen that the strictly contemporary sources do not lead us to suppose that Karikāla's sway extended outside the Tamil country. If we may believe the testimony of the contemporary author of the *Paṭṭiṇappālai*, Kāncīpuram with the surrounding district of the Tondaināḍ was ruled in Karikāla's time by a king called Tondaimāṇ Ilandiraiyaṇ who is praised by him as even superior to the three crowned kings of the Tamil land.* And yet, somehow, this evidence has been either generally ignored, or circumvented by means of fanciful hypotheses. This persistent tendency has, it seems, been the result of some circumstances which have checked the free play of criticism on our sources. First, there has been a general feeling that Karikāla whose name looms so large in later times must have been a great and powerful king. Thus we are assured by one modern author † that Karikāla "was certainly one of the most powerful Cōla kings that ruled from the city (of Puhār) and his name is even to the present day known throughout the Tamil country, and even in the Telugu districts (as) that of a great monarch who looked to the welfare of the subjects entrusted to his care and as a patron of letters." Then, it has been the

* *Perumbāṇṭṟuppaḍai* ll. 32-5

† *I. A.* Vol. 41, p. 145.

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rule for a long time to accept all the statements in the *Śilappadikāram* about Karikāla as a contemporary account of the transactions of his reign. Again, great confusion has resulted from mixing up the origin of the family of the Tiraiyar as given by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar in his gloss on *Perumbāṇ-āṇṇuppaḍai* l. 31 with another legend in the *Maṇimēkalai* which, while it differs in important respects from the story of Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, may yet have suggested to him his celebrated comment on the origin of the Tiraiyar. However that may be, the connection between the Tiraiyar and the Cōlas rests on the sole authority of Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar. There is nothing in the poem *Perumbāṇ* to justify this explanation. And even Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar only talks vaguely of the 'Cōla of Nāgapattiṇam' as the progenitor of the Tiraiyar and does not bring either Karikāla or any known relation of his into the story. Lastly, the statements in the Cōla charters and inscriptions of the Vijayālaya line and in the Telugu Cōḍa inscriptions of the 12th century and later have had a large share, on account of their persistence and universality, in disarming criticism. It seems necessary, therefore, to examine somewhat more carefully the nature of the evidence for some of the events usually recorded in the history of Karikāla's reign. This may be done under some convenient heads: his connection with Kāncīpuram, his Northern Expedition, his contemporaneity with Trilōcana-Pallava and the construction of the embankment of the Kāvēri.

Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai says: * "His (Karikāla's) kingdom extended beyond Kāncīpuram, which town he enlarged and beautified," and even more emphatically, Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar: † "Karikāla ruled from

* *The Tamils 1800 years ago* p. 67.

† *J. A.* 41 p. 146.

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Kāncī which he made new with gold." Neither gives the source on which he bases the statement. Dr S. K. Aiyangar is more cautious on the subject ; * apparently inclining to the same view, he does not commit himself to a categorical statement that Karikāla held Kāncī or renewed that city. Under his successors Kāncī passed under the Killis (Cōlas) as the *Maṇimēkalai* testifies ; but that is altogether another matter. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar writes : † " Kanakasabhai assumes that Iṇdiraiyaṇ usurped the throne of Kāncī during Karikāla's boyhood ; but as there is absolutely no evidence for the statement, it deserves no consideration." We agree. But he proceeds, " it is but a bad guess and no more. As Iṇdiraiyaṇ was a contemporary of Karikāla, he must have been appointed ruler of Kāncī after Karikāla's conquest of the place and continued so after Karikāla's death." So the flaw in Mr. Kanakasabhai's position is not that he was guessing, but that he did not guess like some one else. Now all that we know of Iṇdiraiyaṇ is what the *Perumbāṇ* tells us. We have already remarked that in this poem the same poet sings the praise of Iṇdiraiyaṇ with quite as much *eclat* as he does that of Karikāla in the *Paṭṭiṇappālai*, and even says that the Tiraiyaṇ was superior to the three crowned kings of the Tamil Country. Surely, the guess that he usurped Kāncī when Karikāla was a baby is by no means less plausible than the one that he ' must have been appointed ruler of Kāncī after his conquest of the place.' For our part we have already indicated our position. We prefer to reject both these guesses alike and to treat Iṇdiraiyaṇ and Karikāla as contemporary rulers of neighbouring states, which is the normal

* *Ancient India* pp. 92-4 and 349 ff.

† *Tamils* p. 397.

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conclusion that flows from the facts set forth in the two poems in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* by a single poet. *

If Karikāla conquered Kāncī, is it not strange that we should hear nothing of it in the whole range of early Tamil literature and have to wait till we come to the late epigraphs of the Tamil and Telugu countries and the vague tradition of his having settled colonists imported from outside into the Tondaināḍ that is narrated by Śēkkiḷār and other late writers? Except for the lines in the *Śilappadikāram* which give a high-flown account of Karikāla's northern campaign up to the Himalayas and the presents secured by him from the kings of Magadha, Vajra and Avanti, there is nothing whatever in the early literary references to Karikāla to suggest that his conquests extended beyond the area indicated by the lines of the *Pattinappalai* summarised above under II (b)

The account of the northern campaign that is given in the *Śilappadikāram* has been treated differently by different writers. Messrs. Kanakasabhai and Subramania Aiyar and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar are inclined to stress the fact that Karikāla was on terms of friendship with and received presents from the kings of distant countries in Northern India, and to ignore the military side of the expedition which is not less striking in the lines of *Śilappadikāram*. Mr. Kanakasabhai says: † “He is said to have been on terms of friendship with the kings of Avanti, Vajra and Magadha. Later poets in their dreamy eulogies of this great king credit him with the feat of having carried his arms up to the

* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, who holds that Iḷandiraiyan was a grandson of Karikāla, says: ‘This lucky author lived on to celebrate another patron, Tondamāṇ Iḷandiraiyan of Kāncī, of a later generation.’ *Ancient India* p. 94

† *The Tamils 1800 years ago* p. 67. See also *I. A.* Vol. 41 p. 146-7; and *Ancient India* p. 94.

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golden Meru and planted his tiger standard on the summit of that mountain which is spoken of in Indian legends as the centre of the earth." But in saying this and in implying that the *Kalīngattupparaṇi* (IX) is the first of the 'dreamy eulogies' of later poets, he has overlooked the direct statements in the *Śīlappadikāram* that Karikāla went to fight in the northern region as he had no foes left in the Tamil country, and that he engraved his tiger-mark on the slopes of the Himalayas. On the other hand, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan * accepts the statements of the *Śīlappadikāram* as literally true, and makes them the basis of his learned essay on the age of the Śaṅgam. His essay has one merit. It does not pass lightly, as other writers have done, over the difficulties involved in our accepting the story, but faces them squarely and attempts to solve most of them. It is not possible, nor is it necessary, for us to traverse the field covered by the essay.

It is enough to observe that as he accepts the view that Karikāla and Śēṅguṭṭuvaṇ were close in point of time, † the testimony of the *Śīlappadikāram* carries with him the weight of an almost contemporary document. In fact the evaluation of the story of the northern campaign of Karikāla which is given for the first time by the *Śīlappadikāram* will depend on the nature of our answers to three questions: How long after Karikāla did Śēṅguṭṭuvaṇ rule? Is the *Śīlappadikāram* to be accepted as genuine, i. e., as the work of Śēṅguṭṭuvaṇ's brother who renounced the world and became a monk? Lastly, what is the nature of the work? Is it such that all statements made in it can be accepted as literally true? We have already indicated our view that Śēṅguṭṭuvaṇ came at least half a century after

* *op. cit.*

† *op. cit.* p. 48.

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Karikāla, * if not later. Therefore even if we accept the *Śilappadikāram* as a genuine work of Iṅgō Aḍigal, and there is no reason why we should not, its evidence on the reign of Karikāla would not be entitled to the same weight as its statements on the reign of Śēnguttuvan. Short as the period may be, many legends can grow up in two generations. Then if we turn to the nature of the work, we shall find much reason to treat the statements in it with the utmost caution. It is admittedly a romance which teems with legends and supernatural incidents. And legends relating to the Cōla dynasty have reached in this work a stage somewhat more advanced than what we find in the 'eight anthologies' (*eṭṭu-ttokai*) of the Śāṅgam. Thus for instance only the story of Śibi protecting the dove, offering his own flesh to a vulture, is known to the earlier poems; the *Śilappadikāram* adds that of Manu executing his son on the chariot wheel. † Moreover, there is a deep political or cultural scheme underlying the structure of the poem. The saintly author makes no secret of the fact that he uses his story as a setting for offering a full and impartial account of the culture and the glory of the three great monarchies of the South. We cannot fail to notice that each of these monarchies is credited with some success or other against the northern Aryan kings. For these reasons it seems to me that unless we have some evidence from early Tamil literature independent of the *Śilappadikāram* on the northern campaign of Karikāla, it would be wise not to treat this part of the story as history. ‡ And no such evidence is forthcoming.

* Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar would put the interval at "at least one century, if not more." *op. cit.* p. 374

† Canto XX ll. 51-5.

‡ Cf. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *History of the Tamils* p. 366. He seems, however, to assign the *Śilappadikāram* to a much later date than the evidence warrants.

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To return to Karikāla's relation to Kāncī, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, like us, rejects the account of the *Śilappadikāram* which makes Karikāla's sway extend into Northern India. But he finds other evidence for the rule of Karikāla over the Pallava country and the Ceded Districts, and it is necessary to examine this briefly. We may remark at the outset that though we may not follow him in his method, we have nothing to oppose to the inferences he draws on this subject from the late Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions and the Local Records in the Mackenzie Collection. The exact degree of importance that should be attached to such belated testimony to occurrences in a more or less remote past is a matter of opinion; and there is a point, which is reached very soon, beyond which differences on such matters are hardly worth arguing about. We shall confine ourselves to an examination of the evidence cited by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar from early Tamil literature in support of his view, for it is our main object to disentangle Karikāla as he appears in this literature from the weeds of legend that have grown so thick around him, and to determine the residue of authentic history that is left behind after criticism has done its work.

The word *Vaḍavar* (northerners) (in l. 276 of the *Pattinappalai*) is said * by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar to refer to the Pallava kings of Kāncī. This is really begging the question, and if this vague reference to northerners is all the evidence that can be cited in support of Karikāla's conquest of Kāncī, we may be excused for not accepting it as an established fact. We require more tangible evidence than this before being called upon to surrender the view, in our opinion the

* *op. cit.* 345-6

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correct view, that the Pallavas of South Indian epigraphy find no place in the early Tamil Śaṅgam literature. Whether the Tiraiyar of this literature may be connected with the Pallavas of epigraphy, as has sometimes been supposed, is another question which is not germane to this discussion and need not be pursued here; particularly because Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar is clear that they had nothing to do with one another.* It is significant, however, that the Tiraiyar do not figure in the list of Karikāla's subjects in the *Paṭṭiṇappālai*, a fact which, if considered together with the evidence on Tondaimāṇ ḷandiraiyaṇ's rule at Kāncī, raises a strong presumption that Kāncī was independent of the Cōḷas in Karikāla's time; and our point is that the mere mention of Vaḍavar in the list of Cōḷa feudatories cannot, by itself, upset this presumption. Then, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar proceeds: "He (Karikāla) pushed beyond and brought under his sway the Poduva chieftains, who ruled over the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts. The word Poduvar means herdsman chiefs and must refer to the rulers of the pastoral tribes that inhabited the *Mullai* region north of the *Marudam* † lands belonging to the Pallavas. The herdsmen brought under Karikāla's sway were Kuṟumbas, like those who inhabit these districts even to-day, and weave the famous *kambalīs* of that region." He also quotes *Aham* 141:

kuṟum-parai payiṟṟum
 śelkuḍi-niṟutta perum-peyar-kkarikāl
 vel pōre-cōḷan,

which he translates into: "The famous victor, the Śōḷa, Karikāla, protected the families of the Kuṟumbar who

* *op. cit* p. 401

† We cannot follow Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's speculation regarding the regions and cultures in the Tamil country which are not warranted by his sources.

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tend (flocks) on the hill-tops." The questions that arise for consideration here are : Who were the Poduvar? What region did they inhabit? Were they identical with the Kuṟumbar, and does the *Ahanāṇṇūru* mention Karikāla's protection of the Kuṟumbar? The Poduvar are placed in the *Paṭṭiṇappālai* list obviously in the Southern region together with the Pāṇḍya and the Irūṅōvēl, and appears to refer to the Āy chieftains of the Tinnevely district. There is no evidence, apart from the surmises about *mullai* and *marudam*, not of any considerable value either in themselves or in their present context, in favour of locating the Poduvar in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts. And it is very unlikely that the Poduvar were the same as the Kuṟumbar. But what is more to the point, the discovery of a reference to the Kuṟumbar caste in the lines quoted from the *Aham* is due entirely to a mistake.* The passage really means nothing more than : "The famous Karikāla, the Cōla (king) victorious in fight, who fixed up the *śelkuḍi* (families about to move out or families in need of relief)." It is very doubtful if '*kuṟumpaṟai payirṟum*' properly qualifies *śelkuḍi* as it really completes an earlier clause in the poem. Perhaps the occurrence of the words *kuṟumpaṟai* with the hard final *ṟai* has led to the thought of the Kuṟumbar ending in the liquid consonant *r*. We thus see that the evidence cited in support of Karikāla's conquest of Kāncī and the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool is altogether valueless.

We may turn now to consider a little more closely the idea briefly adverted to above that Iḷandiraiyaṇ,

* It must be noted that even Kanakasabhai seems to have made this mistake. See *op. cit.* p. 67 and n. 4. His number of the *Aham* verse 140 occurs in some MSS. though the printed text gives it the number 141. Mr. K. worked altogether from MSS. and had not before him printed texts based on a collation of the MSS.

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because he was a contemporary of Karikāla, must have been appointed ruler of Kāncī after Karikāla's conquest of that place, and presumably by Karikāla himself. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's view of the relation between Karikāla and ḷandiraiyaṇ is not without interest in this connection. He rejects rightly,* as it seems to us, the attempt to blend together the story of Killi's missing son by the Nāga woman Pīlivalai (*Maṇimēkalai*) and that given by Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar, and thus to make ḷandiraiyaṇ a grandson of Karikāla. But in his search for support to his theory of ḷandiraiyaṇ's governorship of Kāncī under Karikāla, he lights on the inscriptions of the Cōḷas of the Telugu country which say that Karikāla had a grandson called Toṇḍamāna, † and he says: "ḷandiraiyaṇ being the only known Toṇḍaimāṇ of the period is most probably this Toṇḍamāna."

Now the inscriptions to which we are referred bear dates in Śaka 10 (7) 9 and 1146 corresponding roughly to A. D. 1157 and 1224. In these inscriptions the history of the early Cōḷas has become a full-blown legend. Karikāla's father Jaṭā-Cōḷa was a ruler in Ayōdhyā. One of the three grandsons of Karikāla bears the name Toṇḍamāna. This name does not include ḷandiraiyaṇ the distinctive part of the name of the early ruler of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The Telugu name Toṇḍamāna is a late attempt to explain the name of the country by connecting it with that of an early ruler; similar attempts regarding Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Cēra being three brothers who partitioned the Tamil land among themselves must serve as sufficient guides to the proper treatment to be accorded to such tales. That a statement is made in an inscription, although it be a

* *op. cit.* p. 400.

† *op. cit.* pp. 397. ff.

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stone inscription, is not always a guarantee of its accuracy; much less can this be the case with statements made in twelfth and thirteenth century inscriptions on events which admittedly occurred, at the latest, in the fourth or fifth century A. D. And is it not curious that a talented scholar who exhibits much critical acumen in his discussion of the views of earlier writers about the relationship between Karikāla and Iṇḍiraiyaṇ should end by accepting that very relationship, and on such evidence as this?

Possibly conscious, of the flaw in the position, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar sets forth in quest of more direct evidence from the *Perumbāṇāruppāḍai* on the descent of Toṇḍaimāṇ Iṇḍiraiyaṇ from the Cōḷas, that is, from Karikāla. "If this Tiraiyaṇ was a chief of the Toṇḍaiyar," he asks, * "how could he have also been the grandson of Karikāla?" and answers: "This could have been if his mother was a Tiraiya (*sic* Cōḷa?) woman." We expect to hear about the identity of this mother; but we do not. We are told this, however: "That Iṇḍiraiyaṇ was descended both from the Śōḷa and Tiraiya families is mentioned in the *Perumbāṇāruppāḍai* (ll. 29-36)", and in his translation of these lines all the references to the Śōḷan are introduced within brackets by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar without the least sanction from the text. Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar indeed, as we have seen, understands the poet's statement that the Tiraiyaṇ was of the family of Viṣṇu as implying that he came from the Cōḷa family, and retails the story of the Cōḷa prince of Negapatam raising the Toṇḍaiyar line by his liaison with the Nāga maiden. But the fact remains that the text of the poem only states that the Tiraiyaṇ came of the line of Viṣṇu. All kings are of the line of

* *op. cit.* 398-9

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Viṣṇu in some sense. The Kauravas and the Cālukyas of the lunar race also claimed descent from Viṣṇu. There is no compelling reason to accept that descent from Viṣṇu must necessarily mean descent from the Cōḷa line. And one can hardly resist the feeling that Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's gloss at this point is itself reminiscent of the *Maṇimēkalai* story. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar rejects the story, but keeps the comment and uses it to support his view that the Tiraiyaṇ's mother was a Cōḷa woman of whose identity he has nothing to tell us. A straight literal translation of the text will show that it can bear no such interpretation, or at any rate, that, if there is nothing else to support the descent of the Tiraiyaṇ from the Cōḷa line, we shall be justified in our scepticism in regard to such descent. "You are of the family of the sea-coloured (god) who strode over the broad earth and whose breast carries the beautiful mole; (you are) the descendant of the strong chieftain given by the waves of the self-same sea. (Your) sceptre is like the right-whorled chank in its flawless superiority, repels injustice and administers justice; it is esteemed by the three (sovereigns) who with armies possessing loud drums guard all the beings of the wide world."

We see then that there is no dependable evidence in early Tamil literature on Karikāla's conquest of Kāncī; rather the testimony of the *Perumbāṇāruppāḍai* is just the other way, that Kāncī was in Karikāla's time under the rule of Iḷandiraiyaṇ who is not once stated anywhere in this literature to have stood in subordinate relation to Karikāla. The first direct statement on Karikāla's relation to Kāncī is made by the Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates of the sixth year of Rājendra Cōḷa I in the 11th century A. D., and even then the other Cōḷa plates of the time say nothing about it.

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The 'Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions are more definite and say that Karikāla ruled from Kāncī; according to them Karikāla's ancestors, and more often his so-called later Telugu descendants, had Uṛaiyūr for their capital. * We have also the testimony of Śēkkiḷār in the 12th century and the much later *Toṇḍaimaṇḍala-śatakam* † telling us that Karikāla had a great share in the colonisation and the administrative regulation of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as a whole. We can only observe that the lateness of the testimony and its conflict with what we learn of Karikāla from the earliest references to him render it extremely difficult for us to accept these statements as part of the history of the early ruler. How Karikāla came to be connected with the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam or Kāncī in later times is quite another matter on which something will be said presently.

Closely connected with this is the question of Karikāla's contemporaneity with Trilōcana Pallava, besides some others raised by the Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions, and to these we may now turn our attention. Both Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar and Dr. Venkata Ramanayya have pushed the Trilōcana synchronism to the front recently and made it the basis for the date they assign to Karikāla. In doing so, they seek to impart a finality and conclusiveness to suggestions made by some epigraphists in a more cautious spirit. Mr. Krishna Sastri for instance, sums up the evidence on Triṇētra as follows: ‡ "Triṇayana Pallava is synonymous with Trilōcana Pallava, Mukkaṇṭi-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi

* See e. g. v. 3 of No. 205 of 1899 and 15 of 1917

† Verse 97 which Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar accepts wholesale, *I.A.* 41 p. 146.

‡ *E. I.* Vol. X, p. 58 n. 2.

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Kāḍuveṭṭi (as the name sometimes appears in Telugu inscriptions). Trilōcana was the mythical Pallava king who was ruling the Telugu country prior to the advent of the Cālukyas under Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā. In the mythical account of the Eastern Cālukyas given in copper-plates from the time of Vimalāditya downwards, Trilōcana Pallava is mentioned as the king who opposed Vijayāditya in his victorious campaign against the south and perhaps also killed him. Trilōcana is also mentioned in Telugu inscriptions as the contemporary of the early Cōḷa king Karikāla to whom he was subordinate. Mr. Venkayya places Karikāla (and consequently Triṇayana Pallava) roughly about the end of the 5th century A. D. * The Īśvara-vamśa to which Triṇayana Pallava belonged (as disclosed by the Hēmavati record) is not mentioned elsewhere. One record from Nandalūr (No. 580 of 1907) actually traces Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi to the third eye of Śiva (Īśvara). The Pallavas of Kāncī traced their descent from Brahma, through many Purāṇic sages, to the Mahābhārata hero Aśvatthāman." In another place, † he says: "From the account given in the Eastern Cālukya copper-plates—whatever its historical value may be—it appears as if five generations had intervened between the mythical king Vijayāditya and Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Veṅgidēśa and founded the Eastern Cālukya dynasty." The last event happened in or about A.D. 615 and "calculating backwards for five generations, we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā and, therefore, also Trilōcana-

* Mr. Venkayya, though he recognises that Trilōcana was a mythical Pallava king, yet proceeds to fix Karikāla's date on the assumptions reproduced by Mr. Krishna Sastri. *A. S. I.* 1905-6 pp. 174-5 and nn. He is very cautious, however, in his remarks at *I. A.* Vol. 38 pp. 7-8.

† *E. I.* XI p. 340.

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Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A.D. The history of the Pallavas at this period is obscure, and it is not unlikely that Karikāla-Cōla was supreme at the time and held the Pallava dominions under his sway." One is amazed at the line of argumentation followed in the extracts given above; at the same time one is grateful for the care with which the facts have been summarised. We see that Trilōcana was the 'mythical' Pallava king of the Telugu country; he figures for the first time in Eastern Cālukya plates in the 'mythical account' given from the time of Vimalāditya (11th century) downwards; he is yet accepted as the foe of Vijayāditya, who is himself a 'mythical' king. Again, Trilōcana is of the Īśvara-vamśa, a family apparently different from that of the Pallavas of Kāncī; yet he is accepted as the Pallava opponent of Karikāla. The history of the Pallavas in this period is 'obscure' yet it is 'not unlikely' that Karikāla Cōla held the Pallavas in subjection. Lastly, it is admitted that the historical value of the late E. Cālukya plates is not known; yet the apparent interval of five generations between the 'mythical' Vijayāditya and Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana is accepted as a solid fact, and a scheme of chronology built thereon and "we arrive at the conclusion" that Trilōcana, Karikāla and Vijayāditya "must have flourished at the end of the fifth century A.D." And to leave nothing unexplained, Mr. K. V. Subrahmania Aiyar undertakes to determine the political relation among the three contemporaries by suggesting* that "Trilōcana Pallava had to meet the combined forces of Karikāla and Vijayāditya, and that the two last were on some terms of alliance, which are not quite plain." He adds: "It is not unlikely that some of the northern

* *J. A.* Vol. 41, p. 146-7.

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powers joined one side or the other. In this connection it is worthy of note that Karikāla is represented in the Tamil work *Śilappadikāram* as an ally of Avanti, which is Ujjain in Malwa, and as the overlord of Vajra and Magadha. It looks as if Karikāla was instrumental in permanently settling the Western Cālukyas in Southern India."

So it comes about that Eastern Cālukya legends dating from the 11th century A.D., and dealing with the fifth, explain how the Western Cālukyas * found a lodgement in South India in the seventh century A.D. Perhaps one of the unknown terms of alliance between Vijayāditya and Karikāla was that the former should die at the hands of Triṇētra in a fight, and that Karikāla should live not only to reap the benefit of the alliance, but to put out the third eye of Triṇētra and help Vijayāditya's Western descendants to settle in South India!

Dr. Venkata Ramanayya affirms: * "The evidence at our disposal is so very overwhelming that we have to accept the historicity of Trilōcana and his contemporaneity with Karikāla as genuine historical facts." † In saying this, he has apparently been influenced by the number and range of the epigraphical and literary references he has brought together in the schedules at the end of his booklet. But all that is established by these references is that the Trilōcana story was widely

* Professor L. D. Barnett (*J. R. A. S.* Oct. 1930, pp. 933-4, n. 1) has lent his support to Dr. Venkata Ramanayya's identification of Jayasimha, Raṇarāga and Pulakēśin I of the Western line with Vijayāditya, Viṣṇuvardhana and Pulakēśin I of the Eastern list (*op. cit.*) pp. 42-3. Even if these identifications are admitted without argument, they make no difference to the relations, among Vijayāditya I, and Triṇētra and Karikāla which form the subject of our investigation.

† *op. cit.*, p. 25.

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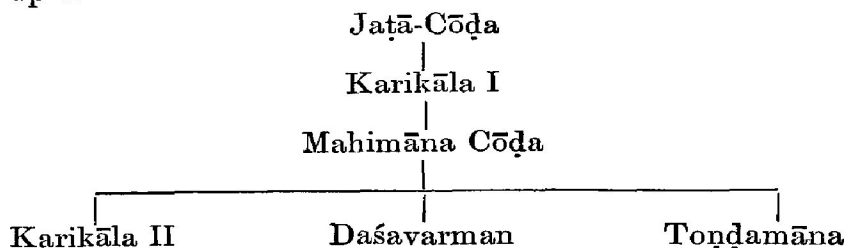
current and frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of many families of petty rulers in the Telugu country from the 11th century. The ubiquitous nature of the story which so forcibly impresses this critic is in our opinion a strong reason for our not accepting it as history. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya is also apt to exaggerate the antiquity of the epigraphs mentioning the Trilōcana-Karikāla synchronism. He says that the inscriptions "belong to different ages from the 7th to the 13th century A.D." The only seventh century inscription mentioned in his tables at the end of the book is the Nellore record (D 2) of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya which, as has been pointed out already, has no bearing on the subject. The date of the next earliest record* he cites is Ś 864, A.D. 942, but this only gives the name of Trilōcana and has nothing to say of Karikāla, and the regular series does not commence till a century later. The lateness of the testimony to the Karikāla-Trilōcana story, and the mention of Trilōcana in the records of many families in the Telugu country, often without any relation to Karikāla, alike point to a conclusion very different from that of Dr. Venkata Ramanayya on the historicity of Trilōcana.

The attempt of the same scholar to prove the genuineness of the tradition of the Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions in another direction can hardly be said to be more successful. He seeks to correlate the Telugu-Cōḍa genealogies of the Karikāla line with data drawn from early Tamil literature, in order to show that the former only repeat the Tamil tradition. First he takes two Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions dated in Ś 1079 and Ś 1146 (Nos. 205 and 183 resp. of 1899) and combines

* S. I. I. VI 561.

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the genealogical information given by them and makes up the list :



The important fact here is this : the relation between Karikāla and Mahimāna Cōḍa is *not* stated in the earlier record. This is admitted by Dr. Venkata Ramanayya himself.* As the exact language employed in inscription is of some consequence to the understanding of the real position, it is necessary to reproduce it here ; verse 5 relating to Karikāla concludes : *kṣititalamakhilam pālayāmāsa Kāñcyām*. The next verse begins :

inasantatāviha sutā abhavan mahimāna-cōḍa-
vasudhādhipateḥ |

karikāla-cōḍa-daśavarman-nṛpāvapi tonḍamānaḥ
dharanīśa varah ||

This verse clearly marks a distinct break in the succession after Karikāla I, and this inscription though it mentions the construction of the Kāvēri banks knows nothing of Trilōcana. On the other hand, the other record of about seventy years later, gives a long genealogy in Telugu in which most of the legendary figures like Kaśyapa, Manu, Bhagīratha and Rāma make their appearance, but not Jaṭācōḍa, the father of Karikāla and ruler of Ayōdhyā, who in his *digvijaya* conquered the Drāviḍa-pāṇcaka and set up his rule in Uṇaiyūr, and whose son, according to the

* *op. cit.* p. 27.

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other record, was Karikāla of the Kāvēri-banks-fame who ruled from Kāncī. This later Telugu genealogy moreover knows all about the Trilōcana story, seems to make Karikāla a northern king and even introduces, like the Bhakti-rāja plates, a Bhōja as his contemporary. It may be doubted whether particulars drawn from two such records, so different from each other and dealing in palpable legends relating to a distant past may, in combination, be expected to furnish a basis for history to stand on. Again, though there is a clear break in the Telugu genealogy (183 of 1899) after Karikāla II, there is no such break after Daśavarman * in the sanskrit record (205 of 1899) which after mentioning Daśavarman's conquest of Pākrāṣṭra and his rule from Pottappi (verse 8) proceeds: *nṛpasya tasya putrōbhū (tpāṅkaḥ) śaṅkara kiṅkaraḥ* (v. 9) and again, *ajāyata-tatō rājā satyassatyaparākramah* (verse 10). It is a pity however, that a long gap in the inscription at this point makes it quite impossible to decide the number of generations between Mahimāna and Kāma Cōḍa who is known to have been ruling about Ś 1059 (A. D. 1137). But the point is that so far as the line of rulers called the 'A' line by Mr. Venkayya † in his account of the Telugu-Cōḍas is concerned, the break occurs between Karikāla and Mahimāna, and not after Mahimāna's son Daśavarman. And this should weigh as another serious objection to the genealogy of the Karikāla line as restored by Dr. N. V. Ramanayya from the Telugu-Cōḍa records.

His genealogy from the Tamil side ‡ is even less plausible. He chooses the name Māvaṇ-kiḷli for the Cōḷa king of the *Maṇimēkalai*, and sees in it a close

* *Contra* Dr. N. V. Ramanayya *op. cit* p. 25.

† *A. R. E.* 1900, pp. 17 ff.

‡ N. V. Ramanayya *op. cit* pp. 28-32.

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resemblance in meaning to Mahimān. He allows that Māvaṇ-killi's relation to Karikāla is nowhere explicitly stated in the Tamil classics, but affirms that "Tamil scholars are, however, unanimous in accepting the ancient tradition, in accordance with which Māvaṇ-killi was the son of Karikāla." There is no such tradition of the relation between the two rulers and no unanimity of opinion among Tamil scholars on the subject. * Again: "Māvaṇ-killi had two sons, Udaiyakumaraṇ and Toṇḍamāṇ ḷandiraiyaṇ." Udayakumara was indeed the son of the king, but that does not help the argument in any way; ḷandiraiyaṇ and his relation to the Cōlas we have discussed before, and our author allows that "some doubt may be entertained about this." And there is yet another step in his argument. "There can be no doubt about Pīli Vaḷai, the mother of Toṇḍaimān being a Bāṇa princess. Her Bāṇa origin is proved by the name of her father Vaḷai-Vāṇan. The surname Vāṇan is identical with Bāṇan. In Tamil 'v' and 'b' are interchangeable and the change does not affect the meaning. The word Vāṇarāyar is made use of frequently for Bāṇarāyar in later Tamil inscriptions. . . . It may be suggested that 'vaḷai' is a corrupt form of Bali, a name which occurs in Bāṇa genealogy. The Bāṇas ruled in Vaḍuga Vaḷi or Āndhrapatha, which seems to be identical with Pākarāṣṭra. It may be noted in this connection that Daśavarman one of the sons of Mahimāna Cōḷa (Māvaṇ-Killi) is said to have conquered this region." All our knowledge of Vaḷai-Vāṇan is that, according to the *Maṇimēkalai* †, besides

* See Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar-*Śrēṇ Śēṅguṭṭuvaṇ* 2nd edn. p. 103 for a totally different reconstruction. By a curious mistake Dr. N. V. Ramanayya seems (p. 29) to make Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, whose guidance he follows, say that ḷaṅgō and Śēṅguṭṭuvaṇ were the sons of Karikāla. In fact, Dr. Aiyangar says they were his grandsons.

† XXIV l. 54 and XXIX l. 3. The correct form is Vaḷai-Vāṇan, not-Vāṇan.

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being the father of Pili-vaḷai, he was the ruler of the Nāga country (*Nākanāḍu*). There has been a great amount of speculation on the Nāgas in recent years; no connection between them and the Bāṇas has ever been suggested; nor indeed does it seem likely. The attempt to derive Vaḷai from Bali is indeed hopeless; the suggested identification of the Āndhrapatha with Pākarāṣṭra is quite plausible; * but, in itself, this does not go far to support the identification of the Nāga king of the *Maṇimēkalai* with an imaginary Bāṇa king.

The attempt to discover common ground between early Tamil literature of the Śaṅgam period and the late Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions is thus altogether forced and unconvincing. — To read some of these inscriptions with no preconceived theories to establish, is the surest means of convincing ourselves that we have in them edifying legends pitchforked into lengthy pedigrees, not quite consistent with one another, but always meant to redound to the glory of some petty chieftain or other who made some little gift. And a common feature of these legends of the Telugu country is to get their ancient king down from Ayōdhyā on a conquest, or on game hunting, often leading to an encounter with Triṇētra, another mythical and shadowy figure. That is how Triṇētra comes to be not only the opponent of Vijayāditya and Karikāla, but the friend of another prince from the North, an ancestor of Velanāṇṭi Goṅka III, by name Malla I, who had his capital originally at Kirṇapura in the Madhyadēśa. The same form of legend in which Triṇētra figures as friend and not as foe appears to have been adopted, as Hultzsch remarks, † by the chiefs of Amarāvati who bore the title “lord of

* *E. I.* XI p. 231.

† *E. I.* IV p. 34.

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the Śaṭsahasra country on the southern bank of the river Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā, obtained through the favour of the glorious Triṇayana Pallava." And we also hear of a Trilōcana Kādamba about the same time* in the West. Karikāla himself is in some Kākatiya records a northern king coming down to the south on a hunting excursion, and setting up his camp at Kākati-pura. † If we are to accept all the indications about Trilōcana's greatness and the extent of his kingdom that we get from these records, he must have been a powerful emperor who at one time ruled practically the whole of the Deccan and held in his hand Kāncī, Kālahasti, Banavāse and so on. We may as well try and trace the true story of the lives and achievements of the heroes of the Mahābhārata with the aid of the local legends of South India centering round our numerous Pancapāṇḍava-malais, as accept this tale. Surely, the attempt to resuscitate legends so decisively rejected by the elder epigraphists like Fleet and Hultzsch is no forward step in the reconstruction of early South Indian History.

It is well known that not a single reference can be traced‡ in the early literature of the 'Tamils to the achievement for which Karikāla is most extolled in later times—viz., the construction of the Kāvēri banks. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar seeks to get over this difficulty ¶ first by suggesting that 'this work does not seem to have appealed to the imagination of contemporary poets as much as it did to that of men of a later age,' and then by discovering an allusion to Karikāla's

* Kielhorn's list of S. I. Inscr., Nos. 254 & 261.

† *A. R. E.* 1917 II 30.

‡ Mr. Kanakasabhai's citation of *Śilapp.* X, ll. 108-11, (*op. cit.* p. 68) must have been due to some mistake.

¶ *Tamils* pp. 360-2 & n.

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achievement in the phrase '*varaippaham*' of ll. 240-41 of the *Porunarāruppadai*. He also argues that the great fertility of the Kāvēri valley that is attested by contemporary poets 'could have been obtained only if Karikāla had scientifically regulated the flow of water in the Kāvēri.' Even if it be conceded that '*varaippaham*' does not mean 'tanks and ponds' as Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar interprets it, but 'the inside of the embankment (of the river), still it is difficult to see how this can be taken as "an allusion" to the embankments said to have been raised by Karikāla. Following the suggestion made by Mr. Kanakasabhai on the evidence of Upham's *Rājāvali*, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar adopted the notion * that Karikāla's sway extended to Ceylon, that he invaded the island and brought thousands of its people captives and compelled them to work on the banks of the Kāvēri. The early chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, much more trustworthy as history, knows nothing of this invasion, and yet it has become current by being incorporated in four successive editions of Smith's *Early History of India*.

The earliest mention of Karikāla's embankment of the Kāvēri seems to be that in the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra and there, as we have seen, Triṇētra is not heard of. The Bedirūr grant of the Gaṅga king Bhūvikrama of A. D. 634 † also mentions the embankment, but not Triṇētra. Still the fact is not easy to explain, that if Karikāla who attained the *trairājyasthiti* and controlled the flood-banks of the Kāvēri in some wonderful manner not stated (Mālēpāḍu plates) were the same king as is celebrated in Śaṅgam

* Kanakasabhai pp. 8-9; *Ancient India* pp. 93-94; cf Upham *Sacred Books of Ceylon*. Vol. i p. 228; vol ii pp. 57-8 and 229 ff; also, Schoff in *J. A. O. S.* Vol. 33 p. 213. *Contra* Geiger-*Mahāvamsa*, ch. 85.

† *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1925, p. 16 and No. 105.

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literature, that literature should not betray the slightest trace of a knowledge of such a thing on the part of any of the authors mentioning Karikāla. Old stanzas indeed, waifs and strays coming from nobody knows where, do contain such allusions;* but they can hardly be accepted as evidence of anything historical. The mention of the event in the early Telugu-Cōḍa plates from Mālēpāḍu and in the Tamil Cōḷa plates of the Vijayālaya line, and the absence of all mention of Triṇētra in these grants, may suggest that this particular statement is entitled to greater credence than the somewhat later jingle *caraṇasarōruha* etc. And the *trairājyasthiti* of Karikāla (Mālēpāḍu) which seems to coincide with what we hear in Tamil literature of his victories against the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya is perhaps another consideration pointing to the same conclusion. On the other hand, the Mālēpāḍu plates do not tell us precisely how Karikāla controlled the floods of the Kāvēri; they seem to count this achievement as the first of a series of miracles (*anekātiśaya*) which are not detailed. And the story grows first into an embankment of the Kāvēri, then into an embankment raised by the hands of the defeated enemies of Karikāla, and lastly, when this stream of legend mingles with another started by the craze for Triṇētra, into the elaborate form in which it gets standardized in the *caraṇasarōruha* formula and the *Kalingattupparaṇi* verse. On the whole it seems therefore best to treat the construction of the banks of the Kāvēri as a Karikāla myth rather than accept it as history. A Tamil inscription † of the twelfth century or so mentions a Parakēsari Karikāla-cōḷadēva who raised the banks of the Kāvēri. The

* See Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangar's ' *Perundogai* ' Nos. 778 and 779, the first purporting to give the date of the embankment, and the second Karikāla's life-history in a brief compass up to his death in his 83rd year.

† 110 of 1925.

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only Parakēśari with the Karikāla title was Āditya II, c. A. D. 865-70; the inscriptions of his reign, however, do not refer to this event.

That in Indian conditions history had too often a tendency to degenerate quickly into mythology is a fact generally admitted and easy to demonstrate. The history of Ekāntaḍa Rāmayya * in the twelfth century A. D. is a case from relatively modern times. Karikāla is an ancient name and legend has played upon it for a very long time. It began its work early as we see from the *Śīlappadikāram*. Whatever might have happened after his time, there is no trustworthy evidence to show that Karikāla ruled at Kāncī at all. That Kāncīpuram was an important place in Karikāla's time is clear from the *Perumbāṇṇruppaḍai*; and the *Maṇimēkalai* seems to imply that sometime after Karikāla the city passed under the sway of the Cōḷas. But of the Pallavas of the Prakrit and Sanskrit charters we have no mention in early Tamil literature, and the idea of a Cōḷa interregnum in Kāncī in the midst of Pallava rule appears to rest entirely on the Trilōcana myth and the date postulated for Karikāla thereupon. Karikāla's connection with Kāncī in legend would appear to have arisen partly from the great celebrity of Kāncī from very early times, and partly from the presumption that so powerful a king as Karikāla must in his time have held Kāncī as well. Further, Trilōcana Pallava having been made the opponent of Karikāla, what was more natural than that the city which was most associated with Pallava rule in the minds of the people should have fallen to Karikāla after his conquest of Triṇētra? Indeed, in considering this question, the possibility has often presented itself to my mind that there, after all, may have existed another Karikāla

* See *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 482 ff and *E. I.* V pp. 239 ff.

different from the king of the *Paṭṭiṇappālai*, who held Kāncī and raised the banks of the Kāvēri, and who in later times came to be confounded with his earlier namesake; but every time, the insubstantial nature of the evidence on which these facts relating to Kāncī and Kāvēri rest, and the utter impossibility of reconciling such an assumption with the trend of general history so far as it is known at present, have resulted in the idea of a second Karikāla being dismissed as untenable.

There is some temerity involved in expressing an individual judgment on the events of the reign of Karikāla in view of the inquiries published already by several scholars of eminence; the more so as the judgment has to be based on materials already for the most part well-known and used by the very scholars from whose conclusions it differs. But the issues involved are so fundamental to a rational understanding of the trend of South Indian history, that a fresh examination of them in a dispassionate and critical manner does not seem superfluous. I hope that all the help that has been derived from earlier writers in the consideration of the questions raised has been duly acknowledged; also that my discussion of these questions has not been unduly influenced by my view of the age to which the early Tamil literature of the Śaṅgam belongs. I have sought to discuss the incidents of Karikāla's life and reign solely on the evidence bearing on each of them, and with no preconceived notions as to the chronological place of Karikāla in the history of Southern India. And my conclusion is that Karikāla's history is contained only in the contemporary poems of Nos. I & II among the groups in which I have arranged the chief sources for purposes of this

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discussion, that group III furnishes very valuable corroboration on some important points and comprises poems either contemporary or nearly so, and that all the other statements that cluster round the name of Karikāla in literature and epigraphy must, if at all, be accepted only with very great caution. On the age of Karikāla we have reached the negative conclusion that the fifth century date, based as it is entirely on the Vijayāditya-Trilōcana-Karikāla synchronism is utterly untrustworthy. One wonders, in fact, that it ever came to be proposed at all on such evidence! For the rest, the date of the king is closely bound up, the more so when his story is shorn of all its later legendary accretions, with one of the most vexed questions of South Indian chronology. I have stated my reasons elsewhere* for holding that the literature of the Śāṅgam belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era.

We have been told, † however, that apart from the difficulty in fixing the age of the Śāṅgam, there are other objections to an early date for Karikāla and it is necessary, before concluding this study, to consider the validity of these objections. It has been said that neither the *Periplus* nor Ptolemy mentions Karikāla though they refer to much less celebrated monarchs. The obvious answer is that such silence on the part of foreign writers means little; and it is not denied that some of the monarchs mentioned by these writers are also found in the Śāṅgam literature which mentions Karikāla. Then it is argued that "Ptolemy's geography of Tamil India in the II century A. D. gives us the picture of a land ruled by several petty monarchs and not one that had been brought under the sole discus of a great monarch as the Tamil poems describe Karikāla

* See *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* pp. 16 ff.

† Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar—*Tamils*, pp. 381-2.

to be." This argument derives its plausibility from exaggerating the pettiness of the monarchs mentioned by Ptolemy and the greatness of Karikāla. In spite of the victories that Karikāla won at Veṇṇi and Vāhai, there is no ground to believe that he had in his permanent occupation many districts outside the Kāvēri basin including Uṛaiyūr and Puhār, or that the whole of Tamil India had been 'brought under his sole discus'—an expression intelligible enough in early Tamil poetry, but not necessarily, on that account, literally true. Lastly, it is held that "the disputations of logicians who flew their flags of challenge in front of their tents, referred to in the *Paṭṭiṇappālai* certainly belong to an age when dialectics had developed, and this certainly did not take place even in Northern India before the III century A. D." We have no definite knowledge of the early history of Indian philosophy. "We must content ourselves with the belief," says Mr. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, "that between the dates of the chief *upaniṣads* and the third or fourth century A. D., there proceeded an active stream of investigation which we have only in its final form." According to this estimate, the 3rd or 4th century A. D. marks, in Northern India, not the beginning, but the close of an active period of philosophical investigation, and in the face of this considered statement of the age of Indian philosophy, it is hard to see any force whatever in the objection raised to a date in the second century A. D. for Karikāla. We may conclude by saying, once more, that our object has not been to stand up for a second century date for Karikāla; we have been concerned only to show that the objections raised to that or any other early date for Karikāla do not stand scrutiny.

III

SOME ASPECTS OF RURAL LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION IN CŌLA TIMES

Throughout India the village was the unit of local administration before the advent of British rule. As is seen from numerous reports of the earlier administrators of British India, the vitality of village institutions struck their observers as something very remarkable in the period of the establishment of British rule. Of the village organisation in the Deccan, for instance, this is what Elphinstone wrote: "Though probably not compatible with a very good form of government, they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one. They prevent the bad effects of negligence and weakness, and even present some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity. Again, these communities contain in miniature all the materials of a state within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members if all other government were withdrawn. In the stability and continuity of Indian village life and organisation is to be sought the secret of the good things achieved by India in the past in spite of an apparent incapacity to develop political institutions of an advanced character." The study of village institutions constitutes therefore an important part of the task of anyone who seeks to understand at their source the main currents of national life in ancient India.

The importance of this study is coming more and more to be felt by students of Indian history. Considerable portions of Mr. R. K. Mookerjee's *Local Government in Ancient India* and Mr. R. C. Majumdar's

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Corporate Life, as also Mr. A. S. Altekar's work on *Village-Communities in Western India* furnish proof of the growing interest in this line of study. But it has not always been recognised that evidence drawn from one period and locality should not be blended with other evidence relating to other times and localities, and discussion has often taken the form of combining stray data from the Smṛtis with those drawn from inscriptions widely separated from one another in space and time, and the publications mentioned above furnish some striking examples of such historical averaging.

I propose in what follows to offer a brief review of the evidence bearing on village institutions in the Tamil country with special reference to the period of Cōḷa supremacy, say from the tenth century to the thirteenth.

The earliest references of a specific character to village *Sabhās* in the Tamil land occur in the inscriptions of the close of the 8th century A. D. from the Pāṇḍya and the Pallava countries. The origin and early history of these assemblies is at present very obscure, although their general prevalence over the whole of Southern India including the Cēra, Karnāṭaka and Telugu countries is widely attested by numerous epigraphs. And the *Kēraḷōtpatti* embodies traditions of an organised system of Tarakkūṭṭam, Nāṭṭukkūṭṭam and Peruṅgūṭṭam held in the Kēraḷa from time to time for many centuries till recent times.

While editing the Uttaramērūr records of Parāṇ-taka Cōḷa, Mr. Venkayya suggested a northern origin for the typical village assembly, and was inclined to believe that it was an adaptation to South Indian conditions of the system of government by committees

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described by Megasthenes as obtaining in Pāṭaliputra. Others have followed Mr. Venkayya's lead and have drawn attention to the use of Sanskrit terms in the records of the village assemblies of South India as an additional argument in support of the thesis.

Although the complex organisation of the *Sabhā* with a number of elected committees, like that typified by the Uttaramērūr inscriptions, was unknown in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Tamil country, still the numerous references to *maṇṇam* and *podiyil* in the classical literature of the Śāṅgam period leave little room for doubt that some form of a primitive village assembly was known at the time. The commentator Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar invariably explains *maṇṇam* by the words *ūrukku naḍuvāyellāru-mirukkum marattāḍi*, meaning the open place in the centre of the village where all people meet under the shade of a tree. And some references in the *Puṇam* to the *maṇṇam* (Nos. 46 and 220) make it clear that it was the place where justice was administered. In *Puṇam* 46 we have an interesting situation. The Cōḷa king Kiḷlivalavan doomed the sons of his foe Malayamāṇ to be thrown to an elephant. When the sentence is to be executed, a poet intercedes on behalf of the youngsters and appeals to the king's mercy saying * that a strange fear has taken possession of those tender youths as they stare in bewilderment at the *maṇṇu*. Here the *maṇṇu* is the place where public punishments are inflicted. Again, *Puṇam* 220 is a lament of Pottiyār, a close friend of another Cōḷa king, at the sight of the *maṇṇam* of ancient Uṇaiyūr bereft of its king who had for some unknown reason given up his life by starvation. † Here we get a

* ll. 5-8 of *Puṇamūnūru* No. 46.

† A practice analogous to but different from the *sallekhana* of the Jains.

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clear indication that the king used to go to the *maṇṇam*, apparently to administer justice and to do other public business. It must be noticed that in both these instances it is the *maṇṇam* of Uṟaiyūr, the Cōla capital of the time, that is mentioned; and except the employment of the same word to describe the open meeting-places belonging to other towns and villages, we have little direct evidence of the existence, nature and working of local assemblies of a popular character in this early period of Tamil history. Nevertheless, popular gatherings of a social and religious nature in the *maṇṇam* of every locality are known to have been a regular feature of rural life, and the *maṇṇam* was undoubtedly the scene of song, dance and other social amusements. As the modern distinctions between the political and other aspects of social life found no expression in the organisation of a more primitive age, it seems legitimate to infer that matters which we are apt to consider political or economic, like the settlement of a civil dispute, the punishment of crime, or the purchase and sale of land, must have also engaged the attention of such popular gatherings in each locality.

It should, however, be observed that nowhere in the formal descriptions of Tamil polity such as we have in the *Kuraḷ* do we come across any clear references to the village and its institutions. The *Kuraḷ* in fact knows only of the learned *Sabhā* *. The commentator Parimēlalagar makes it the king's *Sabhā* ; but the word '*avai*' seems to have a more general application as is seen from some of the couplets in the sections thereon.

On the other hand, there are clear and unmistakable traces of the existence and the active

* See sections on *avai-yaṟital* and *avai-yaṇṇimai*.

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functioning of *Sabhās* in villages in Ṛgvedic India. In a recent study on the economic and political conceptions in the Ṛgveda, the evidence on the matter is summarised as follows :

“Each town and each village possessed a building where were held meetings of the tribunal under the presidency of the *madhyamāśi* who punished crimes and presided also at the meetings of Vedic Indians in their recreations.” *

The essential duty of the *Sabhā* was to administer justice. It is worth noting that almost every inscription in Southern India which mentions a village assembly also makes reference to a *madhyastha* of the village, and that administration of justice formed one of the principal duties of the assembly. It would thus appear that the village assembly of later historical times in the South was, far from being the result of a single line of development, northern or southern, the complex product of the interaction of both southern and northern, Tamil and Sanskrit, influences.

Turning now to the evidence from Cōḷa inscriptions, there appear to have been different kinds of village assemblies corresponding to differences in the nature of the villages concerned. The *Sabhā* strictly so called was the assembly of purely Brahman villages (*Brahmadēyas*) which usually had names ending in *Caturvēdimaṅgalam*. We know more of this class of villages and their administration than of others. The other classes may therefore be briefly noticed before we return to a detailed consideration of the Brahmanical *Sabhās*. Many villages appear to have had an assembly called *Ūr*. So far, we have not come across any

* H. C. Joshi—*Conceptions Economiques et Politiques Dans L'Inde Ancienne D' Apres Le Rigveda* p. 79.

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evidence on the details of the organisation of this type of assembly. It appears to have been a kind of primitive gathering of the local people, the descendant of the earlier Tamil *maṇṇam*, in which people met together and managed business somehow without any set rules or formal procedure.

In some instances the *Ūr* existed side by side with the *Sabhā* or the *Mahāsabhā*. Thus, one inscription from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, Tanjore, * speaks of both the assemblies of the village, namely the *Mahāsabhā* and the *Ūr*, agreeing to a scheme to delimit the extent of lands enjoyed tax-free by the local temple. In like manner, the *Sabhā* and the *Ūr* of Tiruvaḍandai together accepted two endowments in favour of the local temple. † In one instance, the *Ūr* of Tiruvaḍandai alone accepted an endowment without reference to the sister body, the *Sabhā*. ‡

Then we have examples of a group called *Nagarattār* performing functions very similar to those of the *Sabhā* and the *Ūr* in other places. The *Nagarattār* were apparently assemblies of mercantile groups which went by the generic name *Nagaram*. For instance *Eyirkōṭṭattu nagaram Kāncīpuram*.

Then we have the *Nāṭṭār*, people of a *nāḍu*, which, as is well-known, was an administrative division larger than the village but smaller than the *maṇḍalam*. There is a clear reference to the assembly of the *Tiruvāḷundūr nāḍu* through whom a whole village was granted to a temple by the king. ¶

* 88 of 1926.

† S. I. I. Vol. III. Nos. 180 and 186.

‡ 268 of 1910.

¶ 100 of 1926

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Lastly we have reference to assemblies of the people of a whole *maṇḍalam*. An inscription from Little Conjeevaram * states that the assembly of the people of Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Cōḷa-maṇḍalam granted a partial remission of taxes on several classes of land in the district under their control.

Attention may be drawn here to the striking analogy between two of these terms from the Tamil inscriptions and the words *Paura* and *Jānapada* which have attracted attention after Mr. Jayaswal stated his theory that these were constitutional assemblies intended to limit the sway of autocracy in municipal and provincial administration. The expressions *Nāṭṭār* and *Nagarattār* are strikingly analogous to *Jānapada* and *Paura* respectively; in fact, no better rendering into Tamil of these Sanskrit terms can be imagined. And the evidence of the Tamil inscriptions is conclusive that the *Nāḍu* and the *Nagaram* were corporate organisations of some sort which performed definite duties and enjoyed the privileges of autonomy. There is also literary usage in support of our view of the relation of these Tamil terms to their Sanskrit analogues. Thus what the celebrated annotator Parimēlaḷagar calls *nāṭṭuppaḍai* † will be seen to correspond to what Kauṭilya calls *Śrēṇībalaṃ* and describes as *Jānapadam*. But the analogy between these two sets of terms cannot be pressed far, as there seem to be no terms in the Sanskrit literature on polity corresponding to the other bodies known to Tamil epigraphy.

In the *Peruṅgaḍai*, a Tamil version of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, we have a significant statement that, on the occasion of the birth of Naravāṇa (Naravāhana), among

* 556 of 1919.

† Note on *Kūṇal* 762, cf. Kauṭilya ed. Shama Sastri (1924) pp. 342 and 345.

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those who took part in the festivities were: "the *Sabhā* dear (to the king), the five great *kuḷus*, the *Nagaram* and the *Nāḍu*." * As the *Sabhā* of the king is here distinguished from the *Nagaram*, we may conclude that the latter was more likely a professional corporation of merchants than an urban assembly for general administration. It may also be noted in passing that the "five great *kuḷus*," which some writers hold to have been a popular council of representatives, are best understood in the present context as ceremonial groups in personal attendance on the king on important occasions. †

We may also note that in the Pallava charters we get some clear information about the *Nāḍu* and its role in the general administration. The Kaśākūḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla have at the beginning of the Tamil part "*Kōn-ōlai, yāṇḍiru-pattiraṇḍāvadu, ūṟṟukkāṭṭukkōṭṭattu nāṭṭāruṅgāṇka*,"—"Royal order, year 22nd, may the *nāṭṭār* of the *Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu-kkōṭṭam* also see." A few lines further on, we have a clear statement ‡ that the members of the *Nāḍu* (*nāṭṭōm*) saw the royal order and assigned lands in accordance with the wishes of the *Nāṭṭu-viyavaṇ* who may have been either the headman of the *Nāḍu* (assembly) as Hultzsch understands it, or possibly a royal official placed over the administrative division. That the *Nāḍu* was an organised assembly of a more or less popular character is strikingly indicated by the phrase *Nāṭṭai-kkūṭṭi-nila-naḍappittu* etc., of the Udayēndiram plates of Hastimalla. ¶

* Il. 37-8 of V 6. "ahaṇamaravaiyūm - aiṁperuṅguḷuvūm, nagaramum nāḍum - togaikoṇḍiṇḍi"

† See my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* pp. 32-3.

‡ S. I. I. II, No. 73, ll. 109-11.

¶ S. I. I. II, No. 76, ll. 96-7.

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In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say what the constitution of these different assemblies was like, what (specially with reference to the assemblies of the *nāḍu* and of the *maṇḍalam*) the exact sphere of their duties was, or what procedure was adopted at their meetings. One thing, however, is clear, that the assemblies other than *Sabhās* do not seem to have amounted to anything other than general meetings of the people concerned. This does not apply, of course, to non-territorial bodies of the nature of guilds and military clubs of which we say nothing here and to which admission was regulated by considerations of a different character. The general assemblies which played a more or less prominent part in the administration of the country appear to have included all the classes of the people without distinction of caste, except in Brahmadēya villages. Mr. Altekar is obviously wrong in assuming that all village assemblies in South India were governed by rules similar to those laid down by the *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr. * It may also be noted in passing that sometimes the assemblies of different places and of different types appear to have come together for the transaction of business. Thus the *Sabhā* of Tiraimūr and the *Nagaram* of Tiruvidaimarudūr met together with some other authorities of the temple of Tiruvidaimarudūr to make arrangements for the preservation of ancient endowments to the temple engraved on its old walls which were to be pulled down to renovate the central shrine. †

To return to the *Sabhās* and Brahmadēya villages where they obtained. The earliest instance so far known of the constitution of a *Sabhā* is that contained

* See his *Village Communities in Western India*, p. 123.

† 199 of 1907.

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in an inscription of the 35th year of Māraṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ, Circa A. D. 800, which records the settlement (*vyavasthai*) arrived at by the *Mahāsabhā* and introduced by the following words: *Kaḷakkuḍi - nāṭṭu brahmadēyam-mānanilainallūr mahāsabhaiyōm - peruṅguṟi - śāṟṟi śrī gōvardhanattu - kḷūḍiyirundu ivvūr mahāsabhaiyōm kūḍi manṟāḍuvadaṇṟukku-cceyda vyavasthaiyāvadu—*

“ We, the (members of the) *Mahāsabhā* of *Mānanilainallūr*, a *Brahmadēya* in *Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu*, summoned the great assembly by beat of drum,* met at *Śrī Gōvardhana*, and made the following settlement (of procedure) for the transaction of business at the meetings of the *Mahāsabhā* of this place.”

From this it is clear that the *Mahāsabhā* of this place had been in existence before the new settlement was arrived at, and what is even more remarkable, that the new rules and restrictions introduced for the working of the *Sabhā* were made entirely at the initiative of the *Sabhā* itself. There is at any rate no evidence of royal initiative or sanction for the constitution so adopted. Another noteworthy feature of this inscription is that it contains the earliest reference to *vāriyam* in the words: “ *muluc - cirāvaṇai - illādārai evvakaippaṭṭa vāriyamum ēṇaṇḍappeṇḍār - āgavum,*” meaning, “ those who do not have full shares (*cirāvaṇai*) shall not be put in charge of any kind of *vāriyam*.” † The passage is not easy but it appears as if the *vāriyam* in this inscription was some kind of duty to be performed by a single individual rather than by a committee. This view receives support from an inscription from *Sucīndram* of the 15th year of *Rājarāja I* (999 A. D.) which has:

* *Śāṟṟal* is to proclaim by beat of drum. *Kuṟi* and *Peruṅguṟi* often occur in inscriptions, and are usually understood as ‘assembly’ and ‘great assembly’, that is as Tamil terms corresponding to *Sabhā* and *Mahāsabhā*.

† Cf. *pottakattilum ēṇaṭṭu variyilum iṭṭu*, l. 8 of No. 68 of 1898.

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“*Sabhaiyōm vaicca vāriyar iruvarum karanattāṇum kūḍi dēvakāriyam śeyvadākavum*” i.e., “The two *vāriyar* appointed by the members of the *Sabhā* and the *Karanattāṇ* shall together look after the temple affairs.”

The next instance of a detailed constitution of the *Sabhā* known to us is contained in the celebrated Uttaramallūr inscriptions. It is doubtful if the constitution of Uttaramērūr, to use the more ancient name of the place, was adopted at the instance of the king or had his approval. The only thing that is certain is that a royal officer was present in the assembly on both the occasions when it discussed and settled its own constitution. Later Cōḷa inscriptions contain specific examples of royal orders communicating certain rules to regulate the qualifications of the members and the conduct of the meeting of the *Sabhā*. * But all these instances establish one point beyond doubt, that each village had its own separate constitution. Though the type was more or less the same, the details varied considerably, and the assemblies often changed their constitutions in the light of experience.

Uttaramērūr for instance would appear to have had a much less elaborate constitution in the Pallava period † than it adopted under the Cōḷa ruler Parāntakā I. As is well known, in the reign of this Cōḷa king, the rules of the assembly underwent two revisions in the course of two years. We may, therefore, conclude that although the type of constitution was to some extent fixed for the *Sabhās* of the Brahmadēyas, still in details such as the age and qualification of the members, the number of committees into which the *Sabhā* was resolved and the method of choice to these

* e. g., 148 of 1927 and 120 of 1928.

† cf. 61 of 1898 of about 796 A. D.

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committees, there must have been differences from village to village. In the reign of Rājarāja the *Sabhā* of Tennēri (Chingleput) for instance laid down * that a knowledge of the mantras was essential not only for service in the village-committees but for *Sabhā-mārraṇjollutal* which seems to mean taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, † a requirement very similar to that contained in the Mānūr record of Māraṇ Śadaiaṇ.

It may also be inferred that under the Cōlas the village assemblies were brought under a closer supervision by the central government than at any other time.

* The words actually employed are—"mantra - brāhmaṇa valārēy vāriyāṇjeyvārākavum sabhāmārraṇjolluvārākavum."

† Nos. 240 and 241 of 1922.

IV

THE SABHĀ OF NĀLŪR

We shall study briefly the practical working in the Cōla period of the assembly (*Sabhā*) of one of the Brahmadēya villages of the Tanjore district. This study is based on the evidence of contemporary inscriptions which give interesting details of the economic and social life of the village and of the part played by the assembly in it. The name of the village as it occurs in the inscriptions is Nālūr, a Brahmadēya in Śēṇṇūr-kūrām in the Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, a name applied to N.E. part of the modern district of Tanjore.* In a comparatively early Rājakēsari inscription, the village is called Palaiyaśembiyaṇ-mahādēvi-caturvēdi-maṅgalam on the southern bank, apparently of the Kāvēri. In later inscriptions the village gets another name as well, and that is Vānavaṇ-mādēvi-caturvēdi-maṅgalam;† it is not possible to say if this name is derived from that of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōla's queen Vānavaṇmahādēvi who is known to have performed suttee on his death, or from that of some other Cōla queen; it does not appear in records till late in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. The village has been identified, very plausibly, with Tiru-Nālūr-Tirumayāṇam of the hymns of the great Śaiva saint Tirujñānasambandar.‡ This identification gains support from the name of one of the temples repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions, viz., Tirumayāṇam-udaiya

* S. I. I. Vol. II, Intro. p. 22.

† No. 317 of 1910 of year 3 of Vikramacōḷa. Earlier name in No. 320 of 1910.

‡ By Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in A. R. E. 1911 II. 17.

Paramasvāmin. * The name of the village from which these inscriptions come, Tirumeyñāṇam, is a palpable corruption of the more ancient form Tirumayāṇam; and the occurrence of this name with Nālūr in our records leaves no room to question its identity with the shrine celebrated by Sambandar. It is situated within ten miles to the S. E. of Kumbakōṇam. †

In point of time, the inscriptions range over a period of nearly three centuries and half from the second regnal year of Rājakēsari Āditya I, the father of Parāntaka I, c. A. D. 880, to the seventeenth of Rājarāja III, ‡ c. A. D. 1233; and the series gives us a fair insight into the kind of work that occupied the assembly from time to time during several generations of Cōla rule. It is best to arrange some inscriptions from the series in chronological order and give a brief indication of the contents of each before offering a few remarks on the salient features of village life and administration reflected in these records:—

(1) 321 of 1910—Āditya I, 2nd year—The Assembly described as Bhaṭṭapperumakkaḷ - ulliṭṭa peruṅguṛipperumakkaḷōm borrow 25 kāsū from the Mūlasthānattu-mahādēva, and in return assign the right of collecting *aṅgādi-kkūli* at prescribed rates from stalls opened in the bazaar of the temple (S. I. I. III, 90).

(2) 320 of 1910—Āditya I (?), 7th year—Gift of land by the Assembly of Tenkarai Palaiya-śembiyaṇ-mahādēvi-caturvēdimāṅgalam.

(3) 327 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 4th year—The Assembly of Akkirma - kōṭṭa - caturvēdimāṅgalam, a

* 313 of 1910.

† No. 168 in the *Śivasthalamañjari* by Mr. V. T. Subramania Pillai (Madras 1931.)

‡ 321 and 332 of 1910.

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Brahmadēya in Tenkarai Tirunaṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu, makes a gift of land to Śamaparēśvarattu - Perumāṇ - aḍigal of the Nālūr temple.

(4) 319 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 6th year—Sale of land by the Assembly of Nālūr.

(5) 312 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 15th year—Sale of land by the Assembly of Nālūr.

(6) 316 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 15th year—Sale of land by the Assembly of Nālūr.

(7) 328 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 16th year. Gift(?) of land by the Assembly of Ārūr-ccēri, a Brahmadēya in Tirunaṇṇaiyūr-nāḍū, to the temple of Tirumayāṇam in Nālūr.

(8) 309 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 22nd year—Gift of 90 sheep for a lamp.

(9) 318 of 1910—Parāntaka, Year lost—Sale of land by the Assembly of Nālūr.

(10) 330 of 1910—Rājarāja I, 15th year—Gift of twelve Īla-kkāśu for twelve lamps by a merchant of Nālūr named Tirunāvukkaraiyaṇ to the temple of Tirumayāṇattu - paramēśvara.

(11) 326 of 1910—Rājarāja I, 23rd year—Gift of land for maintaining a lamp in the Viṣṇu temple Tirunārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar of Nālūr. A meeting of the Assembly of Nālūr was held at the big hall called Gaṇḍarādittan.

(12) 322 of 1910—Rājarāja I, 24th year—Gift of land to a temple by a merchant. A meeting of the Assembly of Nālūr in a hall called Rājarājaṇ in front of Śamaparēśvara temple.

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(13) 308 of 1910—Rājarāja I, 24th year—A lease of land. A meeting at Vaṇṇakkaṇūr-ambalam of the Assembly of Nālūr, a Brahmadēya in Śērrūr-kūrṇam.

(14) 310 of 1910—Rājēndra Cōḷadēva, 24th year. Mentions Śērrūr-kūrṇam.

(15) 331 of 1910—Vīrarājēndra Cōḷa, 7th year—Two lamps by a lady to the temple of Tirumayāṇam-udaiyār.

(16) 313 of 1910—Kulōttuṅga Cōḷadēva, 36th year—Two lamps to Tirumayāṇam-udaiya Parama-svāmin.

(17) 323 of 1910—Kulōttuṅga Cōḷadēva, 43rd year—Sale of land by the Assembly to an individual of Vānavaṇ-mādēvi-caturvēdimaṅgalam.

(18) 317 of 1910—Vikramacōḷadēva, 3rd year—Money endowed for a lamp. Nālūr is also called Vānavaṇ-mādēvi-caturvēdimaṅgalam.

(19) 332 of 1910—Rājarāja III, 17th year—Registers a decision of the Assembly of Nālūr *alias* Vānavaṇ-mahādēvi-caturvēdimaṅgalam which met under a tamarind tree. All people who violated the decision that no one should do anything against the interests of the village or against the temple of Tirumayāṇam-udaiyār and similar institutions were declared to be *grāma-drōhins* and were deprived of certain privileges of a social and religious character.

There seems to be a rather large gap of over a century in these inscriptions between Vikrama Cōḷa and Rājarāja III. We are not able to explain this satisfactorily at present.

The first thing that strikes us in looking over these inscriptions is their pre-occupation with temples and

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religious charities. The inscriptions themselves are engraved mostly on temple walls; and they generally register endowments of money, land or cattle for the maintenance of lamps and festivals and other means of securing religious merit for the donors or their friends and relatives. This common trait in our inscriptions has led scholars sometimes to underrate their importance in the study of social history and to brush them aside as a mass of dull and dreary narrations of puerile transactions. This tendency is apt to grow if scholars have to depend on bald and occasionally inaccurate summaries of these records, without being able to examine closely the texts themselves. But even the published summaries, if carefully used, can tell us a great deal that is interesting and important about the social and economic life of the country in the past.

Thus our inscriptions contain references to no fewer than six different shrines in the village, and these include Vaiṣṇava as well as Śaiva deities. The names of these temples are (1) Plāśapurīśvara from which come Nos. 308 and 309 of 1910; (2) Vaṇṇak-kaṇār-ambalam where the assembly met once in the 24th year of Rājārāja I (A. D. 1009) for leasing out some land; (3) Śamaparēśvara, the Mahādeva temple which gets some land from the assembly of a neighbouring village and in front of which there was a hall called Rājārājaṇ in which the assembly of the village held a second meeting in the 24th year of the king after whom the hall took its name; (4) Tīrumayāṇam-uḍaiya Paramasvāmin also called Mūlsthāṇattu-mahādēva in the inscriptions and represented to-day by the Jñānaparamēśvara temple on whose walls are engraved most of the inscriptions listed earlier in this paper; (5) Agastīśvaram-uḍaiyār temple which received

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a gift of land in the reign of Parakēśari-varman Rājēndracōḷadēva * and lastly, (6) Tirunārāyaṇa Viṇṇakar containing shrines of (a) Lakṣmīrāghavadēva † and (b) Kṛṣṇa of the butter-dance (Venṇaik-kūttāḍukiṇṇa-ālvār). The presence of so many temples undoubtedly added to the fullness and gaiety of the social life of the place besides contributing to the economic well-being of its inhabitants by the various opportunities for employment it must have offered to them. One inscription tells us for instance of the provision made for the maintenance of persons for playing on the Viṇā (lute) regularly and for reciting the Vedas and the Śrīrudram. The supply of oil and ghee for lamps, of flowers for daily worship and for special occasions, and the provision of all the other requirements of the temples must have furnished constant and secure employment for many persons. Very often endowments took the form of gifts of land to the temples, and the cultivation of these lands at more or less favourable terms of lease under the supervision of the village assembly formed no inconsiderable feature of the economy of rural life. And when new constructions were undertaken or old ones renovated, the people must have had exceptionally good opportunities of employment suited to their abilities and tastes. In all these ways the temple is seen to have been the nucleus round which clustered the daily activities of considerable sections of the people in its neighbourhood.

Nālūr-Tirumayāṇam being a Brahman village, a Brahmadēya or caturvēdimaṅgalam, its assembly took the form of the *Sabhā*. It may be noted in passing that a caturvēdimaṅgalam need not necessarily have

* No. 314 of 1910.

† No. 322 of 1910.

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included, as its name may be taken to imply, Brahmans representing each of the four Vedas; *caturvēdi* must, it seems, be taken to be the Sanskrit form of *nāṇmaraiyōṇ* meaning simply a Brahman. And to the form *caturvēdimaṅgalam* was usually prefixed the name of some king, queen or other distinguished person whose benefaction led to the establishment of the *agrahāra*, or a part of it; and in Cōḷa times these names were undergoing frequent changes. We have apparently no information in the inscriptions about some important aspects of the working of this particular *Sabhā*. We do not know whether it functioned through standing committees and whether, if it did, there were any special qualifications governing service on such committees. In the absence of information to the contrary, it is only natural to assume that all the Brahmans of the village were members of the *Sabhā* and that the entire *Sabhā* attended to all the business that came before it.

We notice that the assembly did not have a fixed meeting place and that it met in different places at different times. The place of meeting is not always recorded; but two inscriptions * tell us of two meetings in the twenty-fourth regnal year of Rājarāja I, one held at the temple called *Vaṇṇakkaṇār-ambalam* and another in a hall called after the king in front of the *Śamaparēśvara* temple. One is tempted to imagine that the hall called after Rājarāja was built in front of perhaps the largest temple in the village—this temple receives a gift from a neighbouring village †—to serve as a permanent meeting place for the assembly.

Once, however, in the reign of Rājarāja III the assembly met under a tamarind tree (*nammūr-pāṇḍanēri-ppuliyadi*). This could not have been due to the

* Nos. 12 and 13 above.

† No. 3 above.

absence of a more suitable meeting place; for we have just seen that this was not so. We shall revert to this question presently.

Turning to the functions of the village assembly, we have to observe that until a critical study is made of all the texts of the inscriptions bearing on this subject we shall not be in a position to formulate general conclusions of a trustworthy character. In dealing with individual assemblies, however, we can make note of what seems to be of striking importance in their working, in the hope that when a sufficiently large number of these institutions have been studied in a similar manner, some conclusions of a general character may emerge from such enquiries. In this respect the very first inscription in the list given above, which belongs to about the end of the 9th century is very noteworthy as we see from its published text. The assembly is called *Bhaṭṭa-pperumakkaḷ-uḷḷiṭṭa Peruṅguṟi-pperumakkaḷ*, i.e., "members of the Great Assembly including the priests of the temple." What accounts for the special mention of the *Bhaṭṭas*? We can hardly suppose that they were not ordinarily members of the assembly and that they attended one meeting of that body for special reasons; for if our view of the composition of the general body of the assembly is correct, the *Bhaṭṭas* being necessarily Brahmans must normally have been entitled to sit and take part in it. The reason for their being mentioned separately must then lie elsewhere. It may be that, as we learn from the details preserved in *Uttaramēṟūr* inscriptions of *Parāntaka*, the *Bhaṭṭas* had some special functions in the assembly. But we know what these functions were in *Uttaramēṟūr*; they related mainly to the elections to the *vāriyams* or committees, and we have no evidence that the committee system obtained at *Nālūr*. Or possibly, the reason lies in

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the nature of the transaction recorded. For what happened at that meeting was this. The assembly took 25 *kāśu* from the treasury of the temple of Mūlasthāṇattu-mahādēva and in return made a perpetual assignment of a shop-cess (*aṅgāḍi-kkūli*) to the temple. Therefore one of the temples in the village was a party to the transaction, and the specific statement that the particular session of the assembly was attended by the Bhaṭṭas is apparently intended to imply that the other party to the transaction was adequately represented in the assembly. The transaction itself constitutes an interesting specimen of the financial arrangements prevalent at the time. There is some urgent public work such as the making of a new road, the digging of or repairs to an irrigation tank—we do not learn what exactly it was in this case—which it is the duty of the village assembly to provide for and which it cannot meet from its normal resources; it raises a loan from the neighbouring temple which has a treasury as full as the people are pious, and as the assembly does not expect to be ever in a position to repay the principal amount of the loan, it makes some arrangement, in this case an assignment of the shop-cess, by which the interest due every year is secured to the creditor temple. It is a pity that we are unable to form an idea of the rate of interest on this loan; for though we are given particulars of the rate at which the cess was levied, we have no means of forming even a rough idea of its annual money-value. Again it is clear that a cess which, like the present one, was collected in kind at the rate of so much per *kāśu* of sale-proceeds (*kāśin vāy nālī*) of some articles, so much per heap of others sold in heaps, and so such per unit of yet other articles sold by weight or number,—such a cess must have varied considerably in its annual yield and there must

have been a large measure of goodwill on either side for such a vague and indefinite financial arrangement going through without a hitch.

We find further that the *Sabhā* often sells land (4-6), leases it for cultivation (13) or makes gifts (2) of it. Similar powers are exercised by assemblies of other types like the *Ūr*, and *Nagaram*. As it is not possible for anyone to give away or sell what is not his own, we have necessarily to conclude that there was some land in the village which was held and administered in common by the whole village besides the individual holdings of each household in it. In one instance the *Sabhā* sells some of its land to an individual in the village (17). Lastly, we find that in late Cōḷa times, in the reign of Rājārāja III, the *Sabhā* of Nālūr met under a tamarind tree outside the village. So also did another *Sabhā* (Brahmadēsam, N. A.) in A. D. 1044 * At that meeting the *Sabhā* sold some land to a Sēnāpati who was the brother of Vīramahādēvi. This queen had died perhaps committing suttee we are told that 'she entered the supreme feet of Brahma in the very same tomb in which the body of King Rājēndra Cōḷa was interred'—and her brother wanted to endow a drinking place to quench her thirst and that of her deceased husband, the Cōḷa king, and the sale of land by the assembly was to enable the Sēnāpati to start this propitiatory foundation. Is it far-fetched to suggest that the assembly met outside the village beneath a tamarind tree because it was engaged in some work not of auspicious import? A similar explanation may hold also in the case from Nālūr Tirumayāṇam. From the decisions recorded, it seems probable that on this occasion the *Sabhā* assembled in the midst of a great commotion caused by some serious misconduct of

* No. 260 of 1915.

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some people in the village or by an apprehension of grave mischief on their part. The *Sabhā* decided "that the residents of their village should not do anything against the interests of their village nor against the temple of Tirumayāṇam-uḍaiyār and similar institutions; that if they did so, they must suffer as *grāma-drohins* did and that persons who acted against this decision should not be allowed the privilege of touching Śiva etc." * Here we have a clear instance of the assembly acting as the authority responsible not only for the punishment of local offences but as the custodian of the general conduct of the villagers and the controller of their morals, so to say.

Nālūr with its neighbour called Tirumeynāṇam is at the present day a ruined hamlet far from the tracks of modern roads and railways; it has not been without interest to gain from the records on the walls of its ancient temples a peep into its busy life in the days when it shared the prosperity of the smiling lands of the Kāvēri delta.

* A. R. E. 1911 II, 30.

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I A General Survey of its Administration

A fresh study of local government at Uttaramērūr in the Cōḷa period after so many writers have traversed the ground may appear at once futile and venture-some. We may be told by those who have heard all about democracy and pot-tickets at Uttaramērūr (and they are not few) that there can be nothing new in this twice-told tale and that it would be more useful to leave Uttaramērūr well alone and turn to some less trodden part of the field. And the promise implied in an attempt like the present one to discover new information, or to reinterpret old and well-known data may, in view of the narrow limits of the subject and the eminence of the scholars who have worked on it before, seem to be more courageous than discreet. Nevertheless the fact is that with the exception of Mr. Venkayya who did great work on the two inscriptions from Uttaramērūr which are best-known, and that only on account of his work, not many writers have done aught else than repeat his statements uncritically; and that this has happened a number of times has contributed most to prejudice the chances of a fresh examination of the Parāntaka inscriptions above-mentioned and of a more comprehensive study of the new material published since 1904.

Our aim is to give in this essay a general account of the local history and administration of Uttaramērūr so far as it can be gathered from the inscriptions, and then, in the next paper, to re-examine the two

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inscriptions of Parāntaka's reign which deal with the constitutional arrangements of the local *Sabhā* in the light of the fresh evidence that has come to hand since Mr. Venkayya drew such pointed attention to them.

The history of institutions is not so exciting as the study of political history and 'holds but small temptation to the mind that requires to be tempted to the study of truth.' It takes considerable effort to comprehend by patient study and reflection the true nature and functions of the different parts of a social mechanism evolved and worked under the stress of ideas much unlike our own. Nothing seems easier than to discover, if one is so minded, in the records of past ages traces of the latest devices in political and social organisation. And the quest for the new in the old sometimes imparts colour and feeling to a task in itself not so attractive.

Democracy as we now understand it, as a form of popular government, a state of society and an outlook on economic life, is essentially a modern conception. To import the associations of democracy in the interpretation of early Indian records, because some of them happen to mention elections and ballot, is unconsciously to raise fresh obstacles in the way of a correct understanding of the atmosphere surrounding the working of these and other institutions in ancient India. By stressing the committee-system, the elections to the committees, and the employment of ballot in the elections, and then almost ignoring the whole complex of notions associated with caste, custom and religion which dominated social life in those times, one may find it easy to paint the picture of a society in which people cared much for political rights and representative institutions and regulated their conduct almost entirely on secular and rational considerations. But it seems

hardly worth while to make the attempt; for the doubtful satisfaction that may be derived from claiming modern wisdom for our ancestors is purchased at the cost of any chance of our knowing them as they were. From this point of view, it is perhaps an advantage that democracy does not rouse the same enthusiasm at the present day as it did some years ago. To cast a doubt on the democratic nature of ancient Indian society and government is no longer a mortal sin against patriotism.

The village that forms the subject of our study was doubtless a very large one. It was big enough to form a separate *kūrū* by itself and the numerous inscriptions that have come down to us are engraved on the walls of no fewer than seven temples * in the locality. Of these inscriptions, about sixty have been selected as the basis of the general account that follows of the administration and social life of Uttaramērūr.

Uttaramērūr, which is about fifty miles by road to the south-west of Madras, is to-day a small and apparently flourishing town with a population of nearly 11,000. Despite the vicissitudes that have marked its history in the course of the wars waged by the English at first with the French and later with Haidar Ali and his son, Uttaramērūr has fairly preserved many of its most interesting antiquities. As will be seen from the plan of the town, the location of its chief temples shows that the site of the modern town has been in continuous occupation for more than 1200 years. The Kailāsanātha and the Mādari-Amman shrine opposite to it mark practically its eastern limit, if we omit from

* They are: the temples of (1) Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl (2) Sundaravaradaperumāl (3) Subrahmaṇya (4) Kailāsanātha (5) Kōjambēśvara (6) Iraṭṭaittaḷigaiśvara and (7) Mādari-Amman.

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consideration suburbs like Tiruppulivalam. Almost in the heart of the town, on the main road stands the Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ temple, of which nothing of the original structure seems to have survived except the high basement which carries the most valuable inscriptions of the locality on its sides. A little to the west within a few furlongs, are the Sundaravarada and Subrahmanya temples very close to each other. To reach the big tank of Uttaramērūr, doubtless the celebrated Vairamēgha-tatāka of our inscriptions, a name no longer remembered, one has to go more than a mile to the west from the westernmost limits of the modern town, bearing the historic names *Rājāmēḍu* and *Māḷigaimēḍu*, the mound of the king and the mound of the palace. It is possible that excavation at these spots may yield results that would justify these popular names.

The oldest name of the village known to us is Uttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam. The form of the name suggests that, as Mr. Venkayya pointed out, the first member of this name must be the title, like Prabhumēru and Abhimānamēru, of some king whose identity still remains unknown. In the inscriptions of Vijayakampavarman, of somewhat uncertain date, and in the Rājakēsari and Parakēsari inscriptions some of which may be earlier than Parāntaka I, the place is generally described in the following terms: "*Kāliyūr-kōṭṭattu tan-kūruttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam*," that is 'Uttaramēru - caturvēdimaṅgalam of its own division (kūrū) in the Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam.' From the time of Rājēndracōḷa I Parakēsari, the son and successor of Rājarāja, the place came to be called also Rājēndracōḷa-caturvēdimaṅgalam, and its earlier name was abridged into Uttaramēru or Uttaramēlūr, the latter form giving rise to Uttiramallūr, which is the most

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common form to-day.* Very much later, about the middle of the thirteenth century, in the time of the ill-starred Rājarāja III, the village carried for a time the name of Gaṇḍagōpāla-eaturvēdimāṅgalam, after an aggressive Telugu-Cōḷa chieftain of the time.

Our inscriptions range from the late Pallava times, that is from the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., to the downfall of the Cōḷa empire in the middle of the thirteenth. Viewed generally, they furnish a striking, though by no means unique, example of the continuity of social life amidst political changes. They comprise records citing late Pallava monarchs, the early Cōḷa conquerors of the Toṇḍaināḍ of the ninth and tenth centuries including Parāntaka I, his Rāṣṭrakūṭa enemy Kṛṣṇa III who gloried in his "capture of Kacci and Tañjai," and the somewhat mysterious Pārthivēndra-varman, before the almost unbroken series of Cōḷa records commences with the reign of Rājarāja I. † Not only do the inscriptions thus reflect all the changes in the political situation in the land, but they furnish tangible evidence that the village *Sabhā* supplied the element of continuity in local life through such changes. Of many records at Uttaramērūr (and elsewhere) that go to prove such continuity, one of Kulōttuṅga III dated in his thirty-seventh year, about A. D. 1215, is of

* Uttiramēlūr, Uttaramallūr are other forms. The total ignorance that has prevailed in modern times of the true origin of the name is seen from the local tradition, recorded by Crele, that the town was built by Uttirakumaran son of a rāja who reigned in Virāṭa, a town on the Jumna river. (*Manual of the Chingleput District* p. 132). I have not been able to get at the local *sthālapurāṇa*, the existence of which was reported to me by a teacher in the local High School when I visited the place.

† There is a considerable gap of over three quarters of a century, not merely in our list here, but in the collection itself between Vikrama Cōḷa and Kulōttuṅga III.

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peculiar importance. In this record of the thirteenth century are recalled transactions which were over three centuries old, and at the instance of the authorities of the temple concerned, the *Sabhā* gives a fresh undertaking to carry out, although on a somewhat reduced scale, the obligations laid upon their ancestors several generations before. The nature of this agreement and the employment of the phrase 'our ancestors' (*eṅgal pūrva puruṣāha!*) by the *Sabhā* in mentioning the old endowments, alike show that the idea of a corporation with a continuous life of its own, independent of its personnel which naturally varied from time to time, was clearly grasped by both parties to the agreement. And a little consideration shows also that the primary sanction behind such long-standing engagements is to be found in a general readiness to act up to a proper standard of equity which, though not precisely defined beforehand, can yet be ascertained in each separate case by argument and accommodation. In this instance, though it is not explicit, we may infer that the *Sabhā* had for some time defaulted in the maintenance of some old endowments for eight lamps in the temple; the authorities of the temple, when they discovered the default, drew the attention of the *Sabhā* to it, citing the old records engraved on the stone walls of two temples as evidence; the *Sabhā* pleaded inability to provide for the daily requirements of all the lamps concerned (*nittattēvai - iṟukka - mudiyāmai*). It would appear that the temple authorities had not been very prompt in their discovery of the default and were constrained to admit the force of the *Sabhā*'s pleading that, in the conditions prevalent at the time, they found it impossible to meet the ancient obligations in their entirety, and a compromise was reached. It is conceivable that if no agreement had been arrived at, an appeal might have

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been carried by either side to the appropriate official representing the king in the locality, or in the last resort to the king himself, who would have had then to adjudicate the matter.

The *Sabhā* was only one among several corporations organized on more or less similar lines, though doubtless the most important among them as administering the general affairs of the locality and looking after local interests as a whole. The details of the constitution of the *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr and its standing committees will form the subject of a full discussion later. Some attention may be given here to the other bodies which shared with the *Sabhā* the tasks of managing local concerns and ensuring local well-being. We have just noticed the authorities called Māhēśvaras and Sthānattār who were particularly concerned with the daily affairs of the temple of Tiruppulivalam-ndaiyār. The Pēriḷamaiyār, who are once said to be 'of two sides', the Śraddhāmantar, the Vīraṇaṇattar, the Kāḷiṇaṇattar, and the Śrī-kṛṣṇaṇaṇattar, as also the Śrī-vaiṣṇava Vāriyar appear to be instances of religious corporations of a quasi-public character which received the recognition due to the public importance of their work and the degree of success that attended them in its performance. The occurrence of *gaṇa* and *vāriyar* in these names must be noticed.

There were also groups bound by ties of contiguity and several examples of such groups occur in our inscriptions. Thus the residents of Śaṅkarappāḍi in the north-bazaar (*vaḍakkilaṅgāḍi śaṅkarappāḍiyōm*) acted as trustees for some charitable funds, and elected three persons to a committee for testing the fineness of gold. The *māḍavīḍiyār* (residents of the main streets) elected four other members to the same

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committee. We learn from the inscriptions of the twelfth and fourteenth years of Parāntaka I that Uttaramērūr was divided into twelve *śēris* (streets, as Mr. Venkayya renders the word). We shall see that an attempt to get the standing committees of the *Sabhā* to represent the *śēris* as such had to be given up within a couple of years after it started. But the people of each of the *śēris*—the names of eight of them occur in the inscriptions*—often became trustees for charitable funds.† Manifestly the most important, after the *Sabhā*, among such groups united by the bond of contiguity, was the *Ūr* of the village. ‘*Ūr*’ may not at first sight seem to convey the notion of a specific corporate body with separate functions in the local economy of a place and an independent existence of its own. A superficial acquaintance with the texts of the numerous Tamil inscriptions in which these terms occur is enough, however, to lead one to the conclusion that it is often necessary, in the contexts, to interpret these words as conveying the idea of a body analogous to the *Sabhā* in many respects, and that a vague translation of *Ūr* and *Ūrōm* into ‘village’ and ‘we, the inhabitants of the village’ is hardly satisfactory. Uttaramērūr, moreover, is not the only place where we get evidence of the *Ūr* existing by the side of the *Sabhā* in the same locality.

Though there is a great amount of uncertainty about the origin and the early history of these organisations, the suggestion may be made that the *Ūr* represents in every case the more primitive local

* Viz., (1) Gōvindaccēri, (2) Hṛṣikēśaccēri, (3) Nārāyaṇaccēri, (4) Paṇmaic-cēri, (5) Trivikramaccēri, (6) Vāmanaccēri, (7) Madhusūdanaccēri, (8) Abhi-mānamēruccēri. The names Mahīpālakulakālaccēri, and Muḍikonḍasōḷccēri also occur; but one cannot be sure that they were not new names for older divisions, rather than separate divisions.

† 190 of 1923.

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organisation indigenous to the Tamil country, the lineal descendant of the ancient *maṇṇam*; and that the *Sabhā* was, generally, a later superimposition. It is clear, at any rate, that as the *Sabhā* was the general local assembly in Brahmadēya villages, the *Ūr* was the prevalent form in some other types. And the simplest explanation of the existence side by side, as in Uttaramērūr, of both the organisations is to suppose that the *Ūr* was the more ancient form and that the *Sabhā* came on top of it when, at the will of some king or chieftain, a considerable number of new Brahman residents, often representing the highest learning in the land, were settled in the village, and endowed with perpetual rights of property in a part of the village lands. That *dānas* (gifts) came to take the place of importance among acts of religious merit, and that the *bhūdāna* (gift of land) was considered more meritorious than any other *dāna* in the period we are dealing with, are facts sufficiently well-established on the evidence of epigraphy and literature. The lands were usually purchased by the donors from previous owners, individuals or corporations of one kind or another, and then given away for the purpose intended. Several instances can be cited in which all the previous owners of the lands in a certain locality were bought out and the existing leases for cultivation terminated by payment of compensation,* in order that an absolutely unencumbered *dēvadāna* might be made, or a fresh *brahmadēya*, usually a *caturvēdimāṅgalam*, might be formed. But doubtless there were villages which, though too large to be so bought up, on account of the numbers involved and the extent and complexity of property-rights in them, yet afforded ample facilities

* This is what, I think, constitutes the chief point of the distinction drawn in inscriptions between the two forms *Kuḍimūṅgina* and *Kuḍimūṅgā*.

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for the creation of new settlements in their neighbourhood. It was in such cases that the problem arose of adjusting the relations between the old and the new settlements; and it seems reasonable to suppose that the continued existence of the more ancient *Ūr* by the side of the new *Sabhā* was secured as part of the new order.

The relations between the two bodies in Uttaramērūr are seen, though only in a rather hazy manner, from our records, all of which belong to the period after Uttaramērūr became a *caturvēdimāṅgalam*. Almost all of them are engraved in the name of the *Sabhā*; there does not seem to have been at Uttaramērūr a single instance in which the *Ūr* made an independent record of its transactions. This feature together with the fact that the *Ūr* almost ceases to be heard of early in the period of our study—we have apparently no reference to it from the time of Rājarāja I—may raise the presumption that the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā* were partners in an unequal combination which in the long run worked to the disadvantage of the weaker side. That the *Ūr*, however, had in the beginning some distinct rights and privileges of its own and that it continued to exercise them actively, though in collaboration with if not under the supervision of the *Sabhā* and its committees, till at least the end of the tenth century A. D., is amply borne out by the epigraphs. In the fifteenth year of Parāntaka I (A. D. 922), for instance, the *Ūr* sold some lands * to two temples for lamps and offerings and was, by special sanction of the *Sabhā*, allowed to perform some duties, which normally attached to the *samvatsaravāriyam* of the *Sabhā*. Again, it took charge of a gold endowment for a lamp, † and agreed to

* No. 8 of 1898.

† 89 of 1898.

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submit to the supervision of the *saṃvatsaravārīyam* in this matter. More significant of the extent of the powers exercised by the *Ūr* is its assignment* of taxes and dues to be paid by the entire hamlet of Uḷliyūr for the benefit of the Īśvara temple in that locality—an assignment coupled with the specific exemption of the people of Uḷliyūr from all external interference in their management of the affairs of their temple. We have also instances† in which the *Sabhā* required the *Ūr* not to collect any dues (*iṛai*) from certain lands which had been made tax-free, and gave away lands from among those that, owing to default in payment of the dues (*iṛai*), had become the property of the *Ūr*; in one of these cases the *Ūr* gave its consent and agreed not to make any collections, and in the other, it was apparently reimbursed for the loss of revenue. Lastly, the *Ūr* had an executive committee of its own which was called the “ruling group,” (*ālunṅaṇattar*).‡ We learn nothing, however, as to the method by which its members were chosen, or the period of their office.

The existence by the side of the *Sabhā* of numerous corporations, religious and local, some doubtless economic also, and the way in which they dominated some little corner or other in the local polity is thus one of the most significant and well-attested facts of mediaeval life in Uttaramērūr. It was a veritable network of diverse jurisdictions and liberties not always clearly

* 41 of 1898.

† S. I. I. III, Nos. 152 and 162.

‡ No. 3 of 1898: ‘*emmūr-jālunṅaṇattāruḷ*’ (l. 1). There is a slight difficulty, easily got over by a little experience, in our distinguishing the different senses in which ‘*ūr*’ is used in the inscriptions. It seems to have at least two meanings, one corporate and the other geographical. Thus ‘*emmūrteṅ-piḷḷagai*’ which immediately follows the expression quoted above can hardly mean anything other than ‘the southern division of our village.’ See also 58 of 1898 (l. 3—*ivvūr-jālunṅaṇattāruḷ*.)

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marked off from one another. The *Sabhā* was indeed the most considerable among them all; but it had to respect the privileges, even the susceptibilities, of the numerous other *gaṇas* and associations of a voluntary and quasi-public character, of the hereditary caste and trade corporations and so on, and might itself be called upon to explain its default in particular matters by the associations affected by it. Almost every sphere of life was so dominated by group-organisations that the individual was of little account and had to function through some group or other. There was no written law, or even a distinctly formulated principle intended to govern the conduct of these groups; they acted for the most part in their separate spheres of social work, and came together occasionally for considering specific questions of common concern. In this manner they found it possible to evolve a workable procedure to secure mutual understanding and adjustment. And in the days when there existed an organised central government not altogether lacking in executive strength—this was the rule under the Cōḷa kings—the power of the king and his officials was a sort of reserve in the background to be drawn upon when the forces of local regulation failed to function properly or, in extreme cases, broke down altogether.

The inscriptions furnish much valuable information on the history and the functions of the *Sabhā*, and these may now be briefly discussed. In the earliest inscriptions in our collection of the reign of Dantivarman, the *Sabhā* comes before us as a mature and well-established institution apparently exercising all the powers that it ever exercised in later times. It sold land, accepted and undertook the administration of an endowment for dredging a tank, and made an important settlement

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(*vyavasthāi*) * in which the *Ūr* was assigned some duties with regard to lands deserted by poor tenants who could not pay the dues on them; a little later, under Nandivarman, it laid down the qualifications and the tenure for the place of *arcaka* in the temple of Tirupulivalam-udaiyār. These early records also contain noteworthy references to *vāriyar* and *vāriyapperumakkaḷ*. In one instance † the *vāriyar* are clearly officers subordinate to the *Sabhā*, and take their orders from it. There is nothing to show whether they were individual officers or members of a committee; and we have no information on the period for which the office was held. Another record ‡ of about the middle of the ninth century mentions the *vāriyapperumakkaḷ*. The phrase may mean 'great men doing *vāriyam*' and may be only another form of the term '*vāriyar*'; but it looks very much like meaning "members of the *vāriyam*," the last being understood as a committee. But it should be noticed that there is no reference whatever to the *Sabhā* in this record, and possibly the *vāriyam* of this record had nothing to do with the *Sabhā*. Further, even if the omission to mention the *Sabhā* be neglected, and the *vāriyam* understood as a committee of the *Sabhā*, it should still be observed that the *vāriyam* would then be a general committee of a non-specialised character, unlike the specialised 'tank', 'garden' and other committees of later times. The inscriptions of Vijayakampavarman,

* The word "*sāmanthu*" (61 of 1898) is not easy; and until it is properly interpreted, the nature of the settlement made on this occasion must remain doubtful. The *Ūr* seems to have been responsible for the proper payment of land dues by the cultivators. In a later inscription we get the phrase; "lands that escheated to the *Ūr* (*lit.* fell towards it) because the dues on them were not paid." (17 of 1898).

† 74 of 1898.

‡ 63 of 1898.

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as also of the unidentified Cōlas, Rājakēsari and Parakēsari, mention the 'annual tank committee';* but the chronological place of these kings is so uncertain that no definite inference can be drawn from these records as to the period when specialised committees came into existence at Uttaramērūr. We must observe also that the *Sabhā* used the term *vyavasthai* for describing the record of important decisions arrived at on matters that came up for consideration before it.

The inscriptions of the twelfth and fourteenth years of Parāntaka I, discussed in the next study, will be seen to fall in their proper perspective only when viewed on the background furnished by the data gathered so far from the earlier records of Uttaramērūr. The Parāntaka inscriptions would thus appear to be not a ready-made constitution imposed *ab extra* by royal writ, but only to mark a stage, albeit an important stage, in a continuous evolution from within, brought about by the pressure of circumstance and the wisdom born of experience. That the *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr was the architect of its own constitutional arrangements, that it showed an uncommon readiness to follow the method of trial and error in its efforts to solve the local problems of the time, is rendered clear by another curious record of the fifteenth year of Parāntaka I, the year following that in which Parāntaka is generally supposed to have finally fixed the constitution of Uttaramērūr. Published only three years ago, this inscription † has long escaped the attention that is due to it. It is a *vyavasthai* of the *Sabhā* which regulated the procedure to be followed for testing the fineness of the gold that was in current use in the village, '*emmūril parimārum poṇṇ samañjasañ-gāṇḍadarkku.*' By

* 65 of 1898 ; 10 of 1898 ; 75 of 1898.

† No. 12 of 1898 (*S. I. I.* VI., No. 295.)

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this resolution, a committee was set up consisting of nine persons neither too old nor too young, from those among the tax-paying citizens who had a reputation for testing gold (*iṟai-kuḍikaḷil poṇ-kāṇa vallārenappadu-vārai*). These were to be chosen by the method of pot-tickets, four from the *māḍavīdi*; two from *śēnai* (?), and the remaining three from *śaṅkarappāḍi*. They were to test gold for all people impartially, and to adopt certain methods laid down for the test; they had to hand over to the tank committee the entire quantity of the *meḷuku* on which gold was rubbed (for the test) and to take an oath, once in three months, before the *samvatsaravāriyam* (year-committee), in the prescribed manner, that they would discharge their duties truly and honestly in accordance with the resolution of the *Sabhā* inscribed on stone. Though it is not expressly stated, it seems very likely that in this decision the *Sabhā* was reconsidering arrangements implied in the constitution of the 'gold committee' (*poṇ-vāriyam*) by the inscription of the preceding year. The new committee either superseded the old one, or was probably intended only to assist it in the discharge of its duties. One important qualification insisted on for membership of the new committee is competence in the assaying of gold; it may have furnished the technical assistance required for the work of the *poṇ-vāriyam* for which no provision had been made before. Although, therefore, every act of the *Sabhā* was in form an act for all time, for 'as long as the sun and moon endure' or something to that effect, nothing was immutable, and there was no lack of readiness to make fresh adjustments to meet new situations as they arose.

Few records throw any clear light on the normal relation between the *Sabhā* and the central government. Besides the two inscriptions of Parāntaka's reign

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on the constitution of the committees, there appears to be only one of the time of Kulōttuṅga III which contains a direct reference to an order made by the king to the *Sabhā* and carried out by it. Though there are two copies * of this interesting inscription, the circumstances that led to the king's interference are by no means clear. On being petitioned by a priest, a certain Cēdirājadēva had decided to set apart (*nīkkina paḍiyē*) ten *vēlis* of land as *arcanābhōga* for two shrines in the village; and the king's order required that in accordance with that decision, the *Sabhā* was to convert the land into *arcanābhōga-iraiyili*, and engrave the deed on the walls of the temple named. The order was addressed to the *Sabhā* (*namakku prasādañjeydaruḷi tirumugam vandamaiyil*). There are many examples of alienation of land as *iraiyili* by the *Sabhā* for religious purposes without the slightest reference to the king or his officers. In this transaction, however, the initiative in the act of alienation was taken by Cēdirājadēva, perhaps an officer in the king's service, and the matter went up to the king either on account of a hitch that arose with the *Sabhā* in putting the transaction through, or simply because no official could deal with the *Sabhā* in such matters except through the king. Another difficulty in understanding this record fully arises from the fact that the status of the land proposed for alienation is not clear. There is no suggestion of any payment having been made either for the value of the land or as compensation for the loss of revenue incurred. The land therefore should have belonged either to the village or to the king. Or was it an unappropriated common in which both the *Sabhā* and the king had somewhat indefinite rights?

* 175 of 1923 and 76 of 1898.

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The amplitude of the functions exercised by the *Sabhā* and its sustained regard for the physical and cultural amenities then available to the inhabitants of the locality are fully borne out by our inscriptions which range over nearly five centuries. A careful study of the details recorded in them will not fail to convey the impression that during these centuries the people of Uttaramērūr were, to a very large extent, left free to work out their own destinies without let or hindrance and that, on the whole, they seem to have done this very well indeed. It would be too long a task to write out fully the innumerable little details that help to form the impression. Attention may be drawn, however, to some of the more salient aspects of local life in which the *Sabhā* evinced an interest. Incidentally, we shall touch upon some aspects of the *Sabhā*'s administration which cannot be more adequately treated in the present state of our knowledge, or rather the lack of it.

Agriculture was naturally the primary concern of the *Sabhā*. Not only was it the mainstay of the economic life of the country in which every peasant was interested, and they were all peasants then, but the *Sabhā* itself was, in one way and another, a great landowner, perhaps the greatest in the locality, and was as such interested in the proper maintenance of facilities for irrigation, transport and so on. And it is a remarkable fact that private charity often came to ease the work of the *Sabhā* by adding considerably to the financial resources at its disposal. Thus the large irrigation tank of the village, the Vairamēgha-taṭāka, was kept in good repair by the silt being removed once a month with endowed funds ear-marked for the purpose and placed at the disposal of the *Sabhā* by a private donor.*

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Another inscription, * undated but doubtless among the earliest on the south wall of the Vaikunṭha-perumāl temple, records another large private gift of 100 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold which was handed over to the *Peruṅguṟi Sabhā* to enable it to employ a second boat (*ōḍam*) and pay wages (*āl kūli*) for removing one *kūli* of earth every day from the bed of the tank to the top of its bund, and thus to remove 360 *kūlis* of mud every year. There are some more records of a like nature. These records and the creation of a special tank committee (*ēri-vāriyam*) by the assembly show that the proper maintenance of this large tank was among the primary pre-occupations of the villagers. The deputy tahsildar of Uttaramērūr performs to-day some of the functions discharged in olden days by the *ēri-vāriyam* with reference to this tank; for as Mr. Crole notes, † “one of the most important duties of the deputy tahsildar is securing the yearly supply of the tank, which is effected by the construction of a temporary dam in the river Cheyyār, several miles west of Uttaramērūr.” The special emphasis laid in our inscriptions on the extent and regularity of dredging operations in the tank is also easily explained by the observation of Mr. Crole that “owing to the want of a masonry sluice and protective works at the head of this channel the tank is silting up very much”; and his further remark that “the supply is rendered precarious owing to the river topping its banks and breaching into and obliterating the channel”, may have been equally true of the period of the Pallava and Cōḷa rulers. Altogether the creation and maintenance of this splendid tank ‘with a revenue of Rupees 25,000 dependent on it’ (the figure relates to 1879 or thereabout), and the solicitous care

* 69 A of 1898 S. I. I. VI, 353.

† *Chingleput Manual* p. 135.

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shown by the *Sabhā* and the people of the locality in keeping it in constant repair furnish striking testimony to the enlightened methods of ancient Hindu administration which have compelled the wonder and admiration of thoughtful critics.

When a road was submerged under water and thereupon became unfit for use, the *Sabhā* decided to renew the road and widen it by purchasing adjacent lands from the ryots,* the cost being provided apparently from its own funds. The supply of drinking water in a public place was provided by income from a private endowment of funds invested at 15% per annum and supervised by the tank committee of the *Sabhā*.† When the *Sabhā* lacked funds for capital expenditure of an urgent nature it had resort to a loan from the treasury of a temple, and we have an instance of a large loan paid off with interest by the *Sabhā* by the alienation of some land and the dues thereon, and the record of the transaction is described by the expressive name *irapākṛayāvāṇa-kkaiyeḷuttu*, a deed of sale-for-debt.‡ The record of this sale shows that the *Sabhā* had its own *pottakam* and *vari*, record books showing existing property-rights and tax-dues, ¶ and that these books were kept up-to-date by appropriate entries being made in them at the end of every transaction affecting these rights and dues.

Most of the inscriptions furnish evidence that, in collaboration with the authorities of each separate temple, the *Sabhā* exercised a constant general supervision and control of the affairs of the temples, regulated the qualifications of the priests conducting

* 9 of 1898.

† 75 of 1898.

‡ 68 of 1898.

¶ It will be seen that the names of many of these dues occur in our records I refrain from a discussion of these difficult terms in this study.

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worship, fixed the turns of worship among them, and administered the endowments for the supply of flowers, oil, *ghṛī* or other offerings, and so on. It has been rightly said of Hindu temples * that "they were fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, fairs, exhibition-sheds, halls of learning and of pleasure, all in one," and unless the large place filled by the temple in the social and economic life of its neighbourhood is firmly grasped, it would not be easy to understand why the kings and their chieftains, the village-assemblies and the people were so constantly pre-occupied with the temple and its affairs. It may be observed, in passing, that when private persons rendered any extraordinary service of lasting value to a temple, it was recognised by distinctions, sometimes of a hereditary character, being conferred on them by the *Sabhā* and the authorities of the temple concerned. † The subtle appeal to personal vanity that is made by public honours and that often leads to large benefactions from the rich is thus not altogether modern.

The education of the people was recognised as important. We have no direct information on the arrangements that obtained for imparting instruction in the more elementary stages of the pupils' course, or on the extent to which the people were generally eager to secure the benefits of schooling to their children. It is hardly to be expected that inscriptions can tell us everything, especially on routine matters of life about which there was nothing striking. But considering that Uttaramērūr was a dominantly Brahman village, and taking into account the number of special schools for higher study that are mentioned by the inscriptions, it appears legitimate to infer that educational facilities

* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV p. 256 n. 41.

† 172, 180 and 183 of 1923.

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must have been more general, and more generally availed of than we are apt to imagine on *a priori* grounds. We must not also imagine that all education was Sanskritic in character and that no attention was paid to Tamil. The facts that inscriptions were engraved in prominent public places where people could read them, that the language of most of them was Tamil though with a large mixture of Sanskrit terms, that the inscriptions often reflected features of the *patois* of the time and were engraved by artisans of the village—these point to the conclusion that there was no wide gap between the language of the people and the education and administration of the land. Higher education was necessarily Sanskritic in character especially in places where, as in Uttaramērūr, it was in the hands of the *Sabhā*. The *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr, endowed at different times * a *Vyākaraṇa-śāstra-vyākhyā-vṛtti* for the study of grammar and language, a *Bhaviṣya-kkidaippuṟam* for instruction perhaps in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, if not in a Bhaviṣya Śākhā, being imparted by a teacher resident in the village, and a *Taittirīya-kkidaippuṟam* obviously for the study of the Black Yajur-Veda, as well as a *Vājasanēya-kkidaippuṟam* for the White Yajur-Veda. Another very interesting record which, though it bears no date, may be assigned with confidence to the tenth or the eleventh century, registers an important educational endowment by a lady. The inscription † is unfortunately partly built in, and some words are thus lost at the beginning of every line. The general drift of the record is, however, very clear. A lady by name Saṇṇaiccāni ‡ *alias* Uttaramērunaṅgai created a *Bhaṭṭavṛtti* (teaching-endowment),

* 18, 29 and 33 of 1898, also 194 of 1923 The word "*Kkidaṇi*" means a Vedic School, more generally a religious school.

† 39 of 1898.

‡ cāni (-sāni) often appears as ān honorific suffix to female names in our inscriptions.

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and placed it under the perpetual supervision of her younger brother, a certain Nārāyaṇadatta-bhaṭṭa, and his descendants and the *Mahāsabhā* of the village who undertook to pay all the dues on the lands set apart by the terms of the endowment. The nature of the supervision is laid down in considerable detail. Among the qualifications for admission to a share in the *Bhaṭṭavṛtti* are mentioned proficiency in not less than one Veda together with *Vyākaraṇa* and the two *darśanas* of the *Mīmāṃsā*; something (?) combined with a knowledge of *Nṛtabhāṣya*; proficiency in not less than one Veda together with competence in expounding *Vyākaraṇa*, the *Nyāyabhāṣya* with *vārttika*, and the *Vaiśeṣika* with its *ṭīkā* (commentary). It is also laid down that no one who had a share in the village-lands was entitled to participate in the *Bhaṭṭavṛtti*. Those who, having satisfied the trustees with regard to their qualifications, gained admission to the *Bhaṭṭavṛtti* were to reside for a period of three years in the *maṭha* raised by the donor on the shore of a tank dug out by her, and during the period of their residence, they were apparently to impart instruction in their respective subjects to pupils selected by them after a preliminary examination (*parīkṣai koṇḍu apūrvikaḷukkē paṇipadāgavum*). Not only does this inscription throw much welcome light on the state of higher learning at the time, but it furnishes a model for the administration of higher education which many a modern university of our country might envy.

The permanent appointment of a 'curer of poisons' * (*viśahara*), the provision for the recital of hymns † in temples and the mention of *maṭhas* ‡ are other noteworthy facts.

* 36 of 1898.

† 194 of 1923, 181 of 1923.

‡ 184 and 168 of 1923.

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APPENDIX I.

A select list of inscriptions from Uttaramērūr
chronologically arranged.

Pallava Inscriptions.

Dantivarman.

Year 7. (c. A. D. 782) *Peruṅguṟi Sabhā* sells land to a Svāmikumāra Caturvēda Sōmayāji for digging a tank and raising a bund for it—the tank being called Svāmikumārakuṭṭam. (80 of 1898.)

Year 9. (c. A. D. 784) A private endowment accepted by the *Sabhā* for dredging the Vairamēgha tank. The *Sabhā* ordered that the proceeds of the endowment must, without being spent in any other manner, be utilised every month by the *vāriyar* for the time being for dredging the tank (*kuli-kuttuvadāka*). (74 of 1898.)

Year 21, day 122. (c. A. D. 796) *Sabhā* made a *vyavasthā* (settlement) regarding the lands of the cultivators owning lands in the village (*emmūr pūmi uḍaiya kuḍigal*) (61 of 1898.)

Nandivarman.

(c. A. D. 850) A detailed regulation of an *arcanā-bhōga* (endowment for worship) by the *Sabhā*. Four *patti* of land was set apart for a Brahmacāri Brāhmaṇa who could repeat the Veda and was of good character (*pārāyaṇa-mārgam vēdam vallāṇāyuktaṇāgiya*) carrying on the *arcanā* in the Tiruppulivalam-uḍaiyār temple. The appointment was to be for a term of three years on each occasion. The date of the record is obtained by reading this together with No. 72 of 1898 of year 24 of Nandivarman. (71 of 1898.)

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Nṛpatuṅgavarman.

Year 16. (c. A. D. 865) No mention of the *Sabhā* as such. The *vāriyapperumakkaḷ* were to protect the endowment, by a lady, of 13 *kaḷaṇḻu* of gold for a lamp.
(63 of 1898).

Vijayakampavarman.

Of uncertain date. Hultsch suggests that he might have been a brother of Nṛpatuṅga (E. I. VII. p. 196) and remarks *apropos* of the Nandi-Kampēśvara temple at Śōlapuram (North Arcot): "As the alphabet of the inscriptions of Vijayakampa, Kampavarman or Vijayakampavikramavarman resembles that of the inscriptions of Vijaya Dantivikramavarman, Vijaya Nandivikramavarman and Vijaya Nṛpatuṅgavikramavarman, I feel tempted to explain Nandi-Kampa by 'Kampa the son of Nandi' and to assume that Kampavarman was a son of Nandivikramavarman and a brother of Nṛpatuṅgavikramavarman."

Year 6. Mentions a share including house and *śrāvaṇai* (*maṇaiyum śrāvaṇaiyum ulliṭṭa oru paṇḻu*) l. 2.
(64 of 1898).

Year 8. Endowment by a member of the executive committee of the *Ūr*; *emmūr-yāluṅganattar*. (3 of 1898).

Year 8. *Sabhā* orders some fines accruing from certain defaults to be set apart for the *Vairamēgha taṭṭāka*.
(85 of 1898).

Year 9. A *vyavasthai* (settlement) by the *Sabhā*.
(7 of 1898).

Year 10. A record by a member of the *yāluṅganattar*. The members of the tank committee (*ēri-vāriya-pperumakkaḷ*) are mentioned. (11 of 1898).

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Year 18. Mentions the members of the tank committee for each year (*avva-vāṇḍu ēri-vāriya-pperu-makkaḷē*) l. 5. (65 of 1898).

Year 21. A large endowment of 200 *kaḷaṇḍu* yielding 30 *k.* as interest for dredging the Vairamēgha *taṭāka* and the grateful recognition of it by the *Sabhā*. (84 of 1898).

Cōla Inscriptions.

Rājakēsari and Parakēsari records (unidentified).

.....Kēsarivarman, Year 3—The residents of Śaṅkarapāḍi in the north bazaar of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimāṅgalam take fifteen *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold from an individual and agree to keep a perpetual lamp burning in the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruppulivalam. (78 of 1898).

Parakēsarivarman.

Year lost—The year committee (*samvatsara-vāriya*) of every year was, on behalf of the *Sabhā*, to supply, from an endowment, one quarter of a measure of oil every day for a lamp before the Mahādēva of the eastern structure, in the temple of Jyēsthā on the banks of the lake in Kumaṇapāḍi. (10 of 1898).

Parakēsari.

Year 16, day 257. The *Mahāsabhā* of Uttaramērūr assigned tax-free land to the temple of Mahādēva in the neighbouring village of Tīṭṭāttūr. (4 of 1898).

Rājakēsari.

Year 8. Land sold tax-free by the *Sabhā* for feeding twenty Brahmans daily in the temple of Kurukṣētra in the village. The *Mahāsabhā* ordered

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that the charity should be administered by those who managed the temple affairs. (40 of 1898).

Year 8. A resolution (*javasthai*) of the assembly not to take *paṭṭikāḍi*. (?) The meeting is described in the quaint terms: *ābāla-vṛddhar-amaiya eppērppaṭṭadum niramba-kkūḍi-yirundu* i. e., "everybody including the young and the old met and sat in the full assembly." (62 of 1898).

Year 17. An order (incomplete) of the *Mahāsabhā* on endowments for worship in two temples of the locality (*emmūr*). (91 of 1898).

Year 26, day 280. A gold endowment, for a shed for the supply of drinking water, bearing interest at 3 *mañjāḍi* per *kaḷaṇṇu* or 15%, placed under the purview of the members of the tank committee (*ēri-vāriyañjeyyum-perumakkaḷ*) doing duty from year to year. (75 of 1898).

Parāntaka I. (A. D. 907—c. 952).

Year 12 (A. D. 919). Settlement of the constitutional rules for the election of committees of the *Sabhā*. (2 of 1898).

Year 14 (A. D. 921). Revision of the rules mentioned in the last record. (1 of 1898).

Year 15 (A. D. 922). Inscription of the *Sabhā*; also mentions *Mahasābhāi-ttīruvaḍi*. The *Ūr* sold some lands to two temples for lamps and offerings. The duty of administering these charities was, by the orders of the *Mahāsabhā*, ordinarily the work of the *samvatsara-vāriyam*; but in this instance the *Ūr* was allowed to undertake the duties. (8 of 1898).

Year 15, day 55, (A. D. 922). A resolution of the *Sabhā* regulating procedure to be followed for testing

the fineness of gold in the transactions of the village. Nine persons neither too young nor too old were to be chosen from among the tax-paying citizens by the method of pot-tickets—*māḍavīdiyār* to elect four, *Sēnai* (?) to elect two, *Śaṅkarāppāḍi* to elect three ; and their duties and relations to the *ēri-vāriyam* and *samvatsara-vāriyam* were defined in detail. (12 of 1898).

Year 16. (A. D. 923). The *Sabhā* decided that a road that had been submerged and had therefore become unfit for use even by cattle, should be renewed and widened by the purchase of land from the ryots, and assigned the duty to the garden committee and an officer called *ūr-mēl-ninṇa-tiruvāḍi*. (9 of 1898).

Year 24. (A. D. 931). An endowment of gold for a lamp, by the son of a member of the ruling group (*ālūṅganattār*), left by the *Sabhā* under the supervision of the tank committee. (58 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Kaṇṇaradēva who took Kacci and Taṇjai towards the close of Parāntaka I's reign.

Year 18. An endowment, by a Brahman lady, of 12½ *Kaḷaṇḍu* of gold left in charge of the *Ūr* of Uttaramērūr for a lamp, the charity to be supervised by the *samvatsara-vāriyam* of each year. The inscription was engraved under orders from the *Mahāsabhā*. (89 of 1898).

Year 23, day 296. An inscription of the *Mahāsabhā*. It is a record of an assignment of taxes or dues from Uḷḷiyūr by the *Ūr* of Uttaramērūr to the temple of Īśvara in Uḷḷiyūr itself, said to be in the southern division (*tenpiḍākkai*), as provision for music for *śrībali* thrice a day. The record also says that the people of Uḷḷiyūr will themselves protect the temple and that no

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chief so ever shall enter the temple (*eppērpattā kōvum puga-ppeṟādāgarum*). (41 of 1898).

Year 25. An interesting but difficult record containing a resolution of the *Peruṅguṟi Sabhā* relating to fines and their prompt collection; mentions *grāma-kāryaṇjeyyum-perumakkaḷ* of every year. (77 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Pārthivēndravarmān, the contemporary of
Āditya II.*

Year 2. Order of the *Peruṅguṟi Sabhā* making some lands tax-free. The *Ūr* agreed not to collect any *iṟai* from these lands.

(S. I. I. III 152; 88 of 1898).

Year 3. The *Peruṅguṟi Sabhā* gave land as *vyākhyāvṛtti* to the person who expounded the *vyākaraṇa-śāstra* in that town. (S.I.I. III 161; 18 of 1898).

Year 3. The *Peruṅguṟi Sabhā* gave to the temple some of the land which had fallen to the village for default in paying its dues (*iṟai-yiṟādu ūr-nōkki viḷunda bhūmi*). (S. I. I. III 162; 17 of 1898).

Year 4. The *Peruṅguṟi Sabhā* records its sale to a merchant of some land to be endowed by him as *Śrībalibhōga*. The land was made tax-free.

(S. I. I. III 171; 55 of 1898).

Year 5. Inscription of *Peruṅguṟi Sabhā*. Land was set apart as tax-free *viṣaharabhōga*. The appointment to the place of *viṣahara* (curer of poisons) was to be made from time to time by the *Sabhā*.

(S. I. I. III 177; 36 of 1898).

* It is not improbable that this was only another name of Āditya himself. See S. I. I. III No. 158.

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Year 7. The *Peruṅguri Sabhā* declared some land belonging to a temple tax-free after getting *pūrvācāram* from an individual. (S. I. I. III 133 ; 79 of 1898).

Year 12, day 326. The *Mahāsabhā* remitted, after receiving *pūrvācāra*, taxes on some lands purchased from the agriculturists (*kuḍikāl*) of the village by queen Tribhuvanaṃamahādēvi and handed over by her to a Viṣṇu temple erected by Koṅgaraiyar as provision for *śrībali*. Those who violated this charity were to be amerced 25 *kaḷaṇṇu* each by the *Śraddhāmantas* themselves. (S. I. I. III 194 ; 49 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Rājarāja I Rājakēśari.

Year 9, day 158. (c. A. D. 994) An incomplete record. Mentions the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Tulābhāra-śrī-kōyil as the place where the assembly met to regulate the payment by the several castes and communities of Uttaramērūr of fines imposed on them. (197 of 1923).

Year 22. (c. A. D. 1007) Gift of sheep by a lady of Vāmaṇaccēri for a lamp in a temple. The *Pēriḷamaiyār* were responsible to the *Sabhā* for the maintenance of the lamp. Punishment for default was meted out by the 'annual supervision committee' (*samvatsara-vāriyāṇ-jeṅkinra perumakkāl*) along with *śrī vaiṣṇavarāṇa emberu-māṇaḍiyār*, the devotees of the temple. (163 of 1923).

Year 23. (c. A. D. 1008) Endowment of lamps by a merchant of Naḍuvilaṅgāḍi and a resident of Gōvindaccēri. The *Vīraṇaṭṭar* were made trustees for the merchant's gift. (187 of 1923).

Year 23. (c. A. D. 1008) Gift of sheep for a lamp by a merchant of Terkilaṅgāḍi (the south bazaar). The *Kāḷigaṇaṭṭar* were trustees. (189 of 1923).

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Year 25, day 154 (c. A. D. 1010) Land given by *Peruṅguri Sabhā* for *tiruccenṇaḍai* to the temple of *Puruṣōttama*. (177 of 1923).

Year 26. (c. A. D. 1011) Sheep endowed for a lamp by a lady of *Gōvindaccēri* were left in charge of the residents of *Paṇmaiccēri*. (190 of 1923).

Year 29. (c. A. D. 1014) Sheep for lamp by a lady of *Trivikkiramaccēri*. (178 of 1923).

Inscriptions of Rājendra I Parakēsari

(with the *Tirumanni vaḷara* introduction.)

Year 5. (c. A. D. 1017) Land given by the *Mahāsabhā* for daily offerings and worship and certain festivals and for a flower garden to *Śrīkṛṣṇa* in the temple of *Koṅgaraiyar*, called *Rājendra-sōḷa-viṇṇagar*. The land was left in charge of the *Śrī Kṛṣṇagaṇapperumakkaḷ*. (174 of 1923).

Year 6. (c. A. D. 1018) Apportionment by the *Peruṅguri Sabhā* of shares in the *arcanā-vṛtti* among the four *vaikhānasas* of *Koṅgaraiyar-śrī-kōyil* in lieu of those held by them at *Araśāṇimaṅgalam* (171 of 1923).

Year 19, day 343. (c. A. D. 1031) Reclamation of waste land by the *Peruṅguri Sabhā*, and gift of the land as provision for offerings to the image of *Anantanārāyaṇa* on the third storey of the temple. Provision was also made, among others, for the recitation of *Tiruvāymoli* hymns by three persons during the morning and evening services. (176 of 1923).

Year 26, day 180. The *Mahāsabhā* sold land, and exempted it from the levies called *śittāyam*, *pañcavāram*, *śittirai*, *eccorrukkūrṛariśi*, *ārrukkāl amañji*; also *ērīkkāḍi*, *pāḍakanellu*, *uḷaviṇṇai*, *nīrvilai* and other *piḍāgaiyiyai*.

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This land was intended to provide seven *kuṟuṇṇi* of paddy daily to three persons reciting the *Tiruvāymolī* hymns in the temple of Veḷḷaimūrti-Āḷvār of the Rājendra-śōḷa-viṇṇagar. The same assembly made a gift of two separate plots of tax-free land, one as *vājasanēya-kkiḍaippuram* and the other for a festival on the day of Punarvasu in the month of *māsi*.

(194 of 1923).

Year 30. (c. A. D. 1042) Sale of land made tax-free by the *Peruṇṇuṟi Sabhā* to the temple of Rājendra-śōḷa-viṇṇagaram for a flower-garden and a *maṭha* called after Kundavi Āḷvār for feeding Śrīvaiṣṇavas.

(184 of 1923).

Inscriptions of Rājendracōḷadēva-Parakēsarivarman

(with no characteristic introduction).

Year 3. The *Peruṇṇuṟi Sabhā* endowed sheep for lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-Āḷvār temple. The record refers to *Iraṇḍupakkattu-ppēriḷamaiyār* as trustees for the lamps in the temple.

(185 of 1923).

Year 3. The *Peruṇṇuṟi Sabhā* gave land for offerings to Rāghavadēva in the temple of Veḷḷaimūrti-Āḷvār and for a flower-garden, with the stipulation that the food offered at the two services should be given away to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas reciting the *Tiruppadiyam* hymns.

(181 of 1923).

Year 4. Land given tax-free by the *Mahāsabhā*, also called *Peruṇṇuṟi Mahāsabhā*, of Uttaramēlūr alias Rājendra-śōḷa-caturvēdimaṅgalam as *Bhaviṣya* (*pavīḷiyak*)-*kiḍaippuram*, so that some one might reside in the place permanently and impart instruction and enjoy the proceeds of 720 *kuḷi* of land.

(29 of 1898).

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Year 4. Similar gift by the *Mahāsabhā* of 240 *kūḷi* of land as *Taittirīya* (*taṭṭiriyak*) - *kiḍaippuṇam*.
(33 of 1898).

Year 4, day 84. The *Mahāsabhā*, also called *Peruṅguri Mahāsabhā*, made the hereditary appointment of a Śivabrāhmaṇa as *arcaka* in the local temple of Subramanyadēva.
(53 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I-Rājakēśari.

Year 9. (c. A. D. 1079) An endowment by a private individual of thirteen good current *kāṣu* (*anṇādu-naṇkāṣu*) left with two Bhaṭṭas of the temple who converted the money into $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pāḍagam* * of land, agreed to pay the *antarāyam* on the land and maintain a perpetual light in the temple, and gave an undertaking to the same effect on behalf of their successors also.
(57 of 1898).

Year 46. (c. A. D. 1116) The *Peruṅguri Sabhā* ordered the remission of taxes on thirty *pāḍagam* of land purchased by a person and granted by him along with a house-site (purchased from other resources) for the maintenance of a *maṭha*, called *Aruḷāḷadāsaṇ*, which he had founded. The land had been lying fallow for sixty or seventy years and was now called Śōḷaviccādiraviḷāgam after the donor. The tax on the land was remitted for the year (46) then current, but for the years following 5 *kāṣu* per annum was to be levied as *iṇṇaiyilikkāṣu*. Other taxes such as *piḍāgai-vari*, *uppu-kāṣu* etc., were remitted altogether. The local Śrīvaiṣṇavas were to supervise the charity under the general control of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the eighteen *nāḍus*. †
(168 of 1923).

* A *pāḍagam* was indefinite in extent. (Nos. 5 and 8 of 1898).

† The names of these are nowhere mentioned. See *A. R. E* 1923 II. 33.

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Inscriptions of Vikramacōla Parakēsari.

Year 11. (c. A. D. 1129) Gift of land by a private individual to the temple of Vellaimūrti-emberumān. The record mentions *Śrīvaiṣṇava-vāriyar*.

(188 of 1923).

Year 15. (c. A. D. 1133) The *Mahāsabhā* executed a sale-deed-in-discharge-of-dēbt (*iraṇa-krayāvāṇa-kkai-yeluttu*) in favour of the *Ēkambam-uḍaiyār* temple. The *Sabhā* had obtained a loan of the temple in year 13, and by the month of *kārttigai* in the fifteenth year, the debt including interest amounted to 230½ *kāṣu*. This sum was demanded by the temple authorities including the *Māhēśvaras* and accountants, and as the *Sabhā* was unable to pay down the money, it met the claims of the temple by transferring to it some land which, with the capitalised value of the minor dues on it that were remitted, amounted to the sum of the debt due to the temple. The *Sabhā* was declared to be free, after the date of this transaction, from all dues to the temple other than 500 measures of ghee on the day of Tiruvādirai in the month of *Mārgaḷi* and the transfer of *Veṇṇaikkūttanallūr* (the land sold in lieu of the payment of the debt); and all other claims recorded on copper, stone and palm-leaf were declared cancelled. *Veṇṇaikkūttanallūr* was thenceforth to be called by the *Śīva*-name *Tiruvēkambanallūr*, and was to be so entered in the land-register (*pottakam*) of the village and tax-account (*vari*).

(68 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III Parakēsari.

Year 26, day 300. (c. A. D. 1214) At the request of one Bhārasīvan *Tiruvīraṭṭāṇam-uḍaiyān* alias *Kulōttuṅga-śōḷa Paṇḍitan*, who had the birth-right (*jaṇmakkāṇi*) of worshipping at the *mātrsthānas* of the village, a

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certain Cēdirājan obtained the sanction of the king for a tax-free gift of ten *vēli* of land as *arcanābhōga* to the shrines of two Piḍāris, Vaḍavāyircelvi and Tiruvāṇḍāl. The king also sanctioned this transaction being engraved on the walls of the temple of Veḷḷaimūrtināyaṇār, and ordered the *Sabhā* and the *tanḍuvān* to enter it in the accounts as tax-free. We have duplicate records of this transaction, the king's sanction and the execution of the order by the *Peruṇḡuṇi Sabhā*.

(175 of 1923 * and 76 of 1898).

Year (3) 7. (c. A. D. 1215) The *Mahāsabhā* of Uttaramēlūr *alias* Rājēndra-sōḷa-caturvēdimāṅgalam entered into a fresh agreement with the *Māheśvaras* and the *Sthānattār* of the temple of Tiruppulivalam-uḍaiyanāyaṇār regarding the future administration of old endowments for eight perpetual lamps. These endowments were: (as recorded in the Tiruppulivalam-uḍaiyār and Naḍuvil temples)—*four* lamps for 100 *kaḷaṇḡju* of red gold taken charge of by the Assembly for the time being (*eṅgaḷ pūrvapurusaḥaḷ*, ll. 3-4) from Rājamārtāṇḍa *alias* Aparājitavikramavarman on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the fourteenth year of his reign; (as recorded in the Naḍuvil temple)—*one* lamp for 12½ *kaḷaṇḡju* taken from a private individual in the 18th year of Kaṇṇaradēva who took Kacci and Taṇjai; *two* lamps to be maintained from proceeds of the sale of land given for the purpose by an individual in the thirteenth year of Parakēsarivarman who took Madura; and *one* lamp for 12½ *kaḷaṇḡju* taken from another person in the fourteenth year of the same king. In the 37th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva, when the *Māheśvaras* called upon the *Sabhā* to keep to its

* By some mistake this record is treated as one of Rājārāja III in *A. R. E.* 1923, II 41. It is clearly one of Kulōttuṅga III. The *tanḍuvān* is not heard of in No. 76 of 1898 which records the execution of the order by the *Sabhā*.

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engagements, it was unable to do so (*ivviḷakkukku nittattēvai-yirukka muḍiyāmaiyl*, ll. 11-12) and had to persuade the temple authorities to accept a less onerous schedule of obligations for the future. (67 of 1898).

Year 38, day 233. (c. A. D. 1216) In recognition of useful additions to the structure of the temple carried out by a courtesan, the *Mahāsabhā* conferred on her certain hereditary rights in the temple of Rājēndra-śōḷa-viṇṇagar, with the concurrence of the trustees of the temple—*kōyir-tānattār kaṇḍu*. (172 of 1923).

Inscriptions of Rājarāja III Rājakēsari.

Year 3. (c. A. D. 1219) Some further rights during the car-festival conferred upon the same courtesan by the *Mahāsabhā*. (180 of 1923).

Year 29. (c. A. D. 1245) The *Mahāsabhā* of Uttaramēru *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla - caturvēdimaṅgalam conferred similar rights on a certain Śīyanācci *alias* Śrī-vaiṣṇava-māṇikkam in recognition of further improvements made by her in the temple. (183 of 1923).

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II The Parāntaka Inscriptions

The remarkable progress of South Indian Epigraphy in the last thirty years has added much to our knowledge of the social and political affairs of South India in ancient and mediaeval times. With this increase in knowledge, old ideas on the constitution of village assemblies in South India are becoming obsolete, and we are called upon to review them in the light of later discoveries. To many questions concerning the rural life and administration of the country, we can yet offer only tentative answers ; but we know more about these matters now than was known in 1904 when Venkayya edited the texts of the celebrated Uttaramērūr records which he had first noticed in great detail a few years before. * It is the aim of this study to discuss some of the points which Venkayya left open, and suggest a few corrections and improvements in his interpretation of the records. This is done best by our furnishing annotations on the more difficult parts of the published texts of the two inscriptions of the twelfth and fourteenth years of Parāntaka I distinguished by Venkayya as ' A ' and ' B ' respectively. †

' A ' line 1: *sabhaiyōm*. Venkayya recognised the existence of village assemblies before the date of this record and drew attention to some earlier inscriptions

* *A. R. E.* 1899 paragraphs 58-73 and *A. S. I.* 1904-5 pp. 131 ff.

† I verified Venkayya's text directly from the stone and found it perfect in its readings. I acknowledge with thanks the assistance rendered on the occasion by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Madras Museum.

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mentioning village assemblies. * Perhaps the earliest mention of the *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr itself is that found in No. 80 of 1898 of the seventh year of Dantivikramavarman (c. A. D. 782) † Of about the same period is the Pāṇḍya record from Mānūr in the Tinnevely District (No. 423 of 1906) which in some important respects seems to anticipate the records of Parāntaka Cōḷa by more than a century. ‡

‘A’. lines 1-3: *ivvāṇḍu-mudal . . . pariśāvadu* : Venkayya’s translation of this passage can hardly be accepted as a satisfactory rendering of the original. It will be observed that the phrase ‘*irundu vāriyam-āga*’ in l. 2 is applied by him to the royal officer Tattaṇṇūrmūvēnda-vēḷān and rendered into: “Sitting (with us) and convening (?) the committee”; and his translation of the corresponding passage in ‘B’ runs: “Sitting (with us) and convening (?) the committee in accordance with the (royal) command.” It should be observed that there is nothing in the text corresponding to “convening (?)” of the translation. The question is to decide whether ‘*vāriyam-āga*’ must be taken to refer to the royal officer, as Venkayya does, or to read it with what follows as: “*vāriyam-āga āṭṭorukkālum samvatsaravāriyamum . . . iduvadarkku*.” If we follow Venkayya, ‘*vāriyam-āga*’ must describe some function performed by the royal officer, and the text does not help us to explain what this function is, and the device of interpolating a new conception like convening a committee does not seem proper. The word *vāriyam* is generally taken to mean ‘committee’, and that is doubtless its real meaning in phrases like ‘*samvatsaravāriyam*,’ ‘*tōṭṭa-vāriyam*’ etc., in this and other records. It is doubtful if ‘*vāriyam*’ can be said in any other

* A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 135.

† Ante p. 118.

‡ The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom p. 93.

context to be used to describe duties to be performed by an individual. The Mānūr inscription of Māraṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ contains the earliest use of 'vāriyam' known to me in the phrase: * "*muluccirāvaṇai illādārai evvakai - ppaṭṭa - vāriyamum ēraṇḍa - pperā - dārāgavum*" that is, 'that they shall not appoint to any vāriyam anybody who does not possess a full share'. 'Vāriyam' here may well mean a committee; but there is nothing in the context to preclude its being some office or privilege held by an individual. The Tamil dictionaries simply give the meaning 'income' for the word 'vāri'; but Kittel, in his Kanarese-English dictionary, gives under the word 'vāri' the meaning "unrelenting demand", and this suggests a possible meaning, "collection of dues or taxes," for the word 'vāriyam.' If this meaning is adopted, it will follow, further, that this collection may be the work of an individual or a group of men, a committee. Thus 'vāriyam-āga', that is 'becoming vāriyam,' as applied to a royal officer may mean that he was there in Uttaramērūr representing the king and collecting certain royal dues from the village. On this view, the phrase 'ivvāṇḍu mudal' meaning 'from this year' must be taken both in 'A' and 'B' to mark the year from which the officer named in either case was appointed as 'vāriyam'; but there seem to be no other instances of such a permanent deputation of an official of the king's service for the collection of royal dues from Brahmādēya villages. The only other supposition we can reasonably make is that the officer became a member of the vāriyam; but this raises a difficulty as there were many vāriyams in the village, and there seems to be no method of deciding to which of these the king's officer was assigned.

* The inscription is unpublished.

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It seems simpler on the whole to adopt the alternative construction suggested above, and read '*vāriyam-āga*' with the following words. This would perhaps imply that the committee-system was being adopted by this resolution for the first time in Uttaramērūr, or at least the committee-method (*vāriyam*) in local administration was improved and extended by this resolution. This view receives support from two considerations. First, in the records of an earlier period from Uttaramērūr there is no mention of '*vāriyam*' as a committee * for a specific purpose. Secondly, from the inscriptions 'A' and 'B', the officials deputed by the king do not seem to have performed any special function other than representing the king to witness the proceedings of the assembly on the two important occasions when it adopted fundamental changes in its constitution. This becomes clear from the phrases '*uḍan-irukka*' in l. 12 'A' and '*uḍan-irundu ippariṣu śeyvikka*' in l. 17 'B'; of these, the second form appears to state more explicitly what is implied in the first. These expressions will be discussed further below.

Again, the words '*engalūr śrīmukhappadi āṇaiyiṇāl*' (ll. 1-2) are understood by Venkayya as governing '*vyavasthai śeyda*' (ll. 2-3), so that according to him the revision of the constitution was undertaken by the assembly at the instance of the king. This interpretation overlooks the participle '*irundu*' (l. 2) occurring immediately after the name Tattaṇṇūrmūvēnda-vēlān, and standing in much closer relation to '*āṇaiyiṇāl*' than to the words at the end of l. 2. There

* There are found, however, the general terms *vāriyar* and *vāriyaperumakkaḷ*-see e.g. 63 of 1898 of year 16 of Nṛpatuṅga and 74 of 1898, Danti-pūttarasa. No. 11 of 1898 of the 10th year of Vijaya Kampavikramavarman mentions the tank committee; but his date is uncertain, and if the argument here presented is correct, he must be of a later time than is sometimes supposed.

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seems to be no doubt that the royal sanction or order related only to the name of the officer who was appointed to be present on the occasion.

In the light of the remarks offered so far, this part of the text may perhaps be translated as follows: "We, (the members of) the assembly of Uttaramērucaturvēdimaṅgalam, Tattaṇṇūr-mūvēnda-vēlān being present in accordance with the order (conveyed) in the *śrīmulka* (royal letter addressed) to our village, made the following settlement* for choosing as committees every year from this year forward the annual committee, the garden committee and the tank committee."

Much of this discussion applies also to record 'B' which employs almost the same expressions.

'A' l. 5: *arthaśauśamum ātmaśauśamum udaiyarāy*: "possesses honest earnings and has a pure mind" (Venkayya). The expressions employed here are clearly reminiscent of the *upadhāśauca* of the Arthasāstra literature, though in the context they seem to be used in a rather loose non-technical sense. Perhaps, 'possessing material and spiritual purity' is a better rendering. Reference may also be made to the *Tirukkural* verse 501.

'A' ll. 5-6: *mūvāṭṭiṇ.....aṇiya bandukkal allāttārai*: substituting the literal translation† of the phrase '*mūvāṭṭiṇ ipparam*' viz., "on this side of three years," for 'the last three years' of Venkayya, we may accept his translation of this passage as correct. Indeed the text is easy Tamil and presents no difficulty.

* Venkayya observes (*A. S. I.* 1904-5 p. 138 n. 3): 'The wording of l. 12 seems to show that the settlement was made by the assembly, though the point is not quite clear here'. The foregoing discussion has shown that Venkayya's doubts were due to the rather forced construction he adopted.

† See *A. S. I.* 1904-5 p. 138, n. 6.

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It is in the interpretation that we find it utterly impossible to follow Venkayya. There seems to be no evidence in the texts of the records that can sustain his somewhat lurid view of the occasion for the reform undertaken by the assembly of Uttaramērūr. He says: * “One point that is common in both (A & B) is the implied indignation against the committee members who had just then vacated office and who appear to have brought the administration of the village into disrepute. They must have embezzled communal funds and would not submit themselves to any sort of scrutiny. The wholesale condemnation in ‘A’ of committee members who held office at the time the rules were made, is sufficient evidence on the point. This clause must have operated harshly during the second year of its introduction and must have restricted the choice within a smaller number, who might not possess all the requisite qualifications. In view of this difficulty better counsel prevailed in A. D. 920-21, and the prohibition was restricted only to defaulting committee members and their relations.”

In all the numerous and profound contributions of Venkayya to South Indian Epigraphy, it is hard to find another paragraph which beats this, or even approaches it, in its utter disregard for the sources. As we have seen already, the *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr appears to have adopted the committee system (*vāriyam*) for the first time in the twelfth year of Parāntaka. The speculations of Venkayya concerning the reasons which led to the reform are based entirely on his translation of ‘*mūvāṭṭin ipparam*’ (l. 5) into “for the last three years.” He also introduces a new word ‘(just)’ in his translation of the phrase

* *Ibid* pp. 135-6. See also *A. R. E.* 1899 paragraph 69.

'*vāriyāṇṇeydolinda - perumakkalukku.*' The extent to which the meaning of our simple text is distorted as a result of these slight devices in translation can be seen by placing Venkayya's version by the side of a more literal rendering given as far as possible in his own words. Venkayya's version is: "From among (the residents) who have not been on (any of) the committees *for the last three years* and who are not close relations of the great men (*just*) retired from the committees" (*italics ours*). A more literal rendering would be: "From among those who have not done *vāriyam* on this side of three years and who are not close relations of the great men who have done *vāriyam* and retired." There is nothing here * either about the men who served on committees at the time the settlement was made or during the three years preceding the settlement. There is also no evidence of 'implied indignation' against or 'wholesale condemnation' of any body of persons. Venkayya's speculation about members of committees bringing the administration of the village into disrepute by their embezzlement of communal funds and their refusal to submit to any scrutiny is utterly groundless. The only reference to such transgressions in the two records of Uttaramērūr occurs at the end of l. 4 of 'B' where it is laid down that failure to produce accounts for audit at the end of a period of office (*vāriyam*) shall permanently disqualify a person and his relatives for election to the *vāriyam*. This provision is part of a more detailed statement of disqualifications for election to the *vāriyam* that distinguishes the later record from that of two years before. In other words, what we have here is not the

* A prohibition at the end of l. 9 and beginning of l. 10 in 'A' is very obscure on account of gaps in the record. It has to be left on one side as it helps neither Venkayya's argument nor mine.

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statement of a concrete fact, but provision against a possible contingency.

It is not contended that village administration was always pure, or that dishonesty and embezzlement were unknown to the rural patriots of ancient times; cases of spoliation of temple funds and breaches of trust are common enough in our records; and the provision in 'B' just noticed is in itself evidence that such offences had to be thought of and carefully guarded against. The substance of my difference with Venkayya is simply this. There seems to me to be no evidence whatever in these two records from Uttaramērūr that the administration of this village was in a bad way in the years preceding the reform, or that such maladministration furnished the occasion for the reform itself. These records were unique when Venkayya studied them, and in his enthusiasm to explain their importance, he appears to have given rein to his imagination and read into the records much that was in his own mind. This may account for his view of the relation in which the two records stand to each other. He suggests that the rule of exclusion as stated in 'A' unduly restricted the field of choice for election to the committees and that the assembly, after the experience of two years, went back on its own rule and as a result, "the prohibition was restricted only to defaulting committee members and their relations." If by this, Venkayya means that there was no sort of restriction on members of committees who had served a term without being in default, this statement is not correct; for 'B' repeats * in identical words the rule from 'A' excluding from re-election to committees persons who had served on

* *A. S. I.* 1904-5 p. 143 (ii), and p. 139 l. 4 'B'.

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them 'this side of three years.' We see then that both 'A' and 'B' are agreed in forbidding re-election to the committees within an interval of three years, and that this rule applies not only to 'defaulting committee members' but to all. We may reserve for later consideration the position of the kinsmen of committee members in 'B' with reference to that in 'A'.

In fact, if we put aside the ideas suggested by Venkayya's comments and his emendations of the text in his translation, and if we concentrate attention on the words employed in the text of which a more literal rendering than Venkayya's has been furnished above, we can recognise only two conditions stated in it; (1) persons nominated for election to the committees should not have served on them during the three years preceding the date of election, and (2) they should not be close relations of those that had so served. We have shown that condition (1) is retained intact in the later record; condition (2) is indeed modified. We shall discuss the modifications and the reasons therefor later in dealing with 'B'. But the main point is that in the language employed in 'A', there is no evidence of any dissatisfaction felt towards any persons for abusing their position and power, and not a trace that the rule of exclusion is based on the past conduct of malefactors. It is the dry and neutral language of a legal document laying down a rule of procedure for future observance. The reason underlying the main rule forbidding re-elections within three years is not hard to seek; it is to make offices go round. Venkayya himself once recognised this* when he pointed out that the annual change of office-bearers and re-election to new committees after intervals of three years must have

* *A. R. E.* 1899, paragraph 72.

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stimulated a sustained civic interest. The motive for the exclusion of the 'close relations' (*aṇiya bandukkal*) must have been similar; in a country where the joint family has been so important a social factor, one can understand a rule based on the feeling that a person may be taken to represent his family circle.

'A' line 6: *śadēri (śēri) valiyē tiratti*: "(The tickets bearing the names) shall be collected in (each) street (*śēri*)," (Venkayya). Perhaps this is better translated as: 'The tickets bearing the names shall be gathered together according to *śēris*.' It must be noticed that there were thirty *kuḍumbu*s, constituted out of twelve *śēris*. Each *kuḍumbu* had to prepare (l. 3) name tickets (*kuḍavōlai*) (l. 6) answering to what we now call valid nominations, and when this had been done, the tickets were grouped together according to *śēris* before lots were drawn in the manner laid down in l. 7. Representation on the committees was according to *śēri* and *kuḍumbu*. These terms *śēri* and *kuḍumbu* occur in inscriptions from other places as well, and their exact place in local administration is yet to be worked out.

The brief record of the mode of election to the committees contained in this inscription is by no means easy to follow in its details. The later record (B) says distinctly that thirty names were chosen for service on committees, one from each *kuḍumbu*, and lays down the elaborate procedure to be followed at the election. The earlier record (A) also implies unmistakably that the total number of men chosen in one election was thirty. It makes the following statements: (1) the 'annual committee' must be so chosen that there are twelve members, one from each *śēri*, after the tickets have been gathered together (from the *kuḍumbus*)

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according to the *śēris* (ll. 6-7). (2) Before that * twelve men shall be chosen, as above (*mēṛpaḍi*), for the garden committee (ll. 7-8). (3) The remaining six tickets shall constitute the tank committee (ll. 8-9). (4) After the choice of thirty persons in this manner, they shall serve on the three committees for full three hundred and sixty days and then retire. There is nothing in the record to say how exactly it was to be secured that the two larger committees got one man from each *śēri* and from a different *kuḍumbu*, though this seems to be presumed throughout as the proper incidence of representation. On the other hand, it confuses the whole question by talking of tickets being collected according to *śēris*, of electing twelve, one from each *śēri* for one committee, and of twelve others elected similarly for another, and lastly, of the remaining six for yet a third. Again, while referring to future elections, it uses the phrase 'by allotting pot-tickets to *kuḍumbu* (*kuḍumbukku-kkuḍa-vōlai-iṭṭu*) (l. 9). Moreover, for appointing twelve persons for the *pañcavāra* and 'gold' committees (l. 10), thirty tickets were to be allotted to the thirty *kuḍumbus* and twelve chosen therefrom, one for each *śēri*. This is doubtless a badly drafted record, and its wording must have given rise to differences of opinion as to the exact procedure to be adopted at the election. If we consider the distinct superiority of the later record in this respect and the clearness and precision of the procedure laid down in it, and contrast it with the vagueness and the clumsiness that characterise the earlier document, the conclusion seems to be forced on us that the main reason for the revision of the *vyavasthai* (settlement) that was undertaken by the *Sabhā* after an interval of two years, must be sought in

* Venkayya would change this and have 'subsequent to this', though the text is clear. See *A. S. I.* 1904-5 p. 138 and n. 12.

the intolerable vexation arising from the imperfections of the earlier settlement which they had bound themselves to observe in perpetuity (l. 11).

'A' line 9 : *ivyavasthai-ōlai-ppadiyē* : 'According to this order of settlement' - (Venkayya). I prefer 'according to this deed of settlement.' The word 'ōlai', indeed often occurs in inscriptions in the sense of 'order', especially 'royal order' and this is perhaps the reason why Venkayya* and almost all other writers after him have maintained that the constitution of Uttaramērūr was laid down in a royal rescript and that the *Sabhā* had only to signify its assent to a constitution ordered from above. But there is no justification for overlooking the express declaration of the *Sabhā* repeatedly made in these two records † that it made the *vyavasthai* in the presence of an official who attended its meetings by royal order. Though not of Parāntaka's reign, there are not wanting examples of *Sabhās* stating clearly that they made certain changes in their constitutions at the instance of the king. These examples should warn us against disregarding express statements contained in our records. The proper meaning of 'ōlai' in this context is, therefore, not 'order' but 'deed' or 'record.' The word is used in many different connections; *kudavōlai* is thus closely analogous to *vyavasthai-ōlai*.

'A' l. 10 : *pañcavāravāriyattukkum poṇvāriyattukkum* : 'Pañcavāra' seems to have been some kind of a tax ‡ or levy the exact nature of which is not clear, though the suggestion may be ventured that it might have been meant to provide against famine (*pañjam*).

* "The royal order had evidently to be approved by the village assembly before it could take effect." *A. R. E.* 1899, paragraph 60.

† 'A' ll. 2-3; and 'B' ll. 2 and 17.

‡ No. 131 of 1912 and *A. R. E.* 1913 ll. 33; also *S. I. I.* ll. p. 512 n. 3.

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The duties of the *pañcavāra* committee were perhaps connected with its assessment and collection. The discovery of the real nature of '*pañcavāra*' antiquates Venkayya's suggestion * that originally every village had only five committees, that it was the duty of the '*pañcavāra-vāriyam*' to supervise their work, and that the name was kept on even after the number of committees to be supervised became more than five.

The gold committee (*poṇ-vāriyam*) is generally taken to have regulated the currency. As it is not possible, however, to imagine how village committees can undertake this general function of administration, we must try and find a more satisfactory explanation. '*Poṇ*' in the inscriptions of South India often means a coin of specific weight; but the standard of fineness seems to have varied with different types, and there are clear references in the records of money endowments to the fineness and weight of the gold made over by the donors for specified purposes. There must have been some person or persons to take charge of such endowments or at least to testify in a public manner to the weight and fineness of the gold in such instances. It seems probable that the '*poṇ-vāriyam*' performed these functions.

'A' l. 10: *muppadu kuḍumbilum....paṇṇiruvārīlum* : Here the procedure for election to these two committees is even less specific in one important respect; we are distinctly told that only thirty tickets were to be put in for all the thirty *kuḍumbus* in the first instance (*muppadu kuḍavōlai ittu*) and that out of these thirty, twelve were selected for the two committees, one from each *śēri*. But how the first thirty were obtained we are

* A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 145 n. *Pañcavāra* has little to do with *aimperuṅguḷu*, contra Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in *I. A.*, May 1932.

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not informed. Another instance of the imperfect drafting of the record.

‘A’ l. 11: *piṇṇai avvāriyattukku kuḍavōlai iḍa pperādadāgavum*: These words seem to imply that, under these rules, lots were drawn separately for each committee. If this was so, it did not matter whether the garden committee was elected *before* or *after* the annual committee.

‘A’ ll. 11-12: At first sight these lines seem to support Venkayya’s translation which says that the royal letter issued by the emperor directed that from that year committees should be chosen for ever in the manner laid down. But this contradicts the claim of the *Sabhā* that it made the settlement. It will be seen also that Venkayya’s translation understands ‘*śrīmukham*’ as ‘the royal letter’ which laid down the constitution and ‘*āṇai*’ as ‘the royal order’ by which Tattaṇūr-mūvenda-vēḷān sat with the assembly. If we recall the phrase ‘*śrīmukhappaḍi āṇaiyiṇāl*’ (ll. 1-2) used earlier in this inscription, we shall notice easily the unsoundness of this separation of ‘*śrīmukham*’ from ‘*āṇai*’ in the translation of this passage. In fact the principal sentence in these lines is: *eṇṇum kuḍavōlai vāriyamēy iḍuvadāga Tattaṇūr-mūvenda-vēḷān uḍaṇṇirukka vyayasthai śeydōm Uttaramēru-caturvēdimāṅgalattu sabhaiyōm*; and the numerous titles of the king followed by *śrīmukham aruḷicceydu varakkāṭṭa śrī āṇaiyiṇāl* are explanatory of *uḍaṇ-irukka*; the clause *nam grāmattu duṣṭar ketṭu śiṣṭar vardhittiḍuvārāga* gives the general motive of the settlement. The translation of these lines may be revised as follows: “In order that the wicked men of our village may perish and the good prosper, we, the members of the assembly of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimāṅgalam made this settlement: that in this

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manner, from this year forward as long as the sun and the moon endure, (we shall) invariably choose committees only by the method of pot-tickets—Tattaṇṇūr-mūvēnda-vēḷān being present with us by order in accordance with the letter received and shown to us as graciously issued by the lord of the gods, the emperor, Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa Śrī Parāntakadēva *alias* Parakēsarivarman. ”

Duṣṭar keṭṭu śiṣṭar vardhittiduvārāga : In view of some statements made by Venkayya, it seems necessary to say that this expression has no very specific significance. It is the object of all government to restrain the wicked and promote the welfare of the good Venkayya understands by ‘*śiṣṭa*’ ‘the rest’, and ‘B’ has ‘*viśiṣṭar*’ in the same context in the place of ‘*śiṣṭar*’. But the whole formula occurring in the record of the proceedings of a Brahman assembly has to be understood, it seems to me, in the light of the celebrated adage of the *Gīta* : “*paritrāṇāya sādḥūnām vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām*” (IV. 8.) In any case, I cannot help feeling that Venkayya has treated these words as a more concrete account of the affairs of the village than in reality they are. He says : * “We have reason to suppose that local administration was very near being wrecked in an important village not far from the premier city of the Cōḷa dominions, (Kāñcīpuram). The rules regulating the constitution of village assemblies (!) and the method of selection of committee members seem to have been lax, and unscrupulous and ignorant men appear to have taken advantage of the opportunity to embezzle communal funds, and would not render accounts. † The king deputed one of his

* *A. S. I.* 1904-5, pp. 134-5.

† These statements appear to be based on a clause in ‘B’ disqualifying from service on committees persons who after serving on them once failed to submit accounts for audit.

Śūdra officers, with special instructions, in A. D. 918-9, to set matters right. Owing, perhaps, to his want of experience and to the excitement of the villagers over the evil doings of the 'wicked men' of the village, the rules which he promulgated (A below) must have made matters worse, and the consequences of his mistakes were felt during the second year the rules were in operation. The king had to depute a Brāhmaṇa officer of his from the Cōḷa country to improve upon the system devised more than a year ago. Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of the fourteenth year of the king's reign (A. D. 920-21) a carefully worked out set of rules (B below) was framed and promulgated in order that the 'wicked men of the village might perish and the rest prosper.' The rules leave no doubt whatever as to who the wicked men were and wherein their wickedness lay." These statements of Venkayya give a measure of the extent to which he allowed the general formula about *duṣṭa nigrāha* and *śiṣṭa paripālana* so well established in the parlance of Indian Sanskrit culture to influence his view of the settlement of the constitution of the committees by the *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr. And one can hardly fail to observe that the identity of the 'wicked men' who caused all the trouble does not seem to be so clear from the records as it was to Venkayya, or that the difference in the caste of the officers deputed by the king on the two occasions might have been anything more than an accident. In any event, there is nothing in the words employed in the inscriptions that cannot be explained without supposing that the Śūdra officer bungled it and that the Brāhmaṇa officer of the Cōḷa country was more successful in dealing with the situation. The reforms consisted, in our view, in the introduction in Uttaramērūr of a fully developed committee system of village administration

for the first time in the twelfth year of Parāntaka by the *Sabhā* of that place, and in the clearer and more precise definition, two years later, of the rules governing the elections to the committees. The blame, if any, for the vagueness and uncertainty of the original rules, and the credit for the precision and clarity of the revised version must alike attach primarily to the assembly itself. The single official who was present by the king's order on either occasion, though he might have had a share in guiding the proceedings of the assembly by the respect he would have commanded as the king's representative, can hardly be held responsible for the settlement reached at the end or even for the form of expression adopted.

Before taking up 'B' for consideration, the results of the foregoing discussion may be summed up. There is nothing to support Venkayya's view that 'A' embodies a reform of the administration of Uttaramērūr undertaken and carried out by the Cōla king Parāntaka I to rescue it from the corruption and inefficiency caused by wicked men having gained control of it. For its plausibility this view depends on (a) a too literal understanding of the general phrase at the end of 'A': 'so that the wicked may perish and the good prosper', which gives the rationale of all government and regulation, and (b) a reading into the earlier record of notions derived from the later one about embezzlement of public funds and failure to submit accounts. If we put aside the false suggestions arising from these faulty steps—even 'B' speaks only of accounts not being submitted, not of embezzlement (end of l. 4)—we see clearly the nature of the rules governing service on committees, and realise that, far from being the result of indignation against particular persons who had ruined the village and the management of its affairs,

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they are only dominated by a natural desire to afford equal opportunities of service to all eligible men.

What then were the nature and occasion of the reform and by whom was it effected? Its nature consisted evidently in the introduction of a well-developed committee system, apparently till then unknown in the management of the affairs of Uttaramērūr. The earliest mention of the *vāriyam* is in an inscription from the Tinnevely district, and though no final account of the history of this organisation can be attempted in the present state of research, it seems probable that the system was of gradual growth. Earlier and tentative attempts to divide the work of the village among individual members may have grown in course of time into an elaborate system of management through committees with a clearly marked division of labour among them. And the presence of the king's official at the meeting of the assembly shows that the king had something to do with the reform. But the words of the inscription leave no doubt that the essential points of the decision were reached by the assembly at its meeting; there is, however, no means of deciding whether this reform was undertaken on the initiative of the king or of the assembly itself. If, as seems not unlikely, the *vāriyam* system was sought to be developed further at Uttaramērūr than was common at the time among the assemblies of other villages, the king would have had good reason to send out an officer to watch the nature of the changes introduced by the assembly of Uttaramērūr. And the novelty of the system more than anything else may go far to explain the imperfections of the first constitution.

This brings us to a consideration of the differences between 'A' and 'B.' The most important of these

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aim at giving clearer expression to the qualifications of candidates for election to the committees and to the procedure to be followed in the elections. There are some other changes of a minor character. These will become clear in the course of the detailed comments that follow.

‘B’ ll. 1-2: See the notes on ‘*ivvāṇḍu mudal*’ and ‘*śrīmukhappaḍi āṇaiyiṇāl*’ under ‘A’ ll. 1-2. The expressions used are more detailed throughout, e. g., ‘*eṇḡaḷukku śrīmukham varakkāṭṭa śrīmukhappaḍi āṇaiyiṇāl*’. The name of the king is mentioned here unlike in ‘A’, and the name of the Brahman officer deputed by the king is given fully with the country, district, and town from which he came. There is however nothing to show that in official status or in the scope of his reference he differed from Tattaṇṇūrmūvenda-vēḷān of ‘A’.

‘B’ l. 3: *eḷubadu pirāyattin kīḷ muppattaindu pirāyattin mēlpattār*: The age limit here laid down is 35 to 70 as against 30 to 60 of ‘A’. Venkayya suggested * that this change was due either to ‘young men’ having kept the company of ‘wicked men’ or to experience having shown rashness still persisting in the administration of the committees. This will account for raising the lower age-limit from 30 to 35 but not for putting up the higher limit. It would seem that this variation in the age-limits prescribed for service on committees has no very special reason underlying it, unless it be a realisation that too many competent people in the village over sixty had been kept out by the earlier rule, and that the newer limits were more in accordance with the age-distribution of the population in the village. In other words, this may

* A. R. E. 1899, paragraph 70.

be only a minor change which was effected incidentally because a revision of the rules had been necessitated by more imperious reasons.

‘B’ l. 3: *mantra-brāhmaṇam vallān ōduvittarī vāṇai*: This expression takes the place of *vēdattilum śāstrattilum kāryattilum nipuṇar ennappattiruppārai* (l. 4) of ‘A.’ The statements in this record concerning the qualifications of persons eligible for service on committees, the classes of persons who shall be excluded from such service and the period of such exclusion are very clear and definite. The qualifications include conditions regarding age, property and learning, besides general ability and character. The phrase now under consideration makes the educational qualifications more definite than before. To say that a person must have a reputation for being learned in the Veda and the Śāstra, as ‘A’ said, was to give no clear indication of the standard of learning that entitled a man to have his name included among the pot-tickets. This question of the exact standard of learning implied in the original rule was, we may presume, much canvassed among the meticulous *vaidiks* of Uttaramērūr. As a result, the standard was carefully laid down. Ordinarily a candidate had to know the *mantra-brāhmaṇa* * and possess experience in expounding it. It may be recalled here that, in a similar context, the Mānūr inscription requires candidates to possess a knowledge of *mantra-brāhmaṇa* and one *dharma*.

‘B’ ll. 3-4: *araikkānilamē.....puga iḍuvadāgavum*: The assembly of Uttaramērūr apparently took account of the usual divorce between learning and riches, and

* Monier-Williams gives this phrase the meaning ‘Mantras and Brāhmaṇas’ and also notes that it is the name of a work. Venkayya felt a slight difficulty with *ōduvittarīvāṇ*, and suggested that it should be *ōduvikkā arīvāṇ*. But the former phrase means really “one who has known teaching”, i. e. possesses experience of it.

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fixed the property qualification of very learned men at half the usual standard. Thus a person versed in a Veda in its entirety and possessed of experience in teaching one of the four *bhāṣyas* might have only $1/8$ *nīlam* instead of the usual $1/4$.

It will be observed that the short sentences in this inscription are much easier to follow than the long-winded sentence in 'A' (ll. 3-7) which mixes up in one unwieldy statement the qualifications and disqualifications of members and the details of the process of election.

'B' l. 4: *mūvāṭṭin ippuraṁ vāriyaṇṇeydilāttārai* : This phrase must be carefully noted as excluding from committees all persons who had served on them within the three years preceding the election simply by reason of such service. According to Venkayya this three year rule unduly limited the field of choice and was, as he mistakenly thought, dropped when, in A. D. 920-21 (the date of this record), "the prohibition was restricted only to defaulting committee members and their relatives." As a matter of fact, by the arrangement of clauses in this record, not to have served on any of the committees in the three years preceding the year to which the particular election related, was as much one of the qualifications requisite for valid candidature as the possession of property, learning and character.

'B' ll. 4-6: *eppērppaṭṭa... . . . puga iḍa pperāttār-āgavum* : This is the first of the series of clauses enumerating crimes and sins which resulted in a permanent or temporary exclusion of those who committed them from service on the committees. These clauses are for the most part new, as is also the phrase '*āsāramuḍaiyarāṇārāiyēy*' among the qualifications in l. 4, of which phrase most of the new clauses constitute an explanation.

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The first prohibitory clause deals with those who had served on committees and were in default, and their relatives. The earlier record pronounced a general prohibition directed against the relatives of all persons who had served on committees. This general prohibition was perhaps too wide, vague and unjust in its incidence. First, it did not define the relatives in any more specific manner than by employing the adjective 'close' (*aṇiya*). Secondly, it did not specify any period of time to which the prohibition applied. For these reasons, and possibly out of a sense of the injustice of excluding for an indefinite period the relatives of all men, good and bad alike, who had served on the committees, the assembly felt the need for making the exclusions and prohibitions more specific in character and duration. We find, accordingly that this first clause only excludes those who, having served on committees, failed to render accounts, and twelve classes of their relatives from service on committees; but it specifies no period, and we have therefore to assume that a permanent exclusion of these persons was contemplated. The same must be taken to apply to all similar cases that follow.

'B' l. 7: *kaiyūtṭa*: Venkayya translates this into 'forbidden dish.' For this translation for which little or no support is derived from the dictionaries or from literary usage, he seems to depend on the reference to '*kṛta prāyaścittam*' which follows. This he thinks is a mistake for '*ghṛta prāyaścitta*' and cites * *Manu* XI 215 in support. But '*ghṛta prāyaścitta*' is not a term known to *Dharmaśāstra* literature; the drinking of hot ghee for three days is part of a long *prāyaścitta* known as '*taptakṛcchra*' (*Manu* XI 215) which *Manu* prescribes as

* *A. S. I.* 1904-5, p. 143, n. 10.

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penance for eating forbidden food (XI 157). The whole passage in the inscription is difficult, and '*kaiyūttu*' has been interpreted by the Tamil Lexicon as 'bribe,' which seems to be no more than a guess as no other text is cited in support of the meaning and as it makes the following reference to '*prāyaścitta*' even more unintelligible.

'B' l. 7: '*avavar prāṇāntikam*': 'To the end of his life', (Venkayya). This phrase casts a doubt on the proper view to be taken of the period to which exclusions with no duration attached to them were meant to apply. The following is a *resume* of the clauses of prohibitions and the duration, if any, laid down by each:

(1) members of committees who after their period of service did not submit accounts and their relatives (specified), no period;

(2) those who committed incest and the first four *mahāpātakas* and their relatives as specified in (1), no period;

(3) *samsargapatitas* (those who incurred sin by contact with sinners), till they perform *prāyaścittam*;

(4) *sāhasiyar* (nature not clear owing to a gap in the inscription), no period;

(5) those who stole others' property, no period;

(6) those who became pure by some *prāyaścitta* for taking *kaiyūttu*, to the end of their lives;

(7) those who became pure by *prāyaścitta* for committing *pātakam*, for having turned *grāmakaṇṭakas*, or for having committed incest, to the end of their lives.

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It will be observed that those who committed incest, *agamyāgamanam*, are included both in (2) and (7), and that while (7) gives the term of exclusion as the whole life-time of the persons concerned, (2) gives no period. We may perhaps conclude that all the prohibitions except (3) were intended to be permanent.

‘B’ l. 9: *āga iccuttappatta.....iḍuvadāgavum*: Here begin the rules of procedure for the election which, by contrast with the brief statement on this subject in ‘A,’ strike us as remarkably clear and full. The clause quoted here lays down clearly that the pot-tickets collected from each *kuḍumbu* were tied together in one bunch, and a descriptive label attached to it. The bunches of all the thirty *kuḍumbus* were then deposited in the pot in that form. Note the important points that the tickets were not, as laid down in ‘A,’ to be collected according to *śēris*, and that this change in procedure is very carefully marked in the language employed.

‘B’ ll. 9-11: *kuḍavōlai parikkumbōdu.....ōrō-pēr koḷvadāgavum*: These lines embody the arrangements calculated to secure full publicity and the elimination of all chance of fraud in the conduct of the election. The whole *Mahāsabhā* met; the temple priests had a special part; they sat in an inner enclosure and conducted the election in the presence of the entire *Mahāsabhā*. The phrase *mahāsabhaiyilē uḷ maṇḍagattilēy iruttikkonḍu* means *not* ‘be caused to be seated in the inner hall, (where) the great assembly (meets)’ (Venkayya), but “be caused to sit in the inner *maṇḍapa* of the assembly.” From what follows, we see that this inner *maṇḍapa* must have been so situated that a person standing in it might be seen by the whole assembly. The phrase *pagalēy antaram aṟiyādāṇoru - pāḷaṇai-kkonḍu* has been

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translated by Venkayya into 'by any young boy standing close, who does not know what is inside.' It corresponds, however, quite clearly, to '*ēdum uruvariyādāṇ oru bālaṇaikkonḍu*' of 'A' (ll. 6-7), and surely means "by a young boy who cannot even by day distinguish (between one thing and another)." Note also the double use of the lot.

'B' ll. 11-12: *ikkonḍa muppadu.....karai kātṭi-kkoḷ-vadāgavum*: These clauses deal with the personnel of the committees to be constituted from the thirty representatives of the *kuḍumbus* elected by lot in the manner prescribed in the preceding clauses. (1) The annual committee was to include persons who had served on the garden and tank committees and those who were notable for their age or learning. No statement is made as to the number of members of this committee; but we may infer that it was twelve from the way the next two sentences mention 'twelve people out of the rest' and 'the remaining six' as constituting the (2) garden committee and (3) the tank committee respectively. By its name, and by the special stress on previous experience in the committees and on pre-eminence in age or learning among its members, the annual committee appears to have been considered the most important among the committees. What the exact nature of its work was and how it was more important than that of the other committees can be ascertained only by a more detailed study of the working of committees in Uttaramērūr and elsewhere than can be undertaken here.

The provision that ex-members of the garden and tank committees should, if elected, be preferred for the annual committee calls for some consideration. Except in the case of the annual committee, the rules in

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'A' forbade the re-election of the same person, even after the three year interval, to the same committee ('A' l. 11). This restriction does not appear in 'B'. How many of the thirty representatives of the *kuḍumbus* chosen in any year possessed experience of service on committees was purely a matter of accident. If our view, that the committee system was first adopted for the management of the affairs of the *Sabhā* when 'A' was drawn up, is accepted, the rule against the re-election of any person who had served on a committee within the three years preceding the election would have precluded any person with such experience getting on the panel of thirty in the first year or two after 'B' came into force. On the other hand, there was nothing to prevent more than twelve such persons being included in the panel in subsequent years. In either event, the preference shown to age and learning would guide the choice of the twelve for the annual committee. .

The mode of choice for the garden and tank committees is described by the words '*karai kāṭṭi*' (l. 12) which as Venkayya rightly says * must be taken to mean the same thing as "*karāi parittu*" of l. 15. Venkayya understood the expression to mean something like 'oral expression of opinion.'

'B' ll. 12-13: '*vāriyaṇṇeṇṇāninaṇṇārāi...olittuvadāgam*': This is a clear right of recall which the assembly reserves to itself. It is unknown to 'A'. We are not informed whether a vacancy that arose by such recall was filled before the next annual election and what civic disabilities attached to a person so recalled. It was doubtless a power meant to keep the men in office on the straight path and exercised by the assembly only on rare occasions. No instance of the exercise of this power is known.

* 23. *A. S. I.* 1904-5 p. 144 n 3.

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‘B’ l. 13: *paññirandū śēriyilum dharmakṛtyāṅ-gaḍai-kkāṇum vāriyarē*: “The members of ‘the committee for supervision of justice’ in the twelve streets” (Venkayya). It may well be doubted, *pace* Venkayya, if this body of men, with whom the initiative rests to ask the *madhyastha* to convene the meeting of the assembly for the annual elections, was a committee of the assembly like the other committees. Literally translated, the phrase means: “the *vāriyar* who supervise *dharmakṛtyam* in the *śēris* (shall) by themselves.” This looks different from a separate ‘justice committee,’* on a par with the ‘garden committee’, ‘annual committee’ etc. Further, supervision of ‘*dharmakṛtyam*’ may not be so much ‘supervision of justice’—it is hard to see what this might mean—as ‘administration of charitable trusts.’ When the term of office of one set of committees came to a close and a new set had to be formed, the ‘*vāriyar*’ who were in charge of the administration of charitable trusts in the twelve ‘*śēris*’ were to act together and request the *madhyastha* to summon the assembly for the elections. It is difficult to say if the ‘*vāriyar*’ were members of the committees of the assembly with the constitution of which the whole record deals, or if they were *ad hoc* officials who supervised charities and were appointed by the assembly in some manner of which we have no knowledge. On the former supposition, they might have been all members of the ‘annual committee’ which might have been responsible for the maintenance of charities.† But it is hard to see why, if this was so, the inscription does not make it clear. It is also possible that supervision of charitable works might have been divided among

* *Contra* A. R. E. 1889 paragraph 71 where Venkayya admits that no rules are laid down for its choice and suggests that they were part of the annual supervision committee.

† No. 8 of 1898.

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some of the thirty committee-men of a year irrespective of their membership in particular committees. However that may be, we have no evidence of a separate 'justice committee' here.

'B' ll. 13-15: *pañcavāra vāriyattukkum.....karai paṇittu kkoḷvadāgavum*: For the choice of the *pañcavāra* and gold committees the process of election is the same as before up to the choice of thirty representatives, one from each *kuḍumbu*; and this is briefly but clearly indicated by the words used in the context. Then, there is a notable difference between 'A' and 'B' with regard to representation on these two committees. 'A' prescribed their election by *śēris*, so that every year each *śēri* had a representative on one or the other of these two committees. 'B' evinces an equal anxiety that the membership of these committees should go round; but representation on these committees is by '*kuḍumbus*' (not *śēris*). And the twelve *kuḍumbus* which sent representatives in any one year were excluded from the next year's election to these committees. The result was that after the first year's election under the new rules, twelve *kuḍumbus* out of thirty were retired from the field of selection by an automatic rotation, and thus there would be, in any year, only eighteen eligible *kuḍumbus* from which twelve were chosen for representation on these two committees. In fact it becomes clear at this point that the most fundamental difference between 'A' and 'B' is to be sought in the manner in which 'B' seeks to avoid, at every step, the confusion that resulted from linking the *śēri* with the *kuḍumbu*, in the rules laid down by 'A', for purposes of representation on the committees. As a result we are able to follow quite clearly all the stages in the representative system laid down in 'B'. The superiority of its technique over that of 'A' is unmistakable.

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But why exactly, both in 'A' and 'B', two elections of a like nature are contemplated, one for the election of the annual, garden and tank committees, and the second for the *pañcavāra* and gold committees, does not seem to be easy of explanation. It looks as if this feature in 'B' was the relic of the attempt made in 'A' to secure the equal representation of the twelve *śēris* thrice over—once on the annual committee, a second time on the garden committee, and lastly, on the *pañcavāra* and gold committees together. And it would appear that 'A' contemplated not two but three separate elections, though this, like so much else in 'A,' is far from clear. But the system broke down on account of its clumsiness, and the attempt to treat the *śēri* as a political unit of equal importance with the *kudumbu* had to be given up. The result is seen in the system of 'B' which linked the *kudumbu* directly with the committees. The number of members of the committees fixed by the original system was, however, retained; this necessitated the election in all of 42 persons for five committees (12, plus 12, plus 6, plus 6, plus 6), and there were only thirty *kudumbus*. Given the conditions of the problem, thirty *kudumbus* to form the constituencies, forty-two members to be chosen, and equality of representation to be attained, it seems hardly possible to improve upon the device of the double-election combined with the automatic retirement, by rotation, of some *kudumbus* every year from the second election.

'B' l. 15: *kaṇakku-pperuṅguri-pperumakkaḷ*: This seems to be a reference to an aspect of the administration of Uttaramērūr of which we do not hear anything else in the two records before us. Venkayya translates the sentence containing this phrase as follows: "No accountant shall be appointed to that office again

before he submits his accounts (for the period during which he was in office) to the great men of the big committee and (is declared) to have been honest." His note that *kaṇakku* is unnecessarily repeated after *kūḍa* in l. 15 shows that he made this translation by taking the *kaṇakku* in the phrase extracted above as the object of 'kāṭṭi', and not as an integral part of the compound word in which it occurs. He also thought evidently that the *peruṅguṟi-pperumakkaḷ* (the great men of the big committee) were the authority to whom the accounts had to be submitted for audit. All this seems unsatisfactory if we examine the text closely.

The form '*kaṇakku-pperuṅguṟi-pperumakkaḷ*' and the presence of the second '*kaṇakku*' which Venkayya brushed aside as superfluous, together with the words '*ōḍu kūḍa*' after '*perumakkaḷ*' decidedly point to another way of translating the sentence.

The '*kaṇakku-pperuṅguṟi-pperumakkaḷ*' appear to have been an accounts-committee assisted by an accountant, and both of them were together responsible for the proper maintenance of the general accounts of the village. It was the duty of the accountant to be present with the accounts-committee at the time of audit and to explain everything to the satisfaction of the auditors, and this clause lays it down that until he had discharged this duty, he was not eligible for fresh appointment either to the same place or to any other accountant's place. This explanation implies that the sentence does not say who were to conduct the audit. I am inclined to accept this implication as correct, and to suggest that the audit was conducted by royal officers specially deputed for the purpose by the central government. There are several instances of the accounts of temples being audited by the officers of the

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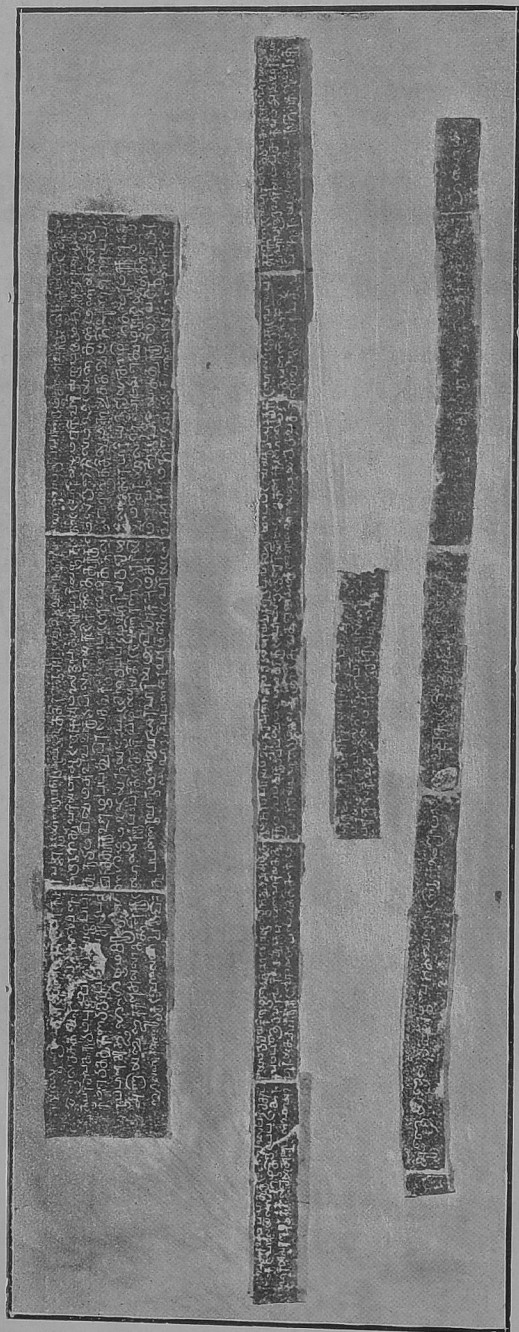
central government. The only other course is to make the 'kaṇakku-pperuṅguṟi-pperumakkaḷ' themselves the auditors ; but this seems to be somewhat difficult in the face of the emphatic 'ōḍu kūḍa.' We may therefore translate the sentence as follows : "No one who wrote accounts shall be allowed to enter on (writing) other accounts except after he clears himself by submitting accounts (for the period of his office) together with the members of the accounts-committee." I am inclined to treat *perumakkaḷ* and *peruṅguṟi* tentatively as technical terms simply meaning 'members' and 'assembly'. The term *perumakkaḷ* often enough occurs in connection with committees. But *peruṅguṟi* seems generally to apply to the whole assembly. It is possible therefore that the *kaṇakku-pperuṅguṟi-pperumakkaḷ* were persons directly chosen by the assembly (*Sabhā*) for the purpose of submitting the accounts for audit by officers of the central government on behalf of the entire administration of the village, or for themselves auditing the accounts. On this view, the translation of the phrase would be "the members of the assembly (chosen) for (submitting or auditing) accounts."

B. l. 17 : *uḍan irundu ippariṣu śeyvikka* : Venkayya translates 'sat with (us) and thus caused (this settlement) to be made', and I accept this translation as correct. There is nothing else in *l. 17* bearing on the part played by the royal official. I am unable to follow Venkayya's statements : "The wording in *l. 17* makes it likely that the settlement was actually made by Śōmāśiperumāṇ and the village assembly very probably agreed to carry it out"; and more emphatically still, "the later settlement appears to have been actually drawn up by the king's officer and formally accepted by the assembly." * I have already stated that the

* *A. S. I.* 1904-5 p. 142 n. 7; p. 145 n. 6.

phrase '*uḍan irundu śeyvikka* means practically the same thing as '*uḍan irukka*' of 'A' in the same context.

We read the meaning of the Uttaramērūr inscriptions somewhat differently from Venkayya who was the first to interpret these difficult epigraphs, and from others who, sometimes with less excuse, have unquestioningly reproduced his statements.. We do not think that there is any evidence in these records to show that village government in Uttaramērūr was going to rack and ruin before the reforms of the twelfth and fourteenth years of Parāntaka. We are unable to agree that the king's government had on such occasions more than a general right to remonstrate with the assembly through an officer specially deputed for the purpose. We are inclined to ascribe both the demerits of the first settlement and the merits of the second rather to the assembly than to the king's government. And we seek the cause of the breakdown of the first settlement, not in the caste of the king's officers, but in the intrinsic defects of the system of representation devised on the first occasion. These defects were remedied by two improvements which, above all, distinguish 'B' from 'A'. The attempt to secure representation for the *śēris* as such is given up, and the *kuḍumbu* is directly linked to the *vāriyam*. Secondly, the lot is employed twice in each election, to decide the order in which the *kuḍumbus* are taken up for the choice of representatives as well as to choose the member for the year from among the eligible candidates of each *kuḍumbu*. These improvements simplified the whole procedure by removing the confusing uncertainties of the earlier rules. Such are some of the main differences. Of the details, the translations of the records that follow will give a better idea than any summary of the results of this long discussion.



A-TEXT.

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APPENDIX II.

A—T E X T.

1 Svasti śrī (||) (Madi)r(ai) - koṇ(ḍa kō = Ppa)-
rakēsarivarmarkku yāṇḍu paṇiraḍu āvadu (||)
Uttiramēruccatu(r)vē(d)imaṅgalattu sabh(ai)yō(m) ivv-
āṇḍu mudal e(n)gaḷ = ūr śrīmukappaḍi āṇai-

2 yi(ṇ)āl Tattānū(r - M)ūvē(nda)vēlāṇ irundu
v(ā)riyam = (ā)ga āṭṭ = orukkālum sam(va)tsara-v(ā)riya-
mun-dōṭṭa-vāriyamum (ēri)-vā(riya)mum iḍuvadaṇku
vyavas(thai) śey-

3 da pariś = āvadu (||) kuḍumbu mup(pad = āy)
muppadu kuḍumbilum avvava-kuḍu(m*)bilā(rē)y kūḍi
kā = ṇi(la)ttukku mēl iṇai-nilam uḍaiyāṇ taṇ maṇaiyilē a-

4 gam eḍuttukoṇḍu irup(pāṇaiy) aṇ(u)ba(du-
pi)rā(ya*)ttukku uḷ muppadu pirāyattukku mēlpaṭṭār
vēdattilum śāstrattilum kā(r)yyattilum nīpuṇar =
eṇṇappaṭṭ = i-

5 ruppārai a(r*)ttha-śausamum āt(ma)-ś(au)śa-
mum uḍaiyar = āy mūv-(ā)ṭṭiṇ i-ppuṇam vāriyaṇ = jey-
(di)l(ā)tt(ā)r (v)āriyaṇ = jeyd = oḷinda (p)erumak-
kaḷukku-

6 aṇiya bandukkaḷ allāttār(ai) = kkuḍav-ōlaikku =
ppēr tīṭṭi = ccēri-valiyēy tiraṭ(ṭi) pa(ṇ)ṇiraṇḍu sēriyilum
sēriyāl oru-pē(r-ām-āṇu) ēdum = uru(v = a)riyāttāṇ =
oru-

7 bāla(ṇai) = kkoṇḍu kuḍav-ōlai (v)āṅguvi(t)tu =
ppaṇṇiruvārum sam(vatsa)ra-vāriyam = āvid-āgavum (||)
a(di)ṇ miṇbēy tōṭṭa-vāriyattukku mēṇpaḍi ku(ḍa)v-(ō)-

8 lai vāṅgi = ppaṇṇiruvārum tōṭṭa-vāriyam = (ā)-
vad = ā(ga)vum (||) niṇṇa (a)ṇu-(kuḍa)v-ōlaiy(u)m ēri-
vāriya(m = ā*)-

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9 vad = āgavu = mup(pa)du kuḍav = (ō)lai pa-
 (ri)ccu v(ā)riyam śeygiṇ(ṛa*) mūṇṇu (t)irattu v(ā)-
 riyamum muṇṇūṇṇ-a(ṛubadu) n(ā)ḷu(m) (ni)ram(ba*)
 (v)āriyam oḷin(da) aṇan(ta)ra(m) iḍu(m vā)r(i)yaṅgal
 (i - vya)vasthai(y - ō)(lai*)ppaḍiyēy kuḍumbukku =
 kkudav-ōlai iṭṭu = kkudav - ōlai pa(ṛi)cuk(ko)ṇḍ(ē)y
 vā(ri)yam (i)ḍuvad = āgavum (||) vāriyaṇ = jeydār(k*)ku
 bandhukkaḷum ś(ē)rigaḷil a(nyōnya)mm(ē) * * *

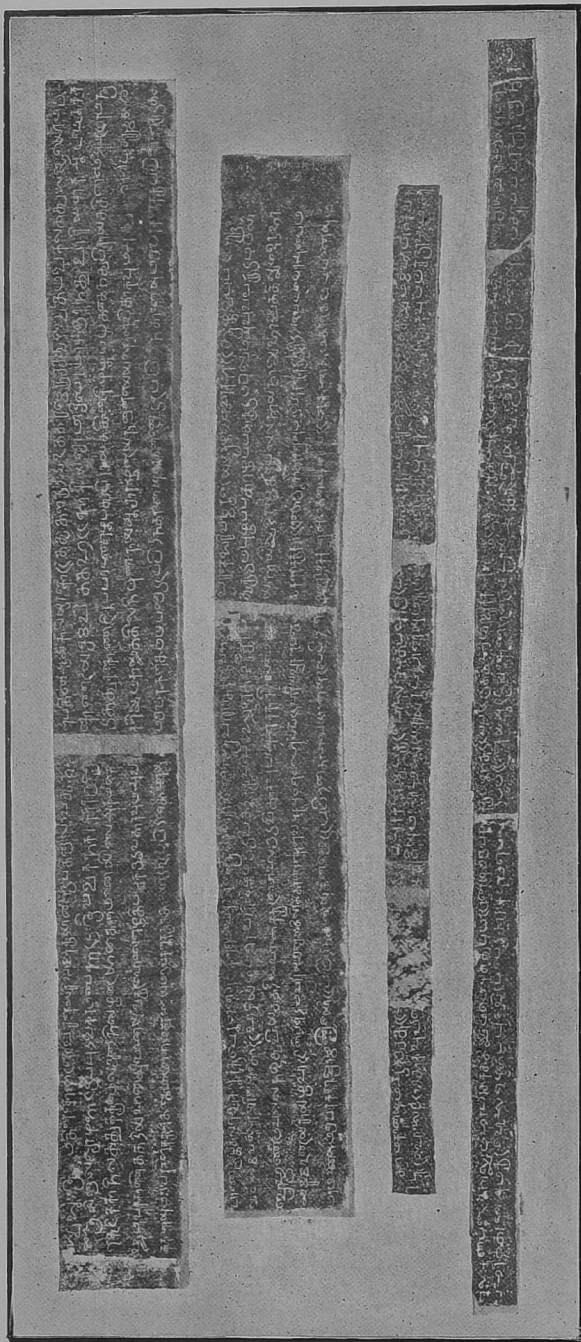
10 m kuḍav-ōlaiyi(l) pēr eḷudi i(ḍa)ppaḍādār
 = (ā)gavum (||) pañjavāra-vāri(ya)ttukkum poṇ-vāri-
 yattukkum muppadu kuḍu(m)b(i)lum mup(padu)
 kuḍa(v-ō)lai iṭṭu śēriyāl o(ru)ttarai = kkudav-ōlai
 pari(t)tu paṇṇiruvārilum (a)ṛuvar (pa)ṇja(vāra*)-
 vāriyam = āvad-āgavum (||) aṛuvar p(oṇ)-vāriyam =
 āvad-āgavu(m) (||) samvatsara-vāri(ya)m allātta

11 vāriya(ṇ)gal (o)rukkāl śeydā(rai pi)ṇṇai a-(v)-
 vāriyattukku kuḍav-ō(lai) iḍa = pperādād-āgavum (||)
 (i)-ppariśēy = ivv-āṇḍu mudal ca(ṇḍr)ā(ditta)vat e(ṇ)rum
 (ku)ḍav-ōlai (vāri)yamēy iḍuvad = āga Dēvēndraṇ
 ca(kra)varti (śrī) Vīranārāyaṇaṇ śrī-Parāntakadēvar =
 āgi(ya) Parakēsariva(r)mar śrīmugam a(ru)ḷicceydu
 va(rakk)āṭṭa-

12 śrī-āṇaiyiṇāl Tattanūr - Mū(vē)nda(vē)ḷān =
 uḍaṇ = irukka nam grāmatt(u ḍu)ṣṭar keṭṭu śiṣṭar
 varddhi(tti)ḍuvār = āga (vyava)sthai śey(dō)m (Ut)-
 taramē(ru*)-ca(turv)ēdimaṅgalat(tu) sabh(ai)yōm (||)

B—T E X T

1 Svasti śrī (||) Maḍirai-koṇḍa kō Parakēsari-
 vanma(r)kku yāṇḍu paḍiṇālāvadu nāl paḍiṇ-āṛu (||)
 Kāliyūr - kōṭṭattu taṇ - kūṇṇu Uttaramēru - catu(r)-
 vēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-āṇḍu mudal (e)ṇgaḷukku



B-TEXT (LINES 1-7).

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Peru(m)āṇ-āḍigaḷ Emberumāṇ śrī-Vīranārāyaṇan
 śrī-Parāntakadēvan (śrī) - Parakēsarivanmaruḍaiya
 śrīmukham varakkāṭṭa śrīmukhappaḍi ā-

2 jñaiyiṇāl Śōḷa-nāṭṭu = Ppuṇṅarambai-nāṭṭu
 Śrīvaṅganagar = Kkaraṇjai-Koṇḍayakramavitta-bhaṭṭan
 = āgiya Śōmāsiperumān irundu vāriyam = āga āṭ(t=o)-
 ruk(ā)lum samvatsara-vāriyam(m) toṭṭa-vāriyamum
 ēri-vāriyamum iḍuvadaṅku vyavasthai sēda pariś = ā-
 (va)du (||) kuḍumbu muppada = muppadu kuḍumbilum
 avvava kuḍumbilā-

3 rē kūdi = kkā = nilattukku mēl iṇai-nilam =
 uḍaiyāṇ taṇ maṇaiyilē agamm = eḍuttu-kkoṇḍ =
 iruppānai eḷubadu pirāyattiṇ kiḷ muppattaindu pirāyat-
 tiṇ mēppaṭṭār mantrabrāhmaṇam vallān ōduviyṭt-
 aṇiyvāṇai = kkuḍav-ōlai iḍuvad = āgavum (||) arai-kkā =
 nilamē uḍaiyan = āyilu(m) oru-vēdam vallan = āy nālu
 bhāṣyattilum oru-bhā-

4 ṣyam vakkāṇitt-aṇiyvāṇ avaṇaiyuṇ = guḍav-ōlai
 eḷudi = ppuga iḍuvad = āgavum (||) avargaḷilum kā(r)-
 yyattil nipuṇar = āy āśāram = uḍiyarāṇāraiyeṇ
 koḷvad = āgavum (||) a(r)ttha-śauśamu(m) ānma-
 śaucamum uḍaiyar = āy mūv-āṭṭiṇ = i-ppuṇam vāriya(n)
 = jeydilāttārai koḷvad = āgavum (||) eppēppaṭṭa
 vāriyaṅgaḷum še(y)du kaṇakku-kkāṭṭādē irundāraiyeum
 ivargaḷukku = ccir-avai = ppēr-avai ma-

5 kkaḷaiyum ivargaḷukku attai māmaṇ makkaḷai-
 yum iva(r)gaḷukku = ttāyōḍu uḍappiṇandāṇaiyum
 ivargaḷ tama(p)paṇōḍ = uḍappiṇandāṇaiyu(m) taṇṇōḍ-
 uḍappiṇandāṇaiyum ivargaḷukku = ppilḷai kuḍutta māma-
 ṇaiyum ivargaḷ brāhmaṇiyōḍ = uḍappiṇandāṇaiyum
 taṇṇōḍ = uḍappiṇandāḷai vēṭṭāṇaiyu(m) uḍappiṇan(dā)ḷ
 makkaḷaiyum taṇ magaḷai vēṭṭa marugaṇaiyum taṇ
 tamappaṇaiyum

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6 taṇ magañaiyum āga i = ccuṭṭa * * * *
 bandhukkaḷaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷudi = ppu(ga) iḍa p(pe)-
 rāttār = āgavum (||) agamyāgamaṇattilum mahāpā-
 dagaṅgaḷ(il) muṇb = aḍain(da) nālu mahāpādagattilumm
 = eḷuttuppattāraiylum ivar(gaḷu)kkum mun śuṭṭappattā
 ittiṇai bandhukkaḷaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷud(i) = ppuga
 (i)ḍa = pperādā(r = ā)gavum (||) sa(msar)gga-(pa)ti-
 (ta)rai prāyaścittaṇ = jeyyum-aḷa(vu)m

7 kuḍav-ōlai iḍādā = āgavum * * * * *
 diyum sāhasiyar = āy = iruppāraiylum kuḍa(v-ō)lai
 eḷudi = ppugav = iḍa = pperādār = āgavum (||) paradra-
 vyam apaharittāṇaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷudi = ppugav = iḍa
 = pperādār = āgavum (||) e(ppē)rppattā kaiyyūṭṭu(ṇ)
 = goṇḍāṇ kṛ(ta)-prāyaścittaṇ = jeydu śuddhar = āṇā-
 raiyu(m) avvavar prāṇān(t)ikam

8 vāriyattukku = kkuḍav-ōlaiy = eḷudi puga(v = iḍa
 = pperādā = āgavum) * * * * pādagam śeydu
 prāyaccit(ta)ṇ = jeydu śuddhar = (ā)ṇāraiylum grāma-kaṇ
 ḍagar = āy prāyaści(ttaṇ) = jēdu śu(d)dhar = āṇāraiylu(m)
 agamyāgamaṇam (śē)du prāya(ści)ttaṇ-jeydu śuddhar =
 āṇāraiylum āga i-ccuṭṭappattā aṇ(ai)yvaraiylum prāṇā-
 (nti)kam vār(i)yattukku = kkuḍav-ōlai eḷud(i) = ppugav =
 = iḍa = pperādā = āga-

9 vum (||) āga i-ccuṭṭappattā ittaṇaiyvaraiylum
 nīkki i-mmuppadu kuḍum(bilu)m kuḍav-ōlaiḷku = ppēr
 tīṭṭi i-ppaṇṇiraṇḍu sēriyilum = āga i-kkuḍumbum vev-
 vēṇēy vāy-ōlai pūṭṭi muppadu kuḍumbum vevvēṇē kaṭṭi
 = kkuḍam puga (iḍu)vad = āgavum (||) kuḍav-ōlai
 paṛikkum(bō)du mahāsabhai = ttiruvāḍiyārai sabāla-
 vṛddham niram(ba) = kkuṭṭi-kkoṇḍu anṛ = ullūril irunda
 nambimār oruvaraiylum oliyā-

10 mē mahāsabhaiyilē ulm-maṇḍagattilēy irutti-
 kkoṇḍu a-nnambimār naḍuvēy a-kkuḍattai nam(b)i-

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mā(ri)l vṛddhar = āy iruppār = oru-(na)mbi mēl nōkki
 (e)llā-jjaṇamuṇ = gāṇum-ārāḷ = eḍuttu-kkoṇḍu niṅka
 pagalēy = antaram = aṇiyādāṇ = oru-pāḷaṇai = kkoṇḍu
 oru-kuḍumbu vān(giy) maṇṇ = oru-kuḍattukkēy pugav =
 iṭṭu = kkulaittu a-kkuḍattil = ōr-ōlai vāṅgi maddhyas-
 thaṇ kaiyilē

11 (ku)ḍuppad = āgavum (||) a-kkuḍu(t)av =
 (ō)lai madhyasthaṇ vāṅgumbōḍu aṇju viralum agala
 vaittu ullāṅgaiyilē ēṇṇu-kkoḷv(ā)ṇ = āgavum (||) avv-
 ēṇṇu vā(ṇ)giṇav = ōlai v(ā)ṣippāṇ = āgavum (||)
 vāsitta avv-ōlai aṅg-ul-(ma)ṇḍagatt = irunda nambimār
 ellārum vāsippār = āgavum (||) vāsitta a-ppēr tīṭṭuvad
 = āgavum (||) i-ppariṣē muppadu kuḍumbilu(m) ōrō-
 pēr k(o)ḷvad = āgavum (||) i-kkoṇḍa (mu)ppadu pērilun
 = tōṭṭa-vāriyam(u) ēri-vāriyamum śeydārai(yu) (vi)-
 jyā-vṛddha(rai)yum

12 vayō-(vṛ)ddhargalaiyum samvatsara-vāriya-
 rāga koḷvad = āgavum (||) mikku niṇṇāruṭ = paṇṇiru-
 varai = tōṭṭa-vāriyaṇ = goḷva(d = ā)gavum (||) niṇṇa
 aṇuvaraiyum ēri-vāriyam = āgā = kkoḷvad = āgavum (||)
 ivv-iraṇḍu (t)irattu vāriyam(u) karai kāṭṭi koḷvad =
 (ā)gavu(m) (||) i-vāriyam śeygi(ṇ)ṇa mūṇṇu (t)irattu
 vāriya = pperumakkaḷum muṇṇū(ṇṇu-a) ṇu(ba)du n(ā)-
 ḷum nira(m)ba = cceyḍu oḷivad = (ā)gavum (||) vāri-
 yaṇ = jeyyāniṇṇārāi aparādaṇ-

13 gaṇḍapōḍu avaṇaiy = oḷ(i)ttuvad = āgavum (||)
 ivargaḷ oḷi(nda) aṇantaram = iḍum vāriyaṅgaḷum
 pa(ṇṇiraṇ)ḍu śēriyilum dhanmakṛtyaṇ = gaḍaik-
 kāṇum vāriyarē madhyastharai = kkoṇḍu kuṇ(i) kūṭṭ(i)
 = kkuḍuppār = āga(vu)m (||) i-vyavasthaiy = ōlaip-
 paḍiyēy * * * (k)ku = kkuḍav-ōlaiy paṇṇittu-k(k)o(ṇḍē
 vāri)-yam iḍuvad = āgavum (||) pañcavāra-v(āriya)t-
 (tuk)kum poṇ-vā(ri)yattu-

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14 kku = muppadu = kkuḍumbilum kuḍav-ōlaikku
 pēr tītti muppadu vā(y-ō)lai-kaṭṭum puga (i)tu mup(pa)-
 du kuḍav-ōl(ai) paṛittu muppadilum (paṇṇi)raṇḍu pēr
 (pa)ṛittu-kkoḷvad = (ā)gavum (||) paṛitta paṇṇiraṇḍilum
 a(ru)var p(o)ṇ-vāriyam aṟuvar paṇjavāra-vāriyamum
 āvanav = ā(gavum) (||) piṛrai āṇḍum i-vāriya(n)gaḷ
 kuḍav-ōlai paṛikkumbōdu i-vvāriyaṅgaḷukku muṇ-
 ṇam se-

15 yda kuḍumb = aṇṇikkē niṇṇa kuḍumbilē karai
 paṛittu-kk(o)ḷ(va)d = āgavum (||) kaḷudai ēṇṇāraiym
 kūḍalēgai śeydāṇaiym kuḍav-olai (e)ḷudi = ppuga
 ida = pperādad = āgavu(m) (||) madhyastharum arttha-
 śauśam = uḍaiyāṇē kaṇakk = eḷuduvāṇ = āgavum kaṇak-
 (k) = eḷudiṇāṇ kaṇakku = pperuṇḡuṇi = pperu-makkaḷōḍu
 kūḍa = kkaṇa(k)ku-(k)kāṭṭi śuddhan āccidiṇ-piṇṇ = aṇṇi
 marṇu = kkaṇa-

16 kku = ppuga perādāṇ = āgavum (||) tāṇ
 eḷudiṇa ka(ṇakku) = ttāṇē kāṭṭuvāṇ = āgavum (||)
 marṇu = kkaṇak(ka)r pukku o(ḍu)kka = pperādā(r)
 āgavum (||) i-ppariśē ivv-āṇḍu mudal candrādityavat
 eṇ(r)um kuḍav-ōlai-vāriyamē iḍuvad = āga Dēv(ē)n-
 draṇ cakrava(r)tti (pa)ṇḍitavatsalan kuṇjaramallaṇ
 sūraśūlāmaṇi kalpakacaritai śrī-Parakē(sa)ri(pa)nma-
 (r kaḷ) śrīmu(kha)m = aruḷiccēdu varak(k)āṭṭa śrī-ā(ṇ)-
 aiyā-

17 1 Śōla-nāṭṭu = Ppuṇṇaṅgarambai-nāṭṭu Śrīvaṅga-
 nagar = Kkaraṇjai-K(o)ṇḍaya-(kra)mavitta-bhaṭṭaṇ =
 āgiya Śōmāśiperumāṇ = uḍaṇ (i)rundu i-ppariśu
 śeyvikka na(m) grāmattukku a(bhyu)dayam = āga duṣṭar
 keṭṭu viśiṣṭar va(r)ddhippad = āga vyavasth(ai) śeydōm
 Uttaramēru - caturvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm (||)
 i-ppariśu kuṇiyuḷ irundu p(e)rumakkaḷ paṇikka vyavas-
 thai eḷudiṇē(ṇ) madhyasthan

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18 Kāḍaḍippōt(ta)ṇ Śivakkuṇi Irājamalla-maṇ-
galapriyanēṇ (||)

A.—TRANSLATION

ll. 1-3. Hail! Prosperity! In the twelfth year of King Parakēsari-varman, who captured Madura—We, (the members of) the *Sabhā* of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam, Tattaṇūr-mūvēnda-vēḷān being present in accordance with the order (conveyed) in the *śrīmukham* (royal letter addressed) to our village, made the following settlement for choosing as committees every year from this year onwards, (the following viz.) the annual committee, garden committee and tank committee.

ll. 3-6. There being thirty *kuḍumbus* (wards), in (each of these) thirty wards, the people of the ward concerned shall assemble, and shall write down for pot-tickets (*kuḍav-ōlai*) the names of those who (a) own more than one-fourth *nilam* of taxable land, (b) reside in houses built on their own sites, (c) are below sixty and above thirty years of age, (d) have a reputation for proficiency in Vēda, Śāstra and (general) affairs, (e) possess material and spiritual purity, (f) have not done *vāriyam* this side of three years and (g) are not close relations of the *perumakkaḷ* (members) who have done *vāriyam* and retired.

ll. 6-7. Then (they shall) collect (the tickets), by the *śēri*, and shall constitute the annual committee of twelve persons by causing a boy who cannot distinguish any forms to draw pot-tickets in such manner that there shall be one person for each *śēri*.

ll. 7-8. Before that, pot-tickets shall be drawn similarly for the garden committee, and the twelve persons (thus chosen) shall form the garden committee.

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ll. 8-9. The remaining six pot-tickets shall form the tank committee.

l. 9. The three sorts of committees that do *vāriyam*, (after being appointed) by the drawing of thirty pot-tickets, shall complete *vāriyam* for full three hundred and sixty days (and retire). The committees that will be appointed thereafter shall be constituted as committees only by the drawing of pot-tickets after allotting pot-tickets to the *kuḍumbus* in accordance with this deed of settlement.

ll. 9-10. And the relatives of those who have done *vāriyam*, * * * shall not have their names entered on pot-tickets and deposited (in the pot).

l. 10. For the *pañcavāra* committee and the gold committee thirty pot-tickets shall be allotted to the thirty *kuḍumbus*, and pot-tickets shall be drawn (so as to get) one person for each *śēri*; of the twelve (thus chosen), six shall be the *pañcavāra* committee and six the gold committee.

ll. 10-11. Those who have once served on (any of) the committees other than the annual committee shall not have pot-tickets (with their names) deposited (in the pot) for the same committee.

ll. 11-12. We, the members of the *Sabhā* of Uttaramēru - caturvēdimāṅgalam, having been shown the gracious royal letter received from the lord of the gods, the emperor śrī Vīranārāyaṇa śrī Parāntakadēva *alias* Parakēsarivarma, Tattaṇūr-mūvēnda-vēḷān sitting with us in accordance with this order, made this settlement, in order that the wicked of our village may perish and the good prosper, viz., that, in this manner, from this year as long as the sun and the moon endure, we shall always appoint only pot-ticket-committees.

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B—TRANSLATION

ll. 1-2: Hail! Prosperity! On the sixteenth day of the fourteenth year of king Parakēsarivarman who captured Madura—We, the members of the *Sabhā* of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam in its own subdivision (*kūru*) of Kāliyūrkoṭṭam,—a gracious letter of His Majesty, our Lord śrī Vīranārāyaṇa śrī Parāntakadēva śrī Parakēsarivarman having been received and shown to us, and in accordance with (that) letter, Karañjai Koṇḍaya Kramavitta-bhaṭṭan *alias* Śōmāsiperumān of śrī Vaṅganagar in Puṇḅgarambaināḍu of the Śōḷa-nāḍu, sitting (with us) by order,—(we) made the following settlement with a view to appointing as *vāriyam* (committees), every year from this year onwards, (the following) (*viz.*), the annual committee, garden committee and tank committee.

ll. 2-3: There being thirty *kuḍumbus* (wards), in (each of these) thirty wards, the people of the ward concerned shall assemble, and shall write on pot-tickets (the names of) those who own more than one-fourth *nilam* of taxable land, reside in houses built on their own sites, are below seventy and above thirty-five years of age, know the *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* and possess experience of teaching it.

ll. 3-4: Though owning only an eighth of a *nilam*, if a person is competent in one *Vēda* and possesses experience of expounding one of the four *bhāṣyas*, he shall also have his name written on the pot-ticket and put (into the pot).

l. 4: Even among these, only persons who are proficient in (general) affairs and conform to proper conduct (*āśāram*) shall be taken. Those who have material and spiritual purity, and have not done *vāriyam* this side of three years shall be chosen.

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II. 4-6: Anyone who has done any *vāriyam* (before) and failed to show accounts, and his relatives as specified herein shall not have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot)—(viz.,) the sons of the younger and elder sisters of his mother; the sons of his paternal aunt and maternal uncle; the brother * of his mother; the brother of his father; his own brother; his father-in-law; the brother of his wife; the husband of his sister; the sons of his sister; the son-in-law who has married his daughter; his father and his son.

I. 6: Those against whom incest or the first four of the five great sins are recorded and all their relations as specified hereinbefore shall not also have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot).

II. 6-7: Those who have fallen by association (with sinners) shall not have their names written on pot-tickets till after they perform expiation.

I. 7: * * Those are who are violent shall also not have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot). Those who have stolen others' property shall not also have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot).

II. 7-8: Those who, after partaking of any forbidden dish, have become pure by performing the ghee expiation (?), shall not also, to the end of their lives, have their names written on pot-tickets for the committees to be put (into the pot).

II. 8-9: Those who have become pure after performing expiation for * * sins, those who have become pure after performing expiation for having turned

* The word used in the text is *udappiṇḍāṇ*; Venkayya's translation 'uterine brother' is a curious mistake. Though the singular is used in some of these phrases, no doubt the plural is meant.

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enemies of the village (*grāmakantaka*), and those who have become pure after performing expiation for incest—all these persons shall not, to the end of their lives, have their names written on pot-tickets for committees to be put (into the pot).

1. 9: Excluding all these persons specified above, names shall be written for pot-tickets in all the thirty wards; and in these twelve *śēris*, separate covering tickets (*vāyōlai*) shall be attached for each separate ward, and (the tickets of) the thirty wards shall be separately bundled and put (into the pot).

11. 9-11: When pot-tickets are (to be) drawn, the members * of the *Mahāsabhā*, young and old, shall be assembled at a full meeting, and the temple priests (*nambimār*) who happen to be in town on the day shall, without any exception, be caused to be seated in the inner *maṇḍapa* (pavilion) in the *Mahāsabhā*; among the temple priests, an old priest shall stand up and, looking upwards, shall hold the pot so as to be seen by all people; (the bundle of) one ward shall be caused to be taken out by a boy who cannot see the difference (between things) even by day, and it shall be put into another pot and shaken, and one ticket shall be drawn out of that pot and placed in the hands of the arbitrator (*madhyasha*).

1. 11: When the *madhyastha* receives the ticket thus given, he shall receive it in the palm of his hand with his five fingers spread out. And he shall read (out) the ticket he has so received. The ticket so read shall be read also by all the temple priests in the inner pavilion. The name so read shall be written down. In this manner, one name shall be obtained from each of the thirty wards.

* *Tiruvadiyār* seems only a respectable reference to the general body

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II. 11-12: Out of the thirty names so got, those who have served on the garden committee and the tank committee and those who are advanced in learning or in age shall form the annual committee.

I. 12: Of the rest, twelve shall form the garden committee. The remaining six shall form the tank committee. These two committees shall be formed by showing the *karai* (?). The members of the three kinds of committees that perform *vāriyam* shall do (their duties) for full three hundred and sixty days and then retire.

II. 12-13: Anyone who is found guilty among those who are serving on the committees shall be removed (forthwith).

I. 13: (For) the committees to be appointed after the retirement of these, the members (*vāriyar*) who superintend charities in the twelve *śēris* shall themselves cause the assembly to be convened by the *madhyasthas*. The committees shall be appointed only by drawing pot-tickets in accordance with this deed of settlement.

II. 13-14: For the *pañcavāra* committee and the gold committee, names shall be written for pot-tickets in all the thirty wards, and thirty bundles with covering tickets shall be put in, and thirty tickets drawn, from which again twelve names shall be drawn.

I. 14: Of these twelve so drawn, six shall form the gold committee, and six the *pañcavāra* committee.

II. 14-15: When drawing pot-tickets in the following year for these committees, the *karai* shall be drawn only among the wards that remain after excluding those that served on these committees before (in the preceding year).

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l. 15 : Those who rode on asses, and those who forged documents shall not have their names written on pot-tickets to be put (into the pot).

ll. 15-16 : Among *madhyasthas*, * only a person possessing material purity (*arthaśaucam*) shall write the accounts.

Until after a person who maintained accounts submits accounts along with the accounts-committee of the *Sabhā* and is declared pure, he shall not enter on (maintaining) other accounts.

A person who has been maintaining accounts shall himself submit his accounts; other accountants shall not enter and close them.

ll. 16-17 : We, the members of the assembly of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimāṅgalam,—having been shown the gracious royal letter received from the lord of the gods, the emperor, the lover of scholars, the wrestler with elephants, the crest-jewel among heroes, the emulator of the *Kalpaka*, śrī Parakēsarivarma ; Karañjai Koṇḍayakrama-vitta Bhaṭṭa *alias* Śōmāśiperumān of śrī Vaṅganagar in Puṅṅarambai-nāḍu of the Śōḷa-nāḍu, sitting with us by order and causing us to make this settlement—(we) made this settlement for the prosperity of our village and for the destruction of the wicked and the increase of the rest, viz., that in this manner, from this year as long as the sun and the moon last, we shall always appoint only pot-ticket-committees.

ll. 17-18 : I, the *madhyastha*, Kāḍaḍippōṭṭaṅ Śivakkurī Rājamalla - maṅgalapriyan, wrote this settlement in this wise to the dictation of the members (*perumakkaḷ*) sitting in the assembly (*kurūyullirundu*).

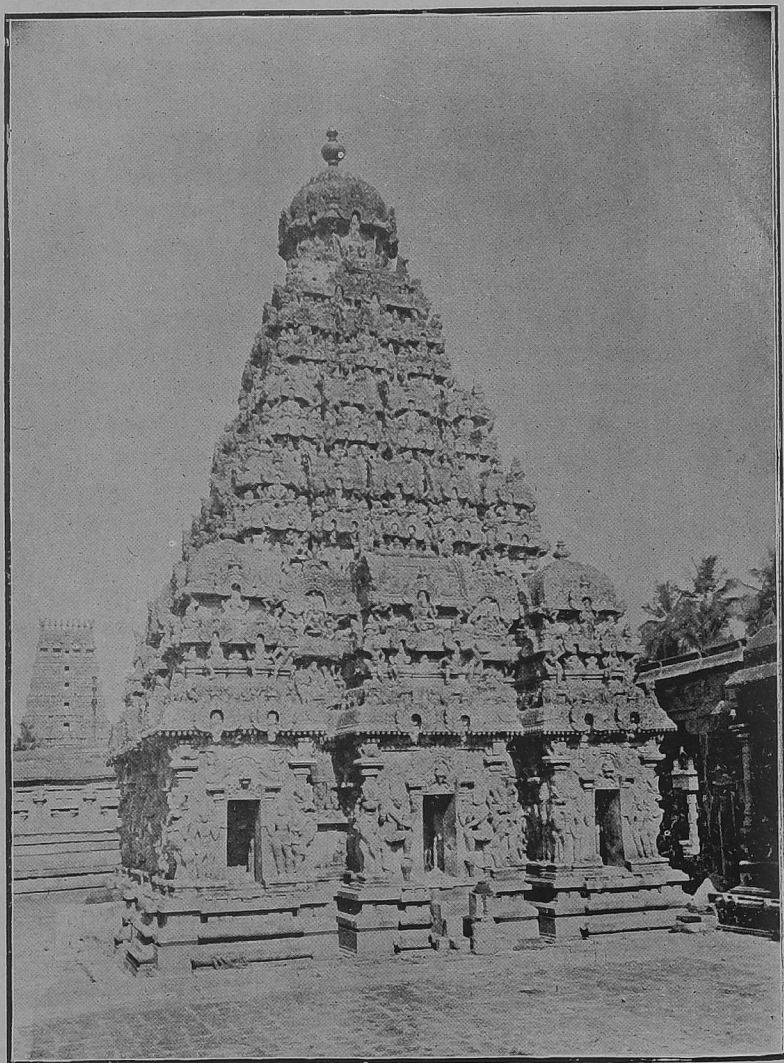
* The text is *madhyastharum* ; read *uḷ*.

VII

NARALŌKAVĪRA

A Cōḷa Feudatory

The establishment of the Cōḷa empire was a landmark in the history of South India. Under the Cōḷas all the country to the south of the Kṛṣṇā river was for the first time brought under the supremacy of a fairly strong central government, and for over two centuries, its different parts came to be ruled, not as independent principalities exhausting themselves in ceaseless strife with one another, but as well-regulated provinces of a unified empire. Some fighting indeed there always was, and it was occasionally directed to the suppression of local risings, and more often to the conquest of fresh territory for the empire. But on the whole, it was a comparatively peaceful time for the bulk of Southern India, and the common people had perhaps no greater concern with the military transactions of its rulers than they have to-day with the suppression of a Moplah revolt or the expeditions on the North-West frontier of India. There were indeed some striking differences. Then the people furnished the soldiers for the whole army, and manned the navy, and war-experience must have been more wide-spread among them than now. By the opportunities it afforded for distinction in the service of the king and the prospect of a promotion into the new class of official nobility, service in the army and the navy must have been quite popular. The rapid growth of an efficient and strong bureaucracy doubtless offered attractive careers to many in the lower rungs of the civil service of the land. Those who did not enter public service minded their lands,



CENTRAL SHRINE OF THE SIVA TEMPLE, TIRUVADI-WEST VIEW.

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and followed other vocations of a more or less hereditary nature. There was a fair amount of inland trade, and larger opportunities for the speculative and the venturesome to make fortunes in foreign trade which was largely concentrated in seaport towns. Then, as now, the bulk of the people lived in villages which, in various ways and with many differences, were on the whole free to look after their own affairs. Religious festivals and fairs, dance, song and the drama were among the amusements of the people. Caste and merchant guilds, religious and secular associations of various kinds shared with the king's government the great task of upholding social order by the promotion of learning and the arts, and the detection and punishment of crime. A mis-appropriation of common funds, a theft of temple jewels, an exorbitant demand of the tax-gatherer, some breach of caste rules or conventions, such were the occasions that added spice to life in the villages, and sometimes roused the people to an unwonted display of energy.

In the higher branches of the king's service there was then no separation between the civil and military functions of officials. Scions of the royal family often occupied the top places, or held command over expeditionary forces; but there were many high offices, and though we have no evidence of any scientific system of recruitment having prevailed, we can see that these offices were held by men of all castes and creeds, and we may well believe that ordinarily, though birth and high connections brought their own initial advantages, inefficiency was not tolerated, and merit was rewarded according to its deserts. Despite the striking abundance of Cōḷa inscriptions, some of them giving copious details of the administrative methods and machinery of the empire, we possess little

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knowledge of the forms in which officials in public service were paid for the work they did. We may guess that in the highly developed system of the time, periodical payments, in cash or kind, of amounts fixed in advance, must have been the normal rule, especially in the lower ranks of the public service. Several instances occur, however, which prove that assignments of land, either in full ownership or with title only to particular taxes and dues thereon, formed a common method of recognising distinguished service. High officials, so remunerated and standing well with the king, were great assets to the empire in the days of its strength; in the days of its decline and fall, these very men by their local influence and their turbulence and insubordination hastened the end. It is the aim of this paper to present the life and achievement of one such official in the days when the Cōḷa empire was still strong and flourishing.

Inscriptions form the principal source of our knowledge of Naralōkavīra. Some of these are directly concerned with him, while in the others he is mentioned incidentally. Two inscriptions, which happen to be very well preserved, give a rather long and full account, though in very ornate and sometimes obscure verse, of the life and activity of Naralōkavīra. Besides the inscriptions, there is a brief but invaluable allusion to him in the *Vikramaśōḷaṇ-ulā*, a contemporary poem by the celebrated poet Oṭṭakkūttar. The inscriptions on which this study is based are the following:—

*A - Inscriptions bearing directly on Naralōkavīra
and his work.*

(1) No. 367 of 1909 (Grantha-verse) - Siddhalinga-
maḍam (South Arcot). A minister of king Rājendra
Cōḷa, named Sabhānartaka, Kāliṅgarāja and

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Mānāvatāra, the ruler of Maṇavil, built a stone temple for Śiva at Siddhaliṅga. The composer of the Sanskrit verse was a certain Āṇḍapillai-bhaṭṭan.

(2) 374 of 1908—(Tamil)-Neyvāṇai (South Arcot) of the twenty-eighth year of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga I, with the *pugaḷ-mādu* introduction. Records gift of lands under the name 'Śuṅgandavitta-Śōḷa-nallūr' at the request of Poṟkōyil Toṇḍaimāṇ, a native of Arumbākkam in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḷamaṇḍalam.

(3) 369 of 1909 - (Grantha-verse) - Siddhaliṅga-maḍam-(South Arcot) - of the reign of Jayadhara dated Ś. 1025. The ruler of Maṇavil, called also Mānāvatāra and Nartaka, built a *vimāna*, and a *prākāra* surrounded by areca-palms, together with a *maṇḍapa*, at the *agrahāra* called Siddhaliṅga, for Śiva whose feet were worshipped by Vyāghrāpāda. *

(4) 207 of 1923 - (Tamil) - Tiruppulivanam (Chingleput) - of the 45th year of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga I with the *pugaḷ-mādu* introduction. Gift of twelve *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold for four lamps by Poṇṇambalakkūttan *alias* Arumbākkiḷān Kāliṅgarāja of Maṇavil in Maṇayirkōṭṭam.

(5) 175 of 1919 - (Tamil) - Tribhuvani (Pondichery) of the sixth year of Parakēsari Vikrama-cōḷadēva with the *pūmādu puṇara* introduction. Gift of land for temple site and premises, a hall and flower-gardens to Arulākara Īśvaram Uḍaiyār, set up in the fifth year of Vikrama-cōḷa, for the prosperity of the king and the village, by Arumbākkiḷān Madurāntakan Poṇṇambalakkūttan *alias* Poṟkōyil Toṇḍaimāṇār, residing in Maṇavil.

* For the date of this record, see *A. R. E.* 1928 II 10. The temple is still called Vyāghra-pāḍēsvara or Tiruppulippagavar. The Maṇavil ruler apparently rebuilt an ancient temple and re-engraved the older inscriptions of the temple on its new walls.

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(6) 473 of 1919 - (Grantha - verse) - Kāñcīpuram. Construction by Naralōkavīra of the kitchen-room, a *maṇḍapa* and the *prākāra* walls, and the setting up of a recumbent image of Hari at the Arulāla Perumāḷ temple at Kāñcīpuram. He made a gift of a gold pinnacle to this new shrine and made endowments for ten perpetual lamps and for a flower-garden.

(7) 120 of 1888 - (Grantha and Tamil * - verse)- Cidambaram (South Arcot) - 31 verses in Sanskrit and 37 in Tamil.—An account of the buildings erected in the Cidambaram temple by Naralōkavīra and his gifts to the god and goddess of the place. Several incidental allusions to his campaigns.

(8) 369 of 1921—(Tamil-verse) † - Tiruvadi (South-Arcot)- 25 verses in Tamil. Contents similar to those of No. (7). Buildings and endowments by the same chief at Tiruvadi with incidental allusion to military campaigns.

B - Inscriptions bearing indirectly on the subject.

(9) 97 of 1928 - (Tamil) - Tiruppugalūr (Tanjore)-of year 2 of Parakēśari Vikrama-cōḷadēva. The assembly of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi - caturvēdimaṅgalam met in the Naralōkavīraṇ-maṇḍapa in the temple of Pugalūrdēva for the transaction of some business.

(10) 250 of 1925-(Tamil)-Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tanjore)-of the fourth year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Vikrama-cōḷadēva. Refers to a channel called Arulākara-vāykkāl.

(11) 265 of 1928-(Tamil)-Nāṅguṇēri (Tinnevelly). In the days of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I,

* Text in *S. I. I.* IV No. 225; also *Perundogai* by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar Nos. 1059-94 Tamil verses only.

† Text in *Sen Tamil* Vol. 23. pp. 93 ff. and *Perundogai* Nos. 1095-1119.

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the village of Maruvāykkuricci had also the name of Naralōkavīra-nallūr.

(12) 98 of 1908-(Tamil)-Tirupputtūr (Ramnad)-of year 3 of Māṇavarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva. The assembly of the place made provision for a Naralōkavīran-śandi.

(13) 131 of 1908 - (Tamil) - Tirupputtūr (Ramnad)-of year 12 of the same king. A chieftain Uyyavandān-kaṇḍidēvan *alias* Gāṅgēyan made provision for a Naralōkavīran-śandi and the construction of a hall called Naralōkavīran.

Name and date.—In the inscriptions, our chieftain is variously called Kūttan, Maṇaviṛkūttan, Arumbākkilān, Poṇṇambalakkūttan, Kāliṅgarkōn, Kāliṅgarāyan, Toṇḍaimān, Arulākaran, Naralōkavīran, Mānāvatāra and so on. The long bilingual inscription (No. 7) from Cidambaram mentions that he erected a high stone wall round the temple, and called it Naralōkavīra; and although the title Arulākara is sometimes employed to commemorate him in the names of places, streams etc., still Naralōkavīra figures more often in the names of *maṇḍapas*, halls and villages called after him, and of the worship instituted for his benefit. Moreover, Naralōkavīra is a far more distinctive title than Kāliṅgarkōn or Kāliṅgarāya, than even Maṇaviṛkūttan. It seems best, for these reasons, to call our chieftain Naralōkavīra.

The earliest reference to him in the Cōḷa inscriptions occurs in the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga I (No. 2 above), and the latest in the sixth year of his successor Vikramacōḷa (No. 5); and the other inscriptions which bear no dates or are dated in the reign of Māṇavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya must be taken to belong to about the same period, A. D. 1098-1124. That a Māṇavarman

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Parākrama Pāṇḍya was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I and that he was probably one of the five Pāṇḍyas whom Kulōttuṅga claims to have defeated in battle is pretty clear from Pāṇḍyan inscriptions. *

Of the birth and early life of this chieftain and the steps by which he rose in the military service of the Cālukya-cōla emperor Kulōttuṅga I, we have little information. He came of the influential class of landholders called Vellālas (*Vēlāṅkuḍi mudalāṇ*) †, and as he is called *Maṇavilār-ēru* ‡ and *Maṇavil-vāl-kūttan* §, and more generally, *Toṇḍaiyar-kōn*, ¶ we may assume that he was a native of Maṇavil in Toṇḍaināḍ, or at any rate that he spent a considerable part of his life in that place, either because it was the place of his birth or on account of his having held an important position there. But he is also called Arumbākkilān of Maṇavil in No. (4) above, and Arumbākkilān Poṟkōyil Toṇḍaimān residing in Maṇavil in No. (5), and Poṟkōyil Toṇḍaimān, a native of Arumbākkam in Jayangoṇḍa-śōlamanḍalam in No. (2). These inscriptions make it clear that Arumbākkam was the name of the place of his birth, and that he was connected with Maṇavil by residence and by the possession of certain seigniorial rights implied in his being called ruler or chief of the residents of Maṇavil. It seems quite possible that before the twenty-eighth year of Kulōttuṅga, Naralōkavīra had sufficiently distinguished himself in the king's wars for him to have obtained as his reward an assignment on the revenues from Maṇavil.

* See my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* pp. 122-3 and No. 615 of 1926

† No. 369 of 1921 v. 18

‡ ib. v. 11.

§ v. 8 in Tamil part of 120 of 1888

¶ 120 of 1888 and 369 of 1921 *passim*.

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Before proceeding to a consideration of the campaigns in which Naralōkavīra participated, the buildings he constructed and the charities he endowed, it is necessary to deal with two questions viz: the identification of Maṇavil and Arumbākkam, and the political position of Naralōkavīra.

Maṇavil.—This place formed part of the Maṇaviṛ-kōṭṭam, a subdivision of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḷamaṇḍalam, which was the name given to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam rather early in the period of Cōḷa expansion. Of this subdivision, Hultzsch at first observed: ‘Possibly Maṇaviṛ-kōṭṭam is a mere corruption of Maṇayīrkōṭṭam, and Maṇayil stands for Maṇ-eyil, ‘mud fort’, which might be a fuller form of Eyil, a village in the South Arcot District, which seems to have given its name to Eyīrkōṭṭam.’* When, later, Hultzsch met with the phrase: ‘*eyīrkōṭṭattu nagaraṅgūñcīpuram*,’ stating that Kāñcī was a city in the Eyīrkōṭṭam, he felt the need for revising his opinion and remarked: † “Eyil, after which the District of Eyīrkōṭṭam was called, must be distinct from the distant village of Eyil in the South Arcot District, with which I proposed to identify it on a former occasion. Perhaps the term Eyil, i.e., ‘the fort’, refers to Kāñcīpuram itself.” It should be observed that while this latter identification of Eyil is unexceptionable, it does not appear so easy to follow Hultzsch in his speculations concerning Maṇavil. He puts forward two suggestions neither of which has received any support so far. He says that Maṇ-eyil might be a fuller form of ‘eyil;’ he also says that this fuller form might yield ‘Maṇayil’ and ‘Maṇavil’. All this seems very risky etymology. Moreover, Eyīrkōṭṭam

* S. I. I. I. p. 147 A. R. E. 1922 II 61 repeats this, quite innocent of Hultzsch’s own doubts expressed later.

† S. I. I. II, p. 390.

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and Maṇaviṛkōṭṭam figure as two separate divisions among the twenty-four *kōṭṭams* attributed by tradition to Tondaimaṇḍalam.* We have to remember that the '*kōṭṭam*,' though it comprised further subdivisions called *nāḍu*, was rather a small administrative division. The only satisfactory method of identifying these divisions is to undertake an exhaustive study of the names of subdivisions and villages mentioned in the inscriptions as forming part of the *kōṭṭam*. With such complete lists before us, we can, with some confidence, proceed to fix the bounds of each *kōṭṭam* in terms of modern geography; and this because, in spite of a confusing recurrence of some village names in adjacent tracts, a skilful comparison of the data drawn from epigraphs with the present names of villages may be expected to lead to valuable results. Now the *nāḍus* and villages that appear in Cōla inscriptions as parts of Maṇaviṛkōṭṭam so far as I have been able to trace them from the texts of inscriptions are given in the Appendix to this study. It is remarkable that, some of the *nāḍus* in our list e. g., Puriṣai, Pāsāli, Kaṇṇūr and Perumūr, figure also in the traditional list of *nāḍus* comprising the Maṇavūrkōṭṭam; Maṇavilnāḍu, however, in which both Maṇavil and Arumbākkam were situated does not figure in it. Nevertheless it seems clear that our Maṇaviṛkōṭṭam must be the same as the Maṇavūrkōṭṭam of tradition. In one inscription Maṇaviṛkōṭṭam is clearly called Teṇkarai-Maṇaviṛkōṭṭam †, and it must have been, wholly or in part, on the southern bank of some considerable river. The suggestion may be made that Maṇavil and Arumbākkam of the inscriptions are identical with the modern villages of Maṇappākkam and Arumbākkam in the Cheyyār and

* Kanakasabhai - *Tamils 1800 years ago*. p. 28.

† *S. I. I.* I No. 86.

Wālājāpet Taluks of the North Arcot District. These two villages are within five miles of each other and about the same distance to the south of the Pālār. * The village Maṇappākkam is also called Teṇ-maṇappākkam which may be a shorter form of Teṇkarai-Maṇappākkam, and Maṇappākkam may itself be only a variant of Maṇavil or Maṇavūr. Moreover, Puriśai which formed part of the Maṇaviṛkōṭṭam is near these two places, in the Cheyyār Taluk. Though there are other places called Arumbākkam, † none of them satisfies the conditions of the inscriptions under reference, and it seems clear therefore that we should look for Maṇaviṛkōṭṭam in the North Arcot District, rather than in the South Arcot or in Chingleput District. We may locate it in the Cheyyār and Wālājāpet Taluks on the southern bank of the Pālār and perhaps also, in part, in the Arkonam Taluk.

The Political Position of Naralōkavīra: In some of Naralōkavīra's inscriptions which give a detailed account of his exploits and of his charities, Nos. 6, 7, and 8 in the list given above, no regnal year of the ruling sovereign is quoted as in the others, and this may raise a doubt that at some time he might have set up independent rule, throwing off his allegiance to his Cōla overlord. Moreover these records are undated, and consequently it may be questioned if these inscriptions can be referred to the chieftain of the dated records at all. All such doubts are, however, settled by the following considerations. *First*, the dated and the undated records alike use identical expressions for describing the chieftain e. g., Kālīṅgaṇ, Mānāvatāra, Naralōkavīra, ruler of Maṇavil etc., and it is extremely

* Survey map sheets Nos. 57 P/NW and P/NE (scale 1"=2 miles).

† An Arumbākkam 2 miles south of Tirukkōvillūr (South Arcot) - Hultzsch *E. I.* VII, p. 133. Another in the Tiruvellūr Taluk of the Chingleput District.

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unlikely that all these titles applied to two different persons who lived at different times. *Secondly*, these undated inscriptions are all in verse, and we have several instances in Tamil epigraphy of inscriptions in verse which record in a free literary form facts relating to well-known persons mentioned in other contemporary records of a more formal character giving reliable details of time and place. It is quite probable therefore *a priori* that Nos. 6, 7, and 8 are such literary records of the life and achievements of the chieftain whose date and position are more exactly recorded in Nos. 1-5. *Lastly*, Nos. 7 and 8 contain sufficiently precise references to the contemporary Cōla monarch and the subordinate relation of Naralōkavīra to him. Thus in No. 7 we read :

pērolinīr-mōdā
alaikiṇṇa- vellaiy-Abhayaṇukkē-yāga
malaikiṇṇa Tonḍaiyār-maṇ,

that is to say, 'the chief of the Tonḍaiyar who fights, to bring under the sole dominion of Abhaya, the earth bounded by the noisy ocean with its dashing waves'. It is well-known that Abhaya was a title of the Cōla emperor Kulōttuṅga I which occurs in the *Kalīṅgattupparaṇi* and rarely also in the inscriptions of his reign. Earlier in the same inscription we have :

tollai-nīr
maṇmagalait-taṅgōṇ-madi-kkudai-kkīḷ vīṇṇirutti
uṇmagilun-doṇḍaiyar-kōṇ-urru,

meaning—'Having installed the Earth Goddess under the moon-like umbrella of his lord,—the Earth (surrounded by) the ancient sea,—the chief of the

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Tonḍaiyar was pleased at heart.* And we read likewise in No. 8 the following :

maṇ-muḷudun-
daṅgōṇ kuḍai-niḷarkīl-taṅguvitta vēṅ-Kūttan
eṅgōṇ maṇavilār-ēṇu,

that is : "The Kūttan with the lance, who brought the whole earth under the shade of the umbrella of his overlord, is our chief, the chief of the people of Maṇavil." Again, in the very next verse,

maṇnai-ppodu-nikkī-taṅgōṇuk-
kākkiṇāṇ Tonḍaiyar-kōṇ-āṅgu,

'the chief of the Tonḍaiyar bestowed the earth on his lord after thrusting aside the claims of others (to it).' There seems to be no reason to doubt the identity of the overlord of these three extracts with Abhaya Kulōttuṅga of the first. Moreover, the *Vikramaśōḷaṇ-ulā* mentions a Kāliṅgar-kōṇ (ll. 154-8), and its brief reference to his military successes leave, as will be seen presently, no doubt about his identity with our chieftain.

It may be observed in passing that the *ulā* makes an unmistakable distinction between the celebrated Karuṇākara Tonḍaimāṇ, the conqueror of Kāliṅgam, and our chieftain who has been rather hastily identified with Karuṇākara on account of one of his titles, Aruḷākara, which occurs in the inscriptions noticed above. † That a surname conveying the same idea is expressed in two forms like Karuṇākara and Aruḷākara which are never confused in the epigraphs, is in itself sufficient indication that they refer to different persons ;

* Also 'Kūttan - giṣaiyaṇaittu - maṇ - puliyāṇai naḍakka vaittu' - a clear reference to his subordination to the Cōḷa with the tiger-crest.

† See *Vikramaśōḷaṇ-ulā* ll. 134-8. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar—*Kāliṅga-tupparanīyār-āṇḍi* pp. 47-54, gives a full discussion on the subject.

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at any rate, it is only by an oversight of the list of chieftains furnished by the *Vikramaśōḷaṇ-ulā* that Karuṇākara Tonḍaimāṇ could ever have been confused with our Kāliṅgar-kōṇ, Naralōkavīra. The reference in the *ulā*, and the repeated statements in the inscriptions that he fought for increasing the power of his overlord Abhaya make it very clear that Naralōkavīra was a captain of the Cōḷa army in the days of Kulōttuṅga I and his son Vikrama Cōḷa, and that at the end of a very successful military career, he secured Maṇavil in Tonḍaināḍ as his fief. It may be conjectured also, from his surname Kāliṅgar-kōṇ, that he might at one time have acted as governor of Kāliṅga; but of this we cannot be sure as there are so many Kāliṅgarāyas in the mediaeval records of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas, and as we do not know how this name came to be applied to them.

The military exploits of Naralōkavīra:—The nature of our sources makes it very difficult for us to give a chronological account of the career of Naralōkavīra. A full and critical study of the records of the reigns of Kulōttuṅga and Vikrama Cōḷa, such as cannot be undertaken here, may carry us farther than the study merely of the inscriptions of Naralōkavīra. What is offered now is a tentative discussion of the data that can be gathered from the latter and from the *Vikramaśōḷaṇ-ulā*.

The lines in the *ulā* are :

vēṅgaiyiṇṇu-

gūḍār viliṇattun-gollattun-goṅattu-
mōḍā-viraṭṭattu-moṭṭattu-nāḍā-
daḍiyēḍuttu vevvēraśiriya-vīrak-
koḍiyēḍutta kāliṅgar-kōṇ' (ll. 154-8),

that is to say, 'Kāliṅgar-kōṇ (chief of Kāliṅgas) who raised the banner of heroism in Vēṅgai (Veṅgi), in

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hostile Viliñam, in Kollam, in Koṅgam, in invincible Iratta and in Oṭṭa (Oḍra), with the result that different kings were forced to flee these countries without (hope of) returning (to them)'. The slightest acquaintance with the nature of our sources is enough to show that here we have a mixture of history and epic in which history is present in a larger proportion than is usual in such cases. At the same time, we can attach no historical importance to the order in which the countries are named in this passage, as that is obviously determined by metrical exigencies.

We shall now examine how far the statements in the *ulā* receive epigraphical confirmation. It may be observed at the outset that these four lines of the *ulā* have more information packed into them than is furnished by all the sixty odd *venbās* of the Cidambaram and Tiruvadi inscriptions taken together. Of these inscriptions, the Tiruvadi record contains no reference whatever to any campaign besides that in the Southern country—Pāṇḍya country, and the Cidambaram inscription, while it seems to furnish some details of the southern campaign, makes only vague references to campaigns * against the northern kings (*vaḍamaṇṇar*). Thus the inscriptions now considered contain little which might enable us to control the cryptic references in the *ulā* to the part played by Naralōkavīra in the campaigns in Koṅgam and Irattam, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa country called Irattapāḍi in Cōḷa inscriptions. The *ulā* states that this chieftain fought in Vēṅgai (Veṅgi) and Oṭṭa, the Orissa country, and this, as we have just seen, receives some confirmation from the vague statements of the Cidambaram record about the northern kings being defeated and their treasures being captured by

* Ollai-vaḍavēṇḍar śelvamelām vāṅga vēl-vāṅgum, teṅṅar malaimaṇṇar-
ṅṅai-vaḍamaṇṇar maṇṇakulamāṇṇai śelvamelāṅṅonḍu.

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Naralōkavīra. We also find the name Kāliṅgar-kōṇ repeatedly applied to him. In the absence of more precise information, it is not easy to fix the period of Naralōkavīra's activity in Veṅgi and Oḍra. From the accession of Kulōttuṅga I, the Veṅgi and Cōḷa kingdoms were administered as parts of a single empire, and it is quite possible that the campaign referred to here was undertaken during the first war against Kalinga that was waged about 1090-1095 A. D. in Kulōttuṅga's reign. *

Of the fighting in the south more details are forthcoming. The *ulā* specifies Viḷiṇam and Kollam as the places round which the campaign centred. And the inscriptions confirm this to a remarkable extent. According to these, the campaign was undertaken against the Pāṇḍyas and the Cēras. By the time of Kulōttuṅga's accession to the Cōḷa throne, these two powers had been politically subject to the Cōḷa rulers for nearly a century. They never reconciled themselves, however, to the Cōḷa yoke and must have found occasion in the confusion that preceded Kulōttuṅga's accession to rise against the Cōḷa power. In any event, we know from Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions that he led a great expedition to the south, defeated five Pāṇḍya kings, captured the fortress of Kōṭṭār, and, after a great deal of fighting, settled a number of military colonies in the country restored to subjection to the Cōḷa power. One of these Pāṇḍya kings was a Māravarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya. † As there are two inscriptions of

* *S. I. I* III 72. Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangar *op. cit.* p. 51. The pandit's suggestion that he might have inherited the title Kāliṅgarāya seems to discount altogether the data from the *ulā* on Veṅgi and Oḍra.

† See my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 123. There is no foundation for the view that 'Naralōkavīra' of the Parākrama Pāṇḍya inscriptions was a surname of the Pāṇḍya king, or that it indicates any person different from our chieftain. *Contra. A. R. E.* 1921-22 II. 61.

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Parākrama Pāṇḍya, Nos. 12 and 13 (*ante*), which refer to a Naralōkavīraṇṣandi and a hall called Naralōkavīraṇ, it is probable that Parākrama Pāṇḍya was met in battle and defeated by our chieftain who is said to have compelled the Pāṇḍyas to take refuge in the mountain with their women-folk :

teṇṇavartan

pūvēru vār-kuḷalāroḍum poruppēra
mā-vēru Toṇḍaiyār-maṇ.

He is also said to have destroyed Kollam (*Kollam-aḷivukaṇḍāṇ*) after capturing the western hill-country of the Pāṇḍya (*teṇṇar kuḍamalai-nāḍerindu*). We are also told that Vēṇāḍu (South Travancore) was the source of trouble, and that it was ravaged with fire and sword by Naralōkavīra :

pūśal

viḷaivitta vēṇāḍum verpaṇaittuṇ-jendī
vaḷaivittāṇ Toṇḍaiyār-maṇ.

He is also said to have subdued the *cāvērs* of the Pāṇḍya who were proud of their strength :

teṇṇāḍan sāvēṇṇi-ṇiṇ śerukkai
yanṇramaittāṇ Toṇḍaiyār kōṇ-āngu.

The *cāvērs* were a class of specially trained warriors who braved death cheerfully ;* it has been supposed that this class of warriors was confined to the Malabar country. The mention in the Tiruvadi inscription of the *cāvērs* of the Pāṇḍya is a very interesting fact. This fact renders it easier for us to understand the Tamil *praśasti* of Kulōttuṅga which narrates the war with the *cāvērs* that preceded the colonisation of Kōṭṭār and other places in the Pāṇḍya country. Another interesting fact to which special

* See Logan-*Manual of the Malabar District*, index s. v. Chāvēr.

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attention may be drawn is the prominent part of the cavalry implied in the repeated reference to horses in the inscriptions. One of the extracts from the Cidambaram inscription given above (*tenṇavartam pūvēru* etc.) says that when *Toṇḍaiyarkōṇ* got up on his steed, the *Pāṇḍya* got up on the mountain (fled for refuge) with his women. Again the military colonists whom *Kulōttuṅga* settled in the *Pāṇḍya* country, evidently at the end of the campaign here noticed, are described as chiefs of his cavalry forces (*mā-vēṇiya-taṇ varūdinit-talaivarai*). It seems such a pity that we have no reliable means of ascertaining the nature and equipment of the *Cōḷa* army at the time and its methods of warfare.

It is thus clear that, saving some uncertain services in *Veṅgi* and *Orissa*, the chief claim of *Naralōkavīra* to recognition at his king's hands lay in his expedition into the *Pāṇḍya* country and the subjugation of the rebellious *Vēṇāḍ*. It is instructive to compare the position of *Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimāṇ* in the *Kaliṅga* campaign with that of *Naralōkavīra* in the subjugation of the south, and though no special eulogy like the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* was evoked by his achievement, * still we can see from the length and eloquence of the two inscriptions in *Cidambaram* and *Tiruvadi* and from the extent and variety of his charitable endowments and constructions (which we proceed next to consider in detail), that he must have occupied a prominent place in the *Cōḷa* court and held a rank not much below that of the conqueror of *Kaliṅgam*. The manner in which he is mentioned in the *Vikramaśōḷaṇ-ulā* among those who followed *Vikrama* in his *ulā* seems to confirm this.

* See however the *Paraṇi* III 21.

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Naralōkavīra's religious and charitable works :—The great position and influence in the state that Naralōkavīra had built for himself by distinguished military service was used by him for the furtherance of the arts of peace. The temple was in those days the accredited centre not merely of religious devotion but of learning, culture and the arts. And, among others, the celebrated Śiva temples of Cidambaram and Tiruvadi (S. Arcot) became the spheres of the public benefactions of Naralōkavīra, and the inscriptions in these places (Nos. 7 and 8 above) give very interesting and trustworthy accounts of the buildings he erected and the endowments he made in these towns. The title Poṛkōyil Toṇḍaimāṇ and the surnames Nartaka and Sabhānartaka often applied to him in these inscriptions furnish clear proof of his deep devotion to Naṭarāja, the Dancing Śiva. The statements in the Cidambaram inscription relating to his charitable works may be summed up as follows.

This record as we have seen comprises two halves—the first of 31 Sanskrit verses and the second of about thirty-six *venḇās* in Tamil, * which in many instances, repeat and confirm the statements found in the Sanskrit verses.

To follow the order adopted in the Sanskrit portion, we are told that Naralōkavīra set up innumerable street-lights (*vithidīpa*) (st. 2.; v. 1076) and made arrangements for watering the streets on festive occasions (st. 3). He created a sacred garden (*nandavana*) which was filled with the bustle of the gods that came

* The published text in *S. I. I.* IV. No. 225 is defective at some points. A literal translation of this record cannot be attempted without a more critical edition of the text. For the Tamil part I follow Pt. Raghava Aiyangar's text accepting his conjectural emendations wherever they are *prima facie* correct. The Venḇā (v) numbers quoted are those of the *Perundogai*.

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to witness the dance of Śiva and in which flourished a hundred thousand areca-palms besprinkled with Ganges water scattered by the matted hair on the head of Śiva during his dance. (st. 4-5 and vv. 1089 and 1090). He erected a *maṇḍapa* near the sea and opened a broad road to it for the *tīrthayātrā* in the month of *Māsi* (st. 6 and v. 1091), and near that *maṇḍapa* he made a large tank of fresh water with a large banyan tree on its bank (st. 7). He constructed round the temple a great wall called *Naralōkavīra* (after him) from which there rose two tall towers (*gōpurayuga*) reaching out to the sky (st. 8 and 9). He whom the poets call *Arulākara* justified the name by constructing a hall with a hundred pillars where *Paśupati*, seeing that it was a place meet for his dance, disported himself with his beloved (st. 10, v. 1073). Round the sacred tank in the temple he built a flight of stone steps which looked like the path by which his fame descended to the nether world (st. 11, v. 1075). On either side of the golden gateway on the south (of the temple) he set up *maṅgaḷadīpas* which dispelled from his subjects the shadows of earthly life (st. 12). The priests responsible for worship in the temple were the recipients of rich endowments from him; further, he erected a fine hall for the constant recitation of the *Dēvāram* of *Gṇānasambanda* * (st. 13, and v. 1072). He covered the great *Sabhā* (*mahatīm sabhām*, *pērambalam*) with copper (st. 14 and v. 1063). He constructed a vehicle with a bull mounted on it, and on this vehicle the god was taken in procession during *bhikṣāṭana yātras*. (st. 15). A bugle inlaid with

* *Kumāra-stōtra-pārāyaṇa* of the Sanskrit *ślōka* adopts the Sanskrit form of the name *Āḷuḍaiya-piḷḷaiyār* for *Sambanda*. (See st. 26 and 27). It may also be noted that while the Sanskrit has *kāñcanam maṇḍapam*, v. 1072 has only *maṇḍapam* which, if it refers to the same structure, as I think it does, shows that we are not to understand literally the many references to golden halls.

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gold intended to announce the arrival of Dēvadēva (God of gods) was presented by him to the temple (st. 16, v. 1066). Ten *nityadīpas* of fragrant camphor (st. 20, v. 1067), a golden water-pot (st. 21, v. 1065), an image of Sambanda (st. 26) together with a large number of precious jewels (st. 18, 24) and arrangements for annual *abhiṣēkas* in the different shrines in the temple (st. 22, 25 and v. 1071) formed part of Naralōkavīra's endowments to the temple of Naṭarāja. A *prākāra* and a *maṇḍapa* and a high outer wall of stone were erected for the shrine of the goddess Pārvatī whose image was clad in a splendid robe and adorned from head to foot with fine jewels befitting the dancing hall of her lord (*sva-pati-naṭanāsthāna-yōgyam*) (st. 28-30 vv. 1077, 1078, 1080). Lastly, Naralōkavīra gave a perpetual endowment for the daily supply of oil and milk for children to signify the universal motherhood of the goddess (st. 31). The Tamil part adds a few items to this long list of Naralōkavīra's charities in Cidambaram; of these the most noteworthy are the engraving on copper-plates of the whole of the *Dēvāram* as it was sung by the three hymnists (v. 1088) and the construction of a stone sluice to a large irrigation tank in the neighbourhood of Cidambaram (v. 1094).

It must be noticed here that from the inscriptions of Vikrama Cōḷa dating from the eleventh year of his reign (c. 1128-9 A. D.), we learn that that monarch takes credit to himself for many things in the temple of Naṭarāja * which bear a close resemblance to what Naralōkavīra is reported to have done. Not only are the constructions and endowments briefly mentioned in Vikrama Cōḷa's inscription similar to those in the record analysed above, but that king is said to have undertaken this extensive reconstruction of the great

* See 165 of 1894—*S. I. I. Texts* V. No. 458

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temple from funds provided out of tributes collected by him from subject kings. It seems hardly possible that the undated Cidambaram record of Naralōkavīra and the inscriptions of Vikrama Cōla, so similar in their contents, refer to two different sets of operations unrelated to each other. We may therefore assume that the later years of Naralōkavīra's life were spent by him in assisting his sovereign in carrying out the programme of religious works he had made for himself. Nothing was more natural in those days than that an old warrior who, in his younger days had seen a great deal of fighting in distant countries, should, in the evening of his life, find congenial occupation, still in the service of his king and country, in renovating and beautifying holy places of ancient renown. And perhaps it is proof alike of the mutual trust between the king and his feudatory, and of the impersonal attitude which characterised their action in the service of God, that their works are reported in the inscriptions in a manner calculated to conceal from our view their relative shares in the great task.

To this day one of the enclosing walls of the Cidambaram temple is called *Vikramaśōlan-tirumālīgai*, the name employed for it in Vikrama's inscription (*śēmbonṇambalam-śūl-tirumālīgaiyum*). It is not possible to say if the reference to the entire *Dēvūram* being engraved on copper-plates is a fact, or only a mere repetition of an old convention in relation to such matters. The *Sūtras* of the *Irāiyaṇār - Kaḷaviyal* are also supposed to have been written on copper-plates in the first instance by their divine author. Allowing, however, for all the hyperbole characteristic of such eulogies, we can still hardly fail to recognise that the first ten years or so of the reign of Vikrama Cōla saw extensive improvements and reconstructions in the

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greatest centre of Śaivism in South India, and that our chieftain had an important share in them.

There is one circumstance which renders this surmise about Naralōkavīra's relation to Vikrama Cōla's works in Cidambaram the more probable. This chieftain had by the time of Vikrama's accession added to his distinction in the army a considerable experience in the construction and endowment of temples and *maṇḍapas*. In the life-time of Kulōttuṅga, he built a stone temple of good size to Vyāghrapādēśvara at Siddhalinga-maḍam ;* he also constructed a *maṇḍapa* and *prākāra* walls and set up a recumbent image of Hari in Kāñcīpuram.† And, though we cannot be quite sure of it, it is not improbable that before he turned to Cidambaram, he completed the constructions at Tiruvadi which included a *maṇḍapa* and a *mālīgai*, a hall with a hundred-pillars, a broad procession-path (*tiruccuṟu*), a dancing hall and other structures very similar to those erected at Cidambaram. In many ways then Naralōkavīra must have appeared to Vikrama Cōla as the person most fitted to carry out the great enterprise at Cidambaram which was to mark his intense devotion to his tutelary deity (*taṇ kulanāyakaṇ*).

We have followed the life and work of Naralōkavīra with the clear testimony of contemporary inscriptions and literature. There are many gaps in the story, and obviously we cannot accept everything that is stated in the inscriptions as literally true. It is quite possible that when more texts of inscriptions from the south (Madura, Tinnevely, Travancore) are published or fresh inscriptions copied, we may get more light on the life and times of this chieftain

* Nos. 367 and 369 of 1909 (1 and 3 above).

† 473 of 1919 (6 above).

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which will enable us to fill some of the gaps in our story. But the evidence at hand is quite definite on the services rendered by Naralōkavīra to Kulōttuṅga I and his son and successor Vikrama Cōla, and on the position he held among the official nobility of the land. Though he fought in several campaigns, his greatest distinction was doubtless his success in the southern campaign of Kulōttuṅga which resulted in the establishment of military colonies on the main road through the Pāṇḍya country to Kottār and Cape Comorin. We have seen that he was connected in some special manner with Maṇavil; most likely he was granted by the king an assignment of the revenues due from the place. Once indeed he is called *mā-Mayilai-ttonḍaiyarkōṇ kūttaṇ* (v. 1064); but this, I think, is only in obedience to a poetic convention which treated *Mayilai* (Mylapore) as one of the beauty-spots of the Tōṇḍainād to which Naralōkavīra belonged. The religious constructions and charities at Kāñcīpuram, Tiruvadi, Siddhaliṅgamaḍa, Tribhuvani, Cidambaram and other places undoubtedly gave him opportunities for the encouragement of artisans of various types. Masons and architects, jewellers and gardeners, weavers and musicians must have been employed by him in work suited to their qualifications and tastes. And one may add that the literary men whom he patronised, like the composers of the Sanskrit verses and the Tamil *veṇbas* of the Cidambaram and Tiruvadi inscriptions, on which this study is so largely based, were not mere versifiers, but could lay some claim to real poetic talent.

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APPENDIX III

Nāḍus and Villages in Maṇavirkōṭṭam

(a) *Kanṇurnāḍu*

- (1) Kōṭṭūr *alias* Coḷaviccādira Caturvēdimāṅgalam
248 of 1910-Vikrama-Cōḷadēva
234 of 1910-Kulōṭṭuṅga III

(2) Kūvam *alias*—

- (i) Madurāntakanallūr—
326 of 1909 } Kulōṭṭuṅga I
244 of 1910 }

- (ii) Tyāgasamudranallūr—
329 of 1909-Kulōṭṭuṅga III

- (3) Vīrapāṇḍiyanallūr—
518 of 1920-Kulōṭṭuṅga I

(b) *Maṇavilnāḍu*

- (1) Arumbākkam—
58 of 1921 } Kulōṭṭuṅga I
380 of 1921 }

- (2) Maṇavil—
288 of 1906-Rājarāja I
175 of 1919-Vikrama Cōḷa

(c) *Mēṇpaḷugūrṇāḍu*

- (1) Nallilamangalam—
61 of 1923-Rājakēsari

(d) *Paḷaiyaṇūrṇāḍu*

- (1) Paḷaiyaṇūr—
336 of 1909-Kulōṭṭuṅga (III)
- (2) Viḍaiyūr—
233 of 1917-Kulōṭṭuṅga III

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(e) *Paṇmānāḍu*

(1) Muruṅgai : S. I. I.-I-No. 86

(2) Takkōlam *alias*—

(i) Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram

259 of 1921-Rājarāja I

256 and 274 of 1921-Rājēndra Cōḷa I

(ii) Irattapāḍikonḍacōḷapuram

262 of 1921-Rājādhirāja I

(iii) Kulōttuṅacōḷapuram

263 of 1921-Kulōttuṅga I

265 of 1921-Rājarāja III

(3) Tiruvūralpuram (a hamlet of Takkōlam)—

255 of 1921-Rājakēsarivarman

12 of 1897-Parāntaka I

(f) *Pāsāli nāḍu*

(1) Kidāraṅgonḍaśōḷapuram—

(modern Naraśingapuram ?)

244 of 1910-Kulōttuṅga I

(2) Pāsāli— 254 of 1921-Parāntaka I

515 of 1918-Kulōttuṅga III

(g) *Perumūrnāḍu*

(1) Naḍuvilmalai Tiruneḍumpirai—

114 of 1912-Kulōttuṅga III

(h) *Puriśaināḍu*

(1) Puriśai— 251 and 252 of 1910-Kulōttuṅga I

(2) Ūrāḍagam—246 of 1921-Parāntaka I

18 of 1896-Rājēndra Cōḷa I

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