The Culture and History of the Tamils
The Culture and History of the Tamils

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

43720

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
CALCUTTA :: 1964
PREFACE

The aim of this book is to present a simple popular account of the history and culture of the Tamils in a short compass. Details and discussions have been avoided, and care has been taken not to present the story in any isolationist or chauvinist spirit. If this type of treatment meets with a good response from the reading public, the scope of the book may be broadened in a new edition so as to cover the other areas of South India on more or less similar lines. I must add that the idea of this book originated with Sri K. L. Mukhopadhyay, publisher, and I am grateful to him for the suggestion and for the efficient and expeditious manner in which he has put it through.

'Nilesvar', Edward
Elliots Road, Madras 4.
October 1, 1963.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Political History</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Government</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Social and Economic Conditions</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Religion</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Literature</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Fine Art</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Bibliography</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Index</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Illustrations :</td>
<td>I-XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. The Five Pāṇḍava Rathas, Mahābalipuram,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chingleput District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. Shore Temple, Mahābalipuram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. Vettuvankoyil (rock-cut temple) Rock-cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>image of Śiva, Kalugumalai, Tinnevelly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. Trivikrama, Singanallur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. Naṭarāja, bronze, Kilakkadu (Pāpanāśam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taluq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. Rama Group (Bronze), Vadakkuppanaiyur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanjore District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
vii. Guhāmbā, Bronze, Pallavaniśvara, Shiyali Taluq ... ... ... ...

viii (a) Tripurāsundarī, Kodumbalur, Early Chōla period ... ... ... ...

viii (b) Tripurāntaka (granite), Kodumbalur, Early Chōla period ... ... ... ...

ix. Agni (Stone), Chōla period, Tinnevelly ...

x. Ardhanārisvara, (bronze), Kadambur (Chidambaram Taluq) ...

xi. North-West view of the Vimāna over the Central shrine, Tribhuvanam, Tanjore District.

xii. South Gōpuram, Madura ... ... ...
I. POLITICAL HISTORY

The Country

In ancient times down to about the ninth or tenth century A.D. the Tamil speaking people occupied a somewhat wider area than they do now; Malayālam had not gained existence as a separate language, and Kannada and Telugu were much nearer to Tamil in structure and vocabulary than they are today. The hill of Vēngaḍam was the recognized limit of the Tamil country in the north and it included the western coastal strip, (which is now Kerala), and a good part of what now forms the Mysore state. Jutting into the Indian ocean right in the centre of the monsoon area, it commanded a favourable situation for trade with lands both to the west and east. The Eastern Ghats striking south-westwards about the latitude of Nellore to form the edge of the Mysore plateau and meet the Western Ghats in the Nilgiris (Blue Mountain), and the southern half of the Western Ghats themselves which reach great heights of over 8000 feet in Dódàbeṭṭa and the Ānaimalais together with their offshoots, form the chief mountain features. The Palghat gap which is twenty miles wide from north to south forms the only considerable break in the western chain and affords easy communication between the broad Carnatic plain and the narrow coastal strip of Malabar; the much narrower Shencottah and Ārāmboli passes farther south facilitated intercourse between the Tirunelveli District and the south Travancore area. The Western Ghats are rich in teak and other valuable products like bamboo, rosewood and iron wood; and as the name Ānaimalai indicates, elephants abound in their forests. Lying athwart the course of the Arabian sea branch of the south-west monsoon, these ghats bring about a striking difference in rainfall between the regions on either side of them; the western side receives the bulk of the moisture carried by the monsoon while to the east on the
leeward side is the rain shadow region where rainfall is not only scanty but highly variable in character. This difference is naturally reflected in the vegetation. The copious rainfall of the coastal plain and the windward slopes of the Ghats clothes them with dense vegetation of the ever green forest type; the shore is skirted with coconuts and the villages surrounded with groves of betel-nut palm and talipot; cassia and cardamom flourish wild in the jungles, and the fact that pepper can be cultivated without the screens used in other parts of India to preserve the humidity conveys an idea of how naturally moist the coastal region is.

The inlets and backwaters of the west coast facilitate internal communication in the north-south direction, and add to the picturesqueness of the coastal scenery. The relative political isolation of this coast is a striking contrast with its active contact by sea with the nations of the outside world from very early times, and it was here that the Europeans made their first significant contact with the East in modern times. The Periyār is the only important river on this coastal strip.

The Pālār, Peṇṉār, Kāväri, Vaigai and Tāmbraparṇī—in order from north to south—are the principal rivers of the wider Carnatic plain, all flowing into the Bay of Bengal, and the country irrigated by these rivers is the real old India of the south, the land of historic kingdoms and their capitals, of numberless temples and of indigenous arts of almost prehistoric antiquity. The Kāväri, is also known as Ponni, the Lady of Gold, celebrated in song and legend by the grateful poets and people of the land which owes all its prosperity to her fertilizing waters; artificial irrigation in the Kāväri valley is perhaps as old as agriculture itself. In its course the Kāväri forks thrice into two streams, only to reunite a few miles further on, thus forming two islands—Seringapatam (Śrīranga-paṭṭana), and Śrīrangam. The celebrated falls of Śivasamu-dram in between have been harnessed to supply electrical power to the Kolār gold fields over a hundred miles distant.
The enterprise was the first of its kind in India, and, at the time of its inception (1903), involved one of the longest lines of high tension electric transmission in the world. Immediately below Srīrangam the river divides into two, the Coleroon (Kollidam in Tamil) and the Kāvēri, the latter repeatedly branching and thus ramifying over the entire surface of the Tanjore delta. The problem of utilizing the flood waters of the Kāvēri for irrigation was tackled from very early times by successive Chōla monarchs though not with the efficiency commanded by modern engineering. The mouth of the Tāmbraparṇī is famous for the pearl fisheries of the Gulf of Mannār, often described in detail by travellers from other lands. The level of the east coast has changed in historical times; Korkai and Kāyal on the Tirunelveli coast were flourishing ports in the thirteenth century A.D., but are now almost buried under sand dunes, a few miles inland; on the other hand considerable parts of Kāveripattanam (the Khaberis of Ptolemy) and of Māmallapuram (vulgo Mahābalipuram) further north have been engulfed by the encroachments of the sea. There are also legends recorded in relatively recent times from about the eighth or ninth century A.D. of the extreme south of the Tamil land having been submerged by the sea.

The People

The Deccan and South India, geologists say, form the oldest part of the Indian sub-continent; some among them suppose that the Indian ocean was at one remote period an extensive continent inhabited by lemurs (named Lemuria for that reason) and that Madagascar is a relic of that continent. But facts like these have no bearing whatever on the antiquity and culture of the Tamils of history. The attempts made by some authors of the Tamil country in modern times to connect them with the legend of the sea encroaching on land in the extreme south of India and that of the Three Tamil Śāngams
lasting all together about 10,000 years, are altogether misplaced and unscientific.

Man may have been living in South India for some 300,000 years, if not more; but for long ages he led a savage life gathering his food as chance offered it, and using only wooden sticks or rude stone as implements (old stone or paleolithic stage). Bruce Foote established the existence of the old stone stage in South India and the tool types of this period 'is essentially pear-shaped or oval flaked on both sides in such a way as to produce a continuous cutting edge—the so-called hand axe' (Piggott). A development of technique can be traced over the different finds referable to this long period and tools are seen to become more elaborate in finish and smaller, implying greater skill in the process of flaking. Tools of the Madras industry have been found in the basins of the Kāvērī and Vaigai. The uses to which these tools were put is by no means clear and may have included chopping at meat or wood and grubbing for roots. The south Indian paleolithic cultures, it may be noted, are seen to belong to a group extending over a vast area including India, South Africa and Western Europe. The earliest time when man got out of this stage and learnt the use of polished stone implements and also to make use of fire, domesticate animals and cultivate food crops, has been put at about 8000 B.C. though the general opinion of anthropologists places this transition to the New Stone (Neolithic) stage much later. The neolithic culture complex of India is extremely difficult to reconstruct owing to the complexity of the evidence and the paucity of scientifically excavated sites. Wheeler's work in South India has shown that in certain areas at least the Neolithic cultures survived almost to the dawn of recorded history. The evidence from Arikkamēdu near Pondicherry goes far to establish the relationship of indigenous cultures with imported pottery and coins of the first century A.D. found in a Roman trading port on Indian soil, and this taken along with excavations in the Chitaldrug region established the following sequence for the region: (1) Stone age culture charac-
terized by polished, pointed butt axes of local rock and a crude microlithic industry in jasper, flint, agate, and crystal. Metal was known as attested by two small copper objects, but extremely scarce. Pottery was handmade, rarely painted or incised. The beginnings of this phase may go back to the early first millennium B.C. It was followed about 200 B.C. according to prevalent opinion, but possibly some centuries earlier, by (2) Megalithic culture, an intrusive iron-using culture, making wheel-turned pottery and building rather elaborate megalithic tombs. It continued into the first century A.D. overlapping with (3) the historical Andhra culture dated in its earlier phases by Roman coins of the early first century A.D. and pottery of Arikamedu types, and continuing to the third century A.D.¹

Whether the Tamils of history were the descendants of the neolithic people or immigrants into South India from abroad is not easy to determine. Some writers have sought to establish that the fairly advanced urban culture of the Indus valley was essentially Dravidian in its make up and that the numerous seals belonging to that culture carry inscriptions in a proto-Dravidian language; others are equally confident that the inscriptions are in the Indo-Aryan idiom, and that the culture is closely allied to Vedic culture, if not actually one of its phases. The fact, however, is that no confident conclusions can be reached till the writing on the seals is satisfactorily deciphered and a general consensus emerges on the nature and content of these short inscriptions. In the light of recent excavations, particularly of megalithic sites in the Deccan and South India, and the philological study of the names of places and peoples, the opinion is gaining ground that the Tamils may have migrated to and settled in South India from West Asian or the East Mediterranean region more by sea than by land.

Evidence from Ādiccanallūr on the Tāmbraparṇi river in Tirunelveli District seems to be important, but has not yet been fully studied and no excavation conducted yet with the aid of modern technique. There are urn-burials here, but no megal-
thic monuments; the presence of black and red pottery ware and iron implements brings the site into some close relation with the megaliths of South India but the pottery in Ādīccanallūr is more primitive than on the megalithic monuments. There are also found here bronze ware and gold diadems or mouth pieces which together with the iron tridents found in association have typological parallels in Palestine of about 1200 B.C. as also in Syria and Cyprus about the same time. The people of Ādīccanallūr cultivated rice.

Subject to confirmation by further research, it seems a fair assumption that rice-cultivation and megalithic monuments entered South India with the Tamil (Dravidian) speaking people, who must of course have mixed a great deal with pre-existing folk as they did later with the incoming Indo-Aryans from North India. As already hinted, some date round about 300 B.C. has been suggested for the arrival of this iron-using megalithic people on the evidence of stratigraphy in Brahmagiri (Mysore), Māski (Raichur) and other places, and 800 B.C. as the earliest possible date for the first occupation of Brahmagiri. But these dates, particularly 300 B.C. for the beginning of megalithic culture appear to be too late and may need to be put further back after more study. As against the earlier view that Dravidian speech covered the whole of India when the Aryans entered it, present opinion (Haimendorf) is more inclined to the view that the area of this speech was never much greater in extent than at the present time, and that the evidence of Dravidian impact elsewhere such as the Brahui in Baluchistan must be accounted for as the result of pre-historic migrations by land or by sea, or of contacts in historical times. On the other hand Prof. Burrow has pointed out that Dravidian influences are already traceable in the Vedic language, that these influences cannot be traced to the Dravidian languages as we know them to-day in the South of the peninsula, and that consequently we should postulate the presence of an earlier pre-Aryan Dravidian stratum in Northern India of whose
origin we know nothing at present; and a rather venturesome linguist N. Lahovary would be inclined to support this view as he thinks he is able to trace analogies between Basque and Caucasian idioms and Dravidian, and accounts for them by postulating a very early linguistic continuum stretching over the whole of the Near East dating back to the fifth or even the sixth millennium B.C. and altogether pre-Indo-European. Lastly, there are scholars in the Tamil country who altogether discount the idea of a Dravidian immigration from outside and hold that the Tamils are autochthonous children of the soil. It would be well to stress the fact that the problems briefly touched on here are very complex, and the time is not yet come for formulating definite conclusions on them.

The evidence of archaeology in South India has so far afforded no support to the idea of a developed and prosperous material culture flourishing in Dravidian India before the advent of the Aryans. Caldwell’s study of the languages of the South enabled him to discover ‘a faithful picture of the simple life of the non-Aryanized Dravidians’ and to claim ‘that the elements of civilization already existed among them.’

And no Tamil linguist has come forward with results of further study calculated to modify the picture of a rather primitive and poorish culture that Caldwell ascribed to the pre-Aryan Tamils. The advent of the Aryans therefore constitutes the turning point in the history of the Tamils as in that of the rest of the Indian people. Epic traditions of Agastya and Rāma are the only peeps we get into the process of Aryanization of the South, a continuing historical process for which the name ‘Sanskritization’ has been suggested by some modern anthropologists. Obviously the epic legends are not history, and it seems to us that no useful purpose can be served by seeking to interpret them as such, though the descriptions of the āśramas, the forest dwellings of Aryan sages, do suggest that the incoming culture gained acceptance generally by a process of peaceful penetration and moral persuasion rather than by resort to
force. Most undoubtedly there was a large-scale mingling of peoples and the clearest evidence of it is afforded by the earliest strata of Tamil literature now accessible to us—the Sangam literature as it is generally known.

We find short Tamil inscriptions engraved in the southern Brāhmī script in several natural caverns slightly touched up to render them fit for human habitation; these caverns occur mainly in the southern Tamil districts and the script belongs to about the second century B.C. and later; the inscriptions show that Tamil had adapted the Brāhmī script to its own use and that the language was still in a formative stage, though it had already felt the impact of northern influences, which goes far to confirm the chronology of cultural growth suggested above.

\[\textit{Kingdoms}\]

From the dawn of history the Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya monarchies were the chief political powers in South India, and these are mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka as independent neighbours of the Mauryan empire, along with the Satiyaputas who have been identified recently with the Adigaimāṇs of ancient Tamil literature. Earlier still, the Pāṇḍya kingdom is mentioned by Megasthenes who recounts how the Indian Herakles established his daughter Pandaia as queen of the southern kingdom, particularly the land where pearls were obtained from the neighbouring sea. Megasthenes would identify the Indian Herakles with Krishṇa worshipped in Mathurā in the Śūrasena country, but the Pāṇḍyan capital was also a Mathurā (Madurai) of the south and Tamil sources contain legends which bring Megasthenes’s story into close relation with Śiva’s (Herakles) sports at Madurai. Tradition confers the name Chōla country on the area bounded on the north and south by two small streams of the same name Veḷḷār (white river), the northern Veḷḷār entering the sea near Porto Novo and the southern passing through the erstwhile Pudukkōṭṭai State (now part of the Tiruchchirāpālḷi District), to the
west it extended up to Kōṭṭaikkarai (the fortified bank), the traces of the strong embankment of which can still be seen in the Kulittalai Taluq of the Tiruchchirāppaḷḷī district. The territory to the south of Chōla kingdom up to Kanyakumāri (C. Comorin) was the Pāṇḍya country, while the areas to the west and north of Chōla-maṇḍalam (which gains the form Coromandel later) were known as Kongu and Toṇḍaināḍu respectively. On the west coast, Kollam (Quilon) and all land south of it formed part of the Pāṇḍya country, the original Chēra country comprising North Travancore, Cochin and South Malabar. Chēra rule was extended by early conquests into the interior up to the Kollimalai in Salem District on the traditional borders of the Chōla kingdom, so that a very large part of Kongu fell under its sway.

Uṟaiyūr, now a suburb of Tiruchchirāppaḷḷī town on the south bank of the Kāvēri was the Chōla capital, and Kāvēri-paṭṭaṇam (also called Puhār) at the mouth of that river its chief port. The tiger was the Chōla emblem, and the Ār, their garland. The Pāṇḍyas had their capital at Madurai on the Vaigai river, and their emblem was a double carp and their garland Margosa; Kosomalai and Śāliyūr were their chief ports on the east, while Nelcunda (Niraṇam) and Balita (Viliṇam) served them on the west. The site of Vaṇji, the Chēra capital, has been much debated by modern scholars, some locating it near Muśiri (Cranganore, the Muziris of the Greek sources) near the mouth of the Periyār, higher up the stream, while others identify it with the inland city Karūr on the Amarāvati river in the Tiruchchirāppaḷḷī district; the inland location gains support from Ptolemy and an early Brāhmī inscription of the third century A.D. mentioning Karu-ūr, and a much later Tamil inscription which speaks of Karuvūr alias Vaṇji-mānagaram. The Chēras had the ankuśa (elephant-goad) and bow and arrow for their emblem and palm-leaves for their garland. Muśiri was their chief port, but there were many others like Toṇḍi (Kadalundi), Marandai (unidentified), Naravu
(Naura and Ntrias of the Greek-writers) farther north, and Porkad (Bakara) in the south. It is doubtful if the Pallavas who ruled from Kāñchī from about the fourth century A.D. or a little earlier were the descendants of the Toṇḍaimāns who were ruling from the same capital earlier as contemporaries of the Chōlas, Karikāla for instance. Toṇḍai is the name of a creeper, and Pallava means ‘sprout’, and there are legends of different dates and provenance accounting for the names Toṇḍaimān and Pallava. The earliest seaports of Toṇḍai-mañjalam we hear of are Śopaṭṭiṇam (Sopatma of the Greeks, identified with Maṟkāṇam) and Poduke (Greek for Puducceri, Pondicherry).

Śangam Age

The first tangible account of these kingdoms, their rulers, polity and culture, and their trade is found in the earliest stratum of Tamil literature accessible to us, the Śangam literature as it is called, and in the writings of European writers of the first and second centuries of the Christian era, particularly Pliny the Elder, the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythraean sea, both of the late first century A.D. and Ptolemy, the second century Geographer of Alexandria. An academy (Śangam) of scholars and poets said to have been maintained at Madurai by the Pāndya kings standardized literary usage, and for this reason the Tamil literature of this epoch has been designated Śangam literature. All that has survived of this literature comprises about 30,000 lines of poetry included in eight schematic anthologies (Eṭṭuttogai, eight collections) and another called ‘Ten Idylls’ (Pattuppāṭu). The twin epics, Śilappadikāram and Maṉimekālaḻai used to be included among Śangam works; but now they are seen to differ very much from Śangam literature in vocabulary, structure and the society they reflect, and therefore to belong to a much later age. On the other hand the Tolkāppiyam, the earliest and most comprehensive Tamil grammar accessible to us, is much nearer the Śangam period.
Legend, first recorded about the ninth century A.D. in the commentary to the Ḡraṭyanār Ḡhapporul, a short grammatical treatise ascribed (by its very name) to the authorship of god Śiva, mentions three Tamil Śangams which lasted, at long intervals, all together for nearly ten thousand years and counted among their members 8,598 poets including some divinities, monarchs and sages; some modern writers accept this legend wholesale and allow patriotism to cloud criticism. We may accept the reality of one Śangam, the so-called third Śangam of the legend, for its existence is attested by epigraphy (Śinna-mannūr plates of the tenth century A.D.) and the existence of a body of literature bearing clear traces of its early origin. A Drāvidīa Śangam of the Jains is known to have been founded at Madurai by Vaijanāndi about 470 A.D. but we do not know if the Jains furnished a model to the Tamil poets or imitated their example.

To determine the duration of the period of this Śangam, we must study the synchronisms traceable in the poems. They mention a number of kings and chieftains, and in most cases the poems carry colophons giving the names of the poets who composed them and the occasions when they were composed. These colophons must have been added by the editors of the schematic anthologies in which we find them grouped, and may be taken to embody on the whole a correct and authentic tradition. A careful study of these data suggests something like five or six continuous generations, say a period of a century and a half or two at the most. We have genealogies only for the Chēras; in other instances we have only unrelated names, and this renders a regular political history of the period impossible. There were besides the three ‘crowned kings’ seven liberal patrons of the poets Vaiṭal-s called Pāri, Āy, Elini, Nalji, Malaiyan, Pēhan and Ōri.

The Śilappadikāram bases its story on a synchronism between the reigns of the Chēra king Śenguṭtuvan and Gajabāhu I of Ceylon, latter half of the second century A.D.; though the
epic is obviously a much later work, there seems to be no reason to doubt the correctness of the synchronism suggested by it. At any rate, it fits in with the striking coincidence between the data on maritime trade gathered from the Šangam poems and the numerous finds of Roman coins in gold and silver of the early Roman empire in different sites in South India. There is also the discovery in recent years of a Roman 'factory' at Arikamēḍu near Pondicherry; the date of the 'factory' is precisely determined by Roman pottery from a well known manufacturer of the first century A.D. It may be noted in passing that the name Arikamēḍu is a corruption of Aruhanmēḍu, the mound of the Arhat (Jina) as may be seen from a large image of Mahāvīra enshrined there.

The monarchs of the three kingdoms were believed, at least in later ages, to be of immemorial antiquity, and the Šangam poems bear clear witness of the eagerness with which all of them sought to connect themselves with the occurrences in the Great War (Mahābhārata) between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. The first Chēra monarch we hear of, Udiyaṉjēral, is said to have fed sumptuously both the armies at Kurukshetra; this means perhaps that an ancestor of his did so rather than that he was a contemporary of the Great War—a common poetic convention sanctions the practice of attributing to any king all the achievements of his ancestors. Udiyaṉjēral’s real date seems to have been in the early second century A.D. (c. 130). His son Neḍuṇjēral Ādan won a naval victory and took captive several Yavana (Greco-Roman) traders whom he released after collecting a heavy ransom. Generally the Yavana traders were welcomed on the coast, and the particular reasons for this conflict are not clear. Ādan won other victories and attained the rank of an adhirāja (super-king); he had also the title Imayavaramban, one who had the Himalaya for boundary, and was said to have carved his emblem of the bow on the brow of the snow-clad mountain, an obvious poetic exaggeration like some others in these poems. He had a last war with his
Chōla contemporary, in which both the monarchs perished and their queens performed *Sali*, burning themselves on the pyres of their husbands.

Ādān had two sons, both distinguished soldiers. The more celebrated of the two was Šenguṭtuvaṇ, the righteous Kuṭṭuva, celebrated by Paraṇar, one of the most famous and longest lived poets of the Šangam period. Paraṇar mentions only a victorious campaign against the chieftain of Mohur besides some naval victory which perhaps earned him the title kaḍalpiṅkkōṭṭīya, who drove back the sea. But the epilogue to Paraṇar’s decade in the *Ten Tens* ( *Paṭiṟṟupattu* on which see section on literature) gives other data, some of a semi-legendary nature; the king is said here to have intervened in a Chōla war of succession and secured the throne to one prince at the cost of the lives of nine others; he is also said to have led an expedition to North India and defeated its kings in battle in an attempt to obtain a stōne boulder suited to carve the image of *pattini* (Kaṇṇagi), the Divince chaste wife, who was enshrined subsequently, in the Chēra country. Whether this epilogue was elaborated in the epic *Silappadikāram* or condensed from it cannot be determined. Hints of the Kaṇṇagi-Kōvalan saga occur in some early poems and Šenguṭtuvaṇ may have taken the lead in organizing the Pattini cult, or at least was believed to have done so.

All together five monarchs of the Chēra line belonging to three generations are mentioned, besides a collateral line of three kings starting with Anduvan who ruled a part of the kingdom contemporaneously with the other branch. The Chēra kingdom was perhaps looked upon as a family estate, the Kula-sangha of Kauṭilya who considered it an efficient form of state-organization. A similar clan rule may have prevailed among the contemporary Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas as well. Best known among the kings of the collateral line was Peruṅjēral Irumpōrai (c. 190 A.D.) whose victory over the Adigaimān of Tāgaḏūr, generally identified with modern
Dharmapuri in Salem district, formed the subject of a later war poem Tagadür Tāttirai, which has survived only in citations in other works. One of the latest Chēra princes of this age was ‘Śey of the Elephant eye’ (Yānaikkaṭcēy) (c. A.D. 210) who was taken prisoner in battle by his Pāṇḍya contemporary, a Neḍuṇjeḷiyan who was distinguished as the victor of Talaiyā-langānam (battle), but Śey regained his freedom in time to forestal his deposition at home by his enemies.

Among the Chōlas Karikāla (c. 200 A.D.) stands out pre-eminent. His father was Iļaṅjēt-cenni ‘of many beautiful chariots’ (of war), a brave king and hard fighter. Karikāla means ‘the man with the charred leg’, a reference to a fire accident which befell the prince early in life. In later times the name was taken to be a Sanskrit expression meaning ‘death to Kali’ or ‘death to (enemy) elephants’. As a boy Karikāla was deposed and imprisoned by his enemies, and his plucky escape and recapture of the throne are vividly described by the contemporary author of Paṭṭinappālai, a long poem on the Chōla emporium Kāvēripaṭṭinam in the Pattuppāṭṭu (Ten Idyls) One of Karikāla’s early achievements was the victory in a great battle at Veṇṇi, modern Koil Veṇṇi—15 miles to the east of Taṅjāvūr. In this battle eleven rulers, Veṭir and kings, lost their war drums in the field; the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra lost their glory, and the latter sustained the last disgrace that could befall a warrior—a wound on his back—and from a consequent sense of shame sat facing north, sword in hand and starved himself to death. Veṇṇi was thus a turning point in Karikāla’s career and gained him the hegemony of the Tamil land. In another victory at Vāhaippaṟandalai, ‘the field of Vahai trees’, Karikāla deprived nine enemy chieftains of their state umbrellas. He is said to have stopped the migration of people from his country by offering them inducements to stay, to have promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land and to have improved agriculture by multiplying irrigation tanks. The king was a follower of the vedic religion, performed
sacrifices, and lived well, enjoying life to the full. In later times many colourful legends gathered round him and he was claimed as the ancestor of many ruling families in the Telugu country. After Karikāla the Chōla kingdom fell into the hands of lesser princes and civil wars became more or less chronic and invited foreign interventions.

Among the Pāṇḍyās the most celebrated was Ne đuñjeliyan (c. 210 A.D.), the victor of Talaiyālangānam as already noted. Among his ancestors mentioned in the Maduraikkāṇji, a long poem by Mānuguṇḍi Marudam, two deserve notice here. One was Mudukuḍumi Peruvaludi also mentioned in the Vēḻvikuḍi copper-plate grant of the ninth century A.D.; a stern conqueror who treated conquered lands with much harshness, he performed many vedic sacrifices and became known as ‘palsālai’, of many sacrificial halls. The other was Ne đuñjeliyan, distinguished as victor against the Aryan forces (Āriyappaḍai-kaḍandha); the tragedy of Kovalan’s death at Madurai and king’s sudden death of a broken heart when his terrible error was brought home to him by Kaṇṇagi form the theme of the Silappadikāram. A short poem ascribed to this king puts learning above birth and caste.

Ne đuñjeliyan of Talaiyālangānam was a boy at his accession and proved himself more than equal to a hostile combination of his two neighbouring monarchs and five minor chieftains. There has come down to us a simple poem of great force and beauty in which the youthful monarch swears an oath of heroism and victory in the coming fight. His enemies hoped for easy victory against the tender youth and advanced to the heart of his kingdom in search of large booty; but the prince pursued the invaders across the frontier into the Chōla country and inflicted a crushing defeat on them at Talaiyālangānam, some eight miles north-east of Tiruvāḷūr in the Tanjavūr District, and as we have already seen took captive the Čhēra king Śey of the Elephant-eye. The poet Marudan of Mānuguṇḍi refers to the battle, and also calls his patron lord of Koṟkai and the
war lord of the Southern Paradavar, thereby hinting that the people of the pearl-fishery coast formed an important section of his army.

Famous among the vēḻir chieftains of the time were—Āy and Pāri, both celebrated by several poets in a number of poems. The Vēḻs claimed to have issued from the sacrificial fire-pit of a northern sage and cherished other legends of their connection with Vishṇu and Agastya. One of their ancestors is said to have shot down a tiger which was about to attack a sage in the midst of his penance—a legend also adopted by the Hoysalas of Mysore in later times. Āy’s country lay round about the Podiya hill, the southernmost section of the Western Ghats, and Ptolemy mentions him as ‘Aioi’, and includes mount Bettigo and Cape Comorin in the territory under his rule. Āy was a dynastic name borne by all the kings of the line as a prefix to their personal names. Āy Anḍiran—Andiran seems to be a Sanskrit word meaning hero—of whom we hear is said to have presented elephants to the poets he patronized and seems to have been a man of peace as the poems contain only one reference to his success in war when he pursued the Kongar to the western sea. Pāri, the life long friend of the Brahmin poet Kapilan, ruled the part of the Pāṇḍya country round the hillock called Koḻungunram or Pirānmalai which is said to have included three hundred villages round the fortified hill in the centre. Kapilan who has left many charming poems on the country and its ruler stood by him when he was besieged by the ‘three crowned kings’ banded together, and the poet’s advice enabled Pāri to offer prolonged resistance to his foes. And when the inevitable end came and Pāri was killed, apparently by a stratagem, Kapilan took charge of his two unmarried daughters and tried without success to get them suitably married. Tradition avers that Kapilan starved himself to death in the end, and a late inscription records that he married off Pāri’s daughter, only one not two, to the Malaiyāmān of Mullūr before he entered the fire to attain heaven. But the veracity of either
account may be doubted in view of the existence of a decade in the ‘Ten Tens’ from this poet in praise of the Chêra king Ąlakadungo Vâli Ādan, whose patronage Kapilan may have sought after Pâri’s. The Adigamân (dynastic name) known as Neđumân Aţiji was the chieftain of Tagadûr, the patron of the celebrated poetess Auvaïyâr, and the opponent of the Chêra Peruñjêral Irumpoaï as already noted. According to Auvaïyâr Adigamân was born of a family which honoured the gods by Puja and sacrifices, introduced the sweet sugar-cane from heaven into the world, and ruled with ability for a long time. Adigamân lost his fight against Chêra despite the aid he got from the Pândya and Chôla; he acknowledged Chêra suzerainty, and lost his life in war in a battle he fought for his suzerain. Auvaïyâr laments his death but does not mention the occasion for it, or the vassalage to the Chêra. She also bewails the days that remained to her after Adigamân had earned his title to a hero-stone i.e. died in battle.

Evidently more important than the vêjir chieftains was the line of the Tiraiyans, ‘the gift of the waves of the sea to the earth’, who claimed descent from Vishnu. They were also known as Toñdaiamâns and their country Toñdaimandalam, and legend mentions a liaison between a Chôla prince and a Nâga maiden leading to the birth of a boy who was floated on the waves of the sea with a toñdai twig tied to his neck as a mark of identity. Tiraiyar Toñdaimân seem to have ruled an extensive territory which included Vêngadâm (Tirupati hill) in the west and extended to the sea on the east. Toñdaimân Ilandiraiyan was a contemporary of Karikâla Chôla, both being celebrated by poet Ruttirangañnanâr (Rudrâksha) in poems included in the ‘Ten Idyls’. There is no hint anywhere of his being related to Karikâla or of his political subordination to the Chôla power. Ilandiraiyan was himself a poet and in one of his songs he stresses the importance of the personal character of the monarch in the promotion of good rule. How the Pallavas of later history were related to the Tiraiyar is a moot question.
A certain Nalliyakkōdan, a chieftain who ruled over territory including Giḍangil (near Tindivanam), Eyiṟpaṭṭinam (Markaṇḍam), and Amūr and Vēḻūr, seems to mark the close of the Śangam epoch about 300 A.D. or a little later, as in his day charity had dried up in the three Tamil capitals and all ancient patrons of learning and the arts were no more—obviously an exaggerated statement made by the poet Nattattanār in the poem on Nalliyakkōdan, bearing the name Śirupāṇāṟṟuppadai.

_Interlude after the Śangam_

After the close of the Śangam age there follows a blank in the political history of the Tamil kingdoms. Only the Pallavas are known, after the fall of the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan, to have built up a fairly extensive empire south of the Krishṇa and Tungabhadrā rivers extending from sea to sea with Kāṇchipuram as their capital. And we see clearly that the ‘Sanskritization’ of Tamil civilization has proceeded much farther than before. The earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas on stone and copper come from outside the Tamil country and are in the Prākrit language and belong to the late third and early fourth centuries A.D. Pallava is a Sanskrit word meaning ‘sprout’, and a new legend comes up that the founder of the line, the son of a Mahābhārata hero and a celestial nymph, was cradled at his birth in a litter of sprouts. The Pallavas had the bull for their crest.

In the middle of the fourth century Vishṇugopa of Kāṇchi met the Gupta emperor Samudragupta in battle, and was probably assisted by his feudatory Ugrasena of Palakka. After Samudragupta’s invasion the Pallavas lost their western territories to the Kadambas and the Gangas, whose history does not come within the scope of the present account. A number of Sanskrit copper-plates give the names and mutual relations of rulers who ruled the diminished kingdom for about two centuries after 350 A.D.; these charters, mostly votive in
character, show the monarchs to have been Hindu in their faith and give some details of their administrative system, but make no reference to any events of political history.

Further south in the Tamil country proper we have a historical night after the Šangam, the curtain rising again only towards the latter part of the sixth century A.D. Then we hear that a rather mysterious and ubiquitous enemy of civilization, the evil rulers called Kaḷabhras, had come and upset the established political order which was restored only by the more or less simultaneous emergence of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas of the Simhavishṇu line in the Tamil land, and of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi across the Tungabhadrā in western Deccan. Of the Kaḷabhras we have little definite knowledge. The Vēlvikuṇḍi grant of the Pāṇḍyas (ninth century) denounces them as evil kings, kali-arāśar, whose invincible arms uprooted many adhirājas and upset the social order confiscating all charitable devadānas and brahmadeyas, gifts to gods and brahmins. Buddhādatta, a Buddhist writer of this period in the Kāvēri region, states that he enjoyed the patronage of Accuta Vikkanta of the Kalabba kula; late literary tradition in Tamil states that this ruler kept in confinement the three ‘crowned kings’ of the Tamil country, and some songs about him which make him lord of the Nandi hills are quoted by Amitasāgara, a jain Tamil grammarian of the tenth century. Probably Accuta was himself a Buddhist ruling over an extensive kingdom, and the political revolution attributed to the Kaḷabhras was due to religious antagonisms. The Šaiva hagiologist of the late twelfth century, Šēkkilār, mentions Kūṟṟuvan, a Kaḷabhra ruler of Kaḷandai in Toṇḍaināḍ—one of the nāyanaṅs (Šaiva saints). There are also references to the Kaḷavar and their chief Pulli whose territory included the Tirupati hill. We may perhaps surmise the Kaḷavar-kaḷabhras were a widespread tribe whose large scale defection to the heretical faiths resulted in a political and social upset lasting over some generations. Whatever it was, the Chōlas disappear completely in this debacle and do not
make a significant reappearance till the ninth century; but a branch of them can be traced in the Telugu Chōlas of the Rāyalarśima, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century. The age ofŚengāṇān, famous in legend and counted among the mythical ancestors of the imperial Chōlas, is a moot question.

The dark period marked by the ascendancy of Buddhism, and perhaps also of Jainism, witnessed apparently much literary activity in Tamil. Most of the works grouped under the head ‘The eighteen minor works’ (padinev—kikkāṇakku) were written during this period if not also the Tolkāppiyam, and other works; the Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai may be later still and fall in the next period. Many of the authors were votaries of the heretical sects, quite a contrast to the precious little we hear of these sects in the Śangam literature. Such was the background to the Hindu religious revival of the succeeding epoch.

Pāṇḍya—Pallava period

The overthrow of Kaḷabhrā rule in the latter half of the sixth century was the first step in the revival of Pāṇḍya and Pallava power, and for the succeeding two centuries and a half these two dynasties divided the entire country between them and ruled from their respective capitals of Madurai and Kāṇchipuram. They engaged in more or less constant wars, and the boundary between their kingdoms shifted north and south of the Kāvēri according to the exigencies of war. The Pallavas had to fight on two fronts, for besides the Pāṇḍyas in the south, they had enemies on the other side of the Tungabhadra to contend with—at first the Chāḻukyas of Bādāmi (550—750) and later the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed). The enemies of the Pallavas were the natural allies of the Pāṇḍyas, while the rulers of Ceylon as the neighbours of the Pāṇḍyas were more inclined to be on the side of the Pallavas.

Of the first three kings of the Pāṇḍya revival we know little besides their names and titlesviz. Pāṇḍyādhirāja Kaḷungōn
(590—620), MāravaranaAvaniśūlāmaṇi (620-645), and Śeliyan Vānavan Śēndan or Jayanta Varman (645-670). The adhirāja title of the first king shows that some subordinate rulers acknowledged him as overlord, and Śēndan must have gained successes against the Chēras before he assumed their title Vānavan.

We are, however, better informed about the contemporary Pallava rulers. Simhavishṇu (560-580), the real founder of the line, ruled over the entire country between the Krishnā and the Kāvēri and assumed the title Avanisimha (lion of the earth). He was worshipper of Vīṣṇu. His son Mahendravarman I (580-630) was a versatile genius who must be counted among the most interesting figures of history. He was soldier, poet, musician, architect and religious reformer. He saved his capital from the invasion of the Chālukya Pulakesin II of Bādāmi by his victory at Pulḷalūr, though he could not recover the northern provinces, occupied by the invading enemy. He is believed to have been a Jaina at first who changed over to Śaivism under the influence of the Śaiva saint Appar alias Tirunāvukkarasu, himself a convert from Jainism, and a very persuasive propagandist of the new bhakti cult. Mahendravarman deprecated extreme and corrupt religious practices, and turned the laugh against the Kāpālikas and Buddhist bhikshus in his pleasant farce Mattavilāsa which is remarkably free from the intensity of sectarian feeling that was growing around him. He gloried in many curious titles Vichitra chitta and Guṇabhara being among them. His achievements in architecture and music will be mentioned elsewhere. In his time the Pallava country must have had close cultural and trade relations with the Hindu colonies in the East and the title Mahendravarman was assumed by the contemporary king of Kambuja, Chitrasena, who too installed a liṅga temple of Śiva on a mountain fort as the Pallava monarch did in Tiruchchirāpāḷi.

Under his son Narasiṃhavarman I Mahāmalla (A.D. 630-668) the Chālukya renewed his attack on the Pallavas and their capital was threatened a second time. In a series of hard fought
engagements including one at Maṇimangalam, 20 miles west of Kāñchī, Pulakesin's attempt was foiled, and Narasimhavarman invaded in turn the Chāḻukya country and occupied its capital Bāḍāmi after a siege of its strong fortress in the defence of which Pulakesin lost his life (A.D. 642). In this war Narasimhavarman was assisted by the refugee Sinhalese prince Māṇavarma on whose behalf he led two naval expeditions against Ceylon. Though Māṇavarma gained the throne of Ceylon on the second occasion, he was once more driven into exile and sought refuge in the Pallava court perhaps after the death of Narasimhavarman.

The Chinese Buddhist monk Hiuen Tsang travelled in South India in 641-2 and found Jainism still flourishing. Narasimhavarman developed the port called Māmallapuram (vulgo Mahābalipuram) after his title and embellished it with sculptures, monoliths, and scooped in temples. This great monarch was followed on the throne by his son Mahendravarman II who had a short reign of two years and was succeeded by his son Parameśvaravarman I (670-700). Meanwhile the Chāḻukyas recovered their unity and strength under Vikramāditya I the ablest of the sons of Pulakesin II, and renewed the Pallava war. They contracted an alliance with the Pāṇḍya ruler of the south, Arikesari Parāṅkuṣa Māṇavarman I (670-710), son and successor of Śēndan, and a great fighter who strove for the extension of the Pāṇḍya kingdom at the cost of the Pallava. The Gangas of Mysore were the subordinate allies of Vikramāditya I who inflicted defeat and death on Mahendravarman II and advanced against Kāñchī early in the reign of Parameśvaravarman. An attempt to stop the inroad failed, and in the battle of Viḷande, Bhūvikrama, the Ganga ally of Vikramāditya, took from the Pallava king a valued necklace containing the gem ugrodaya. At the same time the Pāṇḍya advanced from the south, and Parameśvara, who wanted to dispose of the Pāṇḍya first, met with defeat in the battles of Nelvēli and Sankaramangai in the southern marches of his kingdom. Vikramāditya pursued
him there and encamped on the banks of the Kāvēri at Uṟaiyūr. Undaunted by defeats, Parameśvara effected a diversion by sending an army into the heart of the Chāḷukya kingdom to threaten the safety of Bādāmi itself, and ended the war by gaining a resounding victory against Vikramāditya in the battle of Peruvǎḷaṇallūr in the Tiruchchirāpāḷḷi District.

Pāṇḍya Arikesari who won successes against the Paravas of the pearl fishery coast and the people of South Travancore, was most probably the Kūn (hump-back) Pāṇḍya of Śaiva tradition who was reclaimed for Śaivism from Jainism by saint TiruvṆānasambandar. Arikesari’s son was Kochchaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (c. 710-730) who justified his title (Heroic in war) by carrying his arms as far as Mangalore and extending the Pāṇḍya power into the Kongu country, besides subjugating the Āys of the Podiya hill nearer home. Raṇadhīra’s son Māravarmaṇ Rājasimha I (730-765) was a worthy successor of his father and continued his policy of expansion by wars in Kongu and against the Pallavas.

In the Pallava country Parameśvaravarman I was succeeded by his peaceful son Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha (700-728) and there was a comparative lull in the conflict with the Chāḷukyas. The reign was prosperous and as the king was an ardent Śaivite, he spent his energy and resources in the erection of many fine temples of which an account will be found in another chapter. Literature flourished and the poet Daṇḍin is said to have spent many years in Rājasimha’s court. Maritime trade grew and embassies were sent to China. Rājasimha was followed by his surviving son Parameśvaravarman II (728-731), the other son Mahendravarman III having predeceased him. After Parameśvaravarman II there was no one in the direct line to succeed him, and there were apparently disputes among rivals. The officials of the capital acting along with the ghaṭikā (college) of learned Brahmins and the people chose as king a prince from a collateral line, another Parameśvaravarman better known as Nandi Varman Pallavamalla, who apparently had to fight his way
into the capital. There was also another pretender to the throne Chitramāya who had the support of a party in the city and also of the Pāṇḍyan king. In the war that ensued Nandivarman suffered several defeats from Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha and shut himself up in the fortress of Nandipura, near Kumbakonam. The able Pallava general Udayachandra raised the siege of Nandipura after inflicting defeats on the enemy and putting Chitramāya to the sword. He also punished the Nishāda chief Prithivīvyāghra who ventured to capture the horse let loose by Nandivarman for his aśvamedha (horse-sacrifice) and suffered for it by losing the territory he held of the Eastern Chāḷukya ruler Vishṇuvardhana III.

About 740 the Chāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya II renewed the war against the Pallava with aid from his Ganga feudatory Śrīpurusha. Nandivarman was defeated and his capital occupied by the Chāḷukya ruler who, however, conducted himself with great restraint, his sole aim being to wipe out the disgrace that had fallen on his family by the occupation of Bādāmi by Nārasimhavarman I. Like him Vikramāditya had an inscription attesting his occupation of the enemy capital engraved on a pillar in the Kailāsanātha temple and then withdrew into his own country. Some time later there was another raid, on Pallava territory by Kīrtivarman II, son of Vikramāditya II, and the Chāḷukya prince gained much booty in elephants, gold and jewellery.

The Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha I extended his power into the Kongu country across the Kāvēri; this brought him into conflict with Śrīpurusha and Kīrtivarman II; both together sustained a defeat in the battle of Veṇbai and made peace with the Pāṇḍya, offering the hand of a Ganga princess to the son of Rājasiṁha.

The weak Chāḷukya ruler had a mighty vassal in the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa Dantidurga who as a part of his preparation for a final stroke against his suzerain, invaded the Pallava territory and after a demonstration of force in front of Kāṅchī, made an alliance with Nandivarman II giving him his daughter Revā in marriage (c.750).
Some years later (c. 770) Nandivarman defeated Śrīpurusha in a second battle at Vilande and recovered the royal necklace of the Pallavas containing the gem Ugrodaya, besides taking away some of the Ganga territory and handing it over to the Bāna feudatory of the Pallavas. There was conflict also between Nandivarman II and Jaṭila Parāntaka alias Varaguṇa I (765-815), son and successor of Pāṇḍya Rajasimha I. Varaguṇa was a great soldier and got the best of the war against the Pallava and his allies from Kongu, Kerala and Tagaḍur. He also stormed the fortified post of Viliñan (10 miles south of Trivandram) and subjugated south Travancore and Āy’s mountain country. The Pāṇḍyan expansion continued under Varaguṇa’s son and successor Śrī Māra Śrivallabha (815-862) who invaded Ceylon in the reign of Sena I (831-851) and sacked his capital after ravaging the northern part of the island.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla continued to rule till about 795. He had a notable contemporary in the Vaishnava saint Tiruman-gai Ālvār, and being himself a staunch Vaishnava, he erected the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple which carries sculptured scenes of Pallava history from its legendary beginnings to the reign of Nandivarman himself; several panels bear inscriptions explaining the story. Nandi was succeeded by his son Dantivarman (795-846). Pāṇḍya aggression under the intrepid Varaguṇa I and his son deprived the Pallavas of much territory in Tanjāvūr and Tiruchchirāpāḷḷi Districts in the south, and their dynastic connection with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas did not mitigate political hostility, and Dantivarman had to submit to Govinda III in Kāṇchī itself. Dantivarman had great contemporaries in Sundaramūrtti, Cheramān Perumāḷ and Šankara Āchārya. He was succeeded by his abler son Nandivarman III (846-869). He formed alliances with Gangas, Chōlas, and even the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Sinhalese and created a confederacy to curtail the overgrown Pāṇḍya power; early in his reign he defeated Śrī Māra Śrivallabha in the decisive battle of Teḷḷāru in Wandiwash taluq of the North Arcot District. The scene of the battle shows the
extent of the Pāṇḍya expansion and explains the success of Nandi III in securing allies in his task. He followed up the victory at Tețlāru by rolling back the Pāṇḍya forces and himself invading the Pāṇḍya country up to the Vaigai river. But Śrī Māra recovered his position sufficiently to defeat Nandivarman III near Kumbakonam about 859. Nevertheless Nandi was an able ruler and a liberal patron of art and literature. He maintained a fleet and an inscription of his at Takua-pa on the west coast of the Malay peninsula attests his rule over some territory there. His son by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Śankhā, Nripatunga by name (859-899), avenged the last defeat of his father on the banks of the Arisil river (a branch of the Kāvēri), in which Śrī Māra was defeated. About the same time Sena II (851-885) of Ceylon, the nephew and successor of Sena I, led an expedition against the Pāṇḍya ruler ostensibly in support of the claims of a Pāṇḍya prince to the throne. Madura was sacked and Śrī Māța died of the wounds he received in the fighting. His son Varaguṇavarman II, perhaps the same as the prince who invoked Sena’s aid, was enthroned by the Sinhalese commander in 862 with the approval of Nripatunga who thus became suzerain of the Pāṇḍyas for a time.

*Rise of Chōla power*

The Chōlas emerged from their long obscurity about this time. Vijayālaya (abode of victory) acting as a Pallava feudatory took the city of Taṇjavūr from the Muttaraya chiefs, allies of the Pāṇḍya, and made it his headquarters in the middle of the ninth century. In turn Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II marched north to curb the Pallava power, but was met by a formidable opposition led by Nripatunga’s son, the Yuvarāja Aparājīta, who had for support the Chōla Āditya I, the son and successor Vijayālaya, and the Ganga Prithivīpati I. The decisive battle was fought at Śrī Puṟūmabian near Kumbakonam (885 A.D.). The invader suffered a crushing defeat though Prithivīpati lost his
life. The grateful Pallava added some new territory to Āditya’s heritage. Āditya, however, was no longer content to be subordinate and realized the weakness of his overlord; he invaded Toṇḍaimāṇḍalam and annexed the entire Pallava country after killing Aparājita in battle (901). The Chōla territory thenceforth bordered on that of the Rāṣṭraṇātha. Āditya then took the Kongu country from the Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Vīranāraṇya (880-900) the younger brother and successor of Varaguṇa II, and extended his suzerainty over Ganga country now ruled by Prithivīpati II, the grandson of Prithivīpati I. One of Āditya’s queens was a Rāṣṭrakūta princess and his son Parāntaka married the daughter of the Kerala ruler. He is credited with constructing Śiva temples all along the Kāvēri. He died at Toṇḍaimāṇḍ near Kālahasti and a temple was erected there over his remains by his son Parāntaka who succeeded him in 907.

The reign of Parāntaka I (907-55) was marked by success and prosperity for the best part of it, but ended in disaster which led to confusion for the following thirty years till the accession of Rājarāja I, the real founder of the Chōla empire. Early in his reign Parāntaka invaded the Pāṇḍya country; its king Rājarāja II (A.D. 900-920) was aided by Kassapa V of Ceylon, but the combined forces were defeated at Veḷḷūr, and Rājarāja fled to Ceylon, and thence to Kerala. Soon after Parāntaka had to face a Rāṣṭrakūta invasion led by Krishṇa II who espoused the cause of Kannara-deva (a son of Āditya by the Rāṣṭrakūta princess) who had been excluded from the throne by Parāntaka’s accession; the invader was aided by the Bāṇas and Vaidumbas, but the loyal Ganga Prithivīpati II stood by Parāntaka and enabled him to gain a decisive victory against the invaders at Vallāla. There followed over twenty-five years of peaceful development during which rural autonomy developed and literature was patronized; Venkaṭa Mādhava wrote his commentary on the Rigveda on the banks of the Kāvēri. Trouble arose again in the northwest frontier after the death of Prithivīpati II some time about 940; the Bāṇa and Vaidumba refugees at his
court induced Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III and his brother-in-law (sister's husband) the Ganga Būtuga II to invade the Chōla country; Parāntaka sustained a crushing defeat at Takkolam near Arkanam in 949 and his eldest son Rājaditya was killed in battle by a well-aimed arrow from Būtuga. Krishṇa III occupied a good part of the Chōla kingdom for some years and styled himself captor of Kachchi and Taṅjai; the Pāṇḍyas revolted.

Effective recovery from the disaster began under Rājarāja I (985-1014) the great-grandson of Parāntaka. Rājarāja was the real founder of the Chōla empire, a great soldier and statesman who welded the entire Tamil country into a single lasting political unit and organized an efficient bureaucratic administrative system. He revived the naval tradition of the Pallava Nandivarman III and conquered the northern part of Ceylon and the Maldives after destroying the Chēra navy and making himself master of Viliṇam on the west coast. He established his sway over the bulk of the modern Mysore country and made the Chōla empire the neighbour and rival of the newly established power of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi under Taila II, (973-997). Taila's son and successor Śatyaśrava became Rājarāja's chief enemy especially after the latter had established his proteges, the brothers Śaktivarman and Vimaladitya, as rulers in succession of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Vengi in the eastern half of the Deccan (A.D. 1000). Śatyaśrava invaded Vengi and Rājarāja retaliated by sending his son Rājendra on a devastating raid into Chālukya country in the west and threw back the Chāluksya forces from Vengi also. Rājarāja gained vast booty from his wars which he used in building and endowing the celebrated temple Rājarājeśvara in his capital Taṅjavūr. Rājendra was installed as Yuvarāja in 1012, and friendly relations cultivated with the maritime empire of Śrī Vijaya whose Sailendra ruler was permitted to build at Negapatam, the first port of call on the mainland for ships from Śrī Vijaya, a Vihāra called Chūḍāmaṇīvihāra after the father of the Śrī Vijaya monarch.
Rājendra succeeded his father in 1014 and made his son Rājādhirāja I yuvarāja four years later. Rājendra completed the conquest of Ceylon begun by his father; but the Ceylonese never reconciled themselves to this foreign rule and Vikramabāhu I set up rule in South Ceylon from 1029. Pāṇḍya and Kerala, became a separate viceroyalty under a prince royal who bore the title Chōla-Pāṇḍya and had his headquarters at Madurai. There were succession disputes in Vengi after Vimalāditya (1018), and Rājendra had to intervene against the western Chāḷukyas and their partisans; he took advantage of the occasion to proclaim his power to the North by a successful raid up to the Ganges in north-eastern India, thus winning for himself the title Gangāikonḍa which he perpetuated by founding the new capital Gangāikonḍachōlapuram in the wild regions of the Tiruchchirapalli district adjoining South Arcot. Then followed a big naval war against Śrī Vijaya; the relations with that state were no longer friendly, possibly because the ambitious Rājendra pursued a too aggressive policy in the Bay of Bengal wanting to make it a Chōla lake, or because Śrī Vijaya sought to obstruct the free intercourse between the Chōla power and China. The Chōlas gained a resounding success and Śrī Vijaya which had to acknowledge Chōla suzerainty, never recovered from the blow (1025). Towards the end of Rājendra’s reign there was renewed war against the Chāḷukya on the Vengi front which continued even into the reign of Rājādirāja which began in 1044. The war was waged with ferocity on both sides, and Kalyāṇapura, the Chāḷukya capital, was sacked by Rājādhirāja who assumed the title Vijayarājendra during the Vīrabhisheka (anointment of heroes) he celebrated there. Undaunted by defeat, the Chāḷukya Someśvara I pursued the war through several campaigns until in the hot battle at Koppam (1053) in the Raichur doab Rājādirāja was mortally wounded; his brother Rājendra II took up the command at once and saved the day for the Chōlas. He set up a pillar of victory at Kollāpura (Kolhapur) before returning to his capital Gangāikonḍachōlapuram. But Someśvara
renewed the war in Vengi and Gangāvādi; and was again defeated at Kūḍal-sangaman (1062). Rājendra II died soon after (1063) and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Vīrarājendra. The Chāḷukya war continued with much fighting, all outside the Tamil country. Someśvara I contracted an incurable disease and died by ceremonially drowning himself in the Tungabhadra. The war still went on, but differences between the two son of Someśvara complicated its course. The end of strife came by the diplomacy of the younger Chāḷukya prince Vikramāditya; Vīrarājendra made peace with him and gave him one of his daughters in marriage and another to prince Rājarāja of Kalinga, a state which had fought on Vikramāditya’s side. In this settlement the Eastern Chāḷukya prince Rājendra, son of Rājarāja of Vengi and grandson of the Chōla Rājendra I, suffered as the kingdom of Vengi which was his by right was made over to Vijayāditya VII, a half-brother of his father. But Rājendra got his opportunity when Vīrarājendra died in 1070 and his young son Adhirājendra became Chōla king. The young king faced a popular revolt which cost him his life. Meanwhile Rājendra had seized Vengi from Vijayāditya and now came south to occupy the Chōla throne which had fallen vacant and crowned himself as Kulottunga I. His natural ally was Someśvara II, the elder brother of Vikramāditya. But in the war that followed, though Kulottunga won successes against Vikramāditya and drove him back from Kolār to beyond the Tungabhadra, Someśvara got the worst of it and was dethroned and imprisoned by Vikramāditya who became the Chāḷukya emperor in 1076.

Later Chōlas

Kulottunga I and Vikramāditya ruled as contemporaries for nearly half a century. They were both able statesmen who clearly recognized the limits of their power and avoided open war as far as possible. Ceylon declared its independence (1072)
under Vijayabāhu I and Kulottunga acquiesced, though he put down the revolts in Pāṇḍya and Kerala and tightened his control over them by establishing military colonies and making new roads. He sent a quasi-diplomatic mission to China in 1077, and received an embassy from Śrī Vijaya. Vengi was ruled by Kulottunga’s sons taking turn as Viceroy’s, and one of them Vikrama Chōla had to fight wars with the chieftains of Kolanu and Anantavarman Choḍa Ganga of Kalinga in 1097 and 1110. Chōla rule in Gangāvādi (Mysore) was terminated by the rising power of the Hoysalas under Vishnvardhana (1101-1142). When Vikramāditya re-established his power in Vengi after the departure of Vikrama Chōla from Vengi in 1118, the Chōla kingdom became virtually coterminous with the Tamil country, a more compact and closely knit kingdom than the sprawling empire of his predecessors. Kulottunga is often called śungāndavirtta in literary works; he must have effected some fiscal reform simplifying or abolishing tolls and transit duties of which details have not come down to us.

The death of Vikramāditya in 1127 and the accession of his weak son Someśvara III at Kalyāṇī gave Vikrama Chōla (1120-1133) the chance of restoring Chōla suzerainty in Vengi after a hard battle on the banks of the Godāvarī and recover parts of the Kolār area in Mysore. The reigns of the son and grandson of Vikrama Chōla—Kulottunga II (1133-1150) and Rājarāja II (1146-73), were marked by the growth of feudal conditions and the emergence of powerful vassals in different parts of the kingdom who often felt free to do much as they liked and disregard the weakening control of the central government. Rājarāja II chose Rājādhirāja II, perhaps a cousin of his, as yuwarāja in 1166. A succession dispute among the Pāṇḍyas who had been enjoying a quasi-independent status since the time of Kulottunga I led to the intercession of the Chōlas and the Sinhalese ruler Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) on opposite sides. We may pass over the tiresome details of warfare and intrigue (1169-1177); in the end Vīra Pāṇḍya was installed in Madurai with Chōla support,
and his rival Kulaśekhara was driven into exile. Rājādhirāja II was succeeded by Kulottunga III (1178-1216) whose exact relationship to his predecessor is not known. He found Vira Pāṇḍya turning disloyal and forming a hostile alliance with Parākramabāhu of Ceylon and the ruler of Vēṇād; Kulottunga invaded his country and after driving Vira Pāṇḍya into exile, installed in his place Vikrama Pāṇḍya, son of the exiled Kulaśekhara who had died meanwhile. In another campaign he fought the Chēras and Hoysala Ballāla II (1173-1220), recovered Kongu and Tagaḍūr and performed a Vijayābhisheka at Karuvūr in 1193. Peace was made with Ballāla who married a Chōla princess. A new Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara rebelled and was punished severely when Madurai was sacked and the coronation hall of the Pāṇḍyas was demolished (1205); though Kulaśekhara was allowed to retain the throne, the seed had been sown for a war of revenge.

Decline of the Chōlas

There is no evidence of the rule of Rājādhirāja in Nellore or the Northern Circars, though somewhat later the Telugu Chōlas of Nellore fitfully acknowledged the suzerainty of Kulottunga III who seems to have come into conflict also with the Kākatiya Gaṇapati further north. At the end of his reign Kulottunga had to face the full fury of the Pāṇḍyan war of revenge started by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. A.D. 1216). The Pāṇḍya drove Kulottunga and his son into exile, sacked Uṟaiyūr and Tanjāvūr, and performed a Virābhisheka in the Chōla coronation hall at Āyirattaḷi near Kumbakonam. He worshipped Naṭarāja at Chidambaram, and on his return he fixed his camp at Ponnamarāvati (in Pudukkoṭṭai region) and sent for Kulottunga and his son who had appealed to Ballāla II for aid: Kulottunga and his son made their formal submission to Sundara and got back the Chōla kingdom from him as his vassals. Sundara assumed the title sōṇāḍuvalangiyarūliya i.e.
who was pleased to give away the Chōla country. Kulottunga died in 1218, and his reckless son Rājarāja III (1216-1256) provoked Sundara Pāṇḍya by withholding tribute. Another Pāṇḍya invasion and vijayābhisyeka at Āyirattalī followed. Rājarāja’s attempt to join his Hoysala allies under Narasimha II (1220-1235) in the Kāṅchī region was frustrated by the Pallava chieftain Kopperunjinga, an ally of the Pāṇḍya, who defeated Rājarāja in battle at Teḷḷāru and confined him in Śëndamangalam, the fortified capital of Kopperunjinga. The Hoysala again came to the rescue and his generals secured the release of Rājarāja after a well planned campaign, and in 1231 dynastic alliances sealed the peace among the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Hoysala monarchs.

Rājarāja’s nominal rule of the Chōla kingdom continued and even Kopperunjinga acknowledged his suzerainty till 1243. The installation of Rājendra III as yuvārāja in 1246 brought about a change. He won successes against two Pāṇḍya kings, but his further progress was barred by the Hoysala Someśvara (1235-1262) taking the Pāṇḍyan side to prevent the Chōla becoming too powerful. But very soon when the powerful warrior Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya ascended the Pāṇḍyan throne in 1251, the Hoysala and Chōla were thrown together again.

Pāṇḍya ascendancy and later

Under Jaṭāvarman Sundara and his successor Māravarman Kulaśekhara (1268-1310), the Pāṇḍyas occupied for about a century the place of supremacy in the Tamil country vacated by the Chōlas, their sway extending as far as Nellore in the north where Sundara Pāṇḍya performed a Virābhisheka, and included Ceylon in the south, and the Hoysalas were once more confined to the plateau country. Kulaśekhara assumed the title ‘conqueror of all countries’. Towards the end of his reign Kulaśekhara’s partiality to Vīra Pāṇḍya, his son by a favourite mistress, led to a war of succession in which Sundara Pāṇḍya the legiti-
mate elder son got worsted and appealed for help to Malik Kafur, the Muslim invader from the North. Malik Kafur had no interest in the local quarrels but only in plundering all indiscriminately. All big cities were sacked and rifled, and the invader returned to Delhi with a vast booty which according to Barani consisted of over sixty hundred elephants, 96 mans of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and 20,000 horses.

There followed a period of strife and confusion and a more serious Muslim invasion under the Tughlaks, and for a time the bulk of the Madura kingdom (Ma’bar as the Persian historians called it) became a province of the Sultanate of Delhi. But the power of the Sultanate was not firmly established in these outlying parts and about 1329 the provincial governor Jalaluddin Ahasen Shah set up independent rule as the Sultan of Madura and issued coins of his own. The Sultans of Madura were a short-lived dynasty of rulers totally out of sympathy with their subjects and their rule was terminated about 1370 by Kumāra Kampana, a prince of the newly established Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Vijayanagar

The rise of Vijayanagar (1336) immediately to the north of the Tamil country was the result of the reaction, semi-political and semi-religious, caused in the Telugu and Kannada areas of the Deccan by the Muslim inroads into it. Immediately to the north of Vijayanagar there came up also the Bahmani kingdom (1347), an outpost of Muslim rule. The wars between these kingdoms were severe and longdrawn and lasted well into the seventeenth century, but are of no concern to us here.

Under the benign suzerainty of Vijayanagar the Pāṇḍydas were restored to the rule of Madurai for a time. But the progressive decline of the line and the requirements of Vijayanagar policy tended to confine the Pāṇḍyas more and more to the south, particularly to the western parts of the Tirunelvēli District round
about Tenkāśi. At Tenkāśi the rulers of the dynasty even in its decline earned distinction in the realms of art and literature till well on in the first half of the seventeenth century. We must also note that even much earlier when Vijayanagar was still relatively strong, its authority was only fitfully asserted in the lands south of the Kāvēri; for instance after a raid into the empire (1463-4) by Kapileśvara Gajapati of Orissa, the southern country nearly threw off its allegiance, and it was only towards the end of the century that general Narasa Nāyaka marched south, controlled the tyranny of officials like Könetirāja, Governor of Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi and Taṅjāvūr, against whom the Vaishnavas of Śrīrangam had many complaints, and subjugated the whole land up to Cape Comorin, compelling the local Chōla and Chēra rulers and Mānabhūshaṇa of Madurai to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagar once more. Again in the reign of Achyuta (1529-42) there was a widespread rebellion in the south organized by Sāluva Vīra Narasiṃha in league with the chieftain of Ummattūr and the Tiruvaḍi king of South Travancore; Achyuta marched against the rebels and encamped at Śrīrangam; his army commanded by his brother-in-law Salakarāju Tirumala, had a victorious progress up to the banks of the Tāmbraparṇī where a pillar of victory was set up. The Pāṇḍya ruler who had suffered at the hands of the rebels was restored to his kingdom and his daughter accepted as the emperor’s bride.

During the reign of Achyutarāya and in the period that followed the Portuguese were busy occupying places on the coasts of S. India, building forts where their trade interests required them and waging minor wars with the feudatories of Vijayanagar empire. They acted as if they had ‘a divine right to the pillage, robbery and massacre of the natives of India’ and delighted particularly in plundering rich temples within their reach, even inland Tirupati not escaping their predatory attentions (1545). The Roman Catholic missionaries headed by St. Francis Xavier converted to their faith large numbers of the pearl-fishery
coast of the Gulf of Manar, and induced the fishermen to transfer their allegiance to the King of Portugal and thus escape the rapacity of the Muslim traders and the oppression of Hindu governors from which they had been suffering for some time. The Franciscan friars and Jesuits were busy demolishing temples and building churches in the coastal cities and Goa was reported to be organizing a plundering raid against the temples of Kāñchipuram. Several local chieftains also revolted and caused confusion by their mutual jealousies and intrigues with the Portuguese. So Rāma Rāja, the virtual ruler of Vijayanagar (Sadāśiva 1542-76 being the de jure emperor) ordered his cousin Chinna Tirumala to lead an army to south and evolve order out of this chaos. Chandragiri was first taken from the rebels; then the Chōla country was entered and the fort of Bhuvnagiri stormed. Marching thence along the coast and crossing the Kāvēri the expedition reached the port of Nagore where a temple of Ranganātha ruined by the Catholics was restored; the local chiefs of Taṅḍjavūr and the Pudukkoṭṭai territory were subjugated and arrears of tribute collected from them. Still farther south, the displaced Pāṇḍya was restored, and the pride of Bettumperumāl, the chief of Kayattār and Tuticorin, crushed. In a further campaign Travancore was subdued and a pillar of victory set up at Kanyākumāri. Before returning to the capital, Chinna Timma left his brother Viṭṭhala who had helped him greatly throughout the campaign in-chARGE of the conquered territory.

After Vijayanagar suffered disaster at Talikota (Rakṣhasi-Tangaḍi) battle in 1565, when Rāma Rāja was dead and his brother Tirumala was struggling to maintain himself and what was left of the empire, the governors of Jinji, Taṅḍjavūr and Madurai virtually declared their independence as separate Nāyakships, though the Nāyaks of Vellore and Ikkeri and Wodeyar of Mysore still owned allegiance to their suzerain; Tirumala made the best of a bad job and tacitly approved the new status of the Nāyaks of the south and made them his friends. Under Venkāṭa (1586-1614) the three Nāyaks of the south joined Lingma
Nāyaka of Vellore and staged a serious rebellion; there was siege and a pitched battle at Uttiramērūr, but with the aid of the loyal Velugōṭi Yāchama Nāyuḍu, the amaranāyaka of Perumbēḍu (Chingleput and Madhurantakam taluq), the emperor was able to suppress the revolt, capture Vellore after a long siege and to make it the seat of the empire instead of Penugōṇḍa.

During Venkaṭa’s reign the Dutch and the English established themselves on the east coast. The Dutch began in 1605 with two places in the Golconda coast, and got Tegnapatam in Jinji territory in 1608, and Pulicat two years later with Venkaṭa’s permission. The English also began (1612) with the Golconda coast, but traded in Pulicat from 1621 with Dutch permission, soon they removed to Armagon a little to the north, and ultimately to Madras in 1640. The Danes settled at Tranquebar in 1620.

In the civil war that followed the death of Venkaṭa (1614), Madurai and Jinji supported one side, and Taṅjāvūr the other side; a decisive battle fought at Topūr (1616) near the Grand Anicut gave the victory to the Taṅjāvūr side, that of Prince Rāma whose authority, however, Madurai refused to recognize. Much local fighting went on till 1629, and Rāma died the next year after nominating as successor a cousin of his, Peda Venkaṭa. But a paternal uncle of Rāma disputed the nomination and there was another civil war till 1635 when the uncle was defeated and slain in battle by the Nāyak of Jinji. These dissensions furnished the opportunity to the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda to interfere in the affairs of the southern states and even princes of the imperial family besides the Nāyaks were not loath to indulge in selfish intrigues with them. Golconda invaded the eastern territory and Venkaṭa retired to the jungles of Nārāyaṇavanam in Chittoor District where he died (Oct. 1642). His nephew Śriranga III who became emperor found it difficult to undo the mischief he had started earlier as rebel against his uncle, though differences between Bijapur and Golconda gave him a brief respite. But the Muslim powers soon reached an
understanding, and Sriranga’s belated appeals to Hindu nationalism were futile as against the Deccan Muslim states whom the Mughal had authorized to conquer and partition the Karṇāṭaka empire between themselves. Defeated in battle by his own feudatories near Vellore and besieged there by Bijapur forces for a time (1646), Šriranga soon gave up the fight and found refuge first in Taňjāvūr and later in Mysore, where he kept his court with the aid of the Keladi chiefs, dreaming of the reconquest of Vellore, until death came to him as a relief about 1672. The Muslim conquest of the Carnatic was completed by 1652.

A few words may be said about the southern Nāyakshhips. Madurai was the first province of Vijayanagar to grow into an independent entity. The tradition that places this event towards the end of Krishṇadeva Rāya’s reign does not seem to be history. Early in Achyutarāya’s reign, there was a reorganization of the south after the revolt of Sāluva Vira Narasimha. Viśva-nātha Nāyaka then got charge of the country between Tiruchchirāpalli and Cape Comorin together with Salem and Coimbatore; and Taňjāvūr was placed under Śvappa Nāyaka who married a sister of the chief queen of Achyutarāya. Viśvanātha organized his territory into 72 Pālayams under hereditary military chieftains who paid an annual tribute besides maintaining order in their fiefs and joining the army of the Nāyak when necessary. Real independence came to Madurai soon after Talikota (1565) in the time of Viśvanātha’s son Krishṇappa I (1564-72), though a tenuous connection with the centre was always there. About 1605 the Marava country was organized under the Sētupatis. About the same time the Italian Jesuit Robert de Nobili settled in Madurai and lived in Indian style to be able to spread Christianity among the higher castes, but his success was very limited. Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-59) was certainly the greatest of the Madurai Nāyaks. He invaded Travancore twice, called the Sētupati to obedience, and adorned his capital Madurai with many fine buildings, the most important among them being the Palace and the temple of Mīnākshi-
Sundaresvara. But he also defied Vijayanagar, intrigued with Muslim powers, and fought against Mysore. His policy towards the Portuguese and the Dutch, as well as the missionaries, was neither strong nor clearly thought out. He patronized the renowned Sanskritist Nilakantha Dikshita. Under his son Chokkanatha I (1659-82) the country suffered much from Bijapur incursions and from famine. He shifted his capital to Tiruchchirapalli in 1665 to be able to deal with his enemies better. He conquered Tanjavur from Vijayaraghava who had joined the Muslims against him and appointed his half-brother Alagiri as governor (1673). Alagiri foolishly quarreled with Chokkanatha and was ousted from Tanjavur by Ekoji (1675) acting for Bijapur; but the Bijapur suzerainty soon came to an end during the Carnatic expedition of Sivaji (1676-7). Chokkanatha lost Salem and Coimbatore to Mysore, and internal revolts, and the hostility of Mysore and the Marathas made his last years miserable and he died of a broken heart (1682). After him the kingdom decayed, and the appearance of Mughal armies after Aurangzeb’s conquest of the Deccan added to the confusion. In 1693 Madurai and Tanjavur became tributaries of Aurangzeb; the Toṇḍaimāns of Pudukkoṭai set up their power from 1686. Rāṇi Mangammāḷ who was Regent of Madurai (1689-1706) is still remembered for her civil works of public utility—roads, temples, tanks and choultries. Another queen regent Mīnākshi (1732-36) was deceived and imprisoned by Chanda Saheb, (the son-in-law of Dast-Ali, the Nawab of Arcot) who seized her kingdom. Mīnākshi ended her life by poison.

Sevappa (1541-80) the first Nāyak of Tanjāvūr exchanged Tiruchchirāpalli for Vallam near Tanjāvūr with Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Madurai to their mutual advantage. Though nearly independent, the Tanjāvūr Nāyaks were steady in their loyalty to the central power and went to its aid on important occasions. Raghunātha (1600-34) was the ablest ruler of the dynasty; a writer in Sanskrit himself, he was the patron of several writers (see chapter on literature). His son Vijayarāghava (1633-73), a
weak and incompetent ruler unable to cope with the difficulties caused by other Nāyaks, the Muslims and the Europeans, was the last Nāyak of Taṇjāvūr. Taṇjāvūr passed for a time under the occupation of Bijapur (1659) and Vijayarāghava lost his life in the invasion of Taṇjāvūr (already mentioned) by the Madurai Nāyaka Chokkanātha (1673). The Nāyakship came to an end with the usurpation of Ekoji (or Venkoji) in 1676 after which his descendants held rule under many vicissitudes as dependents of the Nawab of the Carnatic and then of the East India Company; in 1799 under pressure from Wellesly Rājā Sarabhoji transferred to the British the administration of his kingdom in return for a pension. In 1855 the last Rājā died leaving only daughters and the Rājāship was terminated. The period of Marāṭhā rule in Taṇjāvūr was marked on the whole by much weakness, disputed successions, and depredation of the rich district by its suzerains and invaders from outside.

Jinji Nāyakship started in the reign of the great Krishṇadevarāya. Krishṇappa Nāyaka II came into conflict with his suzerain Venkaṭa II and was caught and imprisoned; but peace was made by the intervention of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Taṇjāvūr who later married the daughter of Krishṇappa. Lingama Nāyaka of Vellore and the tyrannical chieftain Solaga of Devikoṭṭa at the mouth of the Coleroon were his feudatories. The rule of Jinji Nāyaks was terminated by a Bijapur army in 1649. In 1674 the Bijapuri governor permitted the Frenchman Franscois Martin to make a settlement at Pondicherry. Within three years thereafter Śivaji’s Carnatic expedition came, and Jinji became the principal seat of his Carnatic government, but it passed to the Mughals in 1698 after a long seige by Zulfikar Khan, and direct Mughal rule was established in the Carnatic north of the Coleroon.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Mughal control in the south weakened. The Nizam established his rule (1724) with the Nawab of Arcot as his subordinate, an arrangement not much affected by the struggle for power between the Nizam and the
Marāṭhās. By that time the European Companies had become important powers, and the English and the French took opposite sides in the wars of succession that followed the death of Nizam-ul-mulk in 1748 and fought out their own rivalries in trade and politics; success crowned the English and their ally Muhammad Ali Walajah became Nawab of the Carnatic (1752). As in the rest of India the eighteenth century was in the Tamil country also a time of disorder and misrule bordering on anarchy. The Company's Madras government was feeble and quite unable to ensure peace between the Nizam and Muhammad Ali, or between the latter and the petty rulers of the south. It could not stop the injustices of the Nawab, as for instance against Taṇjāvūr, and felt compelled on occasion even to take a hand in them. Muhammad Ali's forts were under English occupation, and the English could take over the entire administration in times of war. But the Nawab never formally gave up the divāni and the nizāmat, and considered himself an independent ruler and suzerain of the Company. This plausible and pitiable but none the less tenacious Nawab was unable to collect his revenues from the Poligars of Madurai and Tirunelvēli and transferred the work to the Company who brought the Poligars to order after much fighting (1801). The Nawab borrowed so heavily from European creditors including the notorious Paul Benfield, that the Nawab of Arcot's debts became a headache to the Company and were much talked of in the British Parliament as well. He died in 1795, and when his son and successor died six years later, Wellesley discovered a little evidence that the Nawab had been in correspondence with Tipu and made it the pretext to assume charge of the government of the Carnatic, paying a fifth of the revenue to the new Nawab as pension. Earlier, at the end of the third war with Mysore (1792) Dindigul and the surrounding area together with Baramahal had been seized from Tipu. Coimbatore was annexed in 1799.

Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century the whole of the Tamil country had passed under the direct administra-
tion of the Company, and the hundred years that followed saw the generally peaceful evolution of a modern system of administration and a fairly successful mutual adjustment between the handful of foreign rulers and the children of the soil. The general feeling among the people was one of thankfulness for the benefits of peace and orderly administration and for the material improvements that followed in improved transport, communications, irrigation, education and so on. The personality of the good queen Victoria became the centre of the traditional devotion of the Indian peoples to royalty. There were occasions indeed when peace was broken by small scale riots due to social or religious or other tensions; but they were few and far between.

But the six decades that have elapsed of the present century provide a far different story. The results of peace, progress of the new education, growing knowledge of the outside world and of the past achievements of India that had long been forgotten and recently recovered by European scholarship, as also the declared policy of the British government that it sought to prepare the people of India for self-rule, all had their share in rousing the political consciousness of the country which gathered strength under eminent leaders and with each instalment of political reform; the movement was given a push by the march of world events, particularly the second world war, which spelt the end of colonialism, and India gained political independence with the good will of Britain. In fact in this period the history of the Tamil country merges with the general history of India, and the details which are noteworthy in the different spheres of national life in this period will be found set forth briefly in other chapters of the book. But one aspect of the political movement deserves some notice here. It is the attack by the so-called non-brahmin or Justice movement on the apparent poision of monopoly and privilege which the Brahmins seemed to have deliberately built up for themselves in the society and administration of the land. It started as a
fight for government jobs, but soon broadened into a plea for social democracy. Some mischief was done by a few civilian administrators who fanned the flame of discontent; some false theories were adumbrated; the differences between Dravidian, Tamil and South on the one side and Aryan, Sanskrit and the North on the other were underlined; and one section even now stands for the separation of the Dravidian country from the rest of India. While all this is not difficult to understand or explain, there is also every reason to hope that in the long run moderate counsels and a due sense of proportion will prevail, and that nothing will happen to hurt unduly any section of the population or the unity of the country.
II. GOVERNMENT

Monarchy was the prevalent form of government, and we get not even a passing hint of non-monarchical states (araṭṭa) familiar in the North. Hereditary succession was the rule, but wars of succession were not unknown. The king was not merely the head of the government and leader in war, but also held the first rank in society. The ideals held before the kings were high, though we have little means of checking how far they were realized in practice. The king is asked to look after his country like a nurse tending the child in her charge—an idea put to his officials by Aśoka. He should be impartial and ever ready to put down the wicked and raise up the good. He should hold daily darbars and do hard work in the promotion of the people’s well-being. The very lives of the people, one poet affirms, depend more on him than on rice and water. The king should maintain secrecy in counsel, devote the day to the execution of his plans, and the night to calm consideration of them. He should make gifts, entertain guests, and perform sacrifices. The polity was believed to be part of the cosmic order and good rule held to ensure timely rain and good crops. The ideal of Chakravartin, emperor of all India, was known, and the earth is said to lament her destiny of subjection to many masters like a harlot, and long for the day when she would be the sole queen of a matchless emperor. The canons of economy and convenience in tax collection are brought home to the king by a striking analogy; if an elephant is fed on grain reaped and carefully stored in advance, it will last for many days; if on the other hand he is turned loose on a ripe corn field, he will trample and destroy more corn than he manages to eat. The Brahmins aided the king in performing sacrifices and conducting state affairs, particularly in the administration of justice. The mark of a good king was to do
nothing that would scandalize the feelings of true Brahmins. The importance of irrigation works in an agrarian economy was fully realized, one poet affirming that a king who brought land and water together was indeed the creator of the lives and bodies of his subjects.

The Kural, of a somewhat later age than the Šangam, accepts the concept of the Rāyya as an organism with seven limbs from Sanskrit sources, but definitely subordinates the remaining six members to the king. Its geopolitics is much clearer than that of its sources, and it evinces a clear recognition of the moral basis of political independence in its declaration: 'Though blest in every other way, it avails nothing to a nādu if there be no peace between the people and the king.' The king's treasury, it says, is replenished from three sources—land-tax, customs and tolls, conquest. And in striking contrast to Kautilya's maxims on praṇaya (benevolences) is the sound rule of Tiruvalluvar: A sceptered king imploring a gift is like a robber with lance in hand crying 'give'. A strongly guarded treasury of the Chōlas at Kumbakonam finds mention in the Aham 400.

The king was in all essentials an autocrat, but he had wise counsellors and able ministers to consult if he liked, and the Kural contains clear warnings against the corrupting influence of unlimited power; but resistance to the king's will was not sanctioned under any conditions. Spies were employed to gather information for the government both on internal and external affairs.

Mention is made of several groups in the king's entourage such as aimperungulu (the five great groups), enpērāyam (eight large gatherings) and yet others—all included in the comprehensive padinēnsufram, 'the eighteen retinues'. The nature and duties of these groups are differently explained by different commentators, and there is little evidence to support the view sometimes put forward that they were more or less effective constitutional checks on the exercise of royal power. At best they only contributed to the 'pomp and dignity' of royalty.
The village was the unit of administration, but the references to *manram* (hall) and *podiyil* (common place) tell us precious little about the actual working of the village assembly. We have rather more details about the king’s *sabhā* (*avai*) in the capital city which played an important role in the administration of justice. We have an instance of death sentence passed on the sons of Kāri by the Sabhā of Uṟaiyūr being revoked on the intercession of the poet Kōvūr Kilār. Internal security was valued and Tondaimān Ilandirayan’s rule is praised because his country was free from robbers, though this seems to be an idealized account; for we have other accounts of the Maravar robbing and killing travellers on the roads of the Pāṇḍya country, and of the nocturnal activities of burglars in the city of Madurai; and the security arrangements to forestall them.

Merchandise passed by customs officials of the port of Kăvēri-paatṭinam for export was sealed with the Chōla emblem of the tiger.

Interstate relations formed the most unsatisfactory feature of ancient Indian politics. In one poem a Pāṇḍyan king is praised not only for keeping his country free from the foreign invader, but for waging war against his two neighbours in order to secure the means of rewarding the numerous poets who sought his patronage; this may be just conventional praise, but the line it takes must have had some relation to facts. The most frequent causes of war were cattle-lifting and, what may be more literary convention than actual fact, refusal to give princesses in marriage. Numerous hero stones with inscriptions of a later time record the death of village heroes in defence of cattle wealth and show that the traditional method of opening hostilities continued to relatively recent times. Sometimes a declaration of war was announced by a messenger, often a Brahmin.

The art of warfare was fairly developed; fortifications and sieges were known. The walls, ditch, and towered gates of Madurai, its mansions, and broad streets, are described fully
in the Maduraikkāṇji, one of the 'Ten Idylls'. The fortress of Kānappēr had an additional live fence of impenetrable forest. The traditional four-fold army is mentioned, and the importance of the horse and the elephant stressed. Chariots were drawn by oxen or horses, sword and shield were used in close combat, and the tōmaram, a missile to be thrown at the enemy from a distance, is mentioned. Body armour was made of tiger-skin, and a leather cover was used for the forearm of archers. The drum and the conch were sounded on the battlefield. Target practice in peace time was known. The summons to arms was usually by beat of drum. The van, rear and flanks of the army were distinguished. Soldiers in the field drank toddy, sometimes heated, and wore garlands of their respective flowers. The war-drum was worshipped as a deity. Steel instruments of war were put in covers of tiger-skin. On the anklets of soldiers were pictured their heroic deeds in war. Wounds were stitched on the battle-field, and death in battle was believed to ensure a place in heaven (vīrasvarga) and often commemorated by hero stones.

A military camp (kattūr, artificial town) often contained soldiers speaking a variety of tongues and was in any case an elaborate affair of tents laid out in streets as seen from the long description in the Mullaippāṭṭu (Ten Idylls). There was a separate section in the camp for the king, and it was guarded by armed women. The hours of day and night were announced by gongs struck by watchers of water-clocks; the gnomon was employed to indicate midday, and a drum beaten early every morning. Camp fires kept off the cold when necessary, sentries regularly watched the camp, and there were watch-towers at important points. Soldiers were rewarded by the grant of mārāya (military honour or fief) and ēnādi title for acts of heroism. Women prisoners became slaves employed in places of public worship. A righteous war spared women, cows, Brahmins and the sick. Cattle and gates of fortresses were carried off as trophies, the guardian trees cut down and
converted into war drums by the victor; other forms of humiliating the vanquished are mentioned. There are references to heroic mothers, proud of the warlike deeds of their sons and more elated on the day they fell in battle than on the day of their birth. Wounded soldiers had their wounds washed and stitched where necessary.

We lack the data for giving a clear picture of the polity in the period of transition from the quasi-tribal conditions of the Śangam age to the relatively more advanced state system of the Pāṇḍya-Pallava period; this obscure period may be taken to cover about two centuries or a little more, say from A.D. 350 to 550 or 600. We find more or less a new formation of state-life in the Pāṇḍya and Pallava kingdoms which share the Tamil country between them in the next period (A.D. 600-900). Some conventions have become well established, and the administrative system shows signs of thoughtful and systematic organization. The sphere of state action was recognized to be rather limited, and this became a permanent feature of South Indian, indeed of all ancient Indian polity. The ruler's duty was to uphold the existing social order and protect it from internal disturbances and foreign enemies. The social order itself had its roots elsewhere: in revelation (śrutī), tradition (smṛiti) and the practice of the élite (āchāra). The ruler had little control normally over the social, economic and religious concerns of the people; but when disputes arose and were referred to him or his courts, they had to enquire and dispense justice. The day-to-day management of all these affairs was looked after by numerous autonomous groups and associations bound by ties of locality, caste, occupation, religion and what not. Each group had its own unwritten constitution in its custom and ancient practice, though it was by no means unwilling to try new methods if occasion required it. There was usually a general assembly which met perhaps once a year on some definite festive or ceremonial occasion, and an executive body in charge of the daily routine. The executive was chosen
by lot from among persons with certain prescribed qualifications. Decision by majority votes was not unknown, but usually the aim was to secure unanimous and integrated decisions by reconciling the different interests and points of view. Normally all these groups and associations including the territorial assemblies of the village and higher divisions, functioned more or less independently of the government. Again, the duty of protecting society was cast on the ruling class of Kshatriyas, and this led by an easy transition to successful adventurers, who felt equal to the task, undertaking to rule specific areas under their control and claiming to be rulers and chieftains of sorts; they sought to gain respectability by maintaining a liberal court and patronizing learning and the arts, and the great kings of the larger kingdoms had often to come to terms with them; under such conditions the set-up of the polity became quasi-feudal in character. The general acceptance of the ideal of vijigishu (conquering king) led to a multiplicity of avoidable wars and disturbed the peace of the country too often. But, fortunately, as social life did not depend very much on the political set-up, war and the rise and fall of even large kingdoms did not have such profound effects on the structure of society and civilization as in other countries; but the establishment and continued prosperity of a large-sized state did mean an era of high endeavour and achievement in literature and the arts.

The autonomous self-sufficient village ensured continuity of life and tradition, held society together, and carried it safe through the turmoils of political revolution. It was the primary cell of the body politic and the vitality of its institutions is well attested by numerous inscriptions. Individual ownership in land was recognized and a careful record maintained of the boundaries of a village and of the individual estates in it; the unassigned land was the common property of the village. The villagers met periodically to consider matters of common concern and for the settlement of disputes and the administration of
justice. Everywhere rural administration grew from timid and tentative improvisations to the more elaborate and complicated machinery of committees and officials that we find described in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in this evolution the Tamil country appears to have been more progressive than the rest of South India. The village had a headman, kilān or grāmabhōjaka, its leader and mediator with the royal government. How he was appointed is not known. Besides the headman and the assembly, the village elders are mentioned in a separate category.

From the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. three types of village assemblies are traceable in the Tamil inscriptions, viz. the ār, the sabhā, and the nagaram. The ār was the more common type and included all landholders in the villages. The sabhā was an exclusively Brahmin assembly of villages where all the lands were given as gifts to Brahmins to enable them to devote themselves to learning and teaching. The nagaram was quite another type pertaining to localities where traders and merchants dominated. In many instances the different types existed side by side in the same locality—a witness to the growing complexity of the polity and the rise of townships of varying size as the result of changes in industry, occupations and trade. Whenever necessary there was, mutual consultation among these different assemblies and other local associations, and the general rule was to consult all the interests concerned in a matter before a decision was taken on it. The village assembly regulated irrigation rights, administered charitable endowments, maintained tanks, roads and schools, and managed the affairs of temples, besides being responsible to the king's government for the payment of the land tax due to him from the village. It did all this work either directly with the aid of a small executive committee or by employing officers and creating committees when the size of the township and the volume of business warranted it. It made rules for regulating its own constitution and procedure.
An inscription of about A.D. 800 from Mānūr near Tirunelveli deserves notice as an early instance of a sabhā (also called manṣu) regulating its own constitution and procedure. It lays down, among other things, that only persons who were of good conduct and proficient in the mantra-Brāhmaṇa and one Dharma (code of law) may serve on the assembly, that even they should in no case persistently oppose by saying 'nay, nay' to every proposal brought before the assembly, and that those who do this together with their supporters will pay a fine of five kāśu on each item in which they so behaved and shall continue to obey the rules of the assembly. At this stage there seems to have been no election, and the sabhā seems to have been a rather unwieldy body in which the transaction of business with reasonable despatch could only be secured by somewhat drastic rules against organized obstruction on the part of sections of the members. More elegant and refined procedures were evolved in course of time by the method of trial and error, and the detailed study of this evolution, yet to be made, holds promise of very great interest.

Unless specially exempted the villages, particularly in the Pallava kingdom, were liable to visits from royal officers for digging for salt, the manufacture of sugar and the arrest of culprits. They had also to supply draught bulls to help the progress of touring officers, besides other amenities such as accommodation, beds, boiled rice, milk, curds, grass, and green vegetables, and free labour (veṭṭi) on specified public works. In addition to the land tax and these casual demands from officials, the people were subjected to a variety of imposts, direct and indirect. Houses and professions were taxed, market dues and tolls on merchandise in transit were levied, besides judicial dues and fines. Arab writers who knew the west coast well thought that the people of India were heavily taxed, so that their monarchs may have their treasuries full. To complete the picture we must note that besides these compulsory levies, central and local, a number of voluntary imposts for specified purposes such as the maintenance of a tank, temple, feeding house, school
or hospital were undertaken by particular corporations generally of merchants.

Above the grāma was the administrative division called rāstra, nādu, kōṭtam or viśaya in different contexts. In the Tamil country a still larger division was recognized as vālanādu or manḍalam. The actual size of these units often depended on accidents of history or geography. In this division also there was an assembly of elders and a chief executive official known as nōṭṭukkōn, desabhojaka and so on.

Provincial offices were often held by princes of the royal family; this was an advantage when there was unity on the family, but became a source of disruption at other times. There were groups of officers who maintained law and order and went by different names in different regions. Local policing to some extent was the job of village officials. There were also bailiffs (śāsana saṅchārinś) who went about the country enforcing the execution of the orders of government and the decrees of law courts, and they were aided in the discharge of their duties by the constabulary (bhaṭas). We hear also of the superintendents of the treasury (kośādhyaṅkṣa) and officers for the survey and settlement of cultivated lands (nilakkajātār and adhikāris). There is evidence of the careful recording of land rights, village boundaries etc. Lastly, there were the vāyil kēḻpar, i.e. hearers of the oral orders of the king, also known as rahasyādhiṅkṛitas; they were the secretaries in attendance on the king, who noted his orders on each subject, and later wrote them out in proper form and communicated them for action to the officers concerned. Administration of justice was primarily in the hands of village assemblies and courts and caste and guild paṅchāyats who were guided by customary law and practice. Appeals from their findings lay in the law-courts of the king’s government called adhikarāṇas or dharmāsanas presided over by state officials assisted by juris-consults (Dharmāsanaḥbhāṭṭas). A scene from the farce Mattavīḷāsa by king Mahendra Varman suggests that the royal courts were not altogether free from corruption. Another recorded in the
Vėlvikuḍi grant (eighth century) attests the value of written documents as evidence; a donce who had got a gift of land was able to prove to the king’s satisfaction his claim to land given to his ancestors seven generations before and lost by his family during the confusion of the Kaḷabhra period, and most probably he did this by producing the original deed of gift recorded in a copperplate which he somehow regained after such a long interval. In the absence of other evidence ordeals (diyāya) were resorted to for proof.

The Pāṇḍyan charters of the period mention uttaramantrins (senior ministers) and mahāsāmanitas (great feudatories), but furnish no evidence of a regularly constituted council of ministers; but we hear of the mantrimanḍala (group of ministers) taking an active share in the events preceding the coronation of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla as king of the Pallava kingdom. Ministers must have been of different grades, mahāmātra, mātra and mantrin and amātya are distinguished in the records.

As for military organization, we hear of an officer in charge of elephants (mātangajādhyaksha) under the Pāṇḍyas, and elephants figure largely in the historical sculptures of the Vaikunṭhapērumāl temple at Kāṇchī. We get names like Tirumalai Virar, and Parāntaka Virar which may well be designations of particular regiments or groups of soldiers. Apparently there was no rigid distinction between the civil and military services, and there are many instances of officers who earned distinction in the fields of war and administration. The Pallavas, like the Sātavāhanas whose traditions they inherited, maintained a considerable navy and owned some territory overseas and maintained diplomatic relations with China and other eastern lands.

As in the Śangam age, the king was head of the state, the fountain of honour and leader of the armed forces. The early Pallava kings of the period called themselves dharma-mahā-rajādhirājas, in token of their active promotion of Vedic dharma as against Buddhism and Jainism which had gained ground in the preceding period. The kings specially favoured the parti-
cular religious creed they professed, but never sought to impose it on all their subjects; rather they patronized all the other creeds as a matter of policy. Sometimes after a political revolution, social and economic stability was ensured by an express proclamation that all pre-existing rights of property and charitable endowments would be respected by the new rulers. The Kāḷabhras who are said to have confiscated endowments were a notable exception to the rule.

Succession to the throne was usually hereditary in the eldest male line. Princes were educated according to the best standards of the time in literature, law, philosophy and the martial arts, and trained in administrative positions suited to their capacities and tastes. Wars of succession were not unknown, and princes of one kingdom at times sought the aid of neighbouring rulers to assert their rights in their own country. When succession in the direct male line failed in the Pallava kingdom, the ministers and other high officials and élite in Kāṭhikpuram took the initiative in choosing a suitable ruler from a collateral branch of the royal family, Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, who seems still to have experienced difficulty in affirming his rule over the kingdom.

Each royal family had its own banner (dhwaja) and seal (lāṁchhanna) mentioned prominently in its inscriptions, e.g. the double-fish of the Pāṇḍya, the bull and Khaṭvānga of the Pallava. The royal palace was maintained in great state, and horses and elephants captured in war were exhibited at the palace gate. Queens occupied a position of nearly equal importance with the king, and Rangapatākā, the queen of Pallava Rājasimha, for instance, interested herself in the construction of the Kailāsanātha temple.

Though the king was in theory an autocrat, there were several modifying factors in practice. All the members of the royal family shared in the administration and had opportunities of influencing the king’s thought and policy. There were also the high state officials, some of them hereditary and commanding the monarch’s respect by their descent, ability and character.
The presence of numerous feudatory monarchs and the domination of social life by numerous corporate organizations went far to mitigate the bad consequences of the rule of incapable or misguided sovereigns.

We have a somewhat better knowledge of conditions in the Tamil country under the rule of the Chōlas of the Vijayālaya line. The first century or a little more (850-985) was a period of alternating advances and set backs, though even then the main trend was one of material and social advancement. But Tamil civilization reached its peak during the two centuries and a half that followed the accession of Rājarāja I. The country was knit together as one state under a strong centralized administration as never before, though this central regulation always respected the autonomy of local institutions and cultures. In spite of much that strikes a modern critic as rather crude or primitive, much greater things were accomplished by corporate and voluntary effort, a greater sense of social harmony prevailed than ever, and a lively consciousness of active partnership in the affairs of state among the people.

Though monarchy was still the form of government, there was little in common between the rather primitive tribal chieftaincy of an earlier time; and the almost Byzantine royalty of Rājarāja and his successors with its numerous palaces, officials and ceremonial and its majestic display of the concentrated resources of an extensive empire. The king came to be described as the Lord of the three worlds (tribhuvana chakravarti) and the queen as possessing the whole world (ulagamulududaiyā). The kings assumed alternately the titles Parakeśari (lion to the enemy and Rājakeśari (lion among kings), just as the Pāṇḍyas alternated the titles Śādaiyan and Māran, later expanded into the Sanskritized forms Jaṭāvarman and Māravarman in the period of their second empire (thirteenth century). The magnificent Great Temple of Taṅjāvūr and the system of prefacing inscriptions with a set praśasti recording the king’s achievements in chronological order were other symbols of the new born sense
of power. Taṇjāvūr was eclipsed by the new capital Gangai-
koṇḍa-chōlapuram and its equally celebrated temple, both crea-
tions of Rājendra I, the worthy son of Rājarāja, and other large
cities served as subsidiary capitals like Kāṇchīpuram Chidamb-
baram, Madurai, Palaiyārai and so on.

The royal household as well as the civil and defence services
underwent great expansion to suit the new conditions. The
king was always surrounded by body guards, and the bathing
and kitchen establishments in the palace were more or less
exclusively composed of women, selected and trained for their
work. Apparently each important member of the royal family
had his or her own entourage of personal attendants constitu-
ting a separate group or vēlam. The king was the head of the
army and the navy, and though few details are forthcoming
about the navy, the inscriptions of the Taṇjāvūr temple make
it clear that the army was organized in separate regiments each
with a name, insignia, corporate life and traditions of its own,
and playing notable roles in civil life such as building and
endowing temples, when it was not actually engaged in field
service. Special mention must be made of the Vēlaikkārars
(men for the occasion), a body of picked soldiers wedded to
the defence of the king’s person with their lives; they were
similar to the Sahavāsis (those who lived together—with the
king) of the Kannada records, the ‘companions of Honour’ of
the Arab writer Abu Zayd and of Marco Polo, and the Tennavan
Āpattudavigal (helpers of the Pāṇḍya in times of trouble) of
the somewhat later Pāṇḍya records. The army was spread
over the country in cantonments (Kaṭagams, Skt. Kataka) so
as to be readily available for the maintenance of law and order
especially in the areas conquered and annexed to the Chōla
empire. Much booty was taken in the wars waged outside the
home country and shared between the king and the units of
the army, and contemporary inscriptions make no secret of
the benefactions of the monarchs being often only the bestowal
of plundered wealth on public institutions. The Chōla navy,
which continued the earlier naval tradition of the Sātavāhanas and the Pallavas, must have been powerful and efficient, and the maritime empire of Śrīvijaya under the Śailendra dynasty suffered badly from the invasion of Rājendra I (1025); but we have no good contemporary account of ship-building on the Coromandel coast under the Chōlas and no trace has survived of the specialized nautical literature of the Chōla mariners mentioned by Arab writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Administration came to be organized on definitely bureaucratic lines; many formalities attended the presentation of a subject to the king for his orders, which were given orally but reduced to writing then and there by attending secretaries tiruvōykkelvis and udankuttam, to be put into proper form later for communication to the parties and officials concerned. Written records began to play a larger part than ever. But still there is no definite evidence of the existence of a formal council of ministers or other officials at the centre. But it is clear that the government was carried on by an official hierarchy directly responsible to the king which was at once efficient in control and alive to the need for respecting the initiative and freedom of local authorities and associations. Society was a federation of autonomous groups, and the king’s government exercised a regulatory supervision over their functions, besides maintaining internal peace and guarding the state against external danger. Titles and distinctions marked off the higher official nobility from the rest of the people, and there were several grades among them including women who held titles in their own right. All these features recurred on a smaller scale in the important viceroylies of the Chōla kingdom such as that of the Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroys at Madurai, generally princes of blood. Little is known of the methods followed in the choice and promotion of officials, but considering that kings often chose the ablest among their children for the succession to the throne, we may assume that a similar stress on ability
marked the working of the official system also. The most common method of remunerating officials was that of assigning land of appropriate extent as jīvita (maintenance), which yielded income both in cash and kind to the particular official instead of to the government.

The old administrative divisions of nādu, kūram or kōṭam were continued, and cities of some size were made into separate divisions and known as taniyūr or tan-kūru, a number of these divisions made a vaḷanādu above which was the maṇḍalam. The names and boundaries of these subdivisions underwent frequent changes. The increasing complexity of administrative procedure and practice can be traced by a study of the records of successive reigns and sometimes we find transactions extending over long periods of time even up to a century recalled in chronological order; this shows the existence of a relatively efficient archival practice at the time. The duties of Revenue officials included, then as now, many other spheres besides that indicated by their designations, and so far as South India is concerned, the system of making the ‘collector’ (of revenue) the hub of district administration may be said to have begun with the Chōlas in the tenth century. The king kept himself in touch with events by periodical tours and local enquiries into outstanding questions of importance. He also attended the periodical festivals in the larger shrines like those of Kāṅchipuram, Chidambaraṃ, Tiruvārūr and so on.

Justice, like legislation, was largely a matter of local and group concern. The village assemblies exercised large powers in such matters and set up small committees of nyāyattār (justiciars) to deal with affairs that did not fall with the jurisdiction of the occupational or voluntary groups in the locality. Above these came the king’s courts dharmāsanas assisted by learned jurisconsults. The inscriptions throw little light on judicial administration, and the legendary court scene portrayed in the life of Sundaramūrti Nāyānār in the Periya Purāṇam is the nearest approach to tangible evidence on the subject; it again shows
the importance of written records as testimony in a law-suit. The distinction between civil and criminal offences was unknown, though in a few instances we can trace the conception of crime as a public wrong. Theft, adultery and forgery were serious offences as is clear from the list of persons declared unfit for service on the village committees of Uttaramērūr. The code was on the whole lenient, and most offences, including murder, were punished only by fines in one form or another, often involving the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in a temple. Offences against the person of the king or his close relations were dealt with by the king himself. Rājarāja I ordered the confiscation of the properties of those involved in the murder of his elder brother Āditya II. Instances of rājadroham increased towards the end of Chōla rule under Rājarāja III.

The main tasks of rural administration were carried on by the townships and villages all over the country, and the autonomy and efficiency of rural institutions developed greatly under the watchful leadership of the Chōla bureaucracy. Of such institutions the primary territorial assemblies, ūr, sabhā and nagaram, were the most important. In the larger townships these different types coexisted though little definite information is forthcoming on how their functioning in the same or adjacent areas was regulated. These assemblies, particularly the sabhās, exercised their constitutional freedom in full measure and changed details such as the number of executive committees and the distribution of functions among them as they found necessary in the light of experience. The classic instance is that of Uttaramērūr which made a constitution for itself in the twelfth year of Parāntaka I (A.D. 919) and then altered it in important respects two years later. There are several other examples. Property, learning and character were the chief titles to leadership in the assemblies and their adjuncts. In the later Chōla period we get some instances of the rise of factions resulting in violence and rendering the interference of the central govern-
ment necessary. Factiousness has been the bane of rural politics down to our day, but the evil seems to have been at its minimum in the Chōla period as a whole. The assemblies made a clear distinction between the revenue duties they performed for the king's government, and their own local concerns for which they raised taxes and dues from the people of the locality, but seem to have depended more often on voluntary gifts and endowments earmarked for specified purposes and entrusted either to them or to any of the many local functional groups all of which were subject to their general control and supervision. The assemblies had their own staff of paid servants, and their accounts were open to audit by the central government. It is difficult for us now to imagine the extent to which innumerable small group organisations formed for specific purposes such as the care of a cheri, a road, a tank, a temple or a shrine in it, and so on, dominated social life in those days, and afforded opportunities for individual self-expression. But while the existence of the groups and their self-regulating rights are recognized in our law-books, they adumbrate no theory of group-relations which seem to have been left to be regulated by the good will of the parties concerned. We have instances of groups ceasing to function and casting upon the local assembly the responsibility of carrying on their work—which shows the primary importance and over-all responsibility of the territorial assemblies and the relatively transient nature of the groups. Above the primary assemblies came the Nāḍu and other bigger assemblies where all the component townships in the area were represented in a pre-arranged manner and which looked after common concerns of their area. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a whole, we see that between an able bureaucracy and the active local assemblies there was attained a high standard of administrative efficiency and purity in the Tamil country, perhaps the highest ever attained by the Hindu state.

It is not easy to give a clear and concise account of the
tax-system and the public expenditure of the Chōla state. The land tax was the mainstay of the public revenue, and much attention was devoted to the correct surveying and maintenance of records of land rights. The system was complicated by remissions, exemptions and assignments which changed from time to time. And besides the Central government of the king, there were other authorities like village assemblies, merchant guilds and so on which also levied fees and cesses of various kinds. There were also commutations of taxes secured by payments of lump sums yielding interest equal to the periodical payments of the particular tax. The details are rather bewildering, and it is not easy to form a correct estimate of the incidence of the entire tax system, central and local, taken together. Besides land there were many other objects of taxation like merchandise in transit, houses, markets, professions and so on, not to speak of voluntary partial imposts made by particular groups on their members for specified purposes. The processes of tax collection were not always free of violent and oppressive methods. The general impression we get is that of a much taxed people, and this is not mitigated by the occasional instances we come across of people offering passive resistance to some imposts on the score that they were not customary, and even resorting to the extreme step of migrating to another region to escape a levy. Safety of property was generally ensured by the payment of a special fee called pāḍi-kāval-kūli to local watchmen who undertook in return to see that no theft of property occurred and to make good any loss of property that occurred. This right to pāḍi-kāval often changed hands, and in the days of the decline of the Chōlas gave rise to semi-feudal conditions in which powerful local chieftains made it the foundation of usurped control over considerable areas.

On the side of expenditure, the king’s palaces with their elaborate establishments and the allowances to princess and princesses must have cost a good deal; and then there was the civil service, army, navy, patronage of learning, education and the arts and
other kinds of social expenditure. Our sources do not furnish the data for even the roughest quantitative estimates for any of these items of revenue or expenditure.

Under the second empire of the Pāṇḍyaś which replaced the Chōla power in the thirteenth century over the whole Tamil country, the governmental set up and institutions of the Chōla empire continued more or less intact and large scale innovations were few. Semi-feudal conditions developed everywhere, particularly in the northern half of the Tamil country and chieftains like Šambuvarāyas and Kāḍavarāyas carved out principalities of their own which they ruled as they liked, acknowledging a vague allegiance when necessary to the suzerain Pāṇḍya ruler. Towards the end the Muslim invasions and the establishment of the Madurai sultanate came as a disturbance to the existing order and inscriptions record how the people and their religious and civil institutions suffered under the impact. But this was only for a short period of about half a century and the establishment of the rule of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century ushered in better times.

*     *     *

The empire of Vijayanagar was in theory a hereditary monarchy with succession in the male line; but the times were hard, and the hostility of the Muslim states of the Deccan on one side and the intransigence of feudatories on the other made it imperative that the king should be possessed of high attainments in diplomacy and war. No wonder that weak kings were either imprisoned or dethroned by able and ambitious ministers and army chieftains, and that there was a change of the ruling dynasty on three occasions as the result of usurpations in which the nobles of the court played their own parts and took sides with rival claimants. Krishṇadeva Rāya, who in the course of his Telugu literary work Āmuktamālyaḍa has
occasions to write a good deal on politics, stresses the pivotal position of the monarch in the state and insists that the first duty of the king is to see that his commands are carried out by the subordinates. The coronation was an impressive ceremony as many foreign travellers testify; it was attended by feudatories and the purohita and the ministers filled important roles on the occasion. It was usual to choose the crown prince (yuvarāja) in consultation with ministers and others and train him by education and administrative assignments for his future duties as king. The maintenance of Hindu social solidarity as against the inroads of Islam and Christianity was considered their prime duty by the rulers.

The king was advised by a council of ministers whom he often consulted; but he was not bound to accept their advice, and was free to follow his own bent or the counsel of individual ministers who enjoyed his confidence. Even the most powerful minister held his office at the pleasure of the king; and was liable to be degraded and summarily punished, as Sāluva Timma was punished by Krishṇadeva Rāya when he was suspected of having procured the murder of the heir-apparent. Still there seem to have been occasions when the ministers were too powerful for the king; for in the Rāyavācakamu the king once soliloquizes: 'I am sitting on the throne, but the world is ruled by ministers; none listens to my words?'.

There were many queens with innumerable maids of honour to wait on them and they enjoyed well appointed separate apartments. The maintenance of the harem was no small item in the expenditure of the palace.

The work of the Central government was apportioned among a number of departments, and there was a well organized secretariat with its office near the palace. There were two treasuries, a smaller one for current remittances and withdrawals, and a larger reserve to which every king made it a point to add something, and of which Paes says; 'it is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any
one' and 'is not opened except when the kings have great need'. This kind of hoarding was practised also by the feudatories, and the hoards were drawn upon in really difficult times due to war, famine and so on.

Crown lands, annual tributes from feudatories and provincial governors paid in at the time of the Mahānavamī festival, port and customs dues from the commerce passing through the numerous ports of the empire, judicial fines, and escheats, formed the chief sources of revenue which was collected both in cash and in kind. Taxes on professions and houses, fees for licenses of various kinds, transit and market dues, were other sources of revenue shared according to local conditions between the central government and the local authorities. Many of these taxes were farmed out to the highest bidder both in areas directly administered from the centre and in the provinces, and the impression that we get is one of high and even oppressive taxation. This is confirmed by the observations of foreign writers and travellers, and by recorded instances of people in different areas meeting to protest against high rates of taxes and offering their own just rates to government under threat of passive resistance or migration in the last resort. The dominantly military needs of the time are evidenced by new types of military levies mentioned in the inscriptions such as *Koṭṭapadiṇḍu* (dues for forts), *birangi* tax and so on.

The land was carefully surveyed and assessed according to its quality, the rates differing between wet and dry lands and in accordance with the crops and the yield. The proportion of produce claimed as revenue varied from the traditional sixth to as much as half the gross yield. There were periodical revisions of the land tax rates carried out by the government's officers and the village authorities acting together. The state often handed over to temples and learned Brahmins the privilege of enjoying its share of the land revenue in accordance with agreed terms.
The chief items of expenditure were the up-keep of the palace, the army, irrigation and charity and patronage of the arts. Krishṇadeva Rāya laid down the theory that income should be divided into four equal parts of which one should go to maintain the palace establishment and charity, two to the army, and the remaining one to the Reserve Treasury. Doubtless this was only the ideal, practice depending entirely on current exigencies.

The emperor maintained a large standing army consisting of an elephant corps, cavalry and infantry; the chariots of old tradition gave place to the new feature of artillery. In this force, 'the soldiers receive their pay', noted Abdur Razzak, 'every four months, and no payment is ever made by a draft upon the revenues of any province'. Nuniz noted the existence of a special body of soldiers, the king's guard, specially charged with the safety of the king's person. There was an annual review of the army during mahānāvami. Besides this core army, military fiefs studded the whole country, each under a Nāyak or military leader authorized to collect revenue and to administer a specified area provided he maintained an agreed number of troops of all kinds ready to join the imperial forces in war. Nuniz counted more than two hundred such nāyaks. Subinfeudation was allowed. There were regular military schools where men were trained in archery, swordsmanship and so on, and prepared for enlistment in the army; the artillery, however, seems generally to have been manned by foreigners. Even in the standing army there was a great diversity in equipment and conduct of soldiers; Barbosa noted that the soldiers were allowed to live 'according to their own law'; and Nuniz that they equipped themselves each after his own fashion; obviously there could have been little discipline or uniformity, and if we recall that the soldiers were allowed to take their families with them besides courtesans, the army must have been very ineffective as a fighting machine. A military camp generally of thatched structures was a moving city 'arranged in
streets with many open spaces', and it was burned down before the move to the next camp began. Fortresses played a large part in the defence organization and the arts of siege were well known. Krishṇadeva Rāya had great faith in the loyalty and endurance of Brahmin commanders of forts and recommended their employment wherever possible. Military roads (daṇḍamārga) connected important centres. In spite of the prevalence of considerable coasting trade, the empire does not seem to have had a navy worth the name and merchantmen were exposed to piracy which went unchecked.

The administration of justice, both civil and criminal, was largely decentralized, and to a considerable extent a quasi-private concern. Village assemblies, caste groups, guilds and other voluntary associations adjudicated minor differences and tried offences, and very often the matter ended there. But there was always open an appeal to the state courts maintained by the king’s government by virtue of its over-all responsibility for law and order. Mādhava, who added a whole treatise on Vyavahāra (law-suits) to the Parāśara-smrīti and who counts therefore as a contemporary authority for the period, distinguished four types of courts: they were (1) pratishhtita (stationary) in town and village, the assembly and other local courts referred to above; (2) chala i.e. circuit courts of judges moving about from place to place, of which we do not get many details; (3) mudrita presided over by judges (adhyakshas) appointed under the royal seal; and (4) sāstrita presided over by the king himself, being the highest tribunal in the land. The court presided over by a Danaik (daṇḍanāyaka) in the capital mentioned by Abdur Razzak obviously belonged to the third category; such judges were also called pradhānis. Punishments were generally severe, even barbarous, and included mutilation, impaling, besides confiscation of property, flaying alive, and burning in cases of treason; it was sometimes extended to the family of the offender. But there are also many recorded instances of very light punishments such as endowing a lamp in a temple for offences which strike us as serious like
riot and manslaughter. Jesuit letters mention imprisonment as a form of punishment irrespective of the status or dignity of the offender. Ordeals were resorted to when other evidence was not forthcoming.

Provincial government was modelled on that at the centre, though the details of organization depended on the historical antecedents of each locality. Very often the older rulers of the land were allowed to carry on in a subordinate capacity, paying tribute and submitting to the general supervision of a high official of the empire, usually a prince of the bloodroyal: such were the Pandyas and the Tiruvadis of Travancore. Some of the old traditional offices continued in the new set up e.g. Tirumandiraodainayakam under the Nayaks of Madura in the sixteenth century. It is not easy to find any methodic gradation in the employment of the names of territorial divisions like raja, mandal, vallanadu, kottam, kurran, parru, vishya chavadi and so on. Ministers were consulted in the choice of governors who were more military commanders of strategic forts than ordinary civil servants of the crown; they sometimes had the privilege of issuing coins of their own and even delegating the power of issue to others with much confusion resulting in the currency system. In case of oppressive rule the centre interfered to set things right. The Governors had to pay aids to the king on his birthday, on the birth of a child etc., and Nuniz mentions that they also furnished daily supplies to the palace in kind. The Nayaks who held the military fiefs had greater freedom; the office was personal to start with, but tended to become hereditary. The Nayaks maintained their own agents, civil and military, at the capital, and often engaged in mutual hostilities without reference to the central power. In the Tamil districts the ancient Chola territorial divisions, together with the deeply-rooted system of autonomous village assemblies, were allowed to continue and no attempt was made to impose arrangements perfected elsewhere by the Rajas. The autonomy of villages, however, suffered considerable abridgement in this period as their officials came to
be linked up more and more closely with the central government and its representatives. The final result of the evolution was the Ayagār system of twelve village officials appointed by government and responsible to them described by Col. Wilks as well as in the Fifth report.

Spies and informers were freely employed at all levels. The police system was fairly efficient and lost property was generally recovered or made good. Wherever trouble was anticipated from jungle tribes, pālayagārs were posted with a considerable body of retainers maintained from jāgīrs—land assignments, set apart for the purpose. In towns the streets were patrolled, regularly at nights.

From the disappearance of Vijayanagar rule about the middle of the seventeenth century to the establishment of British rule early in the nineteenth, South India was cut up into a number of small states warring with one another incessantly. A regular government functioned during the first half of our period in the larger Nāyakship of Madura and Tanjore, and this was modelled on the Vijayanagar form. The rest of the country was virtually given over to anarchy, which in the course of the eighteenth century spread to the whole country, the inroads of Mughal armed forces and the dissolution of the nāyakships making the confusion worse. Even during this breakdown, the village held its own, saved the rudiments of civilization from extinction, and provided the basis for a new reconstruction on more modern lines after the establishment of British rule.

Throughout the eighteenth century up to its last decade no power in South India felt secure enough to think of any improvement in the territories under its authority. Agriculturist (and artisans) lived on a narrow margin and often needed advances of seed grain to be able to raise a crop. But cultivators could also conceal the extent of cultivation and misrepresent the outturn of crops as the only ways of escaping tyranny and fleecing. Villagers were often forbidden to sell their grain till the State had disposed of its stock which came in as revenue in kind. The cul-
tivator lost his interest in the land and was eager to throw up old land and take up waste, which was extensive, for cultivation as it was more lightly taxed at first; he even left his village to be able to do so. There were a host of miscellaneous taxes, licenses, and monopolies all of which were farmed, resulting in extreme oppression. The main evils of the time were three: (1) the insubordination and lawlessness of Zamindars and polegars. There were scores of them in Madura and Tinnevelly who so effectively hindered revenue collection by the Nawab as to compel him to transfer the work to the Company. Over thirty of them in Tinnevelly kept up their armed resistance for over fifty years till 1801 or so against considerable forces told off to suppress them. The other evils were (2) the lack of recognized laws and courts to enforce them and (3) the uncertainties of the land-revenue system. By the year '1818 the administration of the Madras Presidency had come to be quite unlike anything that could be found in the south India of 1786' (J.T. Gwynn). The chief stages in this transformation may be briefly indicated.

It is difficult to assign specific dates for gradual changes, but roughly the new order may be said to begin with the transfer by the Treaty of Mangalore (1792) to British rule of Dindigul and surrounding territory and of Baramahal. From this date administration became the chief duty of the Company's servants. A Central Board of Revenue had been set up in 1786 and from 1794 District Collectors began to function under them replacing the old and oppressive Amildars. In a few years better knowledge accumulated of the land tenures and customs of the country and ways began to be worked out of using indigenous institutions to good purpose. About half a century was needed to overcome the bad traditions of revenue administration that had prevailed so long; the first assessments of land revenue were generally too high and had to be scaled down in the light of experience. There was much uncertainty about the system of revenue settlement to be adopted. The influence of the Permanent Revenue Settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal was strong
for some years, and attempts were made to apply the system in Madras also. The attempt proved successful in the case of existing Zamindars and Polegars who were induced thereby to acquiesce in the loss of their military and police power and become quiet subjects of the Company's government. But the attempt to create new Zamindars produced only bad results owing to lack of character in the buyers as well as the high assessment. By 1805 ryotwari settlements with individual cultivators had been made in many districts and surveys had been completed or were in progress in them. But there continued to be still some uncertainty, as there was in evidence for some years a tendency to prefer the village system of leasing the revenue from a village to its principal inhabitants or the headmen on the ground that thereby the corporate life of the village was preserved intact, the level of assessment in such cases being the same as the actuals of the years immediately preceding. But in practical working the system proved difficult, and the rate of assessment found to be too high. Munro had been pleading all along for the ryotwari settlement as he had developed it and the Fifth Report also lent its support which proved decisive. In 1818 final instructions were issued by the Board of Revenue to the Collectors to introduce a revised ryotwari system all over. At the same time the old Kāvalgars and polegars disappeared and their fees for watchmanship was claimed by government. The village headman and watchman were restored to their old position.

Another matter on which some uncertainty prevailed before a final decision was reached was the position and powers of the District Collector. Here again the example of Bengal where the revenue collector had few powers and Zillah judge had control of the police and other powers was sought to be foisted on Madras; but ultimately the Bengal system was given up and Collector was also made the District Magistrate and the hub of the entire district administration. Thus by 1818 the modern system of administration which continued almost unchanged to the end of
British rule had been firmly established. The government felt quite equal to maintaining law and order and its territories were all but completely immune from invasion. It had agents in all districts who supplied any desired information and carried out instructions sent to them. The military organization of the polegars had been broken up, and in due course measures for the reformation and settlement of criminal tribes likely to disturb security in the neighbourhood would be taken on hand and steadily pursued. There was as yet no regular police force, but the government's military power was equal to maintaining order with the aid of the collectors and their revenue subordinates and village watchmen. Regular judicial courts had been set up and become popular with those who could afford the cost and the delay, of litigation; as a result of this innovation, Munro's attempts to revive the Pañchāyats were much hampered. The districts had been placed in the charge of collectors who in spite of the lingering uncertainties of the land revenue system were capable of taking long views and calculating the future effects of current demands unlike strangers to whom the revenue had been farmed for a few years. If by chance a collector was oppressive, there was scope for redress by appeals to the Revenue Board and Government. With the strengthening of administration collections became easy and regular; still as Munro's plea for a substantial reduction in assessment had not been accepted, and there was pressure due to military needs, the assessment had not yet reached a level that would allow the cultivator to accumulate stock. Some reform had been effected in the levy and collection of miscellaneous taxes but still much more money was taken from the people than necessary, and the new salt monopoly and stamp tax produced a considerable revenue. Little thought or money had been given to social betterment and welfare, and the manufactures of the country, particularly of cotton textiles, had been ruined, the country having turned into an importer of cloth after having been an exporter for long centuries. Irrigation and roads had been improved and the nucleus of a public
works organization created though its activities and funds were restricted.

The country entered on a period of peace and generally good rule till the early years of the present century. Towards the end of the century some breaches of peace occurred such as the Hindu-Muslim riots in Salem over the building of a mosque in 1882 or the Śivakāṭi riots of 1899 due to tension between the Shanars and Maravars. The raid of the Emden in the Bay of Bengal in the first world war placed some check for a time on sea-borne trade, but these were minor exceptions to the continuous security, internal and external, that prevailed. From 1804 the Revenue Board comprised three members and functioned collectively; in 1887 another member was added and the portfolio system introduced, each member becoming commissioner for some items of revenue. The District administration was improved by the formation of Divisions and Taluqs below the district and the introduction of Indian Deputy-collectors from 1857 with a position like that of the Covenanted Divisional officers. District Munsiffs for the administration of civil justice were created in 1816, and this institution became so popular as to frustrate all efforts to revive adjudication by pañchāyats. Muhammadan criminal law was in use till the Indian Penal code came into force since 1862. The High Courts were constituted in 1861. The Public Works Department came into existence in 1858, and from 1871 steps were taken to train people in self-rule by associating non-officials in the administration of local fund activities at first under official guidance; the local Boards Act of 1884 and its subsequent revisions attest the progress of the movement by gradual steps involving the extension of the principles of popular election, till elected non-official presidents of District and Taluq Boards became the rule from 1912. Special cesses for roads, education etc. were collected along with the land revenue and local bodies built up their own engineering services. Altogether there were notable developments in the details of administration thanks to the zeal and knowledge of officials and non-official leaders.
The last fifty or sixty years have witnessed extensive and almost revolutionary changes in government and administration under the impact of the national movement generated by the progress of the new system of education and the action of world forces. The Government of India Acts of 1909, 1919 and 1935 were attended by corresponding changes in provincial and District administration which have now become matters of academic interest and need not be detailed in a general survey like this. The growing tension between the rulers and the ruled led to breaches of the peace on several occasions which could have been worse but for the influence of the Gandhian ideals of truth and non-violence. One of the chief results of the political upsurge in South India was the ‘non-brahmin’ or ‘justice’ movement calculated to abate the influence and prestige of the Brahmans as a community in the governmental system and outside, and the movement received active support and encouragement from some leading officials under British rule. The most notable features in the years that have elapsed since the creation of the Union of India in 1950 are the working of the adult franchise which has accentuated the political consciousness of the masses; the acceptance of the ideal of the welfare state resulting in a spate of social and economic legislation, and the pursuit of a planned economy; and the attempt in the third plan to shift the initiative in planning from the Planning Commission at the top to the village panchayats and the panchayat unions so as to shape the plan from grass roots—a scheme rather difficult of working in itself and has been seriously hampered by the apparently chronic ‘emergency’ created by the Chinese aggression. With the growth of a complex economy, land-revenue, though still by no means a negligible source of revenue, has sunk in relative importance, and the revenue duties of the District Collector have become relatively less significant than his leadership in developmental activities. And the severance of British connection has meant the reorganization after some uncertainties and wobblings, of the whole of India as a federal union of states formed on a linguistic
basis. This reorganization has some obvious advantages but at what cost to the unity of the country these have been secured will be seen only in future years.
III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The references to the Tamil kingdoms in the Aśoka inscriptions raise the presumption of an ordered society fit for maintaining diplomatic and other relations with the powerful empire of the Mauryas. The short cave inscription in Brāhmī characters and the Tamil language provide tantalizing peeps into some aspects of social life, but they are very far from a complete or concrete picture. What we learn from them may be summed up in a few sentences, and even at this stage the composite nature of the culture that has been evolved by the mingling of northern Sanskrit and southern Tamil elements stands out prominently. Īla (Ceylon), Madurai, Karu-ūr, and Pāṭalipura (Cuddalore) are mentioned; nādu as a territorial division and nikama (guild) are known; vanikan (merchant) and gold (pon) and grain (kūla) merchants besides weaver (kaikōla) find mention; salaka (śyālaka) brother-in-law, tandai (father), makan (son) and len (cave) same as lena of western ghat caves occur. Sanskrit words of religious import are: aditānan (adhisṭhāna), Dharma, Upāsaka, Kuwira (Kubara) and yaka (Yaksha) besides the word kuṭumbika for (householder).

It is, however, in the Śangam literature that we get tangible data for the first time on the conditions of society and economy. Here again the mingling and synthesis of cultures is the first striking feature. The poets are fully at home in the mythology, religion and philosophy of the Indo-Aryans, and the social framework has been considerably influenced by them. Tamil monarchs claim to have fed the armies on both sides in the Mahābhārata war. The concept of the three-fold debt (ṛṇa) to gods, sages and ancestors, with which men are born and which they have to repay respectively by sacrifice, learning, and begetting children, is well known. The epic stories are common property and we come across an allusion to monkeys sporting with the jewels of Sitā which she dropped while being carried
off by Rāvana. The practice of accompanying the parting guest some distance was known, and Karikāla is said to have walked 'seven steps' with his guest before putting him on the chariot provided for his transport. We find instances of significant Sanskrit expressions being precisely rendered in Tamil; leather sandals are called aḍī pudai-araṇam an obvious translation of pāda-raksha; the phrase dāṇa-dhuramadhara is translated in igaicch-chennugam-lāngiya; and Jāmbūnada, gold of the best quality, is called nāval-ōḍu-peyariya pon i.e. gold which has nāval (jāmbū) in its name. The poetess Auvaiyār compares the three Tamil kings seated together to the three fires in a sacrificial hall. The mote seen in sunlight is used as a measure of size, and the terms āmbal (kumadam) and veḷḷam (samudra) are employed to indicate very large arithmetical numbers. The whole tenor of this literature affords unmistakable evidence of the friendly reception accorded in the Tamil country to the rich and varied culture of the North which not only contributed to the cultural advancement of peninsular India but crossed the seas to civilize and humanize the eastern lands.

Land was abundant and measured by the mā (1/20 of veḷi) and veḷi (6.74 acres). The necessaries of life were plentiful. The poets were proud of their respective countries and celebrated their fertility and excellence. The fertility of the lands in the Kāvēri basin is a recurring theme, and one poet affirms with transparent exaggeration that the produce of the small area on which a female elephant could lie down would feed seven tuskers. Pāri's principality was famous for its millets and forest produce including honey, jack-fruit, bamboo, rice and roots. The lion seems to have been more a literary tradition with the poets than a matter of personal knowledge; their references to the tiger, bear and other caged animals are more realistic. Wild elephants were caught by being trapped in deep pits.

Society was organized in tribes and castes with habits and traditions of their own. Large cities and port towns tended to
be cosmopolitan in their population. The Tirupati hill is noted as the region where the spoken language changes from Tamil to Vadugu (Telugu). We seem to get a glimpse into pre-Aryan tribal society in a poem which affirms that there are no other kudis (tribes) than the four made up of tudiyan, pānan, paraiyan and kadamban, and no god worthy of worship with the offerings of paddy other than hero-stones commemorating soldiers who fell in fight with fierce enemies. Hunters and shepherds, fishermen and Brahmans, their occupations and dwellings and implements are found sketched in excellent pen pictures. Daily bathing and habits of personal cleanliness were common to all the higher classes. The threshold of Brahmin households was smeared with cow-dung, and cocks and dogs had no entry there; there were idols inside for daily worship, and the women of the house cooked fine food which they offered to the gods and guests. But the Brahmans did not lack relish for the meat and toddy served to them at the feasts held by the chieftains and princes of the land. Learning was respected in all castes, and public disputations among scholars announced by the raising of flags were common. Large numbers of wandering minstrels (pānan, not the tribe mentioned above) and their women folk (viralis) who accompanied their songs with appropriate dances often entertained the princes and chieftains of the land; they got rich presents but ever complained of their straitened circumstances. There were yavanas, doubtless Greco-Roman merchants, sailors and others, with perhaps an admixture of Arabs; they are described as strong in body, fierce in appearance, wearing coats, armed, and holding whip in hand, while guarding the palace and its bedrooms along with other mlechchas who wore coats and expressed themselves by means of signs made with eyes and hands as they could not speak the language of the people; they watched the broad streets of Madurai at night. Foreign wines imported in bottles of yavana make were served to kings in golden goblets by bright young women.

The relations between the poets of the time and their patrons
varied in nature. Tradition records sumptuous rewards in land and cash to the authors of the decades in the ‘Ten Tens’. Less valuable presents such as food, drink and raiment, besides gold, and sometimes even elephants, are recorded on other occasions; still the majority of the bards do not appear to have been very well off. They sometimes vented their anger in song against patrons who kept them waiting too long for a present or gave a niggardly guerdon. Once during a siege of Uñaiyur a poet was suspected to be an enemy spy and was about to be put to death; another poet interceded and saved him. He said in substance: like birds seeking a tree with ripe fruit, poets generally went long distances in search of generous patrons, sang their praises, and were pleased with any present they got with which they maintained themselves and fed their friends and relations; their lives knew no fault except a little pride in their victories of learning. Some poets became intimate and respected friends of their patrons, and mention may be made here of the friendship between Kapilar and Pāri, between Piśir Āndai and Köpperuñjōlan, and between Auvaiyar and Adigai-mān Añji.

The poems give us a fair idea of the dress, food and amusements of the people. Men usually wore two pieces of cloth, and women in high society used corsets and hair paste. Scissors for clipping the hair of the head and face were made of steel, and their finger holes are said to have had the shape of a pretty woman’s ear. Starch was used for stiffening clothes. Ornaments were worn by both sexes, and hāra of pearls on the chest and the kataka on the forearm are specially mentioned. Children wore necklaces of tiger’s teeth and of the five weapons of Vishnu in miniature (aimbadai). Grain, flesh and fish were the chief articles of food together with vegetables, milk and milk products. Grain was husked in hollows made in the ground (nila-ural) and converted into flakes (aval). The tenderness of the cooked meat is compared to the softness of carded cotton. Āppam (Skt. apūpa) or rice cake soaked in milk was a luxury. So too was
the flesh of tortoises and pigs, the latter when fattened and kept away from their females for a long time. The cooked āral fish, piping hot, was another delicacy. An animal roasted whole was valued for its taste. There occur many references to toddy kept in jars and imported wines in green bottles. A bit of raw ginger during a potation is commended to the toper. Toddy is said to have improved in taste when buried under ground in bamboo barrels for a long time. A cock-tail of toddy mixed with the juice of sugar-cane and coconut water was known as munnīr (triple-liquid) and much desired. The habit of eating betel leaves with nuts and lime was known; but women whose husbands fell in battle refrained.

Princes and their friends resorted to shady groves on river banks to escape the heat of the day in summer. Boys and girls enjoyed bathing and playing together in the water and jumping into it from the overhanging branches of trees. In winter people kept at home with windows shut, women used flowers sparingly and warmed themselves at fires fed with fragrant wood and resin; the strings of musical instruments had to be warmed against their bodies to get the correct notes out of them. Mural painting and dancing were favourite arts practised by both sexes. The dances of vi̲ralis at night were lighted by lamps with big flames and large oil containers. Many kinds of the lute and the flute described as a ‘tube with dark holes made by red fire’ were in use. Mixed dances were practised and called tunāngai, alliyam (hallisa) etc., and as may be expected sometimes led to misunderstandings between lovers. The hetaera was a serious rival to the housewife and the Śīlappadikāram furnishes a conspicuous instance of the theme. Country women delighted to wear girdles of flowers and leaves. Girls from rich families played games on the terraces of their houses using balls and other appliances. Children played in the manṭam of the village which was either a shady tree or a simple open shed. Hunters’ children played with toy bows and arrows. The procession of elephants in the streets of large cities on festive
occasions was a welcome source of diversion to citizens. Old men whiled away their time with dicing. Wrestling and hunting formed the rude manly pastimes. The pig and hare were hunted with dogs and nets, and stone traps were laid for tigers.

Royal palaces and the mansions of the rich were built of brick and mortar, at times several storeys high. The Neḗunalvāḍai (one of the ‘Ten Idylls’) gives a minute account of the building of a palace, begun in an auspicious hour, according to rule, and describes the luxurious style of the finished interior, including women’s apartments and bed rooms. The dwellings of common people were much simpler though by no means devoid of gaiety and happiness. Beds were made of hides or mats, and rope-cots were made by pulaiyar who handled their needles with deftness. The poor were fed by the rich in long sheds erected for the purpose, and rice was spread for crows to feed on in front of palaces and mansions. Silver and gold plate was in use in palaces when guests were entertained. Thoroughfares in large cities were furrowed by ruts due to the constant running of chariots.

Women enjoyed much freedom of movement in society, and there were several notable poetesses. Sāti evoked popular admiration, though it does not seem to have been common even in royal families. A widow’s lot was rather hard; the good things of life were denied to her and she was expected to lead a life of austerity.

The general standard of social ethics seems to have been high, and the bulk of the poems evince a keen enjoyment of life and its opportunities. Householders had to entertain guests and anyone who sought to evade the obligation was held in contempt. A true friend, we learn, will stand by you in adversity, though he may be indifferent to you in prosperity. Patience, sympathy with the poor and indigent, the employment of armed strength so as not to cause hatred, and noble speech and conduct in the sabhā of the king are upheld as worthy ideals. Ingratitude was the worst sin which could never be expiated. Family life
was held in high honour, and the wife is called the light of
the household. The highest value attached to the sanctity of
virginity.

Agriculture was basic to the economy and included the
raising of sugar-cane, cotton and pepper. The peasant was
much respected and the K\textit{u}ral affirms that his was the only life
worth the name, the life of all the rest being one of servitude and
sycophancy. The production of cloth came next. The fine
quality of the textiles is a recurring theme not only in Tamil
literature but in Sanskrit and classical European writings. The
muslins are compared to the slough of the snake, or to a cloud
of steam; yet these carried much fine floral work and were
of different colours. Silk and woollen fabrics were also known.
Production was generally for local consumption, and only
articles of great value in small bulk, or necessities of life like
salt which could not be made everywhere entered into trade.
Barter was common. Salt was carried in carts which carried a
spare axle as the roads were rough, with many ups and downs.
Pepper was transported by caravans of asses. The bazar in
big cities was a busy place with many flags flying over shops,
plenty of cash (gold) and a number of taverns. Maritime
trade was important and lucrative. Foreign ships came laden
with horses and gold, and went back with pepper and other
precious products obtained in exchange. Lighthouses in all
important ports guided the course of ships at night. The
\textit{Periplus} gives a list of the ports with the articles of trade, and
this is in general agreement with the data from the Šangam
poems. Puhār or Kāvēripaṭṭīnam (Khaberis of Ptolemy), the
Chōla emporium, was a cosmopolitan city where people from
many nations speaking diverse languages lived in amity and
added to the growing wealth and prosperity of the city. Its
merchants, we learn, were not greedy cheats but honest dealers
content with a just profit, who feared wrong, spoke the truth,
and regarded the interests of their customers as their own. The
discovery of a Roman ‘factory’ where textiles were processed for
export in Arikamedu (Aruhan mēḍu, the Jaina mound) near Pondicherry affords material confirmation of the literary evidences. Śāliyūr and other ports on the east coast, Mušīry (Muziris of the Greeks where there was a temple of Augustus) and others on the west plied a busy trade most of the time. Large quantities of Roman coins found in the interior of the Tamil land attest the extent of trade, the presence of Roman settlers, and the periods of the rise, zenith and decay of this commerce. South India acted as an intermediary for many generations between the West and the Far East. A direct sea route between Egypt and India was established after the 'discovery' of the monsoon by Hippalus of Alexandria in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman times; Alexandria became one of the main centres of trade, and Arabian harbours lost their importance. The carrying trade between the Malay Peninsula and the Malabar coast was largely in the hands of the Tamils. But the direct trade between Rome and South India declined and died out during the military anarchy in the Roman empire in the third century, though there was a revival in the Byzantine period.

The Chōla country had an important share in this trade and the author of the Periplus noted three kinds of craft—light cruising boats for local traffic, larger more complicated vessels of greater carrying capacity, and lastly the big ocean going vessels that made the voyages to Malay, Sumatra, and the Ganges.

On the nature of the trade with the Roman empire, the words of the author of the Periplus are worth citing: 'They send large ships to these market towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum (to be had there). There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coins: topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza; realgar and orpiment, and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there.'
There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity in only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonara. Besides this there are exported large quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds (principally beryls of the Coimbatore District for which there was a constant demand in Rome), diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise shell; that from Chryse Island and that taken among the islands along the coast of Damirica.’

Vivid and valuable as the poems are on many matters, they do not tell us everything we want to know. For instance we get singularly little on the institution of marriage. We indeed hear of the tāli, the string indicating the married status of a woman, and two poems in the aham 400 mention the feasting of relations at a meal of rice mixed with black gram and flesh before the marriage, the bathing of the bride by four women who had their husbands and children living, the marriage pandal (shed) strewn with fresh sand, the music of the marriage drum, the worship of gods and the preference of a day in the bright half of the month when the moon was with Rohini asterism for the celebration of the marriage. The marriage was consummated the same night. We hear nothing of the ritual if there was any. Later works like Tolkāppiyam and Kālaviyal aver that the Aryans introduced the ritual to obviate defects that had cropped up in society; there is however no clue to the date when this happened. These works also mention the spontaneous coming together of the sexes (kāmakkūṭam); they distinguish secret marriage (kaḷavu) from the open alliance contracted with the consent of parents (kaṟṭu); they mention also unrequited or unilateral love (kaikkīṭai) and improper love (perundinawai) as between a young man and an older women, or one otherwise unsuited to marry him; lastly they mention the eight forms of marriage known to the Sanskrit books and show great ingenuity in fitting them into the framework of the Tamil scheme, though the result is seldom happy except in the obvious equation of kaḷavu with the gāndharva form.
Society on the whole consisted of a fairly gay crew of kings, chieftains, and notables at the top, befriended by Brahmins and entertained by poets, musicians and dancers, and indulging in war, the chase, and the company of women. The life of the masses was simple but by no means devoid of joy and amusement. There was generally an abundance of the necessaries of life and a reasonably brisk inland and maritime trade. The level of material culture was fairly high, and in the spiritual sphere there was occurring a progressive integration of the new Aryan with the old pre-Aryan forms and conventions. The general impression we get from this early literature is one of social harmony and general contentment.

When the light of Sangam literature fails at the end of the fourth century, we get little guidance to the conditions of social life till a new day dawns with the rise of the Pallavas and the Pandyas in the late sixth century. The interval comprises a period of darkness relieved only by a few streaks of light from the didactic literary works often by Jaina authors and a couple of Buddhist manuals in Pali by Buddhadatta. At the end of one of these manuals, the Abhidharmavatara, he gives a glowing account of Kaśerà̄pitaṇa with its concourse of rich merchants, its palaces and pleasure gardens, and states that in a great monastery built there by Kanthadāsa he lived for a time and composed that work. Likewise he tells us in the Vinaya Viniccaya that he composed that book while he was residing in the lovely monastery of Venhudasā in a city on the banks of the Kāvēri by name Bhūtamangalam, described by him as the hub of the Chōla-raṭṭha. Thus we get the impression that city life and the non-vedic religious sects flourished in this dark period. Buddhadatta’s description of Kaśerà̄pitaṇam may well cast a doubt on the tradition recorded in the Maṇimēkalai of its large-scale destruction by a tidal wave, or possibly the destruction may have occurred later than the time of Buddhadatta (fifth century).

We lack the means of forming even approximate estimates of the numbers of the population in the Tamil country at any
time before modern census operations began late in the nineteenth century. The rulers were generally keen on maintaining a minute record of property rights in land, but seem never to have thought of a census of the population. The growth of city life must have continued, and society must have increased in complexity with the growth of new industries and occupations. For the most part, the bulk of the population especially after the strong Hindu revival and the bhakti movement of the Pāṇḍya-Pallava period, must have comprised Hindus organized in castes, some of them continuing to retain the beliefs and practices of an earlier tribal stage. There was a rather close connection between caste and occupation, but this was by no means unalterable, and the pressure of new factors and situations was always bringing about changes in spite of conservative protests and even the occasional attempts of government to stop them. The Brahmins as a class led a life of learned poverty and were sustained by moderate gifts of land or cash from other classes, particularly nobles and kings, and as a rule commanded the respect of their neighbours by their character and their social rôle as educators, mediators and peace-makers. There were, however, some who became officials of different grades under government in civil and military employ whose ways of life were manifestly different and perhaps more ostentatious than those of the common run. The backbone of the polity was the landholding peasant who was esteemed in society and generally commanded a higher status than the artisan or the merchant. At the bottom of the social scale were the landless labourers many of whom were in a condition of semi-slavery to those they served.

Women in this period had much freedom as earlier, owned property in their own right and in the higher classes commanded much influence in the affairs of their respective families. Polygamy was common especially among the royalty; dynastic alliances for political reasons occurred as between Pallavas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The demi-monde had a recognized place especially in cities as custodians of fine arts and otherwise. A Pāṇḍya
queen became famous by inviting Ṛṇasambandar to Madurai to counteract the influence of Jains on her husband and his subjects, and a Pallava queen took a hand in the construction of temples by her husband. Many other pious endowments and charitable deeds of queens of the period are on record. The ideal of Sati was not formally repudiated, but recorded instances are few in the Pāṇḍya-Pallava period.

The well-to-do classes often employed their surplus wealth in ways which at once satisfied their vanity and served varied social ends. The maintenance of irrigation tanks, a vital matter in a land whose economy was predominantly agricultural, the laying of roads, the provision of schools, Ghaṭikas of learned men and hospitals and feeding houses, sometimes even the erection or repairs of shrines and temples, depended on the more or less constant flow of voluntary charity. The endowments were entrusted to temples or village assemblies or guilds of artisans and merchants and furnished the working capital for many essential rural enterprises. The lines of expenditure that were followed were generally calculated to engage the skills of the population in the neighbourhood and encourage the pursuit of the useful and fine arts. Memorials for dead heroes, endowment of festivals in temples for the merit of beloved and respected relatives, or for the regular exposition of epics and purāṇas at stated times to popular audiences or for the performance of dances and drama (kāṭṭu) are instances of the social uses of wealth prevalent in the period.

The village comprised dwelling houses and house sites, some with gardens around them, streets, bazars, roads and temples, besides cultivated land (wet and dry) held under various tenures by individuals and institutions like temples and mathas burning grounds, the village common and pastures used by all villagers for thrashing grain, grazing cattle and so on; and tanks, wells, streams and other water-ways. Population was relatively sparse, and even the so-called Brahmin villages (brahmadeyas) did not lack resident people of other castes and occupations in
varying numbers. The donees who got gifts of immovable property were apparently given some kind of title-deed, and in one instance (Vēḻvikuḍī) the family of the donee which had lost its title-deed was able to recover and produce it seven generations after the date of the original grant; very probably the title deeds were inscribed copper-plates like those which have been found in considerable numbers in recent years and help in the reconstruction of history today. Besides the learned Brahmīn, the temple and the maṭha either attached to the temple or functioning independently, were the most notable recipients of gifts in land and cash, and these played an important role in shaping the economic and social life of the neighbourhood. This trait of social life continued and strengthened in the period of imperial Chōla rule, and we shall have occasion to revert to it in some detail.

Besides agriculture and dairy farming, the chief rural industries comprised spinning and weaving, ceramics, carpentry, metal work including precious metals and jewellery, oil pressing and so on, and each of these industries was organized in its own way and generally made some contribution in tax or license fee to the village or the central fisc. Each village of some size had its own market which served its neighbourhood. The articles offered for sale included grains (kūlam), oil, ghee, coconuts, arecanuts, sugar and all kinds of vegetables and flowers. Many temporary stalls and imported articles from outside like salt, camphor, spices etc., came up during festivals in the temples, and merchants enjoyed much freedom of trade on such occasions.

*  *

The framework of society and economy continued more or less the same under the Chōlas, but the establishment of a large kingdom embracing the whole of the Tamil country and sometimes stretching beyond brought its own repercussions. On the whole a sense of greater social freedom developed; heredity was no bar to a person changing his occupation and his group-
relations with it; for instance the Brahmins of Eṇṇāyiram who took to trade were counted in one group along with the Vālaṇjiya merchants of the South Bazar. The growth of industry and trade created larger concentrations of population than before and many towns grew in size and were more prosperous than their counterparts today that go by the same names. Caste and group life formed no hindrance to social cooperation for common ends such as the maintenance of a temple, school or hospital. Signs of exclusiveness and class-rivalry are not altogether wanting, but they seem to have been well under control and not allowed to ruin the general harmony of social life. There are instances of the duties and rights of certain mixed castes like the Rathakāras being decided with the guidance of Brahmin experts in law, an indication that the theory of the law-books was sometimes availed of to settle practical questions of daily life; but there can be no doubt that in general the caste system as it prevailed by the sanction of custom and usage corresponded but little with the scholastic theories of the law-books. The obscure division between the Right hand (valangai) and Left hand (iḍangai) castes had already come up in the Chōla period; the exact origin of the distinction is unknown though there are legends about it, but it prevailed in the regiments of the army also. The rival groups sometimes clashed violently on trivial matters of prestige or privilege involving questions, like the construction of houses in mud or burnt brick, or the wearing of sandals or turbans, but they became a regular feature in later times from the seventeenth century onwards in the large cities; Madras suffered much from such conflicts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Women owned property in their own right and enjoyed much freedom in their social life, though modesty was considered highest among their graces. Kings and nobles often had many wives, but the normal rule was monogamy. Working women found employment in spinning and weaving, in the dairy trade, as florists and in many unskilled occupations including domestic service. Instances of satī particularly in high life occur in the
inscriptions, but the references are so few that it can hardly be regarded as a common practice in the Tamil country. Courtesans and nautch girls had a recognized place in social life, and mixed freely with men, being free from the restraints which matrons had to observe; but the institution had little in common with the hideous traffic that has grown up in modern industrial cities; the Greek hetaera furnishes a much closer parallel and an element of religion suffused the life of the Temple dancers of whom there were no fewer than 400 attached by Rājarāja I to the Great Temple of Tanjore, after being selected from all over his extensive empire including Ceylon, and endowed each with a house and other property of her own. Several instances occur in the inscription of courtesans being honoured by village assemblies with titles and honours for the expertness in the arts of dancing and music, or for their public benefactions.

The landless agricultural labourers lived often in a condition of serfdom if not slavery in mud huts generally at some distance from the habitations of the higher classes. Purchase and sale of human beings were not unknown, and free men and women fell into slavery for various reasons. There were grades among slaves, and most of the recorded instances are of persons selling themselves to temples sometimes for pious reasons, but more often out of sheer poverty and unemployment. There were also instances of sales to temples by third parties for a stipulated price, and others of government officials pressing artisans into hereditary temple service during festivals and other special occasions, in return for which they enjoyed a modicum of privileges in the temple such as a share in the distribution of food, the village assembly concerned agreeing to see to the continuous observance of the arrangement. But temples and mathas were not the only owners of slaves, and the lot of slaves must have varied with the whims of their more fortunate owners.

The sparse data we are able to gather on the wages of free labour such as those of a watchman, gardener, digger, etc. show that the wages were paid mostly in grain and supplemented
by periodical payments of coin. The rate varied according as the employment was skilled or unskilled, part time or whole time. The rates rose for relatively skilled work like singing, teaching, recitation of sacred texts and so on. There is no evidence that even the unskilled labourer did not get a good subsistence wage. Money of small denominations was indeed current, but did not altogether displace the traditional habits of barter in the small transactions of every day life. The purchase of vegetables, and other articles of daily consumption for paddy from street vendors survived in the country till the other day, and may even now be found in out of the way places. The Chōla inscription contain valuable data on the rates of exchange between different commodities as well as details of the cost of a square meal for an adult, which show that the endowments created for the free feeding of pupils in the schools and colleges of the time were on a fairly liberal scale. Some instances of scarcity and famine are recorded, and the temple treasury enabled people to get over the crisis by advancing loans to them in requisite measure.

Much prestige attached to the ownership of land and the village was primarily a settlement of land owners. Part of the land around the village was held in common and used as pasture or otherwise at the discretion of the village assembly. The arable land in the village was held as individual estates subject in many instances to periodical redistribution. Individual ownership of land was clearly established as seen from examples of inheritance, gift, sale and so on. The theory of the law-books is equally clear on the matter. The king as representing the state was the overlord of all unassigned land and water rights. All land in actual cultivation was held in one or other of three broad classes of tenures. The first is veṭṭān-vagai, the peasant proprietorship of the typical ryotwari village of modern times. The dues from this type depended on the fertility of the soil and the amenities it enjoyed and were liable to variation from time to time. The second class included service tenures of different kinds; it included assignments of the revenue due to the
State to civil and military officials as remuneration for their services, assignments from the village common or temple properties to particular servants of the village or the temple as remuneration or retainer for particular services, the servants being free in the latter instance to make an additional charge for individual jobs. Holdings in this class were described variously as *jīvita, bhoga, kāni, vṛitti* and so on. The last class was charitable endowments made to groups of learned Brahmans (*brahmadeya*), to temples (*devadāna*) and to free feeding houses (*sālābhoga*). Whether such lands were liable to pay the State dues at full or reduced rates or at rates permanently settled once for all was generally prescribed in the original deeds that created the endowments. Instances are not wanting of the conversion of lands from one tenure to another e.g. *brahmadeya* to *devadāna* and vice versa. In the last analysis the question of tenures is one of the sharing of the produce of land among several partners including the actual tillers of the soil; the proportion of the shares were determined by the interplay of various factors social, economic, religious and political. The arrangements reached were often complicated and could have worked only on the basis of mutual good will and compromise. Disputes and litigation were not unknown, but apparently were not too numerous or acrimonious. Irrigation was recognized as important, and numerous endowments were forthcoming for the regular removal of silt from tank beds, for maintaining the flood banks of natural streams at proper height, and so on. Cattle raising and dairy farming were closely allied industries and the *manṛādis* (shepherds) were everywhere organized as a professional caste group (*Kalanai*) which, among other things, took charge of the cattle donated to temples for the maintenance of lamps with stated quantities of ghee.

With the political unification of the Tamil country by the Chōlas the industrial arts flourished and opportunities for trade increased. The growth of a brisk internal trade, the frequent movements of individual merchants among distant centres of trade, and the high level of organization of the merchant guilds
in different parts of the country are well attested in the inscriptions. Peace was maintained over practically the whole country for successive generations, and this fostered economic development. The metal industries looked up and household utensils of the rich and middle classes began to be made of alloys of metal instead of earthenware; and the jewellers’ art reached a high state of perfection and found patronage in the many temples, which were being richly endowed with the plundered wealth of conquered countries, and in the royal court and the mansions of the rich. The manufacture of sea-salt was organized on a fairly large scale under government supervision and control on the sea-coast as at Kanyākumāri, Markānam and elsewhere. Transport was facilitated by the making of broad roads (peruvālis) and the improvement of the smaller roads with the aid of corvée. Of the merchant guilds the most celebrated were the maṇigrāmam (Skt. vaṇik-grāma) and the Nānādesis (of all countries) or the ainquṭṭuwar (five hundred) who were prominent not only in inland trade, but in overseas commerce which extended up to the Persian Gulf in the west and Indonesia and China in the east. Rājarāja I and Rājendra, his son, are known to have sent strong trade missions to China. The ainquṭṭuwar had their own settlements (vīrapāṭṭānas) in the Chōla country with the sanction of the local powers and the central government and enjoyed special privileges in matters of trade. The local organizations of the merchants in each town was called Nagaram. Kulottunga I is celebrated as sūngan-davirita, ‘who abolished transit duties’, which must have hampered internal trade, but the exact nature and scope of the reform attributed to him are not clear. Borrowing and lending of cash and grain was common, and interest rates varied considerably with circumstances; permanent endowments in temples and sālās (eating houses) took the form of cash yielding grain interest at agreed rates or grain (principal) yielding a periodical payment in cash for specified uses. The transfer of immovable property by sale or gift was generally attended with more formalities than that of moveables. The
chief articles of merchandise that entered long distance trade were necessarily goods that carried great value for small bulk such as aloes wood, amber, camphor, precious gems, bamboos, ivory, ebony, sandalwood, spices, perfumes, drugs and condiments, besides silk and cotton cloths of various kinds. Cavalry played an important role in the Chōla army, and the import of horses particularly from Arabia and perhaps from Pegu began now and reached large proportions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are frequent references to kudiraičeṭṭis (horse-dealers) from the west coast in Chōla inscriptions.

The standard gold coin of the Chōlas was the māḍai or pon, of the weight of a kalaṅju which was equal in theory to 72 grains but sometimes went up to 80; half of this was the kāśu. The fineness of gold is described as 9¼ marī for the madhuṟāntakam māḍai which long continued to be the standard, and this standard spread to many places in the Deccan outside the Chōla empire. But it must be observed that the standard of fineness was not maintained for long, and there arose many confusing local issues of coins by feudatories. There was the same divergence and confusion in measures and weights, with very little attempt at standardization over a considerable area or stretch of time. Very few gold coins of the Chōlas have survived, and the Dhavalesvaram hoard discovered in 1946 of which only 127 coins have been recovered is a notable exception.

Conquests sometimes led to large scale migration of people from one part of the country to another and to the emergence of new features in economic and social relations. A fairly recent instance of this, and one whose effects are still traceable, was the arrival in the Tamil country of numbers of Telugus and Kannadigas with the extension of the empire of Vijayanagar, and perhaps of the Hoysala power earlier. They must have come as officers and soldiers upholding the authority of the rulers and their migration was doubtless encouraged by grants of land and other concessions at the cost of the people of the conquered territory. Industrialists like the Saurāśṭras concentrated in Madura
also took advantage of the opportunity; they were favoured by
the Nāyak rulers of Madura and imitated the Brahmins in their
titles, dress, ceremonials, and so on. Most of the pālayams and
Zamindaris held by Telugu chieftains had this origin. Royal
patronage of learning, the arts, and religion were other causes
of similar movements.

In all periods, and particularly in that of Vijayanagar, the
king and his court led an extravagant and luxurious life which
was a glaring contrast to the modest if not low living standard
of the generality of the people. The pomp and ceremony of
the court became more and more dazzling in the course of cen-
turies and reached its culmination under the Rāyas. The palace
had always a large establishment attached to it; in theory there
were seventy-two nīyogas (departments) in a palace as in a
temple. On the establishment there were large numbers of
women, chosen specially for their youth and beauty. Some
were imported from abroad, but many caught in war and enslav-
ed. There were also courtesans skilled in music, dancing and
other arts. Princesses generally received a good education in
literature and the fine arts; some of them were equal, on
occasions, to the tasks of administration and war. The
Portugues chronicler Paes (1520-22) and other foreign
writers described the number and the costly establishments
of the Vijayanagar queens, the large numbers of their women
attendants, the lavishness of their dress and jewellery, and the
sundry light duties they discharged in the daily routine of the
palace. We learn for instance that in the provincial court of
Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore there were many learned women
poets skilled in various languages. The role of women generally
in high society was varied, important, and pleasant. Sati was not
unknown especially among the upper classes but by no means
common, much less enforced; but a satī always evoked admira-
tion.

The king appeared in open darbar at least once a day when
all high officials and nobles had to be in attendance, and nothing
was omitted that increased the splendour of the display. It was then that he transacted public business, heard complaints, and received ambassadors from abroad and tribute from feudatories. Nicolas Pimenta gives an account (1599), for instance, of the interview he had with the Nāyak of Gingee at Chidambaram. 'The Naickus of Gingee was come hither, in whose dominion it standeth. He commanded that we should be brought to his presence. Before us two hundred Brahmans went in a rank to sprinkle the house with Holy water, and to prevent Sorcerie against the king, which they use to do every day that the king first entereth into any house. We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chain hanging from his neck, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all over his breast, his long hair tyed with a knot on the Crown, adorned with Pearles; some Princes and Brachmanes attended him. He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that we chewed not the leaves of Betelie which were offered to us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which he was building'.

Vijayanagar rulers aimed at the preservation of Hindu society and its institutions against the attacks of Islam, and the result, most involuntary, was an added stringency in the standards of orthodoxy, social and religious. The Brahmin, always respected in society, gained still higher esteem under the new conditions. With the exception of those who took to the service of the state, civil or military, they generally devoted themselves to religious and literary pursuits, and stood outside the race for wealth and power. They lived on voluntary gifts from all classes from the king downwards, and devoted themselves exclusively to learning, teaching and writing. They showed themselves capable of detached thinking on social questions and their presence in every town and village provided for the common people not only patterns of ethical and religious conduct, but active helpers and disinterested arbitrators in the numerous concerns of their daily
life. The Brahmin, however, did not always live up to the ideals of his vocation and some protests against his high place in society were not unknown; but as a rule he proved true to his trust, and this was recognized by the rest of the people.

Caste with all its social and economic implications was universally accepted and the State upheld it as part of the established order. This accounts for the prevalence of much social exclusiveness in matters of food and marriage among the different sections of the people. But they were not unwilling, on that account, to come together when necessary and cooperate in matters of common concern like the management of a temple and its adjuncts, the regulation of land and irrigation rights in villages, and the general administration of local affairs. The general emphasis was on the performance of duty rather than enforcement of right, and the atmosphere was on the whole one of social harmony, in spite of some settled lines of division like that between the right hand and left hand castes. Both in towns and villages, the castes tended to live in separate quarters of their own and follow their own peculiar customs and habits. The outcastes who tilled the land and did menial work under conditions little different from slavery lived in hamlets at some distance from the residences of the higher castes. The theories of the law-book exercised a remote and indirect influence on the social set up. Under Chōla Kulottunga I, for instance, the bhattas (learned Brahmins) in one village consulted the books and advised that the professions open to anuloma caste of rathakāras were architecture, coach and chariot building, erection of gopuras with icons on them, the making of sacrificial instruments and so on. Sometimes the privileges of particular castes became the subject of royal regulation; the stone masons of South Kongu and some other areas were granted by a Chōla king the privileges of blowing two conches and the beating of drums at domestic occurrences good or bad, the use of sandals when they went out of their homes, and the plastering of the walls of their residences with lime plaster.
Food and dress varied with the time, place, and class of people concerned. Much authentic information on these subjects can be gathered from inscriptions and literature including the observations of foreign travellers which become more copious after the rise of Vijayanagar, but cannot find a place in a short sketch like this. ‘The men of condition’, says Varthema, ‘wear a short shirt and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in the Moorish fashion, but nothing on the feet. The common people go quite naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle’. Small turbans or silk or brocade caps were also worn by those who could afford, as also sandals and rough shoes. Women of the upper classes and courtesans wore rich dresses of thin cotton or silk of bright colours. They were usually in two piece—a small one covering the front of the person, and a bigger one covering the whole body. Articles of food comprised rice, pulses, vegetables and greens, milk and milk products besides animal food of different kinds, but not beef. Some sections of the population—Brahmins, Jainas and Śāivas—were strict vegetarians. There was generally a good supply of the prime necessaries of life, and scarcity and famine are only rarely heard of.

If we turn to education in the period, we have more information on higher studies in Sanskrit than on popular education. The former formed the subject of liberal endowments recorded in inscriptions at considerable length; about the latter we have to make inferences from the mention of the village teacher and his share in the arable land of the village, direct endowments being rare. What we should now call technical education or vocational training was an affair of the family and caste, in which learning went side by side with doing. The erection of a temple or palace must have been the occasion as much for the discovery of fresh talent as for the employment of known skills; and judging from the monuments that have survived, we may well conclude that at no time was there a dearth of artisans who were also great artists. The beauty and accuracy of the engraving of most
inscriptions on stone and copper attest the high degree of the literacy and skill of the engravers, while the literary quality of many of the inscriptions and the volume of literary production show that the cultivation of popular speech was by no means neglected. But we lack precise knowledge of the methods by which these results were attained, especially in the earlier period when the mathas had not come up in such large numbers as they did later to foster vernacular learning and culture. The 'three Rs' were taught in village schools under the shade of a tree or in the verandas of temples, and the village teacher (vāṭṭī) was counted among the regular officials of the village who held assignments of land in the village. The Italian traveller Pietro della Valla (1623) has left a vivid account of the village schools of his time and the methods of instruction they followed, including the process of learning by rote and the use of fine sand strewn on the floor for teaching the art of writing, methods which survived in full force till the other day and may still be found in remote country parts. When the Christian missionaries came they started schools and hospitals to serve as channels for the propagation of their gospel among the common people in the country. They had schools at Madura, San Thomé, and Chandragiri. Of the indigenous higher education at Madura, we find the following interesting notice in a letter of De Nobili written in 1610: 'In Madura there are more than ten thousand students, distributed in different classes of two to three hundred. These students are all Brahmans, for only they have the right to apply themselves to the acquisition of higher knowledge; the other castes, especially the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras are excluded from it. In order that the students may not be distracted by the necessity of providing for their maintenance, Bīnagar and the Great Nāyaka have made splendid foundations, whose revenues are sufficient for the remuneration of the masters and the subsistence of all the students. Their higher studies are divided into several courses.' But the exclusion was not rigid, and exceptions were made in deserving cases. A Jesuit letter of 1625 mentions a
very learned Pariah who was a renowned master of Sanskrit, and another letter dated the very next year alludes to a female neophyte who astonished Vico by the extent of her knowledge and the solidity of her judgment; she spoke Sanskrit with elegance and facility and cited the best authors and verses from celebrated poets. Another letter of de Nobili (1627) mentions a Kammālān participating in a religious disputation with an eloquence and strength of reasoning that astonished the most learned.

‘Adult education’ was provided by endowments usually attached to temples for the recitation and exposition of the epics and the purāṇas. An intelligent and popular expositor seldom confined himself to his ‘text’, but at once amused and instructed his audiences by ranging over a variety of topics and offering shrewd comments on current affairs. This form of popular education flourishes even now. The singing of devotional hymns in temples by choirs regularly trained for the purpose, and the training of young men for this and other religious ends in schools attached to maṭhas also deserve notice. By the side of maṭhas, Jain pallsis and Buddhist vihāras carried on similar work though not on the same scale, and maintained large libraries of books making fresh copies of them as and when required.

Besides being a place of worship, the temple filled a large place in the cultural and economic life of the people. Its construction, and maintenance offered employment to numbers of architects, artists, craftsmen and others who vied with one another in bold planning and skilful execution. The making of icons in stone and metal gave scope to the talents of the best sculptors; some of the large bronzes of the Chōla period, and the life-size portrait bronzes in the Tirupati temple of some Vijayanagar princes and princesses take their place among the wonders of the world for the mass of metal manipulated (without any modern appliances) as well as for their grace of form. The daily routine especially in the larger temples gave constant employment to numbers of priests, choristers, musicians, dancing girls, florists, cooks, and many other classes of servants. The periodical festivals
were occasions marked by fairs, contests of learning, wrestling matches and every other form of popular entertainment. Schools and hospitals were located in temple precincts, and the temple also served as the town hall for meetings and performances. The constant flow of endowments in land and cash made it a landlord and banker, generally more liberal than professionals in the terms it offered to tenants and clients. The practice of decorating images, particularly processional images, with numerous jewels set with precious stones, encouraged the jewellers' and goldsmiths' arts to a considerable extent. There is perhaps no better record of the details of the economy of a large temple than is provided by the numerous inscriptions of the Great Temple of Tanjore. And every temple held more or less the same position in relation to its neighbourhood that the Great Temple held in the Chōla capital, the difference being only one of degree. And it is no exaggeration to say that the temple gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilized existence and regulated them with the humaneness born of the spirit of dharma. As an agency of social well being the mediaeval Indian temple has few parallels.

We find few authentic and detailed accounts of the sports and pastimes of the people. Hunting was common among kings and nobles who doubtless needed the services of a considerable number of helpers from the commoners. Fights between animals and wrestling matches, sometimes among women, were other amusements of the upper classes. Gambling, racing, cock and ram fights were the pastimes of the common people, besides festivals and fairs of which there was no lack. Then there were peripatetic entertainers like snake charmers and acrobats whose visits furnished much genuine entertainment at very little cost. Picnics and folk dances like kummi, kōlattam etc., offered other means of diversion for both sexes.

The vast majority of the population lived in villages and agriculture was their main occupation. Great prestige attached to ownership of land, and the village was essentially a settlement
of peasants and its assembly an association of landlords. Till comparatively recent times there was a periodical redistribution of holdings in many parts of the country. Besides land owners, there were a fairly large class of landless labourers, an agrarian proletariat, who assisted in the operations and shared the proceeds of agriculture; some of them were serfs, and all of them had less to do with the management of local affairs than the landowners. The artisans of the village had shares from the common land, which were of the nature of retainers or inducements to them to stay in the village, ready to take up work as it came to them, the wage for each engagement being the subject of separate negotiation. There was also a staff of menial servants from the outcastes who were likewise rewarded by shares in the common land. These were the beginnings of the āyagār system which became officialized under Vijayanagar especially in the days of its decline; the āyagār system first and later the ryotwari land revenue settlement under the British completed the ruin of village autonomy which had been so well fostered by the Chōlas. Day labour was usually paid for in grain, and even the small peasant was ready to hire himself out in his spare time. Tenancy cultivation was quite common, especially on lands belonging to temples and other corporate institutions, the terms of the tenancy depending on the original endowment or on separate negotiation in each case; such tenants sometimes had rights which made them part owners of the land they tilled. The distinction between garden land, including flower gardens and orchards, in the neighbourhood of capital cities, land under wet cultivation and that under dry cultivation, and forest land was carefully maintained for taxation and other purposes, wet lands being graded according to their natural fertility. Besides food grains and pulses, commercial crops like cotton and sugarcane were also grown. Betel and arecanuts, ginger and turmeric, fresh fruits, vegetables and flowers formed the chief items of garden produce. The importance of irrigation was well understood from early times; dams were erected across streams and channels taken off from
there wherever possible. Large tanks were made to serve areas where there were no natural streams, and the proper maintenance of these tanks was regularly provided for. Reclamation of waste land was encouraged by tax concessions and otherwise. Tenant conditions were probably easier on lands owned by temples, mathas and learned Brahmins, but where rights were assigned to high officials and nobles, or where as often happened the collection of land tax (and other dues) was farmed, both the rate of the tax and the manner of collection may have pressed hard on the cultivator. Even in the heyday of efficient and liberal administration under the Chōlas, there were complaints of the tax-gatherers’ oppressive methods; and after the weakening of Vijayanagar, under the Nāyaks, the ryots were often compelled to purchase the State’s share of the grain at prices arbitrarily fixed by the tax-gatherer himself. Closely allied to agriculture were cattle raising and dairy farming on land specifically set apart as pasture. Inscriptions tell us more of the cattle belonging to temples and eating houses and of the cowherds in charge of them than of privately owned cattle. Ghee was an important item of food among the upper classes; it was also used in considerable quantities for burning lamps in temples.

In most of the common industries production was for the local market; but the movements of individual merchants from one part of the country to another, and the highly developed organization of guilds of merchants furnish evidence of a brisk internal trade in certain kinds of goods. Spinning and weaving formed a major industry and guilds of weavers were generally in a flourishing condition and took an active part in all important local concerns. The finer varieties of cloth were exported from various parts of the country. The metal industries and the jewellers’ art were well developed. Household utensils of metal were apparently confined to the rich, earthen ware being in more common use to judge from the references to their use in relation to cooking and eating in sālās (charitable feeding halls). The manufacture and sale of salt was generally the concern of
government which earned a good revenue thereby. This industry was naturally concentrated at important centres on the sea-coast, as was pearl fishing in the Gulf of Mannar—an important industry which attracted the notice of foreign visitors like Marco Polo who have often described it in detail.

All the arts and crafts were organized in castes and guilds of their own, and work was clearly done on a corporate basis and according to an established tradition; we do not get the names even of the talented architects, sculptors and painters in most instances. The conditions of internal transport are rather obscure. There was little scope for the use of natural waterways for the carriage of merchandise in the interior, and there is no evidence that canals were made for other than irrigation purposes. Roads are mentioned in inscriptions, and their maintenance was the duty of local authorities, the villagers being generally expected to give their labour free. The breadth of a main road was about twenty-four feet; but there were also tracks little better than footpaths. There was regular coastal shipping. Up country merchandise was carried in carts, on the heads or shoulders of men, and on the backs of animals. Roads were not always safe and brigandage increased in unsettled times. In the reign of Achyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar, for instance, trade was hampered everywhere and pilgrim traffic suffered from the activities of bandits who infested the highways.

*       *       *       *       *

The traditional social set up somehow continued without suffering much damage through the anarchy of the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth and early twentieth century the British followed a settled rule of neutrality and non-interference in social and religious questions. The eighteenth century witnessed a setback in security and prosperity, though the settlements of European trading companies on the coast provided havens of peace with limited opportunities for industry and trade of which people in the neighbouring country gladly availed themselves.
From the later part of the eighteenth century there began a decline in the handicrafts of the country due to competition of cheaper machine made goods which the western countries began to export in increasing quantities as a result of the Industrial Revolution, and the people were progressively ruralized and thrown upon agriculture as more or less their sole means of sustenance.

The return of peace and orderly government in the nineteenth century removed the check on the growth of population due to war and insecurity, but in the absence of a constructive economic policy on the part of government or the people, this only accentuated the fall in the standard of living all round. The tentative introduction of ‘English education’ at first, and its more rapid spread in the later part of the century in which the Christian Missionaries played an important part produced mixed results. The new education created a class of people drawn generally from the upper strata of society who developed the capacity and the will to serve the foreign rulers in subordinate places in the administration of the country; in its admiration for the ruling race and influenced also by the criticism of Hindu society and its institutions by Christian missionaries, this class developed a kind of contempt of things Hindu and a tendency to imitate the Englishman in everything as far as possible, and thus to separate itself as a class apart from the mass of the people in the country. This trend also led to attempts at ‘social reform’ not always well conceived or salutary. But in the long run this class imbibed new ideas of individual freedom and political independence, and a desire to become rich and progressive as a nation like the nations of the West—a trend which became more pronounced in the twentieth century under the influence of the Nationalist movement.

The twentieth century has witnessed rather rapid changes in many directions. The first world war revealed India’s industrial backwardness and compelled government to give up its laissez faire policy and turn to the promotion of industry for
ensuring the necessary war supplies. This became even more pronounced in the second war. Then came Indian independence and an active planning of the economy of the whole country and the execution of successive five year plans for hydroelectric projects, heavy industry, scientific farming and so on. Cities like Madras, Coimbatore, Trichionopoly and Madura are expanding rapidly and affording employment in many new ways to increasing numbers of the people. The spread of education, railways and the means of mass communication like the newspaper and radio is altering the face of society, and government which now rests on adult franchise feels free to pursue a policy of active reform of the ancient legal and social institutions of the country. A socialistic pattern of society is the accepted ideal that is being worked up to. Caste is losing its rigor and Gandhi's campaign against 'untouchability' has succeeded in declaring it a crime to practise it in any form. Rural India, however, apparently continues very much in the old way though the outlook of even common people is changing under the impact of the new forces. At the same time the time honoured values of the ancient culture of the country are being revived and by the side of modern industries, large and small, handicrafts are also sought to be actively encouraged for their artistic value and employment potential. Technical and art schools seek to replace family and caste tradition in the field of vocational training and achievement. One disturbing symptom, however, is the separatist trend resulting from the linguistic reorganization of states in 1956 which is particularly pronounced in the Tamil country; this seems to be a new version of the feeling against Sanskrit and the North mistakenly identified with the Brahmin in recent decades; but one hopes that the awareness of the new danger will bring its own remedy before it goes too far.
IV. RELIGION

In the sphere of religion the Šangam age exhibited a mixture of practices and beliefs of diverse origins often hold together side by side. The Vedic religion of sacrifice was followed by kings and chieftains, and a Pāṇḍyan king was celebrated for his many sacrifices and known as Mudukuḍumī Peruvaludi (Great Pāṇḍya) of many sacrificial halls (palńskai). Individual Brahmins maintained and regularly worshipped the ‘three fires’ in their homes, and made sacrifices and feasts for gods and guests a daily feature of their lives, rice, ghee and meat figuring prominently in both. Rice mixed with flesh was offered to crows daily on the thresholds of houses. Gifts to Brahmins were made with libations of water. A pantheon of many gods with temples of their own where public worship was offered to them had arisen. Vishnu was worshipped with tulasī (basil) leaves, bells, and other accompaniments, devotional fasting was practised in the premises of temples to obtain the grace of Vishnu. The Perumbāṇ-arṇuppadai, one of ‘Ten Idylls’, mentions Vishnu sleeping on the soft coils of Ananta in Kāṇchipuram. Śiva as the ardhanārisvara (half man half woman), his Nandi, his gaṇas, in fact the whole gamut of Śaiva legends are found together in the invocatory verse of Puram 400. Śiva, Balarāma, Krishṇa, and Subrahmaṇya, find mention together in one poem. The worship of Subrahmaṇya Murugan in Tamil, was attended by frenzied dances known as vēlan-āṭal, possibly a survival of an ancient religious fashion like the dances connected with the worship of Krishṇa as a shepherd hero. The worship of a forest goddess identified with Durgā may be another survival of like nature.

Buddhism and Jainism must have found a footing in the land, but there are few references to them in this literature. The mention of Šrāvakas, lay followers of Jainism, and Jain monasteries in Madurai and of Indras in the plural are all the more noteworthy. Ascetics with orange robes carrying a tridantha (mukköl) are mentioned.
We know relatively little of domestic ritual. This must have followed, at least for the Brahmans, the normal Indo-Aryan pattern and included the five great yajñas i.e. offerings to Rṣis (study), manes, gods, bhūtas including animals, and men (guests). There is, however, a detailed account of prenatal rites designed to ensure that the unborn child will excel in desired directions after its birth. There are references both to cremation and burial in urns, and the rather late work Maṇimēkalai mentions both these and yet other methods of disposing the dead such as exposure practised in its day, say in the sixth or seventh century A.D. Archaeological evidence points to the burial of cremated remains as well as of decarnated bodies. The wife is said to offer a pīndam (rice-ball) to her dead husband who was supposed to eat it at the instance of a pulaiyan, before his pyre was kindled.

The common people worshipped village deities, many of them demonic in character, with rites of their own. They had many quaint beliefs and peculiar practices. They had an elaborate procedure including the sticking of margosa leaves in the roof, singing songs, and applying collyrium and white mustard to the child for warding off the evil machinations of the pēy (goblins). They read omens in the movement of birds (śakuna). A woman with dishevelled hair was a bad men, to be counteracted by prayer. The crow was believed to announce in advance the return of the absent husband to his wife. The Kuravas believed that they could bring down rain by offering bali to their deity. A magic stick which enabled fortune-tellers to ply their trade is mentioned. Astrology was much in vogue and people were ready to make empirical deductions from exceptional natural phenomena. A whole poem describes the portents which foreboded the death of Śēy of the elephant eye within seven days.

The Śangam age in the Tamil land was thus heavily in debt to North Indian culture for its set up in the sphere of higher religion, though survivals of more primitive practices continued to prevail among the rural and tribal folk. But the debt to the
North was more than amply repaid by signal contributions to the theory and practice of religion and to philosophical thought in its different aspects. The saints and seers of the Tamil land evolved a new type of bhakti, a fervid emotional surrender to God, which found in due course its supreme literary expression in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa about the tenth century A.D., a bhakti very different from the calm dignified devotion of the Bhāgavatas of the early centuries before and after Christ in northern India. To the South again India owes the two schools of Vedic exegesis Mīmāṃsā—that go under the names of Kumārila and Prabhākara. The three main systems of Vedānta of which the founders were Śankara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva, also hailed from the southern country. The Tamil country also produced yet another philosophical system in the Śaiva Siddhānta. Lastly, the Vedas were commented on more than once in South India which also kept up the constant study of the ritual manuals of the different vedic schools also to our day.

Harmony and mutual tolerance characterised the relations of the different faiths till about the fifth century A.D. The worship of primitive godlings with offerings of blood and toddy went on side by side with the performance of elaborate vedic sacrifices and the worship of the higher gods in temples with daily pūjās and periodic festivals. Buddhists and Jains flourished in considerable numbers without let or hindrance in different parts of the country. But some time after the close of the Śangam age and before the rise of the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas in the late sixth century, a great change came and people began to entertain fears of the whole land going over to the heretical creeds of Jainism and Buddhism. This was doubtless related to the obscure political revolution with which the Kālabhras had a close connection. The worshippers of Śiva and Vishṇu felt the call to stem the tide of rising heresy. An organized attempt was made to repel the new attack and orthodox leaders gave outspoken expression to their hatred of Buddhists and Jains. Challenges to public debate, competitions in the performance
of miracles, tests of the truth of doctrines by means of ordeals, became the order of the day. Devotees in groups gathered under gifted leaders and traversed the country over and over again, visiting sacred shrines, singing, dancing, and debating all the way. This great wave of religious enthusiasm seems to have attained its peak in the seventh and eighth centuries and had not spent itself in the middle of the ninth. Our knowledge of the period comes largely from the indirect testimony of later literature and to a much less degree from contemporary inscriptions and other accounts. Among inscriptions those of Pallava Rāja- simha (c. 700) are important, and in one of them he is said to have washed out all his sins by following the path of Śaiva-siddhānta. But the body of sacred hymns, the Four Thousand sacred hymns of the Vaishṇavas and the Dēvāram of the Śaivas form unmistakable guides to the state of religious feeling at the time.

Influenced probably by the Jaina tradition regarding their sixty-three saints recorded in the Mahāpurāṇa (978), Śaiva hagiology recognized sixty-three nōyanārs (leaders) who are worshipped in temples to this day; the work of Śekkilār treating of their lives is mentioned in the chapter on literature. They included among their number a woman (ammaiyār) from Kāraikkāl, and a pariah Nandan from Ādanūr, besides a general of the Pallava army Śiruttoṭṭān. Most prominent among them were the three authors of the Dēvāram of whom Tirunāväkkaraśu alias Appar was perhaps the first to come into prominence. He lived to a ripe old age and recognized the superior merit of his short-lived younger contemporary Nānasambandar whose songs take precedence in the Dēvāram collection. An orthodox Śaiva Vellāla from Tiruvārūr, Tirunāväkkaraśu succumbed to Jaina propaganda in his early years to the utter dismay of his elder sister and became a monk in the monastery at Pāṭaliputra (Cuddalore). The sister prayed to Śiva for help; her brother, monk Dharmasena, developed a severe disorder of the stomach which could not be cured by the Jainas, but disappeared by the grace of the God of Tiruvadigai gained by the intercession of
the sister, and Appar returned to the faith of his birth. He was severely persecuted by the Pallava king, himself a Jain, at the instance of the monks of Pāṭaliputra, but Appar was neither daunted nor affected by the acts of royal persecution, with the result that the king himself gave up Jainism and became a worshipper of Śiva. The Pallava king has often been identified with Mahendravarman I, but one wishes that the evidence was clearer than it is. It is hard to believe that the author of Mattavilāsa was a fanatical Jaina persecutor.

Nānasambandar was a Brahmin of the Kauṇḍinya gotra from Shiyali (Taṅjāvūr Dist.). As a child of three, he is said to have got from Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, herself the milk of divine knowledge and narrated the event in song to his father. Recognizing the divinity in his child the father carried him about on his shoulders, till the gods came and presented a pearl palanquin for the child’s use. The central incident in Nānasambandar’s life was his visit to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom at the invitation of the queen and chief minister of that country and the resulting conversion of the Pāṇḍyan king from Jainism to Śiva worship, and the decay of Jainism thereafter. The incident was exaggerated in later times in a puerile manner and even now Madura conducts an annual festival in the temple commemorating the incredible impalement of eight thousand Jainas at the instance of the gentle boy saint. At the time of his marriage in his sixteenth year, he was absorbed into the godhead together with his bride and the entire wedding party! He was the purest of all the saints, with no past to regret.

The last of the Dēvāram trio was Sundaramūrti of Nāvalūr, who came about a century after Nānasambandra. Born of poor Brahmin parents he was brought up by a local chieftain who was attracted by the beauty of the boy. His marriage with a girl of his own caste was stopped by Śiva intervening as an old man and establishing his claim that Sundaramūrti was his bondslave. Later Sundara fell in love with two women, and Śiva had to intervene again to abate their jealousies. The contemporary
Chēra ruler Chēramān Perumāḷ was his friend and also a devotee of Śiva. They often visited each other and made together their last journey to Śiva's abode in Mt. Kailās—Sundara on a white elephant and the Perumāḷ on a horse. Sundara's devotion to the Lord was that of an intimate friend and gained him the sobriquet Tambirāntōlan (Friend of God).

Another illustrious Śaiva saint was Māṇikkavāsagar (one whose speech was ruby), most probably a contemporary of Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II (acc. 862). His story resembles that of St. Thomas. He spent vast sums entrusted to him by the king for the purchase of horses in erecting a Śiva temple, and was then released from prison by Śiva appearing as a horse-dealer and delivering the horses, which, however, turned into jackals the next day and ran into the forest. Māṇikkavāsagar's works are the Tiruvāṣagam (sacred word) and Tiruccittirambalakkōvai, a schematic and allegorical love-poem treating at once of stages of carnal love and those of the love of the soul for god. Some writers suspect the influence of Christian theology on his ideas. He does not find a place among the nāyanārs.

The hymns of Nānasambandar, Appar and Sundaramūrti form a rich and varied treasurehouse of religious experience telling of mystical raptures and ecstasies, of moments of light when there is a vision of God and the world is transfigured in the light of his love, and of periods of gloom when all is dark and the blind seeker is filled with a sense of fear. Rather different and more exuberant are the outpourings of Māṇikkavāsagar whose confessions are more outspoken and whose devotion is more impassioned.

By the side of this pure bhakti school among the Śaivites, there existed other types of worship with gruesome tenets and practices repellant to the modern taste. Their origins are obscure and they seem to be a carry over from a more primitive and savage state of society. We refer to the Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, Kālāmukhas and others whose presence in considerable numbers in centres like Kāñchī, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Melpādi, Koḍum-
bālūr and elsewhere is clearly attested by inscriptions and literature from the seventh century onwards. Smearing the body with ashes from the burning ground, eating food in a skull, keeping a pot of wine ever at hand, were some of the common practices of the Kālāmukhas, and some of these sects, if not all, were addicted to the worship of the female principle, which often degenerated into licentious orgies. The practice of the devotee offering his own head as a sacrifice to the goddess is shown in the sculpture and literature of the age of the Pallavas and Chōlas.

The Vaishnava Wing of the movement is represented by ten ālvārs (divers into the qualities of god)—some reckon them as twelve including Āṇḍāḷ and Madhurakavi—for whom orthodox tradition provides an impossible chronology. Three of them—Poygai, Pūdam and Pēy born respectively at Kānchī, Mallai and Mylapore—form an early group. A fine legend tells of their seeking shelter together from rain in a narrow room which could just hold them standing, when Vishṇu himself entered seeking their company and adding to the pressure on the space. The bhakti of these early saints is a gentle, simple devotion, altogether free from the sectarian outlook. They may be assigned to the fifth or sixth century A.D. Then came Tirumaliśai who takes his name from the village of his birth in the Chingleput District. He is said to have been brought up by a Śūdra, and to have practised Jainism, Buddhism and Śaivism before finally turning a Vaishnava yogi. He was more of a controversialist than the first ālvāra. After him came Tirumangai, a petty chieftain of Ālīnāṭu in the Taṅjāvūr District, who became a very celebrated ālvār and prolific composer of hymns. Legend has it that he turned a highwayman in order to carry off and marry the daughter of Vaishnava doctor of higher caste for whose sake he also changed his religion; he is also said to have stolen a Buddha image of solid gold from the vihāra in Nāgapattaṭhinam to pay for the renovation of the temple of Śrīrangam. He refers to Nandivarman II
Pallava and his father-in-law Vairamegha Dantidurga Rāšṭrakūṭa in his hymns and must be placed in the eighth century A.D. There is a story, most likely apocryphal, of his meeting with Nānasambandar at Shiyaḷi. His hymns are full of good poetry and attacks on Jainism and Buddhism, and resemble, in their literary form, those of Nānasambandar. In the later half of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth came a number of other ālvārs. Periyāḻvār, a Brahmin of Śrī-Villippūṭur, won a disputation in the court of the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha (815-62). Āṇḍāḷ or Kōdai (Godā in Skt.) the only woman among the ālvārs, was the real or adopted daughter of Periyāḻvār. She dreamt of her marriage with Viśṇu and described her experience in her hymns, one of which is sung in Viṣṇuva marriages to this day; the hymns are full of allusions to Krīṣṇa stories. There was also Tiruppaṇ, a minstrel of low caste, who was not permitted to enter the Śrīrangam temple—the Viṣṇuva counterpart of the Pariaḥ nāyanār Nandān; and Toṇḍar-adippodi (the dust of the feet of the devotees), a Taṉjavūr Brahmin whose real name was Vīparanārayana and whose intolerance of the heretical sects rivalled that of Tirumangai. The Kerala ruler Kula-śekhara, proficient in Sanskrit as well as in Tamil, was the next ālvār, who sang of the god at Citrakūṭa in Chidambaram, among others. Lastly came the celebrated Nammālvār and his pupil Madhurakavi. Nammālvār came of a Vellāḷa family of Kurugūr, now known as Āḷvārtirunagari, in the Tirunelveli District. He is also known as Māran and Śaṭhakōpa. He renounced the world and became a yogī in his thirty-fifth year. His hymns, the largest in number after those Tirumangai, are rightly held to embody the deepest religious experience and philosophic thought of one of the greatest seers of the world.

Hiuen Tsang who toured the south of India in 642 did not notice the Hindu revival though he observed the presence of Śiva worshippers in Mahārāśṭra who covered themselves
with ashes. He regrets that his own creed Buddhism was yielding ground to Digambara Jainism. The triumph of the revival was largely achieved in the two centuries that followed. Public disputations ending in a change of faith on the part of vanquished party did much to bring about this result. More important, however, was the use of the popular speech by the nāyanārs and ālvārs in their soul-stirring compositions, and the fact that these hymns were set to simple tunes the masses loved to sing. Another important, though less popular, aspect of the same revival is seen in the work of Kumārila and Śankara, neither of whom belonged to the Tamil country proper and therefore do not come in for detailed notice here. But the broad based smārta (traditionalist) aspect of religious observances in daily life initiated by them had a profound influence in the Tamil country also. It prescribed a mild routine of rituals, abated the acerbities of sectarianism, and sought to harmonize the different creeds by concession and compromise such as the concepts of Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara and so on. The smārtas often worshipped daily five deities at home viz. Śiva, Vishṇu, Dēvi, Sūrya and Gaṇapati arranged in a quincuncx with the most favourite deity in the centre. This is known as paṇchāyatana pūjā.

The work of the poet-saints of the Pāṇḍya Pallava period was continued under the Chōlas by a succession of poets and teachers of the second rank. The Tamil hymns of the preceding period came to be regarded as equal to the Veda and were collected and arranged as canonical books. They came to be employed in the regular daily worship in temples, and their authors worshipped as avatārs of the deity. In fact the rise of the temple to an important place in the religious and social life of the land was the direct result of the revivalist movement. The Pallavas were great builders as the maṇḍapas and temples of Mahābalipuram, Kāñchipuram, Panamalai and elsewhere show. Under the Chōlas stone temples of varying sizes came up in almost every town and village of their extensive
empire. The great temples of Tañjāvūr and Gangaikoṇḍa-
chōlapuram were symbolic of the new age and, among many
others, they were celebrated in hymns by contemporary poets.

The Śaiva canon, where these hymns found a place, was
arranged in the reign of Rājarāja I by Nambī Āṅḍār Nambī;
and added to till the middle of the twelfth century. The
Vaishnava canon on the other hand got its definitive shape
from Nāthamuni—Ranganāthamuni was his full name. In
his works he expressed the clear need he felt for the support
and guidance of a living God, and showed the way to a philoso-
phical justification of the path of love. His grandson Āḷavandār,
also called Yāmunāchārya in memory of his visits to the sacred
spots of Krishṇa’s youth on the banks of the Jumna, was the
next great name in the succession of Vaishnava āchāryas of
the period. A man of the world in his early years, he was
called to the higher life by a follower of Nāthamuni. He then
turned ascetic and spent the rest of his life in preaching, writing,
conducting debates and teaching his pupils. His writings often
cited by Rāmānuja ‘sought to establish the real existence of
the supreme soul, and the eternal independence of the individual
soul’.

Rāmānuja was doubtless the greatest of the Vaishnava
āchāryas. Born in the first quarter of the eleventh century
at Śrīperumbūdūr in the neighbourhood of Madras, he had
his early philosophical training under Yādavapraṅkāśa of
Kāṅchipuram, a follower of Śankara. Yāmaunāchārya met
him there, but, unwilling to disturb the course of his studies,
he uttered a prayer for the increase of Śrī Vaishnavas and
returned to Śrīrangam. Then began Rāmānuja’s disagreements
with the teachings of his guru and affiliations with the Śrīrangam
school. Yāmuna sent for him, but breathed his last before
Rāmānuja reached Śrīrangam and succeeded him as the head
of the matha there, a position which gave him control over the
temple and the school and a position of authority in the sect.
He soon proved his mettle as teacher and organizer. He
refuted the doctrine of Māyā propounded by Śankara, demonstrated that the upanishads did not teach a strict monism, and built up the philosophy of Viśishṭādvaita which reconciled devotion to a personal God with the philosophy of the Vedānta by affirming that ‘the soul though of the same substance as God and emitted from him rather than created, can obtain bliss not in absorption but in existence near him’. He reformed the temple ritual. Though he did not depart from the traditional organization of society in varṇa and jāti, he affirmed the universality of bhakti and the spiritual equality of the bhaktas by arranging that in certain important temples the outcastes should have the privilege of entering the temple for worship on one day in the year. He travelled all over India to spread his ideas and this may well have been the origin of the wide influence of his sect in Northern India. The Chōlas were ardent Saivas and obviously could not have favoured Rāmānuja, and one Chōla king is known to have uprooted the Vishṇu image of Chidambaram and cast it into the sea; but the legends of their persecution of Vaishṇavism seem to be highly exaggerated, though the fact remains that Rāmānuja had to withdraw to Mysore about 1098 and could not return to Śrīrangam till 1122; but during the interval he won over the Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana from Jainism and established an influential matha at Melkote. After his return to Śrīrangam, Rāmānuja continued his work there till his death in 1137. He is worshipped in all Vaishṇava temples.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the rise of a schism among the followers of Rāmānuja due to a difference in their interpretation of propatti (surrender). Some held that the devotee had to exert himself to win the grace of the Lord, while others thought that the Lord’s grace by itself conferred salvation on the soul that had entered the path of surrender. The position of the first school, Vaḍagalai (northern branch), is commonly summed up in the phase markatakisoranyāya—the rule that the young monkey clings to its mother with an
effort; and that of the second school, the Tengalai (southern branch) is called mārjarakīśoranyāya, the rule of the kitten which is carried about by its mother in her mouth. There are also other differences, one of them being a decided preference for Tamil as against Sanskrit on the part of the Tengalais. The southern school look upon Piḷḷai Lokāchārya (b. 1213) as its founder. He was the author of eighteen esoteric treatises (rahasyas) and had to leave Śrīrangam with the sacred image during the Muslim inroads. He found an influential expositor in Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni (b. 1370), the next great scholar and writer in the southern school. The leader of the northern school was Vedānta Deśika (b. 1268). He once hid himself under a heap of dead bodies in Śrīrangam during a Muslim inroad and escaped to Mysore till the storm blew over. He was poet, philosopher and man of affairs. Vaishṇavism continued to be one of the dominant forces influencing the life of the people and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar followed the faith. In 1556 Sadāśiva, at the request of Rāma Rāja gave thirty-one villages to maintain the temple of Rāmānuja in Śrīperumbūdūr, and the institutions attached to it. There were no new developments in doctrine or practice.

The development of Āgamic Śaivism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries deserves particular notice. The Āgamas are first mentioned by Sundaramūrti, and the Tirumandiram of Tirumūlar (ninth century?) is the earliest work to reflect the theology of the Āgamas. Āgamic terminology also occurs in Maṇikkavāsagar who eulogises the Āgamas as revealed by Śiva and denounces the monism (advaita) of Śankara. The first definite formulation of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta was in the work of Meykanḍār (he who discovered the truth), a pious Vellāla of the thirteenth century from the banks of the Peṇṭār river. He is reputed to have received instruction from Paraṇjotimuni who was specially sent down from Kailāsa. His Śiva Ŋana Bōdam, a translation in Tamil of twelve Sanskrit Śūtras from the Raurava Āgama, is looked upon as the fountain head of the dogmatics of the system,
An extensive philosophic literature sprang out of this work, and there grew up in course of time different schools with minor differences in doctrinal details within the fold of the Siddhānta. But in the main it sought, like other philosophies of religion, to determine the relations of God, matter, and the soul. It declared that matter and souls were, like God, eternal. The absolute through its ‘grace-form’ is for ever engaged in the rescue of souls from the bondage of matter and the three stains (malas) which defile their purity. ‘As body and mind together form a unity, so God is the soul whose body is the universe of nature and of man. He is not identical with either; He is not their substance but He dwells in them and they in Him. Advaita is not oneness, but inseparability. To realize this union is the highest calling of the soul.’ It is for the guru or the teacher to let in the light, but Śiva is the source of all enlightenment, sole embodiment of intelligence and grace, and hence the true object of all devout aspiration. The system transcends caste and ritual, and calls for inner devotion. According to one writer contentment, justice, and wisdom are the flowers of worship.

Under the Rāyas of Vijayanagar most of the famous temples of South India were enlarged particularly by the addition of large gōpuras or entrance towers and corridors and maṇḍapas of various kinds like Kalyāṇa (marriage), Āyirakkōl (thousand pillared) and so on. A few temples were altogether rebuilt on a new integral plan like that of Madura under Nāyakas the great (1550-1659). The periodical festivals in most of these temples were also richly endowed and brought together people from all classes of society including groups of peripatetic merchants and traders. The Nāyaks themselves were often ardent devotees deeply attached to their gurus, and Vijayarāghava (1633-73) of Taṇjavūr for instance was well known for his feats of devotion, his festivals and feasts, his guruṭūpājā, pilgrimage to Rāmeśvaram and performance of hiranyagarba and tulābhāra ceremonies.

The Sittars (Siddhas in Skt.) were a notable Śaiva school of the Tamil country whose creed was monotheistic and puritan
and roundly condemned idolatory. It seems probable that the attempts of Christians and Muslims to convert the Hindus in large numbers to their creeds provoked a reaction which emphasized the aspects of Hinduism closely allied to the alien creeds and sought to popularize them among the masses in easy philosophical songs. The history of the Sittars is rather obscure, but they seem to have been most active in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ahappēy (the inner spirit) and Pāmbāṭṭi (snake charmer) are the names adopted by two of the best singers amongst them. Many of the Sittar hymns are collected in the Śiva-Vākyam, Śiva’s utterance, which, however, includes some orthodox lyrics. On the other hand, a number of beautiful lyrics in the Sittar spirit are attributed, perhaps by mistake, to Paṭṭinanattu Piḷḷai, a tenth century devotee.

Neither the anarchy of the eighteenth century nor the period of British rule witnessed any remarkable new developments in religion or philosophy. Early in the eighteenth century we get Tāyumanāvar whose Śaiva lyrics are marked by intense religious feelings, beauty of language, and sweetness of rhythm. Later in the century Śivajñāna yogi (d. 1785) whose extensive Drāvida Mahā-bhāshya and the shorter Laghu Tikā were commentaries on the basic text of Tamil Śaivism, Śiva Nāna Bōdam. The one name worth noting in the nineteenth century is that of Rāmalinga-svāmī (1823-74) of Vaḍalūr (South Arcot) who conceived of the Absolute as pure light and bliss, and expounded his ideas in his Aruṭpā (song of grace) in verse of exceptional lucidity and rhythm. Conditions of life in the twentieth century have led to a certain laxity in the observance of rituals, but have not caused any fundamental change in beliefs or outlook in the bulk of the people. A rationalistic agnosticism professed by a handful of victorian intellectuals seems to have lost ground, and the impact of modern science and technology appears to have just added a new way of life to the old without yet modifying or damaging it in a tangible measure. That the age of saints and seers has not gone may be seen from such instances as Ramaṇa
Maharshi (1879-1950) of the Āśrama at Tiruvaṅkāmalai, and Yogi Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950) of Pondicherry, both of whom lived in quite recent years, wrote significant works on philosophy and religion, and gathered a considerable number of disciples about them.

The impact of western civilization with its science and technology has indeed produced many notable changes in the externals of life; but these seem to leave ancient beliefs, practices and outlook together with the well-established religious institutions almost untouched. Old temples continue in worship and new ones are coming up; vedic sacrifices have gone out of use, but in attenuated and changed forms, all the old ceremonials and rituals are being continued. The Sandhyāvandanam is disappearing, but, with many, other jāpas or pārāyaṇams (reading of selected and texts) take its place. Festivals and pilgrimages, bhājanas in early morning in the Mārgali (Dec.-Jan.) month are still as common as ever, though with the difference that modern appliances of transport, communication, sanitation and so on, are availed of to a greater or less extent. The Mahāmakham festival at Kumbakonam which recurs once in twelve years perhaps attracts vaster crowds to bathe in the sacred tank now than it did in the days of Vijayanagar when the emperors used to attend them in person. In former times temples used to be the seats of religious and even general education; now temple funds are turned to use in schools and universities, and even to aid defence in an ‘emergency’ by a stretch of the political power. Films are made of purāṇic stories and the harikathā has been taken up by the Radio.

A recent analysis of the daily engagements in the city of Madras shows that there are twice as many religious meetings every day as meetings for other purposes, and few meetings of any kind start without a prayer. There is a growing spirit of eclecticism and toleration and an instance has been cited of a Muslim bhāgavata giving a series of discourses on the Bhāgavata purāṇa.

The old mathas with their āchāryas continue to be influential, and new āśramas of various types are coming up and wielding
influence even after their founders disappear—witness the Rama-
ṉāśram at Tiruvanṭāmalai and Aurobindo Āśrama at Pondi-
cherry. The Ramakrishṇa Mission has its maṭhas and mission
centres in Tamil land and runs a number of schools, colleges and
dispensaries.

British rule was neutral in religious and social questions,
and the Union of India is a secular state; the result has been
that religion has been kept out of the educational system, except
for extra-curricular teaching in Christian mission schools. 'But
if we exclude spiritual training in our institutions we would be
untrue to our whole historical development' said the recent
University Education Commission 1948/9. It said further,
'India is the meeting place of the great religions of the world and
will play an increasingly prominent part in the religious life of
mankind and Indian students should have an idea of India's
role in the world.'

We may now turn to the other religions which have played
a part in the development of Tamil culture. We have already
mentioned the presence in the early centuries B.C. and A.D. of
Buddhist and Jaina monks living at first in natural caverns
adapted to human use; by and by they came to occupy monas-
teries of varying sizes built of brick, wood and other perishable
material, which have left no traces behind, but whose existence
is attested by literature. Buddhism was on the decline when
Hiuen Tsang travelled, and the activities of the Hindu saints
of the revival in the following period evidently hastened its down-
fall. The Buddhist epic poem Maṇimekalai must be assigned to
this period of decline. But Buddhism did not die out altogether,
and under the Chōlas we hear of a Buddhist settlement in Nāga-
apṭtinam on the east coast and at Śrīmūlavāsam on the west.
Buddhism was considered sufficiently important for some
scenes from Buddha's life to be sculptured in decorative panels
in a balustrade of the Great Temple of Taṅjāvūr. A notable
work of Tamil grammar, the Viṣṇūliyam composed in Viṟarā-
jēndra's time (eleventh century) had a Buddhist scholar
for its author and another for its annotator. One section of Kāñchipuram bore the name Buddha Kāñchi to a relatively late date, and a monk from one of the monasteries there sang the praises of a Hindu ruler of eastern Java in the fourteenth century.

On the whole, however, Jainism had more influence than Buddhism on the life of the people, owing to the striking contributions made by Jaina authors to Tamil literature. Jainism had much more in common with Hinduism than Buddhism, and many popular beliefs and practices were common to both. In many Jaina grants we find that the donees are required to use the proceeds of the endowment for their daily rites and observances in terms identical with those employed in Hindu donations; and influential merchant guilds often included a strong Jaina wing in their membership. In 1368 the Jains complained to king Bukkarāya of Vijayanagar of persecution from the Vaishnavaś; the monarch decreed that both parties should practise their respective faiths with equal freedom and without mutual interference. Jainism has been steadily losing ground, but it has not altogether disappeared from the Tamil land. Besides material relics in places like Madurai and Kāñchipuram where they were once fairly strong in numbers, they form still small communities in different places. There are for instance, about 700 of them in the Tañjāvūr and Kum-bakonam taluqs of the Tañjāvūr District, with their chief temples in Mannārgudi and Devangudi. They style themselves Chettiyars and Mudaliyārs like Hindus, and engage in trade and agriculture. The men resemble Vellālas, though they wear the sacred thread and caste marks on their foreheads. The women also look and dress like Vellāla women. They follow the same modes of worship in temples and at home as the Brahmins, only their images are those of Tīrthankaras, and not any of the Hindu deities. They believe in rebirth and their ultimate goal is Nīruṇa, not Moksha. They believe in and practice ahiṃsā as far as possible. They have four groups
—the laymen and three priestly classes. The latter comprise in ascending order Arcakas or Vādyārs who conduct temple worship; the annams, monks who marry and follow some special rules meant for them; and the nirvāṇis, ascetics who live apart from the world. One may rise from the lower to the higher order among these. There are also nuns who are usually maidens or widows. The laymen interdine but do not intermarry with arcakas. Their domestic ceremonies at birth, marriage etc. resemble those of Brahmīns, and they observe the Śivarātri and Dīpāvalī, not for the reasons in the Hindu tradition, but because on these days the first and the last of the Tīrthānkaras attained nirvāṇa. They also observe the Pongal and the Āyudha Pūjā days.

Arab traders, it is well known, came and settled in the coastal towns of South India for trade in the early centuries of the Christian era, and this practice continued even after the Arabs adopted Islam. There were Muslim settlements on the east coast of South India of which Kāyalpaṭṭanam and Nagore were the most important. Islam, it is said, was preached actively near Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi in the eleventh century by a Sayyid prince of Turkey, who came to India as a missionary and spent his last years converting many Hindus. His tomb is still pointed out in the city. There was a short lived dynasty of Madura sultans in the fourteenth century—the result of a revolt against the Tughlak dynasty, which was overthrown by Kumāra Kampana of Vijayanagar about 1371. A harrowing picture of the sufferings of Hindus under their misrule was given by Gangā-devī, the wife of Kampana, in her Madhurā vijayam. The inroads of the sultans of Golconda and Bijapur, the temporary assertion of Mughal supremacy in the South in the late seventeenth century, and the forcible conversions effected by Tipu Sultan added to the numbers of Muslims, and today they form an important minority community among the Tamils. They are mostly Labbais and Marakkāyars. Formerly the Labbais were known as Sonagars (Sonagam being
the name of Arabia); now they often take the title Rāwutar. They are orthodox Muslims, but their mother tongue is Tamil and they follow the Hindus in their domestic ceremonies, in their rules of inheritance and in their dress. Their marriage ceremony closely resembles that of lower caste Hindus, the only difference being that they cite passages from the Koran and their women do not appear in public even during marriages. Labbaïs are mostly traders though some of them are adepts in growing betel and others weave cora (reed or sedge) mats. They live on amicable terms with the Hindus. They visit the famous temple of Subrahmanya at Paţani while Hindus flock to tombs of Muslim fâkirs like those at Tirupparangunram and Nagore. They both join in the fire-walking which follows the Moharam in some places. The Marakkâyars get their name from the Arabic word markâb meaning a boat. They are also a mixed race of Arabs and Hindus like the Labbaïs and are mostly traders. They admit converts from various Hindu strata (called Palukkais) but do not intermarry with them. Some of them have a marriage ceremonial extending over four days. The Marakkâyars hold themselves superior to the Labbaïs and do not generally interdine or intermarry with them.

It is difficult to say how far Islam influenced Hindu religious thought and practice in the South. Some traits of the Hindu revival such as the increasing emphasis on monotheism, on emotional worship, on self-surrender, on the need for devotion to a spiritual teacher, as well as the growing laxity in caste rules and indifference to ritual at least among some sects, have all been held to be in some way or other the result of Islamic influence. Even the monistic philosophy of Śāṅkara has been traced to it. But these developments can well be explained from the internal history of Hinduism itself, and we lack direct evidence of the active influence of Islam which, moreover, strikes one as prima facie unlikely. Perhaps, after all, it is not an accident that, as Eliot has observed, sects grew 'more
definite in doctrine and organization, especially among the Vaishn̄avites, as Hindus became more familiar with Islam'.

A persistent but doubtful tradition ascribes the introduction of Christianity in South India to St. Thomas in the first century A.D. Early in the sixth century Comas Indikopleustes (522) found a church at Quilon and another in Cochin. Copper plate grants in favour of Malabar Christians are known from late eighth century. There was a Christian community at St. Thomas Mount near Madras, but no authentic account of its condition is forthcoming before Marco Polo (1293) who first reports the story of the martyrdom of St. Thomas on the Mount, but the shrine on the Greater Mount was visited by Hindus and Muslims as well as by the Christians themselves. Christian travellers in the Middle Ages occasionally complain of the paucity of Christians in South India and of the persecution to which they were sometimes subjected, and Friar Jordamus (1321-30) wrote enthusiastically of the greater scope that India offered for missionary activity in the cause of Christianity.

Active propaganda of Christianity, however, began only after the arrival of the Portuguese and of St. Francis Xavier (1542). Many conversions were made among the people of the Pearl-fishery Coast. Early in the seventeenth century Robert de Nobili came to the Madura Mission and began proselytizing in a manner unique and unprecedented. He began to live like Indians saying: 'I will make myself Indian to save the Indians'; calling himself a 'Roman Brahmin', and permitting converts to continue their harmless ceremonies and customs, he seems at first to have achieved a measure of success. But this roused the opposition of the Brahmins, and in later years even though the Nāyaks of Madura were not unfriendly to the missionaries, popular opposition in the rural areas grew against their activities. And de Nobili's methods were condemned by his colleagues as a monstrous combination of Paganism and Christianity, and his prestige suffered. During
the reign of Tirumalai Nāyaka (1623-59) de Nobili shifted his activities to the north of the Tamil country, Śēndamangalam, Selam and Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi. Tirumalai was on the whole friendly to the missionaries which his pālayakārs were not. De Nobili afterwards left the Madura country and retired to Jaffna first and later to Mylapore. Father Beschi came to Tirunelvēli in 1711 and did much work on the Fishery coast till his death in 1746, besides contributing much to Tamil poetry. There was a lull when the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773-1814; afterwards there was renewed activity. Many new churches were built, and the Roman Catholic mission continued to do good work in the fields of education and medicine. And today perhaps the Society of Jesus is the largest single private agency operating in the field of education in the Tamil country.

In due course missions from Protestant countries also took up the similar work, and the Madras Christian College with a long and notable career of achievement is the finest monument of Protestant effort in South India. The majority of Christians, however, continue to be Roman Catholics.
V. LITERATURE

The earliest Tamil literature accessible to us is that of the Ēṟarangam. It comprises rather less than 2300 poems varying in length from four or five to well over 800 lines each, and making up altogether about 30,000 lines of poetry. About a hundred of these poems are anonymous, and the rest are by 473 authors including some women. We now find the poems grouped in schematic anthologies known as Ēṟṟuttogai (eight collections) and Pattupāṭṭu (ten idylls); at the end of each poem we find notes giving the author’s name, the occasion for the poem and other details; these notes we may accept, with reservations, as the record of an authentic tradition by the compilers of the anthologies.

An early convention divided Tamil literaturu into two broad divisions: Aham (lit. interior) depicting subjective reactions particularly among lovers to amorous situations, and recollections of them; and Puram (lit. exterior) portraying objective facts and events, liberality and war being the preponderant themes. There were many detailed ramifications of the convention which may be left on one side by the general student of Tamil literary history. The names and nature of the anthologies may now be indicated. First, the Ēṟṟuttogai: (1) Nāṟṟinai, (the good tīnai). Tīnai denoting the five conventional types of landscape e.g. sea-shore, forest and mountain, and the reactions to erotic situations in the particular milieu. The collection includes 400 poems of moderate length, nine to twelve lines each, collected under the auspices of a Pāṇḍya prince. His personal name and that of the actual compiler are unknown; it opens with an invocatory poem by ‘Perundēvanār who sang the Bhāratam’. The Bhāratam of this author was most probably different from the work of his namesake composed in the reign of Nandivarman, victor of Teḻḷāṟu, and must be deemed to have been lost. (2) Kurundogai (the Short anthology): each poem
has four to eight lines, and there are 400 of them by 205 authors put together by Pūrikkō. The subject matter is Aham and there is an invocation by Perundēvanār. (3) Aingurunūru (the five short hundreds): the invocation by Perundēvanār being extra. Each tinai gets a hundred poems by a single author. The compiler was Kūḍalūr Kilār, and his patron a Chēra prince. (4) Padiṟṟuppattu (the ten tens): a quasi-historical collection, each ten being by a single author eulogizing a single Chēra monarch. The first and last tens are missing and so too as a consequence data regarding compiler and patron. (5) Pariṇādal also a fragment of an original collection of seventy songs—8 on Vishṇu, 31 on Muruga, one on Kāḍu-kilāḷ (goddess of the forest), 26 on Vaigai river, and 4 on Madurai. Only 24 entire poems and parts of a few others have come down, but no details of compilation. (6) Kalittogai so named from the Kali metre of the collection which has 150 poems including the invocation. Subject matter is ahām, the poems being equally divided among the five tinais, each group by a separate author, one of them Nallanduvanār being the compiler of the whole. (7) Ahanānūru, Aham 400, invocation by Perundēvanār being extra. The collection was made by Rudraśarman of Madurai at the instance of Pāṇḍya Ugrapperuvaludi. Lastly, (8) Puranānūru, Puram 400, including invocation of Perundēvanār. This and the ‘Ten tens’ (no. 4 above) are most valuable for history, containing as they do many references to kings, chieftains and battles and to other political occurrences. They also help the reconstruction of the religion, society, industry and trade of the times. Their evidence on maritime trade and javanas tallies with data furnished by classical European writers, like Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy and the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, and the evidence from archaeology mentioned elsewhere in the book.

The Pattupāṭṭu comprises ten longer poems. All except the first on Muruga of relatively later date deal with historical persons and situations. There is little doubt that only a part of the literature of the Šangam has reached us and much has been lost
besides the Bhāratam of Perundēvanār. The Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant and most complete grammar of Tamil, also belongs to this early period though traits of a relatively late date are not wanting in it. It is said to have drawn upon the Aindra school of Sanskrit grammar.

Though suffused with the ideas and ideals of northern Sanskrit culture, the Šangam poems command an exceptional vigour and directness of language unknown in later literature; these poets create vivid pen pictures with a rare economy of words, and the proportion of Sanskritic words is rather small in their vocabulary. They often portray at full length or produce vignettes of society and economy; they are equally at home in describing the royal palace, the Brahmin home, and the fishermen’s hut; they describe battles and banquets with equal gusto and touch in the most delicate manner the nuances of love between the sexes. When read in the original they provide an exquisite aesthetic enjoyment which translations necessarily fail to reflect.

*  *  *

The next epoch of Tamil literature extends up to A.D. 850; it was marked by an increasing inflow of Sanskrit influences and the ascendancy of Jainism in the literary field as in the life of the country, followed by a strong Hindu reaction; this reaction found expression in the widespread bhakti movement led by Šaiva Nāyanārs and Vaishnava Ālvārs and in the legacy of popular sacred literature left by them. Most of the didactical works composed early in this period, some of which still shared the characteristics of Šangam poetry, were grouped together under the description padinenkilkkanałku (the eighteen treatises in short metres); of these perhaps the earliest and certainly the most celebrated is the Kural of Tируvaḷļuvar, a work of 1330 distichs grouped in decades—38 on aram (dharma), 70 on porul (artha), and the remaining 25 on inbam (kāma). The author was perhaps a Jain well versed in the works of Manu, Kauṭilya and
Vātsyāyana. The remaining works are generally pithy statements on morals and social conduct some of them like Tirikāṭukam (Skt. Trikaṭuka), Ėlādi and Śirupāṃchamūlam borrowing names of medicinal drugs on the score that their prescriptions are meant for the cure of the affections of the soul as medicines cure the affections of the body. Mention must also be made of Palamoli (proverbs), a Jain work of 400 stanzas in Vēnba metre, each citing a proverb, and recalling some incident or story illustrating it; and of the Āsārakkōvai, a veritable Tamil smṛti by a Śaiva author avowedly based on Sanskrit originals.

In general literature the three most outstanding works are by Jain and Buddhist authors. The Silappadikāram is an unsurpassed gem though its authorship and date are not free from besetting doubts. The work is in some ways unique in the whole range of Tamil literature in the vivid portraiture of scenes, the dramatic quality of its narration, and its skilful metrical effects. Its theme is an old saga, the story of a merchant prince Kōvalan who neglects his wife Kaṇṇagi and loses his fortune in his pursuit of the celebrated hetaera Mādhavi of Puhār. A quarrel between the lovers sends Kōvalan back to his wedded wife, and they both move out from Puhār to Madurai; to start a new life there with the money to be raised by the sale of Kaṇṇagi's jewels—particularly her precious anklet (śilambu) which gives its name to the poem. As a result of the machinations of the royal goldsmith, Kōvalan is suspected of being the thief who stole the queen's anklet and is cut down by the king's soldiers in the streets of Madurai. When Kaṇṇagi hears the news, she rushes to the palace with the second anklet and establishes the innocence of Kōvalan. The moment he realized the enormity of his injustice, the King Neḍum Śeliyan died of a broken heart. But Kaṇṇagi is not satisfied and wreaks her vengeance by consigning Madurai to flames, before she moves into the Chērā country where she is received into heaven with her husband. The Chērā King Śenguṭṭuvan enshrines her as the Goddess of Chastity. Despite its supernatural elements, the bulk of the story is a
moving human tale powerfully told, its scenes being laid in all
the three kingdoms of the Tamil land. The author is called Iḷangō
Aṭīgal (Prince ascetic) and is reputed to have been the brother
of Śengūṭuvan, but of such a brother there is no mention in the
Śangam poems. The mystery deepens further when we learn
that Iḷangō was a contemporary of Śattanār, a grainmerchant
of Madurai and author of Maṇimēkalai (The Jewel belt). This
is a Buddhist poem which tells the life story, mainly of religious
interest, of Maṇimēkalai, the daughter of Mādhavi by Kōvalan.
This poem lacks the brilliance and dramatic quality of the other
and is thoroughly pedestrian in style. The prologues to the
two poems say that the authors read out their poems to each
other. And there is in fact among the Śangam poets a Śittalai
(pus-head) Śattanār, ten of whose poems find place in four
anthologies but who was in no sense a Buddhist. In its present
form Maṇimēkalai contains a long exposition of logical fallacies
obviously based on the Nyāya-pravēṣa of Diṅnāga, a work of
the fifth century A.D. And the literary form of the two epics
is so different from anything known in real Śangam literature
that we are justified in postulating an interval of several centuries
between that age and the epics.

The Perungadai (Skt. Bṛhatkathā) of Konguvēḷir is another
great poem by a Jaina poet of which only parts are available.
It tells of the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, the son of the
celebrated Udayana of Kauśāmē. It is apparently based on a
rendering in Sanskrit of Gaṇāṭhyā’s famous poem in Paiśāchē
d by the Western Ganga king Durvinīta (sixth century). The
narrative style of Perungadai has exceptional merit and is deserv-
dly popular. The other two great Kāvyas in Tamil,
the Vaḷaiyāpati and Kuṇḍalakesī; and many works on Grammar
of Jain authors of this period are known only by their names
or casual citations in later works.

The hymns of the nāyanārs and ālavārs of this period meant
to be sung in chorus were collected and arranged in canonical
form in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. The Śaiva
Tirumurai was begun by Nambi Āṇṭār Nambi perhaps in the reign of Rājarāja I, and the first seven books in it together constitute the Dēvaraṃ (Praise of God) and include the hymns of the three more celebrated saints Nānasambandar, Appar and Sundaramūrti. The canon was closed in the middle of the twelfth century with the addition of the Periya Purāṇam of Śēkkilār as the twelfth and last book. The intervening books (8-11) contain: (1) the hymns of Māṇikkavāsagar (Bk. 8) whose Tiruvāsagam (sacred word) takes a place among the world’s most authentic records of mystic religious experience and has been held by some to betray traces of Christian influence; (2) the Tirumandiram of Tirumūlar, a rather obscure manual of Śaivism in 3000 verses (Bk. 10), and (3) the hymns of a number of minor saints of different ages (Bks 9 and 11). Mention must also be made of another work of Māṇikavāsagar, the Tirukkōvai or Tirucciriṇambalakkōvai, a schematic love poem in 400 stanzas, the earliest of the extant Kōvaīs; this is believed to have for its theme the love of the soul for God treated in the guise of the conventional situations of human love. The Vaishnava canon, Nālāyira-divyaprābandham, ‘the 4000 Sacred Hymns’, was arranged by Nāthamuni about the same time and includes the hymns of the ālvārs. Tirumangai and Nammāḻvār contribute over a thousand verses each and are rightly celebrated, the former for the richness of his poetic diction and the latter for the depth and reach of his philosophic ideas and yogic experiences. Periyāḻvār and his foster daughter Āṇḍāḷ (Godā is her Sanskrit name) who lived the life of a virgin claiming God Ranganātha of Śrīrangam as her lord, and Kulaśekhara, a Chēra king, were other notable figures in the group. The ālvārs delighted in dwelling on the mythology of the avatāras of Vishṇu, particularly of Rāma and Krishṇa, and some of the most pleasing specimens of child poetry are found here.

A few short paragraphs in the Śilappadikāram apart, Tamil prose was late in coming and employed mainly in the commentaries and that in a stilted style. The commentary on Iṟaiyanār-
Ahapporuḻ ascribed to Nakkīran has the distinction of being the earliest extent prose commentary and of containing the legend of three Sangams. Its style repels the modern reader by its straining after verbal jingles.

The anonymous Nandikkalambakam is a short poem of 80 stanzas or so in various metres. It is quasi-historical and treats of the achievements of Pallava Nandivarman, victor of Teḻṟu, ninth century. To his reign also belongs a Tamil Bhāratam of Perundēvanār apparently a later namesake of the author of the invocations of the Sangam anthologies though indeed there is nothing against the two being identified. Only a small portion of the Bhāratam has survived and it comprises verbās interspersed with connecting prose passages after the manner of the Sanskrit champū, we have the whole of the Udyoga and Bhishma parvas, and part of the Droṇa up to the battle on the thirteenth day. The work is not devoid of eloquence and charm worthy of its popular theme.

Tamil literary activity reached its high-water mark in the time of the imperial Chōlas (850-1200). The Jivakachintāmaṇi of the Jaina ascetic poet Tiruttakkadēva (Dakshdeva) composed early in the tenth century follows Sanskrit originals of the late ninth century and deals with the life of Jivaka, a soldier and lover who marries eight queens in succession (hence the poem has an alternative name Maṇanūl, book of marriages), rules a kingdom and ends his life as an ascetic. A lengthy poem of well over 3000 stanzas, its art exhibits all the marks of great poetry and is said to have furnished the model for the genius of Kamban, author of the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa (twelfth century). Another Jain writer of the time Tōlāmoli (of invincible speech) wrote the Sūḷamaṇi which handles a Jain purānic theme in easy flowing verse of high quality and is counted among the five minor kāvyas of Tamil. The Kallāḍam of Kallāḍanār, a hundred aham stanzas on the sixty-four sports of Śiva, is marked by extreme pedantry due to the author's attempt to revive the poetic diction and forms of the Sangam age. The Muttoḻḷāyiram of the last quarter
of the ninth century comprised 900 stanzas (300 on each of the three crowned Kings) mostly of finely turned venbā-s, some of them containing as many as six lines; they are perhaps the most exquisite love lyrics in Tamil.

Jayangoṇḍar, the poet-laureate of the Chōla court, celebrated the Kalinga war of Kulottunga I in a splendid poem, Kalingattupparani, the earliest and best of the war poems of the class parani, its choice diction and metres apposite to the situations portrayed are remarkable. Another Chōla poet-laureate was Kūttan or Oṭṭakkūttan who adorned the reigns of three successors of Kulottunga viz. Vikrama Chōla, Kulottunga II and Rājarāja II, and sang eloquent ulās on each of them; the ulā is a conventional peace poem describing a procession (pavani) of the hero along the main streets of his capital city. Kūttan also wrote a parani on Vikrama Chōla no longer extant and a piḷḷaittamil (child poem) on Kulottunga II, easily the best of his poems in diction, melody and imagery. His Takkayāgapparani has a legendary theme, the war on the occasion of Daksha’s sacrifice, and is a rather feeble imitation of its model—Kalingattupparani.

Kūttan’s contemporary Kamban was a greater poet, the greatest in Tamil according to many. His Rāmāyaṇa or Rāmāvatāram as he called it, professing to follow Vālmiki, is in fact an independent creation of the highest order. Kamban naturally imports the colour of his own time and place into the poem; his description of Kośala is an idealized account of the Chōla country under Kulottunga III and his Rāma is a master of Tamil and Sanskrit. Conforming to ahām conventions, Kamban introduces a chance meeting of Rāma with Sītā immediately after his entry into Mithilā and gives an elaborate analysis of their mutual feelings—a situation not found in Vālmiki. He often compresses Vālmiki as in dealing with Daśaratha’s aśvamedha, or elaborates a hint in his original as in portraying Sītā’s behaviour on her receiving Rāma’s ring from Hanumān. Few authentic details of the poet’s life are forthcoming; he praises a local magnate Saḍaiyappan of Tīruveṇainallūr in the Tanjore
district as his patron and his poem contains surprisingly few references to the contemporary Chōla monarchs. Some minor poems of little merit pass under his great name.

Devotional literature continued to flourish under the Chōlas whose new constructions at Tañjavūr and Gangaikoṇḍa-chōlapuram evoked fresh hymns. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi whose arrangement of the Śaiva canon has been mentioned above was also among the new composers of hymns that find a place in the ninth and eleventh books. The Tiruttōṇḍar Purāṇam or Periya Purāṇam—a popular name which renders exactly the title of the Jaina hagiology Mahāpurūṇa, composed by Śekkilār in the reign of Kulōttunga II (A.D. 1133-50) is a landmark in the history of Tamil Śaivism. It narrates in epic fashion the lives of the 63 nāyanārs; the author was a high Chōla official who drew on official documents and practice besides tradition. The poem is a superb literary composition that worthily commemorates the Silver Age of Southern Śaivism. Vaishṇava religious literature was mostly composed in Sanskrit during the period, a strange transformation for a movement which started with a more popular appeal than Śaivism. Even the commentators on the Vaishṇava canon evolved the manipravāla (gem and coral) style which mixed Sanskrit with Tamil in a manner that put it beyond the reach of the common man. The Rāmānujanūṟṟandādi, a centum of verses in praise of the great reformer, by one of his disciples, is almost the only conspicuous exception to the rule. The andādi is a poem in which the last syllables of one stanza begin the next, and this mode was practised even in some compositions of the early āḻvārs.

The Jains were still active in Tamil writing. Jiva sambōdanai of Devendra Munivar is an address to the soul expounding the twelve modes of meditation. Tēpparungalam and Tēpparungalak-kārigai (Skt. Kārikā) are two authoritative works on prosody of the close of the tenth century by Amitasāgara. The Viṟaiśōliyam of Buddhamitra, a Buddhist author, seeks to effect a synthesis between the Tamil and Sanskrit systems of grammar, while the
anonymous *Đaṇḍiyalangāram* treats of figures of speech on the model of Đaṇḍin’s *Kāvyādarśa*. The *Nēminādam* of Guṇavirapaṇḍita, again a Jain, treats of orthographs and parts of speech like the better known *Nānṉūl* (good book) of Pavaṇandī meant to be a beginner’s handbook of Tamil grammar. The lexicon *Pingalam* named after its author belongs to this period, the only earlier extant lexicon being the much shorter *Divākaram* of the eighth century. Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy which became important in the next period had its beginnings now in two short works *Tirunundiyār* and *Tirukkalīṟṟuppadiyār*, the precursors of the famous *Śiva-ṉāṇa-Bōdam* of Meykaṇḍār (Truth-realizer).

The period from the end of the Chōla empire to that of Vijayanagar (A.D. 1200-1650) was marked by a large output of philosophical works, commentaries, *purāṇas* and many species of *belles lettres* called *prabandhas*. Much of this literature is derivative and not of the first quality, and it looks as if with the passing of the political independence of the Tamils their creative power in literature also began to wane. The *maṭhas* belonging to the different sects among which Śaivism seems to have been dominant played an important role in popular education, but also tended to encourage a somewhat arid scholasticism among the votaries. The writers of the time (too numerous for individual mention in a general survey) tended to develop a narrow sectarianism; they were mostly Hindus though there were also some Jainas. The Pāṇḍyas confined to the extreme south, almost the sole representatives of the ancient glory of the Tamils, sought to make up in the field of literature for what they lacked in that of politics.

In the first half of the thirteenth century Meykaṇḍār (already mentioned) formulated the tenets of Śaiva Siddhānta in the twelve *sūtras* and explanatory *Vārttikas* of the *Śiva-ṉāṇa-Bōdam*. Aruṇandī, the *guru* of Meykaṇḍār’s father and later pupil of Meykaṇḍār himself, wrote the comprehensive *Śiva-ṉāṇa-Siṭtiyār* in verse; it is a full statement of the true doctrine (*Supakkam*, Skt. *Svapaksha*) preceded by a critical discussion of rival systems
(paropakkam, Skt. para-paksha) of which no fewer than fourteen are reviewed, including four schools of Buddhism and two of Jainism. The entire śāstram of the Śaiva Siddhānta comprises ten more works besides the four so far mentioned, and the bulk of them were composed by Umāpati Śivāchārya (A.D. 1313).

Two well-known anthologies of Advaita came about the end of the fourteenth century—the Śivaprakāśaṇa perundirattu of Svarūpānanda Dēśikar, and Kurundirattu (short anthology) of his pupil Tattuvarāyar. The smaller work contains about 1500 verses and is almost exactly half the size of the larger one. Tattuvarāya was also the author of many popular devotional ditties which set the model for later composers, of whom the most prominent was Arunagiri-nātha of the fifteenth century, author of Tiruppugal (sacred eulogy) of about 1400 songs on Muruga (Skanda) conceived as the highest godhead. Haridāsa, one of the court poets of the time of Krishṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar, expounded Vaishnivism and Śaivism in his Irusamayaviṇṭakkam (explanation of two faiths) with a bias towards the former. Many sthalapurāṇas (local chronicles) and works of philosophy and religion including the rituals of temple worship came up in this period, but no details of these need be given here, though exception may be made in favour of a long Tamil poem in 48 cantos making up over 2,000 verses called Prabodha-chandrōdayam (same name as that of Krishṇa Miśra’s philosophical Sanskrit drama), alternatively Meyănaviṇṭakkam (exposition of the true knowledge). Vaishnava writings of the time were mostly commentaries and subcommentaries on the Tamil canon and a class of esoteric theological rahasyas (secrets) all in prose with large admixture of Sanskrit. Three authors deserve particular mention: Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya (early thirteenth century) author of 18 rahasyas and other works, Vedānta Deśikar (1268-1369) a prolific writer in Sanskrit and Tamil, and Maṇavāla Mahāmuni (b. A.D. 1360), the famous saint of the Ten-kalai (southern school) of the Vaishn avas.

Some of the purāṇas deserve notice as they rise above mere
local legends and are not devoid of literary merit: the Sundara Pāṇḍiyam of Anadāri (c. 1580) deals with the sixty-four sacred sports of Śiva, which form the theme also of two other poems both called Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam, one by a Nambi of Perumbarrappuliyūr, and the other a longer version by Paraṉjōti of Vēdāraṇyam who lived perhaps at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Celebrated also is the Kandapurōṇam of Kachchipyapa Śivāchārya (A.D. 1625) who takes Kamban as his poetic model and draws the subject matter from a section of the Sanskrit Skanda Purāṇa.

In secular literature, the Tāṇjai Vāṇan Kōvai of Poyyāmoli of Vaṉji celebrates a Bāṇa general of the Pāṇḍya King Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara (1268-1308). The Naḷavēnē of Pugalandi (c. 1500) is an easy and moving narration of the tragic story of Nala and Damayanti. The Bhāratam of Villippūrar is a poem of great merit which narrates the entire story of the Mahābhārata in 4350 well-turned stanzas in many pleasing metres. The ulās, kōvais and andādis are quite numerous and must be passed over in a general account like this. The Pāṇḍya king Ativirarāma of Tenkāši (Tirunelveli Dt.) composed the Naiḍadam (Skt. Naishadhā), much admired of scholars, in the middle of the sixteenth century, and his cousin Varatungarāma, also a poet and theologian, produced a Tamil work in erotics—a translation of Kokkōka’s treatise which bears the author’s name.

One of the relatively early results of the impact of the West on the Tamil country was Śivaprakāśa’s polemic refuting the Christian religion—Ēsumadanirākaraṇam (17th century), but the work is no longer extant. Equally interesting is the same writer’s Prabhulinga-ilai (A.D. 1652) translating a Kannada original on the sports of Allamadeva, an incarnation of Śiva honoured of the Vīra Śaivas. Śivaprakāśa was a bachelor who died at the early age of thirty-two after writing many other works.

In grammar, besides works on particular sections like prosody, aham, puram, and aṅī (alankāra) and so on, we have the Ilakkaṇa Vilakkam of Vaidyanātha Deśikar of Tīrvārūr (early seventeenth
century) covering the whole range of Tamil grammar and rightly celebrated as *Kuṭṭit-tolkāppiyam* (the minor Tolkāppiyam). This was also the age of the great commentators on the Śangam works and the Tolkāppiyam and Śilappadikārām. The Jaina lexicon *Niganducūdāmanī* of Maṇḍala Purusha is generally assigned to this period on the ground that it contains a reference to Krishnarāya; but there is nothing to preclude our identifying the king with the earlier Krishṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūta line, a patron of letters in the tenth century A.D. who had much to do with the Tamil country. This work became very popular as its metre (*viruttam*) lent itself to easy memorization. The first lexicon to adopt an alphabetic arrangement was the *Akarādi-nigandu* (A.D. 1594) of Chidambara Rēvaṇa Siddar, a Vīra Śaiva, and after this *akarādi* (alphabetic order) became the word for dictionary in Tamil. Religious law found its condition in Tamil in Tamilākara Munivar of Tirunelvēli (1633) whose works *Prāyachchita Samuchchhayam* and *Āśauchadhipikai* dealt respectively with penances for expiation of sins and pollution due to death.

The political confusion after the fall of Vijayanagar seems to have been no great bar to social activity, and literary production did not suffer much; many purāṇas and prabandhas were produced of which only the most prominent can be mentioned here. To the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century belongs Paḍikkāṣu Pulavar, author of the quasi-historical *Tōṉḍai-maṇḍalara-Satakam* besides other compositions of a like nature eulogising a contemporary Pallava chieftain, and some devotional pieces; he enjoyed the patronage of Raghunātha Sēṭupati (1678-1710) of Ramnad and of a rich merchant of Kīlakkarai, Sheik Khadir Periyatambi Marakkāyar, better known as Śidakkādi. The same merchant also patronized the Muslim poet Umaru Pulavar whose *Śirāppurāṇam* narrates the life of the prophet in a long epic of over 5000 verses in three Kāṇḍas; it is a work of high quality, liberal in its outlook. The *Chōlamanḍalara-Satakam* (1720) of Ātmanātha Dēśikar is on a par with the Satakam on Tōṉḍai-maṇḍalam just mentioned. Of more popular interest is the
Kurralakkuravaṇji (A.D. 1718) of Tirikūṭarājappa Kavirāyar, an opera or Viṭhi-nāṭakam, 'street drama', as it is called—a work in set form with an esoteric philosophical significance. The quest of individual soul for union with god is presented as a love story, and an innovation in this work which became a model for many others is the introduction of a gypsy fortuneteller—a widely travelled woman of great charm who is pursued by a lover of her own and who narrates her experiences with great éclat. The contemporary Marāṭhā ruler of Tanjore paid the work the compliment of creating an endowment for its annual staging in Great Temple at Tanjore during the Navarātri festival. In the sphere of religion, the Drāvida Māpādiyam (Skt. Mahā-bhāṣya) of Śivaṉāna-munivar (c. 1750), author of other works of religious and secular interest, is an authoritative interpretation of the Śiva Nāṇa Bōdam and a classical restatement of the doctrines of Tamil Saivism.

In lexicography the Chaturgarādi (quadruple dictionary) of Father Beschi (A.D. 1732), a Jesuit missionary, who assumed the name Vīra-māmunivar (the heroic great saint) is symptomatic of the effects of the impact of the West on Indian Languages; it follows a strictly alphabetic order and for the first time in Tamil lexicography it includes meanings of common words without confining itself to hard words and special terms; in its four sections, however, it still carries the relics of the old Nīkanḍu tradition. Beschi also produced a Tamil-Latin dictionary of 9000 words in 1742 besides a Tamil-French one (1744) and a Portuguese-Latin-Tamil dictionary. The Chaturgarādi became popular and was copied in palm-leaf and amplified in the process by copyists.

A unique work of much linguistic and literary interest is the diary of Ānanda Ranga Pilla, the famous courtier (Chief agent) of Dupleix—a careful record of the events in which he took no mean part from 1706 to 1760; the diary was continued for ten years more with less distinction in form and content by his nephew Tiruvēngaḍam Pilla.
Aruṇāchala Kavirāyar of Shiyali (Tanjore district) made an opera of the Rāma story, the Rāmanāṭakam (A.D. 1772) in easy and colourful Tamil verse set to music; though the opera is no longer staged as it once was, the songs still figure often in musical concerts. Mastān Saheb, a Muslim saint of the close of the eighteenth century, poured out his mystic experiences in forceful songs emphasizing the unity of all religions and deprecating sectarianism. Mention must be made also of the padams of Kavikuṇṭaram (A.D. 1792)—songs of love remarkable alike for their literary quality and musical appeal.

Peace and settled government following the establishment of British rule, the inflow of western cultural influences, the spread of printing and rise of the press, the patronage of princes like Sarfoji of Tanjore early in the nineteenth century and of the British government later and the growth of a middle class educated on western lines were the main factors shaping literature in the best part of the nineteenth century. The cumulative effect of the cooperation of these factors was the nationalist movement of the last quarter of the century. These factors influenced all South Indian languages alike and everywhere the publication of classics in the form of printed books made their study easier. New literary genres came into vogue. Only the salient features of these developments can find place here.

Sthalapurāṇas (local chronicles) continued to be produced, and Minākshisundaram Pillai attained well-merited celebrity in this line. A full dress biography of Pillai (1933-47), the first of its kind in Tamil, we owe to Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, the prince of editors of Tamil Classics in the new age. Rāmalinga-swāmī carried on the tradition of devotional poetry in song remarkable for its intense fervour and felicitous expression; the collection is known as Arutpā (songs of grace). New lines were opened up by several authors translating and adapting western originals. The prose medium became more common, and the drama, novel, essay and short story came into South Indian literatures. Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s progress was adapted into an epic
poem by Krishṇa Pillai, a Christian author, towards the end of the nineteenth century. The severe famine of 1876 (Dhātu-varsha) evoked a quasi-humorous popular poem, Pañjalakṣaṇam (nature of famine), by Villiyappa Pillai. Popular expositions of Purāṇic themes, Kathā-Kālakṣepams, became common after the model of Marāṭhā ābhanga, and the Nandan Charitram of Gopālakrishṇa Bhārati is the most celebrated of such productions which combined religion, music and drama. The theatre proper imitated from the West caused the production of dramas like Śakuntalai-nāṭakam and Bhārata Vilāsam of Rāmachandra Kavirāyar; the Arichchandira-nāṭakam of Ranga Pillai; the Śāvittiri-nāṭakam of Govindasami Rao of Taṅjāvūr, himself a talented actor; the Dambāchārī Vilāsam of Ramaswami Rāju. Many have followed in the wake of these pioneer works, but today production is more for the screen than for the stage and only seldom of really high quality though it seems possible that the current revival of interest (1962) in the theatre proper may result in a notable change. Shakespeare’s Merchant of Venice was adapted in 1872, and Professor Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum wrote the Manōnmaṇiyam, a drama on the Shakespearean model. Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstri sought to combine features from the western drama and classical Sanskrit. Sambanda Mudaliyar has written over fifty plays and himself took part in staging them with the aid of an amateur dramatic club. Kaṭṭaiwanḍi of Prof. K. Swaminathan deserves notice as a happy adaptation of Gilbert’s Gondoliers.

An abridgement of Śṛuti Chandrīkā under the name Tarunanul (1826) by Kandasāmi Pulavar of Madurai, popular tales including a translation of Marāṭhi Pañchatantra by Tāṇḍavarāyā Mudaliyar (1826) and anonymous prose versions of Vālmiki, Vyāsa, and Kamban ushered in the use of prose as a normal medium in the nineteenth century. Novels on the western model followed. Some of the earliest and best among them were: Pratāpamudaliyar Charitram by Vēdanāyakam Pillai; Kamalāṃbāl Charitram by Rājam Aiyar, and Padmāvatī Charitram
by Mādhaviah. Some of Bankim’s Bengali novels were also translated. But much trash was also produced in the form of translations and adaptation of sensational third rate stuff from English and other modern European languages. The short story was generally spoiled by the too obtrusive didacticism in many stories. The weekly and monthly journals have become now the usual media for the short story and novel before they appear in book form. The Essay form was adopted with conspicuous success by Chelvakesanavarāya Mudaliyār, Subrahmanya Bhārati, Mādhaviah, Svāmi Vēdāchalam (Maṟai malai Aḍigal), Kalyāṇasundara Mudaliyār and others. Text-books for schools and works on modern scientific subjects are being attempted increasingly with varying degrees of success. Among lexicographers Röttler (1834), and Winslow (1862) deserve particular notice, and the Tamil Lexicon (1913-36) of the University of Madras edited by Vaiyapuri Piḷḷai may be said to have displaced all the earlier works in the line. Scientific literature in Tamil as in most Indian languages is yet to find a generally accepted set of Technical Terms; the task is being unduly complicated and delayed by meaningless and sometimes heated controversy over the principles to be followed in fixing the terms.

The nationalist movement, the impact of world politics of the two world wars and of Marxian ideas gave rise to new experiments in poetry and prose writing as well as the drama. Subrahmanya Bhārati is the leader in the new nationalist literature. He died in 1922 at the relatively young age of 38. His songs had a great part in stirring up the people to a new sense of revolt and freedom; but his poems on traditional and purānic themes combine the best in the Eastern and Western cultures and will be his lasting title to fame. He has found many followers and imitators. Dēśikavināyakam of Putteri in Kanyakumari Dt. deserves particular mention for the volume and excellence of his poetical work; some of it comprising adaptations mainly from English while the rest handles current social and political themes in a creative manner.
Some of the longer Tamil inscriptions particularly the prāṣastis of the kings and chieftains of the Chōla period are entitled to notice both an account of their length and of their literary quality, but it is not possible to go into details of the subject here as the preliminary work necessary before they can be incorporated in a systematic account is yet to be done.

Besides Tamil, Sanskrit formed an important literary language in the Tamil country through the centuries right down to modern times. Not only did Sanskrit literature and thought exert a continuous influence on the form and content of Tamil literary works as on those of all other Indian languages, but there came up a considerable volume of original writing in the Sanskrit language by authors from the Tamil country, and it would be necessary here to notice the most important works of this class, though space forbids our going into much detail. The foundation of the Chōla and Vijayanagar empires was significantly marked by a fillip to Vedic studies. In the reign of Chōla Parāntaka I, Venkaṭa Mādhava from a village on the banks of the Kāvēri wrote his commentary on the Rig veda, called Rigarthadiśīpikā. Under the patronage of Bukka I and other Vijayanagar sovereigns, a large syndicate of scholars, headed by Sāyaṇa, undertook and completed the stupendous task of commenting upon the samhitās of all the four Vedas and many of the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas. Writing long after the age of the texts they annotated, these scholars may not have always interpreted them correctly or convincingly; but even the most critical of modern philologists acknowledge the debt they owe them for their record of the traditional interpretations prevalent in their time in the South Indian Vedic schools of the tenth and fourteenth centuries. It is not always easy to fix the precise provenance of the different writers, and in this summary survey attention will be drawn only to writers known definitely to have worked in the Tamil country proper, exception having been made only in the case of Sāyaṇa and his collaborators because of the importance and abiding influence of their work in the country as a whole and
because of the probability that many of that learned circle may have been Tamils by origin. The Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra was annotated by a Tālavrinta Nivāsin whose name shows that he was a resident of Tiruppanandāl in Tanjore District. Devarāja wrote his Nīghanta Vyākhyā at Śrīrangam in the fourteenth century, and the work marks an important stage in the history of vedic scholarship as it is a very learned exposition of Yāska’s celebrated treatise on Vedic lexicology.

Among the Purāṇas, the Bhāgavata was composed somewhere in South India about the beginning of the tenth century; it sums up the tenets of the neo-bhakti cult of the āloārs and integrates them with the Advaita of Śankara in a manner that has been held possible only in the Tamil country of that period. The Vishnu Purāṇa was commented on by Vishnu Chitta in the twelfth century from the standpoint of Viśishtādvaita. Ātreya Varadarāja otherwise known as Uḍāli, composed his Vivekatilaka on the Rāmāyaṇa in the twelfth century; he came after Rāmānuja and is cited in Īḍu, the great thirteenth century commentary on Tiruvāyumoli of Nammālvar. The much better known Bhūshaṇa was the work of Govindarāja, a native of Kāṁchipuram and contemporary of Krishṇadeva Raya and Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagar. He is said to have got his inspiration to write the work in one of his visits to the famous shrine at Tirupati. The Vālmiki-hṛdaya of Ahobala was based on the comments on select verses of the epic scattered throughout the Īḍu.

In belles-lettres Sundara Pāṇḍya’s Nītidvishāṣṭikā must be older than the sixth century; the author’s identity remains a mystery, but the work has great merit and its verses deserve a high place in the literature of nīti (policy). A poem of great literary merit is the Kīrātārjuniya of Bhāravi whom tradition connects with the Pallava Simhavishṇu of Kāṇchī among others; the poem is in 18 cantos dealing with the fight between Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava hero, and Śiva, ending in the presentation by Śiva of a valued weapon, the pāśupata astra, to Arjuna for use in the ensuing battle of Kurukshetra. It is remarkable for its
vigour and imagery; and in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. the poet is said to have already attained as much fame as Kālidāsa. The ‘curious minded’ (Vichitra chitta) ruler of Kāṇchī, Mahendravarman I, composed the delectable farce Mattavilāsa which ridicules the tenets and practices of contemporary bhikshus and Kāpālikas and offers a pleasing contrast to the growing sectarianism of the day. If the tradition preserved in the Avantisundarikathā be correct, the great rhetorician Daṅḍin was the great grandson of Dāmodara, a friend of Bhāravi, and adorned the Court of Pallava Narasimharvarman I (630-668). The Kathā just mentioned is a fragment of a long prose work of which the kernel of the extant Daśakumāracarita was part; the beginning and end of the Carita are obviously the work of other hands. The superb manual of rhetoric Kavyādāśa, by which Daṅḍin is best known, marks an epoch in the history of Sanskrit rhetoric. It also formed the basis of Daṇḍiyālangāram in Tamil. Several centuries later we get another rhetorician Śāradātānaya (thirteenth century), born of a scholarly family in Chingleput District, whose Bhāvaprakāśa is an important work which cites many writers and works otherwise unknown; he also wrote the Śāradīya, a treatise on music. About the same time and from the same neighbourhood hailed the Vaishnava divine Venkaṭanātha or Vedānta Deśika (b. 1268) who, though better known for his works on religion and philosophy, also achieved distinction in general literature by his Yādavabhuyudaya a felicitous Kāvyā on the life Krishṇa, commented on by the great Appaya Dikshita; Deśika also wrote the Harṣasandesā on the model of Kālidāsa’s Meghasandesā; the devotional poem Pādukāsahasra and the drama Sankalpasūryodaya, a Viśiṣṭādvaitic counterblast to the Advaitic drama Prabodhachandrodaya of Krishṇa Miṣra.

The overthrow of the sultanate of Madura by Kumāra Kampāna, the second son of Bukka of Vijayanagar, is celebrated in a beautiful poem by his wife Gangādevi in her Madhurā Vijayam. The family of Diṅḍimas in the village of Muḷlandram in North Arcot District produced many authors of distinction.
Rājanātha’s Sālvābhuyudayam, a quasi-historical poem on the wars of his patron Sāluva Narasimha (later half of the fifteenth century); the Bhāgavatāchampū and Achyutarāyābhuyudaya of a later Rājanātha (sixteenth century), deserve particular mention; the last mentioned poem is a useful guide to the events of Achyuta Rāya’s reign. The next great name is that of Appaya Dikshita (1520-92) author of over a hundred works in many branches of Sanskrit learning, who was patronized by the Nāyakas of Vellore, particularly Chinna Bomma. Besides the commentary on Yādavābhuyudaya (already mentioned), his works include Chitrami- mānsā and Lakshaṇavali on literary criticism and the appreciation of poetry; the Kuvalayāṇanda which, though in form an amplification of Jayadava’s Chandrāloka, almost attains the level of an independent treatise on figures of speech; Vrittiśārttika a treatise on the significance of words in their poetic use; Varadarājastava and many other devotional poems. The family of Appaya Dikshita produced a considerable number of talented authors all of whom cannot be recounted here. Nilakaṇṭha Dikshita, Appaya’s great-nephew, was a greater poet whose poems reached levels of excellence that had been unknown for many centuries—the Nilakaṇṭha Vijaya Champū (1637), Gangāvataraṇa, Nalchari- tanāṭaka, and the Śivalīlārṇava, all reflecting the superior talent of the author, who is reputed to have been minister to Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madura.

At the Nāyak Court of Tanjore about the same period flourished Govinda Dikshita held in high esteem by Ṣevvappa Nāyaka, the founder of the line, and his descendants. His Sāhitya Sudhā treats on the history of the two later rulers Acyutappa and Raghunātha; he also composed the Sangitasuddhāṇidhi. Two of Govinda’s sons also attained distinction as writers; one Yajñanārāyaṇa, wrote two works on the life of Raghunātha Nāyaka, a poem Sāhitya ratnākara, and a drama in five acts, Raghunāthāvītāsa; the other, Venkaṭamakhī, was a versatile writer on all sāstras; but his Kāya Sāhityasāmrājya is not extant; Raghunāth Nāyaka himself composed several works like Pārijā-
taharaṇa, Vālmikīcharita, Gajendra Moksha, Nalashtarita, and Achyutendrābhhyudaya, the last being a biography of his father. He also wrote on music. The Raghunāthābhhyudaya of Rāmabhadrāmbā has the life of the Nāyaka for its theme and gives clear proof of the intense devotion that he evoked in the talented poetess.

Yet another family of Dikshitas gained literary fame under the Nāyakas of Gingee. Ratankeṣṭa Śrīnivāsa of Satyamangalam wrote eighteen plays and sixty poetical works, most of which, however, have been lost; his allegorical drama Bhāvanāpurushottama was composed at the instance of Śivappa Nāyaka, and the Bhāishmipariniyāchamḷi is a minor work on the marriage of Rukmini and Krishna. Śrīnivāsa had three sons, the best known being Rājachūḍāmani Dikshita who migrated to Tanjore and became the pupil of Venkaṭamakhi. While still in his teens he is said to have written Kamalinī Kalahamsa; another drama, Ānanda Rāghava, a poem Rukmini Kalyāṇa, and a biography of Śankarāchārya called Śankarābhhyudaya were among his other works. He also wrote on Mīmāṃsā and other subjects.

In the realm of philosophy, we have the logician Varadarāja, middle of the twelfth century, who wrote the Tārkikarākshā and a commentary Bōdhini on the Kusumaṇḍali of Udayana. The most popular manual of logic, Tarkasangraha (c. 1625) and the gloss Dīpikā on it were the work of Annambhaṭṭa, a native of the Chittor District, who also wrote commentaries on other classics in the subject. The popularity of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā studies in the Tamil country is indicated by a number of inscriptions recording endowments particularly in favour of the school of Prabhākara, the pupil as well as rival of the great Kumārila, the founder of these studies in South India. Kumārila was an Andhra and Prabhākara a native of North Travancore. Varadarāja, above mentioned, expounded the tenets of Prabhākara in the Nayasivakadīpikā. The volume of Mīmāṃsā literature that developed in the South was very great and cannot be reviewed here in its entirety. Among works definitely written
in the Tamil country may be noted the many tracts of Appaya Dikshita besides the Mayukhāvalī, a commentary on the Śāstradīpikā of Pārthasarathi Mīśra, a classic exposition of the Kumārila school, and the Adhvaramimāṁsā-Kutūhala Vṛtti of Vāsudeva Dikshita (early nineteenth century). In the field of Vedānta all the three major schools had their origin in the south, but Śankara (advaita) and Madhva (dvaita) hailed from the west coast, Rāmānuja (Viśisṭādvaita) alone being a native of the Tamil country. Appaya Dikshita, however, made important contributions to advaitic thought in his sub-commentary Vedānta Kalpataru-parimala on the Brahma-sūtras and his Siddhānta-lesasangrahā, a compendium of the various schools of advaita.

Viśisṭādvaita literature may be said to start with the Yogarahasya and Nyāyatattva of Nāthamuni or Ranganātha Muni (824-924), the first of the great āchāryas of Vaishnavism who followed the ālvārs. Then came the rather more systematic exposition of Yāmunāchārya (b. 917), the grandson of Nāthamuni, in his works Siddhāntayā, Gitārthasangrahā, and Āgama-prāmāṇya; he also wrote other works like Stotraratna, a devotional poem. The true founder of the system was of course Śrī Rāmānuja (b.1018) whose Śrībhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtras is its great classic. He also commented on the Bhagavadgītā from his point of view, and wrote the Vedārthasangrahā to demonstrate that the Upanishads support his system rather than that of Śankara, a view in which Thibaut has expressed his concurrence. Other writers and works followed, and we need not notice all of them. The Prapannaprārjñā of Naḍādūr Ammāl (b. 1155) develops the doctrine of prapatti (surrender) with great elaboration. His pupil Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa wrote the celebrated commentary Śrutaprakāśikā on Rāmānuja’s Śrībhāṣya. Sudarśana was the author of other works. Another pupil of Naḍādūr Ammāl was the famous Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya who wrote works in Sanskrit and Tamil and founded the Tengalai (Southern branch) sampradāya. A third pupil was Ātreya Rāmānuja (b. 1220) whose Nyāyaśulīṣṭa seeks to establish doctrines of general Vedānta, emphasizing
the divergences between *advaita* and *viśishtādvaīta* only in some of its chapters. The famous Vedānta Deśika (1268-1369) was a nephew (sister’s son) of Ātreyā Rāmānuja. He was a prolific writer in Sanskrit and Tamil and his works in Sanskrit include commentaries on Rāmānuja’s *Śrībhāṣṭya* and *Gītābhāṣya*, besides independant treatises like *Nyāyasiddhāṇjana* and *Tattvamukta-kāla-pāpa*. His *Śatadūshaṇī* is a polemic against *advaita*. In spite of his decided preference for Tamil, the famous Tengalai saint Maṇavālamahāmuni (b. 1370) wrote some philosophical treatises in Sanskrit such as *Tattva-traya*, *Rahasyatraya* and so on. Vaishnivism was much patronized by the rulers of Vijayanagar, but though many writers wrote there was little real advance in thought.

Viśishtādvaita was the philosophy also of Śaivism. The earliest known writer is Haradattāchārya (d. 1116) whose *Śruti-sūkta-mālā*, also called *Chatur-vedatātparya-sangraha* outlines the salient features of Śaiva thought, while his *Harihara-tāratamya* is a sectarian polemic. He was followed by Śrīkaṇṭha whose *Brahma-mimāṁsābhaṣṭya* expounds the *sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa from the Śaiva view point. He may well be identical with the āchārya who, according to Aghoraśivāchārya, came down from Gauḍa to worship Naṭarāja at Chidambaram and whom Vikrama Chōla accepted as his guru. There are notable verbal coincidences between Śrīkaṇṭha’s *bhāṣya* and the *Śrībhāṣṭya* of Rāmānuja. Śrīkaṇṭha’s system is called Śivādvaita to distinguish it from the Śaivasiddhānta developed in the Tamil books. Umāpatiśivāchārya’s (c. 1290–1320) *bhāṣya* on the *Paushkara Samhita* is a powerful plea that Śiva is the only deity for everyone to worship. Nāṇaśivāchārya of the *maṭha* of Sūrya-nārōyil in the Tanjore District, and guru of Sevvappa Nāyaka of Tanjore, commented on the *Śvajñānabodha* (not the Tamil work of Meykaṇḍar but a section of the Raurava Āgama) from the Śaiva Siddhānta standpoint, and the commentary contains valuable citations from works no longer extant. He wrote other works such as *Śaiva Paribhāṣā*, a
manual in five sections on the categories of Śaivism, and the Śivāgrapaddhati and Kriyādīpikā on the rituals of worship and renunciation. Śrīkaṇṭha’s work was carried further by Nilakaṇṭha (c. 1400) whose Kriyāsāra is a metrical compendium of Śrīkaṇṭha’s bhāṣya which attempts to discover common ground between his system and that of the Vīraśaivas; and by Appaya Dikshita’s striking contributions to Śaiva philosophy, particularly his monumental commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha called the Śivārkamanidīpikā.

We must notice one important name in the field of Dvaita (dualist) philosophy—that of Vijayindra (1576) held in great esteem by Śevvappa Nāyaka of Tanjore. He wrote commentaries on the works of his teacher Vyāsarāya and engaged in polemies with Appayya Dikshita, seeking to refute all his critiques of dvaita in a number of works named on the model of Appaya’s works which were the subjects of attack. He spent his last days at Kumbakonam writing other works.

In legal literature, Varadarāja’s Vyavahāranirṇaya, for which various dates are assigned like 1297 and 1500, is valuable for its interpretation of juristic rules in the light of Mīmāṁsā principles, and deserves particular notice among the legal digests of South India. The Parāśara Mādhaviya though not written in the Tamil country but in Vijayanagar deserves notice as it profoundly influenced in social life and administration of justice in the land. The Smritiratnākara of Hārita Venkaṭāchārya (Tōlappar, 1450–1500) a native of the Chingleput district so prolific of Vaishṇava scholars, is accepted to this day as an authoritative exposition of religious law by the Vaishṇavas of south. Vaidyanātha Dikshita’s Smritimuktāphala, written probably in the seventeenth century, holds a similar position among the Smārtas. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the Nāyak rulers many other works were written in Dharmaśāstra as in other branches of literature.

In lexicography, the Vaijayanti of Yādavaprakāśa, the teacher of Rāmānuja, has commanded great authority in the
eyes of later authors; it is a work in two sections—one on synonyms and the other on homonyms. The earliest South Indian writer on the grammatical system of Pāṇini was Haradatta (ninth century) whose commentary Padamañjari on the Kāśikā is a work of outstanding merit.

From early times music and dance flourished in the Tamil country and though much has been lost in the literature of these arts, some notable survivals demand our attention. There is the Kuṇḍumiyāmalai musical inscription which consists of exercises to be practised on stringed instruments; it purports to be the work of a Śaiva monarch, a pupil of Rudrāchārya, evidently a famous music master of the seventh or eighth century; this monarch has often been identified with Pallava Mahendra- varman I, but it is not possible to confirm or contradict this. The large place of choric singing in the religious revival of the seventh and eighth centuries is well known. The great musician and composer Gopāla Nāyaka was invited to Northern India by Ala-ud-din Khilji at the instance of Amir Khusru. Kallinātha cites a composition of Gopāla Nāyaka called Rāga- Kadamba, and Venkaṭamakhi states that he claimed to be the progenitor of Chaturdaṇḍi, that is, a fourfold delineation of Rāga forms as Gīta, Prabandha, Īṭāya and Ālāpa, a subject which Venkaṭamakhi treated at length in his Chaturdaṇḍi prakāśikā, a work of outstanding merit from the Nāyak Court of Tanjore.

Sanskrit studies and writing have continued to be cultivated in the centuries following the fall of Vijayanagar down to our own times. The volume of production has been considerable, but its quality has generally been mediocre and derivative. Two major factors helped to create new trends and genres in this period. The first is the contact with Western nations, their ideas and literature, particularly English. The use of English as the medium of instruction in course of time gave rise to a new sense of national unity, and drew the different parts of the country together. The second factor of the recovery of the past history of Indian civilization which created a new
sense of pride in the past. The effects of these two factors were reinforced by the course of world events like Japan’s victory over Russia early in the twentieth century, and the two world wars which spelt the doom of European Colonialism in Asia. The Indian nationalist movement, timid and moderate at first in its tentative beginnings, became much stronger under the leadership of Tilak and Gandhi. All these factors affected all the Indian languages simultaneously, and Sanskrit also experienced their bracing effects. Journalism, prose writing, the novel, the essay, the social play, literary criticism, historical and scientific writings began to be produced by the side of the old forms of lyric, epic, romance and so on. To attempt even a cursory survey of these vast developments is not possible here.

We may, however, mention two particular instances of the working of the new forces. The Anandaranga-vijaya champū (1752) of Śrīnivāsa Kavi is an interesting quasi-historical work in a traditional literary form on the life of the famous dubash of Dupleix with several contemporary references to Carnatic affairs and the Anglo-French conflict. Early in the nineteenth century the Marāṭha Rāja Sarfoji of Tanjore studied under the Danish missionary Schwartz and wrote excellent English letters besides collecting the valuable books, paintings and manuscripts in the celebrated Saraswati Mahal Library. He did not neglect the ancient culture of the land and during his pilgrimage to Benares he commissioned a number of pandits to prepare a digest of smṛitis. It may also noted that Sadāśiva Brahmendra and other sannyāsīs of that time produced a good lot of devotional and philosophical literature, some of which were songs with a wide popular appeal.
VI FINE ART

Natural caverns laboriously adapted to human habitation by the cutting of beds and drip-mouldings and bearing short inscriptions in the Tamil language engraved in Brāhmi script of the first or second century B.C. and later are the earliest relics of the historical times so far discovered in the Tamil country. But of the centuries that follow up to the sixth century A.D. or thereabout, we have no material survivals. The fine houses, palaces, bazaars, temples and camps described in the Sangam literature do not seem to have survived anywhere even in ruins. The reason for their total disappearance may be inferred from the Maṇḍagappatṭū inscription of Pallava Mahendravarman (c. 610 A.D.) in which he records with evident joy his success in having brought a temple into existence without the use of bricks, timber, metal or mortar; this temple was in fact rock-cut, but temples used to be built of perishable material and not of stone as in later times, and what applied to temples must have been much more true of other structures like private dwellings.

The Pallavas made many important contributions to the development of the culture of the Tamil land, and their architecture and sculpture form a very brilliant chapter in the history of South Indian art. Its first phase, entirely rock-cut, begins with Mahendravarman I and comprises moderate sized pillared halls with one or more cells cut into the back wall; the front façade has a row of pillars and pilasters, the pillars having square sections at base and top with an octagonal middle section; the larger halls (maṇḍapas) had an inner row of similar pillars and pilasters. A heavy bracket provides the capital. There are at least eight such excavations definitely attributable to Mahendra and scattered over the entire region down to Trichinopoly in the south. In course of time, as experience
grew in working on the hard granite, the pillars were altered to a finer shape and proportion and provided with mouldings that characterized the Pallava ‘order’ in the time of Mahendra’s son and successor Narasimhavarman Mahâmalla. Among the modifications made by him and his successors was the conversion of the base of the pillar into a squatting lion or Vyāla, which under Rājasimha gave place to a prancing or rearing lion. Again, in the earliest examples their is no cornice above the pillars, but later a roll moulding was added as at Pallavaram. In still later examples the roll cornice carries at intervals a new ornament known as the Kūdu which is really a much reduced version of the Buddhist chaitya window.

All the monuments of Mahâmalla’s reign marked by a style of their own are found in the now almost deserted seaport town of Māmallapuram (vulgo. Mahābalipuram) at the mouth of the Pālār rivr, 35 miles south of Madras. Māmallapuram was one of the chief entrepots of South India, and from it streamed forth strong cultural influences which shaped the art of Hindu colonies in Indonesia and Indo-china. Clear traces survive of a carefully designed system of fresh water supply to the city from the Pālār river, and it is quite possible that the remarkable open air sculpture long known as Arjuna’s penance—a designation to which some still adhere—but perhaps better identified as the Descent of the Ganges, was not unrelated to this system. This vast sculpture in high relief is nearly 30 yards long and 23 feet high, covering the sea face of a cliff. There is a cascade in a natural fissure in the middle of the rock where a band of nāgas and nāgis sport, and symbolize the sacred waters. On both sides are sculptured figures of deities, human beings, and animals of all kinds, approaching or facing the fissure in attitudes of adoration. ‘What we have before us,’ says Rene Grousset, ‘is a vast picture, a regular fresco in stone. This relief is a master-piece of classic art in the breadth of its composition, the sincerity of its impulse which draws all creatures together round the beneficent waters, and its deep fresh love
of nature'. A small shrine immediately to the left of the cascade contains the standing figure of Śiva. Before this temple is bowed the emaciated figure of Bhagīratha who is represented also above practising tapas with upraised arms. Among the sculptured animals, the monumental elephants on the right and the ascetic cat imitating the posture of Bhagīratha's penance with trustful mice playing at its feet are particularly noteworthy, as also the pair of deer which look on the scene 'from the mouth of a cave opposite on the left hand side, with the life like action of the stag scratching his nose with his foot'. More amazing still is the detached family of monkeys sculptured in the round 'with the male picking vermin off the female while she suckles her two little ones'.

There are all together ten maṇḍapas of the Mahāmalla style, generally 25 feet wide in the façade, 15 to 20 feet high and 25 feet deep including the rectangular cells at the back. The pillars which are 9 feet high and one to two feet at their widest are the main features, some of the more developed among them, like the two inner columns of the Mahisha maṇḍapa, looking singularly graceful. Notable among the sculptures are the magnificent representations of the varāha (boar) and vāmana (dwarf) avatārs, of sūrya, durgā, and gajalakshmi, and two fine groups of royal figures representing Simhavishṇu and Mahendravarman with their queens, all in the Varāha cave. Other reliefs like the sleep of Vishṇu on Ananta and the battle of Durgā with the demon Mahisha on the opposite wall, both in the Mahisha maṇḍapa, exhibit the same dramatic quality and the sureness in the grouping of figures seen in the sculptures of the Varāha cave. The monolithic rathas in the same style as the maṇḍapas are clearly copies of wooden structures. None of their interiors is finished and perhaps they never actually came into use. There are eight of them, the southern group of five being named after Draupadī, Arjuna, Bhima, Dharmarāja and Sahadeva; and three others in the north and northeast known as Gaṇeśa, Pidāri, and Vaiṣāyānkuṭṭai. They are of moderate
size, none being more than 42 feet long, 35 feet broad or 40 feet high. All except Draupadī, which is a mere cell, are copies of the vihāra or chaitya, the former being square and pyramidal and the latter oblong with two or more diminishing stories and a barrel roof with a gable end, the forerunner of the gopuras of later times. The Dharmarāja is a good example of the vihāra, and the Gaṇeśa of the chaitya; the Sahadeva, also chaitya form, is apsidal. All these rathas are Śaiva in character, and on them men and gods are sculptured in the most graceful forms; the animal sculpture is also superb.

Structural temples in stone form the next phase of Pallava architecture, again falling in two groups. First is the Rājasimha group (A.D. 700-800) of fair-sized temples of which there are six—among which three are found in Māmallapuram—the Shore, Iśvara and Mukunda, one at Panamalai, the remaining two being Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭhapurumāḷ at Kāṇchipuram. The Shore temple, the earliest in the group, is a logical development from the Dharmarāja, though in its vimānas it leaves the vihāra idea behind and evolves a higher and more rhythmic tower. The lion motif becomes strongly emphasized. The two temples at Kāṇchipuram are the most perfectly integrated and matured examples of the style, equally notable for their sculpture. The Vaikuṇṭha perumāḷ has labelled panels of sculptures purporting to trace the history of the Pallava dynasty from its mythical origins to the reign of Nandivaraman II Pallavamalla. The second group (A.D. 800-900), the Nandivarman group as it has been called, are mostly small temples reflecting the decline of Pallava power and mark no advance on earlier work. The Mukteśvara and Matangesvara at Kāṇchi, Vāḍamallīśvara at Oragaḍam near Chingleput and the Paraśurāmeśvara at Guḍimallan belong to this group.

There are rock-cut mandapas with sculptured panels also in the Pāṇḍya country as at Tirupparankunram near Madura and other places which have not received as much attention as those in the Pallava country. The cave temple at Tirumalaiṇpuram, a
fine example of early Pāṇḍya work, bears sculptures of Brahmā, dancing Śiva, Vishṇu, and Gaṇeṣa—all closely resembling the style of the contemporary Pallava sculpture. Even the dvārapāla figures in this and other Pāṇḍya caves follow the Pallava model. The rockcut temple at Kaḻugumalai has magnificent carvings of iconographic and artistic interest including forms of Śiva as Umāsahita and as Dakṣhipāmūrti playing the mridanga (a unique sculpture), of Narasimha, Brahmā, Skanda and other deities besides shallow niches showing apsarases in artistic attitudes at their bath and toilette.

The Chōlas continued and developed the Pallava tradition. But the early Chōla temples were modest all stone structures implying limited resources. Pudukkōṭṭai contains an unusually large number of them in excellent preservation, and the Vijayalaya-chōlesvara at Nārātāmalai is one of the earliest and prettiest of these specimens. It has a circular cella within a square prākāra—an unusual arrangement—and seven small shrines, miniatures of the main shrine, all arranged in the open yard round the temple and facing it. The beautiful little temple of Nāgeśvara at Kumbakonam of the same period and style is remarkable for the almost life-size sculptures of men and women in high relief and graceful attitudes that adorn the niches on the outside of the garbhagriha; these are among the best specimens of portraiture known in India. The temple of Koranganātha of Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tiruchchirāppali District) built in the reign of Parāntaka I and the temple complex of Mūvarkōvil (Temple of the three) at Koḍumbāḷūr (Pudukkōṭṭai) of the time of Parāntaka II, are also very typical of the early Chōla style in architecture and sculpture; the inner pillars of Koranganātha are among the first specimens of the ‘Chōla order’. One of the medium size temples of the early years of Rājarāja I giving a clear indication of the growing resources of the empire is that of Tirūvālīsvaram at Brahmadeśam in Tirunelvēli District; it is unique for the wealth and detail of its sculpture and iconography, particularly on its two storied vimāna.
But the masterpieces of Chōla art are undoubtedly the great temples of Rājarājesvara at Taṅjāvūr (Tanjore) and Gangai-konṭa-Chōleśvara at Gangaikonṭa-chōlapuram, respectively of the reigns of Rājāraja I and his son Rājendra I. The former completed in A.D. 1009 stands in a vast enclosure 800 feet by 250 feet with a gōpuram gateway in front on the east. The grand vimāna which reaches a height of nearly 200 feet on a square base of 82 feet side dominates the whole structure; it rises in 13 diminishing tiers, all carrying rich sculpture, crowned by a huge monolithic bulbous dome of great weight forming a fitting finish to its soaring character. The sister temple in the new capital is almost a replica of the Taṅjāvūr temple, but with the added graces of curved contours in its vimāna and greater maturity in sculpture. Of the two vimānas considered together, Percy Brown observes: 'Each is the final and absolute vision of its creator made manifest through the medium of structural form, the one symbolizing conscious might, the other subconscious grace, but both dictated by that divinity which has seized the soul'. The scheme of decoration and sculpture on the exterior of the walls is the same in both temples, and very adequate and pleasing. The Airāvatesvara at Dārāṣuram of the reign of Rājarāja II and the Kampaharesvara at Tribhuvanam near Kumbakonam of the reign of Kulottunga III carried on the tradition of large temples in later Chōla times, not to speak of the smaller temples that came up at the time, or renovations and extensions of older shrines like those of Chidambaram and Śrīrangam.

The age of the Chōlas was also remarkable for the production of numerous bronze images of superb beauty, among which the large Naṭarāja bronzes easily take the first place. We have also representations of Śiva in various other forms, of Brahmā, the seven mothers, Vishṇu with his consorts Lakṣmī and Bhūdevi, Rāma and Sītā with attendants, the Śaiva saints among whom Nānasambandar is most popular, the infant Krishṇa dancing on the head of the serpent Kāliya, and many
other subjects. Many groups described in the inscriptions have been lost; but enough has survived to give us an adequate idea of the glory of the Chōla founders and artists.

The later Pāṇḍyas gave their attention to the outlying portions of the temple, and their main contribution is seen in the vast gopuras at the entrances to temples, providing a basis for a wealth of sculptured embellishment. Mandapas and sub-shrines were also added to existing temples. The gopura in the second enclosure of Jambukeshvara on the island of Srīrangam (12th century) and the eastern gopura of Chidambaram (13th century) are typical of the development. In Pāṇḍya art, in general, is seen an attempt to produce a more elegant effect by an increase of decorative details which may be taken to mark the transition from the restrained maturity of Chōla architecture to 'the exquisite though extravagant productions of Vijayanagar.'

Under Vijayanagar South Indian art attained a certain fullness and freedom of rich expression in keeping with the general consciousness of the great task of the empire, namely the preservation and development of all that remained of Hinduism against the onslaughts of Islam. In this period, temples became very elaborate both in structure and organization; even old temples were amplified by the addition of pillared halls, pavilions and other subordinate structures. The most characteristic of such additions is the Kaliyānāmanḍapa, generally located on the left in the courtyard of the temple as we enter it from the east. This is a very ornate pillared pavilion with a raised platform in the centre 'for the reception of the deity and his consort at the annual celebration of their marriage ceremony.' The goddesses invariably came to have separate shrines of their own, a development of which the beginnings go back to the late Chōla period. Another feature was the so-called 'thousand pillared maṇḍapa' a huge hall with many rows of pillars. In fact the varied and complicated treatment of the pillar was perhaps the most striking feature
of the Vijayanagar style. The shaft becomes just a core round which is grouped a vast amount of statuary of great size and sculptured in the round, 'having as its most conspicuous element a furiously rearing horse, rampant hippogryph or upraised animal of a supernatural kind'—the whole of it, pillar and sculptures, being carved out of a single block of stone. Another type shows a cluster of miniature pillars encircling the central column, and sometimes so carved as to give out, when struck, the seven successive notes of Indian music. There were also other modes of treatment, but all pillars had ornamental brackets as part of their capitals, and below the bracket a pendant which was elaborated in this period into an inverted lotus bud. The tall entrance towers or gopuras, evolved under the Pandyas continued in this period also.

The buildings of the period are scattered throughout the country south of the Tungabhadrā, but the finest group is still to be found in the deserted city of Vijayanagar itself. In the rest of the empire Vellore, Kumbakonam, Kānchipuram, Tādpatri and Śrīrangam are justly celebrated for their temples in the style of this period. The Kālīyānamandapa of the temple of Vellore is considered to be the most beautiful of its kind: another in the Mārgasakhešvara at Virinchipuram in North Arcot District is nearly as good. The Ėkāmranātha and the Varadarāja temples at Kānchipuram contain pavilions of remarkable size, the pillars of which, are notable even in this period for their 'bizarre grouping of imaginative statuary'. Two gopuras of the Rāmeśvara temple at Tādpatri bear rich and exquisite carvings in the whole of their perpendicular part usually left comparatively plain. 'These carvings', says Fergusson, 'are in better taste than anything else in this style'. Lastly, the so-called 'horse-court' or Śeshagirinamandapa at Śrīrangam contains 'a colonnade of furiously fighting steeds, each rearing up to a height of nearly nine feet, the whole executed in a technique so emphatic as to be not like stone but hardened steel' (Brown).
The last stages of Vijayanagar architecture are rightly known as the Madura style as they found most encouragement from the Nāyaks of Madura. To some extent it was a revival and continuation of the building methods of the Pāṇḍyas, which, as already indicated, took the shape of enlarging older temples by the addition of new parts. We may note in particular the provision of additional prākāras by means of concentric outer enclosure walls, each prākāra wall having generally four gōpuras at or near the cardinal points, and enclosing important adjuncts to the temple—a hall of thousand pillars, a sacred tank and so on. Śrīrangam, for instance, has seven such concentric rectangular enclosures. There is a tendency to multiply pillars wherever possible, and some of them begin to bear on their shafts more than life size statues of deities, kings or donors.

Among the more important temples of this period may be named those of Madurai, Śrīrangam and Jambukesvaram, Tiruvālūr, Rāmeśvaram, Chidambaram, Tirunelvēli, Tiruvanṭāmalai and Śrīvilliputtūr. The temple of Madurai is perhaps the most typical of them, most of it having been built at one time. It is a double temple, one dedicated to Sundaresvara and the other to his consort Mīnākṣī. These two shrines take the largest space inside the main enclosure, an area 850 feet by 725 within a high wall, with four large gōpuras towards the centre of each of its four sides. The main temple has the usual three compartments, the cella being surmounted by a Śikhara which projects above the flat roof covering the whole of this part of the temple. The sanctury of Mīnākṣī is an enclosure attached to the southern side of the main temple and somewhat to its rear, and is a smaller replica of the main temple roughly half its size. As in the adjacent Śiva temple the Śikhara of the sanctum rises above the flat roof. In front of the temple of Mīnākṣī is the tank of Golden lilies (160' by 120') surrounded by steps and a pillared portico on the sides. Its picturesque appearance is enhanced by the background of the southern gōpura, over 150 feet high, which is reflected on its surface.
The hall of Thousand Pillars in the north-east angle of the outer prākāra (enclosure) covers an area 240 feet by 250 and its front which faces south lies along side of the wide pillared approach to the main temple. Its interior is symmetrical in the arrangement of the pillars, and includes a central aisle leading up to a small shrine of Sabhāpati at its northern end. The sculptures on the pillars, says Fergusson, 'surpass those of any other hall of its class I am acquainted with'. Outside the main enclosure but in axial alignment with the eastern gōpura, and separated from it by a street, is the pudumāṇḍapam, known also as 'Tirumalai's choultry'. This is a large open hall (350' by 105') divided longitudinally into a nave and two aisles by four rows of pillars, all very elaborately carved. The pillars towards the centre of the hall bear life-size statues of the Nāyak kings of Madurai, the latest being that of Tirumalai, the builder of the maṇḍapa.

The additions made by the Nāyaks of Madurai to the Rangānātha temple of Śrīrangam contributed in no small measure to make it by far the largest of South Indian temples. The outermost prākāra is a rectangle 2,880 feet by 2,475. There are no fewer than six others within, making in all seven concentric enclosures round the shrine in the centre. The three outer enclosures are as much parts of the surrounding town as of the temple, and are remarkable only for some of their gōpuras. Of the two incomplete gōpuras on the outermost wall, that on the south or main approach would, if it had been finished according to plan, have attained a height of nearly 300 feet. The temple proper may be taken to begin at the fourth court with its outer wall measuring 1235 feet by 849, and with gōpuras on the north, south and east, the last being the finest and largest in the whole scheme. Near this gōpura at the north-eastern angle is the Hall of Thousand Pillars, 500 feet by 160 feet. The celebrated 'horse-court' is also in this enclosure. The next or third enclosure has gōpuras on the north and south, but the latter opening into the fine pillared garudamāṇḍapa is the main entrance. This enclosure
contains two tanks named after the sun and the moon. The second enclosure is a covered court occupied mainly by pillared halls with a long processional passage on the western side. It has two entrances from north and south. Within is the innermost enclosure (240' by 181') with its entrance on the south side. The sanctuary is a circular chamber set within a square compartment and surrounded by a larger rectangular chamber; its position is indicated by its golden domical vimāna projecting above the flat roof.

The temple of Rāmeśvaram built, like Madurai, on a unitary plan is remarkable for its impressive pillared corridors which completely surrounded it besides forming avenues leading up to it. These passages vary in width from 17 to 21 feet and have a height of about 25 feet. Their total length is calculated to be about 3,000 feet.

The art of bronze casting which began to be practised on an extensive scale under the Chōlas continued to flourish under the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories. The subjects of sculpture and the mode of treatment continued to be the same as before, but this period is remarkable for some actual life size portraits which have survived, like those of Krīshṇadeva Rāya and his two wives, of Venkaṭa I, and others of doubtful identity, all in the Tirupati temple. Mention may also be made of a small stone statue in the round of Krīshṇadeva Rāya in a niché in the doorway below the northern gōpura (which he built in 1520) in the temple at Chidambaram.

The period of British rule was of little significance to Indian architecture or sculpture. 'The English have left a permanent mark upon India by their canals, roads and railways—honestly and efficiently made. They had, however, little urge to build for the future' (Garratt). The engineers of the time who built the bungalows, churches, and even the imposing residence of a viceroy or governor, like the higher officials who gave them orders, had no idea of the traditions of Indian art. To them, as Havell said, Indian art 'meant no more than a pretty chintz,
a rich brocade, or gorgeous carpet, fantastic carving, or curious inlay; and an ancient architecture fascinating to the archaeologist and tourist with its reminiscences of bygone pomp and splendour, but an extinct art useless for the needs and ideals of our prosaic and practical times. The Public Works Department began to function after 1857 at the height of the reaction against everything Indian, and Curzon’s interest in Indian art was almost entirely archaeological. The Roorkee Engineering College to which craftsmen were sent for training only imparted a contempt for Indian architecture and a very inadequate knowledge of English architecture at one of its worst periods. This policy almost killed the Indian tradition outside the Indian States where the hereditary craftsmen could still get work on palaces, temples and houses of rich merchants; such work showed that all through the nineteenth century there were Indian builders, without any European training, capable of admirable religious and private architecture, well suited to the climate, to the materials of the country, and to the tastes of educated Indians. There has been a revival of interest in Indian arts since Curzon’s time, but the saner view on Indian master builders came too late to prevent the planning of New Delhi being entrusted to English architects. Independence has emphasized the trend, led to the starting of schools and training centres to revive old traditions in architecture and sculpture. But New Delhi seems still to persist in the worship of western utilitarian models and its latest buildings are multi-storeyed ‘office blocks’ in the American sky-scaper style.

Paintings are delicate products of art and suffer easily from the action of time and weather, not to speak of chemical changes in stone or in the materials used. Often good early paintings have been overlaid, as at Tañjāvūr by later work not so good. There remains no doubt, however, about the antiquity and continuity of a painting tradition in the Tamil country.

Early Tamil literature mentions mural paintings and the scenes depicted in them. The fragmentary Pallava paintings
still traceable in the 'cave temples' at Tirumayan and Māmāndur, and in the structural temples of Panamalai, Kāṇchīpuram and Māmallapuram as also in the rathas of the last mentioned place date from the seventh and eighth centuries, while the outer layer of paintings at Sittannavāsal, often wrongly ascribed to the Pallavas, and those in the Tirumalaippuram cave temple in the Tirunelvēli District are both Pāṇḍya in origin and of the ninth Century. Of the Chōla paintings the most important are those in the pradaksinā passage round the sanctum of Tañjāvūr temple, most probably coeval with the temple and of the time of Rājarāja I and his son. The technique here differs from that of the better known paintings of Ajanta, Sigiriya, Bagh, Bādāmi and Ellora. The latter follow the 'tempera' technique while the South Indian school employs 'fresco', 'fresco secco' or lime medium without using any binding medium in the ground plaster or glue or gum as a fixitive of the colours. The Tañjāvūr paintings seem to have been begun as fresco, and finished or retouched in lime medium. All the other paintings in the South Indian series belong to the class of 'fresco secco'.

Three door ways in the middle of the exterior walls of the garbhagriha on the south west and north originally lighted up the paintings; these openings were closed by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka by rubble walls in the middle of the seventeenth century; they have now been demolished by the archaeological department. The openings correspond in position to the nichés (devagosṭhas) in the central bay on each side of the inner walls enshrining large sculptures appropriate to them. Vertical pilasters corresponding to the system of bays and recesses of the outer wall divide the pradaksinā passage into fifteen chambers each separated from its neighbour by a constriction which is really an opening composed of joists, lintel and sill. There are two chambers on either side of the main entrance to the east, and five each on the north and south, and three behind on the west. The first three chambers, starting in the pradaksinā order from the south of the main entrance, are entirely covered,
walls and ceilings, with nāyak series of paintings (of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) which do not seem to cover any Chōla paintings underneath. In six of the rest of the chambers there are excellent Chōla paintings, visible where the Nāyak layer overlapping them has peeled off, and the main problem now is to find a successful way of stripping the Nāyak layer elsewhere without damage to the underlying Chōla layer. The theme of the Taṉjāvūr Chōla paintings is religious, drawn mostly from the hagiology which was later worked up into the Periya-purāṇam. The episodes of the life of Sundaramūrti form the subject of some of the best panels—his journey to Kailāsa in the company of his friend Chermān Perumāl-nāyanār, and the dispute between Śiva and Sundara on the eve of the latter’s marriage. Elsewhere on the west wall (panel 9) we get a grand scale painting of Naṭarāja and his devotees; the subject is apparent though much of the original painting is overlaid with later work. There are many women of high rank included in the scene. But the grandest composition in the whole series is the Tripurāntaka panel on the north wall (11th chamber). It is a battle scene. Śiva is standing on the deck of the chariot in āliḍha pose, his left knee bent, and the whole weight of his body thrown on the right leg which is placed forward; his eight arms carry different weapons, one of them holding a long bow in front. His vibrant frame and defiant expression suggest vigorous action. On the driver’s seat is the four-headed Brahmā holding the reins and the whip. This is the centre of the scene. In front are the horses of the asuras facing Śiva and his gaṇas, the whole foreground depicting fights with different weapons between the two groups. On the top is seen Durgā on the lion thrusting her spear into the body of an asura while her lion is holding another by the neck. Another panel on the western wall depicts Naṭarāja in Kanakasabhā (golden hall) worshipped by a royal devotee attended by his many queens and retinue. There is no difficulty in identifying the royal figure as Rājarāja I, the founder of the temple, the Śivapāḍēkharas who named every unit of
measurement Ādavallān (the Great Dancer) after his favourite deity; the principal queens are portrayed on a large scale as standing behind him, while the other queens and also the retinue are smaller.

The lines of the figures are drawn in light red or brown and deepened by forcible blacks and reddish browns. The other colours used for flesh and drapery are defined by delicate brush work. There is a conscious attempt at modelling here. Though there is not much diversity in the poses of figures, yet they are far from being stereotyped. The celestial beings, āpsaras, and āndharās ‘have a certain bend of the body as if they had floated into shapes on waves of an invisible sea’. The lines of the seated figures of women have more grace and charm than the standing ones; the dancing forms are full of action and expression. The faces are drawn in three quarters front and profile visible and square in outline with pronounced chin. The hair is done into elaborate coiffures of different patterns with small ringlets falling in front on the face, and decked with flowers, buds, and ornaments shaped like crescent and star. The eye brows are set low in human forms and high in celestial beings, the eyes themselves are linear and pisciform and the eyelids are not pronounced but nonetheless expressive of emotion. The noses are long, straight, and sensitive, very rarely curved, the nostrils wide and mobile. The variety of ornaments worn by women is a study by itself. The drapery consists of a sārī of diaphanous muslin worn round the waist and covering down to the ankles and thrown into graceful folds decorated by floral patterns or horizontal lines, and held in position round the waist by sashes of different colours, their ends hanging in folds. The bust is generally bare except for a piece of cloth worn over the left shoulder and passing between the ample bosoms under the right arm. The men are of strong build, with beard, moustache, and knots of hair on the head. The panels of the Chōla layers exposed so far do not suggest any grouping except in the Tripuraśāntaka and Sundaramūrti panels, and till the entire Chōla
layer is exposed, one cannot say definitely that the figures in
the other groups are not inter-related.

The fragments of paintings in the Vijayālay Chōleśvara
(Nārttāmalai) are much faded. The two large figures on the
north wall of the ardhamanḍapā are those of Bhairava and
Naṭarāja; their stiff pose indicates a late age when the mural
art was decadent, though some fragments on the opposite wall
are strongly reminiscent of the Taṅjāvūr school; these paintings
may be tentatively assigned to the late Chōla period, twelfth
or early thirteenth century.

From very early times the Tamil country held an important
place in the world of music and dance. Early Tamil literature,
and the Śilappadikāram particularly among later works, are full
of references to several types of music and dance of the folk
and classical varieties, both religious and secular. Even so
early we see clearly the interaction between the North Indian
Sanskrit tradition and that of the indigenous Tamils in the
subjects. The large place of choric singing in the religious
revival of the seventh and eighth centuries is well known and
has already been mentioned; but there is difference of opinion
about the question of the correct identification and reproduction
of the old tunes. The musical inscription of Kuḍumiyāmalai
(Pudukkōṭtai) consists of exercises to be practised on stringed
instruments. It has been assigned without any conclusive
evidence to the Pallava king Mahendravarman I; we read at
the end of the inscription that it was the work of a Śaiva monarch
who was the pupil of Rudrāchārya, evidently a famous music
master of the time. There are differences among modern
experts on the interpretation of these exercises. The great
musician and composer Gopāla Nāyaka was invited to Northern
India at the instance of Amir Khusru. Kallinātha cites a
composition of Gopāla Nāyaka, a Rāga-kadamba, and Venkaṭa-
makhi states that he claimed to be the promulgator of Chatur-
dāṇḍī, that is, a fourfold delineation of Rāga forms in Gīta,
Prabandha, Ṭhāya, and Ālāpa. The fine arts received much
encouragement from the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories, and the theory and practice of music and dancing made great advances. Confining our attention to the Tamil country, we may notice the four generations of Tallapākam composers who kept up the tradition of Madhura-bhakti and produced many hundreds of Kirtanas on Lord Venkaṭeṣa of Tirupati and a short treatise on the nature and features of Kirtanas called *Samkīrṇa Lakṣaṇa* (sixteenth century?). The *Sangita Sadhā* composed by Govinda Dīkshita in the name of Raghunātha Nāyaka (1600-34) of Taṉjāvūr and the *Chaturdaṇḍi-prakāśikā* of Venkaṭamakhi, the son of Govinda Dīkshita, are works of outstanding merit on Karnatic music. The tradition enriched by the adaptation to its uses of some foreign instruments like the violin and clarinet survived the anarchy of the eighteenth century and the neglect of the nineteenth and is now, particularly since Independence, experiencing a revival fostered by many voluntary musical associations and state patronage administered through the Sangita Nāṭaka Akadami and its adjuncts.

Besides the literary references to dancing already mentioned, there is much other convincing evidence of the continued popularity of dances of all kinds both among the people and the upper classes at all times. Most of our temples, great and small, are adorned with dance sculptures in prominent places. Most notable among them are the dance poses of Śiva depicted in good sized sculptures on the interior of the vimāna of the Taṉjāvūr temple of Rājarāja’s time, and the portrayal of all the *karaṇas* (dance-poses) described by Bharata with the appropriate verses inscribed underneath in one of the *gōpura* gateways of the temple of Chidambaram (thirteenth century). Rājarāja settled four hundred dancing girls selected from all over his empire in the capital city of Taṉjāvūr for service in the Great Temple and endowed each of them with a house to dwell in and enough land for their maintenance. The Marāṭhā court of Taṉjāvūr greatly patronized dancing.
The system of *devadāsīs* (God's servant women) attracted the attention of many foreign travellers who have often described it at length. They were, however, not only the servants of deities and custodians of the fine arts of music and dance, but generally practised prostitution; it should be noted, however, that this was done in a restrained and enlightened manner, recalling the modes of the hetearae of Greece, and had nothing in common with the commercialized brothels of the modern industrial cities. All the same, as a result mainly of Christian missionary criticism of Hindu society in the nineteenth century, the arts practised by the dancing girls fell into great disrepute on account of their association, and the Social Reform Movement of the late nineteenth century and its aftermath nearly killed all dancing and did away by legislation with the patronage and endowment of *devadāsīs* in the face of their protests. The loss to art caused thereby did not escape attention, and today dancing has more than come into its own and dance masters and schools have again a fairly good time; the style most common in the Tamil country is Bharata Nāṭyam as it was developed in the Tañjāvūr-Marāṭhā court.

The religious aspect of the dance was developed into two allied traditions now threatened with extinction for lack of understanding and patronage: one is the Śrīrangam tradition of rendering the hymns of the Divyaprabandham in gesture interpretations, and the other the Bhāgavata-mēla of the Tañjāvūr district. Both are applications of the technique of Bharata Nāṭyam for promoting enjoyment and devotion in those who witness the performances.
Bibliography

G.T. Garratt (ed.): The Legacy of India (Oxford, 1938)
T.M.P. Mahadevan: Outlines of Hinduism (Cetana, Bombay, 1960)
T.V. Mahalingam: Administration and Social life under Vijayanagar (Madras University, 1940)
K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: The Pandyan Kingdom (Madras, 1929)
The Colas (second edn., Madras, 1955)
A history of South India (Madras, 1958)
P. Sambamoorthy: History of Indian Music (Madras, 1960)
R. Sathianathiaer: Tamilaham in the seventeenth century (Madras, 1956)
Stuart Piggott: Prehistoric India (Cassell, London, 1962)
K. R. Srinivasan: Some Aspects of Religion as revealed by early Monuments
and Literature of the South. 
Jl. of the Madras University
XXXII No. 1. July 1960
(pp. 131-198).
The Pallava Architecture of 
S. India. Ancient India No. 14
(1958) (pp. 114-138).

K.R. Venkatarama Aiyar :
A Note on the Kalabhras,
Transactions, Arch. Soc. of 
S. India 1956-57 (pp. 94-100).
INDEX

A

Abdur Razzaq 65, 66
Abhidharmāvatāra 84
Abu Zayd 56
Accuta 19
Achyuta 35
Achyutarāya 35, 38
Ādiccanallūr 5, 6
Adigaman(s) 8, 13, 17
Āditya 27
Āditya II 59
Ahanānūru 128
Ahobala 145
Aihole Inscription 146
Ājvārs 25, 112, 114, 132, 145
Amarāvatī 9
Amitasāgara 19, 135
Āmuktamālyada 62
Āndal 112, 113, 131, 132
Andhra Culture 5
Appar 21, 109, 110
Appayya Dīkshita 146, 147, 149, 151
Arab Traders 123
Arikameḍu 4, 12, 82
Arikесarı Parāṅkuṣa Maṅgarman I 22, 23
Aryanisation 7
Aryans 6, 7, 83
Āsoka Inscriptions 8, 75
Āśramas 7
Āṭreya Rāmānuja 149
Āṭreya Varadarāja 145
Aurābindo Ghosh 120
— Āśrama 121
Aurangzeb 39, 40
Avvaiyār 17, 78
Āyagār 101
Āys 16, 23, 25

B

Ballāla II 32
Beschi, Fr. 126
Bhāgavata, the 108, 145
Bhakti
— School 108, 111, 112
— movement 129
Bhāratam 127, 129, 133
Bhāravi 145
Brāhmi Script 8, 154, 155
— Inscription 75
Bruce Foote 4
Buddhadatta 19, 84
Buddhamitra 135
Buddhism 53, 106, 108, 114, 121, 122
Buddhist authors 130
Bukkarāya 122
Burrow (Prof.) 6

C

Carnatic 1, 38, 39
Ceylon 30, 31
Chālukya 21, 22, 29, 30, 121
Chandragiri 36
Cheras 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17
Chera Śenguṭṭavan 130
Chidambaram Temple 170
China—Chola mission to 31
Chital drug 4
Chitramāya 24
Chokkanātha 39
Cornwallis, Lord 69-70
Chōlas 8, 9, 14, 15, 19-20, 32, 57-59, 62 101, 116, 121, 164
- Later 30-32
- Administration 50, 56-58
- Monarchy 55
- Administration of justice 58-59
- Rural Administration 57-60
  Tax system & Public Expenditure 61, 62
- Trade 82, 91-93
  Navy 56-574
- Education 97-99
- Gold coins 93
- Painting 166-169
- Sculpture 99

Dance 152, 170, 171
Daṇḍīn 136, 146
Daṇḍiyalangāram 136
Dāsakumāracarita 146
Deccan 3, 5
Devadāsīs 171
Dēvāram 109, 110, 132
Devendra Munivar 135
Dharmasena 109
Dhavaleswaram 93
Dīnāgā 131
Drāviḍa Maḥā Bhāṣya 119
Drāviḍa Sangam 11
Dravidian Impact 6, 7

E

Epic Legends (as history) 7
Eśumadinarākarapaṁ 138
Eṭṭuttagai 10
Europe 5
European Contact 2

F

Fine Art 154-171
- Bronze Casting (Vijayanagar) 164
- Bronze images (Chōla) 159
Art and Architecture :
  - Chōla 158-160
  - Pallava 154-158
  - Pāṇḍya 160-161
  - Vijayanagar 160-162
  - During British Rule 164, 165
  - Painting 165-169
  - " (Chōla) 165, 166, 167-69
  - " (Nāyak) 167
  - Music & Dance 169-171

G

Gajabāhu I (of Ceylon) 11
Gangaikoṇḍa Chōlapuram temple 115, 135, 159
Gopālla nāyaka 169
Government 44-74
- Art of Warfare 46-47
- Chōla Administration 50-51, 56, 57
- Pāṇḍya 53
- monarchy 44-45, 53, 54-55
Government in 18th century 68-72
- in present century 72-74
- Social Order 48-49
- State life (Pallava & Pāṇḍya) 48
- Royal banner of Kings 54
- Royal household 56
- Vijayanagar 62-68
Govinda Dikshita 147, 170
Guvavira paṇḍita 136

H

Haimendorf 6
Hiuen Tsang 20, 22, 113-114, 121
High Courts 72
Hindu-Muslim Riot 72
Hippalus 82
INDEX

I

İlango Adiga| 131
İlandiraiyanc 17
Implement of man in South India 4
Indian Nationalist Movement 153
Indian Penal Code 72
Indo-Aryans 75
Indus Valley Culture 5

J

Jaina Authors 130
Jaina Literature 135
Jaina Lexicon 139
Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara II 32
Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya 33–34
Jatila Parāntaka Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya 25
Jayadeva 147
Jayangonḍar 134
Jiva Āchārīya 133
Jīva Sambodana 135

K

Kalabhras 19, 53, 54, 108,
Kāḷāmukhas 111–112
Kalaviyāl 83
Kalingattupparai 134
Kallādham 133
Kamban 133, 134, 142
Kānappēr (fort) 47
Kāñchipuram 114, 122
Kāpālikas 111
Kāraikkal Ammaiyar 109
Karikāla 14, 15, 17, 76
Karūr 9
Kāvēripaṭṭanam 3, 9, 46, 81, 84
Kauṭilya 45
Kīrtārjunīya 145
Kirti Varman II 24

Koṭungunṛam Pirāmmalai 16
Kollam (Quilon) 9
Kollīmalai 9
Kūṭṭaiyarkai 9
Kōppeṇṉinga 9
Kōrka 9, 15
Kōṭṭaiyarkai 9
Kōṭṭaiyapadivu 64
Kudis (tribes) 77
Kuṭumiyānmalai (inscription) 152
Kulaśekhara 113
Kulaśekhara (Pāṇḍya) 32
— Kulottunga I 30, 31, 92, 96, 134
— Kulottunga II 31
Kulottunga III 32, 33, 134, 135, 159
Kumāra Kampana 123, 146
Kumārila 108, 114, 115
Kuṭal, the 45, 81, 129
Kūṭṟuvan 19
Krishṇa II (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) 27
Krishṇa III 27, 139
Krishṇadevarāya 38, 62-63, 65, 66, 164
— Army 65, 66
— Administration of justice 66
— Provincial Government 67, 68
Krishṇappa I 38

L

Literature 127–153
— Tamil 127–144
— Sanskrit 144–153
— between 1200–1650 A.D 136–137
— after the fall of Vijayanagar 152–3
— Legal 151
— Grammar 138–139
— Dramas, adoption of 141–142
— Lexicography 140, 143, 151

Literature :
— under Nāyaks 147, 148
— Novels 142, 143.
INDEX

— Poetry 143  
— Philosophical 148-149-51  
— Viśishṭādvaita 149-50

M

Mādhava 66  
Madhva 108  
Madhurakavi 112, 113  
Madhurāditya 123  
Maduraikēţīji 15  
Mahābhārata 12  
Mahamakham festival 120  
Mahendravarman I 21, 110, 146, 152, 154, 169  
Mahendravarman II 15  
Malaiyāmān 16  
Mamallapuram 3, 22, 114, 155-157  
Maṇavalamahāmuni 117, 137  
Maṇḍagappaṭtu 154  
Mangalore (treaty of) 69  
Māṇikkavāḍagar 111, 117  
Māyimkalai 10, 20, 84, 107, 121, 131  
Marandai 9  
Marudan 15  
Mattai vilāsa 110, 146  
Megalithic Culture 5, 6  
Meykaṇḍar 117, 138, 150  
Mohammed Ali Walaja 41  
Munro 71  
Music 152  
(See Fine Arts)  
Muslīms 62, 123, 124  
Musūri 9

N

Naḍādūr Ammāl 149  
Nagore 86  
Nāḷiyairadiyappahandam 132  
Nambī Āṇḍār Nambī 15, 132, 135

Nammāḷvār 113, 145  
Nānasambandar 86, 109, 110, 113, 132  
Nandikkalabham 133  
Nandivarman 23, 24, 25, 133  
Nandivarman II 54, 112-113, 157  
Nandivarman III 25, 26, 28  
Narasimhavarman I Mahāmalla 21-22  
Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha 23  
Naravu 9  
Nāyaks 36-37, 38-39, 65-67, 118, 151  
— of Gingee 36-37, 95  
— of Madura 39, 67, 68, 94, 125, 162, 163  
— of Tanjore 39, 94, 118, 147, 152  
— of Vellore 37, 147  
Nāyanārs 114, 109-112, 129, 131-132, 135  
Neḍundheliyan 14, 15  
Nagapatham 28  
Nelveli (battle of) 22  
Nēminādam 136  
New Stone Age 4  
Nicolas Pimenta 95  
Nilakaṇṭha Dikshita 39  
Nītīdevihaṣṭikā 145  
Non-Brahmin Movement 42-43  
Nriptunga 26  
Nuniz 65  
Nyāyapravesī 131

P

Padiṟṟupattu 13  
Paes 94  
Painting (see Fine Arts)  
Pāḷār 2  
Pallava 18-19, 20, 53  
Pāṇḍya 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 29, 31, 34, 66, 67, 85, 86, 162  
— Viranārāyaṇa 27  
Pāṇḍya Ports 9
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th>179</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pāṇḍya-Pallava period</td>
<td>20–26, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Poet-saints</td>
<td>114–115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Society</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraṅgar</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraṅjotimuni</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parāntaka</td>
<td>59, 158, 27, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāri</td>
<td>16, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parameswaravarman</td>
<td>22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(See Nandivaran II)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāśupatasa</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭṭinappālai</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattini cult</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peppār</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peraṅjeral Irumporai</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periplus</td>
<td>81, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periplus of the Erythrean sea</td>
<td>10, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periya Purāṇam</td>
<td>58, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periyār</td>
<td>2, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietrō della Valla</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponni</td>
<td>2, 3, 4, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poets and patrons (relations between)</td>
<td>77, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porkad</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhākara</td>
<td>108, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praṇasti (inscriptions)</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy</td>
<td>9, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvīpathi I</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvīpathi II</td>
<td>27, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaiyar</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raghunātha (nāyaka)</td>
<td>94, 147–48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāja Rāja I 28, 33, 59, 115, 158, 167, 170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāja Rāja II</td>
<td>31, 59, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājādhirāja I</td>
<td>29, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājādhirāja II</td>
<td>31, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāja Rājēswara Temple</td>
<td>29, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājasimha I Pāṇḍya</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājasimha Pallava (insc.)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājasimha II Pallava</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| <strong>S</strong>                                                               |      |
| Saiva Siddhānta                                                    | 108, 109, 117–18, 136, 137, 150 |
| Śāliyūr                                                            | 9    |
| Śāluva Vīra narasimha                                             | 38   |
| Samudragupta                                                       | 18   |
| Śangam age 10, 11, 18, 20, 48, 106–07, 108                         |      |
| Śangam literature 8, 10, 11–12, 13, 15, 75, 84, 127, 129         |      |
| Śankara                                                            | 108, 114, 124 |
| Śankaramangai (battle of)                                          | 22   |
| Sarfoji                                                             | 153  |
| Saraswati Mahal library                                            | 153  |
| Śāthagopa ālvār                                                    | 113  |
| Sati                                                                | 13, 80, 94 |
| Satiyaputas                                                         | 8    |
| Sayyid (prince)                                                    | 123  |
| Schwartz                                                            | 153  |
| Śekkilār                                                            | 19, 35, 109 |
| Sena I                                                              | 25   |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>St. Francis 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Francis Xavier 35-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Thomas 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stone age culture 4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sundaramūrti (nayanar) 58, 110-111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sundarapāṇḍya 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118, 119</td>
<td>Šiva 106, 110, 111, 138, 145, 150, 156, 159, 167, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Šiva vākyam 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Šivagāṇa Bodam 117, 119, 136, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Šivaprabhāsa 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sivasamudram 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Sivagāṇa Bodam 117, 119, 136, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Sivaprabhāsa 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sivasamudram 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Šiva vākyam 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Social &amp; Economic Conditions 75-106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>— Society &amp; Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>— under Cholas 87-89, 94, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Vijayanagar 94-97, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>in 18th and 19th centuries 103-104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>amusements and sports 78-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>crafts 103-104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>food 78-79, 97, 102-103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>buildings 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>women 80, 88-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>Social ethics and family life 80-81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>Society 57, 76, 77, 104, 105, 29, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Someśvara I 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>Someśvara II 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Šrāvakas 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>Śrīkanṭha 150, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>Śrī Māra Śrivallabha 25, 26, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>Śrīperambudur 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Śrīpurāmbiyan (battle of) 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Śrīpurusha 24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Śrī Ranga III nayak 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Śrīrangam 3, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>— temple 112, 113, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Śrīvijaya 28, 29, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>Tālambrapāṇḍa 2, 3, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Taila II 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>Talaiyālagānam 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Talikota 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Tālambrapāṇḍa 2, 3, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>Taṇḍore temple 55, 56, 89, 100, 115, 121, 140, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Tāyumānavar 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>Telḷāru (battle of) 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>'Ten Idylls' 17, 47, 80, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>Tipu 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>Tiraiyār Toṇḍaiman 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Tirthankaras 122, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>Tirujiṇānasambandar 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Tirukkōvai 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>Tirumala nāyaka 36, 38-39, 126, 147, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Tirumandirām 117, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>Tirupati 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Tiruttontār Purāṇam 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Tiruvalḷuvar 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>Tiruvāsilagam 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>Tolkāppiyam 10, 20, 83, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>Toṇḍai maṇḍalam 9, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>Toṇḍaiman 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>Topur (battle of) 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242</td>
<td>Uḍāli 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243</td>
<td>Udayana 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Ugrasena 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umāpati Śivāchārya 137, 150</td>
<td>— government 63–64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umarū pulavar 139</td>
<td>— culture 95–96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— land assessment and revenue 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— public expenditure 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— provincial govt. 67–68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vahaipparandalai 14</td>
<td>Vikrama Chōla 31, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaigai 2, 4</td>
<td>Vikramāditya Chālukya 22, 23, 30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaikuṇṭhapperumāl temple 25, 53</td>
<td>Vikramāditya II 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaishṇavas 35, 112</td>
<td>Vīlande (battle of) 22, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varaguṇavarman II Pāṇḍya 26</td>
<td>Vīrājendra Chōla 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varthema 97</td>
<td>Vīralōṭiyam 121, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedānta desikar 137, 146, 150</td>
<td>Vīshṇu pūrāṇa 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedic religion 106</td>
<td>Vīshṇuvardhana (Hoysala) 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vellūr (battle of) 27</td>
<td>Viśiṣṭādvaita 149, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velvikudi grant 19, 53, 87</td>
<td>Viśvanātha nāyaka 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venbāi 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vengaḍam 1, 17</td>
<td>Wellesley 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venkāṭamādhava 144</td>
<td>West — trade contact with 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venkāṭa 36–37</td>
<td>Western civilisation 120, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venkāṭa I 163</td>
<td>— impact of 138, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria, queen 42</td>
<td>— impact on Tamil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayālaya (Chola) 26, 55, 169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayanagar 34–43, 93, 94, 95, 101, 102, 117, 151, 160, 161, 170</td>
<td>Yādavapraṅkaśa 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— army 65–67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— admin. of justice 66–67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— art 160–61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— monarchy 62–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— king and his court 94–95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**N.B.—Page 4 ; line 7 : read ‘Foote’ for ‘Foots’.**
1. The Pāṇḍava Rathas - Pallava. Mahabalipuram 7th C.A.D. (Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India.)
2. The Shore Temple - Pallava - Mahabalipuram 7th C.A.D. (Courtesy: Institut Français D'Indologie, Pondichery.)
3. Rock cut image of Siva - Vettuvankoil, Kalugumalai, Tirunelveli Dist.
C.300 A.D. (Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India.)
4. Trivikrama bronze, Singanallur, Coimbatore Dt. C. 900 A. D.

(Courtesy: Government Museum, Madras.)
5. Nataraja (catura pose) bronze. Kilakkadu, Tanjore Dt. © 900 A.D.
(Courtesy: Institut Francais D'Indologie, Pondichery.)
6. Rama Group, bronze. Vadukkuppanaiyur, Tanjore Dr. C, 950 A.D.
(Courtesy: Government Museum, Madras.)
7. Guhamba, bronze Pallavanisvara, Shiylali, Tanjore Dt. C. 900 A.D.
(Courtesy : Institut Francais D'Indologie, Pondicherry.)
8. Tripurantaka and Tirupurasundari (stone) Kodumbalur, former Pudukkottai
State C. 950. A.D. (Courtesy : Government Museum, Madras.)
9. Agni (stone) Tirunelveli Dt. C. 1100 A.D.
(Courtesy: Government Museum, Madras.)
10. Ardhanarisvara, bronze. Kadambar, near Chidambaram C. 1150 A.D.
(Courtesy: Institut Francais D'Indologie, Pondichery.)
12. South Gopura, Minakshi Temple, Madurai C. 1600 A.D.
(Courtesy: Institut Francais D'Indologie, Pondichery.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archæological Library</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(43720)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call No. 901.09545/ML</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author—M. Lalavati Sastry K.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title—The Culture and Society of the Tamils</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"A book that is shut is but a block"

Central Archæological Library
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.