URBANISATION

The impact of the western urban studies has also led to a sharp distinction being made in the studies of western and Asian cities. The western cities construed as symbols of economic vitality and political autonomy. But the contrary the Asian cities or urban forms are predominantly political and cultural rather than economic phenomena. Recent research has pointed out that this contrast is as hallowed as the contrast between town and country. The second major question often raised in urban studies is that of the validity of the conceptual separation between the town and the country, the rural and the urban. This duality is now being abandoned except as a 'social division of labour in the largest whole'. The inseparability of the town from the largest environment is stressed and towns are regarded as sites in which the history of larger social systems-states, societies, modes of production, whole economies-is partially but crucially worked out.

Similarly, the validity of treating the town as a distinctive social structure, i.e. a special entity having a structural autonomy is now largely rejected and instead, urban analysis 'through a broader societal analysis' has gained general acceptance. Hence, in the more recent works on urban history and the city, the central concern has
been urbanization, i.e. the processes of urban growth leading to the rise of the city. In other words, urbanism is perceived as the product of social charge.

Typology has been an important tool. The best known among typologies is the classic distinction made by G. Sjoberg between the industrial and pre-industrial cities, which would seem to coincide with the distinction sociologists make between cities in traditional and modern societies. Sjoberg's is a useful distinction but is only a 'constructed type', no homogeneity or uniformity in structural pattern being implied for the pre-industrial city. There is no 'one basic language' as Fernand Braudel pointed out, 'for all cities of the world within their very depths.'

The orthogenetic and heterogenetic cities, a model introduced by Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, has influenced studies of traditional and colonial/modern cities as seen in Susan Lewandowsky's study of Madurai and Madras. Colonialism has often provided a visible marker for differentiating the cities in Asia as traditional (orthogenetic) and colonial (heterogenetic). With colonialism, the western kind of city is believed to have been imported. This would seem to be an incredibly simple explanation of the emergence of new types of cities, where the physical structure
and composition of the city change due to the heterogeneity of ethnic and cultural groups. That no uniformity can be recognized in the colonial towns in South India, which stress the importance of understanding pre-existing forms. Some of these pre-existing structures are the main concern of the present volume.

Further more, the orthologenetic and heterogenous cities are not exclusive to traditional and modern cities respectively, as has been shown by the ne-weberian approach of centrality and those of concentration operating in different periods and different social historical contexts. A similar distinction is made by Howard spodek in what he calls a nodel vision or perspective for heterogenous centres and a palimpsest, i.e stability within indigenous culture for orthogenetic centres of urban activity. Spodek tries to evolve this distinction on the basis of a study made by several scholars of cities in south Asia ranging from early historical Taxila to modern/colonial Madras.

Typologies or distinctions in city-types are also made within specific historical contexts and are often attributed to factors to which a certain primacy is given as causative or innovative, leading to types such as political/administrative centres, military centres trade or commercial centres, religious centres and so on.
While this is common in the conventional economic histories, it persists in more recent works on urbanism, which lay stress on the causative role of certain factor. However, in the long period of social and economic change generating urban forms, an elaborate complex of factors is mingled in a processual change of early cities. Stable systems of trade, artisans and merchants as permanent community fixtures, specialization of crafts, transport innovations, all of which are often cited as urban forms. Thus, causative factors may occur in different orders of primacy in creating distinctive types. While economic factors are basic to urban growth, often what is required is a focal point was often provided by an ideology, usually religious. As Paul Wheatley points out:

"It is doubtful if any single autonomous causative factor will ever be identified in the nexus of social, economic and political transformations which resulted in the emergence of urban forms, but one activity does seem in a sense to command a sort of priority. Whatever structural changes in social organization were induced by commerce, warefare, or techonology, they needed to be validated by some instrument of authority if they were to achive institutional permanence."
Given the diversity of the phenomena called 'urban', Wheatley's characterization of the concept of urbanism 'as compounded of a series of sets of ideal type social, political, economic and other institutions which have combined in different ways in different cultures and at different times', is significant. In other words, urban studies should be situated in specific social-historical contexts in terms of their spatial and temporal spread.

Urban sociologists would treat towns as social realization of power, stressing the continuity of social stratification between town and country. Power and the pattern of domination have been the main concerns in the discussion of towns by Weber, Braudel and even Sjoberg, who see the town internally and externally as an institutional expression of power. Following Weber, Philip Abrams uses what he calls the complex of domination for a better understanding of the nature and function of towns in a larger social context, a struggle to constitute and elaborate power.

In the study of urban processes, another useful distinction is that of primary and secondary urbanization. In primary urbanization the rise of cities is solely the result of internal developments, although not in complete isolation, for external influence in varying degrees could induce such development as in
Sha'ng China and to some extent in Mesopotamia and Central America. Wheatey would see the character of Chinese cities as a distinct independent development, a process generation and not imposition of urban forms.

Secondary urbanization is the direct outgrowth of the expansion of empire, wherein forts and regional administrative centres, established for political and economic control, could act as centres of diffusion of metropolitan culture, i.e. technology and other knowledge. The workings of the sophisticated administrative and technological structure of the conquering society provide the skills to locals, helping them to ultimately assert their independence. This appears to be directly relevant to colonial history which provides examples of secondary urbanism. Apart from the relevance of secondary urbanization in a colonial context, it would also be interesting and pertinent to see whether the expansion of early empires like that of the Mauryas induced secondary urbanism in regions like the Deccan and Andhra.

It would also appear then that the primary and secondary urbanization are representative of the same processes as those of the formation of pristine and secondary states of Morton Fried.
In secondary urbanization there is either a process of
generation inspired by the extension of empire, or direct imposition
of urban forms, i.e. organizational patterns developed by the
conquering state. Wheatley uses this distinction to explain the
establishment of early Chinese style settlements in a colonial
context in Sin⁴-Viet territories as urban imposition¹³.

The city's role as a locus for change, the city as the focus
of power and dominance, and the city as an organizing principle or
creator of 'effective space', have been the most influential paradigms
in the concept of the ceremonial centre.

"It is in working out the concept of the ceremonial centre
that a religious ideology and the institutions that were evolved to
create 'effective space' and to constitute and elaborate power,
become the main issues in the study of 'pre-industrial or traditional
cities. It is by no means implied here that religion was a primary
causative factor." Rather it was one which, as in the Mesopotamian
case, 'permeated all activities, all institutional change and afforded
a consensual focus for social life which manifested itself in all cult
centres'¹⁴. Religion became the focal point for collection and
redistribution of resources and religious centres had their granaries
and records of accounts¹⁵.

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The ceremonial complex receives central importance in the emergence of urban forms and in the shaping of pre-modern (pre-industrial) cities in studies on urban historical geography. The approach to urban historical geography is through the city as artefact and spatial patterning as the central focus in urban history. However, the city and its patterning can provide the evidence for interpreting attitudes and ideology. Here, religion is not given primacy as the single cause, but as providing a focus, a validating instrument for urban institutions.

Three Major period of urbanization have been indentified in Indian context\textsuperscript{16}. The first is represented by the proto-historic cities of the Harappan/Indus valley culture assignable to a long period from the middle of the third millennium to the middle of the second millennium BC. The urban character of this phase is recognizable in a hierarchy of settlement sities, in the planned cities, in the urban infrastructure provided at Mohenjodaro, their design, monumental architecture and orientation, apart from other significant architecture and orientation, apart from other significant archaeological evidence. This culture was, however, confined to the Indus region. The major part of the subcontinent remained unaffected by this early urbanism.
The second period of urbanism, was emerged in the Ganga valley, was spread over a long period, from the middle of the first millennium BC to the third century AD, and is often attributed to the maturity of the iron age and the expansion of trade within the Ganga valley, and from the Ganga valley to other parts of India, covering almost the whole of the subcontinent. Its impact in peninsular India may be seen as generating urban forms due to the spread of trade and commercial activities from the Ganga valley. More significant in peninsular India was the impact of maritime trade. In the Deccan and Andhra regions this period is understood to be one of secondary urban generation and secondary state formation, which become two inter-related processes induced by the expansion of the Mauryan empire. While this general assumption appears to be valid in terms of political processes in the Decan and Andhra in the post-Mauryan times, the generation and nature of secondary urbanism in these regions is yet to be substantiated on the basis of detailed studies of towns from the Mauryan to the Iksvaku periods (third century B.C. to third century AD), both in the Ganga valley and peninsular India. Regional variations in this phase of urbanism are crucial to an understanding of the degree and intensity of secondary urban forms in Tamilnadu, where the impact of Indo-Roman trade was greater and the influence of Mauryan polity was minimal.
For peninsular India, this phase represents the first urbanization. Only a beginning has been made in this direction, i.e. in the understanding of urban processes in regional contexts. Much of the Andhra and Deccan areas, studded with various types of settlement patterns. For Tamilakam, in the early historical period, the study of settlement patterns, ecology and forms of production has demonstrated the need for such an approach and provided useful insights into the nature of economy and urban forms.

Trade and Urbanisation:

It has been said earlier that the maritime trade of this period had restricted impact in certain zones leading to urbanism and the emergence of trading stations/ports on the coast, which were centres of exchange in long-distance trade, and of consumption points in the inland centres. It is only at such centres that regular buying and selling of goods took place. There were angadis (markets) and avanams (stores) in places like puhar Madurai and Vanchi (Karur) which became major commercial centres due to the expansion of trade on the eastern coast of Tamilakam later works of the Pattupattu collection and the epics Silappadikaram and Manimakalai give more detailed descriptions of these centres and their commercial activities.
Two kinds of markets—the nalargadi or the day market, and the allangadi or the evening market—are known, and in Puhar these markets were active in the area between the Maruvurpakam (coastal area) and the Pattinappakkam (residential area). The volume of trade is indicated by the references to the valuable merchandise stored in million bundles large quantity, and the items were often rare and prestigious goods sought by the urban elite and rulers. Similar descriptions of the market place at Madurai are also found in the Maduraikkanchi.

The picture of the market place in Madurai is equally graphic in Maduraikkanci and Netunalvatai. The texts say that it was a big market, a converging point for traders, a centre of crafts like gold jewels, gold statues ivory inlay work and stucco images. The gold merchants were specialists who could testify to the fineness of gold and goldsmiths, well skilled in drawing thin wires from molten gold. There were traders in pearls and precious gems who had their shops in the markets. Chank cutting and bangle making were also important. That it was the source of the best cotton is mentioned in the Arthasastra although whether this text meant the old Madurai on the coast or the one in the interior is not certain.
Towns in Greek Works

We have any references from ancient greek geographers above trade centres which had developed into urban centres in course of time. The ports and towns that emerged as a result of this expanding commerce, may be classified under different heads as the Graeco Roman accounts seem to have done. In the periplus Maris Erythrae (of the Erythraen Sea) of the first century AD, centres like Naura (Cannanore? Mangalore?) Tyndis (Tondi, on the west coast) Nelcynda (Kottayam) Bacare (Porakad) all on the west coast, Camara (Puhar), Poduce (Arikamedu) and Sopatma (Marakkanam) all on the east coast, have been categorised as 'Marts' or market towns. Subsequently, Ptolemy in his Geographia of the second century AD introduced a hierarchy by elevating six of these centres to the status of 'emporis'- Muziris(Muciri west coast), Kolkhoi (Korkai), Khaberis(Puhar) Sabouras (Cuddalore) Poduke(Arikamedu) and Melange (Mahabalipuram) all on the east coast. Elangon(?) Manapha is it Mailarpha Mayilappur in Madras and Salur(Saliyur near Alagankulam) were categorised as marts. The inland centres are generally referred to as cities/towns.)

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Complex Urban Society

The pattinapalai would seem to support the description of Puhar's status as an emporium, which had its own quay, harbour, warehouses and accommodation for foreign merchants. With the Colas officially approving and promoting it as an anchoring point, (port) Puhar developed as a place ' where business between people of different nationality may be transacted lawfully, where lawful dues and taxes may be imposed where possibly foreigners reside.

The larger transactions by specialized merchants dealing in high value goods for the inter-regional and maritime trade. These terms are Vilainar(seller), pakarnar(hawker) as also the vambalar(intinerant newcomer? wayfarer?) the vanikar(trader) paratavar (fisherman turned traders) and even the umanar(salt merchants). The seller and hawkers were also present in cities like Madurai where they sold the produce of the hills, the plains and sea and even items like gems, pearls and gold. The diversification of commerce is reflected in the nature of specialist traders in the markets of Puhar and Madurai, some of whom dealt in high value commodities apart from daily consumption goods. Thus, in the markets of Puhar and Madurai, there were puvinar (flower sellers) kodaiyar (garland sellers) cunnattar (aromatic powder sellers) nidu
kadi ilaiyinar (betel leaf/arecanut sellers) kodu-cudu-nurruinar (shell lime shell bangle) kadainar (shop keepers) manikkuyinar (gem or jewel makers) Kalingam pakarnar (Kalingam cloth sellers) vambuniraimudinar (fine garment sellers) Kal-nodai-attiyar (toddy(?) or wine(?) sellers) the kanca karar (bronze sellers) cempu ceyikunar (cooper article sellers) and skilled worked of all sorts. In most cases, the manufacturers or producers of such items were also the sellers.

The early Tamil Brahmi inscriptions, recording these donations, indeed mark the trade routes, and in many significant ways confirm the literary references to specialist traders, e.g. uppu vanikan (salt merchant) painta vanikan (toddy seller) kolu vanikan (iron merchant) Panita vanikan (toddy seller) kolu vanikan (iron monger) aruvai vanikan (cloth merchant) pon-vanikan (gold merchant) maniy vannakkan (lapidarist) as donors, apart from the Cera and Pandya ruling families. Interestingly, some of the poets of the Sangam texts belonged to the merchant community and often carried as a prefix to their names, the names of some major commercial centres to which they belonged and the nature of their trade. Some instances are Madurai Anuvai Vanikan Ilavettanar (Ilavettanar the cloth merchant of Madurai) Madurai Kula Vanikan Sittalai Sattanar (grain
merchant) Madurai Olaikkadaiyattar Nalvellaiyar (palm leaf/jewellery merchant) Uraiyur Ilavettanar, the cloth merchant of Madurai) Madurai Uraiyur Elampon vanikanar (gold merchant of Uraiyur) Kaverippumpattinattu Povanikanar Makanar Nappudanar (Nappudanar, son of a gold merchant of Kaverippumpattinam 32.

In the later poems of the Sangam collection they are depicted as living in fine mansions and as sporting silk raiments and gold jewellery. The later epics Silappadikaram and Manimekalai refer to their affluent life styles.

Coinage:

A pointer to urbanisation the circulation of Roman coins and their use as money in South India is voluminous me has suggested that their occurrence in a stratified context, however negligible, would indicate a limited circulation, possibly along the routes of trade and rivers of transport. Use of Roman coins as jewellery, mainly confined to the Tamil region, would also suggest a lesser role for Roman coins as exchange media, except in large transactions 33.

A coinciding of various factors may have led to the need to hoard, not necessarily as bullion, for gold was available in India,
the Kolar gold fields showing evidence of working from Mauryan times to the early centuries AD. Considering the large quantities of merchandise that were traded in the occurrence of such large number of Roman coin finds need not be surprising as payment for this trade would have required a large monetary outlay. Roman coins were also construed as gift in the gift exchange system followed by the Tamil chiefs and ruling families as symbols of status. The Tamil classics have references to gifts of gold to poets (pulavar) who were patronized by the rulers. This was one form of redistribution, in which prestige items such as horses, elephants and gold figured.

Coins, without portraits, but with symbols like the bow and arrow, the Cera emblem, a mountain, double fish and a tiger and legends reading Kollippurai (meaning Poraiyar, the rulers of the Kolli hills, have also been found in Karur. This would further support the presence of a mint in this centre. Different lineages of the Ceras with suffixes like the Kotai (Mukkotai) Porai are known from the Sangam texts and the epigraphic and coin finds confirm that they ruled in and around Karur.

Religious Institution:

Institutional forces like the Buddhist monastery, with their impressive monuments and guild organizations as focus of urban
development are not attested to in the archaeological and epigraphic records of early Tamilakam, which is marking a major point of difference in the nature and forms of urbanism. The only notable Buddhist structures (or brick) have been unearthed in the port town of Kaverippumpattinam, and these are dated to the fourth and fifth centuries AD while the earlier period has no significant architectural remains36.

The references to Buddhism in the earlier poems of the Sangam anthologies indicate that Buddhism and Jainsm were among the many religious faiths which had a following in the politico-commercial centres like Puhar, Vanci and Madurai. It is only in the post-Sangam epics Silappadikaram and Manimekalai that Buddhism Ajivakism and Jainism appear as influential ideologies among the merchant community and craftsmen37. Royal patronage to these three Sramanic religions is recorded in the brief donative Tamil Brahmi inscriptions occurring on the trade route linking the Tamil region with southern Karnataka and with the west coast. These donations hardly reached the level of the big projects of the Deccan and the Andhra regions. They were vassa or rainy retreats for the wandering mendicants in the form of natural caverns on hills, made suitable for the monks through provision for stone beds and drip
ledges to carry rain water away from the caverns. These caverns with stone beds and Tamil Brahmi inscriptions occur in the hills around the Pandya Capital Madurai, around the Cera Capital Karur and near the Cola Capital, but more significantly, they are found on the trade routes, with a concentration in transit zones like the Pudukkottai district and Erode (Periyar) district. Hence apart from royal donors of the Pandya and Cera families, the Colas do not figure in any of the donative records. Again, the individual donors belong to the trading and artisan communities. Guild organization like nigama, is known from these records very few references are there in the Tamil Brahmi inscription to householders comparable to the northern gahapatis as donors to any of the Buddhist and Jain teachers.

The spread of Buddhism and Jainism coincided with the increase in trade and commercial activity and introduces an element of heterogeneity in the urban centres. Buddhism registers a significant presence in the coastal towns, while Jainsm is confined to the inland centres, both in the political and commercial centres and on trade routes. The heterogeneity of the urban population in the inland and coastal centres shows, however, that people of different ethnic origins, different occupational background and belonging to
various religions aggregated in towns, where brahmanical and folk cults equally were represented. There is no evidence of a single Domini Region in any of them.

The Tamil Brahmi inscriptions from Pukalur and Arachchacalur, not far from karur on the Kongu highway, recording gift to the Buddhist and / or Jaina ascetics, by the Cera ruling family and by merchants, craftsmen etc., refer to three generations of Cera rulers135 and point to the influence of the Sramanic religions over the trading community and the rulers. Kodumanal, the Kodumanam of Pattirruppattu, situated nearby, with evidence of a large gem and jewel manufacturing centre, adds to Karur's importance as a commercial centre39.

Monument:

A pointer to urbanisation the evidence of the epics, which are chronologically later than the Sangam anthologies, would again point to the development of Karur into a large urban complex and the inclusion in it of Buddhist and Jain establishments40. The Manimekalai refers to a caitya in Vanci, belived to have been built by a predecessor of Kovalan (the hero of the Silappadikaram) who became a monk after giving away his welath, evidently to the
contemporary Cera ruler and the caitya was built in brilliant white stucco with its turrest reaching the sky. At Vanci an Indra vihara is also said to have been built resembling the one at Puhar.\textsuperscript{41} The reference to Indra viharas suggests that Buddhist establishments came up on the outskirts of big urban centres. In some cases, as in Vanci and Puhar, they may have been erected by merchants or trading groups, while later tradition provided them with great antiquity. At the time of a famine in Kanchipuram, we are told, the Buddhist mendicants abandoned the city and settled down in the vihra at Vanci\textsuperscript{42}.

The Maduraikkanchi, the longest poem in the Pattuppattu collection, and datable to the second century AD, gives a graphic description, of Madurai as a large and beautiful city, with a palace, a number of temples, two large markets (bazaars) and well laid out streets with lofty mansions\textsuperscript{43}. It had protective ramparts (walls) with huge gates and trowers, surrounded by a deep moat, with the Vaigai river skirting the city walls forming a natural defence on one side. People of different social strata and speaking different languages lived in different localities, professionals and craftsmen crowding the streets with their wares. Peddlars and petty traders also plied a brisk trade in the brahmanic (Sramanic) religious houses or places of
BRAHMI LETTERS IN SILVER RING.
worship also existed. The Netunalvatai repeats some of these descriptions and adds that the apartments of the palace were lit by yavana lamps and drunken mileccas (yavanas) roamed about the streets with their dresses hanging loose on the back and front.

Urban Art

Karur's importance as a political and commercial centre is also attested by other archaeological finds in and around the town. Apart from the prized Roman aureus of Claudius (AD 41-54) from Karur, a large number of Roman coins, especially the hoard from nearby Vellalur, and the recent discovery of Sera coins in the Amaravati river bed provide supportive evidence. The loiterary references to Karur as a centre of jewel making are corroborated by the finds of some of the oldest finger rings with intaglio, one being a mithuna of the Amaravati style, others with Graeco Roman motifs like cupid, a warrior figure on a prancing lion with Hellenisatic attire, with Buddhist symbols like the triratna/nandipada and Brahmi legends with personal names, all assignable to the period between second century BC and first century AD. It is also significant that the vellalur hoard of Roman coins contained jewels with Roman intaglions. A gold merchant from Karur figures as the donor of a stone bed to a jaina ascetic at Pukalur not far from Karur.
Education:

Education is one of the landmarks in Urbanisation. Literary evidence available for the educational institutions. Archaeological evidences are corroborated which are unearthed recently. Inscribed potteries were unearthed enormously. These indicate the education prevailed in urban centres in Tamilnadu. At Karur inscribed potteries are found. These potteries are dated to first two centuries of Christian era. All over Tamilnadu more than thousand inscribed potsherds were found\textsuperscript{45}. These inscriptions are not damaged. Inscriptions from Kodumanal have some Ashokan Bhami scripts like 'sa' and 'Dha'\textsuperscript{46}. This reveals the fact that Kodumanal and other urban centres had contact with North India. This also reveals the fact, the people who knew the North Indian script, had lived there.

More than thousand poets have hailed from Urban centres during Sangam period. Most of them were traders. Kabilar says that Kodumanam was also famous for the group of learned men\textsuperscript{47}. These evidences show the Tamil urban centres were also the centres of learning in Sangam period. This was maintained throughout the period under study. According to the traditions there were three Sangams (Academy of poets in Early Historical period). There, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Paisasi and Tamil languages were studied.
Philosophical systems:

Society during the period under study reflects to an incipient urbanisation, the complexity of the new society had needed the codification of laws of the various social groups. The people seem to have worshipped various elements of Nature such as sun, moon, sea, river, tank, mountain, tree, plants etc., Besides, sacrifice was also offered to the different Gods and Goddesses. The unearthed finds mostly the terracotta objects of religious significance from the various excavations in Kongu. They confirm the evidence of the Sangam literature on the then existing beliefs of the people in the field of religion and philosophy and the different forms of worships connected with them. Some form of worship had prevailed there. Tribal cult like cattle cult also prevailed, relics of this named as ash mound. In modern days this is called as fire festival. The find of terracotta mother Goddess at Tirukkampuliyur dated 4th or 5th Century A.D. tells the worship of mother Goddess.

Here we propose to deal with the matter contained in chapters xxvii, xxix and xxx of Manimekhalai. These refer respectively to the heretical systems of thought, Buddhist logic and Buddhist teaching as such. Chapter xxvii considers ten systems which ultimately resolved into five different religious systems.
according to the work itself. The ten referred to are (1) what is generally described as Pramana Vada of the Vaidika systems, (2) Saiva Vada, (3) Brahma Vada, (4) Narayaniya or Vaishnava Vada, (5) Veda Vada. All these together constituted what Manimekhalai assumed as the heretical systems based on the Veda. Collectively they may go by one name Vaidika Vada, or the teaching which accepted the Veda. Then follows the system of the Ajivaka as taught by Markali, Markali Gosala of the Jaina and Buddhist traditions, and the Niganta or Nirgrantha, the chief teacher 'Arhat worshipped of all the Indras'. The first of these systems in what is generally understood to be distinct from Jainism throughout its history more or less. But in South India, as in the Manimekhalai itself, the two systems are regarded as branches of a common system which is spoken of as that of the Samanas or Amana the Sanskrit Sramana, which had a wider general significance than the Tamil equivalent. The authoritative text-book of the Ajivakas is stated in this work, to be Navakadir, a work the name of which has not come to our notice elsewhere in these discussions. The confusion between Jainism and that of the Ajivakas has been as old as the Divyavadana ascribable to the age of Asoka in the third century B.C. The Ajivakas are said to have flourished in a place called Samadanda in the work Nilakesi as yet unpublished. The Manimekhalai seems to regard these two as
one system that of the Samanas or Jains. A later Tamil work, Nilakesi and the Saiva canonical work Sivagnanasiddhi state distinctly that the two systems were branches of one. In other places and other conditions the Ajivakas were confounded with Buddhists, as in the Kannada country about the time contemporary with Sivagnanasiddhi.

Then follow the three systems Sankhya treated with some elaboration, Vaiseshika, the Substance of which is Sankhya but equally clearly and lastly the Bhutavada, the atheistic system, treated as almost the same as the Lokayata of other works. After having heard all that the teachers of these respective systems have had to say in Vanji, Manimekalai ridicules the last one, and still in disguise, satisfied herself that she had acquired a competent knowledge of the 'Five Systems' notwithstanding the fact that she encountered of the ten teachers and obtained knowledge of their systems. Philosophical discourses were intermingled with day to day life in all urban centres throughout Tamilnadu.
1. Abrams and Wrigloy, Towns in Societies, Introduction, p.p. 3-4

2. Ibid

3. Joberg, or, "The Pre Industrial city past and present.


7. R. Champakalakshmi. 'Trade, Ideology and Urbanization, p. 4.

8. Abrams, 'Towns and Economic Growth p. 25


10. Basham Richard 'Urban Anthropology' p. 43

11. R. Champakalakshmi; Op Cit p. 6

12. Ibid p. 7
13. Ibid


17. Suderhan Seneviratne, Kilinga and Andhra.

18. R. Champakalakshmi, Op Cit.  p.9

19. Agananur, 93:10, Madurai KAnchi Conlo 5-44

20. Silappadikaram 6:121-22

21. Pattinappalai, Line 185 - 91

22. MaduraiKanchi, 511-21

23. Ibid


25. Ibid


27. Ibid  p.106

28. Ibid

29. Ibid
30. Ibid

31. I. Mahadevan, Corpus Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions in Seminar on inscription, Ed. R. Nagasamy Nos 34, 32, 43, 60, 68, 72

32. R. Champakalakshmi Op. Cit p. 107

33. Ibid p. 110

34. Ibid p. 111

35. Ibid p.p. 111-12

36. Indian Archaeology : A Review 1964-65. Para 42


38. Ibid

39. Ibid

40. Manimegalai Canto XXVII

41. Ibid

42. Ibid

43. MaduraiKanchi Cantos II 331-669

44. P Suresh, "Early Archaeological Finds in Karur' paper presented at the Indian History Congress, 52nd Session New Delhi, 1992.
45. Discuss with R. Poogundaran Curator, Department of Araeology, Coimbatore.

46. I. Mahadevan, Lo.cit

47. Padirruppattu - 7th Ten

48. T.V Mahalingam, "A Repart in Excavations in Lower Cavery Valley"

49. Ibid

50. S. Krishnasamy Aiyangar Manimegalai in its Historical Settings p.p. 54-56.