

# THE CITY AND STATE FORMATION IN SOUTH INDIA : THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF KĀŅCIPURAM

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## 1. Kāñci in History and Tradition

The saying *nagaresu Kāñci* suggests that Kāñcipuram was regarded as the premier city in South India until modern times. It had emerged as a centre of princely power and authority by the beginning of the Christian era, and under the Pallavas it forged ahead as the largest and most prosperous city in Tamilakam. As a dynastic and political centre it had a comparatively longer period of existence than any other city in India to the south of the river Narmadā. Though Aihole, Banavāsi, Purī, Vātāpi and Vijayanagar sometimes surpassed Kāñci either in commercial prosperity or in the concentration of military power their pre-eminence was short-lived. Their development and prosperity seem to have been profoundly affected by the fluctuations of dynastic power. All these cities seem to have declined once the dynastic powers and the social forces associated with them, which provided an impetus to urban development, were submerged. Kāñcipuram, however, survived the fall of Pallava power and went through a process of further development in subsequent times.

Under the Pallavas who established their power in Kāñci during the third century A. D. the city had a phased out growth and multifaceted development. It acquired the basic characteristics of a medieval Indian city and became the focal point of a relatively advanced stage of state formation in the southern most part of India. There are numerous references to Kāñci as a political and dynastic centre in inscriptions and literature. Such notices which were widely prevalent are encountered in the passages which describe the relations which the Pallava rulers had with contemporary states mostly confined to Karnātaka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.

The Pallavas developed an ideology of social order inspired by ideas epitomized in the Hindu tradition as reflected in Sanskrit texts. They were in power during an age of spectacular developments in the field of religious and cultural activities in the Indian subcontinent. It witnessed the growth of tendencies and movements which released fresh energies of creative genius

and aesthetic sensibility which found a powerful expression in poetry, art and speculative metaphysical thought. Accumulation of surplus wealth among elitist sections of society through advances in commodity production and trade also tended to promote such developments. The Pallava kings actively promoted the development of this cultural and artistic tradition. Their constructional and cultural activities at Kāñci, Māmallapuram and their satellite centres in the Kingdom adequately reflected this tendency.

Archaeological surveys conducted until recent times have revealed the existence of more than sixty Pallava monuments of different sizes and varying degrees of technical perfection in Kāñci and Māmallapuram. There were many more temples and monastic establishments in Kāñci than in any other South Indian city; the only exception being the commercial city of Aihole during the seventh and eighth centuries. The Cālukya Vikrāmaditya who led an expedition to Kāñci was deeply impressed with the artistic execution and monumental design of the Pallava temples. Later, the Cālukyas seem to have even indulged in the experiment of constructing architectural monuments on Pallava models as exemplified by the

design of the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal which was located about eight miles away from their capital Vātāpi. It is sometimes even assumed that artisans were taken from Kāñci by the Cālukyas to be engaged in their building projects.

Under the Pallavas, Kāñci became the principal centre in the Tamil country of four major Indian religious traditions: Saivism, Vaisnavism, Jainism and Buddhism. Their institutions and establishments were confined to separate segments of the city and some of them had wide ranging contacts. The Buddhist monastic centres of Kāñci had connexions with those of North India and South East Asia. Elements of Pallava culture and religio - ideology spread to the lands of South East Asia through the medium of overseas trade of which Māmallapuram was the principal focal point.

It was under the Pallavas that Kāñci acquired the status of a sacred city and a principal centre of Vedic and shastric learning<sup>1</sup>. The movements of Saiva and Vaisnava theism which swept across the Tamil country were promoted by the synthesis of the Tamil and Sanskrit traditions of religious belief and ideology. The Vaiṣṇava movement of

devotional theism had its origins in the Pallava centres of Kāñci, Mayilai and Mallai. The Vaiṣṇava shrine of Tiruvehkā and the Saiva temple of Ēkāmparanātar about which many devotional hymns were composed are probably the earliest Hindu temples of Kāñci and it would seem that they had pre-Christian origins. Besides, there were several others such shrines in Kāñci which had attained celebrity as cult centres by the 7th century. The Pallava kings, Mahendravarman and his successors became active supporters of the *bhakti* movements and assumed a custodial function in respect of the traditions and institutions associated with it. They promoted constructional activities of unprecedented proportions in their domain and much of this was confined to Kāñci and Mallai. The religious establishments of Kāñci contributed to the development of the city and promoted spacial mobility to a limited extent. They became major consumption points and the requirements of rituals and temples services had the effect of promoting trade and the growth of marketing centres.

As a centre of Commerce and craft production the city of Kāñci had a phenomenal growth in Pallava times. As it had the advantage of being located in one of the two areas of cotton production

in Tamilakam it steadily forged ahead as a major centre of textile production, collection and distribution. Spinning and weaving became an important and lucrative vocation of many groups of people settled in Kāñci and at many other localities within the Pallava Kingdom. The commercial sector of Kāñci was organized as a *nagaram* and the *nagarattār* of Kāñci emerged as a most important section of the city population. They became involved in the maintenance of religious and cultural institutions and forged closer links with the court. In city affairs the *nagarattār* achieved a position of influence comparable to the *kaṭikaiyār* the brahmin elites managing the affairs of the college of higher learning flourishing in the city under royal patronage.

Although Kāñci lost its pre-eminence as the centre of dynastic power since the fall of Pallava dynasty in the 9<sup>th</sup> century it had an unimpeded development in subsequent times. Under the Cōlas it served as a secondary capital where some of the Cōla kings resided for brief periods, held court and attended to matters concerning administration. Tontaimantalam was still governed, for the most part, by functionaries established at Kāñci.

Constructional activity in the city continued with undiminished vigour; the Colas elaborated and embellished some existing monuments and established new ones. During the period of the Vijāyanagora kings Kāñcipuram attained the peak of its development. Monetary circulation and commercial prosperity in the city were of unprecedented proportions. The sacred character of the city became more pronounced. Temples and other religious institutions proliferated in numbers. The historic monuments of the city were further elaborated and embellished. Saiva and Vaisnava monastic institutions assumed a greater significance and they began to play a greater role in literary, religious and cultural activities in the Tamil country. The pre-eminence of Kāñci as a commercial centre in the southernmost part of India was securely established. It attained the foremost position as a pilgrimage centre and pilgrims in large numbers and from many distant places congregated in the city during festivals.

Because of the development in recent times of coastal and inland cities with heavy demographic concentrations Kāñcipuram has diminished in importance as a centre of political and commercial activities. It has been

reduced to the status of a district capital. Yet, it is one of the few ancient cities of South Asia which have survived up to our own times, retaining its traditional roles while being integrated into the framework of a modern social and economic order which is undergoing a process of slow, steady and continuous transformation. The position of Kāñcipuram at the initial stage of transition of South Indian society from medievalism to modernity is vividly described by Charles Stewart Crole, who says:

"The town of Conjeevaram has always been celebrated for its wide streets and pleasant appearance. The large gardens which are generally attached to the houses, and many fine plantations of coconut and other fruit trees, cause it to occupy a considerably large extent of ground than is generally the case with a native town of equal population. These advantages together with the presence of various temples have added to the attractions attendant on the residence of the royal or vice royal court, always made Conjeevaram a favourite place of residence for wealthy retirement or religious and lettered ease".

## 2. The Origins of Kāñci

Kāñci developed as a political and Commercial centre of some significance

in Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam, the northern part of Tamilakam, during pre-Pallava times. The information about society in this region is derived primarily from three long Tamil poems of the category of āṅṅupatai<sup>3</sup>. The impressions formed on the basis of their descriptions seem to be confirmed by archeological remains mostly in the form of coins, pottery, dolmens, urns and other artifact assemblages typical of the megalithic culture which had a wide distribution over the whole region.

Toṅṭaimantalam consisted of upland slopes and a coastal plain in the east, and was occupied by a number of communities at different levels of development. All of them had assimilated the elements of the megalithic culture; the use of pottery and iron implements being widely prevalent among commodity producers, pastoralists and huntsmen. The land where rainfall was moderate was for the most part covered with patches of shrub jungle, hilly tracts, grasslands and littoral strips. It abounded in game and timber and had vast potential for exploitation and development.

The slopes and portions of the plain were drained by some rivers and many streams some of which were perennial

while the rest dried up during the summer months of the year. Among the rivers Pālāru, Peṅṅai and Cēyāru were the were the principal ones. The concentrations of the settlements of agriculturists were to be found in the basins of these rivers. The long coastline on the east provided ample opportunities for maritime activities: fishing salt production, boat-making and trade. Two ports Nīrpeyaṅṅu and Eyiḷpaṅṅinam had already developed as centres of coastal and overseas trade.

In Toṅṭaimantalam the population was sparse, settlements scattered and communications undeveloped expect, perhaps, in a few favoured localities. The long tracts traversed by caravans of traders lay across vast stretches of jungle where travellers faced the risk of encountering brigands.

The *Eyinar*, *Kānavar*, *Kuravar*, *Maṅṅavar*, *Valaiṅṅar*, *Āyar*, *Itaiyar*, *Uḷavar*, *Paratavar* and *Antaṅṅar* were the principal communities found distributed over the country. They were not co-ordinated into an integrated social order and elements of a hierarchical social organization were almost unknown. The communities of *Eyinar*, *Kānavar*, *Kuravar* and *Maṅṅavar* lived

mainly by hunting. They also cultivated millet, *tinai* and *varaku* on tracts called *punam* and their settlements were usually described as *kurampai* or *kurumpu*. These were clusters of huts made of wood and thatched with the leaves of *intu* or reeds and the straw of *varaku*<sup>5</sup>. Fresh and dry meat, yams, wild fruits and coarse grain were their staple diet. The *Valaiñar*, who subsisted on fish caught in inland waters and millet, produced a crude form of liquor by mixing powdered mushroom in a fermented syrup prepared by soaking boiled paddy in hot water for two days and nights<sup>6</sup>. In order to protect them from wild beasts the *kuti* and *kurampai* were sometimes surrounded with thick fences of thorn shrubs and guarded by fierce hounds<sup>7</sup>. Honey, yams, meat and pork were their items for commodity exchanges<sup>8</sup>. Pottery and iron implements were the principal items they had to procure.

In a more advanced stage of development were the *Kōvalar*, *Āyar* and *Ītaiyar* who were communities of pastoralists occupying the *mullai* tracts. Herding and stock-breeding were their principal vocations. They also raised crops of *varaku*, *tinai* and *paddy*. These communities interacted with others through a process of commodity

exchanges; milk, curd, ghee and rice-flakes were the principal items they supplied. Such exchanges were of a local character and promoted the development of small marketing centres.

The agriculturists, *Uḷavar* were of two kinds, those of *mullai* tracts and the peasants of the *marutam* plains where a surplus of grain was produced. The riverine plains were relatively more developed and the rudiments of culture were evident among the agriculturists. Proprietary rights and customs governing inheritance were developed among them. Here more advanced methods of cultivation were in vogue, irrigation facilities were provided, wet rice culture was known and several varieties of grain were produced. Sugar cane was cultivated as a crop and mill extracting cane syrup was a common sight in the villages. The surplus products of grain, fruits, yams, cane syrup and sugar from the settlements here were important items of commodity exchange.

The *Uḷavar* or agriculturists of the plains lived in spacious cottages surrounded by large compounds containing groves of coconut, areca and palmyra palms, mango, jak and banana plantations. Saffron, ginger and yams of

many kinds were cultivated in these compounds the front yards of which were fragrant with the scent of garden flowers. Grain was stored in barns raised high on platforms supported by strong wooden poles<sup>9</sup>. These prosperous settlements were coordinated into units called natu<sup>10</sup>. It would appear that the agriculturists were the principal community with which lineages of chieftains had established a kind of formal relationship and authority of a durable character.

The *Añtanar*, the custodians of Vedic tradition, had a settlement at a suburb of the coastal town of Nīrpeyarru. They studied and taught the Veda and performed rituals at their houses in front of which were sacrificial posts. Their women were attractive and chaste and reputed for their culinary skills<sup>11</sup>.

The port of Nīrpeyarru had developed as a town of Considerable significance, being a centre of coastal and overseas trade. It was touched by ships laden with horses, the products of the north and many other commodities, and among them those from the Roman world were easily identified through the lamps (Ōtima Viḷakku) carried on their masts<sup>12</sup>. An important landmark at the port was the towering light house on the

top of which was a platform paved with brick and stucco, climbed by means of long ladders, where lamps were kept burning throughout the night to guide mariners<sup>13</sup>.

*Nīrpeyarru*, the principal port of the realm of *Toñ taimān* of Kāñci was a prosperous town containing warehouses protected by guards and occupied mainly by the *Paratavar* who lived along the several streets of the town. The houses and buildings were constructed of durable materials, brick and plaster, and some of them had upper, storeys where men and women lived a life of pleasure and enjoyed luxuries unknown to communities in the interior parts. They were fond of adornments of high value and participated in sports. In the town there were shops where liquor was sold<sup>14</sup>.

Eyilpaṭṭinam was another port town on the littoral which developed as a centre of coastal and seaborne trade<sup>15</sup>. A pattern of local and overseas trade in essential commodities and luxury items had developed during the early centuries of the Christian era and the coastal towns were the focal points of this trade. Salt produced on the coast and taken to towns by light coastal craft was transported into the interior parts of the country on ox-drawn carts. Another essential

commodity, pepper, which was a product of the hills of Malabar became an important item of internal trade<sup>16</sup>.

Aloeswood, sandalwood, textiles of fine texture produced in Kalinkam, wines, painted jars, and Roman mirrors were the major luxury items obtained through overseas trade. They were in use among elite circles in society and the growing demand for these items promoted the growth of seaborne trade. Horses were brought in ships by foreign traders and supplied to chieftains who attached great value to them as possession of these animals enhanced their prestige.

Inland trade was mostly in the hands of organized groups moving in caravans with mules loaded with merchandise. As they passed through long routes over uninhabited tracts the caravans were accompanied by armed retainers. The development of political authority of a rudimentary character seems to have been linked with trade. In the desolate jungle tracts security outposts were maintained by local rulers and tolls were collected on merchandise. It is significant that these arrangements were to be found in the realm of which Kāñci was the political centre.

A number of principalities of different sizes were to be found in *Tontaimantalam* and among them three are described at considerable length in contemporary poems. These were the principalities of Kāñci Māvilañkai and Palkunram. Māvilañkai was a small principality confined to the basin of the Cēyāru and subject to the vēḷir chieftains of the lineage of Oviyar. It was also known as Ōymānātu and Āmūr and Vēlūr were its principal settlements. Kiṭaṅkil where the chieftains resided was reputed for its antiquity and the festivals conducted by various sects. It was the resort of bards and Viṛaliyar women and the Antaṅar and Arukar (Jaina monks) are said have had open access at the gates. Eyilpattinam was its commercial outlet where aloes wood and other items were brought in ships for unloading and distribution<sup>17</sup>.

Palkunram was a fairly extensive principality consisting of hilly tracts, patches of jungle and cultivated lands (*malaiyum cōlaiyum māpukal kānum*) in the southwest<sup>18</sup>. The chieftains of the lineage of Nannan, who exercised authority over it, were residing at Cenkanma in the Nāviram hills. They had the designation *nātu*, *Kiḷavan* and

their principality is described as *kunru cūl irukkai nātu* the nātu surrounded by hills<sup>19</sup>. The *Eyinar*, *Kānavar*, *kuravar* and *Maṛavar* were to be seen on the tracks on the hills leading up to the residence of Nannan.

Toṅṭaimān Ilaṅṭiraiyan whose realm is described in the *Perumpāṇārup paṭai* was residing at Kāñci. His kingdom was extensive and included a major part of Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam extending up to the Vēṅkaṭam hill in the north. The tone of the descriptions in the poem clearly suggests that the author considered him as the ruler of a realm extensive enough to include all the four physiographic divisions recognized by Tamil poetic tradition, and it was occupied by a large number of communities. Almost all the communities described in ancient Tamil literature are included in the descriptions of the *Perumpanarrup patai*.

Ilaṅṭiraiyan is described in this poem as the lord of Kacci, Kacciyōn and as one sprung from the lineage of Toṅṭaiyar (*Toṅṭaiyōr maruka*)<sup>20</sup>. The name *Toṅṭai* nātu seems to have been derived from the fact of its connexion with the *Toṅṭaiyar* who held sway over

it in ancient times. Kāñci where *Toṅṭaimān* was residing was situated in pleasant natural surroundings, its suburbs being surrounded with woods thickly crowded with natural vegetation. It was the favourite resort of cuckoo birds seeking relief from the heat of the midsummer sun. It was bounded on one side by a stream of cool waters on the bank of which was covered with the overhanging branches of trees, stood the ancient and famous shrine of Tiruvehkā housing the image of recumbent Viṣṇu<sup>21</sup>. At the centre of Kāñci were the mansions of the court and other establishments prominent with high walls and fortifications of brick. The streets of Kāñci could not be maintained in proper order and they were full of ruts caused by the movement of carts and chariots. In the neighbourhood of the court there were quarters occupied by *Maṛavar* warriors. The approaches leading to the court were lined with bazaars where commodities were bought and sold. Kāñci is said to have been a prosperous town of great antiquity (*tollai mūtūr*) inhabited by a large population and famous on account of grand festivals conducted there occasionally. In the outskirts of the city there were elephants tied to posts and fed by their keepers<sup>22</sup>.

The ruler, who was skilled in war, was reputed also on account of his accomplishments in learning and some poems still extant are ascribed to him by an ancient tradition. Like his counterparts elsewhere in *Tamīlakam*, he was a patron of poets and the arts of song, music and the dance. Kāñci was the favourite resort of poets, musicians and dancers who were entertained to lavish feasts by the ruler.

The polities of Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam were in a primary stage of state formation. They were reckoned as principalities or chieftaincies of a status lower than that of kingdoms in Tamil texts. For instance, in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* Pērācīriyar describes the lineage of Toṅṭaiyar to which Ilantiraiyan belonged as Kurunilamannar, ruler of principalities<sup>23</sup>. Contemporary poems, which differentiate them from kings, who were described as *muṭivēntar*, crowned kings, however, invariably apply to term *nātu* to designate kingdoms and chieftaincies.

In respect of the chieftains the symbol of authority was the scepter, *ceṅkōl*, and in one instance it is said that the ruler wielded the sceptre to promote the prosperity of the agriculturists<sup>24</sup>.

The epithets *Kōmān*, *nāṭukilavan* and *perumakan* applied to the chieftains

signified the position of pre-eminence which they had attained. The epithet *nātu Kilavan* had connotations suggesting some form of authority over a territorial division called *nātu*. The other two epithets had an altogether different connotation. They seem to indicate a position of leadership of communities grouped together on the basis of kinship connexions. These probably had their origins in the distant past and continued to be in vogue during the primary stage of state formation. It is also significant that Sanskrit equivalents of these titles were not adopted in Pre-Pallava times.

The ruler of Kāñci was noted for his valour. He possessed war elephants and had warriors in his service. They were recruited mostly from the community of *Maṟavar*. From Kāñci he exerted some form of control over the focal points of commodity exchange, ports and marketing centres, and collected tolls and dues on merchandise.

The town of Kāñci was developing as a centre of political authority, military power and trade. The requirements of grain and other essential commodities for the growing population were supplied by traders with wide ranging contacts. Ideas pertaining to authority as

symbolized by dynastic power which were articulated in Sanskrit texts seem to have been known, and in one of his poems. Toṅṭaimān himself mentions the wheel of royal authority. Yet, in contemporary poems one does not come across any description of the institutions of government. The āyam or the retinue surrounding the ruler, the *Maravar* warriors serving under his and the guards posted at security posts and warehouse at the ports are the only groups described in the poems. The martial traditions of the Toṅṭaiyar and their tradition of promoting poetry and the arts were taken over and developed by their Pallava successors to a remarkable extent.

### 3. Kāñci Under the Pallavas

The rulers of Kāñci are said to be of the lineage of the Pallavas in inscriptions since the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D., and under them Kāñci gained in prestige as the political centre of an enlarged kingdom comprising Toṅṭaimantalam and Andharapatha up to the river Krishna in the north. The Pallava kings created the framework of a territorial and hierarchical administration as could be seen from the texts of their early charters recorded in Prākṛit and Sanskrit. These record details pertaining to landgrants of the categories of *brahmadeya* and

*devadānam* in the northern half of their domain.

They instituted kingship on a formal basis and developed an ideology of dynastic power and authority derived primarily from Sanskrit texts and traditions found in the Deccan. They also adopted symbols of power and insignia of authority. Court ceremonials and rituals which had the effect of legitimizing authority were also introduced. The Pallava kings went through the ceremonies of consecration and coronation and assumed the magniloquent title of *Mahārājadhirāja*. Besides, like some of their counterparts elsewhere in India they performed the Aśvamedha, Agniṣṭhoma and Vājapeya sacrifices. They identified themselves with the cause of the Vedic religion and the Bhāgavata Cult. In this connexion their epithets *Dharma Mahārājadhirāja*. and *parama bhāgavata* (supreme devotee of *Bhagavān*) are significant as providing an indication of their leanings. They adopted the figure of the recumbent bull. *nandhi*, as their special dynastic emblem which was impressed on the seal of royal authority. Prākṛit became the language of the royal court at Kāñci, the earliest Pallava charters were issued in that

language. In course of time Sanskrit displaced Prakrit, and even after Tamil regained its position as the language of the court and administration the use of Sanskrit was continued.

In the process of developing the ideals and traditions of Kingship the Pallava kings were ably supported by imaginative and accomplished Brahmins affiliated to the ghatikā, the institution of higher learning, which flourished at Kāñci under Pallava patronage. They performed court ceremonies and rituals, drafted the panegyrics extolling the glories of kings and texts of royal orders. The close association between the rulers and the Brahmins seem to have consummated in matrimonial kinship connexions, and such a claim seems to be confirmed by the fact that the Pallava kings are described in their early charters as belonging to the *Bharadvāja gotra*<sup>26</sup>. Besides, the tradition that the Pallavas were of Brahma - ksatriya origin as found in the charters of the later Pallavas lends some support to this view.

Some salient features of Pallava kinship and administration are illustrated by the copper plate charters issued in Prākṛit from Kāñci. For instance, the text of the Hiragadagalli plates of Sivakandavarman runs<sup>27</sup>.

"Success From Kāñcipuram. The righteous supreme king of great kings of Pallavas, Sivaskandavarman a Bharadvāja, an offerer of Agniṣṭhoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha (sacrifices) (issues the following orders).

(We send greetings) to our lords of provinces, *vaṭṭhas*, royal princes, generals, rulers of districts, customs-house officers, prefects of countries and others, to the freeholders of various villages, to herdsmen, cowherds, ministers, foresters, *gamikas*, *tāthikas*, *neyikas* and all others employed in our service to roaming (spies) and warriors, and we grant here on immunity (viz) the garden in Chillereka Kodumka, which was formerly given by the great king, the lord Bappa, the given of many crores and of one hundred thousand ox-ploughs-while he made (the gift) a means of increasing the merit, longevity, power and fame of (his) own family and lineage to the Brahmans, freeholders of Chillareka kodumka (and) inhabitants of Āpiṭṭi (viz) to Gōlasamaja... one share of the produce...<sup>28</sup>.

This text is obviously a record of an order issued by the Pallava king from Kāñci. It was addressed to a hierarchy of officers, locality leaders and inhabitants of Sātahani raṭṭha in Andhrapatha. It

records the grant of land with immunities, to a brahmin, in the form of a *brahmadeya*. It is significant that the grant is made by the king and was to be executed by those to whom the order was addressed and they were principally of three categories: inhabitants, local community leaders and royal agents and officials. In the last category were included those who had the designations *rājakumāra* (princes), *Senapati* (generals), *Viṣayavaṭṭhaka* (chiefs of the divisions called *Viṣaya*, *raṭṭhika* (officers in charge of *raṭṭha*), *desātikata* (officers in charge of the divisions called *desa*, *gāmabhojaka* (village headmen), *Amātyar* (royal officers) *Araṇādhikata* (*Adhikṛta* or super intendants of forests) and (*sāsana*) *samcharina* (those who communicated royal orders).

The tone and tenor of the inscription suggests that the king of Kāñci was at the apex of a hierarchy of ranks discharging the functions of administration. The list of royal agents and functionaries is impressive in that it includes many categories. Princes, military leaders and *amātyas* were royal agents presumably exercising supervisory functions and engaged in consolidating dynastic power. It is also significant that the Pallavas had maintained military forces

confined to camps at some localities in Andhrapatha<sup>29</sup>.

The rudiments of a territorial administration were to be found in *Andhrrapatha*. The *Viṣaya*, *rāstra*, *desa* and *grāma* are the territorial units referred to in Pallava charters and among these the *grāma* or village was the smallest. There is no reason to suppose that the village headmen were appointees of the ruler from Kāñci and very probably the village communities had evolved a system of their own for regulating local affairs. The larger territorial units were in most cases created consciously by rulers for the purpose of collecting revenues and other dues. In respect of the designations and classification of territorial units the Pallavas seem to have continued and systematized a tradition which had come into vogue earlier, under the Sātavahanas. The main territorial divisions in Andhrapatha seem to have been the *rāstra*, *viṣaya* and *grāma* corresponding respectively to the *Kōṭṭam*, *nātu*, and in *Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam*, which are referred to in Tamil inscriptions of a later period. It may be assumed that the elements of a hierarchical administration and a uniform scheme of classification in

respect territorial divisions which could be discerned from the texts of inscriptions issued in the 8th and 9th centuries were developed in Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam. during the early days of Pallava rule.

It would appear that under the Pallavas there was a steady growth and expansion of peasant settlements leading to peasant dominance over non-peasant communities. Considerable advances were made in the plough. Many of the communities described in ancient Tamil poems were either pushed out or assimilated within the expanding settlements of peasant farmers where they were reduced to a subordinate status and assigned roles complementary to the agrarian economy and society. The construction of irrigating works during the 8th and 9th centuries provided an impetus to agricultural prosperity. Another notable development during this period was the development of *brahmadeyas* and marketing centres called *nakaram*<sup>30</sup> The *brahmadeyas* were primarily agricultural settlements dominated and controlled by Brahman elites and some of these, as in the case Uttaramērūr, had potential for developing as urban centres. The development of towns of the categories

of *nakaram* and *mānakaram* presupposes a degree of commercial prosperity unknown in earlier times.

In Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam and to a certain extent in Cōḷamaṅṭalam the stage of state formation associated with the Pallava monarchy exhibited three principal characteristics: the development of an elementary hierarchical administration which coordinated autonomous and semiautonomous *nāṭu* units within the framework of a dynastic state, the assertion of the king's rights over land and people in respect of taxes and customary dues and the growing importance of Kāñci as a centre of political power and dynastic authority.

In this formative stage of development the power and prestige of the chieftains of the *nāṭu* units diminished and the hereditary chieftains came to be referred to as *viyavan* (headman) and became the agents of the monarchy. Royal orders were not addressed to them exclusively. They were addressed to several groups within the *nāṭu* and the local chieftain became one of the functionaries executing royal orders. Besides, some of them were taken to Kāñci where they became royal

officers and served in some capacity in the administration of the kingdom. Although they continued to retain their traditional titles, Kō, Kōn or Kīlavan, the power and authority exercised by them previously had become concentrated at the political centre where the king resided.

The decline of multiple centres of power based in the units of the nāṭu had the effect of enhancing the prestige and authority of the king at the political centre and providing sufficient scope for the smaller basic units—the ūr *brahmadeya* and *nagaram* to develop as autonomous self governing institutions on a corporate basis. They regulated the affairs of the local community and developed the assigning specific functions to committees selected on the basis of certain requirements. The autonomy or independence of the nāṭu units in the riverine plains seems to have been further undermined by the creation of larger unites called kōṭṭam each of which consisted of several units called nāṭu.

Although it is generally assumed on the basis of references to nāṭṭar (those of the nāṭu) and nāṭṭom (we of the

nāṭu) in the texts of inscriptions that the nāṭu units were self-governing institutions.

The nāṭu which had its origins in earlier times continued to exist as a territorial unit and was recognized as such in epigraphic records. The expressions nāṭṭar and nāṭṭom as found in inscriptions have to be interpreted with caution as there could be ambiguity in their connotations. The belief in the existence of self-governing institutions called nāṭu is doubtless inspired by the general understanding of such expressions as *urār*, *urōm*, *sabhaiyār*, *sabhaiyōm*, *nagarattār* and *nagarattōm*. However, a careful scrutiny of the references to the nāṭṭār in the Leyden plates suggests that the expression had an altogether different connotation. The representatives of locality associations called ūr, *brahmadeyam*, *paḷḷiccantam* and *nagaram* of the division of paṭṭinakūrram of kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḷanāṭu in Cōḷamaṅṭalam are collectively described there in as nāṭṭār. They did not meet together as the members of a corporate institution but were summoned by royal order to execute the grant of the village of

Anaimānkalam made by the king to the Cūḷāmaṇivarama vihāram of Nakapaṭṭinam<sup>31</sup>. On the completion of the task assigned to them they drafted a deed of execution in collaboration with the king's agents and thereafter the document was sent to the institution called vari. The nāṭṭār referred to in the Pallavacopper-plate charters had performed an exactly similar function in respect of royal grants.

The immunity grants described in the Pallava charters contain long lists of items of taxes which are said to be the dues which the king could collect and dispose of at his will and pleasure.

The copper-plate charters issued by the later Pallavas in the 8th and 9th centuries are significant as providing insights into the nature of Pallava kingship and administration in the Tamil country. They record the details and procedures of the grants of the category of *brahmadeyam* and *devadānam*. The relevant portions of the Kāsakkudi plates which record the creation of a brahmadeyam may, for instance, be considered here. It runs:

...To Jyeṣṭapada Somayājin, who has mastered the ocean like Vedas a whole village, the original name of

which was Kodukolli, (but) which, on becoming a brahmadeya, (received) the new name Ekadhīramānkalam, in Uṇḍivana-Kōṣṭhaka (sub-division) of the same rāstra, enclosed by the following four boundaries: in the east, Pālaiyūr; in the south, the same; in the west Maṇarpākkam and Kolppākkam and in the north, Nelimānallūr, to the extent of altogether two *nivartanas*, excluding previous grants to temples and grants to Brahmanas; excluding (the houses of) the ryots; with all exemptions (*parihāras*), (and) including the use of water by digging channels at convenience from the Durasarit, the Vegavati, and the tank of Tirālaya, houses, fields, gardens and groves<sup>32</sup>.

This grant was made at the request of (*Vijñāpti*) *Brahmayuvarāja*. The executor of the grant (*ajñāpti*) (was) Ghorasarman. Hail! let there be success. The author of the above *prasasti* (was) the honest Trivikrama, who knew the truth of all sciences (and) performed sacrifices according to the rules of the three Vedas.

This (above document) is an order of the King (issued) in the twenty-second year (of his reign). Let the nāṭṭār of *urrukāṭṭukōttam* see it (and act on it).

Having seen the royal of the 22<sup>nd</sup> year, conveyed to us by the Āṇatti Ghorasarman, converting (the village of Kotukolli of Tannātu from the category of tēvatānap pirammatēyam into a pirammatēyam by removing the former tenants and conferring it on Ceṭṭireṅka Somayājin, a resident of Puni, who belongs to the Bharadvāja gotra and follows the chandoga sūtra - we, the nāṭṭār, went to the boundaries pointed out (to us) by the headman (vijavan) of the natu kincumbulated the village (patakai) from right to left and planted stones and milk-bush (as boundary markers).

The (four) boundaries are the western boundary of Pālaiyūr in the east, the northern boundary of Pālaiyūr in the south, the eastern boundaries of Manarpākkam and koḷḷippākkam in the west and in the north the southern boundary of Veḷimānallūr.

The donee shall enjoy the wet land and the dry land included within these four boundaries, wherever the inguana runs and the tortoise crawls, (and shall be permitted to dig river channels and inundation channels for conducting water from the Cēyāru, the Vehkā, and the tank called Tiraiyanēri... Those who take and use water in those channels by

pouring out baskets, by cutting branch channels or by employing small lever shall pay a fine to be taken by the king. He and his descendants shall enjoy the houses, house gardens and so forth land shall have the right to build houses and halls of burnt bricks. (The land) included within these (boundaries) we have endowed with all exemptions obtaining in this village without paying the levies and dues under the following items:

- (1) Cekku (a levy on oil press),
- (2) tarī ( a levy on the looms of weavers),
- (3) Uḷḷiyakkūli (a fee for well diggers),
- (4) pirāmaṇakkāṇam (a contribution to Brahmins), (5) rācakkaṇam (a contribution to the king), (6) ceṅkoṭikkāṇam (a monetary levy on vine crops), (7) Calliyakkāṇam, (1) Kaṇṇiṭṭukkāṇam (a monetary levy on items exhibited for sale (?), (8) katirkkāṇam a cash levy on harvests), (9) kucakkāṇam (a levy on potters), (10) arikōḷi (a share of fowls (slaughtered at sacrifices), (11) neyvilai (a levy on the sale of ghee), (12) puttakavilai, (a levy on the sale of cloth), (13) paṭṭikaikkāṇam, (14) nallāvu (a levy on milk cows), nalle rutu (a levy on bulls of good breed, (15) the supply of fodder for new horses, (16) nāṭṭuvakai (contributions for the nātu) (17)

paṭāṅkaḷi (a levy on the manufacture of cloth, (18) kaiyāḷ (the supply of menial assistants for royal agents on duty), (19) neṭumparaḷ (a levy on drummers), (20) panampākkam (a share of palmyra syrup and jaggery), (21) karaṇattaṅṅam (judicial fines), (22) atikaranattaṅṅam (fines imposed by royal courts), (23) pāttūr cārru (a share of the sugar-cane syrup), (24) kuvalainaṭuvari (a fee for cultivating flower plants), (25)kuvalaikkāṇam (the levy of a kāṇam on the sale of flowers).

(Besides) They shall be exempted from the supply of a portion of felled trees in case they cultivate areca, coconut palms and other such trees. This document has been compiled by the assembly (paradatti - parisad) consisting of the nilaikkalattār, atikārar and the vayikkētpār<sup>33</sup>.

In form and content the Kāsakkudi plates are significant as providing an indication of the salient features of administration under the Pallavas. They are also noteworthy as documents highlighting the processes that the texts of charters had gone through during stages of their preparation. The proceedings relating to the land grant and the procedures adopted in respect of the preparation of the royal charter may be

formulated here in the following order of sequence:

1. On a certain day in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year of his reign the king of Kāñci, Nandivarman issued an order converting Koṭukolli into a *brahmadeyam* on representations made to him by *Dharmayuvamahārājā* who had the designation *vijñāti*. This particular village which had previously belonged to the category of *tēvadānap pitammatēyam* was conferred the name *Ēkadhīramankalam* on its conversion.
2. The royal order stipulating the terms of the grant and the boundaries of the land was entered by scribes at the palace. Later, a copy of the text of this order incorporating a royal *prasaṣti* in Sanskrit was conveyed by the anatti (ajnapti) Ghorasarman to the nattar of Urrukkattukkotam for the execution of the grant.
3. On the receipt of the royal order (*tirumukam*) the nāṭṭā circumambulated the boundaries of the land as pointed out by the headman of the nāṭu (nāṭṭu viyvan) and planted stones and milk-bush as boundary markers.

4. On the completion of their task the nāṭṭār drafted a deed of execution on a day in the 28<sup>th</sup> year of the king and a copy of this deed was taken to the court where it was entered in a register. Three separate groups of court functionaries, the *nalaikkaḷattār*, *atikārar* and the *vayikkēṣpār* had participated in the proceedings.

5. Two separated documents, the royal order pertaining to the creation of the *brahmadeya* of Ēkadhīramaṅkalam and the deed of execution prepared by the nāṭṭār of Ūrrukkāṭṭukkōṭṭam were incorporated into a royal charter by court officials, engraved on copper-plates and issued to the donee. The charter was doubtless an instrument of authentication.

The inscription highlights the existence of the ingredients of a hierarchical administration. There were clearly two levels of authority; At the higher level was the monarchy exercising some form of authority over lands, people and institutions within the kingdom, and at the lower level were the locality based associations called *ūr*, *bramadeyam* and *nagaram*. The coordination between the two levels of authority was effected through royal agents and

functionaries of different grades and categories. There was no intermediate level of authority between the monarchy and the local associations functioning on a corporate and institutional basis.

Epigraphic texts recording grants of land and the remission of taxes clearly suggest that the king exercised his custodial function and asserted his rights in respect of taxes and other customary dues with the concurrence of the institutions called *ūr*, *brahmadeyam* and *nagaram*. It would appear that all the self governing institutions within a *nāṭu* were collectively described as nāṭṭār and that they assembled together on occasions when summoned by royal order for specific purposes. It is significant that the nāṭṭār met together and performed specific duties assigned to them receiving instructions from the king which were communicated through royal agents. The state as found in the northern part of the Tamil country during the last phases of Pallava rule exhibited three distinctive characteristics: (1) the growth in the power and influence of the monarchy (2) the decline in the power and influence of the hereditary chieftains of principalities sometimes leading to their virtual disappearance and (3) the development of autonomous or self-

governing institutions *ur*, *brahmadeyam* and *nagaram*. There is reason to believe that all these processes were closely connected. The consolidation of royal power and authority required either the displacement of hereditary local chieftains or a progressive diminution of their power and influence. It would seem that the kings of Kāñci, like their counterparts in the south, consciously promoted the growth of self-governing associations dominated by peasants, merchants and Brahmins. The development of such associations was complementary to the consolidation of royal power and authority.

When brahmadeyas were created through land grants, as in the case of Ēḷadhīramaṅkalam, the donees were not granted absolute ownership of the land. What was granted was in the form of certain rights and privileges (*pariharas*, immunities). The king's right in the form of dues on lands, people, commodities of production and commodity exchanges were transferred to the donees. The immunities granted by the charter recorded in the Kāsākkudi plates included 25 items of taxes and dues payable to the government and its agencies. As most items had to be paid in money it may be assumed that commodity production and trade had

attained a level of development so as to facilitate a limited degree of monetary circulation even in villages. That textiles production had become an important field of economic activity in the country is suggested by the fact that three items of taxes *tari puttakavilai* and *paṭāṅkaḷi* were levied on the production and sale of cloth.

Revenues collected in money in substantial amounts enabled the rulers of Kāñci to maintain large military forces and indulge in constructional and culture activities of an impressive kind in that city which also became a focal point of increased commercial activity. The growing importance of Kāñci as a centre of political power, commercial activity and cultural progress is reflected in contemporary literature. In the *tēvaram* hymns Kāñci is described as a *mānakaram*, (great city), a prosperous city containing rows of buildings of towering height, beautiful parks and fortifications surrounded by high walls<sup>34</sup>. Its pre-eminence as a centre of culture and learning was generally acknowledged and many poets found that the arts of poetry, dance and music flourished there.

The, *Nantikkalampakam* which belongs to the class of court poetry

describes king Nandivarman as the ruler of the prosperous Toṅṭai and Cōḷa countries<sup>35</sup>. The description of the same ruler in this text as the lord of Kacci, Mallai and Mayilai presupples that the author had some hazy notions about the process of urbanization<sup>36</sup>. These three towns seem to have attained a level of development so as to be considered. Centres of manifold activities of outstanding importance in the fields of commerce and culture. Nandivarman is described as a skilled warrior having in his possession large armies and many war elephants<sup>37</sup>. Poetic descriptions of Pallava military forces seem to be partially confirmed by the scenes of military parades depicted in the sculptured panels of the Vaikuṅṭha perumāḷ temple at Kāñci<sup>38</sup>. While Kāñci served as the principal centre of political authority and military power under the Pallavas Māmallapuram was the principal port of the Pallava Kingdom. It had developed into a flourishing city on account of the development of overseas trade. The epithets *nārkaṭarṅkoru nāyakan* (the lord of the four oceans) and *kaṭarpaṭai avaninaraṅan* (the *avanināraṅan* who possess a fleet of ships) applied to the Pallava king by the author of the Nāntikalampakam seem to suggest a concern on the part of the

Pallavas for the promotion of seaborne trade<sup>39</sup>. It is significant that Māmallapuram is also described as a *mānakaram* in contemporary literary notices.

The palace and other royal establishments of the Pallavas probably, occupied the central portion of Kāñci. But as their architectural remains had vanished without leaving behind any traces the area of their location within the city cannot be determined. The establishments of the court were surrounded by quarters occupied by officials, warriors, artisans, priests and people of many other vocations serving the monarchy and its agencies. Among the most important functionaries attached to the court were those who had the designations *vijñāpti*, *Āṇatti*, *Atikārar*, *Nilaikkḷattār* and *Vayikkēṭpār*. Those who had the designation *Vijñāpti* were of princely rank and it was their responsibility to formally inform the monarch of all important matters, that required his attention. The *Vayikkēṭpār* were court functionaries who attentively listened to the pronouncements made by the king and had them recorded on palm-leaves. The *Āṇatti* and *Atikārar* were royal agents who served as intermediaries between the court and the locality based associations. All royal orders were

transmitted by the *Āṇatti* while the *Atikārar* were the dignitaries who directed and supervised all important matters pertaining to the administration of the Kingdom. The *Nilaikaḷattār* seem to have been a body responsible for maintaining records pertaining to revenue and taxation. They seem to have been stationed at Kāñci and it would appear that some of their transactions were conducted in the presence of the *Āṇatti* and the *Atikārar*.

The Pallava kings had close interactions with the Brahmin communities established at Kāñcipuram. At the royal court there were skilled and accomplished Brahmans performing diverse functions. Specialists in rituals were engaged in the performance of rites and sacrifices connected with notions of legitimation of power and authority. Learned Brahmans who served as court poets sang the glories of Kings, composed their *prasastis* and at times held positions of rank in the administration. The text of the Tandantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman II was composed by Paramesvara otherwise called Uttarakāraṇika, son of Paramottara Karanika, a renowned poet<sup>40</sup>. The *prasasti* of the Udayendiram plates of the same king illustrious

Candradeva and who was of the family of Medhāvins<sup>41</sup>. The charter recorded in the Kāsakkudi plates was compiled by Trivikrama described as one who knows the truth of all the sciences and who has performed sacrifices according to the rules of the Vedas<sup>42</sup>. The *prasasti* of the Velurpalayam grant of Nandivarman III was composed by the poet Mahesvara Manōdhīra<sup>43</sup>. The rank of *āṇatti* (*ajñāpti*) was sometimes held by Brahmin dignitaries. Under Paramesvaravarman I, Uttarakāraṇika Mahasenadatta had the designation *ajñāpti*<sup>44</sup>. The same position was held by Ghorasarman during the reign of Nandivarman III.

Communities of artisans and craftsmen established at Kāñcipuram had their separate quarters in the city. It would appear that goldsmiths had occupied Kīlparicāram, a sector of Kaccippēṭu while the sculptors and carpenters occupied Aimpanaceri, another sector of Kaccippēṭu<sup>45</sup>. Some of the reputed and skilled artisans and craftsmen were selected and employed by the court to render certain services and conferred titles of honour and rank. The expression *māṭēvip peruntattān* the great gold - smith to the chief queen found in the Bāhur plates suggests that gold-smiths of Kīlparicaram in Kāñci

were employed at the court for making jewels and ornaments for the queen and other royal ladies. Besides, the palace gold-smiths were employed to engrave on copper - plates the texts of charters drawn by court poets. The concluding portion of the *Bahur* plates states that the text was engraved by the gold-smith (*suvarnakrit, taṭṭān*) Nṛpatunga, the son of Mādēvi *peruntaṭṭān* and a grandson of Uditotay *Peruntaṭṭān* of Kīlparicāram<sup>46</sup>.

A part from gold-smiths artisans called *sthapati* or *mahākāṣṭhākāri* were also employed at court engraving royal charters on copper - plates. The Mangadur grant of Simhavarman is said to have been engraved by one Nemi at the personal command of the king<sup>47</sup>. The kasakkudi plates of Nandivarman III were engraved by Srī Paramesvara Mahākāṣṭhākāri. The Paṭṭattālmangalam plates of Nandivarman II were engraved on copper plates by Sri Dandi, the son of Sri Paramesvara Mahākāṣṭhākāri<sup>48</sup>. who is described in later grants as the great carpenter of the viṭēl viṭuku Pallava king. Moreover, the gift of the village of Kāṭṭuppaḷli in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Nandivarman III was engraved on copper - plates by Perayyan of the lineage of *sthapatis*; a son of Sīrāya,

who had earned a great reputation on account of his skills<sup>49</sup>.

Kāñcipuram which had the advantage of being a great and expanding centre of craft production and a pivotal centre of long distance trade forged ahead as a major city in South India under the Pallavas made in textile production. That textile production had become a major economic activity in the country is suggested by an imaginative understanding of Pallava inscriptions which contain references to three items of taxes levied on the production and sales of cloth. The processing of cotton, the production of yarn sale of cloth. The processing of cotton the production of yarn, weaving, dyeing and painting of cloth became the concerns of a considerable proportion of the population. The large and influential settlements of weavers of silk and cotton cloth found at Kāñcipuram in the 10<sup>th</sup> century doubtless had their origins in the long period of Pallava rule. Besides, the traditions about the weaving communities of Kāñcipuram suggest that skilled weavers and painters were brought to the city at different stages with a view to develop further the textile industry in respect of quality and quantity.

As a major point of intersection on the routes of commerce Kāñcipuram had large markets where necessities and luxury items some of which were brought from distant lands were sold by wholesalers and retailers. Local merchants and itinerant traders gathered at these markets for the distribution, collection and sale of commodities, imports and exports. The need for the regulation of commercial activities and the provision of marketing facilities was met by instituting on a formal basis a corporate organization (*dominated by mercantile interests*) known as *mānakaram*. The *mānagaram* which occupied the commercial sector of the city seem to have had close links with the monarchy and exerted considerable

influence in city affairs. When the Pallava throne fell vacant on the death of Paramesvarman II around A.D 730 arrangements had to be made for the succession. The initiative regarding this matter was taken by a combination of very influential groups in the city. The court officials, the representatives of the College of the higher learning in the city (*kaṭikaiyār*) and the authorities of the *nagaram* went on a delegation and brought to Kāñci, Nandivarman of the collateral branch of the Pallava family on whom they conferred the crown. The participation of the *nakarattār* in these proceedings suggests the close, connections the merchants had with the institution of kingship.

## Notes and References

1. 'Conjeevaram is the most sacred city of South India. Indeed, it claims a pre-eminence not second to Benares'. Charles Stewart Crole, *The Chingleput*, Late Madras District. A Manual Compiled Under the Orders of the Madras Government (439 pages), Madras, 1879, p. 110.
2. *ibid*, p.120.
3. The *Perumpānāruppatai*, *Cirupānāruppatai* and the *Kūttat āruppatai* which is also know as *Malaipaṭukaṭām* are the three poems. These described respectively the principalities of Kāñci, Ōymānāṭu and Palkuṇṇam.
4. *Pattuppāṭṭu*, pt.1 Edited with a commentary by P.V.Cōmacuntaranār, The South India Saiva Siddhanta works Publishing society, Tinnevelly Ltd., Madras, 1956; *Perumpānāruppatai*, 11 87, 127.
5. *ibid*, ll, 87, 120.
6. *ibid*, ll, 276 - 282.
7. *ibid*, ll, 126-7.
8. *Pattuppāṭṭu*, Ten Tamil Idylls, Translated into English by J. V. Chelliah, The South India Saiva Siddhanta works Publishing Society, Tinnevelly ltd., Madras, 1962, p. 300, ll, 152-3.
9. *ibid*, pp. 124-5, ll.352 - 370; p.120 ll. 245-7.
10. The expressions, *Valampala tarum nāṭu pala kaḷinta pinṇai* which translate: 'After having passed several *nāṭus* where many kinds of products were found in abundance' suggests that there were many units called *nāṭu* inhabited by agriculturist in that part of Tamilakam over which Toṇṭaimān held sway.
11. It is said that in the compounds in which the homes of the *antaṇar* were found the dog and the fowl could not be seen. Besides, the settlement of the *antaṇar* is described as *maraikāppāḷar uraipati*. pp. ll. 299-300.
12. *ibid*, ll. 320-1.
13. *ibid*, ll.,. 347-50.

14. Nīrpeyarru is said to be a modified form of Nīrpāyal tuṛai. Jalasayanam is the Sanskrit equivalent of Nīrpāyal. The shore temple at Māmallapuram had the name Jalasayanam. It would therefore appear that Nīrpāyal tuṛai was the older name of Māmallapuram. In recent times, however, some historians have attempted to identify Nīrpeyarru with Vāyalur because of the consideration that Roman Coins and other archaeological artifacts have been found at that place. pp. 319-351.
15. Eyilpaṭṭinam (the fortified town) was the principal port down of Ōymānāṭu. Ships loaded with aloes wood and other items which touched at this haven are compared with sleeping camels in one of the poems. This is said to have been surrounded by high and lofty walls. *Pattuppāṭṭu* translated by J. V. Chelliah, *Cirupāṇārruppaṭai* (Cp.), p. 154, ll. 151-5.
16. The *Pp* contains a description of caravans of traders moving with camels (*Kaḷutaic cāttu*) laden with bags of pepper traversing inhospitable tracks in the country. It is significant that the text applies the expression *Cāttu* which is the Tamil form of *Sārthavāha* to describe caravans. It also mentions of centres on the routes where tolls were collected from the caravans of traders (*ulkutaip peruvali*). *Pattuppāṭṭu* translated by J. V. Chelliah, Pp., p.110, 11. 77-80.
17. *ibid*, CP, pp. 152-8.
18. *Pattuppāṭṭu* edited by J. V. Chelliah, *Malaipaṭṭukaṭāṃ* (MK), p. 296, 1.69.
19. *ibid*,. p. 324, 1.583.
20. *Pattuppāṭṭu* pt. I edited by P. V. Cōmacuntaranār, Pp., p. 13, 1.420, p.14, 1.454.
21. *ibid*, p.12, 370, 11.371-382
22. *ibid*, pp. 12-13, 11.392-411.
23. In explaining a strophe in the *Tolkāppiyam* he says : The expression "others of the lineages of mannar (man peṛumarapin enōr) should be construed as denoting chieftains of principalities. Descriptions of them could be found in the *Perumpāṇārrup paṭai* and other texts. *Pattuppāṭṭu* pt.1 edited by P. V. Comacuntaranar, Pp., p. 9.
24. J. V. Chelliah's translation of the expressions *erōrkkuṇiḷanṛa Kōḷinai* reads: who wisely wields his scepter so that farmers of his land that hold the plough do prosper well. *Pattuppāṭṭu* translated J. V. Chelliah, p. 159, ll. 303-5.

25. The expressions *Bharaddāja Pallavāṇa Sivakhamdavamo*, *Bharaddāja-sagotto Palavāṇam Sivakhamdavamme* and *Bharaddāya Pallavāṇa Sivakhamdavamo* are found in the Prākṛit charters issued by the Pallavas.
- G. Bunler, A Prakrit grant of the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 1 (*EI*) Ed. JAS. Burgess, Calcutta 1892 (478 pp), E. Hultzsch, Mayidavolu Plates of Sivaskandavarman (pp.84-88), *EI*, Vol. VI Ed, E. Hultzsch, Calcutta, 1901, 395 pages; E. Hultzsch, British Museum Plates of Charudevi (pp. 143-158), *EI* Vol, VIII Ed. E. Hultzsch, Calcutta, 1905-6.
26. *EI*. Vol. i, pp. 4-8.
27. The claim made in this inscription that lord Bappa, a predecessor of Sivaskandavarman, had distributed one hundred thousand ox-ploughs seems to suggest that the early Pallavas played a key role on promoting agriculture.
28. The Pikira grant was issued from the Camp (*senā mukham*) at Menmatura. The Mangalur and Uruvapalli grants were issued respectively from the camps at Dasanapura and Palakkada. Pikira Grant of Simhavarman, *EI*, VII, pp. 159-163.
29. About ten such units are referred to in the *tēvaram* hymns which, however, make a distinction between two categories: *nakaram* and *mānakaram*. Only Kanci and Mallai are referred to as *mānakaram*. The towns called *mānakaram* were re-eminent on account of a greater concentration of population, wealth, commercial activities and the traditions of urbanism.
30. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, The Larger Leiden Plates.
31. Tiralaya, which is referred to as Tirayan-eri in the Tamil portion of the text, was a tank constructed by chieftains of the lineage of Tiraiyar in pre-Pallava times.
32. Kasakkudi Plates of Nandivarman, No. 78' *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol.2, pt.3, Reprint. Navrang, New Delhi, 1984, pp.351-360.
33. *neṭumāṭam-ōṅki viḷaṅkiya kacci, maṇ imāṭa māmatir̄ kaccimānakar matitōyum-māṭamāmatir̄ kaccimanakar, Pallavanur matir̄ Kāñci manakar, maṇimāṭa kaṭai navinra kalikkacci, Karumukil tavalum-māṭak kacci, koṭimāmatil kacci, Aṇipolil kacci, paimpolir̄ kacci, kaṭipolir̄ kacci* are some of the descriptions of Kāñci as found in the *tēvaram* hymns.
- Tiruñāna campanta cuvāmikaḷ aruḷicceya Tēvarattiruppatikaṅkaḷ (mutal tirumurai)*, Tarumaiyātinam, Tarumapuram, 1953 (627 pages) pp. 170-76, 580-85.

34. Toṅṭai Vēntan cōṇāṭan, Kāviri vaḷanāṭan, Nantikkalampakam Ed. Cō. Aruṇācala Tēcikar, Pāri Nilaiyam, Cennai, 1963 (180 pages), pp, 57, 87.
35. Kaccināṭṭōn, Mallaiyarkōn, vaḷamayilaiyāli, porukaṭal mallaip puravalan, neṭuṅkaḷi cūḷ mayilai perumān, ibid. p. 62, V.9; p.92, v.32; p.112., v.46; p.117, v.51, p.109, v.44.36. Palyānaip pallavarkon pārvaṭṭa tani matayānaip paṭaiyutaiyāy pallavar-atalere. ibid, p.70, v.15; p.121, v.54.
37. That the Pallava kings took special care to employ war elephants is evidenced by their knowledge of the *Gajasāstra* and the innumerable sculptures of the Vaikuntheperumal temple where we get large numbers of elephants in the panels depicting war fare. Rajasimha and Pallavamalla are said to have specialized in the *Gajasāstra*' C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas*, University of Madras, 1938 (316 pages) p.66.
38. *Nantikkalampakam*, p.73, v.18; p.84, v.26.
39. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas*, p.64.
40. "Putrah Srī Candra Devasya Kavistu Paramesvarah / prasasteh kavitāñcakre sa medhāvikulodhbhavah. ibed. p.65.
41. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol.2, pt.3, p. 360.
42. The description of the author as found in the text runs: vari-manah(k)aya karmani pararthānyeva yasya sah/MahesvaroManodhirah praśastim kritavanimam / S. I. I. Vol. 11, pt. v, p.509.
43. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p.65.
44. ibid, PP. 63-64
45. ibid, p. 63.
46. *Prabhos - svamukhājñāptya neminā likhitam*
47. *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas*, p. 63.
48. ibid, p. 54.

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