CHAPTER VI
CIVIC ADMINISTRATION

The emergence of towns presupposes a strong political system. The growth and prosperity of urban centres are closely associated with the political power which look into the proper functioning of different institutions and helps in the proper utilization of the economic resources and surplus production. It also helps in the procurement of taxes and tributes from the commercial and other classes. The large scale economic enterprise largely depends on an effective power-structure.

The commercial activity under the Mauryas and the Kushāṇas clearly reveal the gearing up of an administrative machinery for the proper utilization of available resources. The personal initiative taken by the kings like Aśoka and Kaṇiṃśka gave great impetus to economic activities which facilitated urban growth in the country. Through active and constant Indo-Roman trade exchanges Indian merchants earned enormous profits. The prosperity of Kushāṇa towns is mainly owed to this profitable trade. The favourable balance of trade paved the way for the introduction of gold coinage in India by the Kushāṇa kings. The archaeological excavations carried out in early historical sites reveal prosperous material culture of the Kushāṇa age that shows the flourishing state of civilization in the country. In the post-Kushāṇa age a powerful empire was build up by the Guptas in northern India. These kings are
credited with the use and minting of a large number of gold coins in the country, however, the earlier favourable balance of trade had somewhat waned away. Despite many references to the flourishing town and town-life in the literary and epigraphic sources, a different picture is portrayed by archaeology which shows decline in some earlier urban sites. The decline of urban life has been taken to be the consequence of fall of the Roman empire by which India's trade relations got a considerable setback. Further, it is argued that the decay was accentuated by the feudalization of the state under the Guptas. R.S. Sharma states that no convincing traces of urbanization are available in Gupta and post-Gupta times because of the disparities in the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in the country. He further argues that urban activity was accelerated only in the fourteenth century by mercantile and artisanal classes in the country.

The present chapter proposes to enquire into the political system of the country and how numerous cities and towns were administered to make their functions accountable to the urban residents. Similar conditions prevailed in the fifth-sixth century B.C. (the sixteen small republics ruled in north India with petty principalities but during the period under review there were monarchies, though small and big, all over India). They had constant conflicts with one another for gaining supremacy in the Indo-Gangetic "divide". Their headquarters are reckoned as the important urban centres of the
early historical India, for instance, Champā, Rājagrīha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī and Banaras were six important cities of the period. The archaeological excavations conducted in these sites have also revealed the material remains which confirm their urban character.

In the seventh century A.D. after the death of king Harshavardhana many small principalities rose to power in different parts of the country. There was no single locus of power which could control them. These states had their own capitals and military camps. Their constant efforts were to improve security arrangements, military administration and to annex wider and new areas. In contrast to their warlike habits, they are equally concerned with other developments in their states. The Pālas, the Pratiharas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the three powers who struggled constantly for acquiring Kanauj as their centre of power. Inspite of such fluctuations in the political ascendancy there is enough evidence of a flourishing town-life.

However, archaeology is quiet on the nature and character of these settlements. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Chandellas, the Gāhaḍavālas and the Senas rose to power in India, they also struggled for supremacy in northern India. In south India there was a constant struggle among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Chālukyas and the Cōlas. Out of them Cōlas succeeded in establishing peace and order in south India which ultimately brought prosperity and stability to their empire. They dominated
south India for more than three hundred years and their achievements reached climax in all spheres of activity. Politically they ruled their empire efficiently; economically they were prosperous; the merchants carried on flourishing overseas trade in spices, fine white-flowered or dotted-cotton stuffs, pearls, betel nuts, opaque and glass. All these items were primarily the products of the Cōla empire. The large scale construction of exquisite temples, laying out of well-planned towns with fortified walls, ditches, palaces, markets and streets reveal that systematic and scientific methods of town planning stipulated in the architectural texts were adhered to more stringently where sthapati and sūtradhāras were well trained. It is stated that capital town of the Cōlas had a seven-fold wall and each wall was at the distance of one hundred paces from one another. Four walls were made up of brick, two of mud and one in the centre was of wood. The different walls enclosed the dwellings of the people, monasteries and royal palaces respectively. Though archaeology has been of very little help in exposing a palace complex at Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram enclosed by a wall, but other adjacent mounds have not been excavated which can definitely help us to know the exact planning of the city.

The prosperity of the Cōlas was mainly due to the efficient administrative system introduced by them. Despite the continuous conflicts in the country, the Cōla age is considered
as the prosperous age of early medieval south Indian civilization. The most prominent features of their polity were the autonomous villages and rise of regional assemblies like nādu, ur and nagaram. The nature of these assemblies and their role will be taken up for further discussion in the pages that follow.

In India from c. A.D. 750-1200 the monarchy was the prevalent form of government. The monarchial government had not only the king as the head of the state, there were other petty rulers or feudals (sāmanta) who ruled as the subordinates of the king and, in most cases, they ruled as independent monarchs in the country. This kind of polity has been described as the feudal polity in which sāmanta, mahāsāmanta and rāṇaka participated and the states lacked any single locus of power. However, at some places the king identified himself with the divinity enshrined in the temples. In some cases inscriptions identify them various divines and their palaces are considered as the palaces of gods. But this is not to imply that he was only the ritual head of the state, he was absolute monarch and exercised enormous powers. The king actually parcellled out lands to the feudals. This practice consequently helped the state in carrying out local administrative functions through the donees.

In fact this kind of system largely led to the decentralization of power. No single centre of power emerged as was the case during the time of the Mauryas. No doubt sources refer to a number of officials who assisted the kings in carrying out
various administrative functions, these were appointed by the kings; for instance, śāndhyāyaka, dandanāyaka, dandanāśikā, senāpati, mahāmatya, purohitā, pratiḥāra, etc. who looked after different departments.

For the civic administration of the period (especially in different kinds of urban units) we lack source like Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Megasthenese's Indica which provide information on the city administration of the Mauryan times. For the study of this period we have largely depended on the epigraphic and a few literary sources (technical and non-technical). These sources throw light on town assemblies and officials who looked after the towns. The local self government was the main feature of early medieval administration but this is not to deny the role of kings and his retinue in the urban administration. The local government was autonomous but used to acknowledge the suzerainty of the kings. Each town had state officers who were placed in charge of districts and towns along with the local assemblies; they jointly carried out numerous administrative and auxiliary functions.

Apart from the functional variations of towns discussed in chapter III there existed several mechanisms to administer numerous towns and cities of varied sizes. Whereas the capital towns or rājadhānīs were directly under the kings who had their palaces there. From these towns they looked after the administration of their respective states (the boundaries of the state
remained constantly fluctuating). The king wielded considerable control over the people through bureaucracy, and so his political powers were mitigated, up to some extent, by forces of urban origin. The ministers used to advise kings on all the important matters. The Lalitvigrāharāja shows that the king Vigrāharāja IV took counsel with the mantrin and senāpati before attacking enemies. They listened carefully to the ministers' advice.

In the absence of the king, the yuvarāja or other family members looked after the administrative duties. The king was assisted by a number of officials, some of them were directly or indirectly associated with town administration. Each karana (department) in the central ministry was headed by a minister. From the inscriptive sources we learn that śrīkarana and accounts department were under the mahāmātya, which might have been the highest in rank. This minister is referred to in the records almost all over India, which suggests that the mahāmātyas existed in all parts of India. However, in the Paramāra inscriptions, mahāpradhāna is mentioned carrying out similar duties especially the supervision of the revenue. It is further mentioned that prime minister was mainly the superintendent of whole administration. The Kalachuri records also mention mahāmātya or mahāpradhāna who was probably the head of all the ministers. The Yādavas of the Deccan also refer to mahāpradhāna. In the Pāla inscriptions we get reference to sachiva or mantri who enjoyed the same status as that of the prime minister. Mahāmātya or mahāpradhāna not only supervised
the revenue and accounts of the capital towns perhaps they kept
close watch on the accounts of other prosperous towns and cities.

Next in importance was the senāpati or commander-in-chief
of the armies. He is referred to in the sources as dandanāyaka.
It is also referred to as senādhipati in the Arasībdī inscription. The inscriptions of the Pratihāras refer to dandanāyaka
as the commander-in-chief on the forces, whereas the Pāla
records refer to mahādandanāyaka as the chief judge or magistrate
and entrusted with the duties of justice.

The Kalachuri record of twelfth century refers to
dandanāyaka as the leader of whole army. Though many times
they were given other duties including the administration of
towns.

The minister in charge of foreign affairs was known as
mahāsāndhivigrāhika. This minister is referred to both in the
records of north and south India. He was acquainted with many
languages and scripts, and possessed outstanding skill in
dealing with the feudatories and vassals. The records refer
to sāndhivigrāhika as an in charge of secret intelligence
department of foreign office. This officer is mentioned
in the Chandella and Sena records performing similar functions,
whereas in the Pratihāra inscriptions, a dutaka is referred to
conveying the grants to the people other than performing his
normal duties. The Paramāra and Chauhan records refer to
an officer, viz., sāndhivigrāhi, who was assigned similar functions. Sometimes he was assigned the task of maintenance of law and order and suppression of internal enemies. In some cases he drafted royal charters and despatches. In some inscriptions this minister is mentioned as the member of pañcakula assembly which managed the affairs of the town.\(^{32a}\)

The policeman or dandapāśika was appointed to catch hold of offenders. This officer finds mention in the Pratihāra\(^{33}\) and Pāla records.\(^{34}\) In some records another official namely talāra performed almost similar functions and has been referred to as nagarāraksaka.\(^{35}\) In a twelfth century inscription from Sudi he is mentioned as ara-talāra.\(^{36}\)

The purohita was another officer in the state. He was the king's adviser in the religious matters. He perhaps performed numerous rites and rituals when new market centres (hattas) and towns (nagaras) were formed. The Nitivākyamrita refers to the prime minister and purohita as the father and mother of the king.\(^{37}\)

This officer has been referred to in the records of the Chālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Paramāras simply as religious adviser to the king. The Arthaśāstra also assigns much importance to the office of the purohita,\(^{38}\) as his salary was equal to that of the minister and the army commander. They were also members of pañcakula assembly which managed the affairs of the towns.\(^{39}\) However, the role of purohita in the civic administration is not specified. We find that brāhmaṇas in general were the members of the town-councils and managed the affairs of towns along with
other members of the council. Other important officials associated with the capital towns and feudatory headquarters were the *pratihāras* or door-keepers who regulated the entrance to the king's palace. This officer is mentioned mainly in the records of northern India. Other officials include *bhāndāgarika* (in charge of the treasury), *aksapatalika* (the keeper of legal records), *balādhipa* (in charge of the custom house or *mandapikā*) and *salyahasta* (perhaps who was in charge of a *mahāsthāna* or an administrative centre).

The directly administered area was divided into various territorial divisions for carrying out administrative duties efficiently, as it was not possible for the king to look directly into the affairs of all provinces, districts and villages. Special officers were appointed to look into the affairs of these divisions. The central government officials used to tour the districts and provinces. The secret service agents were stationed in all parts of the empire, who invariably kept the kings well informed about the happenings in different parts of the empire. The ministers appointed as governors, and as administrators of provinces and districts used to have their headquarters mainly at those places where they could live comfortably and can keep an eye on the working of other lower rank officials.

The towns and villages marked the rise of local self-government in the country during early medieval period. There was tremendous change in the role of politico-economic institutions, such as guilds looked after the administration of the cities.
Though we lack a detailed study on the city administration in the post-Gupta period. But on the basis of available regional studies we can assert that municipal system effectively worked in smaller administrative units especially in towns and cities.

Kauṭilya's *Arthasastra* gives a detailed information on town administration but no such work is available for this period. However, there are several references to city prefects or officer-in-charge of towns such as *pattanasvāmi* or *pattanasetti*, *purapati* and *sthānapati*. In some records this officer is mentioned as *nagarādhikara*, *nagaradhipa* and *nagarādhhipati*. The Kuttanimata refers to *nagaraprabhu* as the chief administrator of the town. However, in the fort towns a special officer in charge of fort was known as *kottapāla* who looked after the fort town. Other administrative duties were entrusted to a separate board (*vāra*) which was constituted of important urban residents.

The duties of the prefects were similar to those performed by the *nagarīka* of Kauṭilya's times. He looked after the town and town-people and removed the mal-administration. He was entrusted with judicial, military, administrative and revenue functions in the towns. He looked after the activities associated with trade and commerce, and checked the existing abuses in the economic conditions of the city. He also checked moral degradation of the residents, prosecuted and levied fines on those who were found guilty of immoral conduct. These officials worked for the peace and stability in the cities; they patrolled the cities and usually suppressed the uprisings. This official was held in high esteem and was respected by the ministers, the
nobles and all other citizens. They also participated in the works of public utility, by financing the construction of temples and tanks in the towns.

But the question arises: how they used to carry out the distinct administrative functions? Possibly for this they were assisted by non-official committees who worked along with the purapati or nagarapati in carrying out different social, economic and cultural functions. An epigraph of tenth century records that a town of Guṇapura in Konkan was administered by the city prefect assisted by a committee which consisted of a brāhmaṇa, a merchant and two bankers.

This shows that whether the city was under the feudals of the city-prefects, the considerable power was in the hands of the people. The names of several assemblies are referred to in the inscriptions, for example, gosṭi, sauviyaka, uttarasabhā, mahājana, pañcakula and nagaram assembly. They regulated local administration in the respective areas. It is further referred to in the sources that the citizens of town (nagara) collectively formed the nagara-samūha or municipal corporation which performed administrative functions. In some cases the government officials and their relations to the municipality are specified. It is stressed that officials appointed by the kings should protect the houses in the city which have no tenants; they should protect gifts and donations made by the kings and safeguard the proclamations made by the kings and the copper plate edicts. Whereas other works such as maintenance of law and order and public works rested with the city-prefects and town assemblies.
The mahājana was one such assembly in charge of local affairs and general administration of the town. It had discussions on the local affairs and occasionally discussed state politics. It worked under its headman. This assembly has been mentioned in the sources of the Pratihāras, the Chauhans and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It managed local administration and sanctioned new imposts or cesses in the city. It also collected taxes which were later deposited with the governor of the district. The assembly also imposed fines for theft and minor delinquencies on the culprits, spreading lawlessness in the towns. For the management of festive gatherings the households deposited money with the assembly for different kinds of cultural and other activities. An epigraph of eighth century refers to the highest household contributing ten panas, the intermediate household seven panas, and the lower one three panas for the festive gatherings in the city. The cities had more than one mahājana assembly and each was assigned different duties. The city of Puligere in Karnataka had three general assemblies: the bigger one looked after the general administration, the second worked as ward council and third managed and looked after the affairs of the mercantile community.

For the purpose of representation in the town assemblies possibly the city was divided into different wards, each ward sent its representative as mahājana. This suggests that some kind of system of election definitely existed. The assembly comprised of non-officials like sāhukār, sresthi and brāhmaṇas.
An inscription of Rāyapāla's reign of twelfth century (V.S. 1198) from Nādol refers to eight wards in the Dhalopa area. Each ward sent two representatives for the city council and one of them was appointed as the chief. These representatives acted as a channel of communication between the king and the city. In lieu of their services they were granted revenue shares by the kings.

The pañcakula was another important assembly which carried on different administrative functions in the towns. The Siyādōni inscription of tenth century refers to a assembly of five and a committee of two appointed from time to time for managing the affairs of the town. These members were appointed by the provincial heads. Such kind of assembly was not a new innovation, but had come to us from the Mauryan times onwards.

The pañcakula consisted of the officials and non-officials like the purohita, the mahājana, the śresthi, a thākkura, a kamsāra (braziers) and a goldsmith. This shows that there definitely existed some qualification for the non-official members who could represent in the pañcakula assemblies. The merchants' representation in the city councils is further supplemented by the epigraphic records of the Cola kings. The Uttaramallūr inscription refers to town committee in Ulagalandaśōlapuram, which was composed of merchants who granted to temple a tax free land. This inscription further shows that not only the merchants took part in the transactions of the nagara constitution but some other groups like Śāliyan and Śaṅkarappādiyar also represented themselves
in the *nagara* committees. The latter were also merchants and their activities were confined to big cities such as Kāṅchi puram, Guṇamēnagai puram, Ulagālandasōlapuram and Uttaramērūr. The same epigraph further states that the villages and towns were divided into different quarters on account of the residents inhabiting the respective areas. For instance, the mādavīḍi quarter of the city was mainly inhabited by the privileged or wealthy class, and for the town committee they sent their own member chosen by the residents of that quarter.

The selection criterion of these members is not certain. But it can be presumed that elderly persons of good reputation and with certain amount of property were considered suitable for contesting the elections. The merchants represented in the city council on account of the property and their reputation in the respective areas, and were elected as members by a lot system. However, the record of the thirteenth century refers to the head of *pañcakula* appointed by the kings. This shows that the state definitely had some share in the final constitution of the committee.

In some towns the executives were elected annually, and in other cases, they functioned for a longer duration. The executives were under specific committees who rendered technical aid to them.

The main function of the *pañcakula* assembly was to look after the religious endowments made by the kings. This assembly also settled disputes and so acted as an arbitrator. It also helped in the collection of state's share of revenue and looked
into the secular grants made by the private individuals. It also granted certificates of sale and concession to the traders.\textsuperscript{76} The members of the assembly were associated with the administration of justice, and a few cases pertaining to justice were settled by the assembly.\textsuperscript{77}

In south India the \textit{nagarām} was the most important local assembly especially in the mercantile towns where the mercantile interests were the primary ones. The function of this assembly was not different from the function carried out by \textit{ūr} and \textit{sabha}, and in some cases, they carried on their duties side by side. The representatives of the \textit{nagarām} assemblies and the other administrative assemblies of regional marketing centres formed \textit{nagaranyvalīlār}.\textsuperscript{78}

The \textit{nagarām} assemblies interacted with assemblies both at village and regional levels and so were of multifunctional character. They collected taxes, enjoyed judicial powers and also exercised certain kind of land control in the respective areas. The temples invested their funds with them and the interest on the capital invested was given to the temple for the support of different temple activities.\textsuperscript{79}

The other important function of the \textit{nagarām} was to administer the local markets. They dominated important markets by having control over the dues levied on the commercial transactions. They provided various facilities to the merchants which encouraged mercantile activities. For different works such as street cleaning and police protection of the towns, they charged certain dues from the merchants so helped the state.\textsuperscript{80}
They served local villages by providing them different commodities (not produced locally) and so expanded their commercial affairs.\textsuperscript{81} They performed "bankers' role" by the collection, protection and storage of local goods, which was later used for conducting trade with itinerant merchants and other mercantile units\textsuperscript{82} such as erivirapattinam and mānagaram.

In spite of local autonomy the nagarams were subject to some kind of state control. They performed certain duties for the state, such as collection of taxes from the adjacent hinterlands on behalf of the kings, and the share of the state was regularly handed over to the kings. They also lessened the responsibility of the state by making arrangement for the protection of markets, and marketing goods by employing officials in charge of such duties. This local assembly managed all administrative duties other than mercantile as revealed by K.A.N. Sastrī's assertion that nagaram was the only assembly in the places where the mercantile interests over-shadowed all others.\textsuperscript{83}

There also existed territorial assemblies such as nādus. These worked in close collaboration with the other local assemblies viz., ṣrī, sabhā and nagaram. Earlier it was constituted mainly of peasants, but merchants and artisans also became the members of this assembly during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries partly because of changing agrarian structure and ever expanding network of market economy.\textsuperscript{84} It represented the local marketing territory and each nādu had its
own market as nagaram. The nagaram interacted both with local and supra-local assemblies and shared common concerns like irrigational facilities, management of temples and also regulation of the flow of the local revenues to the Cōla kings. The most important function of the nādu was specifically in regard to the land revenue administration which was primarily a basic unit of agrarian society. But it is difficult to ascertain what constituted a nādu. Sastri, however, concludes that it was made up of representatives from the assemblies of all the villages and towns in the region.

The merchant guilds, in some cases, solely controlled the affairs of those towns exclusively engaged in trading and marketing activities. They shared their participation even in non-commercial town assemblies (executives) constituted in places other than the trade centres. Most of the commercial functions were carried out by the trade guilds, i.e., they collected taxes and were responsible for the imposition and remission of numerous commercial levies and municipal taxes. Trade guilds such as svadesī, paradeśī, nānādesī and many others shouldered the responsibilities of administration in many south Indian trading towns. In north India merchants did participate in the town-councils of many cities such as Gwalior, Śiyāḍoni and Dhalopa, along with other urban residents, but trade guilds are not seen independently and exclusively controlling the affairs of the town.
The administration of several towns and cities, varying from a few hattikas to big metropolis or rājachāni, depended on the type of urban nature of a particular town. As we have been able to categorize different urban centres into five major types but a detailed information regarding their administration is lacking. The sources, both literary and epigraphic, point out that some capital towns and major feudatory headquarters were directly controlled by the kings with the help of his royal officers whereas others were administered by official and non-official assemblies and corporations. All classes of people with diverse professions represented in these bodies, which is in contrast to the Mauryan town administration where no local or popular elements represented in the city councils. The towns having commercial, religious and educational importance had many assemblies of ecclesiastics and merchant guilds exercising enormous control over the families living in such centres. The officials associated with civic administration received remunerations for their work both in cash and kind (the latter practice was more common). An epigraph of the Cōla king Parāntaka I dated A.D. 922 however refers to fixed monthly emoluments given to nine men chosen for the testing the correctness of gold. In many cases the officials were given authority either by the king or town-assembly to collect various levies and taxes, and a substantial part of it was spent for their own maintenance. The members of the corporations were granted remissions of the payment of municipal taxes in lieu of their services. In some other cases the municipal officers were granted rent free houses.
Notwithstanding enormous powers exercised by the town assemblies as referred to above, the central authority (state) played a significant role especially in disturbed circumstances. The kings provided able state officials, money and weapons to the nagara assemblies when such need was felt. An epigraph of V.S.1198 from Nādol refers to a town of Dhalopa where the king Rayāpāladeva provided money, watchmen and weapons to the local committee, who were to look after the things lost by the residents.

Notes and References

4. The excavations carried out in Rajghat in Varanasi show decline in post-Kushāna period; cf. *IAR*, 1965-6, p.55; similarly Achicchatra flourished as a town in Kushāna and early Gupta age but the discovery of scarce remains show decline in Gupta period, see *IAR*, 1963-4, p.44.
6. Sharma argues that decline was set in some one hundred and thirty sites, which were either the capital towns or had cultural importance. A few others suffered because of decline in commercial activity. The capital towns like Pataliputra, Paithan, Kauśāmbī, Vaiśālī and Taxila declined mainly due to political upheavals in the country.
7. In some respects like land grant economy, their monarchical government and building of great mansions by early medieval rulers, however, differ from the republics of fifth-sixth century before Christ.
The kings used to patronise crafts, temple building, and laying out of new towns and markets in their respective states and capitals, see, R.S. Tripathi, in PIHG, sixth session, Aligarh, 1943, pp.138-60.

Kanauj, Gwalior, Sīyadoni, Mānyakheṭa, Tanjore, Kāñchī, Gaṅgaiṅkondacholapuram etc. were important towns.

Chau Jua Kua, op.cit., pp.96-8.

Ibid., p.94.

This practice was initiated by the Pallavas and the Cola kings, see K. Veluthat, "Royalty and divinity: legitimisation of monarchial power in the south", PIHG, thirty-ninth session, Hyderabad, 1979, pp.241-9; cf. Stein, Peasant state and society in medieval south India, pp.321-65.

Om Prakash, Early Indian land grants and state economy, Allahabad, 1988, p.3.

D. Sharma, Early Chauhan dynasties, p.220.


N.S. Bose, History of the Chandellas of Jejakabhuhti, p.129.

EI, vol. xxi, p.95.

R.C. Majumdar, ed., Struggle for empire, p.283.

The reference to these ministers in the sources confirm that they exercised great authority in the affairs of the administration.

ASI, AR, 1928-9, p.117; another epigraph of twelfth century refers to senādhippati as chief commander whereas dandanāyaka was the command of a lower rank, SII, vol. xi, pt. 2, p.200.


25. *Ibid.*, the inscription specifies some seventy-two duties assigned to the dandanāyaka, but these are not specified; the Paramara inscriptions also refer to dandanāyaka, serving as the governor of mandala, cf. *EI*, vol. ix, pp.155-6; the minister also served as tantrapāla, i.e., governor under the Pratihāras; see *EI*, vol. xiv, p.185.


29. *Ibid.*, vol.i, p.211; the Pala grants also refer to them performing similar duties; in Sena inscriptions also this minister is referred to be as chief of hundred mantrins, see, *ibid.*, vol. xxvi, pp.10-13.


32a. The Rewak plates of the time of Trailokyamalladeva A.D.1212 refers to Thākkura Haripāla, the sāndhivigrahika; Vāhada, the city-prefect (kottapāla) and Śrīchandra, a merchant (śres thin), were the members of assembly of pañcakula, *EI*, vol. xxv, p.2.


34. R.C. Majumdar, ed., *The history of Bengal*, p.278.

35. *EI*, vol. xi, p.147.


40. Under the Rāshtrakūtas the empire was divided into rāstrā and vis-āyas which were further sub-divided into bhukti and these were usually named after the headquarters of the towns.

41. Yazdani, op.cit., p.320.

42. Several works deal with regional histories and their administrative set up, no attempt has so far been made to study this subject in an overall perspective.

43. Pattanasiṣvaṁī controlled the administration of the mercantile or port towns in the coastal regions of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra (EI, vol. xiv, p.190); the offices of the purapati, sthānapati and pāṭṭanādhikāra-purusas performed similar functions as that of nāgarika of the Mauryan times and adhikārī-purusas referred to in the Gahaḍāvatāla sources.

44. Rājatarangini, IV, 81; VI, 70; VII, 1542.

45. Ibid., VII, 580; VIII, 814.

46. Ibid., VI, 296.

47. A.M. Shastri, India as seen in the Kuttamāmata of Dāmodaragupta, pp.49-50.

48. The Gwalior inscription of Pratihāras refers to Gopagiri fort under kottapāla Alla, and rest of the administrative functions were carried out by a separate board, see EI, vol. i, pp.159-60, line 2. The kottapāla (city-prefect) is also referred to in an epigraph of thirteenth century, see ibid., vol. xxv, p.2.

49. Rājatarangini, VIII, 3334.

50. Ibid., VIII, 3335.

51. Ibid., VIII, 813-14.

52. Ibid., VIII, 838.

54. B.A. Saletore, Ancient Karnataka (History of Tuluva), vol. i, Poona, 1936, p.177.

55. EI, vol. xiv, pp.188-90.

56. Ibid., p.190; Mulgunda, a town in Dharwar had a corporate body (mahājana) which looked after the town administration, see EI, vol. xiii, p.190; vol. vi, p.259.

57. This imply that city prefects and local assemblies were responsible to the governors.


58. Ibid., vol. xiv, p.190.


60. Uttaramallūr inscription describes that the city was divided into different wards, ASI AR, 1904-5, p.140; also see EI, vol. xxii, pp.145-58. In the town of Mulgunda there existed five separate wards for the representation to the city council; similarly a town Puli in Belgaum district, had separate quarters, and each quarter sent one hundred members to the main mahājana assembly, see, Ibid., vol. xviii, p.117.


62. Ibid., pp.23-4.

63. This assembly is mentioned in the records of the Pratihāras, the Chauhans and the Paramāras.

64. EI, vol. i, p.170.

65. It is stated that during the Mauryan period administration of Pātaliputra was controlled by the board of thirty, consisting of six committees of five members each.


68. Ibid., p.147.

69. Ibid., p.146; similarly another group of inhabitants were Sāṅkarappādiyar who formed a separate class and are mentioned along with merchants, cultivators, dealers in cloth; the other group of people consisted of blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, etc., which all sent representatives to the city committees, see SII, vol. v, no. 495.

70. The names of the eligible candidates (who are capable of testing gold, from among the rate-payees of the quarter) written on the palm leaves were put into the pots; out of which four persons were chosen from mādavīḍi quarters; three from Sāṅkarappādi quarters; two from other group, who jointly performed their duty impartially, EI, vol. xxii, p.150. These nine individual should hand over daily wax used by them to the members of the tank committee and once in three months appear before the great men of the annual committee.

71. IA, vol. xli, p.20.

72. D. Sharma, Early Chauhan dynasties, p.232, fn. 82,

73. Two such executives namely vāra and vārika have existed during early medieval period. Vāra or an executive committee in Sīyaḍoni inscription was of longer duration because the same persons represented in the years A.D. 967 and 969, see EI, vol. i, pp.159-60, 173-9; in another instance vārika at Bhinmāl suggests that it changed annually, Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, pt. 1, p.474.

74. In south India a tank committee rendered technical aid to the executives chosen for the gold testing, this was done to ensure the purity of gold with impartiality towards the people, EI, vol. xxii, pp.148-50.

75. Ibid., vol. xi, p.35.

76. JBRAS, vol. xv, p.324.

78. EI, vol. xxii, p.258.
79. Not only the rate of interest was returned in kind by the nagaram to the depositor, but losses were also shared by them, SII, vol. ix, no. 623; vol.xix, no. 7.
81. Foreign merchants also visited nagarams for trade transaction: and in many cases they established their colonies there and carried on regular trade.
82. Hall, Trade and statecraft in the age of Colas, p.128.
83. K.A.N. Sastri, The Colas, p.503; the statement shows that nagaram centres did work for peace and stability and carried out judicial functions but their primary function was to regulate commercial activities mostly in mercantile towns.
84. R. Champaklakshmi, "Peasant state and society in medieval south India", IESHR, vol. xviii, nos. 3-4, p.415.
86. Y. Subbarayalu, Political geography of the Chola country, Madras, p.19.
88. Each person received individually 7½ mañjādi of gold every month, see EI, vol. xxii, p.150.
89. Lines 18-21 of the Sudi inscription which belong to the reign of Someśvara I Śaka 973 state that the shops and houses are exempted from all imposts including fixed land-rent for two years (śrāhes), see EI, vol. xv, no. 6, d, pp.79-80; also see ibid., e(1), pp.84-5. Two officials namely
gopa and sthānika closely associated with the city-administration of Pāṭaliputra were also "permitted to keep a portion of the revenue collected in lieu of a salary..." (R. Thapar, The Mauryas revisited, S.G. Deuskar Lectures on Indian History, 1984, Calcutta, 1987, p.19). Not only exemptions were allowed in lieu of services but merchants were encouraged to recolonize old decayed towns without paying custom duties, see, EI, xxv, p.227.

90. EI, vol. ix, p.80.