

kaṇak(k)=eḷudinān kaṇakku=pperunguṛi=pperu-mak-  
kaḷōḍu kūḍa=kkāṇa(k)ku(k)kāṭṭi śuddhan āchchidin-  
pinn=aṇṇi marṛu=kkāṇa—

16. kku-ppuga perādān=āgavum (|\*) tān eḷudina  
ka(ṇakku)=ttānē kāṭṭuvān=āgavum (|\*) marṛu=kkā-  
ṇak(ka)r pukku o(ḍu)kka=pperādā(r) āgavum (|\*)  
i-ppariśē ivv-āṇḍu mudal chantrādittavar<sup>63</sup> eṇ(r)um  
kuḍav-ōlai-vāriyamē iḍuvad=āga Dēv(ē)ntran<sup>64</sup> chak-  
rava(r\*)tti (pa)nḍitavatssalan<sup>65</sup> kunjaramallan sūra-  
śūlāmaṇi kalpakaśarīdai<sup>66</sup> śrī-Parakē(sa)ri(pa)nma  
(r ka)<sup>67</sup> śrīmu(kha)m<sup>68</sup>=aruḷuchchēdu varak(k)āṭṭa  
śrī-ā(ñ)aiā—

17. I Śōla-nāṭṭu-Ppurangarambai-nāṭṭu Śrīvanga-  
nagar=Kkaranjai-K(o)nḍaya <sup>69</sup>(kra)mavitta-bhaṭ-  
ṭann<sup>70</sup>=āgiya Somāśīperumān=uḍan <sup>71</sup>(i)rundu i-ppa-  
riśu śeyvikka na(m) grāmattukku <sup>72</sup>a(bhyu)tayam=  
āga duṣṭar keṭṭu visistar va(r)ddhippad=āga vyavas-  
th(ai) śeydōm Uttaramēru-chchaturvēḍimangalattu  
sabhaiyōm (|\*) i-ppariśu kuṛiyuḷ irundu p(e)rum-  
makkaḷ paṇikka vyavasthai eḷudinē(n) madhyasthan

18. Kāḍaḷippōt(ta)n Śivakkurī <sup>73</sup>Irājamalla-  
mainkaḷapriyanēn ||—

<sup>63</sup> Read *candradityavat*.

<sup>64</sup> Read *Devendran*.

<sup>65</sup> Cancel the second.

<sup>66</sup> In the original *Kalpakaśarī* is Grantha; read °*charitai*.

<sup>67</sup> The corresponding passage in line 1 has °*vanmaruḍaiya*.

<sup>68</sup> Read *aruḷi*.

<sup>69</sup> The akṣara *kra* of *kramavitta* appears to be written over an erasure.

<sup>70</sup> Cancel the first n.

<sup>71</sup> The letter i is corrected from Grantha *ma*.

<sup>72</sup> In the original, the letters *abhyu* are Grantha; read *abhyudaya*.

<sup>73</sup> An akṣara is elided before *ja* in the original.

(Lines 1—2). Hail! Prosperity! On the sixteenth day of the fourteenth year of king Parakēsarivarman, who conquered Madirai (i.e. Madura),—Whereas a royal letter of His Majesty, our lord, the glorious Vīranārāyaṇa, the illustrious Parāntakadēva, the prosperous Parakesarivarman, was received and was shown to us, we the (members of the) assembly of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam in its own sub-division of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam,—Karanjai Konḍaya-kramavitta -bhaṭṭan *ahas* Somāśiperumān<sup>1</sup> of Śrīvanganagar in Purangarambai-nāḍu, (a district) of the Chola country, sitting (with us) and convening (?) the committee in accordance with the (royal) command,—made<sup>2</sup> a settlement as follows, according to (the terms of) the royal letter, for choosing once every year from this year forward (members for) the 'annual committee,' 'garden committee,' and 'tank committee':—

(Lines 2—3). I.<sup>3</sup> There shall be thirty wards.

II. In (these) thirty wards, those that live in each ward shall assemble and shall choose for 'pot-tickets' (*kuḍav-ōlai*) anyone possessing the following qualifications):—

- (a) "He must own more than a quarter (*vēli*) of tax-paying land.
- (b) "He must live in a house built on his own site.

<sup>1</sup> The word *somāśi* is a tadbhava of the Sanskrit *somayājñin*.

<sup>2</sup> The wording in line 17 makes it likely that the settlement was actually made by Somāśiperumān and the village assembly very probably agreed to carry it out. [*seyvikka* seems to imply that the assembly did so under his presidency (*vāriyam*).—S. K.]

<sup>3</sup> This and the other marginal numbers and letters are not in the original, but are added for the sake of convenience.

- (c) "His age must be below 70 and above 35.  
 (d) "He must know the Mantrabrahmaṇa<sup>4</sup>  
 (i.e.) he must know (it) by teaching  
 (others).<sup>5</sup>

III. "Even if one owns only one-eighth (vēli) of land, (he shall have) his name<sup>6</sup> written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot), in case he has learnt one Veda and one of the four *bhāsyas* by explaining (it to others).

IV. Among those (possessing the foregoing qualifications)—

(i) "only such as are well conversant with business and are virtuous shall be taken and

(ii) "one who possesses honest earnings, whose mind is pure and who has not been on (any of) the committees for the last three years<sup>7</sup> shall (also) be chosen.

(Lines 4—6.) <sup>8</sup>"One who has been on any of the committees but has not submitted his accounts, and all his relations specified below shall not have (their

<sup>4</sup> I.e., the Mantras and Brahmanas, not merely the Chandogya-brahmana which is also called Mantrabrahmana.

<sup>5</sup> This is the literal meaning of the phrase *ōduvitt-arivān*. But the author perhaps wants to say 'one who can teach (others)' in which case the expression must be *ōduvikka arivān*. The word *vakkānutt-arivān* in line 4 below is also similarly used.

<sup>6</sup> The original has *avanai*, i.e., him. But to make the sentence intelligible I have translated the word by 'his name' in the light of what follows.

<sup>7</sup> See note 6 on page 138.

<sup>8</sup> The writer uses the plural here, but subsequently lapses into the singular number about the end of the next line. I have for the sake of uniformity used the singular.

names) written on the pot-tickets and put<sup>9</sup> (into the pot) :—

- (1) The sons of the younger and elder sisters of his mother.<sup>10</sup>
- (2) The sons of his paternal aunt and maternal uncle.
- (3) The uterine brother of his mother.
- (4) The uterine brother of his father.
- (5) His uterine brother.
- (6) His father-in-law.<sup>11</sup>
- (7) The uterine brother of his wife.
- (8) The husband of his uterine sister.
- (9) The sons of his uterine sister.
- (10) The son-in-law who has married his daughter.
- (11) His father.
- (12) His son.

(Lines 6—9.) A. “One against whom incest<sup>12</sup> (*agamyagamana*) or the first four of the five great sins<sup>13</sup> are recorded; and

<sup>9</sup> The words *puga ida* may also be translated ‘to appoint in order to enter (the committee).’

<sup>10</sup> The original has *ayy-arai* ‘younger mother’ and *pā-arai* ‘elder mother’. As paternal cousins would be differently described, I have taken the words to refer to maternal cousins.

<sup>11</sup> Literally ‘the uncle who has given his daughter (in marriage)’.

<sup>12</sup> If a man guilty of incest performed the prescribed expiatory ceremonies, the prohibition against his relations was removed; see clause 1 of this paragraph (on next page).

<sup>13</sup> The five great sins are:—(1) killing a Brahmana, (2) drinking intoxicating liquors, (3) theft, (4) committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher, and (5) associating with any one guilty of these crimes; *Manu*, XI, 55.



B. "All his relations above specified<sup>14</sup> shall not have (their names) written on the pot-tickets and put into (the pot).

C. "One who has been outcast for association (with low people) shall not, until he performs the expiatory ceremonies, have (his name) chosen for the pot-ticket.

D. "One who is foolhardy,.....shall not have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put (into the pot).

E. "One who has stolen the property of others shall not have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put (into the pot).

F. "One who has taken forbidden dishes (?) of any kind<sup>15</sup> and who has become pure by performing the ghee expiation (?)<sup>16</sup> shall not to the end of his life have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot) for the committees.

G. "One who has committed.....sins and has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies;

H. "One who having been a village pest has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies;

I. "One who is guilty of incest and has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies; all

<sup>14</sup> This evidently refers to the foregoing enumeration of relations.

<sup>15</sup> Manu (XI, 57), declares this as equivalent to drinking intoxicating liquor.

<sup>16</sup> *Kṛtaprayaschitta* is perhaps a mistake for *ghṛtaprayaschitta*. Manu prescribes the drinking of hot ghee as an expiation for sins more than once; see, for instance, XI, 215. [This means one who has performed the prescribed expiatory ceremonies. The Tam. equivalent *prāyaschittam*—*śeydu* occurs in the same sense.—S. K.]

these thus specified shall not, to the end of their lives, have (their names) written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot) for (any of the) committees."

(Lines 9—11). "Excluding all these, thus specified, names shall be written for 'pot-tickets' in the thirty wards and each of the wards in these twelve streets (of Uttaramallūr) shall prepare a separate covering ticket for (each of the) thirty wards bundled separately. (These packets?) shall be put into a pot. When the pot-tickets have to be drawn, a full meeting of the great assembly<sup>17</sup> including the young and old (members), shall be convened. All the temple priests (*nambimār*), who happen to be in the village on the day, shall, without any exception whatever, be caused to be seated in the inner hall (where) the great assembly (meets). In the midst of the temple priests, one of them, who happens to be the eldest, shall stand up and lift that pot, looking upwards so as to be seen by all people. One ward (i.e., the packet representing it) shall be taken out by any young boy standing close, who does not know what is inside, and shall be transferred to another (empty) pot and shaken. From this pot one ticket shall be drawn (by the young boy?) and made over to the arbitrator (*madhyastha*). While taking charge of the ticket thus given (to him), the arbitrator shall receive it on the palm of his hand with the five fingers open. He shall read out (the name on) the ticket thus received. The ticket read (by him) shall (also) be read out by all the priests present in the inner

<sup>17</sup> The assembly here gets the epithet *tiruvaṇṇiyār*, 'their majesties,' which is omitted in the translation.

hall. The name thus read out shall be put down (and accepted). Similarly one man shall be chosen for (each of) the thirty wards."

(Lines 11—13.)“ Of the thirty men thus chosen, those who had (previously), been on the ‘garden committee’ and on the ‘tank committee’, those who are advanced in learning, and those who are advanced in age shall be chosen for the ‘annual committee’.<sup>18</sup> Of the rest, twelve shall be taken for the ‘garden committee’ and the remaining six shall form the ‘tank committee.’ These (last) two committees shall be chosen by showing the *karai*.<sup>19</sup> The great men of these three committees thus (chosen) for them shall hold office for full three hundred and sixty days and (then) retire. When one who is on the committees is found guilty of (any) offence, he shall be removed (at once). For appointing the committees after these have retired, the members of the ‘committee for supervision of justice’ in the twelve streets (of Uttaramallur) shall convene an assembly (*kuri*)<sup>20</sup> with the help of the arbitrator. The committees shall be appointed by drawing pot-tickets. . . . . according to this order of settlement.”

<sup>18</sup> The accusative *samvatsara-vāriyatayum* has to be taken in the sense of *samvatsara-vāriyar=āga*.

<sup>19</sup> *Karai* in Tamil means ‘stain, bank, shore, border, speech’ The expression *karai-kātti*, which is here used, must be synonymous with *karai-parittu* in line 15. These two terms appear to denote some method of selection easier and shorter than the tedious one of pot-tickets described at length in the inscription. Perhaps they mean something like ‘oral expression of opinion,’ which may be derived from the meaning ‘speech,’ given for the word *karai* by Winslow. [*Karai-kātti*=by public announcement, as in *Tolkāppiyam*. S. K.]

<sup>20</sup> For this meaning of the word *kuri* see South-Ind. Inscr., Vol. III, p. 17; compare also *perunguri* in line 15.

(Lines 13—16). “For the ‘*pancha-vāra* committee’<sup>21</sup> and the ‘gold committee’, names shall be written for pot-tickets in the thirty wards, thirty (packets with) covering tickets shall be deposited (in a pot) and thirty pot-tickets shall be drawn (as previously described). From (these) thirty (tickets) twelve men shall be selected. Six out of twelve (thus) chosen shall form the ‘gold committee’ and the (remaining) six the ‘*pancha-vāra* committee.’ When drawing pot-tickets for these (two) committees next year, the wards which have been already represented (during the year in question) on these committees shall be excluded and the selection made from the remaining wards by drawing the *karai*.<sup>22</sup> One who has ridden on an ass<sup>23</sup> and one who has committed forgery shall not have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put (into the pot).”

“Any arbitrator who possesses honest earnings shall write the accounts (of the village). No accountant shall be appointed to that office again before he

<sup>21</sup> Professor Kielhorn translates *pancha-vāra* by ‘committee of five. Ep. Ind, Vol. V, p. 138. But as the number of members of this Committee is fixed at six later on in this inscription this translation cannot be accepted. Perhaps it supervised the five committees (*pancha-vāra*) of the village. It is possible that originally there were only five committees in a village and the work of these was supervised by the *panchavāra* committee. In the Telugu country it appears to have been a special honour to be placed on this committee and this honour was probably due to its supervising the work of the other committees. Later on, the number of village committees seems to have been increased and there appear to be more than five committees. Even after this alteration the original name *pancha-vāra-vāriyam* given to the supervising committee was probably retained unaltered.

<sup>22</sup> See note 3 on page 144.

<sup>23</sup> Riding on an ass is apparently a punishment for some offence. It is implied in Manu (XI, 202) that driving in a wagon drawn by an ass is a sin.

submits his accounts<sup>24</sup> (for the period during which he was in office) to the great men of the big committee and (is declared) to have been honest. The accounts which one has been writing, he shall submit himself and no other accountant shall be chosen to close his accounts.”

(Line 16). “Thus, from this year onwards, as long as the moon and the sun (endure), committees shall always be appointed by ‘pot-tickets’ alone. To this effect was the royal letter received and shown (to us), graciously issued by the lord of gods, the emperor, one who is fond of learned men, the wrestler with elephants, the crest jewel of heroes, whose acts (i.e., gifts) (resemble those of) the celestial tree, the glorious Parakēsarivarman.”

(Lines 16—17.) “At the royal command Karanjai Konḍaya-kramavitta-bhaṭṭan *alias* Somāsiperumān of Srivanganagar in Purangarambai-nāḍu<sup>25</sup> (a district) of the Chola country sat with (us) and thus caused<sup>26</sup> (this settlement) to be made.”

(Lines 17—18.) “We, the (members of the) assembly of Uttaramēruḥaturvēdmangalam, made (this) settlement for the prosperity of our village in order that wicked men may perish and the rest may prosper.”

<sup>24</sup> The word *kapakku* is unnecessarily repeated after *kūḍa* in line 15. [Out of three, the middle repetition goes with assembly, meaning assembly for accounts. S. K.]

<sup>25</sup> According to the large Leyden plates, which also mention Vanganagai (l. 141f), this district belonged to Arumōḷidēva-vaṇanāḍu.

<sup>26</sup> The later settlement appears to have been actually drawn up by the king's officer and formally accepted by the assembly.

At the order of the great men sitting in the assembly, I, the arbitrator Kāḍaḍippōttan Śivakkuri-Rājamallamangalapriyan thus wrote the settlement.

V. VENKAYYA.

*[These valuable documents are reproduced above as the late Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya published them. A revised edition of these is in course of publication by me in the Epigraphia Indica.]*

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## LECTURE VI.

### *The General Extent of the Chola Empire and the Divisions Constituting the Empire.*

The rural administration pictured above from the *disjecta membra* of details collected from the large number of inscriptions of the Cholas that are still available to us for study, is likely to be taken, as it has often been, as applicable only to comparatively small kingdoms with a narrow extent, and unsuitable to larger areas and the vaster extent of territory which usually constitute kingdoms and empires in modern times. The differences in extent and area of the political units constituting empires and kingdoms in modern times have the advantage in these particulars; but it can be said justifiably to be due to the annihilation of distance by the application of steam and electricity rather than to anything peculiar to the character of modern political institutions. Even so, the Chola empire in its greatest extent comprised a vast area, not insignificant even from the modern point of view. It may be said roughly to have comprised within it the whole of the present day Madras Presidency excepting the regions of North Malabar and South Kanara on the one side and the hilly parts, commonly called Malnad, of Mysore. This even for a modern kingdom would be regarded as a comparatively large extent notwithstanding the fact that means of communication have improved beyond all proportion. Having regard to the times therefore and the means of communication avail-

able, the Chola empire may be described as vast in extent, and prosperous and efficient from the point of view of the character of its administration. A successful rural administration of a vast empire conducive to the prosperity of the people on the one side, and to the building up of the resources of the Government on the other, must be judged a satisfactory political organisation for the attainment of the highest ends of the existence of a state.

This empire was well divided into provinces and divisions, and territorial units of a smaller character on quite an intelligible and rational scale. No effort was apparently made to divide the empire into divisions of any geometrically or arithmetically perfect divisions as was attempted by revolutionary France. The divisions here followed the divisions of history, and the provinces mainly were the older political divisions or kingdoms, and continued as such or were given new names, though the old designations were still retained alternatively as a matter of convenience. But even in a comparatively small particular as that when the name was altered and a new title was actually given to a division, the practice, when references were made to these, was to give the older and the newer name together in formal documents, indicating a respect for the conservative habits of the people and a care to avoid confusion in transactions connected with them.

Of this extent of the Chola empire, the portion extending from Nellore to as far as Vizianagaram, perhaps even a little farther north, had a long anterior history. The Chālukya viceroyalty constituted in the



seventh century under the great Western Chālukya ruler Pulikēsin, became the Eastern Chālukya kingdom when the early Chālukyas of the West were overthrown by the Rāshtrakūṭas in the middle of the eighth century. Thereafter it continued as an independent kingdom and retained that position even under the Cholas when Rājarāja brought it under his authority by treaty, the arrangement being sealed by a marriage alliance between the two royal families. The political subordination of this northern division is in evidence in the freedom with which the Cholas were able to march through their territory to the extreme north, and otherwise deal with them as though they constituted an integral part of the empire. The rest of the territory under the Cholas had become more thoroughly incorporated in the empire, and constituted the larger divisions generally called *Mandalam*. The Chola empire consisted of the Tondamandalam, which had the alternative name Jayamkondaśolamandalam, Śolamandalam itself, Pāṇḍiyamandalam with various other names at different times, Kongu-Mandalam, and Malai Nāḍu, Gangappāḍi. Nulambappāḍi, which was otherwise called Nikarili Śolappāḍi and even Īlam (Ceylon), which had the name Mummudiśola Mandalam. The first of these main divisions constituted the territory dependent upon Kānchī when it was a kingdom; the rest the Chola country proper, the territory of the Pandyas with their capital at Madura, the Kongu country with its capital at Karūr, the Malabar country of British Malabar, Travancore and Cochin; a considerable part of south Mysore went by the old name Gangappāḍi; east Mysore or the Ganga country, sometimes called Ganga-

mandalam, otherwise Nikariliśola Mandalam and Ceylon or Mummudiśola Mandalam; these were the larger divisions or provinces that constituted the empire. Each one of these provinces or Mandalam was divided into smaller divisions, which in the Chola, Pāṇḍya and even other countries generally went by the name Kōṭṭam (Ghoṣṭa) following the older division that prevailed in the Tondamandalam country previous to the age of the Chola ascendancy, this territory having been divided into 24 kōṭṭanis commanded by as many fortresses. Below these was the smaller division, something between the district and the taluk of modern times, which went by the plain name Nāḍu. A subdivision of this Nāḍu was the rural unit consisting of single townships where townships of importance were concerned. But more often rural areas were divided into groups of villages, of which perhaps the larger or the more important township constituted the centre or headquarters, and the rest of the group dependent thereon as it were, but enjoying the same rights as the central township.

On the general lines indicated above, the Chola administration under Rājarāja consisted of seven divisions, and as many as about five smaller divisions not exactly on a footing with the main divisions. Each one of these main divisions, corresponding to the major provinces indicated above, was sub-divided and divided again. For instance, Chola Mandalam proper consisted of nine divisions, perhaps about as big as our modern districts, and each one of these divisions contained as many as ten or eleven, and in one case, 22 smaller divi-

sions which have come down to us. It must be remembered that we are not taking the information from any complete official register maintained at the headquarters. Unfortunately not a single one of these documents has come down to us. We have to collect our information only from chance remnants, and we ought not therefore to generalise too quickly from the information available to us. Another division shows as many as 17 sub-divisions, so that it is not at all likely that the divisions of which we gain our knowledge from the scraps of information that have survived to our times is complete in any one case. But the general impression that these give us is that they were divided into manageable divisions of a systematic character, more or less equal in extent and consisting similarly of a number of sub-divisions not widely different so as to assure efficiency of control by the supervising officers of the divisions. Having regard to the fact that, imperfect as the information that has come down to us is, there is evidence of a systematic organisation, we have to take it that the more mechanical divisions and the responsibilities that they involved were made as far as may be equal. Without attempting to be more complete, where such completeness is impossible, we may say that the general organisation in the matter of divisions and sub-divisions was much about the same that we are accustomed to in modern times. But when we come to surveys and land measurements, and the apportionment of land for purposes of cultivation, we do find the details carried so far as to indicate a minuteness of organisation for revenue administration that the presumption that the administration was highly organised

generally, would not be far from the truth.

It is on such a division of the rural localities that the general administration was based and the very backbone of that general administration was in the administration of the rural localities. It is in this department of the administration that the rulers of Tamil India show themselves at their best in the completeness with which they carried the devolution of power, which amounted to the people being left to administer their own affairs in the best interests of the communities occupying the localities concerned. As we have seen above, the administration, such as it was, was carried on practically by the people subject in the last resort to control by divisional governments, and the government at head-quarters; but even where the control was exercised, it was exercised with the willing co-operation of the people, so that the difference between self-government and the government by an administrative organisation placed over them can hardly be said to have been felt at all. It is to carry on this rural administration that an administrative practice has been growing, which had reached a stage under the early Cholas, that the practice might be gathered together in a set of rules, and probably the circulars of Parāntaka referred to above were circulars, which had this particular object in view. The laying down of the rules therefore is not necessarily the beginning. It is much rather in an advanced stage of that administration that the practice got to be generalised by prescribing the rules of general application for purposes of use in new localities and for the attainment of a certain amount of uniformity

That the rules laid down for elections, etc., by Parāntaka I, were generally acted up to after their issue may be taken for granted from the several details we get in a large number of records of the period following. For a specific instance however, we might refer to No. 583 of the epigraphist's collection for 1904 bearing date equivalent to A. D. 1234-35. This records the dismissal of the village accountant and the debarring of all his relations from holding office, almost on the lines indicated in the documents embodying the rules. It was not always that matters were allowed to go so far before royal intervention was called for. There are many other instances on record of intervention by superior authority for various items, and there seems to have been general accord between the authority at headquarters and his subordinates in the provinces on one side, and the assembly which administered with autonomous powers on the other. Among the large number of records that have come down to us, we do not hear of cases in which the intervention of the authority of the one party was resented by the other, although we have instances of a large number of cases of interventions in various forms taking place. We may refer to some of them which are typical of the power of intervention that the central authority exercised over the government of rural areas in the provinces.

In regard to the general method of carrying on business at the head-quarters, we may take the following as a general statement of the position. Usually matters relating to the provincial administration, or, as a matter of fact, all matters relating to administration

generally were brought to the notice of the king, or the emperor for the time being, by a particular officer, whose function it was to do so. This was the case whether the emperors were in their capitals, or out in camp in the course of their progresses through the dominions. The records that have come down to us usually state it that the emperor was seated in a particular part of the palace, which is carefully mentioned, when the royal Secretary, as he is called, an officer corresponding to the Private Secretaries of modern times, brought up the matter which required royal orders. When the matter came up in the final state after the necessary enquiries and investigations had been made, the king issued his orders by word of mouth after hearing the documents read out to him. Particularly when he was out in camp and matters of dispute came to him, he generally made arrangements for holding an enquiry; the parties concerned were summoned and enquiries were made, which apparently were recorded, and he issued orders then and there, or on a subsequent occasion when the matter was formally brought up before him by the Secretary. In every case, the verbal orders of the king were put in writing by the Private Secretary, whose function it was to take down the orders of the king. This officer went by the name *Tiruvāykelvi* (the one that heard the order issuing from the mouth of the king). The order was passed on to the department presided over by an officer who is called *Viḍai-Adbikāri*, the officer whose function it was to issue orders, in other words the head of the office of issue. But before orders even of the king could issue, and when it was ready for issue in this department, it

had to be submitted, probably to a council, and, in token of such submission, had to be approved and counter-signed by two officers of importance, namely, a high dignitary, *Perumdaram*, called *Īrāyiravan Palla-vayyan* in the days of *Rājarāja* and his son, and the Chief Secretary, *Ōlai Nāyakam*, and then it was issued to the party concerned through the provincial office. It was received at the head-quarters of the provincial governor, dealt with by his office in a manner almost similar, and from there issued to the particular party concerned.

This would perhaps be best illustrated by the following extract taken from one of the *Karūr* inscriptions, which gives the details more or less fully and perhaps exhibits the procedure clearly. 'Being graciously seated in the royal bathing hall within the palace at *Gangaikonda Śolapuram* (the king) granted with libations of water, the village of *Pākkūr* in *Vengāla nāḍu*, a district of *Adhirājarājamandalam*, (and) was pleased to order that this village, excluding the tax-paying lands in the possession of the ryots, should become tax-free temple land from (the year) which was opposite to the third year (of his reign) including revenue, taxes, small tolls, *eḷuvai*, *ugavai*, the three fines called *maṇṇupāḍu*, *dandam*, *kuṇṇam*, everywhere where the iguana runs, the tortoise crawls, an ant-hill rises and sprouts grow, the grass for the calves and the lands enjoyed in full by the great village; that (this village) should pay to (the God) *Mahādēva* of *Tiruvānilai* (temple) at *Karuvūr* in the same *nāḍu*, the revenue hitherto paid by this village, namely 303½

*kalanju* and one and one-twentieths *manjāḍi* of gold; and 3,531 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy, and that this village should be entered in the revenue register (*vari*) as tax-free temple land from this year forward.

‘Accordingly the Royal Secretary, Vānavan Pallavaraiyan, the lord of Tāli Tiruppanangāḍu and the lord of Nērivāyil in Paṇaiyūr nādu, a district of Kshtriya Śikhāmaṇi’ vaḷanadu, having written that the king had been pleased to order (thus), and the Chief Secretary, Achchudan Rājarājan alias Tondamān, the citizen Uttamacholan alias Rājarāja Brahmādhiraṇjan, Araiyan Vīrarājēndra Mangalappēraraṇiyan having unanimously approved (of this document), Vīrabhadran Tillaividangan alias Villavan Rājarājan ordered, “Let it be entered in our register in accordance with intimation received.” In accordance with this order there was a meeting of a number of members, but here the record of their deliberations is unfortunately obliterated. ‘Our revenue officers having entered (this) in the revenue register in accordance with the royal order let it be engraved upon copper and on stone (that this village was given) as tax-free temple land to the God Mahādēva of Tiruvānilai temple for the expenses of burnt-offerings, oblations and worship.’<sup>1</sup>

That was the ordinary way in which the government at head-quarters took note of what was taking place in the distance, sanctioning that which deserved to be sanctioned, examining that which had to be examined, and issuing final orders one way or another after

<sup>1</sup> Ancient India, pp. 177-8; S. I. I. III, pp. 38-9; Pt. 1, No. 20.



satisfactory examination. An inscription known as the Madras Museum Plates<sup>1</sup> of the sixteenth year of Uttamachola, the uncle of Rājarāja, shows the details of this procedure even more clearly. The matter related to a deposit of 200 pieces of gold with two sections of weavers in Kānchi for certain services to the temple. The king was seated in the royal palace at Kachipēdu, in the decorated hall on the southern side of it. The *Adhikāri* of the locality, or the governor of the place, by name Śola Mūvēnda Vēlān begged that orders may be vouchsafed in regard to the disposal of the revenues to the temple of Viṣṇu at Ūragam in the town of Kachipēdu. The revenues under reference refer to taxes upon articles sold by weight and articles sold by measure as well as the various other incomes accruing to the temple from lands purchased in the ward Tunḍu-nukkachēri of the same town as well as sums of money laid out at interest. The incomes accruing from these various items had not been budgeted for various purposes, and the request was that orders might issue in regard to the matter. The king ordered that the said officer himself might frame the budget for the necessary distribution and that the carrying out of this arrangement may be left to the inhabitants of two wards of the town by name Kambulāmpāḍi and Atimānappāḍi. In accordance with the disposition thus made by that said officer, as set down in writing on stone, the order was given effect to as from the 22nd year of the king Kō Parakēsari Varman. The first item of this arrangement was that the Sabhas of Kūram and Ariyar Perumbākkam who had been lent

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I. III. Pt. III, No. 128; pp. 265,

250 gold *kaḷan̄ju* had every year to measure out, by way of interest, 500 *kādi* by the golden measure of 8 *nāl̄is* in use in the village; (2) the Sabha of Ulaiyūr, according to the document set out in a stone inscription, for the fifty *kaḷan̄ju* of gold that they received, had to measure out 150 *kādi* of paddy as interest; (3) in accordance with the record placed upon stone, the Sabha of Oḷukkaippākkam for the 24 *kaḷan̄ju* of gold that they had received, had to pay annually four *kaḷan̄ju*, four *manjādi* of gold. The total income thus derived was appropriated for the various services to the temple. The whole of the details are given here for the daily, periodical, and annual requirements of the temple in all their variety. But there is one point which may be of interest to note in this whole list. Provision seems to have been made for the supply of oil by one quarter of the town which went by the name *Śolāniyam*; two communities of people named *Tōlachēviyar* (those whose ears were not bored), and *Ēlākkaiyar* (those whose hands never accepted anything in gift) who had to supply something to the temple had completely vanished from the locality. What they had to do was allowed to be done by those that had occupied the particular ward from outside. These had to supply at the rate of one *nāl̄i* and one *uḷakku* of oil, and two *nāl̄is* of rice per house per month. In lieu of these services that they were asked to render, they were to be freed from all kinds of dues that they would have had otherwise to pay to the town. This arrangement was finally put into force as from the 18th year, obviously of *Uttama-chola*, in accordance with the arrangement made by the citizens of *Kachipēḍu*. In accordance therewith, this

God is to accept these dues as detailed above. The people of this ward were to maintain the accounts of the temple, and the man that was in charge of the accounts was to draw one *kurūṇi* of paddy every day, and two *kaḷanju* of gold every year as remuneration. Then follows the arrangement for certain other services to the temple annually.

Whatever of defects there may be in the administration of the affairs of the temple were to be supervised by the 18 *Nāttār*, whose "orders in regard to the matter shall be final." The accounts of this temple were to be audited annually as soon as the festival should be over by the mayor of this town, those that were in charge of the annual management and the inhabitants of the two wards of *Ēṟruvalichēri* and *Kanjakalpāḍi* jointly. The inhabitants of the two last wards were to take the funds from the temple treasury and make the necessary arrangements for carrying out the details of this settlement. The assembly of the whole town was to control those that superintended the management of the temple, those whose function it was to keep guard over the temple and those who had to maintain the accounts of the temple. They were to see that the temple was not taxed by the authorities. In case they should not be able to obtain the services of a proper *Nambi* (a temple priest) for conducting the *pūja* (worship) of the temple, they were to appoint instead a Brahman well versed in the Veda. Having been thus ordered by those in authority, the *madhyasta* of *Virappāḍi* of this city by name *Mangalādittan* of "the forty-eight thousand" wrote out this proclamation.

In this important document, which runs through all the details of the administration of a temple, by no means a new foundation, we find the intervention of the king is called for by the officer responsible as far as we could make out from the document, on his own initiative; and the king accepts the invitation of the officer to lay down a scheme, as it were, of arrangements for the conduct of the affairs of the temple throughout the year. He does it, however, through the officer himself, and the arrangement has reference to various details, which affect all the departments of temple administration and of the people or the bodies who had the conduct of the ordinary temple business throughout the year. The intervention there of royal authority seems to have been free and unfettered, and notwithstanding this freedom of intervention, we see that the various bodies who had the government of the locality in its various departments are invoked to do whatever comes within their purview and in their particular department, although the arrangement is prescribed by royal authority. There is no exhibition of jealousy on one side, or undue interference on the other. Royal authority does come in as a matter of course, but seems to operate with due regard to the susceptibilities of the local authorities, and nothing is done except through the particular branch of the local authority.

Another record<sup>1</sup> relating apparently to the reign of the same ruler, Uttamachola, is of very great importance as throwing light on another side of the administrative organisation of the Chola empire in its earlier days.

<sup>1</sup> B. I. I. Vol. III, Part III, No. 128.

This refers to a gift that was made to the temple of Tirumālpuram (Tirumālpēru) made in the 21st and 22nd years of the Chola king who died at Tonḍaiman-Āṟṟūr. This grant refers to lands in Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr belonging to Maṇayilnāḍu of Maṇayilkkōṭṭam and brought in an annual revenue of

1. Puravu, 3,000 *kadi*
2. Iravu, 561 *kadi*
3. Gold, 26½ *kaḷanju*, 1 *maṇjāḍi*.

This land which belonged to one Śangappāḍikilān was purchased from him, and his ownership rights were transferred accordingly. The grant was actually made in the 21st year of the ruler, Tonḍaimān-Āṟṟūr-tunjina Dēva, and the land was made over in the 22nd year after the boundaries were marked in the usual ceremonial fashion. The whole of this grant was made a *Brahmadēya* gift and was entrusted to the Sabha of Puduppākkam, itself a *Brahmadēya* village belonging to Puruśaināḍu in Maṇavilkōṭṭam. This transaction had somenow failed to be entered in the register of tax paying lands. This omission was rectified in the fourth year of Parakēsarivarman, who captured Madura and Ceylon, Parāntaka I. It was allowed to continue in possession of the Sabha at Puduppākkam as before, and the Sabha was paying the said quantity of paddy and the amount of gold accordingly. For some reason or other, the Sabha of Puduppākkam ceased to make these payments from the 36th year of Parāntaka I, but continued to be in the enjoyment of the land all the same. A complaint was preferred pointing out this unjust

misappropriation by the Dēvakarmis (those in temple service), Unṇāligai Uḍaiyār (those in charge of the sanctum of the temple), and the Panmāhēśvaras, the Śaiva Brahmans of the locality to the king. The king happened to be in camp at the time in Kacchippēḍu, the modern Conjeevaram, and was at the time in the ground floor of the golden hall of his palace. Śōḷa Mūvēnda Vēlan, having heard the complaint of these people communicated it to the king. The king immediately summoned these three bodies connected with the management of the temple at Tirumālpuram, as also the Sabha at Puduppākkam against whom the complaint was made. On enquiry and investigation it was discovered that the Sabha of Puduppākkam was guilty of having misappropriated this property, which once belonged to Śangappāḍikilān, and which had been made over to the temple in the manner described above. The king ordered accordingly, that the Sabha of Puduppākkam be fined by being made to pay annually a *Puravu* of 3,000 *kadi* of paddy upon the land which belonged to Śangappāḍikilān, and which had been transformed into a gift to the temple, as from the fourteenth year of his reign, the land being made over to them as a *Brahmadēyam*. They were also made to pay on the same land what they have had till then to pay under the arrangements originally made, of *puravu*, 3000 *kadi*, *iravu* 561 *kadi* and gold 26½ *kaḷanju* and 1 *manjāḍi*, in all making a total payment from them on the land, which once belonged to Śangappāḍikilān of *puravu* 6,000 *kāḍi*, *iravu* 561 *kadi* and gold 26½ *kaḷanju* and 1 *manjāḍi*. This was to be entered in the tax register as a *Dēvadāna* and *Brahmadēya*, free from the payment of

taxes to the government. It was so ordered by the king, and the superintendent of the audit department, Parakēsari Mūvēndavēḷān, the President (Tam. Naḍuvirukkai—Sans. Madhyasta), Trayambaka Bhaṭṭa; the Śola Mūvēndavēḷān, having been the Agñapti and recorder of the verbal orders of the king, the Secretary Anṇāttūr Uḍaiyān, the Uttara Mantri Bhaṭṭā-lakan, wrote out the order. The chief Secretary Śola Mūvēndavēḷān accepted it. The supervisor of our affairs Parakēsari Mūvēndavēḷān ordered that it may be entered in the tax register according to this order. A certain number of officers were present and were witnesses to this order which was promulgated as from the 218th day of the fourteenth year of the reign.

The officers that were present and the procedure that was actually adopted for recording and carrying out the order are of considerable importance as giving us an idea of the actual staff at the headquarters and their methods of work. When the order was actually passed and taken down as above, the necessary entry was made in the accounts and arrangements made for the conveyance of the land as *Devadana* and *Brahmadēya* to the inhabitants of Pūdupākkam. The officers that were present are noted below, and they constitute what is generally called in these inscriptions the *Uḍan-kūṭṭam*, which would mean literally the body of officers in immediate attendance, corresponding to the *Amātya Parishad* or the *Mantri Parishad* of Sanskrit writers. These were (1) Puravuvāri Śēmbiyan Uttaramantri alias Tanḍipūdi, the headman (talaimakan) of Irāiyānkuḍi, (2) Aḍigaḷ Nakkan, the headman (Kilavan)

of Pavvattiri, (3) Udayādivākaran (*a native of*) Pēra-raiśūr, (4) Vīrābharāṇa Mūvēndavēlān alias Venṛān Karpagam of Kalanivāyil, (5) the Varipottagam Tāli Śandiraśēkaran the headman of Tirunālūr, (6) the Mukaveṭṭi Araiyan....of Paḷanakkuḍi, (7) Aḍigal Viraśolan of Viṭṭār, (8) Pāṅgan Kaḍamban of Iraiyānsēri, (9) Krishnan Rājādittan of Mukkurumbu, (10) Niṇṛān Nakkan of Śāttanūr, (11) the *Puravuvvari* of Tonḍaināḍu, (12) Araiyan Śivakolundu of Śiruguḍi, (13) Kunṛāḍi Tiruppori of Śembākkam, (14) the *Varippottakakkaṇakku* .....Tāli of (Mē)-Nāraṇamangalam. (15) Paranjodi Paṭṭālagan of Nerkuṇṇam, (16) the *Variyil-īḍu* Śuvaran Śāttan of Uḍaiyūr and (17) the *Paṭṭolai* Rājavijayābharāṇan of Kurichehi,—being present<sup>1</sup> They form a body of seventeen officers in this instance and the offices mentioned are (1) *Puravuvvari*, the head of the Department of Survey and Settlement; (2) *Kilavan* of Pavvattiri, the headman; (3) *Varipottakam*, the keeper of the tax register; (4) the *Mukhaveṭṭi*, the Directing Officer or head of village watch; (5) the *Puravuvvari*, Settlement Officer, of Tonḍaināḍu; (6) *Varippottakakkaṇakku*, the head accountant of the revenue department; (7) *Variyil-īḍu*, the officer in charge of entry into the revenue register of actual collection, and (8) the *Paṭṭolai*, the writer of despatches. Besides these eight officials there were nine others present, who must have been acting as members of council holding no office or portfolio in

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I. Vol. III, Part III, p. 292-293.



the administration. Of these Puravuvuri as has been already explained is the register of holdings, and apparently there was a general officer at headquarters, as also officers of that department for each division as the two happen to be mentioned here. There is one headman mentioned here, the headman of Pavvattiri. Pavvattiri must have been not far from Gūḍūr in the Nellore District, and why that particular headman was present on this particular occasion is not explained to us. Pavvattiri was of course included in Tondai-nāḍu. Probably he was there at headquarters on business, and was present at the time that this actual order happened to be issued. He could not be regarded as a regular member of council. Then there is the *Vari-Pottakam*, that is the tax-register. The two, *Puravu-vari* and *vari-pottakam*, were apparently separate registers and there were two separate departments for these. The bearing of this is to be clearly understood. *Puravu* is a term that had remained so far unexplained. It means actually, as some of the recently published inscriptions<sup>1</sup> make it clear, an individual holding consisting of a number of plots of land scattered over various large fields in a particular village, constituting the holding of one man, or one property, and forming a single item of taxable land. The register of holdings, therefore, would naturally contain details as to what constituted each holding and to what payment it was liable; whereas the other is a department which had reference to the actual revenue paid and maintained a register recording in it the actual revenue, to which a holding was liable as ascertained by the actual area cultivated, which

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I. Nos. 346, 348, &c.

may be more or less, owing to various causes, than the measurement noted in the *Puravu* register. Some bits may lie uncultivated; some bits may have lands added to them by reclamation; some bits which had not been brought under cultivation for one reason or another when the survey was actually made, may have been brought under cultivation. These were several reasons that brought about a variation of the actual cultivated holding from the holding as registered in the general register of holdings. Hence it is that this had to be treated separately, and a separate department maintained for it. When we come to the third division, *Variikkanakku*, perhaps we have here another department, which maintained the register of land revenue collected, and yet to be collected, from each separate holding. Then comes the fourth department, *Variyil idu*, whose function must have been the posting of the register of revenue paid by noting down against each holding the actual payment made. Thus we come upon four separate departments of revenue accounts. The others concerned are the officer in charge of the king's affairs, perhaps corresponding to a revenue commissioner; then the other that is called arbitrator (a kind of chairman), whose function it was perhaps to see to the adjustment of dues whenever they should arise, or otherwise to see to it that the various departments worked in proper co-operation. There must have been undoubtedly the Chief Secretary and the Secretary; the Secretary's function was to submit papers and obtain orders, the Chief Secretary maintaining a supervising control over all official transactions that took place. Others present are mere wit-

nesses to the transaction and no more. This was the position at the headquarters of the sovereign generally as other records make it clear, and in this case, he happened to be in camp away from the headquarters, the only difference between this and the headquarters being perhaps a smaller staff here than at headquarters. The other possible difference would be that the persons other than the officials here present would be naturally different, and it may be perhaps in larger number at the capital.

The first extract made above gives an idea that the provincial government was constituted almost like the headquarters government with perhaps a comparatively smaller staff. It will be clear from the extract that the provincial government acts the part of an intermediary between the headquarters and the locality concerned, and has otherwise no particular character of its own. The headquarters government exercises power in revenue administration not as an external authority whose intervention is called, but as an authority whose function it is to exercise the power. The fact of its exercise through the local authority, however, clearly indicates that it is a devolution of power. The headquarters government, or the king, handing over the authority to the village assembly, various matters of the administration connected with the locality in fullness, and seeing to it that the power that was thus devolved was not unnecessarily interfered with either by himself, or by his provincial officials. This has reference so far only to the administration in the revenue department and departments allied to it,

Even so, the genuine co-operative spirit and the complete cordiality with which decisions were accepted, though usually the case, it would not be in keeping with facts to assume, prevailed in every case. Differences there were, and sometimes acute differences. Official orders and arrangements were not always carried out with alacrity for one reason or another, and led necessarily to a certain amount of acerbity. But even here there is hardly evidence of any inclination to call into question the good faith on the one side as well as the other, which would exhibit want of confidence and is fruitful of trouble in consequence. Two typical instances may be given here of how such shortcomings in the administration were met. The first instance is that of an omission like the one previously recounted, perhaps graver in point of the interests involved. This is on record in an inscription of Virarājendra, and is dated in his fifth year, which would give us a date A.D. 1067. It comes from Tirumukkūḍal,<sup>1</sup> and has reference to a grant to the great temple of Viṣṇu in the village. While the emperor was seated on the throne called Rājendrachōla Māvali Vāṇarājan in his palace at Gangaikondacholan, eight of his executive officers submitted the following report to him; Seventy-five *kaḷanju* of gold which the residents of Vayalaikkāvūr, a *Dēvadāna* village of the temple of Mahāviṣṇu at Tirumukkūḍal, used to pay, for the *Śāla* of the temple (school or hospital), had been stopped since the second year "of the king who conquered Irattapāḍi 7½ lacs (the territory of the Chālukyas), saw the back of Āhavamalla twice (on the field

<sup>1</sup> No. 186 of Appendix B, 1916.

of battle), and brought peace and prosperity to the world." The king referred to in this statement is the immediate predecessor of Virarājendra, and his second year would mean about A.D. 1057, that is, just about ten years before the date of the report. The king on hearing the report issued orders granting, as a rent free temple gift, land yielding the 75 *kaḷanju* mentioned above. He added to this the taxes of the village, viz., Vayalaikkāvur, amounting to 72 *kaḷanju* and 9 *manjāḍi* including all taxes, and therefore constituting a total incidence of revenue upon the village of 147 *kaḷanju* and 9 *manjāḍi* in gold. The taxes are put together in various groups. One class *Kīlīraippāṭṭam* (minor taxes or dues) including *Ūrkaḷanju* (the gold to be paid to the township, or for the township), *Kumārakachchāṇam* (seems to be a tax in gold to be paid to the prince, or something like that), *Vaṇṇār-pārai* (the stone of the washerman, perhaps a professional tax on the washerman using the stone for washing), *Taṭṭārpāṭṭam* (a tax on smiths, silver smiths in particular and other such fee). The other taxes following are not given a distinct name, but perhaps we shall have to classify them as *mēl-īrai* as opposed to the *kīl-īrai*, the major demands, viz., one *Vēlikkāśu* (that is the *kāśu* or gold piece that had to be paid on each *vēli* of land), *Tingaḷ Mērāmu* (something that had to be paid every month), *Muttu-Āvaṇam* (which literally means of course the pearl market or bazaar, which may mean a tax upon the jewellery in the shops), *Tariippuḍavai*, the *sāri* on the loom that perhaps means a tax levied on each cloth for women as it was completed on the loom). The next *Valangai-Idangai*

*Magaṇmai* (a sort of poll-tax upon the right hand and the left hand castes), *Daśavandam* (the tenth tax); this seems to be the ten per cent. market dues on things brought and sold in the market. *Mūḍaikkāṣu* seems to be a seniorage due upon coins, *maḍai* meaning a gold coin; and the last item mentioned here is *Vīraśēlai*, the cloth of the warrior, whatever that may signify. So then what the order did was not merely to rectify the omission by restoring the gift of whatever was collected upon land under cultivation, but it was also made to include the royal dues other than land revenue, pure and simple. That is the first point to note.

The second point is that the fact of the omission was brought to the notice of the king by his eight officers, whoever they be. How was this the function of the eight officers? The details of procedure do not happen to be given to us in the inscription. From what we know from other records generally, it would seem that the matter about which complaint had been made and the proceedings in regard to which must have been initiated, must have arisen either by a complaint, from the locality, or the temple concerned, or by a report of the auditing officer on the occasion of his investigation into the accounts of the temple. In this case, it rather seems to be perhaps the result of a complaint by the temple management, as an auditor could not have taken ten years to discover it. Whichever way it came, the matter seems to have concerned eight departments each of which had to look in and examine as to the truth of the facts, and when on such examination they found the

allegations true, they apparently submitted a joint report that the facts were as stated. This implies the following procedure. A complaint was made and investigation in all its details was ordered. The investigation was undertaken by the department directly concerned, certified to as correct by the auditing departments and ultimately the report was agreed to by all the departments concerned directly or indirectly and in one way or another with the transaction. The eight departments therefore would be represented by their heads, and they would be chiefly departments associated with the revenue, accounts and perhaps local government also. Once the matter had been brought to the notice of the king in that complete form in which it seems to have been, there remained nothing for the king to do except to pass orders and he passed orders accordingly, the order consisting of course of two parts. The first part is the restoration of the grant, and the next is an additional grant; this was to make up the inadequacy of the original grant to meet the expenses of the temple. The need for the additional grant is not clear unless it be that, in the course of the investigation, it was discovered that the 75 *kaḷanju* granted was not adequate to meet the requirements of the service for which the grant was originally made, and the need having been felt for an addition to this, nothing better could have been done than to have transferred the whole of the revenues of the village to the temple instead of a part, as it had hitherto been. As the inscription itself puts it, the original grant of the 75 *kaḷanju*, the amount according to the *Vari-pottakam*, the tax register, was restored; and to it was added the other incomes coming into the register of

land taxes, the miscellaneous taxes, &c. The totalised revenue from these was asked to be added as registered and gathered up together in another department, which is named *adangul*, the total of revenue demands upon the particular village. In other words the land revenue of the particular village, and the other miscellaneous items of revenue payable to the king or government were both of them put together, and the village was made over in complete possession as a *Dēvadāna*, or gift to the temple, because the original amount proved to be inadequate to the carrying out of the service for which provision had been made. We therefore see here what an actual grant involved, and even as a restoration the matter was not disposed of in a perfunctory or haphazard fashion. The procedure adopted is again fully brought to our notice, and nothing was done without a proper investigation and responsible report. But that is not all. When the order had been issued actually six of the royal officers of the *Uḍankūṭṭam* (those in immediate attendance), and 33 officers belonging to the *Viḍayil* (the Secretariat) communicated the order. It does not require 39 officers to communicate the order. What actually is the case again is that as many departments of various kinds, and sections of offices as were concerned in the matter had to take note of an important order like this. In addition to these 39 officers, there were present on the occasion ten officers of the *Puravuvāri-Tīṇaikkāḷam*, that is the departments of survey and settlement alike. There were also present the officer in charge of the tax-register (*Varipot-takam*); other officers present were (1) accounts officer clearly, the *Variyil Iḍu*, that is, the officer in charge of



the revenue or taxes paid in; others whose functions do not appear to be quite clear are the *Mukhavetti* (the chief officer perhaps of the *Vetti*, village watch or of the free services. *Terippu* (the meaning is not clear), *Taravusattu* (that is the register of the classification of land), *Palanyayam* (perhaps an officer in custody of the *mamool* or practice of the locality) and others. The totalised amount of 147 *kalanju* and 9 *manjādi* is ordered to be converted at the rate of 16 *kalams* for each *kalanju* by the *Rājakēsari* measure, and other income in gold and under certain miscellaneous heads amounting to 216½ *kōśu* and 2 *mā* (20th) were ordered to be assigned for the service in the temple. Among these was an annual festival on the birthday of Vīrarājendra, the *Āslēsha Nakshatra* in the month of Śravaṇa. August-September in each year. There was the recital of the Vaishṇava scripture, *Tiruvāymoli*. The third was an annual festival in the month of Kārttika and under the asterism of Pūrvāshāḍa in honour of Vaiśya Mādhava, who seems to have been responsible for the revival of the charities in the temple, and who seems to have put himself to the expense of constructing a grand hall for the temple called Jananātha Maṇṭapa.

This has reference merely to what may be regarded as a sort of omission which had remained unremedied for ten years of what was in origin a royal grant. What follows is a different order, more acute in point of character, the import of which has been to some extent misunderstood also. This is a case that has reference to what was done by the governor, or the viceroy of the locality, who carried out what was a general order of the

monarch. The record has reference to the reign of the great Chola Kulottunga III, and comes from the temple at Tiruvottiyūr, the modern northern suburb of Madras. It is numbered 202 of Appendix B for the year 1912.<sup>1</sup>

I have appened my translation of this record to this lecture—

An officer of the locality by name or title Yādavarāyar, in all probability Vīra-Narasimha Yādavarāyar, the ruler of Kālahasti and governor of Pottappinād, seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the monarch to the extent of having been the recipient of the high honour of being called *Pillaiyār* or Prince. He imposed a tax called *Ponvari*, obviously under orders from the headquarters, on all the lands in certain villages of the District at one quarter *māḍai* per *vēli* of land. Being a general impost of an extraordinary character, this must have been imposed by royal order, and probably the officer was simply putting into operation what was a general order of the monarch. But he seems to have neglected what was the usual practice, viz., the exclusion of uncultivated lands in villages from this general impost. Having promulgated the order imposing the tax, he commissioned a subordinate officer of his, by name or title Valaiyamalagiyān Paiyūr Nāḍālvān to collect the revenue thus imposed. The landholders of the

<sup>1</sup> I acknowledge with pleasure here my obligation to my friend, Pandit Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Epigraphist to the Government of India, who permitting my examining the transcript in original at the Office of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy. Mr. S. V. Visvanatha was good enough to provide the facilities for my examining the documents. I have since been allowed to take copies of the transcripts through the kindness of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar.

village Punnaivāyil, which otherwise was known as Rājanārāyaṇachaturvēdimangalam, obviously a Brahman village, were also obliged to pay this tax. The tax could not be collected and the officer resorted to coercive processes, collected all that could be collected from out of the common funds of the Sabha, and for the balance due held the members of the village assembly responsible, arrested and put them to distress not merely, but threw them into prison. It seems however that in this coercive process he left out the Brahman members of the assembly, perhaps because they were usually not subject to this treatment. Eight or ten of these Brahman members are mentioned by name. It must be said to their credit that in these distressing circumstances they did not utilise their freedom to sleep over the matter, but exhibited a very commendable degree of public interest in setting about promptly to do what could be done to bring about the relief of their colleagues of the village assembly. What they did was, they put up to public auction in behalf of the village assembly 80 *vēlis* of land lying uncultivated in one of the hamlets of Punnaivāyil, and succeeded in selling it for 200 *kāśu* to a certain Pichchan-Duggai-ālvān. They utilised the cash thus realised to pay up the dues and get their colleagues released. The record being a record in the temple which is concerned rather with the gift of the land thus purchased to the temple, does not proceed to state what happened as between the assembly and the governor. But the man who purchased the 80 *vēlis* of land seems to have intended it for a charitable purpose. He disposed of 20 *vēlis* by assigning them in parts to a Viṣṇu temple,

a Jaina Palli to a shrine of the local Piḍāri (village-deity) and by gifts among a certain number of learned Brahmans (Bhaṭṭas). The remaining 60 *vēlis* he dedicated, with the permission of the king, for the maintenance of a pavilion in the temple, called Vyākarnādāna Mandapa, at Tiruvottiyūr, and for the provision for the upkeep of teachers and pupils, who studied grammar in addition to the conduct of the annual festival concerned. This last provision involved two purposes. According to tradition Pāṇini is believed to have been taught grammar by Śiva himself, and it is this gift of grammar, particularly the 14 initial Sūtras called Māhēśhvara-sūtras made by Śiva that is under allusion here; and this is what is celebrated as a festival in the hall which was specially constructed for the purpose. But the thoughtful donor was not merely content with providing for a festival; he also made provision for the continuous cultivation of the subject, and made arrangements for teachers to teach the subject and students to learn it in the *manṭapa* all the year round. Both these are involved in the gift of the 60 *vēlis* of land.

Reverting to the dispute between the governor and the assembly, which is our particular purpose, the error seems to have been on the part of the governor; but the persistence in the error is unusual, and we are not able to explain from the document itself how it came about. The resistance on the part of the village assembly to the degree shown here in this case is also not very usual. But in this case they were undoubtedly in the right, as numbers of such exemptions actually allowed, have even come down to us. It must have been perhaps

the result of a misunderstanding of the order; and it was possibly misplaced enthusiasm in the carrying out of the order, that failed to admit an appeal to the headquarters as to what exactly was the import of the order. Another inscription almost in the same place in the temple, but referring to the third year of Rajaraja III, the immediate successor of Kulottunga, indicates the possibility of errors like this. There the question relates to a vast extent of land, the revenue of which was assigned to the temple. But the doubt seems to have arisen, for what particular reason we do not know, whether it was an *Iṅgal* or a *Nīṅgal*, two technical terms. *Iṅgal* would mean the abolition of the taxes on the land and making it tax-free. *Nīṅgal* would simply mean the assignment of the taxes, and the transferring of the income therefrom to another body or person. The reference was made to the king at the time when he happened to be present in Tiruvottiyūr whether what was intended by the royal order was the abolition of the taxes, or their transfer to the temple. The king gave it out, of course after reference, that it certainly was not an abolition, but a mere transfer of the revenues to the temple, and what was ordered was that it should be removed from the register of rents due to the government and transferred to the register of lands paying revenue to the temple. This indicates that errors like that were of actual occurrence, and the usual method of rectification was by reference to the authorities concerned. Mistaken enthusiasm in carrying out royal orders may lead to consequences of a serious character. The illustration above referred to exhibits the possibility of such error, and at the same time shows a commendable

public spirit in the members of the assembly who took it out of the impasse to which it had come by the hasty action of the royal officer. This Yādavarāyar is referred to in other inscriptions as an enlightened and liberal-minded governor generally.

### TRUNK ROADS.

We have had occasion already to point out in our study of the inscriptions in Uttaramallūr that these rural localities were provided with official machinery for looking after roads. Their functions were not merely confined to the maintenance of the roads already made, but seem to have involved the making of new roads as well. These apparently were roads which served the locality, and must have been those within the limits of the rural unit serving the purposes of catering to the needs of communication, ordinary and even industrial, of the locality concerned. But apart from these, we have reference to large trunk roads, which led across the whole length of the country far beyond the limits of the Tamil land. Of such we have reference from very early times to some of a very definite character. We have for instance the road called *Vaḍukavaḷi* in Tamil, *Āndhrapathā* in Sanskrit, and this consisted of two roads, a western and an eastern, as they are actually so distinguished. We have already referred to them as the two trunk roads that lead out of the regions of Madras northwards, one nearer the coast and the other into the interior up the plateau and across Mysore. Similarly<sup>1</sup> we have reference to another called *Taḍi-kaivaḷi*, leading apparently to the division called *Taḍi-kaippāḍi*, which was composed of a considerable part

of Eastern Mysore and parts of the districts, it may be of Bellary and Anantapur. We have a similar reference to the trunk road leading to Kōṭṭāru in the extreme south of the peninsula. There is also a road called *Konguvali*, road through the Kongu country. These constituted the main thoroughfares of traffic from one region of the country to another, and cut through the whole of the Tamil country connecting the entire length of the interior regions with coast towns at salient positions serving the useful purpose of commerce overseas.

The local roads that we mentioned at the beginning were not merely village pathways but were themselves roads of considerable width, and could be described appropriately as roads in the modern sense of the term, as we get references to roads of 64 spans so that the local roads are not altogether mere village pathways. These trunk roads therefore must have been bigger roads than those, and must have been roads of importance taking one through the whole country and providing efficient means of communication not merely for passengers but even for heavy vehicular traffic. The reference to the road to Kōṭṭāru is made in connection with the great Chola king, Kulottunga, who is said, in that connection, to have planted colonies of military men in agricultural localities along this great road. The step was taken probably with a view to holding the Pandya country effectively in subjection, and this measure was taken as a matter of precaution against possible rebellion of the people of the recently subordinated country. The road is not spoken of as specially con-

structed for the purpose, but is actually referred to in terms which would suggest that it was a long existing road, and a well-known and well-used thoroughfare; and the colonies were planted along this famous thoroughfare. While therefore we are clear from the information that has come down to us that the roads in the rural localities were maintained by the rural administration, such as it was, no information has come down to us giving us details as to how exactly the great trunk roads were made and maintained, who was responsible for their administration. We are driven therefore to make out these inferentially. It is just possible that the roads were in part maintained by the rural unit wherever these main roads passed within the limits of a particular rural unit, and as they must have passed for the greater part of their way through rural units, a considerable part of it might have come within the competency of the rural unit. Wherever it transcended these limits, the roads must have been made by either the provincial or by the central government, and maintained in an efficient condition for purposes military as well as commercial. Records have come down to us giving us intimation that armies were marched to and fro across the whole length of the country, and this could not have been done without roads, and it would be wellnigh impossible to presume that the roads were made each time for the occasion. It is however matter for regret that no information of a very explicit character has come down to us in regard to the maintenance and management of these roads.

When however we come to other large works of public utility, we come upon a number of references to



the building of great temples with all their appurtenances, such as charitable feeding houses, educational institutions, rest houses and the like. The great Rājārājēśvara temple in Tanjore is a well-known foundation of Rājarāja I himself. The temple at Gangaikondāśolapuram, the capital town itself that was constructed there and the huge tank to which we have been making reference already were all of them foundations of his son Rājēndra, the Gangaikondachola. The temple about four miles from Kumbakonam called Tiribhuvanam is similarly a foundation of Kulottunga III, who had the alternative title Trubhuvana-Vīra, from which the temple takes its name. Other temples were undoubtedly older, and extensive works of repairs and renovation in addition to mere donations for particular purposes and on particular occasions, were made by rulers themselves in their individual capacity and occasionally perhaps even as public gifts. Public gifts however to these and the expenditure of public funds certainly were not the rule. They were very exceptional.

Associated with these and perhaps to some extent independently of them, were educational institutions, such as colleges with hostels attached to them, and hospitals even were provided for. These were as much private foundations as the others. Occasionally either the whole provision, or part of the provision, was made from public revenues. Detailed accounts of two such educational institutions, hostels attached to them and the foundation of a hospital are set forth below as they have come down to us in inscriptions,

*Larger Irrigation Works.—*

It was already pointed out that ordinary irrigation works of a minor character, and even those of a comparatively larger character, came within the purview of rural administration, certainly so far as their upkeep was concerned, whatever be the way these were brought into being. We have, at least in a few cases, information as to how these have been brought into existence where they were of a specially large character, and it would be worthwhile taking note of these. Among these we may note first of all that the principal channels of irrigation that exist in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts and constitute the irrigation resources and the means of the agricultural prosperity of the Districts, existed in times anterior even to the great Chola king Rājarāja, that is, in the centuries before A.D. 1000. It is old tradition that says that it was the ancient Chola Karikāla that was responsible for the damming of the Kaveri at the Grant Ancient and making very many of the distributory channels that carry the waters of the Kaveri all over the delta. It may be that the tradition is true substantially. But we note here a few channels that bear names which are referable to the time of the great Cholas, whose period of rule is what we are considering at present. There are some even referable to later times. Of this last one good example is furnished by the stream called Tirumalairājan, which reaches the sea about seven or eight miles north of Negapatam at a place called Tirumalairājanpaṭṭinam. This last city was the capital of the Vijayanagar prince Tirumalai Raja, and the stream probably took its name from him and may actually owe its existence to his

enterprise. But the stream next after it on the Nīḍā-mangalam road, about half a mile from it, goes by the name Muḍikonḍān, a well-known title of Rājarāja. Either the canal was made by Rājarāja himself, or by somebody in his reign, who honoured it with the name of the ruling sovereign for the time being. But the other channels, big and small, seem all of them to be of an older date, and must have been in existence and in a useful and flourishing condition in the time to which we are referring. Channels that could be thus marked out are comparatively few, while those with older names and possessing the character of old irrigation works are, as compared with these, many. There are two channels, however, which call for particular attention. They both of them bear the name Vīraśolan, probably after the name of a prince-governor, or of the ruler himself. The Cholas were in the habit of conferring titles upon their relations on the occasion of their accession to the throne, and several princes received titles, and some times one and the same prince received different titles on different occasions. The identification of the holders of these titles is therefore not a matter upon which we could feel certain. Even admitting possibility of error, we are not likely to be in error by many generations in these cases. A prince Vīraśolan was administering important provinces for the Cholas and we know of a great Chola king Virachola, Vīrarājendra as he is called in full style. The channels under reference may be due to the one or the other, and it may be even both. In any case they are not divided widely apart in point of time. The first is a channel which takes off from the Kaveri just a short distance below Kumbakonam and

reaches the sea near Tranquebar. The Kaveri itself reaches the sea about twenty to twenty-five miles further north. This portion of the delta is considered one of the most fertile tracts because of the fertility carried to a very great extent by the new channel called Vīraśoḷan. There is another Vīraśoḷa, however, its full name being Vīraśoḷa Vaḍavāru, popularly known now-a-days by the latter part of the name Vaḍavāru, northern stream. It is a canal which runs close to the walls of Tanjore on its northern side taking off from the Veṇṇār some way north of the town. It is a smaller river than even the previous one, but the real importance of it consists in this. It leads the water of the Veṇṇār to a distance of ten to fifteen miles south of the course of the Veṇṇār itself, and serves the purpose of irrigating a comparatively small area on the way. The main purpose of the channel however seems to have been to store the flood waters of the river in an artificial tank in the village called Vaḍuvūr ten or twelve miles from Mannarguḍi. From this tank channels are taken out, and they irrigate a comparatively large area of the more arid parts of the Tanjore District, bringing into wet cultivation lands which otherwise should have been dry lands and no more. This has therefore to be regarded as a channel deliberately made for the purpose of feeding the tank from which the irrigation of the dry parts of the district is made possible.

In respect of these irrigation canals, there are two possible methods of bringing them into existence. It is not<sup>1</sup> beyond the administrative enterprise of the rulers, or the co-operative labour of the subjects, provided there is an organisation behind them to bring this

into existence. We have no definite information whether these were constructed by the rulers as special works carried out at their own expense, or at the expense of the public treasury, for either of which it is quite possible to quote examples from inscriptions. It would also be possible in these cases to utilise the labour of the various localities through which the streams pass to get the people to construct the channels so far as it passed through the rural areas with which they are concerned, provided either the prince or the potentate found the means to make the head works and such other of the appurtenances either at his own expense or at public expense. Records have come down to us to give the information as to how exactly these were carried out. Another large scheme of irrigation must be mentioned here, and we have full information concerning it. The Chola country proper is not one which depends for its irrigation upon tanks. But as was remarked already, there are arid parts of the country even within the area of the present Tanjore District where river irrigation is well nigh impossible and storage tanks are a matter of necessity. The tank adverted to in connection with the Vadavar has relation to the southern extremity of the district.

The northern end of it is similarly under the same need. The country on the northern bank of the Coleroon for some distance is of about the same character and would have remained uncultivable but for special irrigation works of this character. Just in that locality a site has been chosen for the construction of a big irrigation tank, one of the largest irrigation works in

India, by the early Chola ruler Rājendra I, son of Rājarāja. This was a tank in the immediate vicinity of the Chola capital Gangaikondaśolapuram on the trunk road from Salem and further north along the north bank of the Coleroon river and proceeding now-a-days to Madras. It is not the position where the natural advantages for the construction of irrigation tanks exist, as in other favoured localities for this kind of work, the country being flat there and having comparatively few hills worth the name. The physical advantages for constructing such a work are not obvious. But the existence of differences of level have been utilised along with certain other favourable features to plan out a big tank with a bund on the lowest side running as long as 16 miles. The total area of the tank must have been very large if the water had been impounded by a bund of this great length. No note of its actual size had been made anywhere. But two channels of water were made to feed the tank. One of these took off from the Coleroon higher up and brought the water to the tank. To supplement this source of supply another channel was taken off from the northern stream Vellār, which sometimes is very destructive in its floods, and that was similarly led into the tank. The waste weir of the tank was just about the middle of the long bund of 16 miles from which the waters were led through the southern parts of the Chidambaram Taluq to where at present one big irrigation tank with 64 sluices supplies that part of the district with water for irrigation. This is the well known Virāṇam tank. This huge irrigation work was constructed about the same time as the famous Bhojpur Lake of Rājendra's