Historians of Medieval South India have generally ignored the influence of geographical factors on historical development even though they often formally recognise such influences. Thus, for example, Nilakanta Sastri in his *A History of South India*, devotes a chapter to 'The Land in Relation to History', and claims that "we shall attempt to give a general description of the geography of the country to serve as the foundation for the historical chapters which follow." Yet this chapter contains a mere fourteen pages and the reality of these factors never appear again in the text.

Writing about such history, Braudel once said that he could not be "satisfied with the traditional geographical introduction to history that often figures to little purpose at the beginning of so many books, with its descriptions of the mineral deposits, types of agriculture, and typical flora, briefly listed and never mentioned again, as if the flowers did not come

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1 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India, From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1976, p. 34.
back every spring, the flocks of sheep migrate every year or the ships sail on a real sea that changes with the seasons."²

What Braudel is advocating here is what he has called 'geographical time', or else 'material life',³ or else again, following Levi-Strauss, 'unconscious structures'.⁴ It is the persistence of these ways of


³ "The expression material life will... denote repeated actions, empirical processes, old methods and solutions handed down from time immemorial, like money, or the separation of town from town and country. It is an elementary life but neither entirely passive nor above all completely static. It has moments of acceleration and occasionally of surprise: new plants become acclimatised, techniques improve and spread, changes occur in processes employed by blacksmiths, weavers and, still more, by miners and shipbuilders". F. Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800, Tr. by Miriam Kochan, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow, 1977, p. xii.

⁴ See Clause Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, Tr. by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoef, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1977, pp. 18-25. Braudel says also, "Certain structures live on for so long that they become stable elements for an indefinite number of generations: they encumber history, they impede and control its flow. Others crumble away faster. But all operate simultaneously as a support and an obstacle. As obstacles, they act as fn. continues...
life and thought, of farming techniques, fishing methods and metal working, of irrigation processes, trading practices and religious beliefs, of culture and civilisation (to use convenient though imprecise terms) that knit together the events which appear as a 'plethora of trivialities' into a structure that gives them coherence and meaning. It is this which Marx meant, when he wrote, "Men make their own history, but they do not know that they are making it."^5

We have already said that geography figures to little purpose in the works of Nilakanta Sastri. The other major historian on medieval South India, T.V. Mahalingam, dispenses with even this formality in his Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar, as a result of which his work ends up as a collection of limitations ('envelopes' in the mathematical sense) from which man and his experiences can never escape. Just think of the difficulty of breaking down certain geographical frameworks, biological facts or barriers to productivity and even certain constaints of a spiritual order (mental frameworks, too, are long-term prisons)." Braudel, 'History and the Social Sciences', in P. Burke (ed.), Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe: Essays from Annales, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1972, p. 18.

^5 Cited in Lévi-Strauss, op. cit., p. 23.
details of areas situated widely apart, without any
coherence or attempt at interpretation. It was left
mainly to geographers, especially P.T.S. Iyengar, C.I.R.
Chetty and B.M. Thirunarayanan, to attempt the inter-
pretation of geographical data in historical sources.
Such authors due to temperament and training did not
integrate the data so obtained into the general frame-
work of historical interpretation. That was perhaps to
be expected.

It was in the early 1970's that a new genera-
tion of historians and geographers attempted to tackle
such data while combining the methods of history and
geography. Thus, Brian Hurton attempted to trace the
growth of village settlements in Tamilnadu before
1750 A.D. and tried to construct a simulation model to
explain the origins of settlements within the dialectic
of time and space in Salem District. In the same year,
1973, Y. Subbarayalu published his path-breaking
Political Geography of the Chola Country.

6 Brian J. Hurton, "Some Propositions on the
Spread of Village Settlement in Interior
Tamil Nadu before 1750 A.D.," Indian Geographi-
cal Journal, Vol. XLVIII, Dec. 1973, pp. 56-66; see also his 'Folk Classification of Cultiv
ated Land and Ecology in Southern India',

7 State Department of Archaeology, Government
Subbarayalu attempted to draw the boundaries of the various administrative and other territorial units in Cōla mandalam during the period of Cōla rule (A.D. 800-1300) in his painstakingly well-researched and accurate work, which will remain as a basic tool of historical research on the Cōla period. However, while it demarcates such political boundaries with the greatest possible veracity it does not consider the role of the brahmādēya-s and the dāvadāna-s in political integration; it does not deal with the significance of temples in the irrigation programmes; it does not attempt to explain the growth of urban centres, the nature of trading practices - all vitally necessary for a work of historical interpretation.

Subbarayalu's work was followed by one of the great classics on South Indian history - K. Sivathamby's article on the tinai concept. The Cāṅkam literature contained some works which attempted to link different patterns of behaviour and of economic activity with the five tinai-s or ecological divisions.

hills, pasture lands, agrarian areas, the coastal littoral and the dry lands. Drawing on this rich source of historical material Sivathamby attempted to formulate a theory of economic development and social change in the Cakkam period (Circa 3rd cent. B.C. to 3rd Cent. A.D.).

Soon, Burton Stein also turned his attention to the 'unconscious history' of early medieval South India. His work was well-integrated into his general scheme of interpretation of South Indian history.

Elsewhere in this study we have indicated our objections to his general analysis and here we shall only consider his contributions which are pertinent to the subject matter of this chapter as we take up the different aspects for discussion.

This study attempts, first, to show the significance of the territorial concept of Jayankondacola

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Hāṇḍalāma. We shall examine also the internal territorial divisions of the area - the Rōṭṭam, the Yalpanādu, the nādu, the parru and the Śīrmāj. Our primary concern here shall be conceptual, that is to say that while we have endeavoured in the accompanying maps and appendices to show the external boundaries of, and the internal boundaries within, Jayañkoṇḍacalāmaṇḍalīma, these are extremely provisional. Further, while we have indicated by appropriate symbols, notes and inscriptional references in the appendices as to whether the location of a village within a particular territorial unit is doubtful or not, we have not attempted to discuss each case in the text. Our primary concern, as we have said, is to discover the significance of the different types of territorial units in the context of Vijayanagara history. A discussion on the location of each village, or even of each village which is ambiguously described in the sources would become tedious. Therefore, for those who have the curiosity to track down such villages, we have given in the relevant appendices the references to the inscriptions mentioning each village, and territorial unit and we have left it at that. Moreover, may we also add that while we have taken the greatest care to
correctly locate all villages within their correct territorial units, given the focus of this study, it really matters little if one or two particular villages are wrongly included in another unit.

Vijayanagara rule over the territory designated as Jayaṅkoṇḍa-cōḷa-mañḍalām began with the defeat of the Śambuvarāśya-s who were ruling over the region after the fall of the Cōla-s by Kumāra Kampaṇa II, the son of Bukka I in A.D. 1361\(^{10}\) and it ceased in effect with the defeat of the forces of the Empire at the battle of Rakshasi-Taṅgaḍī (more popularly Talikōṭa) in 1565. Yet it is surely unsatisfactory to restrict ourselves strictly within these temporal limits. Should we not at least briefly attempt to trace the origin of the concept of Jayaṅkoṇḍa-cōḷa-mañḍalām? Further, the regnal period, or if you prefer, the effective regnal period of the rulers of an Empire cannot automatically provide the chronological limits of a study of general history of a region.

Another reason for the extension of the chronological limits of this essay is provided by the nature of the source material involved, both primary and secondary. Our primary sources are the thousands of inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period found in this region, most of which are on stone, though some are on copper-plates. The advantages of stone inscriptions are that they provide definitive information about the location of a village. Unfortunately, however, many of such inscriptions are fragmentary and/or do not mention the larger territorial units within which these villages are situated. Further, most of these inscriptions are published only in summary in the *Annual Reports on (South) Indian Epigraphy* and often the names of villages and of the territorial units are not mentioned at all. Thus for example, it is reported in the *Annual Reports* that according to an inscription from Anniyūr (Villupuram Tq. SADt) that six villages including Anniyūr, Tirukkunram, Vellērippaṭṭi and 3 others were gifted in Śaka 1463 (A.D. 2nd January 1522). Reporting another inscription, it says that lands in a number of villages

11 ARE, 621 of 1915.
in Tenkarai Şirmai were granted to the temple at Kugaiyur. Some instances of this were also found in the summaries of copper-plates found in these Reports. When the Vijayanagara inscriptions in a village do not give the territorial divisions within which it is located, we have often referred to the inscriptions of the predecessor sovereigns in the area—the Şambuvaraya-s and even when necessary to the epigraphs of the Cōla-s and the Pândya-s if they mentioned the territorial units. This difficulty does not usually arise in the case of the copper-plates as they invariably refer to the territorial units. However, such descriptions are often not quite correct. This is understandable as the scribes who inscribed these donative grants were normally far removed from the

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12 ARE, 105 of 1918; see also e.g. ARE 73, 96 of 1887; 49, 50, 58 of 1900; 183, 189 of 1901; 567 of 1902; 175, 619 of 1904; 66 of 1906; 251 of 1909; 393 of 1911; 350 of 1912; 289, 623 of 1915; 191, 246 of 1916, 1915-16, p. 140; 370, 375 of 1917; 91 of 1918; 384, 474, 504, 534, 535, 543, 544, 546, 547, 584, 641 of 1919; 139 of 1921; 160, 166, 167, 318, 331 of 1922; 102 of 1923; 143, 151, 157, 167, 179 of 1924; 419 of 1925; 203 of 1931-32; 101, 112 of 1933-34; 53 of 1934-35; 2 of 1935-36; 274 of 1936-37; 35, 355, 451 of 1939-40; 279 of 1953-54; 303, 304, 319, 322 of 1954-55; 191 of 1961-62; IMP/I/Cg./193-C; S/L/pp. 863-6.

13 e.g. IMP/I/Cg/4-A, 856-a; ARE, Op. 10, 13 of 1905-06.
area in which the grant was made. Another difficulty faced when dealing with the copper-plates is that unlike in the case of the stone inscriptions it is not always clear where the village mentioned is exactly located as there are many inscriptions with similar names situated near each other. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that in these plates the names of the villages are Sanskritised. Luckily for us, these difficulties are frequently lessened as these inscriptions normally mention the villages surrounding the granted village.

There are very few secondary sources dealing with this region, and the few that do exist deal primarily with traditional political history. None of them deal with such crucial questions as the nature of the nādu and Kottam, the traditions and the folklore,

the patterns of thought, behaviour and economic activity, with structures as we have defined the term above. Some of these drawbacks are overcome in the more analytical works of Burton Stein and Y. Subbarayalu that we have cited above, with their discussions of the nāgu concept, the nature of the state, the role of the brahmādeva-s and dēvadāna-s, and so on.\footnote{Burton Stein, 'Circulation and Historical Geography'; Subbarayalu, op. cit., of course does not deal with the nature of the state, etc.} However, about the persistence of old routines, of the "countless inherited acts, accumulated pell-mell and repeated time after time to this very day... that help us live, imprison us and make decisions for us throughout our lives",\footnote{Fernand Braudel, After Thoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism, Tr. by Patricia H. Ranum, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1976, p. 7.} of these there is scarcely a word. Unfortunately, as our command over Tamil is abysmally low, we have not been able to resort to the local literature for help in our quest to discover some of these incredibly long-lasting practices, the habits, one
is almost tempted to say, which have become a part of the very being of people living in the region. The accounts of contemporary observers from abroad have been utilized in an attempt to convey a series of images, which connected together may give us a better picture. \(^{17}\) The success of this endeavour has of course been very marginal. And we have delved, on occasion, into modern studies of climate and geography. Here, too, our success has been limited, as a geography that is concerned more with 'space and social reality'

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\(^{17}\) Philip Aries in his *Le Temps de L'histoire* argued that distance and surprise are extremely important in historical explanation. And it has been said that "surprise and distance - those important aids to comprehension - are both equally necessary for an understanding of that which surrounds you - surrounds you so evidently that you can no longer see it clearly. Live in London for a year and you will not get to know much about England. But through comparison, in the light of your surprise, you will suddenly come to understand some of the most profound and individual characteristics of France, which you did not previously understand because you knew them too well." F. Braudel, 'History and the Social Sciences', p. 24. However, surprise is often a two-pronged 'aid to comprehension', as the differences between the two societies in question may be highly exaggerated.
rather than with space alone in South India is still in its infancy - in its infancy, that is, if it has been born at all. What do we know for example, of climatic changes in the past, of the reality of distances between places, of the variations in business due to changes in seasons? What do we know too, of agricultural production, of land under agriculture, of pasture lands?

The Taluk and district maps appended to this essay have been taken from the Census Atlas of Tamilnadu, 1971, and from the 1971 census District Handbooks of Nellore and Chittoor districts. A difficulty faced in the utilization of such maps is that there are a variety of scales employed in their construction. The modern names of villages are those given in these census publications. Due to the constant shifting and redrawing of the boundaries of modern administrative units, various obstacles have arisen in the identification of names of medieval villages with the modern

ones. It is hoped that some one will take on the task of providing maps showing the shifts in the frontiers of modern administrative units over time. On these maps we have endeavoured to draw very approximately the medieval boundaries. These lines of demarcation have been drawn around villages mentioned to be within particular divisions. In such divisions, villages not mentioned in inscriptions as having belonged to any particular territorial unit have also been included if such settlements were located near others which were stated to be within the region in question. Consequently, the territorial units between themselves cover practically all the taluks in the North Arcot, Chingleput and South Arcot districts. This is obviously wrong as there is some circumstantial evidence at least for the existence of tribes, which were not assimilated within the empire. Thus we are told by Krishnadēvarāya in his Āmuktamālyada that,

It is always advisable to entrust the government over wild tribes inhabiting hills and forests to heroes who have fallen from great positions. It would affect the king much whoever succeeds in the struggle between them. If the people of the forest (wild tribes) multiply in any state the trouble to the king, and his people would not be small. The king should make such people his own by destroying their fears. Because they are people of very little advancement, faith and want of faith, anger and friendship, bitter enimity and close friendship result from (very little) (?-R...P.)
insignificant causes. The first wild forest tribes can be brought under control by truthfulness (keeping one's engagements with them)....19

And we are told by Rāianātha Dīṇḍima in the Achyutarāyābhvyudāyam that when Achyutaḍevarāya was on way to quell the revolt of Chellappa (Tamil Šellappa), the Governor of the Gōla country, he stopped at Kāncī- puram where he was waited upon by several Kirātā-s or forest kings.20 All this would seem to imply the existence of tribal territories within the Empire which were imperfectly assimilated. We have no clear idea of where such areas were and they are probably incorporated within the nādu-s in our maps.

There appears to have been two different types of internal territorial classifications within Jayanākaṇḍa mandaḷam during the Vijayanagara period – the


20 S. Krishnāswamy Aiyyangar, Sources of Vijayanagara History, The Madras University Historica Series No. 1, University of Madras, Madras, 1924, p. 159.
ecological divisions of the kottam-s, and the nādu-s and the administrative units, namely the rājya-s, the parru-s, the ārīmais. While we shall endeavour to study the significance of each of these divisions, the organisation of the villages followed in the appendices to this chapter and the next, are based on the kottam and the rājya divisions. Thus, some nādu-s and parru-s will fall within two or more kottam-s. We have followed this pattern primarily for the sake of convenience as the kottam-s and the rājya-s are respectively the largest ecological and administrative divisions. An unintended consequence of this scheme has been that the organisation of territorial units in the regions bordering Jayāṅkoṇḍa-cōḷamanaḍal has been unsatisfactory. Another reason for this is that to organise these units in a more orderly and systematic fashion, it is necessary to collect more data on these areas from inscriptions - a task that had to be dispensed with due to the constraints of time. Since, however, the subject of this study is Jayāṅkoṇḍa-cōḷamanaḍal, this is not a serious drawback.

II

The Tamil country during the Caṅkam period
was bounded on the north, according to Vincent Smith, by a frontier running from Pulicat on the east coast to Badagara on the west coast, passing by and including the Tirupati Hills. He also says that the north-eastern boundary was extended up to Kellore on the north Jenuwar by later tradition. 21 S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar opined that "Tamil land is distinctly markable as the country south of a line drawn eastward from the mouth of the Kalyarpuri river on the west coast down to a little way to the south of Kellore." 22 In the special laudatory preface to the Tolkāppiam of Tolkāppiar, the 'Sirappupayiram', in Šilappadikāram of Ilaṅgo Aḏigal and in Šāi Kunukkam of Šikāndiyār the boundaries of the Tamil speaking world were Venkaṭōm (Tirupati) ____________


in the north and Kanyakumari in the South.\footnote{23}

We have seen then that the Venkaṭam hill has been considered as the northern boundary of the Tamil

\footnote{23 Tolkāppiām, Sirappuppayiram 1 to 3, and Silappadikāram, VIII, 1 and 2 and Adiyar Kkunallar’s commentary, cited in N. Subrahmaniam, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 15, 17, 18-19; K.V. Soundara Rajan, ’Determinant Factors in the Early History of Tamilnad’, \textit{Journal of Indian History}, Vol. XLV (Dec. 1967), p. 650, 3-3. Tirunarayanan, ’Traditional Limits and Subdivisions of the Tamil Region’, in K.V. Rangaswami Ayyangar Commemoration Volume, G.S. Press, Madras, 1940, p. 159. Commenting on the references to the Venkaṭam hill in the \textit{Ahanānūru}, N. Subrahmaniam says that they show "(a) that Venkaṭam is the name of a hill primarily and that it refers to a principality (or even a town) only as a derivative \textit{Ahanānūru}; 85; 209/\textit{;} (b) that the name of a robber Chieftain, Pulli \textit{ibid., 61/} is often mentioned as the ruler of Venkaṭam and it is reported that he subjugated the 'Malapuram' (meaning the land of the 'enemies' or 'strangers'), though Tiraiyan \textit{ibid., 55/} is also mentioned as a ruler of Venkaṭam. Here is no discrepancy and it is not necessary to consider that Pulli and Tiraiyan were not contemporaries; for Tiraiyan the traditional ruler of Toṇḍai-Nādu was the ultimate overlord of Venkaṭam (that being the northern most point of Toṇḍai-Nādu) and Pulli was but a robber chieftain of the locality...; (c) that frequent references are made to a desert - arid, dry and infertile land in connection with Venkaṭam \textit{ibid., 141/}; (d) that Venkaṭam referred to is a place in the north of Tamil Nād \textit{ibid., 27/}; (e) that it is a place famous for religious festivals \textit{ibid., 61/}; (f) that beyond Venkaṭam the land of the people of a different tongue lies \textit{ibid., 211/}; (g) that the land of the Vaducar lay beyond Venkaṭam \textit{ibid., 213; Kuruntogai 11/}; (h) that travelling beyond Venkaṭam was tantamount to leaving the motherland and going away; that it was (like) passing through a shadeless desert", N. Subrahmaniam, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 17-18.}
country. According to the commentaries of the Tolkāppiyam and the Vāpparungalām and the grammatical work, the Nānnull, we are told too that this Tamil country was divided into two linguistic regions - the Sen Tamil Nādu and the twelve adjoining Kodun Tamil Nādu-s. This division was based on the identification of Sen Tamil with the classical language and Kodun Tamil with the dialects. The limits of Sen Tamil were the river Vaigai on the South, the river Marudayar (a stream originating in the Pachaimalai Hills which flows past Ariyalur and joins the Coleroon river in the Tiruchchirapalli Dt) on the north, Karur on the West and Karuvur (5 miles west of Tiruvādi and to the east of Mayavaram) on the east. Kodun Tamil was divided into twelve parts - Tenpandi, Kuttam, Kuṭam, Karka, Ven, Puli, Panri, Aruva, Aruva Vaṭatalai,

24 "In the Ahanānūru references as well as in the Tolkāppiyam Pāviram and Silappadikāram Venkaṭam is mentioned only as a kind of Tamil linguistic outpost; and the northern most political boundary mentioned as lying beyond it. Venkaṭam was a very occasional boundary and never the usual boundary." C. Subrahmaniam, op. cit., p. 19.

Ceedam, Malanadu and Punal Nadu. And we are told that Aruvā Vadatalai had as its boundary on the north, "a line drawn from Tiruvēṇkaṭam through Nellore to the sea."27

Tirunarayanān also tells us that the Caukam works also classify the Tamil country on political lines which he feels was based on territorial control. Thus he says, "The Sanga (Caukam) works refer only to the three kingdoms of Pāṇḍya, Cēra and Cōla; but by the 4th century A.D., a fourth kingdom, Tondai Nadu had come into being, through the northern part of the Cōla kingdom separating into an independent kingdom."28 We also find


27 S. Desikar, op. cit., p. 61, see ibid., pp. 58-61 for a discussion on the location of Vadatalai.

28 B.M. Tirunarayanan, op. cit., p. 168. He goes on to say that Kōṉunadu came into being in the eighth century A.D., though "some modern scholars hold that Kōṉunadu had figured as a distinct entity even in the Sanga works, but others consider that it was only a part of Cēranadu in earlier times and became an independent unit only by about the 8th century A.D. In seeking to establish the latter view, it has been suggested that the Kōṉunadu is the same as the Malaimalai (mountainous region), which, together with Kadalimalai Nadu (region between the mountain and the sea) formed the ancient

fn. continues....
that the Pallava-s who were the first major power to rise to prominence in the northern Tamil country, in circa A.D. 450 had a myth about their origin which stated that Iḷantirāyaṇ, born to Piḷivalal, a Nāga princess and who was the first Pallava king, was lost in a ship-wreck and cast ashore with a tondai creeper wrapped around his leg. Hence, he was called Tondamān Iḷantirāyaṇ. 29

One of the first mentions of the boundaries of this Tondai nādu that has come down to us is from a song of five stanzas, each of which describes the boundaries of a nādu. The composition of these were certainly completed by the time of Kamban (c. 1178-1218) as is evident from the verses sung by him as he left the

Previous fn.

Gēra kingdom; and when the Kadalmalai nādu became linguistically differentiated by the development of the Malayalam language; the two divisions also became politically independent; and after this separation, the malainadu came to be known as Koṅgu nādu, while the Kadalmalinadu came to be known as Gēranādu and also as Kerala (Sanskrit) and Malayalam (Malayalam)." Ibid., pp. 163-4.

court of the Cōla-s after being slighted, according to Tirunara-yanan. The fourth stanza which related to the Tondai nādu was:

\[\text{Merku (p) pavalalalai vēkata nērvatakkām ārkkumuvari anikilukku(p) - pārkkuluyav terku(p) pīnāki tikaliru patinkatam narrondai nātenavē nāttu.}30\]

Thus, Tondai-nādu lies between "the Pavalalai on the west, the sea on the east, Vēkata (Vērupati) on the north and the River Pinākini, that is, the Penţaiyār (Penţai), on the south. The Pavalalai.... (is) probably the name of one of the hill-masses (perhaps the western part of the Javādi Hills), because the Kuravas who are one of the wandering tribes of South India, have a folk song which says that the Pavalalai and the Pachaimalai (in Namakkal T.k., Salem Dt.) form their mountain homeland."31 It was bordered on South by Cōla-nādu according to the stanza in the same song relating to the latter nādu.32 However, this is disputed by

30 B.N. Tirunarayanan, op. cit., p. 164.
31 Ibid., p. 165.
32 "Kadal kilakku (t) terkkurai poru vellāru kudaticaivrīy kōtai (k) kāraiyaṁ - vadaticaivīl ēnātātu (v) penrai virupattu nārkātām ēnātātu (k) tellai vēna (c) cōl." Ibid., p. 164, also cited in Y. Subbarayalu, op. cit., p. 7, n. 1.
Subbarayalu who argues that "the southern boundary of Tondai-nādu never extended to the Penñai. It stood about 12°15' N latitude, about forty miles north of the Penñai." His view is based upon his study of the inscriptions of the Cōla period which show that places south of the above mentioned latitude - Tiruvanâṉamalai, Cheṇji (Singee) Tīṇdivanam - were not included in Tondai-nādu. 33

This difficulty may perhaps be overcome if we consider that Cōḷanādu and Tondai-nādu had originally met at the Penñai and that by the time of Cōḷa-s a new nādu - the Naḍuvilnādu 34 - had come into being which included parts of the territories of the two older nādu-s. Thus, Sathianathaier tells us that the northern limit of Cōḷamāṇḍalām was the north Vellār river. 35

This is borne out also by an inscription of Krishṇa-ḍēvarāya which states that Cōḷamāṇḍalām is the area lying to the south of the river Gaṁlām (or n. Vellār), to the east of the wall of Kōṭṭāikara; to north of the

33 Y. Subbarayalu, op. cit., p. 94.
34 The earliest inscriptive reference to Naḍuvil-nādu however dates to A.D. 1092 according to Y. Subbarayalu, ibid., p. 86.
35 R. Sathianathaier, op. cit., pp. 3-4, 6.
Vellāru and to west of the sea. But here we are looking ahead.

The first inscriptional reference to Cōlamāṇḍalam rather than to Cōlā-nādu (or Cōnādu) appears in A.D. 1009. About the same time in the reign of Rājarāja Cōla I, Tοṇḍai-nādu received the new nomenclature of Jayaṁkoṇḍacōlamāṇḍalam. This new term however included

36 184 of 1925 at Puñjai (Māyavaram Kt., Taṇjāvūr Dt.) edited in LI/XXX/32/pp. 297-309. Copies of the inscription have been found at Sendamāṇgalam (74 of 1903), Tiruppalāturai (228 of 1903), Tirthanāgari (125 of 1904), Kannānūr (511 of 1905), Ślavaṇaśūr (142 of 1906), Neyvaṇai (381 of 1908), Tirwisalūr (385 of 1907), Tirukkaṇḍisvaram (80 of 1911), Perumulai (210 of 1917), Kοrūkkai (235 of 1917), Tirunāgari (406 of 1918), Pursalūr (167 of 1925), Akūr (226 of 1925), Tīllaiyādi (235 of 1925), Tirukkaṇḍaiyūr (251 of 1925), Sendalai (214 of 1926), Iḷḷaṇapāṭṭu (137 of 1927), Talaināyār (157 of 1927) and Tirumangalakkuḍi (223 of 1927).

37 Y. Subbarayalu, op. cit., p. 15. He cites ARE, 22 of 1922.

38 SII/II/92 cited in Y. Subbarayalu, op. cit., p. 15 C.S. Srinivasachari says that "the province of Jayaṁkoṇḍacōlamāṇḍalam, named after Rājendra Cōla I, included the region of Gingee and extended from the Palar river on the north to Tiruvati (near Panruti), fourteen miles west of Cuddalore. There is a village of the name of Jayaṁkoṇḍan situated about two miles from Gingee." Srinivasachari, op. cit., p. 27. As he does not cite any evidence at all in support of his assertion and as his contentions go against all the evidence that we have been able to examine, these remarks by Srinivasachari

fn. continues.....
areas not included in Toṇḍai-nādu proper. Jayaṅkonda-
cōḷamaṇḍalam during the period of Cōla rule — and this
continued under the Vijayanagara rulers too — was extended
to include Mellūra nādu in the north and to the Pennai
in the south.

During the Vijayanagara period the territorial
limits of Jayaṅkonda-cōḷamaṇḍalam appear to have shrunk.

Previous fn.

39 NDI/III/R/38.

40 "Thus Siṅgapura-nādu and Ēȳmā-nādu were also
included in Jayaṅkonda-cōḷa-maṇḍal. Further south, Kṛiṇapuṭhuka Jayantāṅgi-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam
was in Jayahṅkondāchōla maṇḍal in 1021 and
1023 (386, 368 of 1922). Vagūr was in it in the
year 1018 (SII/VII/312). Places to the south of the Peṇṇai were also attached to this
maṇḍal. Adhirājanagaṇeyapura in Kil-Aṁmūr-
nādu (1035) (SII/VIII/316), Tirunāvāḷur in
Mellur-nādu (1018-1054) (225, 228 of 1939-40),
Tirukkovalur in Kuruṇkai-kurram (1014, (SII/
VII/361, 880) and Kadari in Vanakoppādi (1012)
(222 of 1936-37), all to the south of the Peṇṇai
belonged to Jayahṅkonda-chōla-maṇḍal. Accord-
ing to an inscription of 1017; Tirukkovalur
was in Chōl-a-maṇḍal (SII/VII/860). After
sometime, this scheme seems to have been given
up. The reference in an inscription of 1062
to Kaniṅchchampakkam in Kil-Aṁmūr-nādu as
belonging to Jayahṅkonda chōla-maṇḍal is the
last one relating to this arrangement (SII/VII/
Thus, an inscription of the thirty-sixth regnal year of Rājādhiraṇa, from Karshānapalālī (Punganūr Tq., Ct. Dt.), refers to the Āṅgakāra-Īśvaram-Uḍaiyar temple at Huttakūr alias Īrīvīrapattanam in Puli-nādu in Tyāgabharaṇa-valanādu in Jayakondacōḷamaṇḍalam. However, an inscription of Dēvarāya I, dated in Śaka 1332 (A.D. 213-1409) from the same place refers to the same temple as being in Muttakkūru in Vāḍa-Puli-nādu in Nigarrilicōḷamaṇḍalam. Moreover, Perumbāṇappādi, which Cōla inscriptions located in Jayakondacōḷamaṇḍalam may also perhaps have been included in Nigarrilicōḷamaṇḍalam as Puli-nādu was mentioned in Cōla inscriptions as being a part of Perumbāṇappādi. To the northwest of Jayakondacōḷamaṇḍalam was the Penugonda Nārjavādiśīma. The boundaries between these two regions are not very clear.

41 ARE, 321 of 1912.
42 ARE, 324 of 1912.
43 ARE, 541, 556 of 1906.
44 ARE, 541, 556 of 1906. Y. Subbarayalu citing an inscription /Epigraphica Carnatica, Vol. X, XI, 106(a)/ claims that Nigarrilicōḷamaṇḍalam was the new nomenclature of Nulamba-Pādi, Y. Subbarayalu, op. cit., p. 15. Nigarrilicōḷamaṇḍalam is also said to have been in the kingdom of the Hoysalas in A.D. 1334, Saletore, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 152.
Towards the south of Penugonda Kārjavādi śīma we are told that Puṅganur alias Valavanārāyaṇa-chaturvedimāṅgalam (Puṅganur, Puṅganur Tk., Ct. Dt.), is in Perumbānappāḍī. Also to its south, we are informed by an inscription of A.D. 1394 is Arekere (Arikela, Puṅganur Tk., Ct. Dt.) in Huli-nādu in Kulavāyi-rajya which was then governed by Bukka, the son of Harihara II. From other inscriptions we know that Kulavāyi (Kulavāgila, Kulvāy) rajya was in Nigarilicōlamandalam. Inscriptions from Vāvilipāḍu (Vayalpad, Vayalpad 'k., Ct. Dt.) refer to it as being in Penugonda Kārjavādi śīma. Between Vāvilipāḍu, which is the southern-most village which can be assigned to the Penugonda Kārjavādi śīma with a reasonable degree of certainty and Arekere and Puṅganur which are similarly the furthest points to the north, assignable with a fair amount of certainty to Huli-nādu and to Perumbānappāḍī respectively lie a number of villages

45 ARE, 541 of 1906.
46 ARE, 226 of 1931-32.
47 An inscription of Saka 1331 refers to Eyilnādu as being in Nigarilicōlamandalam (ARE, 248 of 1909). Another inscription (ARE, 251 of 1909), this time of Saka 1338 refers to Eyil-nādu in Kulvāy-rajya.
48 ARE, 368 of 1936-37. See also ARE, 311, 322 and 331 of 1922.
from where we have inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period. Unfortunately, none of these inscriptions mention the territorial units within which they were located. In the accompanying maps, most of these villages - Pulakacheruvu (Nolakalacheruvu, Madanapalle Tk., Ct. Dt.), 49 Kammapalle (Madanapalle Tk.), 50 Kondamarripalli (Kondamarri, Madanapalle Tk.), 51 and Anekallu (Angallu, Madanapalle Tk.), 52 have been assigned to Penugonda Marjavi Di Śīma while one village - Kăppalle (Punganur Tk.), 53 has been assigned to Huli-nādu. This arrangement has been followed due to the proximity of these villages to Arekere and Vāvilipādu.

The difficulty in determining the frontier between the north western part of Jayahkonḍacōlamanḍalam and the eastern part of the Penugonda Marjavi Di Śīma which was in Penugonda-rājya is no less acute. The furthest

49 ARE, 339 of 1922.
50 ARE, 297 of 1905.
51 SII/X/789.
52 ARE, 364 of 1936-37.
53 ARE, 161 of 1933-34.
points to the north-east of Penugonda Narjavadi-sīma that we have been able to determine are Mēdikūru (Mēdikurthi, Vayalpad Tk.), 54 and Devulapalli (Devalapalle, Vayalpad Tk.). 55 On the other hand, the village that can be assigned with certainty to Jayahkanḍa-cōla-mañḍalam at its north-west extremity is Chandragiri, 56 (after which is named Chandragiri-rājya) which was said to be located in Mārvjāvadī-nādu in Vaikunda-valanādu in Tiruvenkaṭa-kōṭṭam in Chandragiri-rājya in Jayahkanḍa-cōla-mañḍalam. 58 The problem here is to determine where the boundary of Jayahkanḍa-cōla-mañḍalam is to be drawn in the area between Chandragiri (Chandragiri Tk., Ct. Dt.) which is in the mañḍalam and Mēdikūru and Devulapalli, which are not in it, especially since we have no inscriptive evidence from the villages which lie between these three settlements.

54 ARE, 5 and 6 of 1955-56.
55 EI/VIII/pp. 74-85.
56 TIDES/I/197; II/2, 113; III/105; IV/84, 86, 167; V/33; ARE, 243, 244, 245, 246 of 1904; 178 of 1922; 102 of 1923; 489 of 1926, 403 of 1928-29; 3 of 1961-62.
57 SII/IX/429.
58 TIDES/I/217; IV/16, 61, 87; SII/XVII/267, 269, 271.
Tiruvénkaṭakōṭṭam, which included Tirupati, was obviously named after the Venkata hill and its boundaries must have been the northern boundaries of Jayāṅkoṇḍacōḷamāṇḍalam within which it was included also. Towards the north-east, Cōla and Telugu Coḍa inscriptions locate Nellūr-nāḍu (named after Nellore, Nellore Tk., Ml. Dt.) within Jayāṅkoṇḍacōḷamāṇḍalam. None of the Vijayanagara inscriptions which mention Nellūr-nāḍu mention any larger territorial unit within which it could have been located. An inscription from Niḍamgunta-māvaram (Nidigallu, Venkatagiri Tk., Ml. Dt.) however refers to the construction of a tank in that village by the officer in-charge of the Chandragiri durgam (or fort) in A.D. 1526. Further, inscriptions from Sangam, Vangallu, Komarapūḍi (Kommarapudi), Daggadarti and Allūr (Alluru) mention that these villages were in the Udayagiri rājya. These villages were

60 ARE, 38 of 1954-55.
61 e.g. NDI/I/G/42.
62 ARE, 82 of 1953-54.
63 NDI/I/G/113; N/10, 34A; II/II/104, 105, 112. None of these villages are marked on the accompanying maps as though they were located in the Nellore and Gudur taluks of Ml. Dt.

fn. continues....
never included in Nellūr-nāḍu. Hence, we have included Nellūr-nāḍu within Chandragiri-rājyam in Jayāṅkoṇḍacōla-
manḍalam.

We had mentioned above the Naṅuvil-nāḍu was the region that lay between Jayāṅkoṇḍacōla-
manḍalam and Cōlamanḍalam, that is to say it bordered Jayāṅkoṇḍacōla-
manḍalam to its south. Epigraphically, the earliest mention of Naṅuvil-nāḍu dates back to A.D. 1092 when it was an alternative nomenclature for Rājēndra-valanāḍu. 64 By A.D. 1172 however, an inscription mentions that Naṅuvil-nāḍu was another name of Rājarāja-valanāḍu and it has been suggested that this latter identification may date back to A.D. 1124. 65

Subbarayalu's research showed that the northern boundaries of Naṅuvil-nāḍu alias Rājarāja-valanāḍu were

Previous fn.

by the editors of the inscriptions, none of them could be found in these taluks in the 1971 census maps. This may perhaps be due to the changes in the modern administrative boundaries since the edition of these inscriptions. This need not however concern us over much since the exact line of demarcation between Jayāṅkoṇḍacōla-
manḍalam and Udayagiri-rājyam would pose problems similar to the ones discussed above.

64 SII/VII/760 cited in Subbarayalu, op. cit., p. 86.

65 Loc. cit., citing ARE, 503 of 1918.
identical to the southern boundaries of Śingapura-nādu and Ģymā-nādu in Jayahkonḍačölāmāṇḍālam and that its southern boundary was marked by the Ṛanimuttāru river and further to the east by the basin of the river Gaḍilam. He also says that towards the end of the thirteenth century the nomenclature of Naḍuvil-nādu was changed to Naḍuvil mandālam.

A. Krishnaswami denies that a mandālam called Naḍuvil-mandālam ever existed. This need not be taken too seriously as even in the Vijayanagara period we do have inscriptional evidence for the existence of Naḍuvil-mandālam which is variously described as an alias of Rājāraja-valanādu or as being in Vīravatāra-valanādu.

67 Ibid., p. 87, where he cites as evidence ARE, 417 of 1921; 46 of 1922.
68 Speaking of mandālam-s during the pre-Vijayanagara period he says these were: "(1) Jayangondačölāmāṇḍālam (Tondaimandālam), (2) Chōlamandālam (consisting of the districts of Čanijore, Trichinopoly and parts of South Arcot district), (3) Nagadaimandālam (parts of South Arcot, Salem and North Arcot Districts), (4) Adhirājarāja- maṇḍālam (the Kongu country covered by the Coimbatore district and part of Salem district), and (5) Rājarājapāṇḍimandālam or the Pāṇḍya country." A. Krishnaswami, The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1964, p. 161.
69 ARE, 82 of 1935-36.
70 ARE, 370 of 1917.
However, inscriptions from Eṇṭayiram alias Rājarāja-
chaturvēdimangalam, a taniyūr in Paṇaiyūr-nādu in Rājarāja-
valanādu in Palakurra-kōṭṭam or as Brahmakshētram
Eṇṭayiram alias Rājarājachaturvēdimangalam in Paṇaiyūr-
naḍu in Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam. An inscription from
Maringūr (Karangiyur, Tirukkoyilur Tk., SA Dt.) refers
to the village as Maringūr alias Rajendraśinganallūr in
Kūḍal-Ilāraippādi-nādu in Nāduvil-maṇḍalam alias
Rājarāja valanādu. It was dated A.D. 1353. However,
an inscription of A.D. 1355-56 refers to the village
as being in Tirumunaippādi-nādu. Earlier, in the reign
of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Könerinmaikondān (a Pāṇḍya
ruler) this village was said to be in Iḍaiyāḷḷu-parru, which was in Tirumunaippādi-nādu. Tirumunaippādi did
not form a part of Nāduvil-nādu during the rule of the
Gōla-s. This is borne out by inscriptions of the
Vijayanagara period also. Only one inscription, dated

71 ARE, 331, 332, 338 of 1917.
72 SII/AXVII/263.
73 ARE, 82 of 1935-36.
74 ARE, 91 of 1935-36.
75 ARE, 95, 97 of 1935-36.
76 ARE, 94, 104 of 1935-36.
77 Y. Subbrayalu, op. cit., p. 84.
in śaka 1424, refers to this ṇādu as a part of Rājarāja-valanādu. All other inscriptions which refer to Tirumunaippādi refer to it as being a part of other units of Rājādhīraja-valanādu, of Tirūvāḍi-rājyaṛ in Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-chāvaḍī, or of Ḍalāḍu alias Jananātha-valanādu. M. Arokiaswami, writing in 1956, had maintained that:

So far as the Koṅgu was concerned two rāja-s, Tiruvāḍi and Mūluvāgil, containing within them the two Arcots, north and south, Salem and Coimbatore comprised the whole region of the Koṅgudēśa. That the region of the two Arcots now formed parts of the newly constituted Koṅgu is an administrative change of significance not to be missed by the historian. The areas of the new province thus created must have been vast and it is referred to in the inscriptions as the seat of a Viceroy. The Viceroy of this newly constituted Koṅgu region was always either closely related to the house of the reigning king at Vijayanagar or at least vastly distinguished by his service to the state.

He does not however state the sources on which he makes this claim and we may reject it on the basis of the research carried on by A. Krishnanswami and Y. Subbarayalu.

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78 ARE, 424 of 1925.
79 ARE, 421 of 1925.
80 ARE, 312 of 1921; 175 of 1934-35.
81 ARE, 308 of 1921, 125 of 1933-34.
82 M. Arokiaswami, The Koṅgu Country being the history of the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem from the earliest times to the coming of the British, University of Madras, Madras, 1956, p. 360.
Moreover, none of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period from the North and South Arcot districts mention Kongudeśa. Tiruvādi-rājya has in such inscriptions been mentioned to be in Valudilambaṭṭu-sāvadi in Magadai-maṇḍalam. Magadai-maṇḍalam, which was unknown during the Cōla period, as Subbarayalu does not appear to have noticed any reference to it, appears for the first time in an inscription, as far as we can determine, of A.D. 1410 from Tiruppālappandal (Tirukkoyilur Tk., SADt.). It appears to have included Maḷāḍu alias Janānātha vallanaṭu, which did not form a part of Naḍuvil-nāḍu during the Cōla period and Vāṇagopādi, Anṇa-nāḍu, Senugura-nāḍu and a part of what was then called Tirukkōvalūr-parru of Ḍāḍuvil-nāḍu, among other

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83 ARE, 175 of 1934-35.
84 ARE, 66 of 1906; see also ARE, 106 of 1906.
85 ARE, 403 of 1937-38. See also ARE, 66, 104, 106 of 1906; 96, 97, 100, 109, 114, 116 of 1918; 452 of 1921; 404, 406, 409 of 1937-38.
86 ARE, 100, 114, 116 of 1918.
87 Y. Subbarayalu, op. cit., p. 84.
88 ARE, 406, 410 of 1937-38.
89 ARE, 260 of 1960-61; 188 of 1963-64.
90 ARE, 256 of 1934-35.
91 ARE, 175, 208, 209 of 1934-35.
areas like Kōrukkai-kūrram. Thus, the territorial area of Naḍuvil-nādu (or maṇḍalam) appears to have shrunk with parts of Rājarāja-vaḷanādu going to Jayāṅkoṇḍacōḷa maṇḍalam and other parts going to Maṇḍa-dai maṇḍalam.

Such then are the boundaries of Jayāṅkoṇḍacōḷa maṇḍalam. An unfriendly critic may object that the boundaries are imprecise, that this village or that was wrongly included within or excluded from the limits of Jayāṅkoṇḍacōḷa maṇḍalam. To this we would say that the whole thrust of this study is to capture the long-term structures, such as the maṇḍalam which existed for about a thousand years. We endeavour to find an explanation for the extraordinary vitality of this concept and while

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92 ARE, 66 of 1906.

93 Perhaps, too Maṇḍa-dai maṇḍalam was created by extension of Naḍuvil-nādu and included the latter. This, however, can only be established after more research has been done in the field. Saletore citing ARE, 1 of 1913 says that in Śaka 1545 Ṣeṇjī was said to be located "in Vēnbār-nādu which was a sub-division of Karikāḷa-kannya-vaḷanādu in Maṇḍa-dai maṇḍalam." Saletore, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 76.
the size of Tondaimanđalam alias Jayankonaḍacólamaṇḍalam may have shunk here and grown there, the central area of the region retained this name from pre-Pallava times to the Vijayanagara period. Our concern is with the dogged persistance of the concept of Jayankonaḍacólamaṇḍalam (and its earlier names) for almost a millenium and how does it matter on this time-scale whether a few villages at its periphery were within or outside it.

III

Let us take, then, in our quest to discover the human significance of Tondai-nādu (later to be extended and renamed as Jayankonaḍacólamaṇḍalam) as our starting point a brief survey of the settlement patterns of this region. It immediately captures our attention as we learn that there were no true early stone age sites in the modern state of Tamilnadu except in places where the quartzites in Jurassic formations occur - that is in Chingleput and neighbouring parts of North Arcot Dt.94

This is precisely the central area of the region that we have identified as Jayankońadacōḷamanḍalam. In the course of his studies in this region, V.D. Krishnaswami found tools of the Early Stone Age culture like "hand-axes, cleaves, choppers, ovates, scrapers, etc., in the riparian stations at Attiram-pākkam, Vaḍamadurai, Ḥaṅjanakkaranai, Brumaiveṭṭipālayam, Odappai, Poṇdi, etc., all in the Korttalayar valley (Vṛddhakṣirānadi). With the evolution of tools during the Middle Stone Age culture, chert, agate, jasper, veinquartz, etc., began to be used in addition to quartzite and consequently the Middle Stone Age remains are to be found in a much wider area - upto the southern limits of the Vaigai on the South and Rāmanāṭhapuram in the north. Soundararajan observes that while:

The most ancient stone age cultures are observed as having flourished only in the northern most part of the

95 Ibid., p. 652. He cites V.D. Krishnaswami 'Stone Age in India', Ancient India, No. 3, pp. 12-46. Soundararajan also says that the Korttalayar valley was the oldest course of the river Pāḷār which during the Cōla period abandoned it and occupied the valley of the Cooum which was, in its turn abandoned for the present course even further south, op. cit., p. 652, fn. 3. See, too, A. Kesavan, op. cit., pp. 86-98 for the pre-history of Ṭoṇḍaimanḍalam.

96 Ibid., p. 653.
state in Chingleput and North Arcot districts... the successive development of the Stone Age cultures found a more and more southerly penetration. This would suggest that alike on account of (a) relatively unfriendly climate (nearer we go to the equatorial belt) as on account of the lack of suitable raw materials which were necessary for the fabrication of tools, Stone Age men preferred northerly regions of Tamilnad and spread over the southerly parts mostly after they had given up their nomadic life. 97

The Late Stone Age in Tamilnadu was far more widespread than the Middle Stone Age and this was followed by a Neolithic culture in which three phases have been distinguished. 98 It was in third of these Neolithic phases that sedentary village settlements appear along with the beginnings of copper working. 99 The earliest carbon-14 dates for the megalithic phase in South India comes from Hallur in Karnataka and gives a date around 1000 B.C. 100 and excavations at Korkai have yielded a

97 Ibid., p. 651.
99 "A site of an early level of this phase is Paiyampalli on the Madras-Bangalore road, dated by carbon-14 to 1390+200 B.C.", Clarence Maloney, op. cit., p. 6.
100 Dilip Chakrabarti, 'The Beginning of Iron in India', Antiquity, Vol. I, 1976, p. 119; R. Champakalaksami, 'Archaeology and Tamil Literary Tradition', Puratattva, no. 6, 1975-76, p. 120.
date as early as the eighth century B.C. for the Black and Red Ware levels. During the course of the first millennium B.C., iron and irrigated rice cultivation had become a part of the social life. Further, it has been said that,

By the Saṅgam period in Tamilnadu (first three centuries A.D.) it is possible to view Southern India as a patchwork of two basic agrarian types: scattered settlements in forests and hilly areas occupied by tribally organised peoples who had a mixed hunting, herding and shifting cultivation economy and a sedentary, peasant type, with a rice-millet based agriculture.

Agrarian, sedentary villages in Tamilnadu in the pre-Pallava period appear to have been primarily confined to the Kavēri and the western part of the Vaigai basins and the urban centres at Kāncīpuram, Kāvēripatṭinam and Madurai. North of the Tamil country agricultural village settlements occurred primarily in the Krishna-Godavari delta and it was during the Pallava period that they were linked. This is not to say that it was the Pallava period which marked the beginning of the colonization.

101 Champakalakshmi, op. cit., p. 120; Kaloney, op. cit., gives the date as 785-95 B.C.
102 Murton, op. cit., p. 57.
103 Loc. cit.
105 Stein, 'Brahmin and Peasant', p. 237; Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 69; Murton, op. cit., p. 57.
MAP II-1

MADRAS STATE

ANDHRA PRADISH

North
Arcot

Chingleput

Chingleput

Chingleput

Gingee

Gingee

Gingee

Amkamedup

Bay
of
Bengal

Nilgiris

Dharmapuri

salem

Nilgiris

salem

Thanjavur

Thanjavur

madural

madural

Ramnathapuram

Ramnathapuram

Mysore

Kerala

Ceylon

Indian Ocean

MAP OF MADRAS STATE SHOWING SITES OF TAMIL BRAHMI INSCRIPTION

From Iravatham Mahadevan, Corpus Of The Tamil Brahmi Inscription Reprint Of The Seminar On Inscriptions, Madras, 1966, frontispiece
of the northern plains of the Tamil country but rather that the dominance of the peasant society was established in this region during the rule of the Pallava-s and that this is indicated by the fact that even though settlements like Kañcīpuram continued to be important centres "there was a shift to new agricultural tracts and new rural centres."\(^{106}\) Therefore, it would appear from research already carried out on early South India that while areas that were later to be called Tōndai-nāḍu had the earliest traces of settlement - the Early Stone Age sites - the agricultural villages in this area achieved 'ubiquity' much later when compared to regions further south.\(^{107}\) His contention is also supported by the evidence of the early inscriptions - the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions. Iravatham Mahadevan, in his research on these inscriptions,\(^{108}\) divided them into three types: those of the Archaic and Early period (2-1 cent. B.C.), Middle period (1-2 cent. A.D.), and Late and Transitional.

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107 cf. Champukalakēmi, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY TAMIL BRAHMI INSCRIPTION

FROM CLARENCE THOMAS MALONY,
THE EFFECT OF EARLY COASTAL SEA TRAFFIC ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILISATION IN SOUTH INDIA
Periods (3-6 cent. A.D.) and plotted these on a map which has been reproduced here as Map II-1. A glance at the map would reveal that in the area that has been defined as Jayahkoṇḍacölamanḍalam here, no inscriptions of the first and second period were found. The same results have been found by Clarence Maloney in the course of his studies, and his map has also been reproduced here Map II-2, primarily because of its simplicity of presentation — it merely divides these inscriptions into two groups — B.C. and A.D.

In the northern area of the Tamil country as in most parts of this cultural region there is a scarcity of adequate and reliable supply of water away from the major regions and hill ranges. This is primarily because of the nature of the rainfall pattern in the

Two scholars, who submitted to statistical analysis the rainfall data of the monthly totals of the

A European visitor to Medieval South India, Samuel Purchas, said that, "As Italy is divided by the Appenine, and bounded by the Alpes, so is this by the Hills which they call Gate which goes from East to West (but not directly) and quite thorow to the Cape Comori, which not only have entered league with many In lets of the sea, to divide the soyle into many signories and kingdoms, but with the Ayre and Natures higher offices, to dispence with the ordinary orders, and established statutes of Nature, at the same time, under the same elevuation of the Sun, divid ing to Summer and Winter, their seasons and possessions. For where as cold is banished out of these countries (except on the tops of some Hills) and altogether prohibited to approach so neere the court and presence of the Sun; and therefore their Winter and Summer is not reckoned by heate and cold, but by the fairness and founlesse of wea ther, which in those parts divided the yeere by equall proportions; at the same time, when on the west-part of this Peninsula, between the ridge of Mountaines and the sea, it is after their appellation summer, which is from September till April, in which time it is always cleere skie, without once or very little raining, on the other side the hills which they call the Coast of Choromandell, it is their winter, every day and night yeelding abundance of raines, besides those terrible thunders which both begin and end their winter. And from April till Summer in a contrary vicissi tude, on the western part, is winter, and on the Eastern, summer, insomuch that in little more than twentie leagues journey in some place, as where they cross the hills to Saint Thomas, on the one side of the Hill you ascend with a faire summer, on the other you descend attendant with a stormy Winter." Samuel Purchas, 'Mr Samuel

fn. continues....
months of October, November and December during the period 1870 to 1949 in Tamilnadu, have concluded the north-east monsoon (mid-October to mid-December) accounted for approximately sixty percent of the annual rainfall in the coastal districts of Tamilnadu and for about forty percent in the interior districts. The rainfall during this monsoon varies considerably from year to year in all districts, though by utilization of the t-test to study the significance of different averages for the various districts for the three months a pattern emerged, which was as follows:

1. The northern coastal districts of Chingleput, South Arcot and Tanjore had the highest mean rainfall of about 635 mms.

2. The Southern coastal districts of Kanyakumari, followed by Ramnad and Tirunelveli with a mean rainfall of 457 mms.

3. The interior districts of Madurai, Tiruchirapalli and North Arcot came next with a mean rainfall of 381 mms.

4. Salem, Dharmapuri and Coimbatore which are the submontane districts had a mean rainfall of about 279 mms—the lowest.

Previous fn.

5. The Nilgiris district which is hilly had a mean rainfall of about 507 mms.

6. More rain falls in October in the interior districts and in November in the coastal districts.  

It will be noted that the territory designated as Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷamāṇḍalam had both a region of relatively high rainfall - the coastal districts of Chingleput and South Arcot - and an area which was semi-arid - North Arcot. However, both these areas shared a common characteristic in that they experienced a large part of their rainfall during a couple of months in the year. The effects of these rains has been described by Purchas in his usual picturesque language.

Their winter also is more fierce then ours, every man providing against the same, as if he had a voyage of so many moneths to pass by sea, their houses can scarce harbour the Inhabitants against the violent stormes, which choke the Rivers with Sand and make the Seas


112 Climatic data for Tamilnadu only is considered in this study.
Vnnaulgible. I leave the causes of these things to further scanning of Philosophers; the effects and affects thereof are strange. The sea roareth with a dreadful noyse: the Windes blow with a certaine course which they passe away with play. In the summer the Wind bloweth from the land beginning of Midnight and continuing till Noone, neuer blowing above ten leagues into the sea, and presently after one of the clock untill midnight, the contrary winde bloweth, keeping their set-times whereby they make the land temperate, the heat otherwise would be vnmeasurable. But this change commonly causeth diseases, Fluxes, Feuers, Vomitings, in dangerous (and to very many, in deadly) manner, as appeareth at Goa, where in the kings Hospitall (which Hospitall) (which is onely for white men) there die five hundred in a year.113

Given the irregularity of water supply in this region over the year, and the inability of the technology of the pre-peasant people of the Tamil country to guarantee the supply of water round the year, it has been suggested that pre-peasant peoples inhabited either the banks of rivers or the hill ranges (where rainfall was more evenly

113 S. Purchas, op. cit., pp. 99-100. Marco Polo speaking of the province of 'Maabar' writes, "You must know that the heat here is sometimes so great that it is something wonderful. And the rain falls only for three months in the year, viz., in June, July and August. Indeed but for the rain that falls in these three months, refreshing the earth and cooling the air, the drought would be so great that no one could exist." The Book of Ser Marco Polo The Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East, Ed. by George B. Parks, Macmillan Co., New York, 1927. In one of the few inscriptive references that has come down to us, we are told that due to heavy rains and a storm three tanks in Kilayanur village (SaDt.) had breached in 1450. 154 of 1919 cited in T.V. Mahalingam, Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar, University of Madras, Madras, 1975, Vol. II, p.88.
spread out through the year and which gave rise to perennial springs). Further, with the evolution of peasant economy and with it, the development of more and more effective techniques of regulation of water supply a larger area could be colonised. Crucial for such colonization would be the presence of flat land for field agriculture and the availability of water which could be regulated, at least for part of the year.\textsuperscript{114} Both these conditions are amply fulfilled in Jayankonda-colāmandalam and consequently we would maintain that the major reason for the relative delay in the appearance of peasant settlements in the area was the lack of an adequate technology for effective water utilization. Indeed, even with the development of irrigation we have a few references in inscriptions to famines. Thus, we are told of the following families in the Tamil Country.

\textsuperscript{114} B.J. Hurton, \textit{op. cit.}, p.62.
## Table II-1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date (A.D.)</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Some Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1054</td>
<td>Alangudi, Tanjore</td>
<td>Failure of rains: the temple helps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1116-1119</td>
<td>The Dekhan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1124</td>
<td>Tiruvathur</td>
<td>Severe inundation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1160</td>
<td>Tirukkadayur, Tanjore</td>
<td>Drought, failure of crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201</td>
<td>Tiruppamburam,</td>
<td>Paddy sells at 3 nāli per kāsu; the temple helps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanjore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1241</td>
<td>Tirumangalakkudi,</td>
<td>Migration of people from the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanjore; Nandalur,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cuddapah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1387-1395</td>
<td>The Dekhan</td>
<td>The state helps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1390-1</td>
<td>Tiruppanangadu,</td>
<td>Want of rain; paddy sells at 10 nāli per panam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North Arcot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1391</td>
<td>Tirukkalar, Tanjore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1396</td>
<td>The Dekhan</td>
<td>Depopulation: called Durgadevi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1412-1413</td>
<td>The Dekhan</td>
<td>State helps by opening the public stores of grain for the use of the poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1423</td>
<td>The Dekhan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1472</td>
<td>The Dekhan</td>
<td>Emigration of people to Malwa, etc. accompanied by Cholera; lasted 2 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509</td>
<td>Kankanhalli, Bangalore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Reproduced from A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000 - 1500 A.D.)*, Madras University Historical Series No. 12, Madras, 1936, note continues.....
It will be apparent from this table, based as it is on what are admittedly very fragmentary bits of information, that even in areas as fertile as Taňjavûr, famines were by no means unknown. And in the sixteenth century Barbosa wrote of 'Cholmender' (i.e. Coromandel)

And although this country is very abundantly provided, yet if it should happen any year not to rain it falls into such a state of famine that many die of it, and some sell their children for a few provisions, or for two or three fances, each of which will be worth thirty-six margvedis. And in these times the kalabars carry rice and coconuts to them.....115

Previous note


We have seen that the coastal districts of Chingleput and North Arcot received high rainfall which could possibly indicate forestation. Forestation and the availability of easily accessible raw materials for the manufacture of tools imply the possible presence of pre-peasant people in Jayankōḻaḻaḻam during the period of the spread of peasant settlements. A late tradition recorded in the Mackenzie manuscripts indeed states that the Vēdas and the Kurumbar-s were the earliest inhabitants of Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam and that the latter who were of Kannada origin ousted the former. The truth of this statement is difficult to verify. However, it is clear that peasant society was engaged in a long and protracted struggle with non-peasant peoples as we have literally thousands of hero stones and inscriptions all over the Tamil country which stand

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116 R. Sathianthaier, op. cit., p. 8. He cites A.F. Cox, Manual of North Arcot District, 1895, p. 221, to say that the language of the Kurumbar-s of the modern day was allied to old Canarese. K.V. Raman, op. cit., p. 5; A. Kesavan, op. cit., 15-16, 50-51, 100, 143. C.S. Srinivasachari, op. cit., p. 35. He also says that Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam was named after the Kurumba-s as Kurumba bhūmi, ibid., p. 37. A.F. Cox says too, "The earliest important settlers in Dravida appear to have been the Kurumba-s a fierce race so called on account of their cruelty. Attracted by the extensive seaboard of the country, which afforded an opportunity of engaging in commerce with other nations, they descended from Carnatica and overpowered the Vēdas", Madras District Manuals: North Arcot District, 1880, New Ed., revised by Harold A. Stuart, Government of Madras, Madras, 1895, Vol. I, p. 38.
witness to raids on peasant villages by tribesmen. Further, Krishnadévarāya the Vijayānagara ruler, was advocating the need to use tact and caution in dealing with the peoples of the hills and of the forests, in the early sixteenth century. It is therefore likely to be another factor which accounts for the late spread of peasant settlements in Jayāṅkondaḷaṃadalam.

117 "In the scheme of ancient classification of lands of the Tamil Tondaimandalam contained four out of five kinds viz. 1) Kurinji, 2) Mullai, 3) Harudam, and 4) Neydal which correspond to the regions such as 1) a country round hills, 2) the wooded-land between the high lands and the low lands, 3) the lower course of rivers, and 4) the littoral tract - that which skirts the sea separately. The famous shrine of Tirupati hill, Śrīkālāhasti, Tirukkalakunram, etc., are situated in the Kurinji portion of the nādu. In the Mullai portion are situated the shrines of Tirumullavāyil, Tiruvural, Tiruvellore, etc. Tiruvallam, Tirumalpūr, Tiruppūsūr, etc., are situated in the Harudam land. In the Neydal are situated Tiruvorriyūr, Kylapore, Triplicane, Tiruvanmiyūr, Tiruvadandai and Tirukkadandai, etc. A. Kesavan, op. cit., pp. 31-2, No evidence is cited for these assertions but in the Cīrupāṇarruppadai, the third of the Pattuṇṭattu, we are told that "Eyllpattinam on the sea shore (was) in Neithal thīnai, of Velūr (now known as Wuppūḷūr) in Mullai thīnai, of Amūr in marutham thīnai. P. Balasubramanian, "Study of the Literature of Tondaimandalam," Unpublished M. Litt. thesis, University of Madras, 1961, p. 29. It is likely that pre-peasant peoples were to be found in Kurinji and Mullai thīnai-s. See also Iīpra."

117
Burton Stein goes so far as to suggest that the Kañabhra Interregnum was the strongest bid by the non-peasant groups to assert their superiority over the peoples of the plains and that this attempt failed by the assertion of the supremacy of the Pallava-s in the north and the Pandyas in the South of the Tamil country in the fifth century A.D. The Kañabhras, he says, had refused to recognise the 'locality' warriors and had also refused to respect and support the brähmana-s as they were Buddhists and Jains. The attractiveness of these heterodox sects was that they, "permitted a warrior to achieve legitimacy and 'Aryan' respectability without necessarily accepting the elements of contemporary peasant culture with which Hindu sects had become associated at the time." The alliance between the brähmana-s and the Veilala-s was recognised as beneficial to both sides with the peasants providing funds to the brähmana-s and their support was essential for the

118 Burton Stein, 'Brahmin and Peasant', p. 251; Stein, Peasant State and Society, pp. 76-77.
119 Ibid., "Brahmin and Peasant", pp. 252-5.
120 Ibid., p. 255; Peasant State and Society, pp. 78-80.
121 Ibid., pp. 72-73, 82-83, 'Brahmin and Peasant', p. 244.
devotional temple-centred worship that was adopted by the *brāhmaṇa*-s.\(^{121}\) Peasant support was especially important as it provided the *brāhmaṇa*-s a counter-weight to the dominance of the Buddhists and Jainas in the urban centres of the Coromandel Plain which is attested to by their inscriptions and by the account of Hieun Tsang.\(^{122}\) On the other hand, the peasants benefitted from the alliance as it gave them a coherent ideology to counter the heterodox sects. The brahmanical caste system also enabled the peasants to unify the different segments of their society, to assimilate new peoples and to preserve the ascendancy of the leading cultivators.\(^{123}\)

Such an argument is, of course, seriously open to question primarily because of the remarkable paucity of information that we have in the period separating the Cakkam age from the Pallava period. Though we have been told that the Kalabhras were evil-kings (*Kali-arāsār*) who uprooted many *adhirāja*-s and abrogated *brahmādēya*

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122 Ibid., p. 260; *Peasant State and Society*, p. 83.

123 Ibid., pp. 73, 78-9, 83; 'Brahmin and Peasant', p. 245.

124 Ibid., p. 261; *Peasant State and Society*, pp. 84-85.
rights,"125 there is nothing to connect them with Jainism. However, we find that during the rule of the Pallava-s, in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Jaina-s were persecuted. Thus, we are told that Mahendravarma I who had persecuted Saivites before his conversion to the brahmanical religion subsequently hounded the Jaina-s.126 And later it is said that 8,000 Jaina-s were slaughtered at the Minakshi temple at Madurai at the instance of the Saivite Saint Sambandar.127 Moreover, while the Vijayanagara kings did, by and large follow a policy of religious

125 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 144. Nilakanta Sastri suggests elsewhere that the Kalabhras were a martial tribe who overran the Pandyas and Pallava territories and that both Kadungon of the Pandyas and Simhabahu of the Pallava-s claim to have defeated them. It may be noted here that since the Pallava-s of the Simhabahu Line are mentioned only from the latter half (c. A.D. 575) of the sixth century A.D., and as the SaBgam works do not refer to the Pallava-s, Sastri's contention that "the Kalabhra occupation was a danger which threatened the independence of both the Pandyas and Pallava dynasties and that these powers, either independently or in co-operation with each other, managed to throw off this incubus...", needs to be revised. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom from the Earliest Times to the Sixteenth Century, Swathi Publications, Madras, 1972, pp. 42-44.


toleration towards the Jaina-s and made donations to their temples, we are also told that Venkaṭapathi Nayaka, the nayaka of Gingee, in Śaka 1386 (A.D. 1466) "seems to have persecuted the Jaina-s, and the memory of his persecution is supported by the still surviving Jaina tradition in the neighbourhood and by a mention of it in the Mackenzie MSS, Vol. I." Further, while brahmādeva-s were granted even in the pre-Pallava period, a qualitative change was introduced by the Pallava-s in that the grant of brahmādeva-s became an integral and essential part of state policy. These large-scale gifts of land to the

128 T.N. Ramachandran, Tiruparuttikunram (Jīna-Kaṇchi) and Its Temples, p. 8. See also ibid., pp. 23, 48, 58.

129 C.S. Srinivasachari, op. cit., p. 80.

130 The term brahmāṭāyaṁ meaning land free from taxes gifted to brāhmaṇa-s occurs in the Padirrupāṭṭu II Padilam, N. Subrahmaniam, Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index (Index of Historical Material in Pre-Pallavan Tamil Literature), University of Madras, Madras, 1966, p. 563.

131 "The practice of co-operating in the establishment of brahmādeva settlements was the legacy of the Pallava state and was an important expression of Pallava kingship," B. Stein, 'The Segmentary State', p. 19; see also Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 83.
brāhmaṇa-s coupled with the rise of temple-based worship that has led some historians to view the period of Pallava rule as a transitional period between the partially Sanskritised culture reflected in the Caṅkam literature and age of the Cōla-s which was fully Sanskritised.\footnote{132}

This, however, lends circumstantial evidence to Stein's contention that the Kalabhra-s represented a major and unsuccessful thrust by the non-peasant peoples to assert their superiority over the peasant society. Stein's argument is also supported circumstantially by the evidence of the spread of peasant settlements in the north Tamil country which linked the deltas of Kaveri and Krishna-Godavari and by the adoption of the term Tondai-nādu for a large part of this area at precisely this time.\footnote{133}

Thus, while Stein's view must be regarded only as a working hypothesis to be accepted or rejected on the basis of future research, it has validity today, both because circumstantial evidence seems to support it and because hypotheses of this sort are vitally necessary in the interpretation of history.

\footnote{132}{Ibid., pp. 63-65, 66-67.}
\footnote{133}{Supra. pp. 98-100.}
IV

It is in the context of this method of land colonization and territorial consolidation by peasant groups that the concept of mandalam acquires significance. It would then immediately be apparent that the term refers to ecotypic regions (to borrow Stein's convenient phrase) rather than to political divisions, at least primarily. As we have seen above\(^\text{134}^\) it is likely that peasant societies developed in the basins of the Vaigai and of the Kävēri. These areas belonged to Pāṇḍya-mandalam covering Ramanathapuram, Madurai, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts and Cōḷamaṇḍalam covering Thanjavur, Tiruchirapalli and parts of South Arcot districts respectively. Even a cursory glance at Map II-3 will show that these regions, by and large, cover separate agro-climatic regions. Significantly, however, each of these regions include parts of ecotypic regions which properly belong to the other mandalam-s. Thus while Madurai and Tiruchirapalli Districts belong to the same ecotypic regions, they formed parts of Pāṇḍyamandalam and Cōḷamaṇḍalam respectively. This

\(^{134}\) Supra., pp. 98-105
seeming anomaly can be explained by the fact that the Vaigai river rises in and flows through the former district while the Kāvēri flows through the latter. Consequently, the colonization of these two interior districts would have proceeded independently of, but perhaps concurrently with, that of each other. It follows therefore that these two regions would remain distinguishable from each other. This differentiation was possibly strengthened by the fact that in political terms these territories were under the control of different regional powers - the Pāṇḍya-s and the Gōlas - during the Caṅkam era.

Examining Toṇḍaimāṇḍalam similarly we find that Chingleput district and parts of the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Chittoor and Nellore came under the sway of peasant settlements during the Pallava period. Here too, the fact that Taṁjāvūr district forms a part of the same agro-climatic region can be explained by the fact that the Kāvēri flows through the district. Moreover,

135 While the term Toṇḍai referring to Toṇḍai-nādu is mentioned in the Perumbānārumpadai col., and Toṇḍaimāṇ is referred to as the lord of Toṇḍai-nādu in Puranānūru 95, 185, col., the term Toṇḍai-nādu is not mentioned in inscriptions till the time of the Gōla-s. See N. Subrahmanian, op. cit., pp. 468-9.
MADRAS
INTENSITY OF CROPPING
1957-58

Index For Intensity Of Cultivation

Source - Economic Atlas Of Madras State
Map-21
a glance at the map showing the intensity of cropping by districts in 1957-58 (Map II-4) shows that Taņjavūr district had a lower intensity than South Arcot and Chingleput. As all these districts fall broadly within the same rainfall region, and if it is assumed that irrigation investment has been by and large similar between Taņjavūr on the one hand and the two other districts on the other, it would appear that significantly different climatic factors and factors relating to soil conditions and other determinants of agricultural productivity affect the two regions. This point needs to be emphasised as in spite of the fertile Kāverī river flowing through it, Taņjavūr has a lower intensity of cropping. North Arcot district too, it will be observed, has a lower intensity of cropping than the coastal districts of Tondaimandalam though it too belongs to the same agro-climatic region. This is almost certainly due to its lower rainfall and it was perhaps included in the 'macrorregion'...
as colonization of the area would appear to have proceeded from the coastal areas to the interior - in this case from South Arcot and Chingeput to North Arcot - because of the difficulty of obtaining and regulating the supply of water.  

A few major questions arise from the conception of a mandalam as an 'ecotypical' region. First, the existence of Naḍuvil-nādu (mandaļam) between Cōla-maṇḍalam and Jayaṅkondacōḷamaṇḍalam. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the work 'naḍuvil' means 'that which is in-between' or 'middle'. Hence, Naḍuvil-nādu probably refers to a region which comprises characteristics of both Cōla-maṇḍalam and Jayaṅkondacōḷamaṇḍalam - a transitional zone. But why, then were other transitional zones not differentiated in this manner? It is impossible at this time to answer this question even very tentatively. However, we may try to identify a few pointers to the answer which must be confirmed or rejected by future research. One reason could be that due to the

137 It is likely that "only when all technologically available irrigable land was occupied did peasant agriculture expand into the drought prone inter-fluve areas. This is not to say that these areas had not been used for grazing and perhaps shifting cultivation previously but it appears that it was only after the better land was occupied did permanent settlement take place on marginal dry lands where subsistence risk is extremely high". E.J. Murton, 'Some Proposition', p. 62.
relatively early evolution of peasant society in Cōḷamaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam and the consequent rise of the early kingdoms - those of the Cōla-ś and the Pāṇḍyas by the Caṅkam era - that is at a time when the area covered by Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam had not yet come under the dominance of peasant society. This would imply that the regions covered by these two ecotypical regions would more or less be covered by these two kingdoms. The boundaries of these kingdoms might, here and there, encroach upon the other ecotypical regions. After all, while logically and empirically, agro-climatic regions can be identified with a high degree of precision, the traditional boundaries of these regions do not necessarily, and indeed most often do not, correspond with these identifications. This is because traditional boundaries are influenced by a variety of other factors, especially by the fact of political control.

Secondly, enormous complications arise as a result of the extension and shrinking of the territory of a maṇḍalam as was involved in the replacement of the term Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam. We have seen above that this replacement meant the extension of Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam both to the north and to the south.138

138 Supra. pp. 82-3
In order to seek a resolution to this difficulty let us examine the origin of the Pallava-s who were the first rulers of a peasant society in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and under whose aegis the colonization of the region took place. C. Minakshi has suggested that the Pallava-s were connected with the Andhra country as all their early inscriptions were from the Nellūr-Guṇṭūr region;\(^{139}\) as the names of the native villages of the donees in their copperplate grants a significant influx of Telugu brāhmaṇa-s into the Tamil country;\(^{140}\) as Mahēndravarmān had Telugu hiruda-s; and as the Kānci of the early Pallava inscriptions was not the Kāncīpuram of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam but a place in the Nellūr-Guṇṭūr region, perhaps the modern Cinna Gaṇjam or Pedda Gaṇjam in the Guntur district. The identification of Kānci with a place in Nellūr-Guṇṭūr region is based on the facts that the three earliest Pallava charters

\(^{139}\) e.g. EI/VI/pp. 84-91; Indian Antiquary, V, \(\text{v}\), pp. 159-65.

to be issued from Kāṇcīpuram record gifts of land far removed from the Kāṇcīpuram in Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam; that there are no land grants mentioning land gifts in the Tamil country till the time of the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivārman I (c. A.D. 490-520); that the earliest Pallava charters were in Prakrit and Sanskrit and not in Tamil; and that Kāṇcīpuram of the present day was referred to as Kacci and not Kāṇci in the Caṅkam works. This could imply that there was a two pronged effort at the peasant colonization of the area later to be called Tōṇḍai-maṇḍalam, with one branch starting from the Kāveri basin and the other from the Krishṇa-Godavari delta. These two streams are likely to have met at the Venkata hill which as we have seen already was the boundary of the Tamil country known to the earliest traditions.


142 EI/III/pp. 142-7.

143 See R.A. Palat, 'The Role of the Brāhmaṇavarna', pp. 3 ff, for a detailed discussion of the origin of the Pallavas. This identification of Kāṇci is very tentative and cannot be accepted until detailed excavations have been carried out in the Nellūr-Guṇṭūr region.

144 Supra. pp. 76-4
If, therefore, the Pallava-s were of Telugu origin as Minakshi maintains, and we are inclined to accept that, who were pushed into Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam due to pressure from the Cāḷukya-s then it is likely that a cultural entity, the Nellur region would maintain a separate identity. This region too, was not under the political suzereignty of the Pallavas. However, by the time of the Imperial Cōla-s the influence of Tamil over the Nellur-Guṇṭūr region is apparent by the almost complete dominance of the area by Tamil inscriptions. May we then suggest that it was the transformation of culture undergone by the Nellur region which made it a part of the Tamil country and to its assimilation into Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam during the Cōla period. This assimilation process may have been complete only during the reign of Rājarāja I. It is significant that there were evidences of a revenue survey being carried out in A.D. 1002 when this ruler was on the Cōla throne. During this period too, the valaṇādu-s came into existence.145 As the name Jayakoṇḍacōla-maṇḍalam was substituted for Toṇḍai-ṇādu only in A.D. 1009, was it possible that Nellur-ṇādu was included in Jayakoṇḍacōla-maṇḍalam as a part of an administrative reorganization also? Similarly, the expansion of

Jayahkonḍacolamandalam could have extended to the south on the basis of an administrative reorganization.

Finally, how are we to explain the origin at later periods of other mandalams? Thus, we are told that Koṇgu-nādu, later to be called Koṇgu-mañḍalam, is first mentioned only in the eighth century A.D.;\(^{146}\) that Nigarilicōlamandalam is mentioned from during the reign of Rājendra Cōla I,\(^{147}\) and that Magadaimañḍalam appears during the Vijayanagara period.\(^{148}\) A possible explanation for the late appearance of Koṇgu_maṇḍalam and Nigarilicōla-
maṇḍalam would obviously be that they covered relatively arid territories in the interior of the Tamil country and were hence colonised by peasant society at a later date than other parts of the territory of the Tamils. This explanation may however not apply with equal force to Magadai-mañḍalam as we have seen that it covered large parts of Naḍuvil-mañḍalam.\(^{149}\) It is perhaps possible that Magadaimañḍalam was another name for Koṇgu_maṇḍalam and that parts of the arid areas of North Arcot district.

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146 B.M. Tirunarayanan, op. cit., p. 163.
147 Y. Subbarugalu, op. cit., p. 15.
148 Supra., p. 93
149 Supra., pp. 93-4
like most of Tiruvannamalai taluk and parts of South
Arcot district were merely included in Naṉuvilmaṇḍalam
as Koṅguṇaṁḍalam had not been sufficiently colonized
by peasants. Then it could be argued that with the
spread of peasant settlements in Koṅguṇaṁḍalam a link
was established between similar areas of Salem, Coimba-
tore and Dharmapuri, districts with those of North and
South Arcot district which were henceforth included in
Koṅguṇaṁḍalam and with the enlargement of the area of the
old Koṅguṇādu, a new nomenclature was given, namely,
Magadai-maṇḍalam. This line of reasoning is based on
drawing an analogy between this case and that of
Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷa maṇḍalam. But this
is all conjecture and much more evidence would have
to be gathered and that however is far beyond the
scope of this study.

In short, then, we fully agree with traditional
historians when they say that the maṇḍalam was not a
regular political division of territory during the rule
of the Vijayanagara emperors. To stop short at this

150 K.V. Raman, op. cit., p. 130; A. Krishnaswami,
  op. cit., p. 161. Some however hold that "for
the purposes of efficient administration the
Vijayanagar kings divided the Empire into many

fn. continues.....
however does not explain why the term continued to occur repeatedly in Vijayanagara inscriptions. Krishna-
swamy, thus, for example says:

the term mandalam was continued to be used in inscriptions along with the term rājya. Even at the present day the names Tondaimandalam, Cholamandalam and Pandyamandalam are mentioned though they have no political or administrative significance.151

Implied in this statement of enormous condescension is that the term mandalam was used in the inscriptions for over two hundred years merely due to habit as the term had lost all meaning. While it is perhaps true that habits die hard, surely it is an exaggeration to say that this hard death takes more than two centuries! And, what does 'political or administrative significance mean? Does it not mean the ability of the state to levy taxes, to mobilise human and other resources, in short, the degree of the effective exercise of state power? And

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is this not dependent upon the conditions of agricultural development, the patterns of peasant colonization and the degree of political integration? Are these conditions not dependent on the state of technology and on what we have called agro-climatic or ecotypical regions?

We have attempted therefore to show that the mandalam-s were primarily ecotypical cultural zones, constituted due to a number of factors, especially by the nature of peasant colonization historically over different regions, but also due to the spread of what may be conveniently described as 'Tamil Culture', and by the political control by different monarchies. While these mandalam-s did not constitute provincial or other administrative units during the Vijayanagara period, it is the recognition of the agro-climatic unity of different regions, we maintain, that perhaps accounts for continued use of the term mandalam in Vijayanagara inscriptions.

V

The Kottam-s were another system of territorial classification that has persisted through the ages from the times of the Pallava-s\textsuperscript{152} to those of the Vijayanagara

\textsuperscript{152} e.g. SII/XII/43.
emperors. A late tradition recorded in the Mackenzie manuscripts inform us that the earliest inhabitants of Tondaimandalam—the Kurumba-s divided Tondaimandalam into twenty-four Köttam-s in each of which there was a fort. These Köttam-s of the Kurumba-s, who had their headquarters in Madavaram or Pulal near Madras, were:

(1) Ambur-Köttam; (2) İkkattu-Köttam; (3) Ürrukattu-Köttam; (4) Ryil-Köttam; (5) Elaŋgattu-Köttam; (6) Kadikur-Köttam; (7) Kaliur-Köttam; (8) Kalattur-Köttam; (9) Kunravarttana-Köttam; (10) Damal-Köttam; (11) Paduvur-Köttam; (12) Palgunra-Köttam; (13) Puliyur-Köttam; (14) Pulal-Köttam; (15) Paiyur-Köttam; (16) Manavir-Köttam; (17) Vengunra-Köttam; (18) Vengada-Köttam; (19) Velur-Köttam; (20) Sethur-Köttam; (21) Senkirukkai-Köttam; (22) Şengarai-Köttam;

"Tondaimandalam was a wild forest inhabited by Yedar-s, a strange people. Then Kurumba-s of the Karnataka country spread over the Dravida country upto Tondaimandalam and set up their rule under the chieftainship of Kamanda, Kurumba prabhu, Dravida Desadhipati, Pulal Raja. They divided their country into twenty-four parts, built a fort in each and made Pulalur their capital." Mackenzie Manuscripts: Summaries of the Historical Manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collection, Vol. I (Tamil and Malayalam), ed. by T.V. Mahalingam, University of Madras, Madras, 1972, Ass. 13, sec. 7, p. 96.
(23) Śengāṭṭu-kōṭṭam; and (24) Śembūr-kōṭṭam. The Tondaimandala Satakam also has a list of kōṭṭam-s, among which are two - Iḍūrk-kōṭṭam and Sirukaraik-kōṭṭam - that are not mentioned in the above list. The Pallava inscriptions mention twenty-seven kōṭṭam-s of which seventeen are the same as those contained in the list of the Tamil tradition as recorded in the Mackenzie Manuscripts. Further, Āmūr-kōṭṭam and Vēlūr-kōṭṭam of the inscriptions may perhaps be identified with Āmūr-kōṭṭam and Vēlūr-kōṭṭam of the traditional account. The other eight kōṭṭam-s mentioned in the epigraphs of the Pallava period, namely Śengunrak-kōṭṭam, Tirukkadigaik-kōṭṭam, Iḍūrk-kōṭṭam, Pavvatri-kōṭṭam, Viravatārak-kōṭṭam, Puttanūr-kōṭṭam, Kadamūr-kōṭṭam, and Kōṭṭam Kōṭṭam, are Puja-kōṭṭam, Mahāvēr-kōṭṭam, Ikkaṭṭu-kōṭṭam, Śengāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, Paiyūr-kōṭṭam, Eyal-kōṭṭam, Dāmal-kōṭṭam, Uṟrukāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, Kalattūr-kōṭṭam, Sembūr-kōṭṭam, Vēdkunra-kōṭṭam, Palkunra-kōṭṭam, Kaliyur-kōṭṭam, Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam, Kuntavartana-kōṭṭam, Vēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam, and Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. For the list of Pallava kōṭṭam-s see Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 3, fn. 11.


155 Mahalingam, Kāṇcipuram in Early South Indian History, p. 3.

156 These kōṭṭam-s are Pulal-kōṭṭam, Maṇavir-kōṭṭam, Ikkaṭṭu-kōṭṭam, Śengāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, Paiyūr-kōṭṭam, Eyal-kōṭṭam, Dāmal-kōṭṭam, Uṟrukāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, Kalattūr-kōṭṭam, Sembūr-kōṭṭam, Vēdkunra-kōṭṭam, Palkunra-kōṭṭam, Kaliyur-kōṭṭam, Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam, Kuntavartana-kōṭṭam, Vēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam, and Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. For the list of Pallava kōṭṭam-s see Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 3, fn. 11.
and Tirukāṭṭuk-kōṭṭam have not been mentioned either in
the traditional account or in the inscriptions of the time
of the Vijayanagara empire. They may perhaps have been
assimilated into one of the other kōṭṭam-s. This is of
course pure conjecture since no attempt has yet been made
to trace the historical patterns of settlement and land
classification in the region from the time of the Pallava-s
to that of the emperors at Vijayanagara.

The Vijayanagara inscriptions, however,
mention only twenty-one kōṭṭam-s. Of these kōṭṭam-s,
sixteen can be readily identified with those the tradi-
tional account. They are: 1) Palakunra-kōṭṭam; 157
2) Venkunra-kōṭṭam; 158 3) Iaṭuvūr-kōṭṭam; 159 4) Kalattur-

157 ARE, 298, 352, 396 of 1912; 289 of 1915; 331,
332, 338 of 1917; 108, 122 of 1921; 358 of
1925; 298 of 1928-29; 29, 40, 45 of 1933-34;
515 of 1937-38; 80 of 1943-44; 134 of 1956-57;
SII/I/72; XVII/244; 254, 753, 761, 765; IX/III/

158 ARE, 54, 69, 73 of 1908; 410 of 1912; 163 of
1915; 432 of 1922; 344, 380 of 1923; 137 of
1924; 382 of 1925; 401 of 1928-29; 60 of
1934-35; 190 of 1968-69.

159 EI/IV/39; IUP/I/NA/p. 102; SII/I/54; XVII/
753, 758; ARE, 389, 390, 416, 419 of 1905;
240 of 1912; 203, 208, 237 of 1921; 492 of
1926; 188 of 1968-69.


161 ARE, 288 of 1912; 499 of 1919; 225, 230, 244 of 1922; 350 of 1923; 346 of 1954-55; 161 of 1968-69.

162 EI/IV/pp. 1-22; XIII/8; ARE, 256 of 1910; 186 of 1922; Op. 8 of 1932-33; 301, 308, 321 of 1954-55; IAP/I/Og./56.


166 SII/IV/368; ARE, 86, 92 of 1921; 140 of 1923; 13 of 1933-34; 1 of 1934-35.

167 EI/III/19; IV/pp. 1-22; SII/XVII/680; TTDTS/I/45; ARE, 113 of 1922; 371 of 1928-29.


169 SII/XVII/751, 754; ARE, 272 of 1915; 160, 163, 172, of 1916; 373, 581 of 1919; 107 of 1923; 341 of 1954-55.

170 ARE, 662 of 1919; 376 of 1921; 133, 350, 359 of 1923; 195 of 1943-44; 344 of 1954-55.

171 TTDTS/III/7, 103, 155; V/129; SII/VIII/377;
Kōṭṭam. In the case of three others, it is possible to make fairly definite identifications. Thus Ambur-Kōttam may be identified with the Āmūr-Kōttam of the inscriptions. Elangāttu-Kōttam with the Pudur Ilāṅgōṭṭam of the inscriptions, and Venigūdu-Kōṭṭam of the traditional account with Tiruvekkaṭa-Kōṭṭam. This shows that the Kadikur-kōṭṭam, the Vēlūr-Kōṭṭam, the Ṣethūr-Kōṭṭam, the Šendirukkai-Kōṭṭam and the Šēngarai-Kōṭṭam that are mentioned in the Tamil tradition have no basis in fact, if we are to take, as we have here taken, the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period as our guide. The Tirukkāṭikka-Kōṭṭam that is mentioned in the inscriptions is not mentioned in the tradition, but since this kōṭṭam can be precisely marked we may take the inscriptive evidence in preference to the traditional sources. Another kōṭṭam that is mentioned in the inscriptions is what has been tentatively read as Aṇaitta Kōṭṭam but since this kōṭṭam cannot be marked on a map and as it is also ignored in the tradition, we have ignored it. Therefore, from the inscriptions we find

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XVII/677, 679, 680, 690, 695, 699, 700; ARE, 443 of 1905; Cps. 10, 11 of 1905-06; 27, 381, 389, 390 of 1911; 193 of 1929-30; 167 of 1943-44.


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that there were twenty kōttam-s in existence during the Vijayanagara period.

It is interesting to note that this classification of territory by kōttam-s is restricted to Tondaimandalam and does not even extend to the other areas incorporated into Jayakonda-Colamandalam. This term is not likely to refer to administrative demarcations as the main revenue divisions of the Vijayanagara period, the parru-s cut across kōttam-s. Thus, for example, Irandāyir vēli-parru cut across the boundaries of Āmūr-kōttam, Kalattūr-kōttam and Šengāttu-kōttam. 178

Even a cursory glance at the maps appended to this study would show that the size of the kōttam-s increases, and the density of settlements within them decreases, as one moves further away from the fertile areas

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173 EI/III/24; ARE, 61, 255 of 1909; 225, 226 of 1916; 373 of 1921; 102, 171, 132 of 1932-33; 117 of 1933-34; 1 of 1934-35.

174 ARE, 181 of 1936-37.

175 TDES/I/1, 2, 8, 9, 12, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 35, 36, 38, 136, 204A, 217; II/142; III/167, 217; V/19, 167; SII/XVII/267, 269.

176 ARE, 125, 126 of 1943-44.

177 SII/XVII/680.

178 See Appendices I and II.
along the coast and the major rivers. We have also seen that it is likely that peasant settlements spread along the coasts and the major rivers before penetrating into the relatively arid interior areas in the Tamil country as the scarce element in agricultural practice has been the lack of reliable and constant supply of water.\footnote{In the early twelfth century, the configuration of nuclear areas over South India resembled a reversed \( E \) with a long, somewhat broken line of settlement paralleling the Coromandel Coast from which three major extensions projected inward - a major one along the Cauvery River and somewhat shorter ones along the Pennar and Pälar rivers. Of the major contemporary territories, Chōlamandalam in the Cauvery Basin was the most densely occupied by nuclear area institutions; next came Tondaimandalam comprising the bulk of what has been known as the Carnatic. After these, the other two territories, thus settled were Pändyamandalam, the southern portion of the peninsula from Madurai southward; and Kongumandalam, the western portions of the peninsula to the eastern Ghats, and including portions of the modern state of Íysore." B. Stein, 'Integration of the Agrarian Structure of South India', in R.J. Frykenburg (ed.), \textit{Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History}, The University of Wisconsin, Madison (Wisconsin), 1969, p. 186. Y. Subbarayalu considering the size of nādu-s in Chōlamandalam and Naduvil-nādu says that the average sizes were 24 and 12 square miles respectively, Y. Subbarayalu, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 22. It is also said that 'most brahmaṇa-s however, were concentrated in those fertile low lands drained by steams arising in the interior upland of the southern peninsula; few are found above the 250 foot contour.' B. Stein, 'The Segmentary State', p. 19.}
coasts and the major rivers and that the overwhelming majority of the brahmādeva grants were concentrated in these areas. The brahmādeva-s of course required a larger surplus as they were essentially comprised of a large proportion of 'non-producers' who had high consumption levels.

Etymologically, the word 'Kōṭṭam' appears to be derived from Kōta meaning 'fort', and we have seen above that tradition records that the Kurumba-s had a fort in each Kōṭṭam. 180 Was it perhaps possible that the Kurumba-s, or the non-peasant people who were inhabiting the Tondaimandalam area prior to the spread of peasant settlements, divided the region into segments on the basis of soil fertility, as even non-peasant peoples may have practised shifting cultivation? It could be conjectured also that these divisions were inhabited by different clans, each having jurisdiction over an area that increased as fertility decreased because in areas of relatively low fertility a larger area is required for shifting

180 Stein, however, citing B. Suresh, 'Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of South India with Special Reference to Cola Epigraphs', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Deccan College, University of Poona, 1965, pp. 25-6, says, "The term Kōṭṭam also occurs in Tondaimandalam and may not have been a simple equivalent of nādu; Kōṭṭam appears to designate physical sub-regions of the central Tamil plain marked by the topographically prominent distribution of hills to which the root of the word kōt may refer", Stein, Peasant State and Society, p. 91. The Addanki Stone Inscription of Pandaraṅga, the minister of the Eastern Chāluṅkya ruler Gunaṅgu-Vijayaditya III, of
cultivation. If this were so, then perhaps the peasant colonizers first colonized the more fertile and relatively smaller Kottam-s and later spread into the larger Kottam-s of the interior. Perhaps, too, the process of peasant colonization occurred by the gradual conquest of the territory covered by Tondaimandanam, Kottam by Kottam. Then it could be argued that the Kottam-s retained their validity under peasant society based as they were on fertility and other climatic features crucial even to sedentary agricultural production.

Such an argument it would be clear is based largely on conjecture and it would have to be backed up by detailed studies in ethnography, soil fertility and peasant colonization before it can be accepted. It is offered here, as most of the other arguments are, as hypotheses. These differ only in degrees of probability, and as we have said before, we believe that hypotheses have necessarily to be formulated even where we have insufficient data as it is only by attempting to verify or to refute these suggestions that historical knowledge can progress.

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A.D. 844-5, refers to the twelve Kottam-s of the Boya-s captured by Pandaranga. See EI/XIX/47/271-75; 48/275-7.
VI

Unlike the Köttam and the mandalam the third system of territorial classification that had been in existence in the Tamil country for well over a millennium, the nādu, has been the subject of intensive study, especially by Stein and Subbarayalu, and hence our task here is made much more simpler.

Conceiving the nādu as 'a micro-circulatory region'\(^{181}\) or as 'the small radius of local society and culture within which most Tamils lived and moved',\(^{182}\) Stein says:

Beginning in the Pallava heartland of the central Tamil plain and seen later in the Kāvēri basin during the Chōla period, the ancient nādu underwent important changes. In every existing nādu of the Pallava-Chōla period, and in nādu-s that came into existence during the Chōla period, one or more Brahman settlements (brahmadēva) was established. This was surely not the introduction of Brahmins into Tamil Society, but rather the concentration in special settlements of the most learned; from these settlements there issued a homogeneous, brahmanical culture which profoundly altered certain aspects of nādu society as it had existed. Elements of this brahmanical culture included knowledge of Sanskrit; temple worship of Puranic gods, especially, Jhiva, and the codes of conduct appropriate to respectability and purity as

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181 B. Stein, "Circulation and the Historical Geography", p. 16. He also says of the nādu of micro-region that: "the peasant locality was an interactional region defined by relatively dense interrelations among social groups with common interests in some tract of cultivation." Peasant State and Society, p. 90.

182 Stein, 'Circulation and the Historical Geography', p. 15.
defined in Sanskrit shastras stressing vegetarianism, support of Brahmins, and legitimate (dharmic) kingship.... It was, moreover, a process that emphasized status differentiations already extant in Tamil society - e.g. between Čauṟor ("the great and noble ones") and iilicinar ("the low men").

Contrasted to this image of the nādu was the one presented in the Čaṇkam poems according to which the nādu was a tribal territory ruled by a chief. However, Stein says, though the introduction of the brāhmaṇa-s into the nādu localities fundamentally altered them, these nādu-s continued to possess their tribal character, "local dominance over resources being vested in the peasant folk of each locality - persons usually identified as "men of the nādu" (nāṭtār). The control of local resources by the nāṭtār and the lack of evidence of a strong

183 Ibid., pp. 15-16.

184 Ibid., p. 16. Here Stein appears to be making two assumptions. First, he reasons that "from extant inscriptions of Tamil country and Karkataka, the evidence is clear, that the nāṭtār represented the dominant peasant group or groups of that locality. In numerous records, the nāṭtār are differentiated from other important local groups having interests in the land and in all cases the nāṭtār have a primary over these other groups as the recipients of the purportedly royal order and were its executors.... Only peasant groups of a locality who actually controlled the cultivable land could have carried out functions described in these numerous records." Peasant State and Society, pp. 130-1. Second, he claims that the nādu-s were ethnic localities. With the first of these assumptions we entirely agree. For Stein's discussion of the latter and for our reservations see infra, p. 184 5
administrative machinery for the Gōla state led Stein to postulate that the nādu-s were largely autonomous 'nuclear areas', or later as 'segments' in the 'segmentary state' of the Gōla-s.

Subbarayalu sees the term nādu as primarily denoting an agricultural division. The nādu was also, according to him, an assembly of the region collecting taxes and preserving the gifts made over to the brāhmaṇa-s and the temples. One of the main arguments

185 Y. Subbarayalu, op. cit., pp. 32-33. Further, it is said that "The pyramidally segmented society of medieval South India had developed a massing capability well before Gōla times; nādu-s possessed the attributes of janapada-s characterised by corporate control over a common tract of land by agricultural groups sharing a common ethnic identity, and artisan and trade groups maintained wide ranging net-works. These were autochthonous structures of social groupings in both the material and moral senses; they existed before the Gōla-s and persisted after them." B. Stein, op. cit., p. 362. See also Ibid., p. 91.


187 Ibid., pp. 39-40. "It [i.e. nādu] is also used in the Gōla period to designate an assembly of the micro-region. Etymologically, nādu, refers to agricultural land in contrast to kādu, a Dravidian word for forest or other land not suited to cultivation." A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961, no. 3012, p. 342, [nātu], B. Stein, op. cit., op. 90-1.
that he uses to maintain that the nādu was an agricultural region and not an artificial administrative unit is that the boundaries of such units do not stop at the 'natural borders' and that only a few instances of the rearrangement of nādu-s has come down to us. He also holds that in Gōlāmaṇḍalam at least, the nādu units and the kūrram units were synonymous and that the nādu-s were sometimes sub-divided in the basis of the location of its constituent villages on either side of an important irrigation channel passing through the locality.

It is perhaps possible that mandalam merely meant a collection of nādu-s which were all broadly similar in terms of agricultural conditions. Tōndaiamāṇḍalam, we have seen was originally known as Tōndai-nādu and we have been told by Burton Stein that the concept of nādu as small circulatory regions originated in the Pallava country.

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189 Ibid., pp. 19-20.
190 Ibid., pp. 25-26.
191 Supra. p. 136.
This would perhaps indicate that the nādu was an area where similar conditions of agricultural production -- availability of water, fertility of soil, climatic conditions -- prevailed and where brāhmaṇa-s had been introduced. Such an area was perhaps subject to a uniform levy of taxes by the state and these dues were perhaps distributed among its various villages within it. This hypothesis is strengthened by an inscription from Maḍavilāgam in Koṅgu-nādu₁⁹² which registers an agreement by the nāṭṭār of Kaṅgēya-nādu to the ryots (?-RāP) permitting them to colonise Alambādi village for cultivation purposes and these ryots were required to pay Devarāyapon and a tax of one panam per village to the temple for its expenses. This inscription was dated in the Sarvadhārī year of the reign of Hariharārāya, son of Devarāya.

Another inscription, this time from Kūgaiyūr (Kallakurichi Tk., SA Dt.) and dated in Śaka 1404, records that excessive and unauthorised taxes were being levied from

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₁⁹² ARE, 227 of 1920. In ARE, 1919-20, in which this inscription is published, it is said that Maḍavilagam is in Dharmapurum Tk., Coimbatore District. It may now be in the Dharmapuram Dt.
the people of Teñkarai-nādu and that on this account the people migrated from the country. On representing these grievances to Chikka Parvata Nayakkar, he settled that the old custom should prevail in the future.\textsuperscript{193} Interestingly enough this inscription states that the same tax revisions prescribed for the villages in the nādu should be adopted also with regard to the dévadāna-s and the brahmadēva-s.

Stein, further contends that since the eleventh century commentary of Vijñānesvara on the Yajñavalkya Smriti and the Jain text Civakacintamani which is perhaps of an earlier date recognise the importance of cross-cousin marriage, and "as in most Coromandel localities, direct management of land and effective political authority were combined in the same group, other locality groups developed closed and separate corporate identities", these nādu-s must also have had an 'ethnic territoriality'. In support of this claim he also argues that in inscriptions concerning non-brahmana-s, only the name and the village of the persons concerned were mentioned for identification purposes.\textsuperscript{194}

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\textsuperscript{193} ARN, 103 of 1918, 1917-18, para 69, p. 165.  \\
\textsuperscript{194} Stein, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 101-5.
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Stein arrives at this conceptualisation of the nādu by the following thought-process: He starts with the perfectly reasonable assumption that everyone directly involved and collectively 'dependent upon the successful exploitation of land tended to constitute a discrete universe'. The spatial limits of this 'universe' is defined as the area which could be cultivated at the then prevalent level of technology and which was not threatened by the presence of hostile people. Within this territory which included 'most parts of the macro-region', he contends the acceptance of 'social rules based upon heredity, hierarchy, and segmentation' were enforced by 'those with sufficient authority'. From this point he makes an absolutely unwarranted assertion — "Those whose military power and agricultural skills had originally converted a tract of land to peasant cultivation maintained authority through connections with supra-local chieftains" — to arrive at the conclusion that the 'essential governmental significance of the nādu was its ethnic coherence.' He also adds that in those parts of the Tamil country were 'full-fledged peasant tracts' emerged relatively late (i.e. 'Southern Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam as compared with the riverine portions of Cōlamaṇḍalam and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam'), the 'clan
organisation' was of greater significance, as in the case of the Kallar-s and the Haravar-s. 195

Later, he asserts, with the migration of the Telugu warriors and along with them of 'new groups of cultivators, labourers and mercantile groups' there occurred far reaching changes in the character of the nādu and led to 'the demise of ethnic territoriality'. 196 In these changed conditions, while a few of 'the ancient nāttār' attained chieftainship and 'instituted largely endogamous lineages of chiefs (as seen in the pāṭṭakkārar of of the Kōṅgu Vellāla-s) within older nāttār communities', most of the others 'were content, or compelled, to reduce the scope of their control over agrarian resources to quite atomized villages'. With these developments, the responsibilities previously discharged by the nāṭṭār -

195 Ibid., p. 109.
196 "During the first or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara (1336-1486), Telugu warriors of the Vijayanagara forces made repeated incursions into Tamil country and with each of these there remained a residue of Telugu yeomen along the foothills of the Eastern Ghats, attracted by the prizes of war but held by the rich black soil, only sparcely settled with Tamils. These Telugu settlements of the 14th century grew in the succeeding centuries of Vijayanagara rule and resulted in the present broad band of Telugu speakers in the midst of Tamil country." A Historical Atlas of South Asia, Ed. by Joseph A. Schwartzberg, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1979, p. 198.
the defence of the nuclear areas, adjudication of inter-village disputes, provision of donations to temples were assumed by the newly emergent intermediary level of leadership, in other words, by the *nayaka*-s.197

While Stein's arguments about the 'ethnic territoriability' of the *naḍu* certainly makes interesting reading, we would maintain that the evidence on which he bases his hypothesis is not adequate to sustain it. This is because, it seems to us that the identification of non-brāhmaṇa persons by their villages of residence or of origin in the inscriptions need not be taken to mean that the people of the specified village were of the same ethnic group. Indeed, it requires a prodigious leap of imagination even to make this assertion. Further, the literary sources cited by him as evidence for the

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197 *Ibid.*, pp. 418-9. Regarding the pāṭṭakkārār, Stein says that the term was observed "in a record of time of Mallikārjuna, ARE 1920, No. 235 and in one dated A.D. 1622 (ARE, 192 0, no. 239) and recently noted in ethnographic analysis by Brenda E.F. Beck, *Peasant Society in Koṅku University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1972, pp. 40 ff." *Ibid.*, p. 418, fn. 136. Other factors which also contributed to the decline of the authority of the pāṭṭār according to him, were the emergence of the periyanaḍu-s, the spread of supra-local coalitions of castes or the Idāṅgai and Vālaṅgai divisions, and the growth of towns and their assumption of the functions of the brahmadeśa-s relating to artisanal production and territorial integration. *Ibid.*, pp. 216 ff. These factors are examined below while here we shall concern ourselves only with the ethnicity of the *naḍu*-s.
argument of the nādu-s being 'ethnic micro-localities' are prescriptive, rather than descriptive, texts. Moreover, he merely notes that these texts 'recognise' cross-cousin marriages; it does not mean that such matrimonial alliances were the norm.

It is possible that the nādu-s were 'ethnic as well as ecological micro-localities' but our contention is that while this may be established by future research, the evidence at our disposal at present, does not warrant such conclusions. Certainly, it requires the suspension of all empirical controls in research, if one is to echo Stein when he holds that

This locality, or nādu was essentially that tract claimed, settled and cultivated by a peasant people possessing a common ethnic identity, including a shared putative ancestry and often, history of migration, a shared local loyalty, and a shared culture. These were the nāttār, the people of the nādu.

During the Vijayanagara period, there are a few inscriptions recording the gift of taxes by the nāttār. There are also a remarkable series of inscriptions, remarkable because it is the only set of

200 e.g., ARE, 211, 257, 261 of 1928-29; 44 of 1933-34; see also EI/XVI/8; ARE, 59 of 1914, 1914-15, para 44.
inscriptions that have come down to us which give a detailed step-by-step procedure for the grant of land. The first inscription which was engraved on 22nd November 1433, in the reign of Devaraya says that Tirukkalikanridasar Alagappirar petitioned Udaiy Darwan Udaiyar to resuscitate the Vedaparayanam and obtained as a grōtriyam the half share of the rāja-bhandāram in Siddha-kutṭai situated in Kotṭālasthalam within Vaiṅgaṇḍa-valanādū and made it over to the 24 brāhmaṇa-s of Śrīnivāsapuram. Since this however proved insufficient for their upkeep Tirukkalikanridasar Alagappirar obtained the other half-share of the sthēnattār also and this half-share yielded 200 panam annually as revenue. 201

This is followed by an inscription which states that the sthēnattār, after securing the virāṭam (agreement for donation) for its perpetuation and also having obtained the muri (the written deed) in favour of the Śrī-Bhandāram from the villagers on the basis of the said virāṭam authorised the 24 Mahājanam to take possession of the tiruvīdayāṭṭam (portion) being half in the village of Siddhakutṭai and collect the taxes. In lieu of this the donees were to render Vedaparayanam through two amongst their number each day. 202 This is followed

201 TIDES/I/199.
202 TIDES/I/200.
by an inscription which is dated on the same day as the first one of this series, that records the consent of the full tiruvidaiyattam villages (muluttiruvidaiyattu-ūrkalil ěravar) in Tirukkuḍavur-nādu and the villagers of the full tiruvidaiyattam villages in Vaikuṇḍa-valanādu to contribute 200 panam to the Śrī-Bhandāram for the 24 Mahājanam by subscription in the villages. To signify their consent the signatures are recorded of representatives of the villages. Among these representatives are the Periya-nāttu-velān who represented the ěravar of the tiruvidaiyattam villages in Kuḍavur-nādu and Vaikuṇḍa-valanādu, the Periya-nāttu-velār Pammāṇḍai representing the sabhaiyār and ěravar of Vikramadittan-māṇgalam and the ěr-kanaṇku Pokkarāyan representing the ěravar of Tiruvēṅkaṭaṇallūr. The ěravar of Avilāli, Kumrapākkam, Pādi, Korramāṇgalam, Ādittapalli, Pāṇakam and Kālidiḥira-māṇgalam were represented by individuals who were velārs, while the ěravar of Ilamanḍiyam were represented by an individual named Desīyattār Timmāṇḍai. This is followed by a record which mentions the share of the ěravar of the different villages, in the 200 panam to be contributed every year to the Śrī-Bhandāram of

203 TTDES/I/201.
Tiruvenkaṭamuḍaiyan for the 24 mahājanam. Finally, there was a record which was a repetition of the record cited as the second in the series that we have constructed from these inscriptions at Tirumalai.

The nādu-s were constituted by the ūravars or villagers of the villages within the nādu and the sabhaiyārs of the brāhmaṇa villages. These ūravars and the sabhaiyārs also donated lands and villages without reference to the other constituents of the nādu. We also read in an inscription from Miḍigallu (Venkata-giri Tk., Nl. Dt.) which registers the gift of land called Sevvankuli in the village of Neḍūṅgal by Tikkaya Māraya, son of Allun-Tirukkālattideva alias Gandagōpāla to the deity Yōgi Mallidēva for the recovery (rogaśānti) of the latter from his illness where the periyanattu-vishavattār and the brāhmaṇa elders of Per Pākkai-nādu were assembled. The gift of land and

204 TTDES/I/202.
205 TTDES/I/203.
207 e.g. SII/XVII/737. For evidence of land and village grants by Mahajana-s see ARE, 396 of 1911; 205 of 1913; 147 of 1943-44.
208 ARE, 83 and p. 7 of 1953-54.
villages by these constituents of the nadu without reference to the other constituents is an indication of the decline of the nadu.

Further evidence of the decline of the nadu comes from some inscriptions where the nattar gift taxes with the consent of the Vijayanagara Emperor. There are also some inscriptions and some poems of the Satakam genre which refer to the nattar of the mandalam.

Another indication of the decline of the nadu is the fact that along with the people of the nadu, people of the other divisions also made grants of land and taxes. Thus, an inscription from Rishivandヤm (Kallakurichi Tk., SA. Dt.) records an agreement arrived at by nadu, naggaram, and padinen-vishayattar to assign income from the villages from exports, imports, and sale (of goods) as nattanappagudi to the temple of Tiruvagattiśvaram-udaiya Nañyar at Iruvañjam.

209 e.g. ARE, 183 of 1936-37.

210 An inscription from Sirukarumbōr (Arkonaм Tk., MA. Dt.), records the gift of land as tax-free sarvamāṇya-agara in the village of Sirukarumbōr alias Ruddanadānayaka... alias Chithravēlīch-chaturvedimangalam in Kāverippākap-puru in Paduvūr-kōttam in Jayakondacōlamanḍalam by the Tondaimandala-nattavār. ARE, 18 and p. 12 of 1968-69.

211 ARE, 119 of 1943-44.
One historian has recently claimed that during the age of the Cōla-s, at least, each nādu contained only one nagaram or market centre. The nāgarattār, or the people of the nagaram-s of various regions also appear to have made gifts collectively. We, learn, for example, that the nāgarattār of the various regions assigned levies on houses in each town in Cōlamāṇḍalam, Paḍavīdu-rājyam, Chandragiri-rājyam and other māṇḍalam-s. These levies were to be collected by Aṇaittalaguri-Kaṇḍa Haridasar Deyvaṅgal Perumāl Mudaliār, son of Āvini Kaḷappāḷar Tiruvenkatamudāyār, the sthanattār of Harivasapuram temple on the banks of Āraṇi in Kūravattana-kōṭṭam in Vēdagiri-dēśam in Jayaṅkoṇḍa-cōlamāṇḍalam alias Tondai-māṇḍalam. The moneys so realised were to be used for the erection of two māṇḍapa-s in front of god Kariyamāṇik-kaperumāḷ, and for food and offerings to the deity when it is taken to the various māṇḍapa-s.


213 SII/IVII/679 dated 1st January A.D. 1521; see also ARS, 261 of 1909.
Another inscription from Nāgalāpuram (Tiruvallur Tk., Cg.Dt.) records the grant of 1000 panam in gold (pon) and lands in different places for the construction of a mandapa in front of Kārīmānippikkerumāl temple in Harivāsapūryakṣētram and for the provision of food and other offerings to the god when it is taken there on festival days. The gift was made over to Dēyvaṅgal Perumāl Mudaliyār, who is now described as the son of Anaittalagurikonda Haridāsar Tiruvēkamudaiyār, the athānattār of Harivāsapuram. The donors of this record were the nāṭṭuvār, the parrukktōr and the kōttartōr of Pular-kōttam, Puliyūr-kōttam, Škāṭṭu-kōttam, Nāṇavir-kōttam, Pauyūr-kōttam, Kunravardhana-kōttam, (and Anaitta-kōttam). The 'kōttartōr' mentioned here are clearly 'the people of the kōttam', while 'parrukktōr' are 'the people of the parru'. This inscription is interesting too because it mentions: (1) the 110 villages in Ėḷumūr-nādu, Ákudi-nādu, Šānappēru-nādu, Venkal-nādu, and Amapattūr-nādu in Pular-kōttam; (2) the 110 villages in Puliyūr-kōttam alias Kulōttuṅacōla-vilānādu; (3) the 60 villages in Škāṭṭu-kōttam; (4) the 32 villages of

214 SII/XVII/680 dated 16th September A.D. 1520; see also ARE 91 of 1918, 1917-18, para 68.
Vaṭatuṇḍan-
ādu; (5) the 45 villages in Paiyūr-
kottam; (6) the 42 villages in Ninraiyūr-
ādu; (7) the 17 villages in Āūjūr-
ādu; and (8) the 30 villages of Śo-
ādu. While
it is perhaps needless to say that we have not been able
to plot so many villages in any one of these nādu-s on
our maps, this gives an indication of the varying sizes
of the nādu-s and kottam-s.

Indeed it is the people of the parru-s who
are the largest group which collectively made donations
of land and villages i.e. there are far more inscriptions
where the donors were people of the parru than there
were of the nādu. Further, while we have seen above that
the people of the parru were called parrukkaltūr some
inscriptions refer to the nāṭṭavar of the parru. Thus,
for example, an epigraph of A.D. 1443 from Tiruvaṭatturāi
(Vriddhachalam Tk., SA. Dt.) registers an assignment by
the nāṭṭār of Padinettunparru and the tantirimār of the
taxes collected from the settlers in the streets belong-
ing to the temples of Tiruttunānaimādam-udaiya-Nayanār
and Virrīrunda-Perumāl at Penṇāgādam, Tirumuttin-sivigai-

215 e.g., SII/XVII/255, 256, 625; ARE, 54, 58, 59 of
1909; 362 of 1911; 347 of 1912; 30 of 1913,
1912-13, para 54; 230 of 1916, 1915-16,
pp. 159-40; 109 of 1918, 1917-18, p. 165;
39 of 1924; 211, 215, 250, 269, 401, para 59 of
1928-29; 174 of 1932-33; 28, 125, para 29 of
1933-34; 17, 123 of 1934-35; 404 of 1937-38;
24 of 1944-45.
Kuṭṭarulīya-Nayanār at Tiruvāratturai and Dāgavāna(r) Ṭarulīya-Nayanār at Tirumārapādi for providing offerings to the respective gods during the service called the Perivanāṭṭān-śandhī. This implies that in some of the cases reported in the Annual Reports on (South) Indian Epigraphy where the nāṭtāvar made grants, that could as well refer to the people of the pāṟṟu as to the people of the nādu if the unit is not specified. The importance of this fact is that in cases where taxes were remitted by the nāṭṭar or other local groups without reference to prior arrangements with the king, the group so remitting the taxes had to make up, by contributions or otherwise, the revenue lost by the Rāya as a result of the remission.

A discussion of the decline of the nādu must necessarily involve a consideration of the methods of territorial integration adopted by the rulers of the

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216 ARE, 215 of 1928-29; see also SII/XVII/255, 256, 625; ARE, 30 of 1913, 1912-13, para 54; 230 of 1916, 1915-16, pp. 139-40; 139 of 1924; 250, 269 and para 59 of 1928-29; 174 of 1932-33; 28, 125 and para 29 of 1933-34; 17, 193 of 1934-35; 404 of 1937-38.

217 e.g. ARE, 183 of 1936-37.

medieval South Indian empires since the demise of the autonomy of the 'micro-localities' entails new forms of agrarian integration. Moreover, it is only in relation to the other territorial units that existed in Jayäsñkoṇḍa-cōlāmaṇḍalam that we can arrive at an estimate of the nature of the nādu.